

Flavius Josephus

Translation and Commentary

Edited by Steve Mason



Volume 1b

Judean War 2

Translation and Commentary by
Steve Mason

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

VOLUME 1B

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STEVE MASON

with Honora Chapman



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For Jonathan Edmondson,

whose capacious view of ancient history, exemplary scholarship, administrative acumen, and unflagging energy have brought innumerable benefits to his colleagues at York University

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SERIES PREFACE

THE BRILL JOSEPHUS PROJECT

Titus (?) Flavius Josephus (37–ca. 100 CE) was born Joseph son of Mattityahu, a priestly aristocrat in Judea. During the early stages of the war against Rome (66–73 CE) he found himself leading a part of the defense in Galilee. But by the spring of 67, his territory overrun, he had surrendered under circumstances that would furnish grounds for endless accusation. Taken to Rome by the Flavian conquerors, he spent the balance of his life writing about the war, Judean history and culture, and his own career. He composed three or four works, depending on how one counts them, in thirty volumes.

If Josephus boasts about the unique importance of his work (*War* 1.1–3; *Ant.* 1.1–4) in the fashion of ancient historians, few of his modern readers could disagree with him. By the accidents of history, his narratives have become the indispensable source for all scholarly study of Judea from about 200 BCE to 75 CE. Our analysis of other texts and of the physical remains unearthed by archaeology must occur in dialogue with Josephus' story, for it is the only comprehensive and connected account of the period.

Although Josephus' name has been known for nearly two millennia, ever since he lived, and he has been cited extensively in support of any number of agendas, his writings have not always been valued as literary compositions. Readers have tended to look beyond them to the underlying historical facts or to Josephus' sources, imagining that they could by-pass his own artistic contribution. Concentrated study in the standard academic forms—journals, scholarly seminars, or indeed commentaries devoted to Josephus—was lacking. The past three decades, however, have witnessed the birth and rapid growth of “Josephus studies” in the proper sense. Signs of the new environment include all of the research tools and scholarly venues that were absent before: K. H. Rengstorf's *Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus* (completed in 1983) and Louis Feldman's annotated bibliography (1984) joined with fundamental studies of the 1970s and 1980s to prepare the ground for a proliferation of Josephus-related graduate seminars, dissertations,

and regular international meetings. The time is right, therefore, for the first comprehensive English commentary to Josephus.

The commentary format is ancient, and even in antiquity commentators differed in their aims and methods. Philo's goals were not those of the author of Qumran's *Commentary on Nahum* or of the Church Father Origen. In order to assist the reader of this series, the Brill Project team would like to explain our general aims and principles. Perhaps the most important observation is that we do not aim to provide the last word on reading Josephus. To the contrary, since no commentary yet exists in English, we hope simply to provide hereby an opening and invitation to the further exploration that will certainly come. A necessary hazard of such a project is the certain knowledge that further scholarship will take issue with our readings at many points. We accept that reality, hoping only to have facilitated the research of others.

Although we began with the mandate to prepare a commentary alone, we soon realized that a new translation geared to the commentary would be helpful for most readers, for whom it would have been cumbersome to keep another translation at hand. And since our commentary is on the Greek text, we would have been implicitly challenging the other translation. Given that we needed to prepare our own translations in any case, it seemed wisest to include them with the commentary as anchor and reference-point. A few words about the translation, then, are in order.

Granted that every translation is an interpretation, the translator must still choose from a range of criteria. For example, he or she may set out to follow the contours of the original language more visibly, or to place greater emphasis on idiomatic phrasing in the target language. There is much to be said for both of these options, and for each interim stop in the spectrum. “Accuracy” is not necessarily a criterion in such choices, for one might gain precision in one respect (e.g., by imitating the original word order or phrasing) only at the cost of accuracy elsewhere (e.g., in the sentence as a

whole). Anyone who speaks more than one modern language knows that many expressions do not translate “literally,” but can only be conveyed by idiomatic equivalents. Among ancient texts, Homer’s epics provide famous problems: Should one try to render them in English dactylic hexameter to capture that distinctive sound, which is crucial to their effect, or in looser verse to permit better lexical matches, or even in prose, to better convey the sense? One must simply choose a set of criteria and live with it.

In our case, the best course is suggested by the constraints of the commentary. If we were preparing a stand-alone translation for independent reading, we might have made other choices. And certainly if Josephus had been an Athenian poet, other considerations might have weighed more heavily. But Greek was his second or third language. His narratives are not great literature, and in terms of quality they vary significantly from one part to another. It would be counterproductive, therefore, to try to produce an evenly high-level piece of literature in English. Since the commentary bases itself upon Josephus’ particular Greek words and phrases, it seemed necessary to produce a translation reflecting the patterns of the Greek as closely as possible, in this way to provide the best anchor for the accompanying notes. Where his Greek is ambiguous, we can tolerate somewhat less clarity than other translations because we offer ours as a bridge to the commentary.

We happily confess our admiration for the Loeb translation, begun by Henry St. John Thackeray in the 1920s and completed in 1965 by our colleague in this Brill Project (responsible for *Ant.* 1-4), Louis H. Feldman. The Loeb has been the English standard as long as it has been available, and it may continue in that role for some time. Our effort at a new translation implies no general criticism. Although the older sections are dated now, even Thackeray still reads well, often brilliantly. The chief problem for us is simply that the Loeb does not suit the commentator’s needs. Like most translations, it makes idiomatic English the highest virtue: rendering terms that Josephus uses frequently by different English equivalents for variety’s sake, explaining many cryptic Greek phrases, collapsing two or more Greek clauses into a single clause for simplicity, freely altering the parts of speech, and homogenizing Josephus’ changing style to a uniformly high level.

Since we have undertaken to annotate words and phrases, we have required a different kind of foundation. Our goal has been to render individual Greek words with as much consistency as the context will allow, to preserve the parts of speech, letting adjectives be adjectives and participles be participles, to preserve phrases and clauses intact, and in this way to reflect something of the particular stylistic level and tone of each section. Only such a translation, admittedly less literary when read by itself, could support the detailed commentary on the Greek text.

Needless to say, even a determined literalness must yield to the ultimate commandment of basic readability. Cases in which we have relinquished any effort to represent the Greek precisely include Josephus’ preference for serial aorist-participle clauses. Given the frequency of complicated sentences in his narratives, and the unappealing prospect of treating each case formulaically, we have used a variety of English alternatives: “After X had done Y,” “When [or Once] X had occurred,” “Having done X,” and so forth. Or again, although in some cases Josephus’ “narrative present” may find a passable parallel in especially colloquial English, we have generally substituted a past tense, marked in some volumes by asterisk*. So we have not pursued literalness at all costs, but we have sought it where it seemed feasible.

In the case of personal names, we have tried to follow these principles. Where there was a familiar English equivalent that more or less reflected his Greek form, we have used it. Where his version differed significantly from the one familiar to Western readers, or where he varied his form within the same narrative, we have represented his Greek spelling in Roman characters (using “c” for “k” and “-us” for “-os”). That is because it may be of interest to some readers that he uses different forms. Where it seemed helpful, at the first occurrence of the unusual name we have supplied the familiar English equivalent in square brackets, or at least in the note. Similarly, we have retained Josephus’ units of measurement (e.g., *stadia*) and titles (e.g., “prefect”), discussing their meanings and possible equivalents in the commentary rather than trying to place them in the translation.

We do not pretend that this effort at literalness is always more accurate than an ostensibly freer rendering, since translation is an unavoidably complex and multi-layered process. Further, we have not

always been able to realize our aims. Ultimately, the reader who cares deeply about the Greek text will need to study it directly. But we have tried to provide a translation that permits us to discuss what is happening in the Greek, not only for specialists who can read the original texts, but also for the many potential readers with limited ability in Greek or access to the original.

The commentary aims at a balance between what one might, for convenience, call historical and literary issues: “literary” covering everything related to the Greek text and Josephus’ narrative, “historical” matters having to do with the realities outside the world of the text (even if closely related to them). For example: How Josephus presents the causes of the war against Rome is a literary-interpretative problem, inviting assessment of his characteristic diction and rhetorical maneuvers, whereas the actual causes of the war constitute a problem of historical reconstruction, for which Josephus’ narrative is but one line of evidence alongside other texts and material remains. Again, understanding Josephus’ Essenes is a matter for the interpreter, whereas reconstructing the real Essenes is the problem of the historian—quite possibly the same investigator, but wearing a different hat. These are not hermetically sealed operations, of course, but the distinction helps us to remain aware of the different interests of our readers.

To assist the reader who is interested in recovering some sense of what Josephus might have expected his first audience to understand from his narratives, we consider some of the ways in which each part of his narrative relates to the whole. We point out charged words and phrases in his lexicon, which may also occur in such significant contexts as the prologues, speeches, and editorial asides. We look for parallels in famous texts of his time, whether philosophical, historical, or dramatic, and whether Greco-Roman, Jewish, or Christian, to facilitate consideration of both possible influences, even sources, and likely resonances with an audience. We observe set pieces (*topoi*) and other rhetorical effects. Even mundane but habitual features of Josephus’ language and style are considered worthy of note. Where puzzling language appears, we discuss possible explanations, such as: rhetorical artifice, multiple editions, unassimilated source vestiges, the influence of a literary collaborator, and manuscript corruption.

A basic literary problem is the content of the text

itself. Although we do not have a satisfactory Greek text of Josephus’ entire corpus, we decided against preparing a new Greek edition as part of this project, since that would be a life work by itself. We have, however, paid attention to textual problems in both translation and commentary. The best critical apparatus is still to be found in Benedictus Niese’s *editio maior* (1895), though his printed text has been heavily criticized for its tendency to depend on one manuscript group in a somewhat mechanical way. In the absence of a better comprehensive text, however, and given the need to make constant reference to Niese’s apparatus, we have used his text as a base, which we have supplemented variously with other available texts. The most important of these are: the Greek text of the Loeb edition, which introduced significant adjustments to Niese, the Michel-Bauernfeind text of the *Judean War*, the current Münster project directed by Folker Siegert for Josephus’ *Life* and *Against Apion*, and the ongoing French project led by Étienne Nodet for the *Antiquities*. The introductory essays to each main section of Josephus (*War*, *Ant.* 1, 11; *Life*, and *Apion*) discuss the relevant manuscript issues.

Under the “historical” rubric fall a variety of subcategories. Most important perhaps are the impressive archaeological finds of recent decades in places mentioned by Josephus: building sites, coins, pottery, implements, inscriptions, and other items of material culture. Reading his stories of Masada or Herodium or Gamala is greatly enriched by observation of these newly identified sites, while in return, his narrative throws light on the history of those places. The commentary attempts to include reference to archaeological finds that are most relevant for understanding Josephus’ narratives, though it obviously cannot replicate the specialist studies for each site. Other major historical categories include the problems of Josephus’ own biography, his social context in Rome, and the historical reconstruction of persons, places, events, and social conditions mentioned by him. Here again our aim has been to indicate the most relevant comparative textual and material evidence bearing on the issue raised by Josephus’ narrative.

In preparing a commentary on such a vast corpus, it is a challenge to achieve proportion. Some stretches of narrative naturally call for more comment than others, and yet the aesthetics of publication require a degree of balance, so that some passages do not go without significant commentary

while others receive intense coverage. We have attempted to a broad consistency while at the same time retaining the flexibility to delve more deeply into unusually significant, contested, or problematic passages. In a few cases, team members have found it useful to break the commentary with an excursus.

A different kind of challenge is posed by the coming together of a dozen independent scholars for such a collegial enterprise. To balance individual vision with shared mission, we have employed several mechanisms. First is simply our common mandate: Having joined together to produce a commentary, we must each extend ourselves to consider questions that we might not have pursued in our own research. Second, each completed assignment is examined by two experts who are not part of the team, but who assist us in maintaining overall compliance with our goals. Third, each assignment is reviewed by the same general editor, who encourages overall consistency. Finally, for *War* and *Antiquities* we use a system of double introductions: the general editor introduces each of these major works, to provide an overall context; then each principal contributor introduces the smaller segment, highlighting particular issues that arise there. The *Life* and *Against Apion* have one introduction each, because in those cases the individual assignment corresponds to the entire work.

Thus uniformity is not among our goals. Committees do not create good translations or commentaries. We have striven rather for an appropriate balance between overall coherence and individual insight—the animating principle of humanistic scholarship. The simple Greek word *Ioudaios* affords an example of the diversity among us. Scholars in general differ as to whether English “Judean” or “Jew” comes closest to capturing what an ancient Greek or Roman heard in this word, and our team members reflect that difference. Some of us have opted for “Judean” as a standard, and the editor’s preference is reflected in the volume titles; some use both terms, depending upon the immediate context; and others use “Jew” almost exclusively. For the modern translator, as for Josephus himself,

any such word or phrase exists only as part of a world of discourse. To coerce agreement on any such point would violate that world. We hope that our readers will benefit from the range of expertise and perspective represented in these volumes.

It remains for the team members to thank some central players in the creation of this work, *amici* in scholarship whose names do not otherwise appear. Many scholars in Josephan studies and related fields have offered encouragement at every step. Though we cannot name them all, we must express our debt to those who are reading our work in progress, without thereby implicating them in its faults: Honora Howell Chapman, David M. Goldenberg, Erich Gruen, Gohei Hata, Donna Runnalls, and Pieter van der Horst.

Second, we are grateful to the editorial staff at Brill Academic Publishers for initiating this project and continuing to see it through so professionally. Our early editors were Elisabeth Erdman, Elisabeth Venekamp, Job Lisman, Sam Bruinsma, and Jan-Peter Wissink. More recently we are enjoying a productive collaboration with Loes Schouten, Ivo Romein, and Anita Roodnat. They have shown great patience and encouragement as the project has evolved into something much larger than originally anticipated, along with the inevitable delays caused by administrative interruptions in the careers of team members, protracted illness, changes of employment, the departure of some team members and the addition of others. Amidst all these reversals of fortune, the staff at Brill have continued to extend their energetic and professional support.

In addition to expressing the group’s thanks to these fine representatives of a distinguished publishing house and historic promoter of Josephus research, I wish to record my personal gratitude to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, for its generous funding from 1998 to the present, and to the Faculty of Arts at York University. Both have made possible my involvement with this worthy project.

Steve Mason, York University
General Editor, Brill Josephus Project

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Because Book 2 of Josephus' *Judean War* covers the seventy-year period from Herod's death in 4 BCE to the first phase of the war with Rome (late 66 CE), it is the most extensively cited of his thirty volumes. Although there are reworked parallels to much of this material in *Antiquities* 17-20 and *Life*, *War 2* is where we look first for: the Herodian succession struggle; the revolt of 4 BCE; the governments of Herod's three surviving sons; Judea as a Roman province; the pre-war prefects and procurators (including Pontius Pilate); the Judean philosophical schools (including the famous Essenes); Gaius Caligula's effort to place his statues in the temple; the reigns of Agrippa I and II; the appearance of charismatic prophets, militants, and *sicarii*; and the immediate background to the war itself (e.g., events in Caesarea, deteriorating relations with Greek cities, the intervention and defeat of Cestius Gallus, the appointment of Judean generals—including Josephus—and their war preparations).

The importance of *War 2* for scholarship might seem to place unusual expectations on the commentator, and so I hasten to clarify the aims and intended limitations of this volume. When a correspondent heard that I was working on this material, his response was: "Excellent: an update of Schürer!"—referring to the widely used four-volume handbook on this period. But to endorse that assumption would be to create misguided expectations. Schürer and all other handbooks of first-century Judaism are concerned chiefly with the history of Judea. They begin with problems of the past and gather the relevant evidence to fill in the periods and personalities. Although it has been customary (Schürer is the paradigm) to read that history out of Josephus' narratives, especially where he is our only source, this volume works in the opposite direction.

In order to use evidence for historical reconstruction, one must first understand it contextually. Thus, my primary interest is in the meaning of Josephus' narrative. "Meaning" here signifies first what he wished to communicate through this text to his real audiences, something that one tries to

recover through equal attention to his verbal clues (language, contexts, structures) and to what these codes might have evoked from first-century audiences (given what educated Romans knew). Secondly, I discuss what Josephus—i.e., the implied author of this narrative, since we have no access to the man's psyche—had in view, even if this could not likely have been clear to his audience: his models, sources, and inspirations. Finally, I raise the question of the *things* to which Josephus refers, and the possible implications of his narrative for various historical scenarios. Although I often indicate other evidence bearing on those underlying phenomena, my goal is to help the reader to think about history from the perspective of Josephus' narrative, not immediately to solve the historical problems themselves. For each of those problems, a new investigation of relevant evidence would be needed.

The consequence of this method is that I do not try to engage all (or any) of the historical manuals for each episode described by Josephus. A volume attempting to do so would be several times larger than this one. I mention those works only occasionally and illustratively, along with specific scholarly studies of the issue at hand. Where I mention events or dates without indicating sources, the implication is that this is the sort of "public-domain" information that one would glean from standard reference works (especially Pauly-Wissowa, the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, and the revised Schürer). The special contribution of this work is meant to be not another historical reconstruction of the things that Josephus describes, but *prolegomena* toward a clearer understanding of his meaning, and hence of his value for historical reconstruction.

This volume's designation as "1b" in the series will have alerted the reader that we have adjusted the original numbering system to accommodate the unexpectedly large size of some of our volumes. Similarly, Josephus' *Life* and *Against Apion*, originally planned as a joint Volume 9, have expanded as Volumes 9 (2001) and 10 (2007).

An important consequence of this revised enumeration is that some supporting parts of the originally planned volume, mentioned in the following

commentary to *War 2*, had to go in Volume 1a: *Judean War 1* (by Joseph Sievers and Anthony Forte), which will not appear for several years. Although I have written the introductory essay for *War* as a whole, it will come at the beginning of that volume. Wherever I ask the reader to “see Introduction,” that is the essay in question. Further, Hanan Eshel and Peter Richardson have prepared an outstanding archaeological appendix on Judea, Samaria, Perea, and the coast (complementing “Appendix A” on Galilee by M. Aviam and P. Richardson in vol. 9), which must also come in that first volume. Finally, because of its close ties with the Introduction, I translated Josephus’ prologue (*War* 1.1-30) and prepared the commentary for it. Although I often refer to those programmatic notes for thematically charged terms that first appear in the prologue, it will of course only appear in Volume 1a.

It remains to acknowledge the many groups and individuals that have enabled me to see this volume to completion. It has been a long time in the making, partly because my appointment as Canada Research Chair in Greco-Roman Cultural Interaction (2003) brought a near hiatus of three years, as I worked on the creation of a web-based research tool: the Project on Ancient Cultural Engagement (pace.cns.yorku.ca). Now, that project is integrated with this one, and I gratefully acknowledge the funding agencies and research associates who have collaborated on both. On the funding side, the Canada Research Chairs Program, the Canada Foundation for Innovation, and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada have provided the basic framework (a lab for the online project, research time, and funding for assistance). York University and the Faculty of Arts under Dean Robert Drummond have been constant allies in providing supplementary funding and facilitating this work.

For the research itself, the University of Oxford has become a “home from home.” My happy association with Wolfson College (originally facilitated by Professor Martin Goodman) provides ongoing access to Oxford’s extraordinary resources and research environment. Near the beginning of this project I also enjoyed a memorable and productive stay at All Souls College as Visiting Fellow (2002-2003), followed by several months at Trinity College, Dublin, enabled by Dr. Zuleika Rodgers. Near the end (July 2007) I was privileged to spend a

month of focused research and writing in Konstanz, Germany, as the grateful guest of Professors Ulrich Gotter and Kai Trampedach, as fellow of their research group on ancient monarchy and tyranny.

The recent emergence of the “ancient” field in York’s Graduate Program in History, pioneered by my indefatigable colleague Jonathan Edmondson, has brought first-rate doctoral students to York. I am pleased to acknowledge their help with aspects of commentary preparation and with the crucial preparation of indices and bibliography. Those doctoral students are Tommaso Leoni, Reuben Lee, William den Hollander, and Michael Helfield. In addition to preparing drafts of the bibliography and indices, they provided invaluable support and assistance with numerous other tasks along the way, which I dare not try to list.

For research collaboration I owe a singular debt to Professor Honora H. Chapman (California State University, Fresno). In the early phases of this volume’s preparation, when I was distracted by the demands of the PACE (above), Nora—then my co-Chair in the SBL Josephus Seminar—took time from her heavy teaching load to help with preparation of materials. A thoroughly trained classicist who teaches Greek across the genres, with special interests in drama and spectacle, Nora undertook to prepare a quick and rough translation of most of Book 2 from that perspective. Whereas I had come to the study of Josephus from training in Jewish Studies, Christian origins, and *koine* Greek, and had worked to develop facility in ancient historiography, rhetoric, and philosophy, Nora (whose Stanford dissertation dealt with spectacle in Josephus’ *War*) was well positioned to identify elements of *War*’s uniquely Atticizing Greek that I might have missed and to suggest possible resonances from Greek epic and tragedy. She also highlighted textual variants that might merit closer study. Nora’s contribution was all the more valued because it was inherently thankless: she knew that it would not be visible in the final volume. (The translation would need to develop in dialogue with the commentary, and I would need to explore the textual variants and possible resonances.) So I want to explicitly acknowledge her valuable contributions and reference-points, while exempting Nora from responsibility for the resulting translation and commentary.

Finally, the commentary project would not be possible without the long-term commitment of

Brill Academic Publishers, in the persons of Loes Schouten, Ivo Romein, and Anita Roodnat. Their patience has been tested by long delays in relation to the original schedule—not least for this volume—caused by contributors' career interruptions.

But their good cheer, steadfast encouragement, and rapid but expert preparation of the material they receive make possible the work of the academic editor, who is in this case also a contributor.



Courtesy of Richard Cleave, of Röhrl Productions (Nicosia, Cyprus), from his *Student Map Manual: Historical Geography of the Bible Lands* (Jerusalem: Pictorial Archive, 1979).

ABBREVIATIONS

In general this volume uses the abbreviations for classical, biblical, Jewish, and early Christian texts, as well as modern journals, found in Patrick Alexander et al., *The SBL Handbook of Style for Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies* (Peabody Mass.: Hendrickson, 1999). Although it is incomplete on the classical side, that style guide provides the fullest coverage for the overlapping worlds relevant to studying Josephus: Greco-Roman, Judean, and early Christian. Where the *SBLHS* lacks abbreviations for classical texts, I follow those of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, revised third edition, ed. Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth (2003). Asterisk * indicates a Greek present tense translated as past.

For some commonly cited reference works, the following abbreviations apply.

ANRW	Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase, eds., <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> , 41 volumes in 89 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1972-1998).
BGU	Aegyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen (staatlichen) Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunde (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895-).
BJP	Steve Mason, ed., <i>Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary</i> , 12 projected vols. in 10 (Leiden: Brill, 2000-). The abbreviation represents the “Brill Josephus Project.”
CCFJ	Karl H. Rengstorf, et al., eds., <i>Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus</i> , 4 vols.; with <i>Supplementband</i> for proper nouns by Abraham Schalit (1968) (Leiden: Brill, 1973-1983).
CPJ	V. Tchirikover and A. Fuks, eds., <i>Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum</i> , 3 vols. (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957-1964).
FHG	Karl Otfried Müller, ed., <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> , 4 vols. (Paris: Ambrosio Firmin-Didot, 1878).
GLAJJ	Menahem Stern, ed., <i>Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism</i> , 3 vols. (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974-1984).
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> , Ongoing series from 1860 to the present, continuing a project begun in 1815, currently managed by the <i>Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> , published by Georg Reimer and now W. de Gruyter of Berlin.
ILS	Hermann Dessau, ed., <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , 3 vols. in 5. Fourth edn. (Dublin: Weidmann, 1974 [1892]).
Jacoby/FGrH	Felix Jacoby, ed., <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . 3 vols. in 15 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1923-1959).
JIWE	David Noy, ed., <i>Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe</i> , 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
LSJ	H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. Stuart Jones, <i>Greek-English Lexicon</i> , 9th edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940).
LTUR	Eva Margareta Steinby, ed., <i>Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae</i> , 6 vols. (Rome: Quasar, 1993).
M-B	Otto Michel and Otto Bauernfeind, <i>De bello judaico, der jüdische Krieg. Griechisch und Deutsch</i> , 3 vols. in 4 (second, corrected edition; Munich: Kösel/Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1962-1969).
OGIS	Carl Friedrich Wilhelm Dittenberger, ed., <i>Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> , 2 vols. (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1960 [Leipzig: Hirzel, 1903-1905]).
Pelletier	André Pelletier, ed., <i>Josèphe, Guerre des Juifs</i> , 3 vols., “Collection des Universités de France [Budé]” (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1975-1982).

- PIR* Elimar Klebs, Hermann Dessau, Paul von Rohden, and Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. *Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saec. I. II. III*, 3 vols. (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1897).
- PIR*² Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften., and Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften. *Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saec. I. II. III*, 3 vols. Second edn. (Berlin and Leipzig: W. de Gruyter, 1933).
- PW* August Pauly, Georg Wissowa, Wilhelm Kroll, Kurt Witte, Karl Mittelhaus, Konrat Ziegler, eds. *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft: neue Bearbeitung*, 83 vols. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1894-1980.
- Schürer-Vermes Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, 3 vols. in 4, revised by Geza Vermes et al. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1979-1987).
- SEG* *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Vols. 1–25 [1923–1971], Leiden: van Nijf; vols. 26– [1979–], Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, now Leiden: Brill).
- Simonetti Manlio Simonetti, *Flavio Giuseppe: Storia dei Giudei da Alessandro Magno a Nerone*, “I Meridiani – Classici dello Spirito” (Milan: Arnaldo Mondadori, 2002) [Ant. 12-20].
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JOSEPHUS, *JUDEAN WAR*

BOOK TWO

(1.1)¹ **1** Now the need for Archelaus² journey to Rome³ was the occasion for new disorders.⁴ For having mourned his father seven days⁵ and provided the very expensive funeral banquet for the rabble⁶—this custom⁷ is for many Judeans a cause of poverty,⁸ given that banqueting the rabble⁹ is not free of compulsion,¹⁰ for if someone were to neglect it,

*Herod's funeral.
Archelaus
awaits
confirmation.
Ant. 17.200*

¹ The parallel story begins at *Ant.* 17.200. As in bk. 1, it often appears in what follows that Josephus abbreviates his account in relation to the source(s) used more fully for the *Antiquities* parallel. Of these, the *Universal History* by Herod's aide Nicolaus of Damascus must have continued to figure prominently until about 2.100, since Nicolaus was personally involved in these affairs. Cf. Pelletier 2.201 n. 1.

² Archelaus (b. ca. 27 BCE, son of Herod and Malthace) was introduced in the survey of Herod's wives and children at 1.562, then described as an intended victim of half-brother Antipater's plotting while he was being educated in Rome (1.602). Because of this plotting Herod ignored Archelaus in one version of his will (1.646), which designated Antipas heir, but the king later reconciled with Archelaus and made him—his oldest surviving son—heir-designate as Judean king (1.664). On Archelaus see Kokkinos 1998: 226-29.

³ Josephus looks ahead (cf. 2.14-110) to Archelaus' trip concerning the settlement of Herod's succession. This trip occupied a period from the spring (2.42) of 4 until perhaps 3 BCE. Josephus mentions very little (2.111-16) of Archelaus' decade-long rule in his territory, which might suggest that the ethnarch was in his territory for only a short period. But at 2.64 Josephus mentions incidentally that Archelaus had a role in suppressing the revolt that began in 4 BCE.

⁴ See the note to this dramatic term, woven into the fabric of *War*, at 1.4. Still looking ahead: Archelaus' lengthy absence from Judea at the start of his reign will be the occasion of a major revolt (2.39-79), requiring the intervention of the Syrian governor P. Quinctilius Varus with 3 legions, 2,000 cavalry, and a large auxiliary force (2.66-68)—not much smaller than the army used to defeat the Judeans 70 years later (3.64-69). That revolt, which involved campaigns in Galilee and Samaria (2.68-9), is featured in the prologue (1.20). It was therefore a major event from Josephus' perspective, in some respects a precursor to this work's main theme, the conflict of 66-73.

⁵ Although the Bible does not prescribe this, it does specify a 7-day period of *impurity* for those who have either touched a corpse or been in the same tent with one (Num 19:11, 14; 31:19), and the 7-day mourning

period is a biblical custom, assumed throughout later Judean texts (Gen 50:10; 1 Sam 31:13/1 Chron 10:12; Jdt 16:24; Sir 22:12). The Roman custom called for 9 days of mourning: see Levison 2002: 272-3.

⁶ In the parallel at *Ant.* 17.200, "custom" language is used only of the 7-day mourning period; the feast is mentioned very briefly. Greek τὸ πλῆθος, used more than 500 times by Josephus, is difficult to translate. It is a collective singular of rather dehumanizing force: the "mob, multitude, horde, throng." But the first of these has suggested to some readers a sort of mafia; the second is not in standard use. The last two terms I use, as well as "rabble," where they seem to fit better; none of them is perfect. Contrast Josephus' language for members of the élite (cf. 2.239), which consists of plural adjectives inviting one to imagine a small group.

⁷ Providing a lavish funeral banquet for large numbers was not an obligation laid down in the Torah, though it had evidently become a custom among the élite of Josephus' day. Prophetic literature may know of such practices, when it forbids them in the context of divine judgment (Jer 16:7-8; cf. Ezek 24:17). Funeral feasting was, however, a Roman custom (on the 9th day of mourning): Toynbee 1971: 51; Levison 2002. Cicero speaks of "thousands" present for one such feast (*Vat.* 31). It is characteristic for Josephus to explain Judean customs, laws, and conditions of life in the *War* (1.60, 447; 2.10, 119, 195, 313, 321, 425; 3.35-58; 4.451-85; 5.236-37; 6.299-300), suggesting that he expects a non-Judean audience (cf. *War* 1.3, 6). See Introduction.

⁸ Contrast *Apion* 2.205, where Josephus boasts that the Judean constitution's provisions for fulfillment of one's obligations to the dead are *simple and inexpensive* (τῆς . . . ὀσίαζ οὐ πολυτελείαις), seeming to negate the very words he uses here. There he elaborates that the ceremony is only for the nearest relatives, though all are expected to join any funeral procession they encounter. Simplicity of funerary rites has particularly strong parallels in Roman-élite discussions (Levison 2002: 247-50), though the tension between such ideals and the reality of elaborate funerals for the wealthy is also well attested for Rome (see previous note).

⁹ A similar expression, "banqueting the populace" (ἐστίαω τὸν δῆμον), appears at *Ant.* 16.14, 55. The for-

he would not be pious¹¹—he changed* into a white garment¹² and proceeded* into the temple,¹³ where the citizenry¹⁴ welcomed* him with various forms of adulation.¹⁵ 2 After hailing¹⁶ the rabble from a high platform and golden throne,¹⁷ he thanked* them for the

mulation here (ἐστιᾶν τὸ πλῆθος) conveys a mixture of contempt and pity for the public figure, who must at all costs pander to “the rabble” (i.e., the mass of common people) if he wishes to hold effective power. Josephus’ contemporary Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 66.9) likewise observes that one seeking political fame must pay out vast sums to collect a cast of entertainers if he wants to banquet the rabble (ἐστιᾶσειν τὸ πλῆθος) in a convincing way.

¹⁰ “Compulsion” is the same word (ἀνάγκη) as “necessity” in 2.1. It is characteristic of Josephus to use the same word in different senses within a short space.

¹¹ Or “pure, sinless.” The Greek has only οὐχ ὄσιος in the apodosis, where we might have expected ἄν with a verb. On the substance, see notes to “custom” and “poverty” in this section.

¹² What would Cicero have said? In his retaliatory speech against Vatinius (56 BCE), he dwelt on the latter’s egregious error of etiquette in wearing black to a funeral banquet. “With so many thousand people at table and with the master of ceremonies himself, Q. Arrius, all in white, you took to the temple of Castor in mourning clothes, with C. Fibulus and your other bad spirits in funeral dress” (*Vat.* 31). Evidently the Roman custom was to wear dark clothes for mourning, and to change into white for the 9th-day banquet, which involved a visit to the temple of Castor. For analysis (also of *Ant.* 7.154-6) see Levison 2002: 255-6. Archelaus, however, seems to attend the banquet as part of the mourning, changing to white clothes only for the temple visit.

Others who wear white when they enter the temple, according to Josephus, are Kings David and Solomon (*Ant.* 7.156; 8.186). His biblical source neither dresses them in white nor clearly prescribes white for temple service. White was, however, all but universally recognized as the color of purity, and to some extent of celebration: see Croom 2000: 28; Sebesta and Bonfante 2001: 48. For white clothing as a sign of moral purity, see Xenophon, *Mem.* 2.1.22. Ovid (*Amor.* 2.13.23-4) assumes that one wears white to enter a temple—at least that of Ilithyia—and Apuleius (*Met.* 11.47) has priests of Isis wear brilliant white in procession. Manumitted slaves in the early empire wore bright white (Artemidorus 2.9), as would newly baptized Christians (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.22.142). See also Athenaeus *Deipn.* (4.149d-e) for the feasts of Dionysus and Apollo, and generally: Aeschines, *Ctes.* 77.10; Strabo 15.1.71; Plutarch, *Aristides* 21.4; Lucian, *Mort. per.* 40.5; Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 14.621b; Pausanias 2.35.5; Aelian, *Var. hist.* 12.32 [of Pythagoras]; Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.*

3.15; 8.19; with the note to “white” at 2.123 below.

Accordingly, Josephus’ Essenes always wear white (*War* 2.123, 137), as do Philo’s Therapeutae, at least for meetings (*Contempl.* 66); Beall (1988: 46) finds a preference for white also at Qumran (*IQM* 7.9-10). For other groups in Judean and Christian traditions, see Eccl 9:8; Dan 7:9; 2 Macc 11:8; 2 Esd 2:40; Matt 17:12; 28:3; Rev 1:14; 3:4, 5, 18; 4:4; 6:11; 7:9, 14; 19:14. Sanders (1992: 96-102) discusses the rarity of white clothes and fabrics. Since bright white was not a natural color, it took considerable effort to create (Croom 2000: 28).

It is uncertain whether Josephus learned from his source that Archelaus wore white here—a detail absent from the *Antiquities* parallel (17.200)—or whether he has freely adapted the source as he does the Bible (above); if the latter, whether his accommodation is to actual Judean practice of the day or to a more general standard expected by the audience.

¹³ Josephus follows standard usage in distinguishing the larger sacred precinct or compound (τὸ ἱερόν, as here) from the shrine building—in Jerusalem, the Holy Place containing the Holy of Holies—that was considered the deity’s home (ὁ ναός, e.g. at 2.5). See the note to “shrine” at 1.10.

¹⁴ Greek λαός, used only 39 times in the *War*, is a more respectful term than τὸ πλῆθος (quantity, bulk, mass, rabble, mob, throng); the latter is much more frequent in this passage, in *War* (294 times), and in Josephus generally.

¹⁵ Adulation (εὐφημία) from the mob was standard for a new ruler or conquering general: *War* 2.297, 511; 3.410, 459; 4.417; 6.316; 7.16, 103, 127. Josephus claimed to have received this from the Galileans (*Life* 251, 253). But shouts of praise were only one side of what Latin termed *acclamatio* (“shouting at”); this vociferous praise prepares for the other side—the shouted demands for redress of grievances that quickly follow (2.4, 7). Romans knew this scenario well (Aldrete 1999: 101-71), and would perhaps have felt the tension and high drama in Josephus’ description of the fickle mob’s adulation.

¹⁶ Gestures played an important role in Roman oratory: both the larger movement of the arm(s)—normally the right, with left occasionally added for emphasis—and the position of the fingers helped convey particular emotions or transitional points in the speech (Aldrete 1999: 3-84). Particularly well represented in Roman art is the *adlocutio* pose, with right hand raised to address a crowd. This may be something like the posture indicated by the verb δεξιόομαι here.

eagerness they had expressed concerning his father's funeral, and indeed for their attentiveness¹⁸ towards him, as if to a king already confirmed.¹⁹ And yet for the time being he would refrain, he affirmed, not only from the authority but even from the titles,²⁰ until Caesar,²¹ who was the master of everything,²² also according to the will,²³ should authorize

¹⁷ In view of the crowds present, it is easiest to imagine that the high platform and throne were set up in the largest open space of the temple compound, in the S near the Royal Colonnade (Stoa, Portico).

¹⁸ Much like Latin *cura*, the *θεραπ-*group of words has a wide range of connotations, many of which Josephus exploits in the 10 occurrences in *War* 2: care or devoted attentiveness (especially to a ruling figure, or to God: 2.105, 178, 297, 350, 617), reciprocal care by a ruler for the people (already in 2.4), attention to physical well-being and cures (whence English "therapy": 2.136, 614).

¹⁹ The phrase (ὡς πρὸς βέβαιον ἤδη βασιλέα) sets up Archelaus' expectation in 2.3 that he will indeed be "confirmed king": a hope that Josephus' audience knows was never fulfilled—so a small irony.

²⁰ It is part of Josephus' ongoing play between "seeming and being" that he also contrasts mere titles or offices with real authority. All this derives ultimately from Plato's thoroughgoing distinction between the world of appearances, sense-perception, and opinion, on the one hand, and that of knowledge and the real on the other; see in particular his analogy of the cave (*Resp.* 514a-517c). But it was also a much discussed issue among Josephus' contemporaries in the Greek renaissance: Greek statesmen of the period all realized that no matter what titles they enjoyed, real power rested in Rome (Anderson 1993: 101-32; Swain 1996: e.g., 151-86).

Josephus likes to speak of people who have reputations (δοκέω, δόξα) for things that are proven to lack a basis in reality (*War* 1.648; *Ant.* 17.41; 19; 332; *Apion* 1.18, 67). At *War* 1.110-12 we see both contrasts, the "seeming" picking up 1.85—concerning Alexander Janneus' unfounded reputation—and the "title/real authority" contrast with respect to Queen Alexandra, who allowed the Pharisees the real power while she held the mere title of sovereign. Then, Hyrcanus II's mischievous courtiers encourage him against Herod by complaining that he has only the title (ὄνομα) and not the authority (ἐξουσία) of king (1.209). Later (1.561), Antipater pleads with his father not to leave him the mere title of king while others hold the power. At 2.208 *princeps*-designate Claudius promises through Agrippa I that he will rest content with honor of the title or address (προσηγορία)—*princeps*?—while governing through broad consultation. An ironic twist is in Suetonius, *Tib.* 24: although Tiberius did not hesitate to exercise *imperium*, he resisted the title that went with it, prompting the witticism that while others

were reluctant to do what they promised, he would not promise what he was doing. Cf. Dio 36.11 for seeming and being, and the emperor Julian's presentation (*Ep. Ath.* 11.19) of his alleged refusal to accept "either the address or the crown [of Augustus]" while Constantius II reigned.

²¹ That is, Augustus, who ruled the empire from 27 BCE to 14 CE. See the note to "Romans" at 1.20.

²² Greek ὁ . . . τῶν ὅλων δεσπότης, a stronger phrase than that used in the antecedent (κύριος πάντων . . . τῶν διαθηκῶν) at 1.669. Cf. the similar phrases used of Roman rulers at 2.36 (Augustus described in Nicolaus' defense of Archelaus), 179-180 (a role that Agrippa I wishes for Gaius Caligula, anticipating Tiberius' death); 4.366 (Vespasian is κύριος τῶν ὅλων but within a military context—"supreme commander"—paralleled by Simon bar Giora on the Judean side, 5.248). In Josephus' use of the absolute title ("master of everything") may lurk a certain irony, given: the application of the phrase to dubious figures (cf. 1.207: Herod's father Antipater honored by all "as if master of everything"); the reservation of such phrases in Josephus' later works for God alone (*Ant.* 1.72; 4.40; 6.131; 17.244; 20.89-90; *Apion* 2.185; with similarly ironic usage in relation to Herod and Augustus at *Ant.* 16.118, 135); and some external parallels. Epictetus (*Diatr.* 4.1.12-14) employs the Caesar's position as master of all (ὁ πάντων κύριος, δεσπότης) to challenge all illusions of freedom, even on the part of a consul (cf. Penwill 2003: 362-67). Tacitus uses roughly equivalent Latin expressions, such as *rerum potiri* (*Hist.* 3.74; *Ann.* 1.5; 6.51). Aristotle (*Rhet.* 1366a) had defined monarchy (μοναρχία) as the situation in which one person is master of all (εἷς πάντων κύριος ἐστίν·), and tyranny (τυραννίς) as monarchy without restraint (ἀόριστος). By itself, the term δεσπότης was a widely used equivalent of Latin *dominus* (H. J. Mason 1974: 120), also in Josephus (2.28; cf. Philo, *Legat.* 239—noted by Pelletier *ad* 2.28).

²³ The formulation may be ironic—Augustus was *self-evidently* master of everything, and Herod confirmed this with respect to his estate (not a difficult choice!)—or it may simply reaffirm that Herod did designate Augustus his executor (1.669; 2.35—see notes there). Herod's will has changed many times (1.451, 458-60, 550-52, 573, 640, 645-46, 664, 667-68). Throughout the process the king appears keenly aware of his dependence upon Augustus (cf. 1.457, 646, 669), even though the *princeps* had granted Herod the singular privilege of complete

the succession.²⁴ **3** For even when, in Jericho,²⁵ the army was fastening the diadem²⁶ on him, he had not accepted it.²⁷ Nevertheless, for their devotion and goodwill²⁸ he would pay back generous rewards, to the soldiers and the populace alike, as soon as he should

control over the fate of his heirs (1.536-37). For changes in Roman practice in recognizing a *rex sociusque et amicus*, from the late Republic to the Empire, see Braund 1984: 23-27.

²⁴ This issue of Caesar's role in administering the succession will become the focus of debate between the potential heirs—in Rome, before Caesar (2.26-8, 34-6). It was indeed a serious issue, as Josephus' story of Aretas IV confirms: he incurred Augustus' displeasure when he assumed the Nabatean throne without awaiting the emperor's word (*Ant.* 16.295, 353). Caesar's prerogative remained a central issue in the dispute between Rome and Parthia over Armenia (see Introduction).

²⁵ An ancient oasis-city situated a hilly 15 miles (25 km) NE of Jerusalem in the Jordan River valley; see further 2.57 and Appendix A. It was in the amphitheater at Jericho that, upon the news of Herod's death and his wishes for the succession, Archelaus was acclaimed by his soldiers (1.666-70); but this is the first we hear about an attempt to give him the diadem. Given the ironic quality of the passage, it is possible that Josephus intends to make Archelaus a self-serving liar here: refusing an honor that had not in fact been offered. But see 2.27.

²⁶ The Greek genitive absolute with a present participle (τῆς στρατιᾶς τὸ διάδημα περιαιπούσης αὐτῷ) leaves a degree of ambiguity that will be exploited later (2.27): Did the soldiers manage to fasten the diadem (though he could claim that he disapproved)? Did they begin to do so but stop at his command? Did they merely signal their wish to do so? The parallel (*Ant.* 17.202) says rather that the army had been eager to fasten the diadem upon him, but he had declined the offer.

The diadem was a strip of cloth tied around the head as an emblem of rule (cf. 1.671); see the note at 1.70. It was a potent symbol, which Roman *principes* thought it important to control. According to Suetonius, in 249 BCE Claudius Rursus had “set up his own statue with a diadem on its head (*statua diademata*) and tried to take possession of Italy” (*Tib.* 2.2). Julius Caesar pointedly refused to accept the *diadema* from Antony at the Lupercalia festival (*Jul.* 79.2). Gaius came close to accepting the *diadema*, which would have meant “changing the semblance of the principate into the form of a monarchy” (*Cal.* 22.1).

Foreign rulers' infringing on the emperor's prerogative by donning a diadem was a resonant scenario for Josephus' audience. In the preceding volume (1.387-93; cf. 1.451) King Herod laid aside his diadem, which had been bestowed by the defeated Marc Antony, in order

to receive it again from Actium's victor. In the decade before Josephus was writing *War*, Domitius Corbulo had achieved a compromise with the Parthians over Armenia (63 CE): Tiridates, brother of the Persian king Vologeses I, could rule Armenia if he put aside his diadem and received it in Rome—in 66 CE, as it happened—from the hand of Nero (Dio 62.23.3; 63.4.1). Suetonius relates that after the conquest of Jerusalem Titus had worn a diadem in Memphis, Egypt, while consecrating the bull Apis (*Tit.* 5.3). Although our reporter is quick to note that this was *de rigueur* for the ritual, he reports that Titus had to hurry to Rome to reassure his father of his fidelity. Given the sensitive nature of the symbol, Josephus portrays the potential royal heirs in Judea as keenly aware that they can accept it only from the hands of the world sovereign.

The pathetic character of this condition—men without virtue or qualification striving to secure a piece of cloth from the master of the world, which actually proclaims their weakness—will be exposed when Josephus interrupts the succession story in Rome to describe the contemporary Judean revolt (2.39-79), for two of the rebel leaders—a slave (2.57) and a shepherd (2.60)—assume the diadem for themselves. Josephus appears in sympathy with his contemporary, Dio Chrysostom: “If anyone else has his head bound, without a fracture, he is ridiculed; yet for the kings it is thought to be fitting, and countless thousands of men have died for this scrap of cloth” (*Or.* 66.5). Dio includes the craving for royal head-dress (diadems and tiaras) as symptomatic of tyranny (*Or.* 1.79). In Josephus, too, diadem-lust is linked with *War*'s larger themes of tyranny and demagoguery (1.9-10); cf. Mason 2008b.

²⁷ See 2.27, where Archelaus' opponents claim that he had pre-empted Caesar's prerogative by arranging for a diadem to be fixed on his head.

²⁸ The second term (εὐνοία) may have more intimate connotations, such as “loyalty” and “affection.” The pair of qualities (here with προθυμία, elsewhere sometimes τὸ πρόθυμος) is standard in Josephus (*Ant.* 5.96; 6.82; 8.57; 15.193, 201; 17.195; 19.151; *Life* 103), in rhetoric (Isocrates, *Phil.* 18.4; Demosthenes, *Cor.* 286.3; 312.2; Dionysius, *Ant. Rom.* 10.16.4; Plutarch, *Alc.* 30.10; *Caes.* 16.1; *Dion* 10.4; *Brut.* 39.3; *Mor.* 50B.8; 453C.9; 575D.8), and in one of Josephus' models, Polybius (2.50.4; 3.17.7, 44.12, 76.13; 5.37.2; 7.9.8, 11.6; 9.44.1 [*frag. incert.*]; 10.17.9, 14; 11.12.2; 21.3.2, 22.3; 22.5.2, 9.4; 27.5.4; 30.3.1; 31.3.2, 8.7).

be designated the confirmed king by those in control:²⁹ for he would be eager to show himself better towards them in every way than his father had been.³⁰

(1.2) 4 The rabble took pleasure³¹ in these [words] and immediately put his intention to the test with enormous demands:³² some were shouting for him to lighten the tax levies,³³ others to abolish the payments,³⁴ and still others even to release the detain-

²⁹ I.e., the Romans in the person of the *princeps* Augustus, as the previous sentence and the sequel (2.20-39, 80-97) indicate.

³⁰ Because Herod has appeared in virtuous terms in *War* (contrast *Ant.* 14-17, where he appears also as an arrogant violator of laws), the comments that Josephus attributes to Archelaus in *Ant.* 17.201—gratitude that his father’s outrages against the people have not been held against him—would have been out of place here. This notice about Archelaus’ commitment to treat the Judeans well prepares for *War* 2.111, where the brief summary of his ethnarchy charges him with savage treatment of both Judeans and Samaritans.

³¹ Josephus’ distaste for the rabble, which he shares with most ancient writers (e.g., Thucydides 2.65.8; Plutarch, *Alc.* 10.1; *Cato Maj.* 16.5), is based in part on the assumption that they live by impulse and for momentary pleasure, and are therefore highly susceptible to demagogues: *Ant.* 4.36; 12.398. This language is even stronger in the parallel at *Ant.* 17.204, 211: “They considered lawful and just whatever was likely to bring them pleasure (ἡδονήν).”

³² Simonetti (737-38 n. 87) distinguishes between the generalized praise, which he attributes to the mob, and the quite specific demands, which he thinks must have come from Jerusalem’s more cultivated circles, especially Pharisees and Sadducees. He adds (738 n. 88) that such demands did not take into account the precarious position of Archelaus as heir apparent to a client kingdom (cf. on the latter, Smallwood 1981: 105). Interpreting the story and reconstructing historical probabilities are different projects, however: Josephus plainly states that it was the rabble (who had praised Archelaus) who now made the demands, and the rabble whom he appeased. Roman audiences would be familiar with the prospect of mob demands shouted at a leader, even where these followed closely on fulsome shouts of praise; see the note to “adulation” at 2.1.

³³ The contrast here between “lightening” (forms of κουφίζω) the imposts (εἰσφοραί) and “burdening” (βαρέω) the nation seems distinctively Josephan: *War* 1.428; 2.273; *Ant.* 17.204. If Archelaus was in a position to lighten or remove this burden, then it was either something he had imposed or a Roman requirement that, the people assumed, he could alleviate or cover from other resources (as his father had covered levies on foreign cities). Even when he comes to write the often anti-Herodian *Antiquities*, Josephus concedes that Herod

himself had substantially reduced taxes at times (*Ant.* 15.365; 16.64). In the case of the Babylonian immigrant community that he settled in Batanea, he relieved them of all customary εἰσφοραί (*Ant.* 17.25). *Ant.* 17.305-6 adds the charge that Herod seized the property of “the nobility” after murdering them, though that account may be shaped to anticipate Gaius Caligula’s behavior in *Ant.* 19.1-4.

Josephus leaves the precise content of these imposts unclear. Such εἰσφοραί (a “gathering in”; in Attic Greek usually ad hoc levies) will, however, figure prominently in *War* 2 (2.273, 383, 385, 404—half of the 10 occurrences in Josephus). Judea was reportedly made subject to tribute by Pompey in 63 BCE (*War* 1.154 [φόρος]; cf. Cicero, *Flac.* 69). Julius Caesar reversed many of Pompey’s impositions, but still required tribute from Hyrcanus as high priest and ethnarch (*Ant.* 14.200-10; cf. Smallwood 1981: 33-40). On the problem of calculating the amounts involved under Hyrcanus—at any rate, a burdensome portion of the annual produce—see Pucci ben Zeev 1998: 86-87. On the various taxes collected by Herod, see Schalit 1969: 262-98; at *War* 2.84-6 the Judean delegation to Augustus will complain bitterly of his exactions. Although the taxation-census described by Luke as including Herod’s kingdom (Luke 2:1-5) brims with familiar problems, there is slight evidence (Matt 22:17) that the tetrarchy of Galilee-Perea under his son Antipas was liable to “taxes to Caesar”—and that payment was a cause of discontent.

Whether client kings in general paid *tributum* is a vexed issue. Braund (1984: 63-6) thinks that they paid more or less regular *indemnities* to Rome (for the costs of installing the king), though not tribute as such; Schalit (1969: 272, 277) thinks that Herod collected a head tax, which he handed over as tribute; Lintott (1993: 35) notes *War* 1.399, according to which the younger Herod had been appointed procurator for all Syria, which implies the collection of tribute. At 2.404-5 the εἰσφοραί constitute the annual tribute for Rome from Judea—as an imperial province, however, under an equestrian governor: 40 talents’ worth in arrears—as perhaps also *War* 1.428, where Herod relieves the tax burden of various foreign communities. In support of understanding this tax as tribute, the parallel at *Ant.* 17.204 glosses this as “the *annual* tax-levies that they brought.” Mommsen, however (1887: 2.190-91), marshals compelling evidence (from Caesar’s edicts in *Ant.* 14 and the census under Quirinius in 6 CE) for his conclusion that Herod’s

Golden eagle's
destroyers
mourned. *Ant.*
17.207

ees.³⁵ And he, attending carefully³⁶ to the rabble,³⁷ readily gave the nod³⁸ to everything. **5** After that he offered sacrifice and had a festive meal³⁹ with his friends.⁴⁰ Already then, around dusk, quite a number of those who had deliberately chosen to incite revolu-

Judea enjoyed the unusually favorable situation of freedom from both tribute to Rome and responsibility for maintaining a Roman legion. Greek εἰσφορά certainly was a standard equivalent of Latin *tributum* (H. J. Mason 1974: 41), though it also had other senses; at *Ant.* 3194 it indicates the temple tax. In Egypt it sometimes referred to a special tax (LSJ s.v. IIb).

³⁴ Greek τὰ τέλη is even more vague than εἰσφοραί (previous note). It seems unlikely, therefore, that Josephus is trying here to indicate two distinct kinds of tax; more likely, the vague nouns function synonymously, and the two options reside in the verbs—either *lighten* this burdensome levy or *do away with it* altogether. *Ant.* 17.204-5 is different: these τέλη, as distinct from an annual levy, were applied to “public sales and purchases” and were being collected harshly. For the pairing of εἰσφοραί and τέλη, as apparent synonyms, see *IG II* (2) 1.19.1369.287, 1241; *SEG* 24:94, 34; Justin, *Apol.* 27.2; Theophilus, *Autol.* 1.10; Pollux, *Onom.* 8.97 [a fragment of Aristotle].

³⁵ Greek ἀπολύειν τοὺς δεσμώτας. Although Herod's sister Salome has quick-wittedly released the nobles put in custody by the king (1.666), sparing them an unjust death, the parallel (*Ant.* 17.204) claims that many had been put in chains by Herod and kept in that condition for long periods. Without that information here, Josephus assumes his audience's understanding that—as always under perceived tyrants—many will have been imprisoned unjustly (cf. 2.273; *Ant.* 20.215; *Life* 13). In the Roman world, incarceration was possible (a) for those in remand, awaiting trial, (b) between conviction and sentencing, and (c) in fulfillment of the sentence, though in the early empire prison sentences were rarely employed. State-sponsored legal custody (private custody was also known) was chiefly for (a) and (b), each of which could be ameliorated by the influence of patrons (cf. *Ant.* 18.202-4); (c) was usually obviated by corporal or capital punishment, hard labor sentences, exile, or house arrest (Krause 1996: 64-91). Note the informal nature of Agrippa's incarceration at Tiberius' order (2.180): not a sentence, it appears, but simply a means of keeping him out of the way indefinitely. Pliny's correspondence with Trajan (*Ep.* 10.19-20) over the question whether publicly owned slaves (*servi publici*) should guard prisoners (*ad continendas custodias*), as was customary (cf. the high priest's slaves at Luke 22:50, 56, 63), or whether this was a task for seconded soldiers (as with Agrippa, *Ant.* 18.203), shows how informal the situation was and suggests that the need was chiefly connected with (a) and (b).

In the absence of penitentiary regimes, long-term imprisonment often indicated judicial neglect, corruption, or an inability to prosecute, and was increasingly hazardous for the one kept in chains. Although Josephus does not explain the cause, the financial context here might suggest that some of these were debt prisoners (on which Krause 1996: 150-55). “Release of prisoners” was part of the brighter future of God's reign portrayed in biblical and gospel traditions (Ps 68:6; 79:11; 102:20; 146:7; Isa 42:7; 61:1; Luke 4:18; Matt 27:15-18).

³⁶ See the note to “attentiveness” at 2.2.

³⁷ Josephus uses the same verb (θεραπεύω) for Archelaus' treatment of the mob that he had used for their flattery of him (2.2). This creates an ironic inversion of proper political relationships. Contrast Cato the Elder, who pledged to cure Rome of its softness and luxury by hard training, whereas his rivals put up candidates for office “who carefully attended to the rabble (θεραπεύοντα . . . τὸ πλῆθος [as Archelaus here]) with promises of lenient conduct, as though it [the rabble] demanded to be ruled softly and pleasantly” (*Cato Maj.* 16.4). Although the statesman must make an effort to win the trust of the people, as Josephus himself will do (*War* 2.569), he crosses a fine but crucial line when he appears to be flattering the mob or pandering to them. Cf. Hands 1959; M. Roller 2001: 110.

³⁸ In one of many curious examples of paraphrase, the parallel at *Ant.* 17.205 says only that Archelaus made *no objection* to the crowd's demands, reserving the verb ἐπινεύω (“give the nod,” used here) for a later context (17.208), in which he momentarily feigns agreement with more extreme and particular demands (cf. 2.8 below) before unleashing his anger on the crowds.

³⁹ This spare, non-judgmental notice prepares for the accusation by Archelaus' opponents, before Augustus, that he had merely put on a show of filial piety, mourning by day but partying by night (2.29). It is part of Josephus' art that although he provides a basis for that judgment, he neither affirms nor denies the moral evaluation. Nor does he connect the following riots with this behavior, as the accusers will.

⁴⁰ In Hellenistic and Roman usage, “friends” (φίλοι, *amici*) of kings and governors comprised an inner circle of trusted advisors, whom they consulted for political advice; for the *princeps*, see Crook 1955; Millar 1977: 110-22; and B. W. Jones 1992: 50-8. Josephus has mentioned Herod's interest in choosing the “relatives and friends” (i.e., advisors) of his 3 other sons then in favor for the succession (1.460), and he often presents a ruler or governor striking an advisory meeting (συνέδριον)

tion⁴¹ gathered and began a private mourning, now that the public one for the king had ceased, bewailing⁴² those who had been punished by Herod on account of the golden eagle that had been cut down—the one at the gate of the shrine.⁴³ **6** Now this mourning was not restrained, but piercing⁴⁴ wails,⁴⁵ an orchestrated⁴⁶ dirge,⁴⁷ and pounding⁴⁸ rang through the whole city, as if for men who had—so they asserted—been pointlessly destroyed by fire⁴⁹ for the sake of the ancestral laws⁵⁰ and the shrine. **7** They kept crying out that it was necessary to avenge those men, by means of the ones who had been honored by Herod: first, to terminate the high priest who had been appointed by him,⁵¹ for it was fitting that they should select someone more pious and pure.⁵²

of such “friends”: *War* 1.537, 571, 620; *Ant.* 17.46, 301; *Life* 79 [of his own practice as Galilean commander], 236, 368. That said, “friendship” (φιλία, *amicitia*) was also a highly prized and much-discussed quality (Aristotle, *Rhet.* 2.4.1380b-1381a; Konstan 1997), and Josephus refers to such personal friends of his own (*Life* 13, 418-19; cf. 180). It is impossible from this notice to discern the kind of friends that the ruler Archelaus entertains here. The institution of “friends,” whether as client kings or as political advisors, was according to Shaw (1993, 1995), a function of pre-state conceptions of personal (rather than institutional or official) power that operated broadly around the Mediterranean. Such ancient ways of establishing powerful groups included a ritualized friendship (cf. Herman 1987).

⁴¹ Or “those who had committed themselves to innovate [politically]” (τῶν νεωτερίζειν προηρημένων). See the note to “revolutionary bloc” at 1.4: in political contexts, the verb νεωτερίζω had since the time of Thucydides carried the sense of revolutionizing the state or constitution (νεωτερίσαι . . . τὴν πολιτείαν, 1.115.2) or simply of rebellion (Thucydides 1.97.1, 102.3). Needless to say, “revolution” must be understood in its ancient context, even if glossed as political upheaval (μεταβολή; cf. 2.259; *Ant.* 15.30) or radical innovation, such as the rebels of 66-73 in Josephus’ narrative intend with their usurpation of the aristocracy and withdrawal from Roman rule. Modern conditions of post-industrial revolution, whether theoretical or derived from the American, French, Russian or similar revolutions, do not directly apply and should not be read into this translation—though there are doubtless insights to be gained from comparative study (e.g., Brinton 1952 with Rajak 1983: 104-43).

⁴² This is the first occurrence in *War* of κατολοφύρομαι (cf. 4.339; 6.102)—another component of the “lament” lexicon in this work; see the note to “mourn over” at 1.9.

⁴³ The story is told in 1.648-55. For the distinction between shrine and temple, see the note to “shrine” at 1.10.

⁴⁴ Greek διαπρύσιος; another element of tragic emotion in *War* (only: cf. 2.294; 6.309 and the note to

“mourn over” at 1.9).

⁴⁵ Greek οἰμωγή. Yet another tragic term in Josephus (see note to “mourn over” at 1.9): it has 12 appearances in *War*, 11 in *Antiquities*.

⁴⁶ Pelletier (2.201 n. 3) observes that the colorful adjective ἐγκέλευστος (NB: only here in Josephus; attested in literature before him only in Xenophon, *Anab.* 1.3.13; *Cyr.* 5.5.39; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 4.12.1) evokes the figure of the κελευστής, who kept the beat for rowers. This is far from being a spontaneous outpouring of emotion, therefore.

⁴⁷ Greek θρήνος, another term redolent of Jeremiah and the lament theme (see note to “mourn over” at 1.9). He uses this noun 8 times in *War*, 10 in *Antiquities*.

⁴⁸ Probably beating of the breast, as LCL and M-B: κοπετοί, which occurs only here in Josephus and indicates a kind of striking, is often used elsewhere of mourning women beating their breasts: Plutarch, *Fab. Max.* 17.7; *Nic.* 13.11; *Caes.* 27.6; *Ant.* 84.4; *Mor.* 609b; Philo, *Abr.* 260.

⁴⁹ Although πυρί (“by fire”) is missing in MSS LVRC Lat, and Naber omits it (as also Pelletier), Niese favors MSS PAM in retaining it (so too LCL and M-B).

⁵⁰ In this narrative the phrase (οἱ πάτριοι νόμοι) most immediately recalls the language of the “sophists” who incited their young students to tear down Herod’s eagle (1.649-50). For Josephus every nation has its own ancestral laws (*Ant.* 1.166; 18.41, 53, 344; 20.75, 81; *Apion* 2.155; cf. 2.144): this is generic, rather than special Judean, terminology (*pace* Schröder 1996). For Greek usage see e.g., Oliver 1950; for Josephus, Mason 1991: 100-5 and n. 90.

⁵¹ Josephus relates much less than he knows. In *Antiquities*, which has a sustained interest in the high-priestly succession (e.g., 20.224-51), he will explain that after the affair of the golden eagle Herod not only executed the teachers responsible for the incitement (as in *War* 1.648-55) but also replaced the serving high priest Matthias—as partly responsible for the action—with Ioazar, the brother of Herod’s wife Mariamme II (*Ant.* 17.164-65). This Mariamme and Ioazar were the children of a famous priest named Simon, whose father had come from Alexandria; Herod had earlier appointed Simon

(1.3) **8** Archelaus was becoming provoked⁵³ at these things, but he withheld retaliation in view of the urgency surrounding his departure; he feared that after making an enemy of the rabble,⁵⁴ he would then be detained by the commotion.⁵⁵ He therefore tried by persuasion rather than by force⁵⁶ to calm down the revolutionaries,⁵⁷ and having secretly sent in⁵⁸ the general,⁵⁹ he kept appealing [to them] to desist. **9** This man went into the

high priest (23-5 BCE) in order to facilitate his marriage to Mariamme (*Ant.* 15.320-22). This unelaborated reference to Herod's last high priest (Ioazar) is one of many items that suggests Josephus' knowledge, as he writes the *War*, of a fuller narrative approximating that in *Antiquities*.

⁵² *Ant.* 17.207, characteristically varying the language, has them seek a high priest who is "more concerned with the legal tradition" (νομιμώτερον) and who is pure (rather than "purer"). The point seems to be that these "revolutionaries" reject the use of the high priesthood as a patronage appointment in the king's prerogative. Notice the detachment with which Josephus narrates Herod's meddling with the high priesthood, in spite of his marked concern with the institution: *War* omits many details, leaving intact Herod's image as a powerful Judean king and friend of Rome; in this work Josephus reserves his ire for the *rebels'* appointment of a non-traditional high priest (*War* 4.152-61).

⁵³ Or "furious": passive of παροξύνω, a favorite word in Josephus. Diodorus, the author who uses it next most often, has about 77 occurrences, over against only a few each in Thucydides and Polybius, somewhat more in the orators; Josephus has 112 occurrences: 46 in *War* 1-6 (not bk. 7), nearly a third of these (14) in bk. 2—the build-up to revolt. In bk. 2 Josephus particularly favors the construction "At this (or these things), X became provoked": cf. 2.11, 305, 406. A complementary word-group denotes "aggravation, irritation, indignation": the noun ἀγανάκτησις occurs 16 times in *War* 1-6 (not in bk. 7 or elsewhere in Josephus), the cognate verb 26 times in *War* 1-6 (also not bk. 7) and 54 times in Josephus.

The parallel (*Ant.* 17.208) has Archelaus first indicate agreement with these demands (with the same verb as at *War* 2.4 above), in spite of his anger; in the immediate sequel, however, he sends a general to try to talk the people out of their position.

⁵⁴ Although only those who had been planning revolution would experience his retaliation, Archelaus fears that their appeal to the laws and the shrine (2.6) will have sufficient appeal to the masses that any punishment of the rebels will bring a much larger public reaction. This is a familiar scenario from the Hasmonean history and it will continue throughout the narrative: legitimate rulers (Josephus does not necessarily endorse them wholeheartedly) constantly face the problem of demagogues and

charismatic populists who can lead the "rabble" in any way they like; cf. 1.67, 110, 648; 2.51, 55-6.

⁵⁵ This word (κίνημα) is a key term from the prologue, used 15 times throughout *War* and once elsewhere in Josephus; see the note at 1.4.

⁵⁶ This alternative of coercion or persuasion (βία [or ἀνάγκη] ἢ πειθώ) was an old favorite of Greek rhetoric (Euripides, *Suppl.* 347; Thucydides 4.87.2; Plato, *Apol.* 35d; *Pol.* 296b; 304d; *Gorg.* 517b; *Resp.* 411d; 488d; *Leg.* 722b; Xeonophon, *Mem.* 1.2.10; *Symp.* 8.20; Demosthenes, *Alex.* 17.23.6; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 25.2; 30.14; 75.4; Plutarch, *Thes.* 24.3; *Rom.* 16.1; *Sol.* 16.2; *Them.* 21.2; *Tim.* 19.3; *Mar.* 29.3; Appian, *Bell. civ.* 3.6.42). Paradigmatic episodes include Themistocles' demand for funds from the Andrians, where he points out that he is accompanied by two Gods, Persuasion and Compulsion (Herodotus 8.111), and Isocrates' advice to Philip II of Macedon: use persuasion against Greeks, force against barbarians (*Phil.* 10). The pair appears with some frequency in Josephus: *War* 2.199, 562-63; 3.203; *Ant.* 4.17; 17.10; *Life* 42, 370.

⁵⁷ This is the first occurrence of one of *War's* distinctive usages: οἱ νεωτερίζοντες (literally "innovators" or "changers") to designate those fomenting revolt—foreshadowing the major revolt against Rome that is the main subject of the work. Cf. the artful construction on the same root in the prologue (1.4). The immediate reference here is to 2.5: "those who had been planning to incite revolution [against Archelaus]," Josephus will continue to use this short-hand at *War* 2.407, 410, 417, 494, 652; 3.108, 447; 4.114, 120; 7.4. No other extant ancient text employs the phrase so thematically, though the usage is suggested by Thucydides 1.97.1; 3.72.1; possibly Isocrates, *Antid.* 121; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 5.55.3, 59.1; Diodorus 12.7.1; 13.47.8; Philo, *Spec.* 4.127; *Flacc.* 48; *Somn.* 1.103. Cf. Firpo 1997.

⁵⁸ Of the 8 occurrences of ὑποπέμπω in Josephus, 7 are in *War* 1-2, where there is a pervasive atmosphere of intrigue (1.492, 527; 2.8, 11, 27, 493, 618; also *Ant.* 14.368).

⁵⁹ Although the identity of this "general" (τὸν στρατηγόν) is not immediately clear, the definite article and the fact that Josephus retains the word in *Ant.* 17.209, where he otherwise alters his language, suggests that he intends someone specific. If so, it is easiest to assume (though uncertain) that Josephus has in mind the general who had arrested the young men for cutting

temple, but before he opened his mouth the insurgents⁶⁰ drove him away with rocks, as also those who went in after him to call for self-control.⁶¹ Archelaus kept sending in many men, and they [the rebels] answered everything with rage;⁶² clearly, they were not going to acquiesce if they should make any gains in their number.⁶³

10 And indeed, with the onset⁶⁴ of the Festival of the Unleavened⁶⁵—among Judeans it is called⁶⁶ *Pascha*,⁶⁷ and it hosts a huge number of sacrificial offerings⁶⁸—and while

*Civil strife at
Passover. Ant.
17.213*

down the golden eagle while Herod lay mortally ill (*War* 1.652). That would explain the revolutionaries' hostile reaction to him in 2.9, since they are partisans of those who had removed the eagle (2.6).

⁶⁰ Greek *στασιασταί*, agents of civil strife (see notes to “insurgents” and “civil strife” at 1.10); interchangeable with “revolutionaries” in the previous section. Although Josephus uses a variety of compounds for the agents of sedition (*στασιώτης*, e.g. *Ant.* 13.403; 17.216; *στασιώδης*, e.g. *War* 1.198; 2.91, 225; *Ant.* 17.314; *Life* 17; even once *στασιοποιός*, *Life* 134), as well as the participle *οἱ στασιάζοντες*, this is his preferred form.

⁶¹ Greek *ἐπὶ σωφρονισμῷ*. Although this form of the noun would come into broad use from the 2nd century CE, it is exceedingly rare in Greek before Josephus, outside Philo (*Deus* 182; *Mos.* 1.328; *Leg.* 3.193; *Mut.* 135; *Post.* 97; *Ebr.* 29; *Migr.* 14; *Virt.* 75; otherwise, Aesop's fables [undated]; Strabo, *Geog.* 1.2.9; fragments of Aristoxenus and Hippodamus). His younger contemporary Plutarch has it 6 times. This is the only occurrence in *War*; cf. *Ant.* 17.210; 18.128; 19.16.

⁶² Archelaus' pattern of engagement with hostile masses—repeated attempts at peaceful negotiation, resorting to incremental force only when the mobs are out of control (cf. 2.11-12)—will also be used by Tiberius Julius Alexander as prefect of Egypt (2.493-94). It also anticipates the procedure of the Judean leaders (especially Agrippa II), appealing urgently for calm (2.320-21, 343-405), but eventually being willing to resort to force (2.334, 418-23).

⁶³ An ominous notice, anticipating the massive increase in potential numbers that comes next.

⁶⁴ This kind of phrase, with the aorist or perfect participle of *ἐνίστημι* (here *τῆς τῶν ἀζύμων ἐνστάσης ἑορτῆς*), is Josephus' formulaic way of indicating the beginning of an appointed festival: 1.253; 2.42, 280; 5.99; 6.423; *Ant.* 4.209; 5.172; 8.225, 230; 9.271; 11.109; 13.252; 14.285; 17.237, 254; 20.106, 208. Significantly, this usage is not found in LXX, post-biblical Judean texts, or the gospels, though they refer often to the biblical festivals; it does occur in Nicolaus of Damascus (fr. 99 l. 89; 101 l. 77 [Müller]), as later in Plutarch (*Luc.* 10.1) and Herodian (*Marc.* 2.2.2).

⁶⁵ That is, Unleavened Bread; see following note. Josephus, like the gospel writers, uses the adjective alone; since the Bible required all leaven to be removed

from one's house (Exod 12:7, 19; 13:7; Deut 16:4), I opt for a literal translation, not restricting the object to bread.

⁶⁶ It is unclear whether the present tense implies that Passover sacrifices continued at Josephus' time, without the temple. *Ant.* 2.313 (written in 93-94 CE) seems more explicit: “For which reason, *even still now* we sacrifice thus according to the custom. . .” (*νῦν ἔτι κατὰ τὸ ἔθος οὕτως θύομεν*). See the evidence for post-70 sacrifice (and outside Jerusalem) adduced by Colautti 2002: 229-35.

⁶⁷ Greek *πάσχα* here, though *φάσκα* at *Ant.* 5.20; 14.25 (cf. Colautti 2002: 7). In *Ant.* 2.313 Josephus will explain the word as “passing over” (see Feldman BJP 3 on this passage). The atticizing Greek of the *War* (see Introduction) normally avoids foreign terms, though here Josephus transliterates Aramaic *ܦܫܚܐ* (cf. Hebrew *פסח*). This first reference to Passover in Josephus is important to *War*'s narrative for several reasons. (a) Structure: Josephus uses the word *pascha* only here—10 paragraphs into the second book—and at *War* 6.423—19 paragraphs from end of the second-last book. This reinforces the structural symmetry of the book (see Introduction), which is enhanced by other common language: here, *ἑορτῆς, ἢ πάσχα παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις καλεῖται*; there, *ἑορτῆς, πάσχα καλεῖται*. In both cases he also uses “Unleavened [Bread]” (cf. 6.421), his usual name for the festival in the *War*. Both passages also emphasize the large numbers of participants and sacrifices involved.

(b) Drama: Passover plays a basic role in the development of *War*'s plot. At each new reference to the feast Josephus adds details: large and unruly crowds in Jerusalem require special security (2.224, 244); 3 million or more people, and the Syrian legate on occasion, come to Jerusalem (2.280); the feast commemorates ancient liberation from Egypt (4.402); fatefully, at the Passover of 70 CE there was a temporary lull in the siege and the rebels opened the city gates to pilgrims (5.99); several omens of the temple's destruction had been witnessed at a Passover shortly before the revolt (6.290). Most important: Fate selected Passover, when the city overflowed with inhabitants, as the time to imprison them for the final catastrophe (6.428).

(c) Yet there seems a good deal of literary manipulation in all this. For example, the temple did not fall at Passover, but several months later; even if the Romans

an uncountable crowd⁶⁹ was coming in* out of the countryside⁷⁰ for the [act of] worship, those who were mourning the sophists⁷¹ had united⁷² in the temple, securing provisions⁷³ for the civil strife.⁷⁴ **11** At this Archelaus became anxious,⁷⁵ and before the disease⁷⁶ could

had relaxed their siege during the spring feast of 70 CE and the rebels had welcomed pilgrims, it seems antecedently unlikely that visitors from other cities poured into embattled Jerusalem in their usual numbers that year. Josephus' use of census figures for an earlier Passover (6.422-23)—doubtful any case—to prove the large number caught in that final catastrophe is not convincing. It seems that he has highlighted Passover in both the structure and substance of his narrative for thematic and symbolic reasons, a strategy that occurred also to the author of John (2:13, 23; 6:4; 11:55; 12:1; 13:1; 19:14).

The parallel to this episode (*Ant.* 17.213-14) gives a fuller account of Passover/Unleavened Bread, which reprises the definitive description in *Ant.* 3.248-51 (cf. 5.20; 9.263-64; 10.70-71; 18.29, 90; 20.106). Although in the main description Josephus distinguishes Passover from Unleavened Bread, here and elsewhere in *Antiquities* he equates them, as do 2 Chron 30:1-5, 13 and the synoptic gospels (Mark 14:1, 12; Matt 26:17; Luke 22:1, 7). See Feldman in BJP 3: 302-4 and Colautti 2002: 144-52.

⁶⁸ This appears to be a terse abbreviation of something like the version in *Ant.* 17.13-14, which explains the significance of Passover and elaborates that more sacrifices are offered then than at any other festival. One of only 3 pilgrimage festivals, Passover was evidently considered the most important, and the most likely to be attended by pilgrims from far and wide. This circumstance, and the requirement that the roasted lamb for each family be fully consumed before the next day (cf. 2.30 below: pilgrims bring in their sacrifices for slaughter), along with the other Passover sacrifices, justifies Josephus' remark about an unparalleled volume of sacrifice. See Exod 12:1-12; 34:23-25; Lev 23:4-8; Num 9:1-14; 28:16-20; Deut 16:1-8.

⁶⁹ Since this is the only occurrence of the rare expression *λαὸς ἄπειρος* in Josephus, and it is found in fragment of Nicolaus (Müller *FHG* 3, fr. 101.403), whereas Josephus normally prefers the standard *πλήθος ἄπειρος* (24 occurrences), reserving *λαὸς* for more respectful uses (see the note to "citizenry" at 2.1), it may be that he preserves here a vestige of his source.

⁷⁰ The parallel (*Ant.* 17.214) adds plausibly "and from abroad": Passover was an important pilgrimage festival (*Deut* 16:16).

⁷¹ These are the teachers (Judas and Matthias, as the parallel *Ant.* 17.214), who incited their students to cut

down Herod's golden eagle (1.648-55); cf. 2.5-6 above. All 8 occurrences of "sophist" (*σοφιστής*) in *War* apply to teachers who are inciters, trouble-makers, or disturbers of the peace: these teachers (1.648, 650, 655, 656, this passage; cf. *Ant.* 17.152, 155), Judas the Galilean (2.118, 433), and Judas' son Menachem (2.445). The only other occurrence of the word in Josephus makes clear that he maintains the pejorative connotations made famous by Plato (e.g., *Prot.* 311e-314e): he calls the anti-Judean writers of Egypt "reprobate sophists, deceivers of the young" (*Apion* 2.236). Although he does not label Justus of Tiberias a sophist, his description of him matches the type: see *Life* 36-42 and notes thereto in BJP 9.

⁷² Or "formed a conspiracy," since *συνίστημι* has a causative sense and hostile connotation (2.55, 56, 59, 80, etc.).

⁷³ Or "nutrition for the sedition (or faction)." The meaning of Josephus' Greek (*οἱ . . . πενθοῦντες . . . συνειστήκεσαν τροφήν τῇ στάσει ποριζόμενοι*) may not be as clear as it seems. The parallel (*Ant.* 17.214) says plainly that those mourning the teachers were supplying provisions (also *τροφή*) to the insurgents, and were not ashamed to beg for them. Yet Thackeray seems bemused that anyone would take the language of nourishment so literally: he translates "procuring recruits for their faction" (cf. Vitucci: *cercando proseliti per la sommosa*) and attributes *Ant.* 17.214, where food is clearly envisaged, to a misunderstanding on the part of the Thucydidean literary hack who assisted Josephus' source (n. *b ad loc.*).

⁷⁴ Or "sedition." The definite article is used (*ἡ στάσις*), apparently, because the sedition in question has been anticipated (with different words) in 2.1, 5. The label is of course the narrator's. As discussed in the note to "civil strife" at 1.10, this word has many senses, all bad, and that versatility is likely one reason why Josephus chose it as a Leitmotif. Here the general sense of "civil strife" yields to sedition or uprising against the Herodian heir. See also the note to "civil strife" at 2.418.

⁷⁵ Note the parallel "at this" construction at 2.8, exposing the sudden change in this ruler's emotions, from anger to fear in the face of the masses; Josephus hints here at themes (e.g., the power of the masses and demagogues, the instability of monarchy) that will drive much of his work.

⁷⁶ On sedition (*στάσις*) as political disease, see the note to "diseased" at 1.4.

spread through the whole mob, he secretly sent in^{*77} a tribune⁷⁸ with a cohort,⁷⁹ having commanded them to subdue the leaders of the sedition⁸⁰ by force.⁸¹ At this the entire throng became^{*} provoked⁸² and, throwing rocks, destroyed⁸³ most of the cohort; the tribune barely escaped,^{*} wounded.⁸⁴ **12** After that, as if nothing awful⁸⁵ had happened, they turned back to offering sacrifice.

To Archelaus, the rabble appeared no longer restrainable⁸⁶ without carnage,⁸⁷ and so he let loose^{*} his entire army on them: the infantry through the city in close order⁸⁸ and

*Archelaus’
soldiers kill
3,000. Ant.
17.217.*

⁷⁷ See the note at 2.8.

⁷⁸ “Leader of a thousand” (Greek χιλίαρχος). In the Hellenistic, phalanx-based army, modeled on Alexander’s, this officer commanded 1024 men. But the term was also the Greek equivalent to the Latin for one of 6 senior legionary officers: the *tribunus militum* (H. J. Mason 1974: 99-100, 163) who, in spite of the title, did not have direct command of a unit within the legion (Webster 1985: 113; see further 2.335 below). It was common for client kings to imitate Roman military organization (Keppie 1998: 141), and Shatzman (1991: 198-210) makes a convincing case that King Herod’s army was modeled on Roman lines—a situation that Archelaus would have inherited. Thus, although this man was a senior officer (in status, if not in age) of Archelaus’ army, we cannot describe his precise function; evidently, he was trusted with a force of cohort strength.

⁷⁹ Greek σπεῖρα. In the earlier Hellenistic armies, this unit was one of the 4 256-strong units of that constituted the 1,000-strong χιλιαρχία. It was also, however, the standard Greek equivalent for Latin *cohors* (H. J. Mason 1974: 85, 163), one of the 10 constituent parts of a legion, each comprising 6 centuries of about 80 men (except the first cohort, which had 5 centuries of double—i.e., 160-man—strength). The standard legionary cohort thus included 480 men, the first cohort 800. Auxiliary cohorts and those of allied client kingdoms, such as Herod’s, are usually thought to have been about 500-strong (Keppie 1998: 63-7; Gilliver 1999: 18-22), though at 3.68 Josephus will describe the auxiliary cohorts involved in the Judean war as comprising either 600 infantry + 120 cavalry or 1,000 infantry.

Given that in this case the commander is called a tribune (see previous note), it seems possible that this was a double cohort of 1,000 men, as the later Roman cohorts in Jerusalem may also have been (see 2.444 and note to “Sebastenes” at 2.52).

⁸⁰ See the note at 2.10.

⁸¹ In the parallel (*Ant.* 17.215), Archelaus directs that the leaders of the sedition are to be brought before him.

⁸² See the note and the very similar construction at 2.8.

⁸³ This (διαφθείρω) is one of Josephus’ preferred euphemisms for “kill” (along with ἀνοίρω, appearing

451 times); he uses it 289 times in his works, 90 of these in *War*, 25 in bk. 2.

⁸⁴ This is one of many episodes to come in which ordinary Judean citizens overcome professional military units, whether royal or Roman: e.g., the story of Cestius’ escape from Judean rebels after the near destruction of his Twelfth Legion at *War* 2.551-55. The model for Josephus’ language of narrow escape here (ἐκφεύγει τραυματίας μόλις) may be Polybius’ description of the consul Claudius Marcellus’ son (καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Κλαυδίου τραυματίαν, μόλις καὶ παραδόξως τὸν κίνδυνον διαπεφευγότα; 10.32.6). This immediately precedes a programmatic passage in which Polybius condemns the consul himself (who lost his life) for exposing himself to danger, against all military principles (10.32.6-33.6).

⁸⁵ Partly by his use of the ambiguous δεινός (terrible, awful; awesome, wonderful), Josephus maintains his narrator’s distance. Does he mean to blame the rebels for returning to sacrifice after killing, or obliquely to recognize the casual heroism of the Judean citizenry, who could so calmly return to worship after dispatching a professional military cohort? Both conclusions match prominent themes in the *War*, and this sort of ambiguity continues throughout the work. At any rate, this return to sacrifice prepares for Archelaus’ further attack (2.13).

⁸⁶ Or simply, “no longer restrained.” Josephus uses 3 καθεκτ- forms in *War* (and nowhere else), once each: here καθεκτός; καθεκτικός of the Essenes at 2.135; καθεκτέον of constraints on the historian (to suppress emotion) at 5.20.

⁸⁷ Archelaus’ desire to avoid slaughter (φόνος), authoritatively declared here by the narrator, will be utterly ignored by the opponents of his succession: 2.30 (cf. 2.34), 89. A similar scenario will play out in Alexandria under Tiberius Alexander at 2.493-94, where some of the vocabulary here is employed again.

⁸⁸ The adverb/adjective ἄθροός, rendered “en masse” in non-military contexts (e.g., 2.170, 174), is distributed throughout the 7 books of *War* for a remarkable 45 occurrences, against only 12 appearances in all of Josephus’ later works. It is a characteristic term of this narrative, perhaps highlighting the martial instincts of even ordinary Judeans (cf. Spartans). Josephus tends to cluster occurrences, sometimes ironically in relation

the cavalry up through the plain.⁸⁹ **13** Suddenly attacking the various groups⁹⁰ who were sacrificing,* they destroyed* about 3,000; the remaining mob they thoroughly scattered into the nearby hills. But Archelaus' heralds were following, directing each one to go back home. So they all went away, having deserted the festival.⁹¹

Archelaus
leaves for Rome.
Ant. 17.219

(2.1) 14 Now he himself, along with his mother and his friends Poplas,⁹² Ptolemy,⁹³ and Nicolaus,⁹⁴ went down to the sea.⁹⁵ As procurator⁹⁶ of the royal [holdings]⁹⁷ and steward⁹⁸ of his household [property]⁹⁹ he had left behind Philip.¹⁰⁰ **15** Salome¹⁰¹ also went along,

to the Roman military (1.81, 84; 2.170, 174; 6.80, 82, 86).

⁸⁹ Josephus generally shows a keen awareness of military realities, for example (as here) noting the kinds of terrain best suited for cavalry (flat, open spaces) and those more suited to infantry (close or restricted quarters, steep terrain). Cf. *Life* 116, 397; Frontinus, *Strat.* 2.9, 11.

⁹⁰ Josephus' phrase θύουσιν ἐκάστοις evokes the situation of Passover, at which family heads brought their lambs to the priests for slaughter (see note to "sacrifices" at 2.10). It connects with his earlier remark about the volume of sacrifices (2.10) and with the claim of Archelaus' opponents, that he slaughtered the would-be sacrificers with their animal victims (2.30).

⁹¹ The parallel (*Ant.* 17.218) adds a harsh moral evaluation concerning the rebels' fear, in spite of a rashness grounded in their lack of cultivation (or culture, education, training). In *War* Josephus is more restrained with his moral assessments, in keeping with the promise of the prologue (1.2-3, 6, 9-11).

⁹² Otherwise unknown, though named Ptollos in the parallel, *Ant.* 17.219 (where, however, MSS AME and Latin support πολλοῦς, "many"). Whereas Ptollos would likely be a Greek name derived from Ptolemy (cf. Solin 2003: 232), Poplas would presumably have a Latin derivation, from *popularis* (countryman) or *populus* (people, poplar tree).

⁹³ Ptolemy has been introduced in 1.280, 473 as "the most honored friend" of Herod, a status made clear by his role at the king's death (1.667-69): he reads the codicil that nominates Archelaus king of Judea. *Antiquities* adds a number of details: Herod had placed him in charge of the royal finances (16.191), and he had played a role in court affairs and intrigues (16.197, 257, 321, 330).

⁹⁴ Nicolaus (ca. 64 BCE-ca. 5 CE?) was a highly educated Peripatetic philosopher who served as Herod's closest aide. He wrote among other things a 144-volume *Universal History* (the 10th-cent. Constantian *Excerpta* preserve some of the early volumes), a *Life of Augustus*, an ethnographic collection, an autobiography, and several lost tragedies, comedies, and works of philosophy. He was Josephus' most likely source for this account of the contest over Herod's succession, in which Nicolaus was a player. See notes to 1.574, 629, 637-38. The surviving fragments of Nicolaus' work are collected in Jacoby IIA:

324-430. For his biography of Augustus, see Duttlinger 1911; Bellemore 1984; and Malitz 2003; for Nicolaus in general and on the Judeans, Wacholder 1962, 1989; Stern, *GLAJJ* 1.83-97.

⁹⁵ To Caesarea Maritima (cf. 2.16), the port city built by Archelaus' father Herod, for passage to Rome.

⁹⁶ Greek ἐπίτροπος: bailiff, procurement or revenue officer. This is an intriguing notice for several reasons. First, it seems that Philip did not have a standing role as his brother's "procurator"; the sentence implies, and *Ant.* 17.209 confirms, that he was put in charge only while Archelaus was traveling abroad. The title is either an informal label, its parallel with 2.16 entirely coincidental, or Josephus chose it ironically in preparation for 2.16. Second, Herod himself had reportedly been designated *procurator of all Syria*, to whom other Roman procurators were accountable, by Augustus in about 20 BCE (*War* 1.399). Archelaus may have hoped to maintain or recover that function with his anticipated accession to the throne. Finally, however, at 2.16 (shortly below), we meet a procurator of Syria already in place, Sabinus, who has designs on Herod's royal estates and property, and whose presence justifies Philip's role as the protector of Archelaus' property. Philip is not normally the procurator of Archelaus, but he has been left to fill that role against the mischief of Sabinus.

⁹⁷ Greek τὰ βασιλεία can have many senses, from the palace grounds, in the narrowest sense (M-B, Thackeray LCL), to the whole sphere of royal interests, or the realm (Pelletier). The context seems to suggest something in the middle: the royal properties and their wealth.

⁹⁸ Greek κηδεμών forms a natural pair with the preceding ἐπίτροπος: the two often appear together, sometimes interchangeably (Demosthenes, *Naus.* 12; Arius Didymus, *Phil.* p. 87.2 [Mullach]; Philo, *Congr.* 118; *Somn.* 2.43; *Ios.* 74). The various titles that Josephus gives Essene officials include these two (2.125, 134). See also H. J. Mason 1974: 151.

⁹⁹ Greek τῶν οἰκείων has many possible senses, depending upon whether it is personal (οἱ οἰκεῖοι) or impersonal (τὰ οἰκεῖα), and upon whether the sense is "of the household" (from οἶκος) or "personal, proper" (as distinct from "official royal"). So Thackeray and Pelletier put Philip in charge of Archelaus' "personal interests"; M-B make him responsible for the family property; there seems no reason why the word could

together with her children,¹⁰² as well as the nephews and in-laws of the king,¹⁰³ under the pretense of supporting Archelaus with respect to the succession, but in truth so that they could denounce him for his unlawful actions¹⁰⁴ in the temple.¹⁰⁵

(2.2) 16 Sabinus,¹⁰⁶ the procurator of Syria,¹⁰⁷ met up* with them at Caesarea,¹⁰⁸ while

not include members of the household—relatives and slaves alike. The parallel (*Ant.* 17.219) seems to make a clearer distinction: in his absence, Archelaus entrusted to Philip “everything pertaining to both the household and the rule (or government)” ([Φιλίππῳ] τὰ πάντα ἐφεῖς καθίστασθαι τοῦ οἴκου καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς). Yet in this case, inheritance of the “house” of Herod was the thing to be decided by Caesar (2.83), and so the distinction seems more for rhetorical effect than a clear delineation of distinct properties.

¹⁰⁰ This is Archelaus’ step-brother, roughly the same age, perhaps a year younger (both about 22-23), son of Herod and Cleopatra of Jerusalem (*War* 1.562, 602, 646). Philip has been named in a codicil to Herod’s will as tetrarch of Trachonitis and other districts to the N and E (1.668), a position that he will eventually receive (2.94-5, 167-68). Unlike Antipas (2.20), however, Philip is not portrayed as an initial rival for the throne. He ends up traveling to Rome at Varus’ discretion, to support the case of Archelaus against Antipas (2.83).

¹⁰¹ This sister of the deceased king (her dates are ca. 57 BCE to 10 CE; cf. *Ant.* 18.31) was introduced in 1.181, after which she has been highly active in court affairs and intrigues. For an assessment of her life and connections, see Kokkinos 1998: 177-92.

¹⁰² A remarkably innocent statement, since one of her sons, the otherwise unknown Antipater, will rise to give the major speech against Archelaus’ right of succession (2.26).

¹⁰³ In theory, these might include (a) the sons of Herod’s deceased brothers Phasael, Joseph, and Pheroras, (b) the sons of his sister Salome, (c) the parents and siblings of his wives, and (d) the wives and husbands of his siblings (cf. Kokkinos 1998: 147-245). In practice, the group will have been a small subset of the survivors; presumably, the nephews in question seem to be different from Salome’s sons (separately mentioned). We have no other evidence concerning these fellow travelers; *Ant.* 17.220 speaks more vaguely of Salome’s family and other “relatives” of the king.

¹⁰⁴ Or “for the things criminally undertaken” (περὶ τῶν . . . παρανομηθέντων). The next occurrence of the verb παρανομέω (2.32) will also recall Archelaus’ actions in the temple. Of the verb’s 9 occurrences in *War*, 5 are in bk. 2, indicating the unlawful actions of Archelaus (alleged), Florus (2.317, 333), and Noarus (2.483)—all of whom harm the Judeans. Although the last 3 occurrences (4.355; 5.414; 7.34) all concern the wrongdoing

of Judean rebels, therefore, it is an important part of Josephus’ narrative that those violations (though in no way excusable) occur in connection with severe provocation from powerful figures.

¹⁰⁵ Since bloodshed in the temple and the resulting pollution will be a prominent theme of *War* (4.151, 241-42, 323, 388; 5.397; 6.99, 110), the massacre in the temple (above) is the most likely referent here. Certainly, both Roman and Greek officials would understand a complaint about such massive temple pollution. Cf. Parker (1983: 104-43) on earlier Greek views. On Roman attitudes toward temples, even foreign ones, see for example Livy 29.17-19 (the Locrians’ assertion, fully accepted by the Roman Senate, about the goddess Persephone’s determination to take vengeance on violators of her sanctuary); 35.51.1-3 (impious Greeks attack Romans in Delium, sacred to Apollo [192 BCE], though it was a sacred place and under the “law of sanctuary” [*iure sancto*], which protects people from attack in sacred places). Appian (*Bell. civ.* 4.2.8) has the members of the second triumvirate, determined to punish Caesar’s assassins, invoking the “holy ground of the Senate-house,” the affront to the Gods, and the resulting pollution. Since Archelaus has emphatically forsworn the use of royal authority (2.2), his actions may also be presented to Roman officials as illegal in that they exceeded his mandate. Of governors and client kings the Romans expected chiefly the maintenance of order, and Archelaus will eventually be dismissed (2.111) for his failure in this respect. These issues and others will appear in the complaint by Salome’s party in Rome (2.32).

¹⁰⁶ This is the first mention of the Syrian procurator (see next note) in Josephus, who is our only source for him. His name (*cognomen*) was one of the most popular in the Roman world, with some 1452 attestations (1716 including derivatives) known by the mid 1960s (Kajanto 1982: 30). The name had originally signified roots in the Sabine region of Italy, NE of Rome. But by the time of this episode, Sabines had enjoyed Roman citizenship for nearly 3 centuries, and since the name was transmitted from parents to children it had largely lost its geographical significance (Kajanto 1982: 50-51).

¹⁰⁷ Greek ἐπίτροπος is the standard equivalent of the Latin *procurator*. Sabinus’ fuller title is given in the parallel, *Ant.* 17.221: “the procurator of Caesar (cf. Latin *procurator Augusti*) for affairs in Syria” (Καίσαρος ἐπίτροπος τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ πραγμάτων). See the note at 2.14.

going up¹⁰⁹ into Judea to take Herod's property under his protection.¹¹⁰ But Varus,¹¹¹ whom

Every Roman province had a procurator, normally of equestrian rank, responsible for managing the emperor's property, revenue, and expenses; although he worked under the governor (i.e., proconsul in senatorial provinces; in the others *legatus Augusti pro praetore*), he was accountable directly to the *princeps*: see H. J. Mason 1974: 48-9, 142-43; Lintott 1993: 122. Sabinus was the financial *procurator* for Syria under P. Quinctilius Varus. By mentioning this figure soon after Archelaus' "procurator" Philip (2.14), Josephus highlights the competition between the royal and imperial officials, as well as, in the next two sentences, tensions between the emperor's procurator and the powerful senatorial governor.

For the various kinds of (chiefly equestrian) *procurator* and issues of jurisdiction, see Pflaum 1950, 1960-61, 1982, with Millar 1963; Brunt 1990: 163-87. During Claudius' principate (41-54 CE) the growing tension between financial procurators and senatorial governors was addressed by the *princeps*, who established that procurators had independent jurisdiction over their administrative affairs. He also began to restyle the equestrian governors of provinces such as Judea, who had been called "prefects" (*praefecti*), *procuratores*. Whatever else may have motivated these changes, they seem to have had a centralizing function in binding procurators to himself as his agents (Levick 2001: 48-50). See below, 2.117 and notes.

¹⁰⁸ For Josephus' earlier descriptions of this important city, see *War* 1.80, 156, and esp. 408-15; also the note at § 52 in BJP 9; for archaeology and scholarly analysis see Appendix A to BJP 1a and Levine 1975a; Ringel 1975; Vann 1992; Raban and Holum 1996; Holum, Raban, and Patrich 1999; Richardson 2000; Bennett 2007: 98-126. Herod's magnificent foundation on the site of Strato's Tower (on which see 2.97 below and note)—more than 50 miles (80km) N of a line drawn due W from Jerusalem—had become the provincial base for Roman prefects and procurators following their arrival in 6 CE. Beebe (1983) argues that the city was from the beginning created to further Roman strategic aims: a proximate provincial center and check against Jerusalem, free of Jewish nationalism; a safe port for grain clipper; a bulwark against Parthia; and on all these points a safer alternative to Antioch. On the logistical advantages of Caesarea for the Romans, see also Roth 1999: 175. Bennett (2007: 98-126) compellingly explores Herod's careful configuration of the city as a leading centre for the cult of Augustus and Livia, with the largest temple of its kind during the *princeps*' lifetime.

The common modern designation "Caesarea Maritima," though helpful in distinguishing the city from others of the same name, obscures the variety of ancient

names, such as τῆ παραλίῳ Καισαρείᾳ or τὴν ἐπὶ τῆ θαλάττῃ Καισάρειαν (*War* 1.80; 7.20). Sometimes the ancients called the site Caesarea Stratonis (cf. Καισάρεια ἢ Στράτωνος), recalling the original Strato's Tower (*CIL* 10.867; Ptolemy, *Geog.* 5.16.2; 8.20.14; Ps-Clement formulaically [*Hom.* 1.20.2; 4.1.1; 13.7.2]; Epiphanius, *Mens. pond.* 513); after Hadrian's renaming of the province, often Caesarea Palaestinae (Καισάρεια τῆς Παλαιστίνης; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 7.15.1; cf. 2.10.3). The Hebrew name of the site (the town was captured by Alexander Jannaeus in 103 BCE) seems to have been Migdal Sar (מִגְדַּל שָׂר), which may have endured for one part of the city around the harbor (Stieglitz 1996). Following the war, Vespasian would refund the city as a special colony (*Colonia Prima Flavia Augusta Caesarensis*) as a reward for its services, though apparently without the usual settlement of veterans (Isaac 1998: 94-98). In the narrative of *War* 2 Caesarea becomes increasingly important as a scene of simmering, then exploding, conflict between the Greco-Syrian and Judean residents: e.g., 2.230, 236, 241, 266-270, 284-292, 457.

¹⁰⁹ Lacking a developed map mentality, the ancients mainly used "up" and "down" with reference to topographical elevation and/or the symbolic status of a city (such as Rome). No matter where they were coming from, Judeans normally spoke of "going up" to Jerusalem, because it was in the hills and because it was the chief and holiest city: 2 Kgs 16:5; 18:17; 23:9; 24:10; 2 Chron 2:16; Ezra 1:3, 11; 7:7; Isa 7:1, 6; Mic 4:2; 1 Macc 6:48; 13.2; Matt 20:17-18.

¹¹⁰ Sabinus' portfolio as procurator consisted chiefly of managing the *princeps*' properties, slaves, tenants, and revenue; but it was hardly possible to separate that *patrimonium* from the provincial treasuries (*fisci*), which were also in the emperor's control (see note to "treasuries" at 2.111). Herod had not bequeathed his estate to the *princeps*, but only 1,000 talents (1.646); his strenuous efforts to anoint an heir imply that this successor would inherit the estate. With Archelaus' fall (2.111), however, the dynasty's wealth will be confiscated to the imperial treasury. As the following sentences make clear, Herod had kept most of his royal fortune in mountain fortresses (see the note to "high forts" in 2.17) that were extremely difficult of access.

Sabinus' motives here are not perfectly clear. The language of "protection" or "holding in security" (ἐπὶ φυλακῆ) suggests that he wants to assume responsibility for the property, pending Caesar's decision about the succession, rather than leaving it in Herodian hands where it might suffer depletion (cf. Smallwood 1981: 106). The situation is complicated, however, by the governor Varus' opposition to Sabinus and firm support of Archelaus'

Archelaus had sent for with urgent pleas, arrived just then and kept him from going further. **17** In order to oblige Varus, therefore, at that point Sabinus neither pressed on to the high forts¹¹² nor shut the treasuries of Archelaus' father's¹¹³ property to Archelaus; he kept promising that he would wait until Caesar's decision, and he passed some time at Caesarea. **18** But as soon as those who were impeding him left—the one [Varus] had departed for Antiocheia,¹¹⁴ and Archelaus had sailed to Rome—he rushed with haste¹¹⁵ to Hierosolyma. He took possession* of the royal goods¹¹⁶ and then, sending for both the stronghold-commanders and the treasurers, kept trying to track down the accounts of the property and seize the high forts.¹¹⁷ **19** The guards were certainly not ignoring Archelaus' instructions, however: they stood fast, protecting each [post], and attributing this protective action to Caesar rather than to Archelaus.¹¹⁸

*Sabinus
attempts to seize
Herod's assets.
Ant. 17.222*

claim to hold the property until Caesar should decide (2.17), and by the following story (2.17-19), which appears to indicate that Sabinus' motive was greed and personal gain (cf. *πλεονεξία* at 2.41). We are left to assume that Sabinus tried to seize the opportunity of an allied king's death for his advantage on the pretext of keeping the property safe.

It is odd, and Josephus presents it as scandalous, that Sabinus should have expected to get away with such a highly visible seizure of enormous assets. Yet the case of the British Iceni in 61 CE (recent for *War's* Roman audience) may provide a parallel: the procurator Catus Decianus reportedly oversaw the massive and illicit appropriation of King Prasutagus' property by Roman centurions, an action that laid the ground for the famous revolt led by the king's widow Boudicca (Tacitus, *Ann.* 14.31-32; Brunt 1990: 166). See further 2.41 and notes there.

¹¹¹ Publius Quinctilius Varus, infamous to Josephus' Roman audience for his later catastrophic loss of 3 legions in the Teutoburg Forest of Germany (9 CE), is first mentioned in the prologue (1.20; see note there). At the time of the events described here, the former consul (13 BCE), was imperial legate (*legatus Augusti pro praetore*) in the important province of Syria. He has recently been introduced into the narrative (1.617-40) as a judge in Herod's trial of his son Antipater.

¹¹² Herod's principal mountain forts (cf. also 4.173 for the equation) were Cypros at Jericho, Herodium (1.417-21), Hyrcania (1.161, 167, 364, 664), Machaerus (1.161, 167, 171-72; 7.163-209), and Masada (1.237-38, 264-66, 286, 292, 293-94, 303). For the relevant archaeology see Appendix A to BJP 1a. Evidently (cf. 2.18), Herod's proper treasuries were not in Jerusalem, but distributed among these nearly impregnable fortresses—a wise move on his part, since the temple, though a stronghold in its own right, had frequently been raided (*Apion* 2.80-84).

¹¹³ That is, Herod's.

¹¹⁴ According to 2.40, in a peculiar flashback, Varus goes to Antioch at this point and returns to Jerusalem

with 3 legions, one of which he will leave there against the possibility of sedition. Antioch on the Orontes, near the N extremity of the province, was founded in 301 BCE by the Macedonian Seleucus I Nicator, along with Seleucia, Laodicea, and Apamea, in honor of his father Antiochus. After Pompey's arrival in 64 BCE, it became the seat of Roman administration of the new province of Syria, and after Augustus the base of the *legatus Augusti* (see A. H. M. Jones 1937: 227-95; Millar 1993: 236-56; Pollard 2000: esp. 277-79); currently Varus. According to Josephus (*War* 3.29), the city was third in size and magnificence, next to Rome and Alexandria. Although Antioch was a staging ground for campaigns to the E and S, there is no clear evidence that the city itself housed a legionary garrison (Wheeler 1996: 230-31; Pollard 2000: 278-79).

¹¹⁵ The expression *διὰ τάχους* was not common in ancient authors. Although used occasionally by Plato, Demosthenes, Aristotle, and others, it was a Thucydideanism (18 occurrences), picked up by Diodorus (2 times) and especially Dionysius (15 times) before Josephus, who has it 12 times, only in *War* (cf. *κατὰ τάχος* at 2.616 ["in haste"]).

¹¹⁶ Or "royal property or precincts," therefore "palace" (so Thackeray, for *τὰ βασιλεια*). In any case, the royal goods that Sabinus seized in Jerusalem would presumably have been kept in the Herodian palace in the upper W of the city (cf. 1.402), since they are distinct from the temple treasures. Therefore, taking these goods would have required control of the palace.

¹¹⁷ This sentence is chiasmic: [a] (commanders of) strongholds, [b] treasurers; [b'] accounts, [a'] high forts. Thus, the strongholds are linked with the high forts, on which see the note at 2.17.

¹¹⁸ This is portrayed as a shrewd move on the part of the guards: whereas Archelaus has no confirmed status yet, a loophole that Sabinus tries to exploit, Caesar's orders could not be contravened. Though frustrated for the moment, Sabinus will try again (2.41), once he has a larger force at his disposal and Varus is again absent.

Antipas' entourage leaves for Rome. Ant. 17.224

(2.3) 20 Meanwhile Antipas,¹¹⁹ who in turn was contending over the kingship, went off into the fray*.¹²⁰ he reckoned the will in which he himself had been inscribed as king¹²¹ to be more authoritative than its codicil.¹²² Salome had promised earlier that she would take his side,¹²³ as had many of the relatives sailing with Archelaus.¹²⁴ 21 He was also winning over their mother¹²⁵ and Ptolemy the brother of Nicolaus, who seemed to be a balancing weight¹²⁶ because of Herod's trust, for he in fact had been most honored among his friends.¹²⁷ Most of all, however, he trusted Irenaeus¹²⁸ the advocate,¹²⁹ on account of his forcefulness with words.¹³⁰ On this basis he evaded those who were admonishing him

¹¹⁹ Antipas (b. ca. 25 BCE) was introduced at 1.562 as the son of Herod and his Samaritan wife Malthace, therefore full brother of his rival for the throne, Archelaus. Both sons (with Philip—2.14, 83) had been educated in Rome (*Ant.* 17.20-21), returning together near the end of Herod's life (*War* 1.602). See notes at the earlier references and Hoehner 1972; Kokkinos 1998: 228-35, 266-69; Jensen 2006, 2007. In one version of Herod's will Antipas was named as king, to the disadvantage of his older brothers (1.646), though in the final version (1.664, 668) he was designated tetrarch with Archelaus as king of Judea.

¹²⁰ That is, he also went to Rome, as the parallel at *Ant.* 17.224 spells out, for the hearing to settle Herod's will.

¹²¹ The will described in 1.646 had indeed designated Antipas king, though it was itself a relatively late development: earlier versions had named Antipater (1.451), Antipater, Alexander, and Aristobulus (1.458-60), and Antipater again (1.550-52, 573). Moreover, Josephus describes the final amendment, which made Antipas only tetrarch and Archelaus king, with the word "again" and the verb ἐπανορθόω, suggesting a correction or emendation (1.664). Nevertheless, he will also speak of these last changes as codicils or supplements to the will (1.667-68), leaving a possible ambiguity for his literary audience, to be rhetorically exploited by the contenders in the narrative.

¹²² Herod's final amendment to his will (naming Archelaus as king) came at 1.664, shortly before his death.

¹²³ This is the first we hear of Salome's offer.

¹²⁴ Many of these relatives will testify against Archelaus at 2.33.

¹²⁵ Malthace (see note to Antipas at 2.20), mother of both Antipas and Archelaus.

¹²⁶ Note Josephus' use of the same metaphor (ῥοπή—the weight in a scale) of persons at 2.52 below.

¹²⁷ For "friends" see the note at 2.4. Ptolemy's identity is a puzzle. He seems to be someone other than the Ptolemy recently mentioned (2.14, 16), given the explanation that *this* man was Nicolaus' brother (something not mentioned of the other, though he and Nicolaus have been prominent in book 1) and because the other Ptolemy is and will remain a decided partisan of

Archelaus (2.24, 64, 69). Nevertheless, when Josephus comments on Herod's trust (πίστις) of *this* Ptolemy, and especially when he claims that he was the "single-most honored among Herod's friends" (γεγόνει γὰρ δὴ τῶν φίλων ἐκείνου τιμιώτατος), one cannot help but note the correspondence with Archelaus' Ptolemy, who was called in *War* 1.473 "the single-most honored friend" (ὁ τιμιώτατος τῶν φίλων) of King Herod, in precisely the same language. Cf. *Ant.* 16.257, where he and another man are "the most faithful friends (οἱ πιστότατοι)" of the king. Is it possible that Herod had two single-most honored and trusted friends named Ptolemy, and that Josephus neglected to mention this one, Nicolaus' brother, before now—in both *War* and in the extensive revisions of *Antiquities*? Rather more likely: Josephus has either confused his source material or, in the interest of writing a compelling story, deliberately manipulated it to build up this Ptolemy's credentials.

¹²⁸ The Greek name means lit. "peaceful one." Here is another puzzle: this orator, on whom Antipas is said to rely so exclusively, will not appear again in the following narrative; the major speech in favor of Antipas will instead be given by Antipas' relative, Antipater (2.26-33), who appears only in that episode. The same switch from Irenaeus to Antipater will occur in the *Antiquities* parallel (17.226, 230-40), which adds the detail (17.226) that Irenaeus was the one who most insistently urged Antipas to consider a bid for the kingship.

¹²⁹ Or "orator," possibly "teacher of rhetoric" (Greek ῥήτωρ). In the educational system of the Greco-Roman élite, the rhetor stood at the top level, taking advanced students from age 14 or 15 for as long as 6 years (often less), until they had acquired the rhetorical formation that was necessary for success in public life. From Josephus' time we have a book of preliminary exercises in rhetoric (the *Progymnasmata* by Aelius Theon), a manual produced by an advanced teacher of rhetoric in Rome (Quintilian's *Education of the Orator*), and relevant papyri from Egypt. See Marrou (1956: 194-205, 284-91) and, for the E empire and papyri, Cribiore 2001: 56-7.

¹³⁰ Greek διὰ δεινότητα λόγων. Josephus uses the technical language of rhetoric for describing the third *genus* or style: in addition to the fine (ἰσχνόν, *subtile*) and the medium (μέσον, ἀνθηρόν, *medium*) is the

to yield to Archelaus in view of seniority and the codicil.¹³¹ **22** And in Rome the eager support of all the relatives, for whom Archelaus was an object of hatred,¹³² switched to him.¹³³ Each one was longing for self-government,¹³⁴ preferably,¹³⁵ supervised by a Roman general,¹³⁶ but if this should fail, [each] wanted Antipas to be king.¹³⁷

grand (ἄδρὸν, βαρὺ, *vehemens, sublime, grandiloquum*), which ‘Demetrius’ (*Eloc.* 36) divides between excellent (μεγαλοπρεπής) and forceful (δεινός), without clearly distinguishing between these two. See Lausberg 1998: 472-77. This Irenaeus, then, was especially talented in giving speeches of gravity and depth. Curiously (see previous note), Josephus opts not to include (i.e., compose) Irenaeus’ oration in defense of Antipas.

¹³¹ That is: the final adaptation of the will (1.668-69) had named Archelaus as king; as the oldest of the surviving brothers (1.646), he might normally have been expected to inherit the throne, had he faced no other impediments (see notes to 1.31 below).

¹³² The Greek syntax indicates that all the relatives hated Archelaus, not merely that all those who hated him switched to Antipas. One might have doubts that the mother of the two hated her son Archelaus, however, since Josephus has just said (2.21) that Antipas *gradually* won her over.

¹³³ The “switch” is necessary because many of the relatives had sailed to Rome in Archelaus’ entourage (2.20). See further 2.33, however, where “most of the relatives” will indeed testify against Archelaus.

¹³⁴ Greek αὐτονομία: literally “[the state of living by] one’s own laws.” It may seem contradictory to speak of autonomy under Roman supervision, but it was not for many ancient thinkers. Plutarch favored, or accepted, a combination of external Roman rule of the Greek cities (*Mor.* [*Praec.*] 814c-e) with internal self-government (*Mor.* [*Praec.*] 814e-816a): it was, after all, the Roman emperor Nero who had “made the Greeks free and autonomous” (*Flam.* 12)—though that status did not continue under Vespasian. Plutarch’s view, much like Josephus’, was that Roman external control quashes internal factionalism, sedition, and tyrannical ambition, thus freeing the people to observe their own laws in peace, under their own leaders (cf. Swain 1996: 145-83). In *War* 1.170, accordingly, the Judean people have reportedly welcomed the arrival of the Romans, in the persons of Pompey and Gabinius, to free them from the always-contested native monarchy, which is there replaced by a native “aristocracy” and self-rule—under Roman supervision. Again in 2.80, 91, a Judean delegation (supported by 8,000 expatriate Judeans in Rome) will ask Augustus that their nation be annexed to the province of Syria and supervised by a Roman governor, *so that* they might have “autonomy” and freedom—viz., *from* the imminent tyranny of Herod’s quarreling sons. Given Josephus’ preference for aristocracy (i.e., government by his own

class), these passages appear to intersect largely with his own outlook. In the sweeping context of *Antiquities*, he is able to connect this form of government with the best ancient Judean traditions (*Ant.* 6.36), even when under foreign—Persian and Macedonian—domination (11.111); cf. Mason 2003a, 2008b.

D. R. Schwartz (2002) offers a complicated analysis according to which, although the terms “freedom” and “autonomy” were interchangeable at Josephus’ time of writing, he and his “assistants” first used them with an allegedly classical distinction (viz., *autonomy* is limited and granted by a greater power, whereas *freedom* is absolute), in *War*; then in the *Antiquities* parallels, which Josephus took over more directly from Nicolaus, he followed the tendency of his own time toward interchangeable usage, though even there he used a different source in immediate juxtaposition to Nicolaus, which kept the meanings separate. Besides its inherent complexity, this reconstruction appears to run aground on: *War* 2.53 (below), where it is the rebels who desire to take “autonomy” for themselves forcibly; the problem of audience understanding (if indeed Josephus uses language with private or anachronistic meaning, how would his audience understand?); the routine diction-variation between *War* 2 and its *Ant.* 17 parallels (i.e., the many other changes of wording cannot be attributed to such differences of meaning, or to sources); and Josephus’ consistent concern for “traditional” aristocratic-élite governance under foreign rule, much as Plutarch and Dio favored. In *War*, especially, “freedom” is a key term and its relation to “slavery” (i.e., Who is really free, and who is a slave—to whom?) is an issue of ongoing debate (e.g., 2.345-401 with notes). According to Josephus and his respectable peers, autonomy and true freedom are found in protection from Judean would-be monarchs (tyrants), through Roman supervision of the local aristocracy, rather than in absolute political independence vis-à-vis foreign powers.

¹³⁵ The adverb προηγουμένως occurs only here and at 1.517 in Josephus. It seems to be a relatively new formation, not found in the classical authors, but once each in Theophrastus, Diodorus, and Strabo, then with increasing frequency: Philo (5), Plutarch (6), Epictetus (5), Galen (5), Athenaeus (2).

¹³⁶ Or “commander.” Though the Greek στρατηγός can have many senses (H. J. Mason 1974: 155-63), I translate as “general” for consistency where possible—since that is the primary sense in the *War*: the term seems important to Josephus, who claims it for himself and his

Caesar
convenes
council. Ant.
17.229

(2.4) 23 Sabinus¹³⁸ was also collaborating with them towards this end, by means of letters denouncing Archelaus before Caesar while praising Antipas greatly. 24 Having marshaled¹³⁹ their complaints, Salome and her group entrusted them to Caesar; after this, Archelaus wrote up the summary points¹⁴⁰ concerning his own rights and sent along* both his father's signet-ring and the statements¹⁴¹ via Ptolemy.¹⁴² 25 Now after Caesar had first considered¹⁴³ in private the claims of both sides, the magnitude of the kingdom,¹⁴⁴ the amount of the revenue, and over against these the number of Herod's progeny,¹⁴⁵ and when he had also read in advance the letters from Varus and Sabinus concerning these things,¹⁴⁶ he assembled* a council¹⁴⁷ of the Romans who were in office,¹⁴⁸ in which for the first time

fellow-commanders (2.562; 3.28, 340, 359, 386, 390, 393, 400, 436) as counterparts to the Roman generals (1.8; 3.2, 97). The governor (*legatus*) of Syria was also a supreme general, with 3 or 4 legions under his command.

¹³⁷ This sentence has an optative verb in the protasis, with εἰ (future less vivid condition), but a simple tense (imperfect) in the apodosis, where we might have expected another optative with ἄν. Many explanations are possible (e.g., since the first part of the sentence and apodosis are not supported by the context, they may have been an afterthought), but the net effect is to strengthen the main point: in the present circumstances, they wanted Antipas as king.

This passage anticipates, ironically, later struggles in *War* for “freedom”. For example, at 2.442-243 the rebels articulate clearly their disgust with Manaem: having defected from the Romans out of a love for freedom, they will not tolerate this home-grown tyrant over them! Here the relatives find their best hope for freedom in “self-government” under foreign rule, or at the very least under a more benign monarch.

¹³⁸ See the note at 2.16.

¹³⁹ Although συντάσσω might mean simply “compose” or “compile” in Josephus, it was also the customary term for drawing up battle lines. I translate it thus in the context of the palpable build-up to a confrontation in Rome.

¹⁴⁰ Like “marshaled” in the same sentence, Greek κεφάλαια in such a context is rhetorical terminology, for the headings of an argument: cf. Dionysius, *Comp.* 1; Strabo 1.2.31; Josephus in the prologue, 1.30 (with note); cf. Lausberg 1998: 42, 107, 174, 182.

¹⁴¹ Or “papers” (Thackeray LCL) for τοὺς λόγους in the known Greek MSS, presumably referring to Herod's wills and related documents. The Latin has *rationes administrationis* (“administrative accounts”), and Thackeray plausibly suggests that the translator found τοὺς λογισμούς in his Greek text (“accounts, reckonings,” as at *Ant.* 17.228) in his Greek text. Reading “accounts” would make good sense of the context, in which the next sentence has Augustus pondering the extent of the kingdom and its revenue. Yet the principle of varying diction equally supports the possibility that Josephus

deliberately opted for a vaguer word here, a more specific one in *Antiquities*.

¹⁴² This picks up 1.669, where Herod's will instructed Archelaus, his heir-designate, to convey his wills and seal-ring to Caesar as proof of Herod's support. Archelaus follows his father's example of trusting Ptolemy with the seal-ring and wills (cf. 1.667). For Ptolemy, see the note at 2.14.

¹⁴³ All 4 occurrences of the middle-passive προσκέπτομαι in Josephus fall within *War* 2 (2.31, 396, 598). They cannot come from a single source, however, because the period covered includes Josephus' own career in Galilee. The active voice προσκοπέω occurs twice elsewhere, however (*War* 4.320; *Ant.* 18.321), and once in *War* 2 (2.257).

¹⁴⁴ For τὸ μέγεθος τῆς βασιλείας, assuming Caesar's early impression that it might be too risky to give one of *these* men the whole of Herod's kingdom—a reading supported by the following reference to income, and by Caesar's ultimate decision to divide the territory (2.93-100); cf. Thackeray and M-B. One might as easily translate “the importance of the [this] kingship/realm” (so Pelletier; Vitucci has a suitably ambiguous “la grandezza del regno”), referring in part to the strategic position of the client king selected, very near the border with the Parthian empire.

¹⁴⁵ Apparently, then, Caesar is already contemplating what will be his final decision: partition of Herod's kingdom and wealth among the family (2.95-100).

¹⁴⁶ According to the parallel in *Ant.* 17.229: concerning the amount of property and revenue involved. The point appears to be about Caesar's wish to prevent any one person from becoming too powerful.

¹⁴⁷ Greek συνέδριον, which in Josephus as in other Greek writers normally refers to any sort of committee, council, meeting or assembled body; it does not have the fixed meaning of the famous Aramaic loan-word סנהדרין (Sanhedrin), used in rabbinic literature (e.g., the Mishnah tractate *Sanhedrin*) for an established court in Jerusalem. In Rome and the Greek East it was common for rulers to summon ad hoc advisory councils or committees, comprising dignitaries, relatives, and friends (cf. 2.81), though final decisions always rested with the ruler

he also seated Gaius,¹⁴⁹ the son adopted¹⁵⁰ from Agrippa¹⁵¹ and Iulia his daughter,¹⁵² and he gave over* the floor¹⁵³ to them.¹⁵⁴

(*War* 1.537, 559, 571, 620, 640; *Ant.* 12.103; 14.167-81; 16.357-67; 17.46; 20.200, 203, 216-17; *Life* 236, 368; McLaren 1991; Sanders 1992: 472-81). In his earlier writings Josephus formulaically speaks of “assembling” or “striking” such a council (ἄθροίζω συνέδριον), as here (cf. *War* 1.571, 620; 2.81); in his later writings he will prefer the verb καθίζω (“seat”): *Ant.* 20.200, 202, 216; *Life* 236, 368.

In this case, the council functions as the *consilium principis*, a semi-official body of friends (*amici*) and advisers, summoned as needed, especially for specific legal cases, that was established by Augustus (Dio 52.15) and continued by his successors (Suetonius, *Tib.* 55); for a survey of 1st-century developments see Crook 1955: 31-55. In Josephus’ time at Rome, following the scandals of Nero’s later years (including the indictment and execution of his formerly indispensable counselors) and the chaos of 69, the *consilium principis* had been restored to an important role; its continuity through successive monarchs contributed much to the political stability of the Flavian period.

¹⁴⁸ Note the very similar language in the continuation of this hearing at 2.81.

¹⁴⁹ Gaius Iulius Caesar (20 BCE-4 CE) appears only here in the *War*. Bearing the same name as the famous dictator Iulius Caesar, he was the oldest child of Augustus’ associate M. Vipsanius Agrippa and daughter Iulia (see following two notes). Gaius and his younger brother Lucius were both adopted by their grandfather in 17 BCE, a sure sign of Augustus’ hope that one of them would succeed him. The story time here was a highly auspicious moment in Gaius’ life: only the year before (5 BCE) he had assumed the toga of manhood (*virilis*) at age 15 and been designated future consul; from that time he was reportedly given the honorary title *princeps iuventutis* by the equestrians. In 1 BCE he would be given consular authority to negotiate with the Parthian king over the disputed throne of Armenia, where the Parthians had installed their man, Tigranes. Although young Gaius apparently resolved the dispute diplomatically, naming a mutually agreeable successor (Ariobarzanes) as Tigranes had died, he would not live to inherit from Augustus. Seriously wounded in 2 CE, he died of his wounds in Lycia, in February, 4 CE. See Suetonius, *Aug.* 26, 29, 64-5, 67, 93; Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.3; Dio 54.8, 18; 55.9.

Josephus appears to expect an audience that is well informed about famous personalities from the Roman past, who should know that Gaius’ sphere of activity had been in the E, making his attendance at this meeting of

eastern nobles in Rome all the more significant. Further, his status as deliberately groomed heir highlights the inevitable problem with monarchy (i.e., succession), which is the issue of the larger narrative: Herod’s monarchical succession woes are thus ironically intertwined with Augustus’, and Josephus develops a theme that he will pursue with vigor in the *Antiquities* (cf. Mason 2003a, 2008b).

¹⁵⁰ This is the only occurrence of the adjective θετός in Josephus.

¹⁵¹ Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa (ca. 63-12 BCE), lifelong friend and confidant of the young Octavius/Octavianus (later “Augustus”), has not figured prominently in *War* (contrast the parallel *Ant.* 15-16): it is an index of Josephus’ assessment of audience knowledge that he can mention him without introduction (cf. 1.118, 400 and notes). After a remarkable military-naval career and having acquired political power nearly equal to that of the *princeps*, he divorced his second wife to marry Augustus’ only daughter Iulia in 21 BCE. See Suetonius, *Aug.* 16, 25, 29, 35, 42, 63, 64, 66, 94, 197; Velleius Paterculus 2.59; Dio 48.20, 28, 49; Appian, *Bell. civ.* 5.96; and the autobiography by Nicolaus of Damascus, preserved in fragments (Jacoby IIA: 324-430 for Nicolaus’ fragments, including those of his biography of Augustus; important fragments on Agrippa include those from Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *De virtutibus et vitiis* 1.326, 7, 13, 23, 356.24; 2.308.10, 312.1, 351.11; *De insidiis* 156.9, 11, 30).

¹⁵² Augustus’ only daughter, by Scribonia, Iulia (39 BCE-14 CE) was raised by the *princeps* and his new wife, Livia Drusilla (herself known after her adoption into the *gens Iulia*, in 14 CE, as Iulia Augusta; Josephus often calls her retrospectively by the more honorific name; cf. 2.167-168). Although the younger Iulia appears only here in *War*, Josephus assumes that her name needs no introduction. At about age 14 or 15 she married her cousin Marcus Claudius Marcellus, but then, after his death (23 BCE) and a period of widowhood, she married M. Vipsanius Agrippa in his early 40s (see previous note). She bore Agrippa 5 children, one after his death; the oldest was Gaius (see note to his name above). A year after Agrippa’s death (12 BCE), Iulia married the future emperor Tiberius, but the notorious failure of that marriage and subsequent charges of adultery led to her banishment by Augustus in 2 BCE, which her birth mother voluntarily shared. She was never reconciled with Augustus or Tiberius, but died in exile soon after Augustus, in 14 CE. See Suetonius, *Aug.* 63-5; Dio 53.27; 54.6; 55.9-10; Macrobius, *Sat.* 2, 4, 6-7; Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.35.

Speech of
Antipater
against
Archelaus. Ant.
17. 231

(2.5) 26 At this point Antipater the son of Salome¹⁵⁵ took his place—of those opposing Archelaus, he was the most forceful in speaking¹⁵⁶—and began denouncing* him, asserting that whereas by his words Archelaus was here contending for the kingship, by his actions¹⁵⁷ he had long ago become king; now he was dissembling¹⁵⁸ within the hearing of Caesar—the arbiter of the succession,¹⁵⁹ for whom he did not wait! 27 At least [they should ask] whether following the death of Herod he had: secretly sent in¹⁶⁰ agents¹⁶¹ to fasten the diadem on him;¹⁶² presumptuously sat upon the throne¹⁶³ and used the title of¹⁶⁴ king; rearranged units of the army and granted promotions;¹⁶⁵ 28 further,

¹⁵³ Josephus has λόγος (“word, speech”).

¹⁵⁴ I.e., to the disputing parties: Archelaus, on the one hand, and his opponents (Salome, her son, Antipas, and others) on the other. What follows is a rhetorical *tour de force* on the part of Josephus, allowing each side a seemingly clever and compelling case. Though it is entirely likely that the historical event witnessed rhetorical display, speeches in historical works are normally crafted by authors for their characters and do not simply convey what was actually said; see the note to “as follows” at 2.344.

¹⁵⁵ That this Antipater should be given such a major speech is a surprise, since he has been introduced only incidentally in bk. 1, as the beneficiary of an arranged marriage with one of Herod’s daughters by Mariamme I (1.566; cf. Ant. 17.22), named Cypros (Ant. 18.138), and then anonymously among Salome’s children who accompanied her to Rome (2.15). He will not appear in the narrative again. The audience must simply accept Josephus’ implication that he was the lead advocate for Salome’s (and Antipas’) side against Archelaus because he was the ablest orator.

¹⁵⁶ See the note concerning Irenaeus’ “forcefulness with words” at 2.21. This is indeed a powerful speech as portrayed, citing both what Archelaus actually had done, albeit maliciously interpreted, and things that he might credibly be charged with, before the distant Caesar, as a rash young man with a claim on kingship (as Ant. 17.233 elaborates). The literary audience knows, however, that the seemingly authoritative voice of the narrator has portrayed Archelaus as trying desperately to avoid both the appearance of presumption and the application of force, the very things of which he stands accused here, if only for pragmatic reasons (2.3, 8, 11-12).

¹⁵⁷ This contrast between words (λόγοι) and deeds (ἔργα) is common in Josephus (War 1.288; 5.361, 457; 6.200; Ant. 2.253, 272; 3.306; 5.289; 10.39; 15.281; 17.47, 220, 230; 18.177, 260; 19.63, 101, 156; Apion 2.12, 169-72, 182, 241) and among moral philosophers of his time (Seneca, Ep. 20.2; Dio, Or. 68, 70.3; Epicetetus in Arrian, Diatr. 3.26.8-23; Lucian, Herm. 9-19). It supports the Platonic contrast between seeming and really being, which Josephus develops throughout (see the note to “titles” at 2.2), though the words/deeds con-

flict is much older (Homer, Il. 9.443; 19.242 for μῦθος/ἔργον; Aesop, Fab. 22.1-3; commonly in Thucydides, e.g. 1.39.2, 69.5, 128.3, 144.2; 2.65.9; 4.67.1, 70.2, 87.1; 7.48.3; 8.46.3).

¹⁵⁸ Greek κατείρωνεύεσθαι. Compounds of εἰρων-, the root from which English ultimately derives “irony,” are relatively frequent in War (1.84, 209; 2.26, 29, 153, 298, 522; 4.127, 152, 279, 334, 340, 342; 5.233, 242, 531; 7.270). Antiquities-Life has only 3 occurrences: Ant. 15.279, 374; Life 367. This language is closely related to that for “figured speech” (built on the σχῆμα- root: 2.29, 259, 603; 4.154, 265, 336, 340). The presence of such language is related to War’s (tragic-) ironic character (see Introduction); as part of that world of discourse, Josephus is alert to word plays and dissimulation, not least on the part of the rebel leaders (cf. the references from bk. 4 above). See Mason 2005a.

¹⁵⁹ See 2.2 and notes.

¹⁶⁰ See the note at 2.8.

¹⁶¹ Perhaps coincidentally, the only other occurrence of this word (ἐγκάθετος) is in a nearly symmetrical position at the end of War: 6.286.

¹⁶² At 2.3 (see notes there), the only other reference to the episode in this work, Archelaus insists that he rejected the diadem when the soldiers “were fastening it on him”; the present participle may mean that they intended or began to do so. In any case, we have here an example of the way in which a single incident might be interpreted rhetorically in opposite ways: Archelaus claims that when others spontaneously fastened the diadem on him, he rejected it; his opponents focus on the act of fastening, and claim that they did this at his direction. In the fuller parallel (Ant. 17.230-39), this accusation by Antipater is omitted. That may be because Josephus has changed the earlier story (17.202), such that (Archelaus reports only that) the soldiers had been eager to fasten the diadem on him, but he declined the offer—removing any basis for the interpretation here.

¹⁶³ According to 2.2 he had indeed greeted the crowds from a raised golden throne. Cf. Ant. 17.232.

¹⁶⁴ The basic meaning of χρηματίζω has to do with money and business or public affairs (“conduct business, negotiate, deliberate”), and MSS MLVRC may assume this sense when they supply ὧς: “conduct affairs, delib-

whether he had capitulated¹⁶⁶ to the populace in everything, whatever they expected to get—“from a king”¹⁶⁷—, even releasing those who had been confined¹⁶⁸ by his father on the most serious charges.¹⁶⁹ “Now he comes* here, to claim from his master¹⁷⁰ the shadow of kingship, of which he has already seized for himself the substance,¹⁷¹ thus making Caesar lord not of the actual affairs¹⁷² but only of the titles!”¹⁷³ **29** He further tried to attach scandal to¹⁷⁴ him to the effect that even in the case of the mourning for his father he was dissembling,¹⁷⁵ during the day posing¹⁷⁶ in the mask¹⁷⁷ used for grief, but at night getting drunk to the point of rowdiness¹⁷⁸—in which regard, he [Antipater] said,¹⁷⁹

erate *as though* a king.” LSJ observes, however, that from the time of Polybius (5.57.2; 30.2.4) the verb also comes to be used in the sense of using or appropriating a title, and so to be styled as such (cf. 2.488 below), especially in the case of kings. Although that seems to be the meaning here, Archelaus’ activities also suit the older sense.

¹⁶⁵ This charge is the only evidence of Archelaus’ reform of the military (cf. *Ant.* 17.232); it was not mentioned in the earlier narrative.

¹⁶⁶ By adding the preposition κατά to the narrator’s earlier verb ἐπινεύω (2.4), Josephus’ Antipater further strengthens its pejorative sense.

¹⁶⁷ Archelaus has done this (2.4), apparently as a temporary measure to maintain the peace while he sought the kingship from Caesar. But Antipater interprets it as a demagogic posture already adopted for his kingship.

¹⁶⁸ Or “those who had been bound/detained” (τοὺς . . . δεδεμένους). See the note to “detainees” at 2.4.

¹⁶⁹ According to 2.4, Archelaus agreed in general terms to releasing “the prisoners.” The seriousness of the crimes for which they were imprisoned may be Antipater’s rhetorical hyperbole. In the parallel (*Ant.* 17.233), Antipater accuses Archelaus of releasing the prisoners held in the hippodrome. Presumably, this refers to the notables whom Herod had incarcerated in Jericho’s hippodrome shortly before his death, leaving the command that they should be executed when he died in order to ensure nationwide mourning (*War* 1.660; *Ant.* 17.175-78). But according to both *War* (1.666) and *Antiquities* (17.193), Salome and Alexas had hurriedly released those prisoners before publishing the news of Herod’s death. If we are to understand (in *Antiquities*) that Antipater charges this release—plainly a virtuous deed—to Archelaus as though it were a crime (for ignoring his father’s wishes, perhaps), then the orator would be there be making an entirely mischievous claim. Even here in *War*, it seems from the foregoing narrative that criticism of Archelaus for releasing prisoners held on very serious charges is a rhetorical stretch.

¹⁷⁰ For Caesar as master (δεσπότης) see the note to “master of everything” at 2.2.

¹⁷¹ Or “snatched for himself the body” (ἧς ἤρπασεν ἑαυτῷ τὸ σῶμα). Over and above its literal sense, which may be meant to evoke the worlds of Homeric

epic (where the body is the corpse) and/or tragedy, the contrast between mere shadow and real substance is rhetorically and philosophically resonant. The notion of an insubstantial shadow as something frequently mistaken for reality famously goes back to Plato’s cave analogy (*Resp.* 514a-517c). Such language was widely used, not least in early Judean (Philo, *Post. Cain.* 112, 120; *Migr. Abr.* 12.4-5; *Virt.* 181) and Christian (Col 2:17; Heb 8:5; 10:1) literature of a Platonist bent. This language reinforces Josephus’ ongoing contrasts between seeming and being; see note to “titles” at 2.2.

¹⁷² Possibly “the state, commonwealth.” See the note to “republic” at 2.168.

¹⁷³ See the note to “titles” at 2.2; also Plato, *Crat.* 390e and, for the juxtaposition of “body” and “name,” Euripides, *Orest.* 390.

¹⁷⁴ Of the 5 occurrences of προσονειδίζω in Josephus, 3 are in *War* 1-2 (1.313; 2.29, 396) and the other two are in *Ant.* 16.69, 209. Although this concentration might incline us to suspect that the word comes from Josephus’ source for most of this material, Nicolaus of Damascus, Nicolaus cannot be responsible for *War* 2.396, set in the speech of Agrippa II.

¹⁷⁵ See the note to this word (κατείρωνεύομαι) at 2.26: Antipater crafts a complete picture of deception and dissimulation.

¹⁷⁶ This is the only occurrence of ἐπισχηματίζω in Josephus, and the form may well be his coinage. (LSJ and the TLG corpus furnish only this example, aside from one in the 4th-cent. CE Oribasius: *Eun.* 3.12.2.) Why should he use this term here? First, its uniqueness highlights Antipater’s alleged rhetorical ability. Second, in rhetorical theory, the language of “irony” (εἰρωνεία), already used twice in this speech, was closely related to that of σχῆμα (Latin *figura*). See Demetrius, *Eloc.* 291; Quintilian, *Inst.* 9.1.14, 2.65; Josephus, *War* 4.326-34; Mason 2005a.

¹⁷⁷ This vivid language (τὸ πρόσωπον) supports the allegation that Archelaus is in effect no more than an actor-pretender (ὑποκριτής).

¹⁷⁸ The actor Archelaus allegedly switches from tragic grief to comic buffoonery in one day. We have encountered night-time carousing, in similar language, among the cabal in King Herod’s court: 1.570 (cf. *Ant.* 17.265, there changed to a retrospective confession). As far as

the disturbance of the rabble¹⁸⁰ had resulted from their indignation¹⁸¹ over such things.

30 But he concentrated¹⁸² the entire verbal contest¹⁸³ on the mass¹⁸⁴ of those slaughtered¹⁸⁵ around the shrine,¹⁸⁶ who, though they had come for the festival,¹⁸⁷ had been savagely butchered¹⁸⁸ along with [those of] their own sacrificial offerings.¹⁸⁹ And there

the audience knows, however, this charge of hypocrisy and carousing is mainly fabricated by the speaker. Josephus has specified in 2.1 that Archelaus both observed the customary 7-day mourning period and provided the traditional banquet for the public. There is just enough, however, in the artful notice of a subsequent evening feast with his friends (2.4) to allow a potential grain of truth to the accusation—and keep the literary audience uncertain of the truth.

¹⁷⁹ Verbs of saying are often codes for deception in Josephus (i.e., he *said* this, though it was not so)—even for his own literary character: *War* 2.605, 611; 3.197; *Life* 22, 39, 71, 128-30, 141, 263, 273-74, 282, 287-88, 291. There is no other evidence in the text that the masses found Archelaus hypocritical or inadequately pious toward his deceased father; indeed, the people were reportedly ill-disposed toward Archelaus' father, Herod, and their demands to the son are for the repeal of the father's measures.

¹⁸⁰ The highest priority of the provincial statesman under Roman hegemony was understood to be keeping the masses quiescent (Plutarch, *Mor.* [*Praec.*] 816a-824d). The accusation that Archelaus failed in this basic responsibility anticipates the astonishingly brief account of his reign and removal (2.111).

¹⁸¹ Or “irritation, aggravation.” All 16 occurrences of this word (ἀγανάκτησις) in Josephus are in *War* 1-6, reflecting the pervasive mood here of upset and provocation. See the note to “provoked” at 2.8; for growing irritation in bk. 2, see 2.42, 170, 175, 293.

¹⁸² The verb ἐναπερείδω occurs only here in Josephus. Though widely used by late-antique and medieval authors, it is rarely attested before his time (Polybius 22.13.2—also in the context of a massacre [of the citizens of Maronea]; Diodorus 31.11.3; 2 Macc 9:4; Philo, *Spec.* 4.107; cf. Plutarch, *Mor.* [*San. praec.*] 126e, [*Apoph. Lac.*] 236d). The rarity of the double-prefixed form supports Antipater's image as clever orator, confirmed by the surrounding language.

¹⁸³ Josephus appears to choose this phrasing (τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦ λόγου παντὸς ἐναπηρέισατο), evoking a formal competition in literature, tragedy, or rhetoric, because Nicolaus' later speech will devote itself almost entirely to the issue of Caesar's dignity (2.34-6), which is only a preliminary argument for Antipater (2.26-8). The implication is that Antipater, though a renowned orator, makes a crucial mistake in structuring his case. Even this massacre of thousands, which he will dramatically

portray, is not equal as a criterion to an alleged challenge of Caesar's dignity.

¹⁸⁴ This is the same word (τὸ πλῆθος), extremely common in Josephus, that I elsewhere render “rabble, mob, horde” (as in the previous sentence). That he can use this word of a pile of corpses reflects its inhuman connotations.

¹⁸⁵ But see the note to “carnage” at 2.12: the seemingly authoritative narrator claims that this was what Archelaus had wished to avoid.

¹⁸⁶ See the note at 1.10.

¹⁸⁷ I.e., Passover (2.10-11). This passage casually introduces a major theme of *War*: that festivals typically turn into violent occasions. Cf. 2.42 (“indignation”), 73, 254-55, 280, 425, 514-17; 4.401-2. Price (2001: 218-25) argues that Thucydides mentions festivals chiefly to anchor incidents of conflict among Hellenes.

¹⁸⁸ Or “had their throats cut savagely.” Antipater's appeal conveniently ignores the serious provocation that confronted Archelaus, with the annihilation of his cohort (perhaps nearly 500 soldiers) by the mob (2.11-12).

Greek ἀποσφάττω (note Attic spelling) is a remarkably common verb in *War* (37 occurrences; 21 in the much longer *Antiquities*, which also deals extensively with animal sacrifice). By contrast, it appears only a few times in classical authors (e.g., Herodotus 3, Thucydides 2, Xenophon 13, Polybius 7). In spite of its many passages on sacrifice, the LXX lacks this verb (it is at 4 Macc 2:19), and Philo has it only twice. It begins to appear frequently in Hellenistic narrative, however: conspicuously in Diodorus (65) and Plutarch (61).

In Josephus the verb often (as here) helps consolidate an ironic link between human and animal slaughter (see “sacrifice” and note at 2.197), especially at the appointed feasts and particularly at Passover (4.402). Although not as thematically developed in other authors, the same connection—slaughtering a *human* victim at a temple built for animal sacrifice—is occasionally made (e.g., Diodorus 3.6.4; Plutarch, *Galb.* 27.4). The phrase “savagely butcher” (ἀποσφάττω ὀμῶς) occurs again at 2.454, though it does not seem to have been a cliché. This is, however, another parallel with Philo's language (*Legat.* 87).

¹⁸⁹ As Thackeray and Pelletier note, this darkly ironic observation about sacrificers being slaughtered along with their animal victims has a close parallel in Luke 13:1, which describes Pilate's (later) mingling of Galileans' blood with *their* sacrifices (τὸ αἷμα Πιλάτου ἔμιξεν μετὰ τῶν θυσίων ἀντῶν). Slaughter of persons

was such a mass¹⁹⁰ of corpses piled up¹⁹¹ in the temple¹⁹² that even a foreign war without heralds,¹⁹³ had it arrived suddenly,¹⁹⁴ would not have piled up so many.¹⁹⁵ **31** Of course, it was because his father had already considered¹⁹⁶ just this savagery of his that he [Herod] had never judged him worthy of even the hope of royal [office],¹⁹⁷ except when, his mind more severely afflicted than his body¹⁹⁸ and incapable of sound reasoning, he did not even know whom he was writing into the codicil as successor¹⁹⁹—this, when he could not find fault with the one named in the will²⁰⁰ that he had written while his body was sound,

along with animals (see previous note on “throats cut”) is a basic theme in *War*, enhanced by the association between the catastrophes that culminated in 70 CE and the calendrically ordered celebration of feasts involving animal slaughter.

¹⁹⁰ See the note to the same word earlier in this section.

¹⁹¹ Of the 14 occurrences of σωρεύω in Josephus, 13 are in *War*, usually in connection with the piling up of corpses or bodies. The construction, “there was such a multitude of corpses piled up that. . .,” recalls 1.338 (after one of Herod’s victories). The parallel at 2.497 is significant because of the other verbal parallels between this episode and that one, under Tiberius Alexander in Alexandria.

¹⁹² On temple pollution see note to “temple” at 2.15. For the distinction between sanctuary and temple, see the note to “shrine” at 1.10.

¹⁹³ Josephus’ Antipater thus modifies “war” 3 ways: foreign, suddenly arriving, and unheralded. The multiplication of qualifiers for such a hypothetical war, which would not produce the casualties that Archelaus created, highlights Antipater’s rhetorical hyperbole. For the first two modifiers, see the following note. On the absence of heralds: Josephus uses the adjective “heraldless” (ἀκήρυκτος) only to modify “war” (πόλεμος, *War* 1.269; *Ant.* 15.139; *Apion* 1.318). In those other contexts, the phrase signifies a particularly brutal and/or relentless war. The sense is not simply that the war was unannounced or undeclared (as at Herodotus 5.81), but that, in the absence of heralds to *mediate* between the two camps, there would be little opportunity for a truce (perhaps deliberately forsworn for military or political reasons); thus, truceless, implacable, or all-out war (cf. Bederman 2001: 253-55). Thucydides (1.146.1; 2.1.1), Aeschines (*Fals. leg.* 37, 80), Demosthenes (*Cor.* 18.262), Plato (*Leg.* 626a), and Xenophon (*Hell.* 6.4.21; *Anab.* 3.3.5) attest this usage of “the absence of negotiating heralds”, most often adding the adjective ἄσπονδος or οὐ σπονδῶν (i.e., “without the drink-offerings” that accompanied a truce) for further clarity; cf. Plutarch, *Per.* 30. Polybius treats the Libyan War in detail because, he says, it is a model of “what is commonly called a truceless war” (ἄσπονδος πόλεμος). Philo is particularly fond of the phrase ἀκήρυκτος πόλεμος, often with ἄσπονδος: *Sacr.* 18, 35, 130; *Deus* 166; *Conf.* 43; *Fug.* 114; *Mut.* 60; *Somn.* 1.106; 2.166; *Spec.* 4.202; *Praem.*

87; *Legat.* 119. See also Plutarch, *Arist.* 1.5; *Mor.* [*Mul. virt.*] 253f, [*Suav. Epic.*] 1095f; Lucian, *Alex.* 25.

¹⁹⁴ Or simply “having broken out.” The point seems to be the lack of prepared defense against a ferocious war that suddenly arrives and therefore takes a great toll.

¹⁹⁵ This is an ironic statement, given that this work is mainly about a foreign war (with Rome) that allegedly cost more than 1 million lives (6.420), against the 3,000 killed here (2.13). The irony is driven home by the symmetrical parallels, in the latter half of book 6 (note the close verbal similarity): “And around the altar a *multitude of corpses was piling up*, and much blood flowed down the steps of *the shrine*. . .” (6.259); “A horrible stench from the bodies greeted the [Roman] invaders, such that many immediately drew back, though others penetrated further under the influence of greed, trampling over *piled up corpses*” (6.431). At 5.569 Josephus claims that some 600,000 bodies of the indigent were thrown out of the city in a single episode. As well as anticipating the final slaughter, then, the statement reinforces the main theme (1.10): a civil war more terrible than foreign conflict.

¹⁹⁶ See the note to “first considered” at 2.25.

¹⁹⁷ Insofar as it describes Herod’s motives as they appear in the foregoing narrative, this is a mischievous claim. According to 1.646, when Herod named Antipater as successor he passed over Archelaus and Philip, although they were older than Antipater, only because these two had been victims of a smear campaign by Antipater: they stood falsely accused of defaming their father (1.602-3). Those charges are consistently presented in the narrative as false, Herod being extremely receptive to slander (1.533), and the final version of the will, which names Archelaus (1.664), is presented as a rectification of this injustice. Nevertheless, it *will be* Archelaus’ brutality that brings down his regime according to 2.111. An attentive audience would understand Antipater to be massaging the facts for his rhetorical purposes.

¹⁹⁸ The sense is *a fortiori*: his body was obviously very ill (1.645-47, 656, 662), his mind (it is claimed) more so.

¹⁹⁹ This is another rhetorically convenient claim with no support in the earlier narrative (1.664), where Herod’s choice of Archelaus has an obvious narrative logic (see preceding notes).

²⁰⁰ Namely, Antipater: Antipater’s failure to name him strengthens the sense in the speech that his party is chiefly *against* Archelaus, not especially enamored

when he possessed a mind clear of all suffering.²⁰¹ **32** And even if, of course, one were to posit the judgment of the afflicted man²⁰² as more authoritative, Archelaus had surely deposed himself from the kingship²⁰³ by reason of the things illegally done²⁰⁴ to it by him. For what sort [of king] would he become after receiving the rule from Caesar, if before receiving it he had taken so many lives?”²⁰⁵

(2.6) 33 When Antipater had gone through many such points,²⁰⁶ and brought forward most of the relatives²⁰⁷ as witnesses for each of the accusations, he brought* his discourse to an end.

34 Now Nicolaus²⁰⁸ stood up* on behalf of Archelaus, and showed clearly²⁰⁹ that the carnage in the temple had been necessary,²¹⁰ for those who had been disposed of²¹¹ had been enemies not of the kingship²¹² alone, but of the one adjudicating it—Caesar.²¹³ **35** As for the other charges, he demonstrated²¹⁴ that his [Archelaus’] advisers [then] had been the same people as his [present] accusers.²¹⁵ And he did indeed consider the codicil²¹⁶ to

*Speech of
Nicolaus for
Archelaus. Ant.
17.240*

of Antipas. His claim is that, whereas Herod’s earlier changes to his will resulted from anger, upon learning that sons previously named were disloyal, this is not true of the final amendment, which names Archelaus heir without criticizing Antipas, who is indeed named tetrarch (1.664). Herod’s logic, however, appeared to be that, since the other Antipater’s earlier charges against Archelaus turned out to be mischievous, the older son Archelaus should become king (see previous note).

²⁰¹ This claim is also mischievous in relation to the earlier narrative: there, Herod’s serious illness—physical, with mental consequences (1.647)—was announced by the narrator (1.645) just *before* Herod amended his will to make Antipas heir (1.646); see the previous note. As for having a mind free of suffering, the narrator claimed there (1.644) that Herod was in deep distress (περιαλγής . . . πάθους, 1.644) because of his family intrigues.

²⁰² That is, the dying Herod’s judgment in naming Archelaus (1.664).

²⁰³ Or/and “kingdom” (βασιλεία).

²⁰⁴ The reference presumably includes all of the violence and misconduct alleged in Antipater’s speech, though Josephus’ narrative itself has not unambiguously accused Archelaus of wrongdoing. The verb παρανομέω has only occurred once before in this book (2.15).

²⁰⁵ Thus, the end of the speech reverts to the opening point (2.26-28) about Archelaus’ alleged usurpation of Caesar’s authority by prematurely acting as king.

²⁰⁶ Josephus highlights the length and complication of Antipater’s oration: the numerous points mentioned are still only representative, and then the orator called a large number of witnesses, whose testimony is not described. Contrast the extremely succinct but more effective case made by Nicolaus in the next paragraph (2.34-6).

²⁰⁷ Since Archelaus and Antipater are brothers, their relatives are shared. At 2.20, 22, we learned that most, then all (πάντες), of the relatives had come to support Antipas, though the mother and some others had at first supported Archelaus.

²⁰⁸ Herod’s aide, a scholar, now loyal to Archelaus in keeping with Herod’s final wishes (1.664). See the note at 2.14.

²⁰⁹ Both this verb (ἀποφαίνω) and that in the next sentence (see note to “demonstrated” there) imply proof by clear reasoning, in keeping with the brief and pithy argument of Nicolaus; contrast the complicated case made by Antipater, which has depended largely on forcefulness of language (2.26).

²¹⁰ The narrator has evidently supported this position (2.12).

²¹¹ This is the passive form of the verb elsewhere rendered “do away with, dispose of, get rid of” (ἀναίρειω). The reference is to Archelaus’ actions at 2.12-3, which Antipater made the center-piece of his accusation (2.30, 32).

²¹² Possibly “kingdom” (Thackeray in LCL for βασιλεία), though it is rather the question of royal sovereignty (M-B: *der königlichen Herrschaft*) that will be decided by Caesar.

²¹³ According to the earlier narrative the massacre had been necessary, but for different reasons: Archelaus had exhausted every other option in trying to maintain order, until he lost the better part of a cohort to the troublemakers (2.6-13) and chaos threatened to erupt. He was forced to move quickly against them. Nicolaus (only in *War*; contrast his more diffuse appeal in *Ant.* 17.240-47) is determined to reduce every argument to the question of Caesar’s dignity, a strategy that will prove successful. Further, this compressed formulation allows Nicolaus to pass over the damning but obvious fact that Archelaus was himself unable to maintain order. In this one sentence, Nicolaus efficiently dispatches Antipater’s main complaint.

²¹⁴ See the note to “showed clearly” at 2.34.

²¹⁵ Second assertion: those now bringing the charges against Archelaus had once advised him to do what they now denounce. This bold claim is not supported by the preceding narrative, and we have no means of verifica-

be authoritative, for this reason especially: that in it, Caesar was appointed guarantor of the succession.²¹⁷ **36** “For the man behaving sanely enough to concede his authority to the master of all²¹⁸ was not faltering, I presume,²¹⁹ in his decision about an heir; but quite sanely, knowing the appointer²²⁰ he chose also the appointee.”²²¹

(2.7) **37** When Nicolaus had also gone through everything,²²² Archelaus fell* silently before²²³ Caesar’s knees. The latter raised him up very affectionately and, though he intimidated²²⁴ that he might be worthy of the fatherly succession, by no means expressed this²²⁵ as something confirmed.²²⁶ **38** After dismissing the councilors,²²⁷ he spent that day

tion one way or the other. Much of what Antipater has charged appears either invented or heavily manipulated vis-à-vis the earlier story of Archelaus’ actions (see notes to 2.26-33). Further, Josephus has mentioned no advisers, attributing Archelaus’ actions either to his desire for popular good will (2.4) or to his exasperation at the rebel elements, along with a determination not to ruin his chances with Caesar (2.8-9, 12).

²¹⁶ That is, Herod’s final amendment to his will (1.664), designating Archelaus king.

²¹⁷ The Greek (ὅτι βεβαιωτὴν ἐν αὐτῇ Καίσαρα καθίστατο τοῦ διαδόχου) recalls 1.669: Herod’s will instructs Archelaus to visit Augustus, with his ring and documents of state, because Herod had designated the *princeps* “master of everything . . . and guarantor of the will” (κύριον γὰρ ἀπάντων . . . καὶ βεβαιωτὴν τῶν διαθηκῶν). Nicolaus’ appeal here is clever but somewhat mischievous. Whereas he flatteringly proves Herod’s sanity by the king’s choice of Caesar as guarantor, Herod had of course always deferred to Caesar, not least on family and succession issues (1.451-60, 646), and Augustus would in any case have had final say about the appointment of a “client king” (Braund 1984: 23-37). Since, however, no one could say in Caesar’s presence that his role as executor was not Herod’s deliberate choice, the argument is (cynically) effective.

²¹⁸ Possibly “of the empire” or “the universe” (τῷ δεσπότη τῶν ὅλων), though at 2.2 the same phrase is used (τῶν ὅλων δεσπότης) to mean master of everything according to the will. See note there.

²¹⁹ This is the only occurrence in Josephus of the phrase δὴ πού, though it appears as one word at 2.376 (the only other occurrence in *War*, also in a rhetorical context). Cf. *Ant.* 15.130; *Apion* 1.127; 2.47.

²²⁰ That is, Augustus.

²²¹ That is, Archelaus. The language is highly compressed, creating a sense of lean and precise logic, with the fewest possible words obstructing the case (i.e., it is only about Caesar’s dignity), in stark contrast to Antipater’s “forceful” oration on sundry moral and political issues. Especially since the parallel version of Nicolaus’ speech in *Ant.* 17.240-47 is considerably longer and not nearly as focused on the appeal to Caesar, it seems that Josephus has shaped this version to suit his present literary purposes.

²²² In sum: Nicolaus’ argument comprises 4 assertions, for 3 of which he simply employs the criterion of Caesar’s honor or status, what one might call the *reductio ad dignitatem/gloriam Caesaris*. (The 4th claim is simply that Antipater contradicts himself.) Josephus has already deployed this criterion to powerful effect in the prologue (1.8): assertions that can in any way be shown to diminish the majesty of the emperor, even if incidentally or by secondary implication, are *eo ipso* ludicrous. Antipater also tried to invoke Caesar’s dignity (2.26-8), but the gravamen of his long-winded discourse lies elsewhere (2.30).

It is a question whether Josephus earnestly believed that the appeal to Caesar’s dignity *should be* a rhetorical trump-card, or whether he merely observes this kind of argument with ironic detachment as a fact of Roman politics. In favor of the latter is his highly rhetorical use of the appeal in the prologue and here, where Nicolaus bends the preceding narrative to be able to make the charge; cf. the notes at 1.8.

²²³ Perhaps “grasped the knees” in the Homeric posture of supplication (*Il.* 8.371; 24.465, 478). Several important MSS (PMC) and corrections of others read προσπίπτει τῶν Καίσαρος γονάτων, which resembles the nearly formulaic expression for “falling at someone’s knees”: προσπίπτει (τοῖς) γόνασι (Demosthenes, *Fals.* 198; Diodorus 17.35.6; 36.16.1; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 2.45.5; 5.9.1; Plutarch, *Cor.* 36.4). But then we should expect either a preposition or a dative complement, rather than the genitive here. Niese, LCL, M-B, Pelletier, and Vitucci read προσπίπτει (“fall [or throw oneself] before [Caesar]”), though the verb rarely appears with this prefix in connection with knees.

²²⁴ See the note to “expressed this” later in this sentence.

²²⁵ Josephus makes a double contrast, first between two compounds of φαίνω: ἀποφαίνω (here “express”; “show clearly” at 2.34) with ἐμφαίνω (“intimate”) earlier in this sentence. The latter word and its cognate ἔμφοσις were used in rhetorical discussions to mean “reflected” or “refracted” speech: something that was not explicitly articulated, but required the audience to complete its meaning; cf. Ahl 1984: 176-79; Demetrius, *Eloc.* 216, 297. Second, Caesar’s refraining from an open declaration concerning Archelaus contrasts with the *clear proof*

by himself, pondering the matters he had heard presented, and whether he ought to appoint a particular successor from those in the wills²²⁸ or distribute the rule among all the offspring²²⁹—for the whole bunch²³⁰ of characters²³¹ appeared to need support.²³²

Revolt in Judea,
4 BCE. *Ant.*
17.250

(3.1) 39 Before Caesar reached any determination in these matters,²³³ first Archelaus' mother Malthace²³⁴ died*, after falling ill, and then letters were brought out of Syria from Varus²³⁵ about the rebellion²³⁶ of Judeans.²³⁷ 40 Foreseeing this,²³⁸ Varus had gone up into

of Archelaus' advocate (same verb used at 2.34) that his order to kill the temple rebels was necessary. The parallel (*Ant.* 17.249) stresses the psychological effect on Archelaus, who has no clear word from Caesar; in both narratives the effect is to build suspense.

²²⁶ This word (βέβητος) occurred twice in the opening sentences of bk. 2, as the issue on which Archelaus has been waiting (2.2-3). Suspense continues to build, since we still do not have an answer from Caesar; it will come only in 2.93-100.

²²⁷ See the note to “council” (συνέδριον) at 2.25; here councilors (τοὺς συνέδρους). Josephus customarily uses the verb διαλύω, as here, to speak of dissolving such an ad hoc advisory group: *War* 1.559; 2.93; 6.243; *Ant.* 17.312.

²²⁸ Elsewhere I use the singular “will,” though the Greek (διαθήκαι) is normally plural (2.2, 31), as demanded by the context. Here I use the plural because different wills are in view. The main contenders named in those wills are Antipas, supported by Salome and Nicolaus' brother Ptolemy (2.20-21), and Archelaus, supported by Nicolaus (2.34-6). Their mother's preference is no longer clear (cf. 2.21, but 22).

²²⁹ This notice anticipates Augustus' eventual decision (2.93-100; cf. 2.83); for the moment it deepens the suspense by raising the new possibility of multiple heirs.

²³⁰ Greek τὸ πλῆθος, the dehumanizing collective singular often used by Josephus (2.2, 4, 8, 11, etc.) and other Greek historians for the common “rabble” or “mob” (see Introduction). Its use here for royal progeny seems to be sarcastic: there is no clear, single worthy successor, but only a “bunch” of claimants.

²³¹ This is the same word (plural of τὸ πρόσωπον) as that translated “mask” at 2.29, where Antipater has accused Archelaus of putting on a *show* of respect for his dead father to conceal his real feelings. Given the context, it seems that the acting theme continues here in Caesar's wise assessment: they are *all* actors!

²³² Or “care, assistance” (ἐπικουρία). This is either a remarkably humane motive on Augustus' part—support for as many royals as possible—or an ironic assessment. Given Josephus' portrait of the emperor's sagacity elsewhere (e.g., 1.452), one must suspect irony here. Part of Josephus' point may be that the Judean kingdom, now as also when it was under the last of the Hasmoneans (1.120-32; 5.396), proves unable to manage its affairs—especially succession issues—without bitter struggles

before the emperor, a humiliating exercise that undermines the dignity of the nation and its royal claimants. The need for constant intervention by the *princeps* would disappear if the government were, as Josephus prefers, aristocratic (cf. 1.170; cf. Mason 2003a, 2008b).

²³³ The way Josephus structures this paragraph highlights his maintenance of suspense about Caesar's decision, which will not arrive until 2.93-100.

²³⁴ Malthace (the Samaritan), one of Herod's 9 wives (1.562), is significant because, although she is the mother of both rivals, Archelaus and Antipas, the narrator has reported (2.14-15, 21) that she had at first supported Archelaus' claim to rule, but then switched to support Antipas (2.21-22). Her death might be presumed to have affected the lines of influence upon Caesar.

²³⁵ The Roman governor (legate) of Syria, Varus would have been famous to Roman readers (see the note at 1.20). He has been an important background figure in events, playing the role of honest broker and protector of the client kingdom's integrity and royal assets (1.617-40; 2.16-18).

²³⁶ Or “secession, defection” (ἀπόστασις), one of the many *stasis*-compounds in Josephus (cf. 1.93; see note to “civil strife” at 1.10); he uses this noun 64 times, 36 of those in *War* and half of these in bk. 2, where undertaking rebellion against Rome and the Jerusalem elite is still the main issue—as distinct from the later war, famine, and civil strife. Indeed, the following paragraphs portray a major revolt in 4 BCE, which foreshadows the war of 70 years later that is the central subject of the book. The event is significant enough to receive mention in Josephus' prologue (1.20), where he flags it as a paradigm of sedition (with the verb καταστασιάζω), and in Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.9. The revolt anticipated here (cf. 2.43-79) required 3 legions plus auxiliaries to suppress (2.67-69); it was therefore qualitatively different from the periodic riots that confronted Archelaus himself (2.4-13). For analysis, see Smallwood 1981: 111.

²³⁷ What follows in 2.39-42 is a flashback, followed by a major excursus on the “war” under Varus in 4-3 BCE (2.43-79); the narrative of the Herodians in Rome will resume at 2.80.

²³⁸ See also “quite clear” (and note) in this section. Varus' foresight in military matters is in marked (possibly ironic) contrast to his reputation in Josephus' Rome as the man who had lost 3 legions and committed suicide in the Teutoburg forest, because of an utter failure of fore-

Hierosolyma²³⁹ after the sailing of Archelaus, to restrain the agitators.²⁴⁰ Since it was quite clear²⁴¹ that the rabble was not about to keep the peace,²⁴² he left behind* in the city one of the three legions from Syria²⁴³ that he had come leading. **41** Whereas he himself then returned to Antiocheia,²⁴⁴ Sabinus²⁴⁵ came in and furnished them with an occasion²⁴⁶ for revolution-making.²⁴⁷ For he tried²⁴⁸ both to force the guards to hand over the high forts²⁴⁹ and to track down²⁵⁰ the royal property in a harsh manner, relying not only on the soldiers

sight (see the note at 1.20). In this narrative his foresight is laudable, though hardly miraculous. On the one hand, he has been aware of the troublemakers' demanding satisfaction for Herod's perceived crimes, and they are now presumably more radicalized after Archelaus' massacre of thousands in the temple precinct (2.10-13); on the other hand, Varus knows that his own procurator Sabinus has been trying to seize Herodian assets (2.16-19). These two factors produce a potent combination of provocation and resentment among the Judeans, as the following narrative shows. In the *Antiquities* parallel (17.250-53), Varus only responds to actual rebellion and has no special foresight; see note to "stimulus" at 2.41.

²³⁹ See the note to "up" at 2.16. "Into" stresses Varus' entry past the city walls.

²⁴⁰ The verb used in this participle (παρακινέω) is favored by Josephus in *War*: the prologue (1.4) juxtaposes "movement" (κίνημα) with restive groups (παρεκίνουον) among the Gauls, contributing to the general sense of upheaval that drives especially bk. 2. Cf. also 1.323; 2.69, 73, 220; [3.33]; 5.123.

²⁴¹ Josephus' word-choice (πρόδηλος) is significant: it will appear twice more in connection with the *perfect clarity* that the later war against Rome is doomed (2.396; 4.287); but in the intervening period of mayhem and deception (bks. 3-6), the word disappears—until bk. 7, where it appears with some frequency (7.326, 338, 384; cf. 182, 235, 283), everything being as clear as can be after the destruction of Jerusalem.

²⁴² In 2.73-4, by contrast, the populace will deny any complicity in the revolt, blaming it all on the rabble that visited for the (coming) festival. It is unclear whether Josephus offers either claim as trustworthy.

²⁴³ Varus was known to Josephus' literary audience for subsequently having lost 3 legions in Germany (see note at 1.20), and 3 legions will initially prosecute the later Judean-Roman war (*V Macedonica*, *X Fretensis*, *XV Apollinaris* [anticipated and later rejoined by *XII Fulminata*]; see the note to "forces" at 1.21). When Varus was legate in 4 BCE, these legions were not yet all in Syria. Possible forces at this time were *III Gallica* and *VI Ferrata*, both of which had been in Syria from 30 BCE, and *X Fretensis* or *XII Fulminata*, whose time of arrival in the region is uncertain. See Keppie 1998: 206-10.

²⁴⁴ See note at 2.18.

²⁴⁵ See notes at 2.16, 24.

²⁴⁶ Literally, a "pushing-off point" (ἀφορμή), which has many possibilities in a military context: base of operations, occasion, inducement, origin or starting-point, resource base (cf. 5.397). Apropos of the "illness" theme that runs through *War* in connection with civil strife (see note at 1.10), it is significant that the word also has a medical application: Hippocrates, *Epid* 2.1.11; Soranus 1.29. Whereas here in *War* Sabinus' actions provide the pretext (apparently sought in advance by the "agitators") for the single revolt introduced in 2.39 and foreseen by Varus in 2.40-41, the parallel (*Ant.* 17.250-53) has two distinct rebellions: a major one put down by Varus, after which he leaves a legion to maintain the peace, followed by a second instigated by Sabinus. The later account flows more logically (rebellion, report, suppression, leaving of legion to maintain peace, further rebellion provoked by Sabinus) than this one (anticipatory report of rebellion, revolt *foreseen* by Varus because of a rabble's nature, legion left as *safeguard* on the basis of Varus' intuition, rebellion actually occurs at Sabinus' provocation), and this is one of many indicators that Josephus may be condensing and reshaping a fuller account closer to *Antiquities*' version. See Cohen 1979: 48-66.

²⁴⁷ The noun νεωτεροποιία is rare, occurring only 13 times in extant literature before Josephus (so TLG), and 8 of those occurrences are in Philo. Yet Josephus has it 7 times. The word appears once in Thucydides (1.102.3), once in Dionysius (*Dem.* 2.29), and twice in fragments of Nicolaus not taken from Josephus (*FHG* 3.101, ll. 324, 623). Although it is possible that Josephus' use of the word was inspired by Nicolaus (in this case and *Ant.* 14.433; 17.252, 316), the other occurrences are in narrative far removed from Nicolaus' source material (*War* 6.329; 7.81, 421). Philo's heavy usage of the term strengthens the pattern of Josephus' "Philonic" language.

²⁴⁸ The verb "try to" is not in the text, but I translate both of the imperfect verbs ("forcing" and "tracking down") as conatives, indicating the subject's intention.

²⁴⁹ Sabinus thus continues the project he began in 2.16-18 (see notes in 2.17-18 concerning these high forts) of trying to seize the late king's assets before a new client should take over.

²⁵⁰ Josephus' use of the same verb (διερευνώω) as in 2.18 draws attention to the resumption of Sabinus' postponed activity.

who had been left behind by Varus,²⁵¹ but also on a horde of his personal slaves,²⁵² all of whom he armed and used²⁵³ as henchmen²⁵⁴ in the service of his greed.²⁵⁵

*Conflict in
Jerusalem at
Pentecost. Ant.
17.254*

42 With the onset²⁵⁶ of the “Fiftieth” [Pentecost]²⁵⁷—so the Judeans call a certain festival that occurs seven weeks past,²⁵⁸ taking its name from the number of days²⁵⁹—it was not the customary worship²⁶⁰ that brought the populace together, but their indignation.²⁶¹

43 At any rate, a countless horde²⁶² ran together²⁶³ from both Galilee and Idumea,²⁶⁴ and

²⁵¹ I.e., the legion (somewhat more than 5000 troops if at full strength) left by Varus on his return to Antioch (2.40).

²⁵² Slavery was widespread in the Roman world: slaves appear to have accounted for a third or more of many urban populations in Italy, and anyone of means would have several. See e.g., Finley 1960; Massey and Moreland 1978; Alföldy 1988: 67-8; 135-41; Bradley 1994; Harris 1999. Slave ownership was so much taken for granted that Josephus does not even include his own slaves in a list of small benefits received from the Flavians (*Life* 414-429), though he mentions one incidentally (*Life* 429). It was assumed that a public official’s entourage in the provinces would include slave-assistants for all sorts of purposes, though these might also be publicly owned slaves, who assisted magistrate in Rome and abroad (cf. comprehensively Weiss 2004). The qualification “his personal [or private] slaves” apparently serves to distinguish these from the *servi publici*.

²⁵³ According to 2.19, Sabinus had been rebuffed in his initial efforts to seize the fortresses by their guards. This information about regular and irregular forces now at his disposal explains why he is able finally to achieve his goal.

²⁵⁴ The *Antiquities* parallel (17.253) has δορυφόροι, lit. “spear-carriers” (LCL: “terrorists”).

²⁵⁵ Josephus finally confirms Sabinus’ motive, which had been unclear earlier, and the reason for Varus’ prevention of his plan (2.16). The alleged greed is on a massive scale: robbing the well-guarded treasuries of a world-famous and wealthy allied king, and using a Roman legion with other forces to do so.

²⁵⁶ See the note at 2.10.

²⁵⁷ One of the 3 annual festivals requiring the attendance of male Israelites in Jerusalem (Deut 16:16), the Feast of Weeks (*Shavuot*) took its name from Deut 16:9-12, which introduces it as the festival 7 weeks after Passover. Lev 23:16 spells out, however, that an extra day must be added, so that this festival of grain and meat offerings occurs on the 50th day.

²⁵⁸ Josephus does not spell it out, but he apparently means 7 weeks after the feast he has recently mentioned as chronological context: “Unleavened” or Passover (2.10). Note the similar language and sentence structure there. Possibly he omits the point from which one counts the 7 weeks because the Bible itself gives two different

points within the Passover (Lev 23:15 from the priest’s waving of the barley sheaf; Deut 16:9 from the time when the sickle is put to the grain).

²⁵⁹ Josephus clarifies in *Ant.* 3.251-52: when 7 weeks following the barley-sheaf offering of Pentecost have elapsed, *on the 50th day* (Pentecost) a new sacrifice is offered. He consistently displays an awareness that his audience might not understand even such basic Judean terminology (see Introduction). Whereas elsewhere he explains minimally that this festival is “called Pentecost” (*War* 1.253; 6.299; cf. *Ant.* 17.254), only here in *War* does he describe the term more fully. His fullest description is at *Ant.* 3.252 (based upon Lev 23:15-21; Num 28.25-31; Deut 16:9-11), where he mentions also the title “Weeks” (Hebrew שבועות). On the Greek name of this festival see Pelletier 1975: 224-5.

²⁶⁰ Or “ritual.” Although the word θρησκεία hardly occurs outside of Judean or Christian Greek before Josephus (Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 2.63.2; Strabo 10.3.23; Plutarch and Lucian have it once each; cf. 4 Macc 5:7, 13; Wis 14:18, 27; Philo, *Det.* 21.2; *Fug.* 41.4; *Spec.* 1.315; *Legat.* 232, 298; James 1:26-7; Col. 2:18), Josephus has it a remarkable 91 times.

²⁶¹ See the note to this thematic, drama-enhancing word at 2.29.

²⁶² Josephus is particularly inclined to use this phrase (πλήθος ἄπειρον) in *War* 2, whether of persons or of things (necessitating a change in translation): also at 2.105, 253, 381, 523, 543, 592. These account for about a third of all instances in his corpus. Though used occasionally by authors before him (typically 1-3 times each), none comes close to Josephus’ frequency of usage.

²⁶³ The Judean masses running (συντρέχω) or streaming *together* (συρρέω), as a nation spontaneously unified in response to Roman gubernatorial outrages, is formulaic in *War* 2 (2.170, 230, 233, 294, 315; cf. 490).

²⁶⁴ That is, from the regions in the N and S extremities of Judea. Both have been mentioned frequently in *War*, in connection with activities under the Hasmoneans and Herod: Galilee, 1.21-22, 76, 170, 203, etc.; Idumea, 1.63, 263, 266-67, etc. Idumea, reportedly Judaized by John Hyrcanus (1.63; cf. *Ant.* 13.254-58) and home of the Herodian family, was a toparchic region in the province of Judea (3.55). Kasher (1988: 44-78) offers a vigorous review of scholarship and a challenge to Josephus’ claims about the forced conversion under Hyrcanus; cf.

both Jericho²⁶⁵ and Perea beyond the Jordan,²⁶⁶ while the heartland citizenry²⁶⁷ from Judea itself surpassed [these] in quantity²⁶⁸ and in eagerness²⁶⁹ of men. **44** Dividing themselves into three groups, they set up camp* on three sides: at the northern edge of the temple²⁷⁰ and at the south along the hippodrome,²⁷¹ the third portion by the royal grounds²⁷² along the western side.²⁷³ Positioning themselves all around, from every side,²⁷⁴ they besieged the Romans.²⁷⁵

(3.2) 45 Sabinus shrank in fear²⁷⁶ at both their quantity²⁷⁷ and their confidence; he kept

*Sabinus' legion
engages mob.
Ant. 17.256*

Cohen 1987. At any rate, Josephus assumes the audience's knowledge of these regional names, and they are described by Strabo (16.2.34, 40, seemingly borrowing from Posidonius, *FGrH* 2a.87.F frag. 70), Pliny the Elder (*Nat.* 5.70), and others (2nd cent. CE, Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Geog.* 5.16.4). Josephus will digress to describe Galilee much more fully at 3.35-43.

²⁶⁵ See the note at 2.57 below.

²⁶⁶ That is, from both sides of the Jordan River. The name Perea (from πέρατος) means literally "beyond, across, on the other bank." Since the term was commonly used for other locations in the eastern empire, Josephus has to explain to his Roman audience that he means Judean Perea. On Jericho and Perea see further 2.57 below.

²⁶⁷ Or "the homegrown [or original] population": ὁ γνήσιος . . . λαός means most literally the "real" or "genuine" Judeans (cf. note to "Greeks" at 1.16); here he is contrasting those from the historic center of Judea with Judeans from outlying areas. For the noun, see the note at 2.1.

²⁶⁸ This is the same word (πληθος) that I translate with the article, as earlier in this sentence, as "the horde, rabble, mob"—an unflattering collective singular for a body of non-élite people.

²⁶⁹ Josephus uses a plural here ("eagernesses"), perhaps to match the plural "men"—emphasizing the "eagerness" of each man in addition to the collective mass just mentioned.

²⁷⁰ Greek πρὸς τε τῷ βορείῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κλίματι. Although Josephus curiously does not mention it here, this is precisely where the fortress Antonia lay, an older foundation rebuilt by Herod on a massive scale and named to honor Marc Antony (*War* 1.401); this was the natural place for the legion left by Varus to maintain its headquarters (though it would need much more space for its camp). Josephus first introduced the Antonia with very similar words (*War* 1.118): "a fortress lying on the northern side [possibly "slope"] of the temple" (φρούριον δ' ἦν τῷ βορείῳ κλίματι τοῦ ἱεροῦ προσκειμένον). The parallel (*Ant.* 17.255) has a difficult text, which seems to say that this group was in the N, facing S, while "holding" the E.

²⁷¹ A horse- (or chariot-) racing track, often used also for other functions, found in most Greek and Roman

cities (Jericho at 1.659-60, 666; Tarichaea in Galilee, *Life* 132, 138). In Jerusalem's case it was likely identical with the amphitheater built by Herod "in the plain" mentioned at *Ant.* 15.268 (note the interchangeable use of these terms at 1.659, 666 and the note to "stadium" at 2.172), the location of which remains unknown; see Appendix A and the note to "Xystus" at 2.344; also Bennett 2007: 52-66. The parallel at *Ant.* 17.255 has this group occupying (ἀπολαμβάνω) the hippodrome, as a base for military operations close to the city.

²⁷² That is, the Herodian palace complex on the W side of the city: *War* 1.402; 5.176-83; *Ant.* 15.318. After the fortress Antonia, the Herodian palace with its massive walls and towers was a logical place for soldiers to establish defenses (cf. 2.430-31); one would assume that both sites were being used by the Syrian legion taken over by Sabinus.

²⁷³ Lit. "along the sunset."

²⁷⁴ An obvious but forgivable exaggeration: the masses do not occupy the ground E of the city, as Titus' Tenth Legion would early in the later conflict (5.70), but this is understandable since the deep Kidron Valley immediately beside the city walls had nothing to commend it as a military camp site. The Tenth Legion camped high on the Mount of Olives, and even then were nearly routed by daring surprise attacks from the Judeans in the city (5.74-97).

²⁷⁵ Although Josephus does not spell this out for his audience, it seems that the Romans would have concentrated their troops in the Antonia fortress to the NE and the Herodian palace complex on the W; see previous notes. The remarkable degree of organization here (cf. Simonetti 742 n. 118) is part of a theme in *War*: that the irregular, untrained Judean people in revolt often behave spontaneously like a regular army (see note to "close order" at 2.12), whereas the renowned legions often suffer setbacks and confusion.

²⁷⁶ Even though Josephus deplores the prospect of revolt, this notice about a Roman official's fear begins a long series of passages in which the narrator will observe that the daring and resolve of the Judeans overwhelmed even the renowned courage and good order of the Roman legions, e.g.: 3.229-30, 472-88; 5.71-97, 277-78, 305-6, 315-16; 6.13-14, 33-53; cf. 2.11. See the Introduction, on his attempt to redeem Judean honor after the war.

sending messengers to Varus pleading with him to come quickly to his defense, since if he were to delay the legion²⁷⁸ would be cut to pieces.²⁷⁹ **46** He himself went up onto the highest tower of the fortress,²⁸⁰ which was called Phasael²⁸¹ (having been named for Herod's brother who was destroyed²⁸² by the Parthians),²⁸³ and from there he signaled to the soldiers in the legion to attack the enemy, for on account of distress he did not dare to go down to his own men.²⁸⁴ **47** Obeying nevertheless,²⁸⁵ the soldiers plunged ahead*²⁸⁶ into the temple²⁸⁷ and engaged the Judeans in tough battle.²⁸⁸ In this [battle], as long as there was no one helping the defense from above,²⁸⁹ with their experience²⁹⁰ of war they

²⁷⁷ See the note to this word at 2.43.

²⁷⁸ That is, the legion that Varus had left in Jerusalem to maintain order (2.40). It is telling that he must dramatize the legion's possible fate in order to get Varus' attention; there seems to be no love lost between Varus and Sabinus; cf. also 2.66, where indeed Varus worries for the legion and rushes to *its* aid.

²⁷⁹ This graphic verb (κατακόπτω) is used by Thucydides (7.29) to describe the massacre at the boys' school at Mycalessus by the bloodthirsty Thracians—the worst disaster in that war—and by Herodotus to describe Athenians cutting Persians to pieces at Salamis (8.92). It is ironic, again, that Varus, who would through his lack of foresight cause one of the most infamous massacres of Roman legions, in 9 CE, should be the one to prevent such a situation here. See the notes to “Varus” at 1.20 and to “foreseeing this” at 2.40.

²⁸⁰ Josephus does not clarify, but “fortress” here means the high-walled Herodian palace complex in the W (“upper”) part of the city, where the Phasael tower stood (1.402, 418).

²⁸¹ King Herod had built one of the monumental towers along the wall of his palace, at the height of W Jerusalem's Upper City, in honor of his brother Phasael (1.418; 5.166-69).

²⁸² See the note at 2.11.

²⁸³ The story of Phasael's treacherous arrest by the Parthians, when Pacorus (son of the Parthian king Orodes II) invaded Syria in 40 BCE—with the indispensable help of the Roman Quintus Labienus—and installed (via another Pacorus, the cup-bearer) the Hasmonean Antigonos on the throne, was told in detail at *War* 1.255-72; cf. *Ant.* 14.365-369. According to that story, however, Phasael was not killed by the Parthians; they handed him over to their client Antigonos for torture, and Phasael committed suicide rather than face this humiliation (1.271). Or he recovered from the suicide attempt, and a physician sent by Antigonos poisoned him (1.272).

²⁸⁴ When in a position of military leadership, Josephus emphasizes, he personally led daring raids against the (Roman) enemy: *War* 3.153-54. It was an old principle of Greek citizen-hoplite warfare that commanders fought in the thick of the battle (Hanson 1989: 107-116), and Eckstein (1995: 28-40) shows that Polybius, one of Josephus' models, admired such personal courage in

generals. Although later Greek and Roman strategists tended to think that the general should remain back from the fighting (Onasander 33; cf. *War* 5.85-97), at certain crucial moments in *War*'s narrative Titus will take the lead among his troops and save the day (*War* 5.71-84). On other occasions, however, he will be far from the action, either observing or entirely unaware of what is happening (6.89, 183-84, 254); see Introduction. Fearful Sabinus, who had no business fighting in the first place, is plainly not an object of admiration here.

²⁸⁵ This fairly rare word (in Josephus only again at *War* 6.288), παραπειθω, suggests mischievous persuasion, cajoling, or beguiling. In the context here, it seems less likely that the legionaries were beguiled by the cowardly Sabinus than that they followed his order in spite of knowing its underhanded basis.

²⁸⁶ Before Josephus the word προπηδάω is attested very rarely (once each in Aristophanes, Agatharchides, Megasthenes, Diodorus, Philo, Onasander, twice in Aeschylus), and yet he has it a remarkable 21 times in *War* 2-6, once in *Antiquities* (20.177). From the 2nd cent. CE it begins to appear more often (Dio Chrysostom, Epictetus, twice in Arrian, 4 in Lucian, 7 in Appian, etc.), suggesting that Josephus is, as often, using newly fashionable language. It is a vivid term that enhances the narrative action.

²⁸⁷ As the sequel makes clear (with fighting from the porticoes), the soldiers have advanced into the temple precincts, not into the central shrine (ναός). For the important distinction, see the note to “shrine” at 1.10. See also Pelletier, n. 19 *ad loc.*, correcting Thackeray and M-B.

²⁸⁸ This cliché (μάχη καρτερά) appears elsewhere in Josephus at *War* 6.74; *Ant.* 15.111, 151; 17.258.

²⁸⁹ Josephus uses the adverb καθύπερθε an impressive 19 times in *War* (1-6), 6 times in *Ant.* 5. Although Thucydides has it twice (4.43.3; 5.59.3), Polybius, Diodorus, Dionysius, and Philo do not use it; Strabo has it 4 times, Plutarch only 3. The striking exceptions are Homer (23 occurrences) and Herodotus (50): it thus counts as Homeric-Herodotean language.

²⁹⁰ Or as elsewhere “expertise” (ἐμπειρία); here I render “experience” for a more idiomatic contrast to τῶν ἀπείρων (“the inexperienced, inexpert”). Roman “war expertise” is a prominent theme in Josephus' works: *War*

got past the inexperienced [Judeans], **48** but then many Judeans climbed up onto the colonnades²⁹¹ and began to hurl projectiles²⁹² down at their heads. Many were crushed, and it was not easy either to protect themselves against those who were throwing from above or to hold their position against those fighting at close quarter.²⁹³

(3.3) 49 Becoming worn out²⁹⁴ from both, they [the Romans] set the colonnades on fire^{*295}—marvelous works in consequence of both their size and their costliness²⁹⁶—and those who were on top of them were suddenly surrounded by the blaze.²⁹⁷ many were destroyed²⁹⁸ in it, many others at the hands of the enemy as they plunged into them. Some were flinging themselves²⁹⁹ down from the wall to the rear, while some out of helplessness anticipated the fire by means of their own swords;³⁰⁰ **50** but all those who crept down³⁰¹ from the walls and darted³⁰² into the Romans were easy to handle because of their dis-

*Damage
to temple
precincts. Ant.
17.260*

3.69; 5.46; 6.81; *Life* 17 and note *ad loc.* in Mason BJP 9; cf. Hadas-Lebel 1987: 832-836.

²⁹¹ Even without the fuller description of the columns that Josephus will later supply (5.190-92), the audience would understand already that climbing up on the superstructure of such monumental columns, presumably with ladders (cf. 6.22), to harass professional soldiers was a daring enterprise. The massive colonnades that Herod constructed around the perimeter of his temple mount were introduced at 1.401. Josephus will claim (5.190-92) that each was carved from a single block of white marble (but see Netzer [2006: 310]: this was an optical illusion created by the use of limestone, plaster, or stucco) and stood about 12.5 metres (40 ft.), supporting a cedar-panel roof. Aside from their impressive aesthetics, the broad colonnades (about 15 m./45 ft. wide) had the practical function of shielding large crowds from rain and sun (cf. 1.425). The northern and western colonnades connected the temple area with the fortress Antonia (2.330; 5.243-44), thus serving the auxiliary soldiers as a secure observation tier for crowd control (2.224-26)—and the Judeans as a defense-post during the later war (2.536; 4.206, 298; 5.304).

²⁹² This will become a familiar scene in *War* (cf. next 2.329). The word for projectile (βέλος) occurs only 6 times elsewhere in Josephus, but 57 times in *War*, almost all of these from the latter half of bk. 2 onward. Since it literally indicates anything that may be thrown or fired, the two main classes of projectile were various kinds of shot (clay, stones, and rocks), on the one hand, and bolts, arrows, or spears on the other. Where the context seems clearly to indicate arrows, darts, or spears (the more common usage), it is so translated.

²⁹³ Josephus uses the indeclinable συστάδην only 4 times, 3 of these in *War* 2 (also 2.423, 512; cf. 5.305).

²⁹⁴ Curiously, of only 5 occurrences of καταπονέω in *War*, 3 turn up in very similar contexts (victims of bombardment from high places around the temple) and in the plural present passive participle as here (also 2.329; 6.178). This suggests a high degree of stylization in Josephus' thinking about such scenes.

²⁹⁵ Of the 18 occurrences of the compound verb ὑποπίπτειν in Josephus, 17 are in *War* 1-6 (also *Ant.* 8.311). Ironically, destroying the porticoes will later become an expression of *Judean* defiance: 2.330-31, 403; 6.165-66, 177-81, 191. The parallel at *Ant.* 17.261 elaborates that the portico roof was highly combustible, being made of woodwork, pitch, and wax.

²⁹⁶ See the note to “colonnades” at 2.48.

²⁹⁷ The following description has a remarkably close—and symmetrical—parallel in 6.180-81, where *Judeans* will set fire to the portico roof and Romans will die. Each passage lists 5 kinds of death, following an initial μὲν . . . δέ construction. About 14 significant words (not counting conjunctions and particles) from this passage appear also in the later one; see Introduction on the concentric structure of the *War*.

²⁹⁸ See the note at 2.11.

²⁹⁹ The simple form of this verb (κρημνίζω), used here, is extremely rare before Josephus' time (2 Macc 6:10; Diodorus 9.19.1); much more common is the form with the prefix κατα-, which enhances the “downward” motion of the verb. Diodorus is the only predecessor to use the entire word-group to any significant degree (14 times). Josephus has the word-group 12 times, this unprefix form twice (also 4.7); Plutarch has the group 16 times, the unprefix form once (*Mor.* [Lib. educ.] 5b). Josephus appears again to be using newly fashionable language. See also the note to “propped it up” (an unparalleled and paradoxical form) at 2.435.

³⁰⁰ That is, they killed themselves rather than waiting for the fire to kill them; cf. 6.181.

³⁰¹ This colorful word (καθέρω) has slight attestation before Josephus (Aristophanes, *Ran.* 129, 485; Xenophon, *Symp.* 4.23, and a fragment of Sophocles). It occurs only here in *War*; also *Ant.* 14.423.

³⁰² This word (ἀίσσω) is “rarely found in prose” (LSJ): cf. Homer, *Il.* 2.106; 4.78; 5.81; 6.232; 11.118, 484; 17.460, 579; 18.506; 21.247; 24.320. In the parallel (*Ant.* 17.263), this group does not appear; all are fleeing for their lives, and Josephus reflects that, unarmed, they had no chance against the Romans. But this notice

treas.³⁰³ And so, with some having perished and the others having been scattered by the anxiety, the soldiers fell upon the deserted treasury of God³⁰⁴ and plundered³⁰⁵ about 400 talents,³⁰⁶ of which Sabinus collected whatever was not stolen first.³⁰⁷

and this verb are highly significant in *War* because they anticipate the characteristically intrepid Judean style of combat in the coming conflict. It is typically—except when the legions fail in their discipline (e.g., 6.179)—contrasted with Roman order and method (4.45-6; 5.75, 305-6, 315-16; 6.17-19; 7.212; on Roman order see 3.98-107). Josephus plainly admires the Judeans' daring in the face of an overwhelming professional army on the Roman side, even if he deplores the revolt itself; see Introduction. The Judeans' courage is all the more remarkable if we should understand here that they dash into Roman ranks unarmed.

³⁰³ Cf. Sabinus' distress (ἔκπληξις) in 2.46, which started this engagement. There seems to be an implied contrast: whereas he, a coward, felt distress while safely ensconced in a tower, on account of his unjust actions, the Judeans have a right to distress as they manfully face Roman soldiers and swords.

³⁰⁴ The parallel (*Ant.* 17.264) has "the treasury where the sacred funds were." See also the two following notes and 2.331 ("treasuries of God" coveted by Gessius Florus). Josephus uses 4 phrases to describe the temple treasury [each also in plural]: "the treasury of God" (ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ θησαυρός) as here, 2.331; *Ant.* 7.367, 69; 8.95, 258; 9.170, 202; "the sacred treasury" (ὁ ἱερός θησαυρός), 2.175, 293; 5.187; "the public treasury" (ὁ δημόσιος θησαυρός), 2.564; 4.140; 5.518; and "the treasury-chamber" (τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον, γαζοφυλακεῖον), *War* 5.200; 6.282; *Ant.* 9.164; 11.119, 126; 13.429; 19.294). Similar phrases to the first 3 are in Dionysius (*Ant. rom.* 20.9.1-2), who describes with outrage King Pyrrhus' appropriation of the sacred treasury from the temple of Persephone at Locri, with the sequel of divine punishment.

The principal source of revenue for the treasuries, it seems, was the half-shekel or didrachma temple tax paid by Judeans everywhere for the upkeep of the sanctuary (Exod 30:11-16; *War* 7.218; *Ant.* 18.312; Matt 17:24-27): at *War* 5.187 Josephus remarks that the "sacred treasures" were continually replenished by subventions from around the world. Other sources included things vowed (votive offerings) and voluntary donations—whether specific adornments by potentates or the more common gifts of money (see Schürer-Vermes 2.270-74). The Mishnah tractate *Sheqalim* is devoted to the issue of collecting and disbursing these funds (see also notes at 2.175). *M. Sheqal.* 1.1, 3 claims that the half-shekel tax was collected from the world's Judean communities annually in Adar (Feb-March), to be ready for Nisan 1 (March-April).

This movement of funds from other provinces to a foreign city had become an issue when L. Valerius Flaccus attempted as governor of Asia to block it; Cicero defended his action against a "barbarian superstition" (*Flacc.* 67). Augustus, however, reportedly confirmed the propriety of the temple tax (Josephus, *Ant.* 16.162-165; commentary by Pucci ben Zeev 1998: 253-55). Cf. Tacitus, who claims (*Hist.* 5.5) that the worst sort of people from *other nations* "kept sending subventions and donations [*tributa et stipes*] there, thus increasing the wealth of the Judeans," and 5.7: Jerusalem had a temple "of enormous wealth."

Like other temples, the one in Jerusalem served also as a bank and place of safe deposit: it was relatively secure because of its divinely protected status (*asylum*) and, practically, because of its thick walls and fortress-like position (cf. Jeremias 1969: 55-6). It remains unclear to what extent the temple's funds were maintained in separate accounts for temple use, civic projects (2.175, 564; 4.141; 5.518), and private savings. Josephus remarks that at the time of the final conquest, the treasury-chambers contained vast sums of money deposited by Jerusalem's wealthiest citizens for safe keeping (cf. 4 Macc 4:3), along with rich priestly clothing and temple fabrics of purple (6.282). At the time of Titus' conquest, a priest and the temple treasurer will spare their lives by giving up the remaining contents of the treasuries to the Romans (6.387-391). Pompey, by contrast, though he conquered and temporarily occupied the temple in 63 BCE, is said to have left its treasures intact for the sake of piety (*Ant.* 14.73; cf. *War* 1.152-53; Cicero, *Flacc.* 67; but Dio 27.16.4).

³⁰⁵ Notwithstanding Pompey's example (previous note), the Jerusalem temple was a frequent target for well-armed local strongmen who needed quick money, and foreign leaders who thought they were entitled to use the funds, whether for civic projects or in lieu of delinquent tribute: see 1.32, 179 [1.152-53]; 2.175, 293 (cf. 403), 331; 5.187; *Ant.* 10.111, 144, 149, 233, 175; 11.10, 14; 12.49-50; 14.105; *Apion* 2.80-83. Josephus does not shrink from including the destroyers of Jerusalem led by Titus in this long line, and from spelling out their plunder of even the most sacred, and priestly, accoutrements (6.387-391; 7.148-152).

³⁰⁶ This was an enormous sum. Originally the term (τάλαντον) referred to weigh-scales, but it had also come to indicate the standard weight (about 26 kg/57.5 lb [Attic] or 38 kg/84 lb [Aeginetic]) of gold or silver in its largest denomination. The talent was worth 6,000 drachmas. In this period legionary soldiers were paid

(3.4) 51 But this loss³⁰⁸ of both the [temple] works³⁰⁹ and men only rallied the Judeans, much greater in number now and more ready to fight,³¹⁰ against the Romans. Surrounding the royal precincts,³¹¹ they threatened to destroy³¹² them all completely³¹³ if they did not make off quickly—for they promised amnesty³¹⁴ to Sabinus if he was willing to leave with his legion.³¹⁵ 52 Now the majority of the royal troops³¹⁶ deserted and joined up with

*Sabinus' army
trapped. Ant.
17.265*

the equivalent of 225 *drachmae* (*denarii*) annually, auxiliary soldiers—as in Judea—perhaps one third of that (Watson 1969: 89-114). So a single talent would have been slightly more than a legionary's total gross pay for an entire career of 25 years. But Josephus also implies (*Ant.* 17.146, 189-90, 321-23) that 1 Judean talent was equivalent to 10,000 Attic drachmas (= 12,000 Phoenician drachmas). See Schürer-Vermes 2.63-67.

He seems to indicate that by the mid-1st century BCE the cash holdings of the temple were 2,000 talents (1.152, 179; *Ant.* 14.72). Once Herod had designated Antipater his heir, he gave him a royal salary of 50 talents per annum (*Ant.* 17.97). In *War* 1.61 John Hyrcanus is able to buy off Antiochus VII, who is besieging Jerusalem, with 300 talents; the same amount persuades Scaurus to support Aristobulus on the Hasmonean throne (1.129; cf. 1.159), and 300 talents also represents Hyrcanus II's entire fortune—said to be modest for such a personage (1.268). It would take a concerted effort of Judean leaders, fanning out through the villages, to collect the mere 40 talents needed as outstanding taxes for Roman tribute, just before the outbreak of war (2.403-5), and Gessius Florus' extraction of only 17 talents for imperial use (2.293) sparked riots. These 400 talents thus represented a massive fortune.

³⁰⁷ In the parallel (*Ant.* 17.264), by contrast, the soldiers take a great part of the entire temple treasury, while Sabinus *personally* seizes 400 talents. As Thackeray points out, that parallel (coming in a section, *Ant.* 17-19, that egregiously imitates Thucydides) recalls Thucydides 7.85.3 (τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄθροισθὲν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐς τὸ κοινὸν οὐ πολὺ ἐγένετο, τὸ δὲ διακλαπὲν πολὺ), which however talks about enemy soldiers rather than money. There may be an echo of Thucydides in this passage, too, though it lacks *Antiquities'* contrast between open and concealed.

³⁰⁸ Or “ruin.” This is the first of 10 occurrences of φθορά in the *War*. The last two (*War* 6.412, 429) highlight the word's thematic importance: it is a term to which Josephus has ready recourse in his editorial descriptions of Jerusalem's plight: also 2.223, 477, 559; 3.528; 4.489, 551; 5.345.

³⁰⁹ Cf. the “marvelous works” of 2.49 above.

³¹⁰ The Judeans' tenacious determination to fight, no matter how adverse the circumstances, will become a prominent theme in *War* (see Introduction).

³¹¹ That is, the Herodian palace in W Jerusalem, occupied by Sabinus and his legion as a fortress: 2.44-46.

³¹² See the note at 2.11.

³¹³ This verb (διαφθείρω) is cognate to the noun ‘ruin’ in this sentence, with an intensifying prefix διό: in response to ruin or destruction, the Judeans will utterly destroy the enemy.

³¹⁴ Or “safe passage, impunity”: etymologically, “absence of fear” (ἄδεια).

³¹⁵ In his build-up to the later war, Josephus will feature a similar story about the rebels' siege of Roman and royal troops in the Herodian palace (2.430-40, 450-56). In that story Agrippa's troops are allowed safe passage, but the Romans initially refuse to surrender because they fear that even a guarantee of amnesty should not be trusted (2.438). Their suspicions prove accurate when, after surrendering and disarming, they are coldly cut down—on a sabbath (2.452-56). Whether or not Josephus and his audience would assume a measure of skepticism about the Judeans' promise here, in 2.54 Josephus makes Sabinus' doubt explicit.

³¹⁶ Presumably, the remaining forces of King Herod: one garrison of his formidable army (1.293, 342-44), which had seen action in support of various Roman rulers (1.320-22, 329, 364-66, 393-96), was headquartered in Jerusalem's fortress Antonia. Augustus generally allowed eastern client kings to maintain their own, independent armed forces; when their territories were later incorporated as provinces those units would become the foundation of “auxiliary” units—cavalry wings, infantry cohorts, and other specialty groups that supported the legions in campaigns (Webster 1985: 35). Shortly before his death, Herod could send a general with a “substantial force” to deal with some troublemakers (1.652) and his funeral was marked by a large military display (1.657). The force must have been large, since 3,000 of them still remain here after the majority have defected to the Judeans. Until this point, *War* 2.41 has given the Roman procurator only the legion left by Varus along with Sabinus' own rabble of armed slaves; subsequently, only the legion has been mentioned (2.45-46)—“the [Roman] soldiers” who contend with the Judean populace (2.47). The note here explains that the royal troops of the city, who would have been obliged to help the Romans keep order, as a client king's force, mainly deserted at this point to join their compatriots.

them [the Judeans].³¹⁷ The contingent most fit for war, however, 3,000 Sebastenes,³¹⁸ added themselves to the Romans.³¹⁹ Rufus and also Gratus³²⁰ were over them, the latter having the [royal] infantry under him,³²¹ Rufus the cavalry,³²² though on account of their strength

³¹⁷ We should assume, apparently, that most of Herod's army were Judeans (cf. 1.352) and so were welcomed by the Judean rebels (for exceptions, see the following notes); the same phenomenon will occur with the troops of his great-grandson Agrippa II in a later siege (2.437).

³¹⁸ These were troops raised by Herod from Samaria (see the note at 2.69), a long-standing base of support where in 27 BCE he had built the city of Sebaste with its great temple to honor the newly proclaimed "Augustus" (*Sebastos* in Greek); see Bennett 2007: 66-98. He had also settled 6,000 colonists (probably veterans) there, a move that further enhanced the city's military ethos (1.403). These troops were already then or later supplemented by recruits from Caesarea: the resulting cavalry wing and 5 cohorts (so 3,000-3,500 men [one cohort may have been of double size]) would become the core of the auxiliary force under the Roman prefects and procurators of Judea (Kraeling 1942: 265-74; Schürer-Vermes 1.364-66); see *War* 2.58, 63, 74, 169, 236; 3.66.

According to *Ant.* 19.355-66, on the death of the Judean king Agrippa I in 44 CE, the people of Caesarea and Sebaste celebrated his demise in deeply insulting ways. Those currently serving in the auxiliaries (note the close bond between citizens and soldiers) displayed images of Agrippa's daughters on the rooftops of brothels, where they proceeded to dishonor them in unspeakable ways. For that reason Claudius decided to transfer to Pontus (N Turkey) the auxiliary cavalry wing and 5 cohorts drawn from these two cities, replacing them with Roman detachments. This would be a double humiliation: for their soldiers to serve so far from home and for them to be replaced on the home front by legionaries. The populations of the affected cities persuaded Claudius to relent, however, and Josephus pointedly observes that the continued presence of the Sebastene-Caesarean cohorts was a growing aggravation to the Judeans and a significant cause of the later war.

At 2.236 (cf. *Ant.* 20.122) the procurator Cumanus will use the Sebastene auxiliary cavalry against the Judeans, unfairly intervening in the latter's conflict with the Samaritans. At 2.270 (cf. *Ant.* 20.176) the Caesareans will rely on the support of auxiliary soldiers from Sebaste and their own city to confront the Judeans. Most importantly, at 2.296, 301, 305-6, 310-12, 319-29 these very units will be more than willing accomplices in Florus' (alleged) efforts to generate a war with the Judeans, to cover up his own crimes.

Thus, although the fact that they were commanded by Roman officers might seem sufficient to explain their turn to the Roman side here (cf. *Ant.* 17.266), these royal Sebastene forerunners of those later auxiliary units also represent the ongoing hostility in Josephus' narratives between Judeans and Samaritans (cf. *War* 2.232-44; *Ant.* 11.88, 97, 116-19; 18.30). In addition to their commanders' loyalties, their own sympathies make them natural allies of the Romans (or of anyone else; cf. *Ant.* 12.257-61) confronting the Judeans.

³¹⁹ See the note to "Sebastenes" in this section: this group of Samaritan fighters and their Roman commanders would naturally sympathize with the Romans against the (other) Judeans.

³²⁰ Both are common Latin names (*cognomina*: *Rufus*, reddish; *Gratus*: pleasing, dear; cf. Kajanto 1982: 282) with many derivative and diminutive forms. *Rufus* is among the 18 most common names (Kajanto 1982: 29-30); whereas it is found all but exclusively among the freeborn (Kajanto 121, 134), *Gratus* was more common among slaves and freedmen (Kajanto 73). In any case, the names suggest that *Gratus* and *Rufus* were Romans seconded to command two of Herod's elite units. It would become common in the early empire (1st to 3rd centuries CE) for ex-centurions from the legions, and then young men of equestrian status (the lower nobility), to be offered a series of commands of auxiliary cohorts and cavalry wings in the provinces. See Watson 1969: 24-25; Webster 1985: 145-50; Le Bohec 1994: 26, 46.

Although technically independent (as an ally of Rome), Herod's army functioned practically as an auxiliary force in its constant availability to Roman commanders (see note to "troops" in this section), and so it is not surprising that Herod anticipated the auxiliary model: the same close relations with Augustus and Agrippa that had won him a Thracian, German, and Gallic bodyguard (*War* 1.672) apparently worked to secure Roman commanders for some of his forces, which appear to have been organized on the Roman model—like many client armies (Keppie 1998: 141; Shatzman 1991: 198-210). In the absence of their own native ruler (Herod, now dead), the various constituent groups of the royal army and their commanders had to choose where to place their allegiance.

³²¹ Note the chiasmic structure here. It was typical of later auxiliary forces (see previous notes) that they were divided into cavalry wings (*alae*) and infantry cohorts (*cohortes*)—and also mixed units (*equitata*): see Webster 1985: 145. Both could be groups of about 500 (most

and savvy each of these men [alone] was a deciding factor in war,³²³ even without a force at their command.³²⁴ **53** The Judeans, therefore, kept pressing the siege, making an attempt upon the walls of the fortress³²⁵ and at the same time calling on Sabinus and his men to leave—not to be an obstacle to those who, after a long time, were restoring their ancestral self-government.³²⁶ **54** Sabinus fondly wished to sneak away, but he mistrusted their promises and suspected that their agreeable posture was bait³²⁷ for an ambush,³²⁸ given that he was at the same time hoping for help from Varus,³²⁹ he waited around in the siege.

(4.1) 55 Now during all this, things were also being stirred up throughout the countryside³³⁰ from many quarters, and the opportunity induced³³¹ large numbers³³² to [seek]

General uprising; Judas son of Ezekias. Ant. 17.269

commonly) or, less often and perhaps only from the late first century CE (Le Bohec 1994: 26, 46), 1000. Gratus and the royal (Sebastene) infantry reappear at *War* 2.58-59, 63-64, 74; cf. 2.67-68; cf. *Ant.* 17.266, 275-76, 283-84, 294.

³²² Rufus and the Sebastene royal cavalry reappear at 2.74; cf. *Ant.* 17.266, 294.

³²³ Or “one who tipped the scales of a war” (πολέμου ῥοπή). Josephus will use this colorful phrase (ῥοπή means literally the weight that goes in the pan of the weigh-scales, and by extension the falling of one side of the scale) again at 2.470 and in non-personal applications (*War* 3.396; cf. 5.88). For the image see Isocrates, *Pan.* 50.3; Diodorus 14.21.2; 17.8.7; *Rhetorica Anonyma*, *Progymnasmata* 1.607; Oenomaus, *Frag.* 6.63; Dio 50.19.5. The syntax is not entirely clear, and is variously understood by the MSS and critics (Lat. *quorum uterque ui corporis atque prudentia, etiamsi nullam manum obedientem haberent, magnum tamen momentum belli romanis addidissent*); I follow Naber and Thackeray here. The parallel (*Ant.* 17.266) devotes a shorter parenthetical statement of praise to the fighters under Rufus and Gratus, rather than to the commanders.

³²⁴ Cf. Simon son of Saoul at 2.470, who is such a deciding factor on his own.

³²⁵ Apparently the Herodian palace in W Jerusalem (cf. 2.46). At 5.177 Josephus mentions that the walls enclosing Herod’s palace were 30 cubits high (not counting the towers): about 45 ft. or nearly 14 m.

³²⁶ See the note to “self-government” (αὐτονομία) at 2.22. *Ant.* 17.267 has “liberty” (ἐλευθερία) in the corresponding place. Given the proximity of this passage to others in which members of the Judean elite seek “autonomy” under the umbrella of Rome (2.22, 80/91), one might surmise that Josephus is developing—in preparation for the Great War—a debate about what true freedom or autonomy means. For a different view, see D. R. Schwartz 2002. Diodotus’ speech in Thucydides (3.41-48) may have come to mind for Josephus and his audience, for there αὐτονομία is what the Mitylenian rebels had fought for (3.46.5; note the interchangeability with ἐλευθερία: 3.45.6), and Diodotus tries to keep the

Athenians from punitively slaughtering the city’s population.

³²⁷ Curiously, Josephus uses this word (δέλεαρ) frequently in *War* 1-2 (1.373, 434, 514; here and 2.158 [of the Essenes’ positive theological bait; see note there]), then not again until the end of the *Apion* (2.184). This is an example of his general tendency to use certain words for a while and then drop them. By far the heaviest attested user of the word before Josephus was Philo, who accounts for 23 of the 80 pre-Josephan attestations; Aristotle accounts for 18, Polybius for 9.

³²⁸ See the note to “legion” at 2.51. In a story set 70 years later (2.430-56) Josephus will tell of the Roman garrison of Jerusalem, which, after being granted safe passage and while surrendering, is slaughtered in cold blood. False pledges of safety as ambush set-ups appear elsewhere in Josephus: *Ant.* 20.160-61; *Life* 216, 246-47, 294-302.

³²⁹ Sabinus has repeatedly sent messengers to Varus, begging for aid (2.45).

³³⁰ That is: in addition to activities just described in the capital. The following survey moves artfully S to Idumea, then N to Galilee, then E to Perea before returning to the vicinity of Jerusalem (2.60). Josephus thus gives the impression of a large region in turmoil; he uses a similar pattern at 2.43 above. Contrast the parallel in *Ant.* 17.269, which locates the following disturbances in *Judea* proper. That difference of emphasis requires a few other changes: Herod’s former troops rebel in Judea, rather than Idumea; the reference to Judas’ location is less important; and Simon of Perea acts throughout the whole countryside of Judea, rather than in raids on nearby Jericho as here.

³³¹ See the note to this verb at 1.5. This is the 1st of 7 occurrences in bk. 2 (out of 12 in *War*: also 2.103, 109, 110, 182, 409, 615); it helps to create an atmosphere of deviance in the antecedents of the war.

³³² Josephus’ word for “large numbers” here (συχνοῦς) is relatively rare in comparison to the common πολλοῦς in the similar clause at *War* 1.5 (see next note). This word is characteristic of *War*, however, where it occurs 33 times, against only 9 in the much longer *Antiquities*, once in *Life*, and twice in *Apion*.

sovereignty.³³³ For example, in Idumea³³⁴ 2,000 of those who had once been soldiers under Herod united in arms³³⁵ and fought strenuously against the royalists.³³⁶ Among the latter Achiab, the king's cousin,³³⁷ was giving battle from the most fortified positions, evading the entanglement³³⁸ of the plains.³³⁹ **56** And at Sepphoris of Galilee³⁴⁰ Judas, son

³³³ Or “kingship, a kingdom.” This clause (καὶ συχνοὺς βασιλείαν ὁ καιρὸς ἀνέπειθεν) is a nearly verbatim replica of Josephus’ statement in the prologue (1.5) concerning the situation throughout the empire following Nero’s death: “everything was filled with disturbances after Nero, and while *the opportunity induced many [to seek] sovereignty* (καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν βασιλείαν ὁ καιρὸς ἀνέπειθεν)” The phrasing does not seem attested in other Greek literature. Most of the MSS read “induced many to exercise kingship (βασιλεύειν),” but possibly under the influence of 1.5 Niese and Thackeray follow MS C (βασιλείαν [from βασιλείᾳ] “to aspire to kingship, sovereignty, kingdom”). The Latin elaborates *ad regni cupidinem*. The parallel at *Ant.* 17.269 gives different motives: personal gain and—given that Idumeans will be next mentioned—animosity toward the Judeans.

³³⁴ Contrast *Ant.* 17.270: in Judea (and see note to “countryside” above).

³³⁵ Josephus’ use of this word (ἔνοπλος) is concentrated in *War* 2 (8 occurrences); otherwise it appears twice each in *War* 6 and *Antiquities*. See, similarly, the note to “bait” at 2.54.

³³⁶ Although οἱ βασιλικοί by itself might indicate royal partisans, not necessarily soldiers—and the meaning of the word is less certain at 2.62 below—the context here requires royal soldiers or forces. *War* 2.52 had seemed to imply, however, that Herod’s force had disbanded, most going with the Judean rebels, the rest (3,000 under Rufus and Gratus) to the Romans. The best alternatives appear to be: (a) that 2.52 was carelessly formulated; (b) that although royal forces in the Jerusalem area did more or less dissolve into Judean-rebel and Roman contingents, this Idumean contest—between different factions of the royal army—was not included in that reckoning, or (c) that the Idumean conflict occurred earlier than the disbandment mentioned in 2.52. Of these, (a) seems most inherently plausible, since it is hard to imagine the royal forces in the Jerusalem area disbanding entirely (cf. further 2.62) before the outcome of the Roman succession hearings was known. The phrasing here (2,000 against the unnumbered “royal troops”) suggests that the forces in question remained substantial, the main army somewhat more numerous than the rebels.

³³⁷ Achiab was introduced at *War* 1.662. When Herod was about to take his own life, Achiab rushed in and stayed the king’s hand. According to *Ant.* 15.250, he had loyally blocked the handing over of Herod’s fortresses

in Jerusalem to Alexandra, daughter of the Hasmonean Hyrcanus II. He reappears at 2.77, successfully advising the last rebels in Idumea to surrender to Varus.

³³⁸ Possibly suggesting “close-quarter [combat],” though the word (συμπλοκή) can include any sort of complication; perhaps (see next note) Achiab’s enemy should be understood as having a strong cavalry force.

³³⁹ *Ant.* 17.270 expands: Achiab was driven from the plains into the hill country by the greater expertise of his enemies, and retreated to places that were inaccessible to them. An experienced commander himself, Josephus as author pays attention to the tactical issue of terrain: see e.g. *War* 3.278-79; 4.423; 5.305. In particular, cavalry are suited to open country, whereas infantry, especially those that lack the Romans’ formations and size, fight best in hills and other protected areas: *Life* 117, 397; Frontinus, *Strat.* 2.18. Josephus implicitly commends Achiab for knowing which terrain suited him best. Indeed, the later “war” (66-73 CE) that is the main subject of this work will consist mainly of Roman sieges (of Judean strongholds), with occasional and important raids or ambushes by the Judeans, but not pitched battles in open countryside.

³⁴⁰ Sepphoris was introduced in 1.170 as “a city in Galilee”—indicating the audience’s expected lack of knowledge even of major centers in the region—and as the regional capital created by Gabinius in the mid-50s. According to 1.304-13, Sepphoris, which would later show immediate support for Rome in the war (*War* 2.511 [but 2.574]; *Life* 30, 38, 104), also capitulated quickly to the young Herod, who used the site as his base for pacifying Galilee. By Josephus’ time of writing, Sepphoris’ role as chief city of Galilee had been eclipsed by Antipas’ founding of Tiberias (ca. 18-19 CE); then, with Tiberias’ transfer to Agrippa II by Nero in 56 CE, Sepphoris had regained its primary status (*War* 2.252-53; *Ant.* 20.159; *Life* 37-38 with notes). The city has figured prominently in the flurry of studies on Galilee, especially in the controversies over the ethnic and cultural character of the region or its cities, much of which is driven by historical-Jesus research (e.g., R.S. Hanson 1980; Freyne 1980, 1988, 2002, 2004; Levine 1992; Horsley 1995, 1996; Martin Nagy 1996; Edwards and McCollough 1997; Rabinowitz 1997; Meyers 1999; Reed 2000; Sawicki 2000; Chancey 2002, 2005; Aviam 2004). See also 2.574 below and, for a brief overview of the archaeology, Appendix A in BJP 9.

of Ezekias³⁴¹ (the chief bandit³⁴² who in another time³⁴³ overran the countryside and was

³⁴¹ This Ezekias (עִזְקִיָּא) was mentioned briefly at 1.204: he was the first bandit casualty of the young Herod's appointment—by his father Antipater—as governor or general over Galilee. In *Ant.* 14.159, 167, the same story becomes the basis for a trial of Herod before the Jerusalem court on the charge that he has killed without due process (14.165-84), and that story in turn becomes important to *Antiquities'* portrayal of Herod (15.3-4, 370). Many scholars have supposed that the son of Ezekias mentioned here was the Judas “of Galilee/Gaulanitis” who led an abortive revolt a decade later (6 CE), at the annexation of Judea under direct Roman rule (*War* 2.117-18; *Ant.* 18.4-9; Acts 5:37; cf. Kennard 1945-46; Hengel 1989: 331-33; Schürer-Vermes 1.381). But Judas was an extremely common name in the period (Hachlili 2005: 200) and, although Josephus is deeply interested in the rebel dynasty of the later Judas, he does not give the slightest hint of such a connection (cf. Smallwood 1981: 153 n. 40). Hengel (1989: 331-33; see his n. 101 for scholars on each side of the question) explains Josephus' failure to indicate the connection on the supposition that he failed to reconcile different sources—a possibility easier to suggest than to render persuasive.

³⁴² “Bandit” language (ληστής, ληστεία, *latro*, *latrocinium*; here ἀρχιληστής) was highly charged for Josephus and contemporary writers. See the note to “bandit” at *Life* 21 in BJP 9; Shaw 1984; Horsley and Hanson 1988; Hengel 1989: 24-46; Price 1992: 17-24; Firpo 1997: 684-98; Habinek 1998: 69-87; Grünwald 1999; Jossa 2001: 132-146. Although the E Mediterranean hill country was infested with real bandits, these were often clients of wealthier men, and the label was regularly used for one's powerful political opponents—to place them beyond the pale of civil society. The crucial ingredient was that the opponents be powerful men who instilled fear by their ability to intimidate others and seemingly take what they wanted without recourse to social and political norms. The term thus gained wide currency in times of civil war, hurled at opponents by those who considered themselves representatives of order (therefore sometimes mutually applied). John of Gischala, Josephus' aristocratic competitor in Galilee and “close friend” of the leading Pharisee Simeon son of Gamaliel in Jerusalem (*Life* 192) is described as a “bandit” (*War* 2.587, 593) and Josephus' opponent Jesus is a “chief bandit” (*Life* 105). When Josephus describes some “bandits” at *War* 2.264, he similarly implies more than ordinary criminal activity: they “incited many to defection (ἀπόστασις), exhorting them to freedom, threatening death to those who submitted to the *imperium Romanum* and saying that they would remove by force those voluntarily choosing slavery.” These are, then, political

revolutionaries. Similarly, the militant *sicarii* who will hold out against the Romans at Masada (*War* 7.252-58) Josephus describes as bandits (2.254). *Ant.* 14.271-85 gives insight into the variety of his usage, describing a “bandit” counter-state with its own unwritten laws in Trachonitis.

In Rome, Cicero's conflicts with Catiline and Marc Antony (*Phil.* 5.23) had long ago established a potent political sense for *latrocinium*; the orator effectively denounced both his fellow aristocrat and that man's followers as bandits (*latrones*; Habinek 1998: 69-87). In a famous inscription preserving a speech of Claudius in 48 CE (*CIL* 13.668), the *princeps* refers to a wealthy Gaul who had been consul twice, D. Valerius Asiaticus, since forced to commit suicide for alleged conspiracy, as a bandit. Now Josephus takes a similar tack, quite possibly with the Catilinarian background in mind—a precedent well known to his Roman audience. He also has important support from the Bible—LXX Jeremiah 7.11 (“you have made my house a den of λησται”)—in linking the “bandits” of *War* with temple pollution.

Josephus is the first known writer to use the Greek compound rendered “chief bandit” (ἀρχιληστής), which he employs a remarkable 11 times. A few others had used the reverse form ληστάρχης (“bandit chief”; Diodorus 33.1; Polyaeus 4.9.3; cf. Plutarch, *Crass.* 22.3; Appian, *Iber.* 289), which Josephus avoids. If his preferred form is an innovation, it may have been prompted by the Latin expressions *dux* or *princeps latronum*, which Cicero uses with distinctly political connotations (*princeps latronum duxque*, of Marc Antony, *Phil.* 4.27.5; cf. *Fam.* 10.14.1; *Ep. Brut.* 13.2.5), or possibly in imitation of the compound ἀρχιπειρατής, “chief pirate,” slightly better attested before and around Josephus' time (Diodorus 20.97.6; Plutarch, *Pomp.* 45.4; Polyaeus, *Strat.* 4.6.18; 5.19.1)—the latter suggestion owed to Martin West and Jane Lightfoot in conversation.

In any case, Josephus uses the term with strong political connotations. Thus *War* 2.275: speaking of certain “influential men” (δυνατοί) among those desiring revolution: “each of these worthless fellows (πονηροί), supporting himself with his own brigade [or swarm], himself dominated the band like a chief bandit or tyrant.” The issue is revolutionary tendencies, not simple robbery, and the word is interchangeable with “tyrant”—a key term in the *War* (cf. 1.10) for leaders of rebel factions; see also 4.135; 5.30 (cf. “tyrant” in 5.6, 11). One such tyrant, John of Gischala, though a wealthy and well-connected man (*Life* 188-92), is described by Josephus as a “bandit” who gradually gathered a troop under him (*War* 2.587). And the “chief bandit” Eleazar son of Deineus, who retaliated against the Samaritans for their murder of

subdued³⁴⁴ by King Herod), united a rabble of considerable size and broke open* the royal armories;³⁴⁵ having armed his group, he made attempts on those who were jealously vying³⁴⁶ for sovereign power.³⁴⁷

Simon of Perea.
Ant. 17.273

(4.2) 57 In Perea³⁴⁸ a certain one of the royal slaves,³⁴⁹ Simon,³⁵⁰ relying on bodily physique³⁵¹ and size,³⁵² although he wrapped* the diadem³⁵³ on himself, going around with the bandits³⁵⁴ he had gathered he burned down* both the royal [properties]³⁵⁵ at Hierichous

Galilean pilgrims (*War* 2.253), appears to have had some status, given that he was sent to Rome for trial whereas his followers were crucified in Judea (2.253).

³⁴³ This was about 120 years before Josephus' time of writing (i.e., mid-40s BCE).

³⁴⁴ Or "taken in hand." in this case meaning "killed": 1.204; cf. *Ant.* 14.159.

³⁴⁵ The armories of Sepphoris, presumably: *Ant.* 17.271 implies that weapons were stored in the royal palace there. Perhaps we should understand that Herod's army in Galilee had by now disbanded, so that weapons stores lacked protection. Given the sequel, the weapons in question were apparently those usable by guerrilla soldiers: swords, javelins, daggers, shields, body armor, helmets, etc.—not artillery pieces or the like. *Ant.* 17.271 emphasizes that Judas armed each individual.

³⁴⁶ That is, vying with *him*. In *Ant.* 17.272 this verb (ζηλώω) is predicated rather of Judas himself.

³⁴⁷ The latter half of this sentence is strikingly similar to 2.434, where Menachem "son" of Judas (possibly grandson of this Ezekias) does the same thing at Masada: he breaks open the royal armories, arms his followers, and with this escort begins to behave like a king.

³⁴⁸ The parcel of land E of the Jordan River and the northern part of the Dead Sea, bounded by the Nabatean kingdom on the E and S; part of Herod's territory that will eventually go to his son Antipas along with Galilee (2.95). Perea was first mentioned in 1.586 and Josephus will describe it more fully in 3.44-47. He has explained the name at 2.43.

³⁴⁹ Josephus' audience was well familiar with the possibility of slave revolt; the two Sicilian slave revolts of the late 130s and 104 BCE, respectively, and especially the revolt of Capuan gladiators led by Spartacus, a former shepherd (cf. *War* 2.60 below), in 73-71 BCE, remained etched in Rome's collective memory (Liv. 95.4-97.4; Lucan, *Bell. Civ.* 2.554; Pliny, *Hist. nat.* 15.126; 33.49; Frontinus, *Strat.* 1.7.6; 2.5.34; Tacitus, *Ann.* 3.73; 15.46). That Tacitus (next note) does not identify this Simon as a slave, implying rather that he was a local Judean leader with broad support, raises the question—if Tacitus had independent access to the story—whether Josephus has introduced the slave connection in order to help marginalize this rebel. On ancient slave rebellions in general, see Bradley 1989.

³⁵⁰ This Simon is singled out by Tacitus (*Hist.* 5.9) as the sole instigator of a Judean revolt at the time of Varus: "On Herod's death, without waiting for Caesar a certain Simon (*Simo quidam*; cf. Josephus, Σίμων τις) usurped the title of king (*regium nomen invaserat*). He was punished by Quintilius Varus, who was governing Syria, and three children of Herod controlled this tamed people in three divisions" (*et gentem coercitam liberi Herodis tripartito rexere*). Tacitus implies that Simon was a native ruler who assumed the leadership of his people without Caesar's approval (a role attributed to Archelaus in Josephus, by that man's opponents). Josephus, by contrast, emphatically distances Simon from legitimate government, portraying him as one of many bandit pretenders. For the use of τις in Josephus, see Chapman 1998: 89-91. On Simon, see Farmer 1957-58.

³⁵¹ The redundant phrase εὐμορφία σώματος (εὐμορφία normally stands alone) alerts us to the implicit critique. How could a slave, lacking the obvious necessity of suitable blood-line and inherited character, aspire to be king? Josephus has to explain. The only other passage containing both words (*Ant.* 6.160) also comes in the context of kingship qualifications. There it is God who contrasts this trait (σωμάτων εὐμορφία), which he disdains, with "virtue of soul" (ψυχῶν ἀρετή)—the key qualification for Israel's king (David). The same sort of critique seems implied here.

³⁵² The intimidating size of slaves, who were accustomed to physical labor, and the consequent terror caused by their banding together in revolt, is emphasized by Diodorus (34/35.2.27-30).

³⁵³ That is: "boldly declared himself to be king." For "diadem" see the note at 2.3. Slaves becoming "kings" evoked terrifying memories in Rome, for that is what had happened in the storied Sicilian slave revolts led by the Syrian Eunus (135-132 BCE; Diodorus 34/35.2.17: "having fastened on a diadem and otherwise decked himself out in royal fashion, he designated his wife, a Syrian from the same city, his queen") and Salvius (104-101 BCE; Diodorus 36.7.4; cf. Alföldy 1988: 67-73). By emphasizing the craze for the diadem and sole power here, Josephus continues his critique of monarchy (and tyranny); see Mason 2008b.

³⁵⁴ See the note to "chief bandit" at 2.56. The μέν . . . δέ construction highlights the contrast between Simon's

[Jericho]³⁵⁶ and many other villas³⁵⁷ of the rich,³⁵⁸ easily procuring plunder for himself out of the fire.³⁵⁹ **58** And he would have been the first to incinerate³⁶⁰ every decent house had not Gratus, the commander of the royal infantry,³⁶¹ taken along the Trachonite³⁶² archers

claim to kingship and his ingrained character—that of a bandit. The same point is made at 2.62 with Athrongeus. Given that Simon was a former slave (if he really was), it is inherently likely that his “bandit” followers were from the same class; given their reported actions against the wealthy, they would fit the predictable pattern of slaves revolting to improve their conditions (e.g., Bradley 1989: 1-17).

³⁵⁵ Here the substantive adjective τὰ βασιλεία is plural; at *Ant.* 17.274 it is singular. In neither case does Josephus give a noun to clarify which royal belongings at Jericho were burned. We might imagine Herod’s winter palace with all of its constituent buildings, all the royal sites in and around Jericho (see next note), or simply a vague conception on Josephus’ part (since his Roman audience did not need to know details).

³⁵⁶ Jericho has been mentioned often: 1.56, 120, 138 (brief description), 170 (made an administrative center by Gabinius), 299-302, 323, 331, 335, 361 (the city and its bounty given to Cleopatra by Antony), 437; 2.3, 43. Because of its warm winters and fertile soil, as well as its proximity to Jerusalem, Jericho had always been a seasonal retreat for monarchs, who adorned it with palaces and fortresses. Naturally, it also became a center of Herod’s building activity: he constructed a fortress in honor of his mother on the hills above the city (1.417) and several other buildings in the city itself (1.407; cf. 1.659, 666), including 3 contiguous palaces of increasing size and a hippodrome (cf. Netzer 2006: 42-80; Appendix A to this volume). Simon’s raids on Herod’s newly vacated complex make good tactical sense, since this treasure trove lay just over the Jordan River from his base in Perea. According to *Ant.* 17.340, Archelaus rebuilds a palace there.

³⁵⁷ This word (ἔπαυλις) occurs only here and at *War* 2.552 in Josephus.

³⁵⁸ Merciless war against the wealthy had also been the hallmark of the slave revolts in Sicily (Diodorus 34/35.2.1-3, 10-12, 26, 40, 48)—described by Diodorus as predictable retaliation for mistreatment; Josephus does not explore such questions here. Whereas this passage suggests that these non-royal properties were all in Jericho, *Ant.* 17.274 has Simon proceed to attack other royal holdings in many parts of the country. The literary context is different there (see note to “countryside” at *War* 2.55): Josephus wants to locate the disturbances mainly in Judea (*Ant.* 17.269), whereas here he is listing

outbreaks in areas around the borderlands of Judea.

³⁵⁹ Compare another story of burning and plundering royal property in a time of revolt, in order to realize wealth from the goods: *Life* 68-69.

³⁶⁰ Of 25 occurrences of καταφλέγω in Josephus, 22 are in *War* (plus 3 occurrences of συγκαταφλέγω—attested before Josephus only in a fragment of Posidonius; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 14.2.2; Philo, *Flacc.* 69; *Abr.* 182), and 13 are in bk. 2—helping to set the atmosphere in the build-up to total war. This is a far higher frequency than in any author before Josephus: e.g., Thucydides has it once (4.133.2); Polybius does not use it; Diodorus has it 9 times, Philo 14 times.

³⁶¹ See 2.52 and notes.

³⁶² The MSS offer a confused array of “Tarichean, Trachaiote, Tetrarchaiote,” *inter alia*; but Niese, Thackeray, Pelletier, M-B, and others follow Hudson in reading “Trachonite” from the Latin (*ex trachonitida sagittarios*). Trachonitis (lit. “rough area”) was formed of a broken lava field some 40 km S of Damascus, in the area now known as the Leja, N/NW of Auranitis (Hauran) and E/NE of Batanea (see Schürer-Vermes 1.337-38; Millar 1993: 36-7). The area was a center for bandits, who could escape there and live in hiding with relative ease (*War* 1.398-99). Given to Herod by Augustus (*War* 1.398-400), then to his son Philip (*War* 1.668; *Ant.* 17.189, 319; 18.106), it will pass to the kingdom of Agrippa I in 41 CE (2.215) and then that of Agrippa II in about 53 CE (2.247; *Ant.* 20.138).

The frequent revolts of the Trachonites against Herodian rule (*Ant.* 16.130, 271-76, 285) and their relentless bandit raids reportedly led the king to establish a tax-free colony of Babylonian-Judean immigrants, skilled in archery (*Ant.* 17.23-26), in Batanea to their W—as a buffer zone between Trachonitis and Gaulanitis. The parallel (*Ant.* 17.275-77) omits any reference to these archers’ support for the royal and Roman forces, and it is difficult to see why Trachonites would have been willing to help a Roman commander who had formerly served Herod and was now defending his interests. Given the fact that the fighters mentioned here are skilled archers, something not otherwise claimed for the Trachonites, one wonders (if the text is correctly read as “Trachonite”) whether Josephus does not intend the Trachonites’ neighbors: the Babylonian-Judeans of Batanea, who would remain loyal to the Herodian family for generations (*Life* 48-63).

and the best fighting unit of the Sebastenes³⁶³ and gone out to meet* the man. **59** As a consequence, large numbers³⁶⁴ of the Pereans³⁶⁵ were destroyed³⁶⁶ in the fighting. As for Simon himself: while he was trying to retreat by way of a steep ravine, Gratus intercepted him;* as he tried to escape, [Gratus] struck his neck from the side and lopped off [his head].³⁶⁷

Furthermore, the royal [residences] near the Jordan at Betharamatha³⁶⁸ were incinerated³⁶⁹ by certain others who had united from Perea.³⁷⁰

(4.3) 60 And then³⁷¹ a certain shepherd³⁷² dared³⁷³ to lay claim to kingship! Athrongeus he was called.³⁷⁴ Strength of body³⁷⁵ and a soul that held death in contempt³⁷⁶ commend-

*The shepherd
Athrongeus.
Ant. 17.278*

³⁶³ See 2.52 and notes.

³⁶⁴ See the note at 2.55.

³⁶⁵ The MSS, apparently confused, offer “infantrymen” (πεζῶν), “sons” (παίδων, MS A), or the ungrammatical participle παίων (P); but Niese reasonably follows Destinton’s emendation to read “Pereans” (as also Thackeray, Pelletier, M-B) in view of the parallel at *Ant.* 17.276.

³⁶⁶ See the note at 2.11.

³⁶⁷ Although *Ant.* 17.276 is clear that Gratus “cut off his head,” the language here leaves the object of the verb unstated. The Latin has *diecit*, which is vague enough to mean simply that Gratus killed him.

³⁶⁸ Following Thackeray, Pelletier, M-B and others. The MSS offer a variety of forms (e.g., βηθαράμιν ἔνθα in PA, followed by Niese’s *editio maior*), indicating confusion. But the site’s location near the Jordan, along with the parallel at *Ant.* 17.277 (on which see Marcus-Wikgren in LCL; van Henten in BJP 7 forthcoming) and the other variants (βηθαραμάθου, MLVRC; *betharantas*, Lat.), commend biblical Beit-Haram (Josh 13:27), which lay on the E side of the Jordan about 6 miles (10 km) N/NE of the Dead Sea. At *Ant.* 18.27 Herod Antipas is said to have walled this city—there Betharamphtha, with some MS variation—and renamed it Iulias (cf. *War* 2.168, 252; 4.438) in honor of Augustus’ wife. But since Livia was adopted into the *gens Iulia* only in 14 CE, as a consequence of Augustus’ will, it seems that Antipas originally called the site Livias; cf. A. H. M. Jones 1937: 275.

³⁶⁹ See the note at 2.58.

³⁷⁰ With characteristic variation (see note to “country-side” at 2.55), the parallel at *Ant.* 17.277 says only that the Betharamatha residences were burned by men like Simon, not that these men were Pereans.

³⁷¹ After this tour around the outlying regions of Judea (see the note to “countryside” at 2.55), Josephus returns to the center.

³⁷² For a Roman audience this rebel might well recall the shepherd-turned-slave Spartacus; see note to “Simon” in 2.57.

³⁷³ A frequent term in Josephus (about 338 times in various forms of the root), usually of reproach—“X had

the effrontery to do Y”—because an aristocratic value system does not praise unpredictable actions outside of one’s usual place or role, the essence of daring.

³⁷⁴ Both the Greek MSS and the Latin (*Athrongeo* [dative]) favor Ἀθρογγαῖος as the man’s name; at the parallel in *Ant.* 17.278 the MSS show confusion, but suggest Athronges (Lat. *Athonges*). The etymology of the name has not been explained. The *Jewish Encyclopaedia* (s. v.) preserves the hypothesis of Solomon Judah Löb Rapoport’s (mid-19th-cent.) ‘*Erek Millin* that the name represents the Hebraized Persian *etrog*, the citron fruit used with the *lulav* at the festival of Sukkot; Rapoport identified the man with ben Batiach, “son of the cucumber” (*m. Kelim* 17.12), suggesting that both food names related to the remarkable size of his fists. Farmer (1957-58: 151-54) builds upon the same etymology in support of his theory that many rebel leaders were Hasmonean descendants: he notes that *Sukkot* was especially important to the Hasmoneans (2 Macc. 1.9, 18) and further suggests that Athrongeus and his brothers were the sons of Antigonos, who had been king for more than 3 years under Parthian sponsorship before Herod’s seizure of power. Aside from the inherent weakness of all such speculations in the absence of evidence, this one runs up against Josephus’ plain statement that Athrongeus was a shepherd, whose physical and mental strength were his chief credentials.

³⁷⁵ The phrase σώματος ἰσχὺς is a cliché (Antiphon, *De caede Herodis* 93; Plato, *Resp.* 371e; Xenophon, *Mem.* 3.9.1; *Cyr.* 7.5.65; *Ages.* 11.14; Aristotle, *Physiog.* 806b, 807a; *Resp.* 470b; Philo, *Dec.* 60.2; Plutarch, *Cic.* 29.1; *Mor.* 2e, 227e), which appears only here in Josephus. See the note at 2.57: Diodorus uses this phrase of the slave rebels in Sicily in 133 BCE, noting that what we might call the high-protein diet of meat and milk, on which herdsmen lived, rendered brutish their souls and bodies alike (34/35.2.30).

³⁷⁶ Though it is not attested in other authors, Josephus gives the identical phrase (“a soul that despised death,” ψυχῇ θανάτου καταφρονουῖσα) to Agrippa II as the king speaks of the once indomitable Germans now subject to Rome (3.377). Josephus also uses the cliché

ed³⁷⁷ this hope to him—and besides these, four brothers like him.³⁷⁸ **61** To each of these fellows he hitched³⁷⁹ an armed century,³⁸⁰ and used them just like generals and satraps³⁸¹ for the raids, while he himself—exactly like a king—handled the more “august affairs.”³⁸² **62** In fact, at the time, although he was wrapping* a diadem on himself,³⁸³ he continued

“holding death in contempt” (θανάτου καταφρονεῖν) much more often (*War* 2.151, 377; 3.356, 475; 5.458; 6.33, 42; 7.406; *Apion* 2.294) than any other known ancient author (cf. Ctesias, *Frag.* [Jacoby] 3c.688f fr. 45 line 248; Critodemus, *Frag.* [Kroll] vol. 5.2: 53.1; Posidonius, *Frag.* [Theiler] 169.98; Diodorus 5.29.2; 17.43.6, 107.6; Philo, *Abr.* 183.2; Musonius Rufus, *Diss. Luc. dig.* 10.8-9; Epictetus, *Diatr.* 4.1.71; Plutarch, *Brut.* 12.2; *Mor.* 210f, 216c, 219e; Appian, *Celt.* 1.9; *Bell. civ.* 5.4.36; *Ep. Diogn.* 1.1; 10.7; Lucian, *Peregr.* 13.12; 23.2, 6; 33.6; Marcus Aurelius 4.50.1; 9.3.1; 12.34.1; Polyaeus, *Strat.* 5.14.1; 7.17.1; Diogenes Laertius 1.6; Dio 43.38.1; 46.26.2, 28.5; 62.25; Plotinus, *Enn.* 2.9.18). It is an important feature of Josephus’ outlook (see Introduction) that he can accord this highly praiseworthy national characteristic (*Apion* 2.294; cf. *War* 2.151 on the Essenes and 3.357, 475) even to those compatriots who prosecuted the war long past any legitimacy, under the tyrants John, Simon, and Eleazar (5.458; 7.406).

³⁷⁷ This recherché verb (προξενέω) occurs 4 times throughout *War* (also 1.458; 3.452; 5.66) and once in *Antiquities* (16.56), though it is rare after the classical period (e.g., Euripides, *Ion* 335; *Med.* 724; Sophocles, *Trach.* 726; *Oed. col.* 465) and before Josephus. Its literal meaning is to serve as a “public guest” (i.e., state-appointed ambassador in or from another place: πρόξενος)—from there, by degrees of abstraction, to “introduce” or “recommend” one person to another for business purposes. Usage of the verb picks up after Josephus, and we even find “hope” (ἐλπίζ) as direct object in the 2nd-cent. Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. Clit.* 7.13.1.

³⁷⁸ Farmer (1957-58: 152-53) is struck by the parallels between these 5 brothers and the 5 Hasmonean sons of Mattathias (1 Macc. 3.1-8), which he takes to support his theory that these brothers were also Hasmonean descendants.

³⁷⁹ Literally “yoked under” (ὑποζεύγνυμι), a word typically used of animals brought under the yoke (e.g., *Ant.* 6.11; 8.41) and so a strong term for one’s military subordinates. At *Apion* 2.127 Josephus uses it metaphorically of the nations brought under the imperial yoke. Here he emphasizes the despotic character of Athrongeus’ brothers.

³⁸⁰ Or “band, company, squad” (λόχος). Note the parallel at 2.275, where the factional leaders in Jerusalem become effectively bandit-leaders or tyrants over their respective λόχοι; there the word is used interchangeably with στίφος (either “unit” or pejoratively “swarm,

band”). From the word’s primary sense of “ambush,” in many writers it indicates a small unit suited to this tactic, reckoned at 16 men (Asclepiodotus, *Tact.* 2.7-10). It is also, however, the standard equivalent of Latin *centuria* (=80 men). Given that standard usage and Josephus’ use of the term for a unit commanded by a centurion (see note to “century in column” at 2.63), it seems best to understand the two cases of bandit and regular forces in similar ways. It is unlikely that Josephus means to give each of these sub-tyrants only a small squad, and at 2.63 Areius the centurion will lose 40 men from his λόχος but still escape with a good number. So it seems that the audience might understand something roughly equivalent to a century.

Given Josephus’ acknowledgment of Athrongeus’ contempt for death and martial prowess, his use of λόχος here, and in 2.63 of the Roman century, may serve in part to parallel the martial spirit of even disreputable Judeans—one of *War*’s primary themes (see Introduction)—with that of the Romans.

³⁸¹ Satraps (from Old Persian *kshathra-pavan*, “protector of the country,” where the first term means “country”) were provincial governors in the Persian empire, under the king. Josephus continues his sarcastic tone by portraying Athrongeus as a would-be Oriental despot, with “governors” and “generals” doing his bidding. The scope and loftiness of his ambition (in contrast to those of mere local strongmen) are among his distinguishing features. It is impossible to tell from this rhetorical portrait whether the man actually cultivated contacts in the Parthian empire (perhaps the Judean diaspora there), which is conceivable, or whether Josephus supplies the Oriental flavor only for dramatic effect.

³⁸² Or “more solemn, revered, dignified” (σεμνός, here comparative)—elsewhere an adjective of high praise: *War* 2.119; 4.319; *Apion* 2.221. Although this may be nothing more than sarcasm on Josephus’ part (as also perhaps *Ant.* 2.3), Bradley (1989: 1-17) observes that in early modern slave revolts, the rebel leaders often assumed titles that mimicked those of the established order.

³⁸³ This is the same language (ἐαυτῷ περιτίθησιν διάδημα), in the same sort of “although X, he Y” construction, as at 2.57. These self-appointed kings offer a measure of comic relief to the more serious main story (not without its own amusing incidents) of Herod’s succession, and thereby drive home Josephus’ caustic critique of monarchical government in Judea.

for a long while afterwards raiding the countryside with his brothers.³⁸⁴ Killing Romans as well as royalists³⁸⁵ was their main goal, though none of the Judeans would escape if he were to come into their hands carrying anything valuable. **63** Once, they even dared³⁸⁶ to surround a Roman century in column³⁸⁷ near Ammaus;³⁸⁸ these men were bringing over grain and weapons to the legion.³⁸⁹ They actually shot down with spears their [the Romans'] centurion³⁹⁰ Areius³⁹¹ and forty of his finest men,³⁹² though when the remainder

³⁸⁴ Once again (cf. 2.57) Josephus contrasts the ease of donning a diadem with the difficulty of changing one's character: Athrongeus continues to behave as the thug he is (in Josephus' narrative), undercutting his façade of attending to august matters while leaving the raids to his brothers and their bands.

³⁸⁵ The precise connotations of βασιλικοί in this context, with King Herod now dead, are uncertain. The word might refer simply to the remaining royal forces and retainers, without implying anything about their personal commitments, or it might indicate partisans of one of Herod's sons. In view of 2.55 the former (royal forces) seems to be the main referent.

³⁸⁶ See the note to "dared" at 2.60.

³⁸⁷ See the note to "century" (λόχον [ἄθρου]) just above at 2.61. Although it can have many senses (ambush, place of ambush, unit assigned to an ambush, company, band), it is often used as the Greek equivalent of the Roman century—Latin *centuria* (Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 4.16; Appian, *Bell. civ.* 1.59; H. J. Mason 1974: 66-7), the legionary unit of 80 men at full strength. Given that this unit is commanded by a centurion (cf. 2.71), and the death of 40 leaves a substantial remainder, it seems that a century is in view. We cannot be certain, since a logistical "detail" could also be constructed ad hoc. The adjective is sometimes rendered elsewhere "en masse"; see the note to this phrase at 2.12.

³⁸⁸ So the form in the Greek MSS; cf. Lat. *Amathunta*. *Ant.* 17.282 reads "Emmaus" (κατὰ Ἐμμαοῦντα)—recalling the name of a site made famous by Luke 24:13's "road to Emmaus." Luke seems to situate that town a mere 60 *stadia* (7.5 miles/12 km) from Jerusalem (though some NT MSS, including Sinaiticus, have 160 *stadia*), and may therefore be referring to the village of Moza (Qolonyieh, Qalunya, Colonia), which *War* 7.217 more correctly puts 30 *stadia* (ca. 4.25 miles) from Jerusalem. The site in view here is rather the modern 'Imwas (or 'Amwas), 20 miles (32 km or 160 *stadia*) WNW of Jerusalem. For the debated history and location of the site, largely because of Luke's Emmaus, as well as the philological issues, see Vincent and Abel 1932: 277-355.

Ammaus' location in the Judean foothills had long recommended it as either a temporary camp or a permanent military base (*Ant.* 12.298, 306; 13.15). It was a major stop on the southern-most of the two main E-W

roads to Jerusalem from coastal Joppa, the other of which went through Lower and Upper Beit-Horon to the N; it was one of 11 toparchic centers (3.54-55; Pliny, *Nat.* 5.70). Farmer (1957-58: 153-54) notes its proximity to Modein and—trying to support his case for Athrongeus' Hasmonean ancestry and self-understanding—observes that the Hasmoneans had also won an early guerrilla victory at this Emmaus (1 Macc. 3.55-4.25). Although Varus will soon destroy the town *en route* to Jerusalem through Samaria (2.70), avenging the ambushed legionaries and Areius, 70 years later Vespasian will make it a base for the *Legio V Macedonica* in the initial phase of the Judean campaign (4.444-45); cf. 5.42, 67, 532; 6.229 and Appendix A to BJP 1a. Under the emperor Elagabalus (218-222 CE) it will be established as the city Antoniniana Nicopolis (A. H. M. Jones 1937: 280-82).

³⁸⁹ That these men were bringing over both grain *and weapons* suggests that they were not foraging in open country, but rather transporting supplies from a military depot at Ammaus, perhaps established by the legion that Varus had left in Jerusalem, which Sabinus had commandeered (2.40-41, 45 and notes). This is also suggested by the ongoing use of Ammaus as a military base (previous note). The primary importance of establishing a grain supply for the army on campaign is obvious, for example, in Caesar's *Gallia War* (*Bell. gall.* 1.16, 23, 26, 37, 40; 2.2) and Josephus' *Life* (71, 119, 188); it is highlighted by the tactical writers Onasander (6) and Vegetius (3.3); cf. Gilliver 1999: 58-62 and Roth 1991: 243-67. We should expect that both Herod's army and the legion now settled in Jerusalem would rely on such local depots. Protection of foraging (and similar logistical) details, however, should have been a fundamental concern of the commander: see Onasander 10.8. Josephus' story recalls a famous episode in Caesar's *Gallia War* (4.32) in which the 7th legion was nearly destroyed by British guerrillas while foraging for grain, having put down their weapons for the purpose.

³⁹⁰ The centurion was easily distinguished from his men by his uniform, including the side-to-side crested helmet (Webster 1985: 130-33). On the status and selection of centurions, see Watson 1969: 86-88.

³⁹¹ This man had fulfilled the promise of his Greek name ("martial, devoted to/belonging to Ares [the god of war]"; cf. Latin *Martius*)—held also by two Spartan kings of the 3rd cent. BCE; it turns up later as the

were in danger of suffering the same, Gratus came to their aid with the Sebastenes³⁹³ and they escaped.³⁹⁴ **64** When they had performed many such deeds against both locals and foreigners for the entire war,³⁹⁵ after a while three of them were apprehended—the oldest by Archelaus,³⁹⁶ the next two having fallen afoul of Gratus and Ptolemy³⁹⁷—, whereas the fourth³⁹⁸ surrendered to Archelaus on a pledge.³⁹⁹ **65** Although this was indeed the final outcome that was waiting for them,⁴⁰⁰ at that time they filled all Judea with a bandit-style war.⁴⁰¹

(5.1) 66 Varus was moved, on receiving the documents⁴⁰² from Sabinus and his com-

Varus takes the field, attacks Galilee. Ant. 17.286

cognomen of two men coincidentally named Marcus Aurelius (Solin 2003: 383). All of the contextual indicators here—“Roman century,” conveying supplies “to the legion,” assisted by [not part of] Sebastenes—appear to suggest that Areius commanded a *centuria* of the legion itself, rather than an auxiliary troop. It is surprising, however, that a Roman centurion would bear a Greek name. Although the legions had originally accepted only Roman citizens, and continued in principle to be citizen forces, by the height of the Roman civil wars in the 40s BCE a desperate need for recruits had forced commanders to widen their nets (Keppie 1998: 140-44). In the E, particularly, there was an early and continuing tendency to recruit locally “from Hellenized areas of Syria and Asia Minor” (Campbell 2002: 24-27)—whether directly or by incorporation of auxiliary units. So it is not impossible that by 4-3 BCE a Greek-named centurion should be found in a legion based in Syria.

³⁹² This was about half the unit: see the note to “company” in this section.

³⁹³ This final reference to Gratus’ intervention with his Sebastenes creates an *inclusio* with 2.52 at the beginning of this survey of rebel leaders (cf. 2.58), which described their realignment from the royal troops. See the notes at 2.52.

³⁹⁴ That is, the remainder of the Roman logistical unit.

³⁹⁵ In spite of the scholarly habit of referring to the war of 66-73 as “the first Jewish (-Roman) war,” Josephus confirms here that he considers the major conflict subdued by Varus also a full-scale war. It involved, according to his portrait, all regions of the country and various kinds of rebel leaders, and it required nearly the same basic force as the later war—3 legions plus auxiliaries (2.67)—on the Roman side. In *Apion* 1.34, speaking of the frequency of war (πόλεμος, as here) in Judea, he cites the campaigns of the Seleucid Antiochus Epiphanes and the Romans Pompey the Great, *Quintilius Varus*, and Vespasian and Titus (“in our own times”). Talmudic literature also refers to the *polemos* of Varus (*Seder Olam Rabbah* 30, ed. A. D. Neubauer); cf. Hengel 1989: 327 n. 81; M. Stern 1974: 281.

³⁹⁶ This is slightly awkward, since Archelaus has been left in Rome awaiting Caesar’s verdict on the succession

(2.39; cf. 2.80). Josephus has evidently preferred to finish his digression on the revolt in Judea (begun at 2.39) even though the conclusion of it will not happen until Archelaus is back in the region. In 2.65 he emphasizes this chronological split, and when he comes to retell the story in *Ant.* 17 he will note (17.284) that he is jumping ahead.

³⁹⁷ *Ant.* 17.284 gives this order: one brother fell to Gratus, another to Ptolemy, then the eldest to Archelaus (later, as Josephus notes). The Ptolemy in question appears to be Archelaus’ (and his father Herod’s) “friend,” mentioned several times in this book (2.14 [see note], 16, 24); see further 2.69.

³⁹⁸ Since Josephus mentions the ends of only 4 men, whereas Athrongeus plus his 4 brothers = 5 in total, we should probably assume that he is describing the brothers only—the “generals” who led the guerrilla campaign, from which he as “king” held himself aloof (2.61). This would mean that Athrongeus’ end is unknown. Farmer (1957-58: 154-55) speculates, in keeping with his hypothesis that the men were Antigonos’ sons, that Athrongeus may have fled to Parthia for protection.

³⁹⁹ Lit. “right side/hand” (δεξιό), a standard metaphor in military contexts for the assurance of safety to an enemy (Homer, *Il.* 2.341; Xenophon, *Anab.* 2.4.1; 7.3.1; cf. Josephus, *Life* 30, 370). For Archelaus, see the previous note to his name in this section.

⁴⁰⁰ That is, when Archelaus later returned from Rome: Josephus has jumped ahead to complete the story of these rebels before resuming the narrative of Archelaus in Rome (2.80).

⁴⁰¹ On bandits, see the note at 2.56. Of Josephus’ 24 uses of the adjective ληστρικός, almost all (22) are in *War* 1-6, 6 of these in bk. 2. We might call this kind of conflict by irregular forces (ληστρικός πόλεμος) a guerrilla war; for the Greek phrase, see Posidonius, *Frag.* (Theiler) 47a; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 3.2.2; 10.17.1; Strabo 4.4.2; 11.1.6; Appian, *Mithr.* 445.

⁴⁰² The reference is to 2.45, where the Syrian procurator Sabinus, caught in Jerusalem, has repeatedly sent messengers to the governor Varus—carrying letters, one assumes—pleading for immediate relief. The word Josephus uses for the letters here is γράμματα (things inscribed or written; letters of the alphabet) rather than

manders,⁴⁰³ to be anxious about the entire legion⁴⁰⁴ and indeed to hurry to its aid.⁴⁰⁵ 67 So he took the two remaining legions⁴⁰⁶ and the four wings of cavalry⁴⁰⁷ with them and went to Ptolemais;⁴⁰⁸ he had also ordered the auxiliaries⁴⁰⁹ from the kings as well as from

the more specific ἐπιστολαί (letters or epistles). Josephus often uses these words interchangeably, however: ἐπιστολή first to establish context and then γράμματα for variation (*War* 1.261, 644; *Ant.* 7.136; 11.26, 97; 12.227-28; 13.167; 14.224, 241, 243, 252-54 [decrees in letters]; 15.171; *Life* 181, 241, 245, 260-61, 382-83), much as Cicero had used the Latin equivalents *epistulae* and *litterae* (of many examples, *Verr.* 1.83; 3.45, 123, 154; 4.58; *Phil.* 2.7, 77)—a usage observed by the later critic M. Servius Honoratus, *In Vergilii Aenidos libros* 8.168.

⁴⁰³ These commanders now include such men as Rufus and Gratus (2.55, 58), though Josephus does not indicate whether they also wrote letters.

⁴⁰⁴ This was the legion Varus had left behind to maintain peace in the Jerusalem area (2.40).

⁴⁰⁵ Cf. 2.66, where Sabinus appears to realize that Varus will not do much to help him personally, though he would rush to save the legion.

⁴⁰⁶ Cf. 2.40 and notes: 3 legions were normally stationed in Syria at this time.

⁴⁰⁷ See the note to “cavalry” at 2.52. Although legions in the early empire acquired small mounted contingents (*turmae*)—perhaps normally of 120 horsemen as Josephus indicates for Vespasian’s army (*War* 3.120), under the command of centurions—those were chiefly support units for rapid communication and scouting (cf. *War* 3.96; Breeze 1969; Webster 1985: 111; Dixon and Southern 1992), integrated with the legion and not separate fighting squadrons.

For cavalry fighting forces (note the distinction at 3.120) early imperial legions depended, like their republican precursors, on specialist auxiliary horse units furnished by allies or taken over from them into the provinces. Commonly numbering 500 in paper strength (Arrian, *Tact.* 18; Keppie 1998: 182-84), but often well over or under that number (Gilliver 1999: 25), they were commanded first by chiefs from their place of origin and then, from some time in the first century, by Roman prefects (sg. *praefectus alae*; Webster 1985: 145-46). That Varus has 4 such cavalry units (though only 3 legions), that they have a distinct identity as fighting units, and that Josephus calls them ἵλαι (the standard equivalent of the Latin *alae*, though the terms could refer to less distinctive groups), all suggests that the units in question are permanent auxiliary cavalry squadrons at Varus’ disposal, to be distinguished from the ad hoc levies he is about to exact from the client kings (cf. Gilliver 1999: 25).

⁴⁰⁸ The coastal city of Ptolemais (described somewhat idyllically [as Galilean] at 2.188-91) was on the site of the ancient and important Phoenician city of Akko (Acco, Akre, Acre), mentioned frequently in Egyptian and Assyrian texts from about 1500 BCE onward (though only at Judg 1:31 and Josh 19:30 [in corrupted form] in the Bible). It was founded on an acropolis about 750 m E of the sea on the N bank of the River Na’aman (cf. “Beleos” at 2.189 below). Its natural advantages, which Josephus elaborates in 2.188 below, include a substantial fertile plain all around, a natural harbor (on a coast with few such sites), and relatively easy defenses in all landward directions—eloquently described by officials of the British Mandate (Makhoul and Johns 1946: 1-3; cf. now Kashtan 1988; Applebaum 1990 [Hebrew]). After Akko’s annexation to the Ptolemaic kingdom in ca. 281 BCE, it was refounded by Ptolemy II Philadelphus as his eponymous capital in the region. Cf. Strabo 2.5.39; 14.4.2; 16.2.25-26, 4.7; 17.3.20; for the archaeology, Appendix A to BJP 9.

Ptolemais plays an important role in all Josephus’ narratives concerning relations between Judea and the Roman forces of Syria (cf. *War* 2.187, 201, 502-6; 3.29, 54, 64-5, 110, 115, 409; *Life* 118, 213-15, 342, 410). On the coastal route from Syrian Antioch, it was the last stop before Judean territories: Galilee and the Plain of Esdraelon (Jezreel) to the E or the coastal cities beginning with Caesarea to the S. As former Galilean commander, Josephus is keenly aware of the city’s military importance (cf. *Life* 105, 118, 213-15). In *War* 2 it has served as Varus’ rendezvous point in the campaign of 4 BCE (2.67-68; see notes there). Julius Caesar so favored the city on a visit in 48 BCE that for centuries afterward it dated its era from that visit. It remained a favorite point of entry and rendezvous for occupying Roman forces: in 52-54 CE, Claudius would establish the city as a Roman colony (*Colonia Claudia Felix Ptolemais, or Colonia Claudia Caesaris Ptolemais Germanica Felix Stabilis*; cf. Pliny, *Nat.* 5.75), with veterans from Syria’s 4 legions. Isaac (1998: 92) proposes that its foundation must have been a response to ongoing tensions between Judeans and Samaritans in that period. Under Nero’s legate Caius Ummidius Durmius [Quadratus; see note at 2.239], according to the best reading of milestone 234A, in 56 CE a 313-mile (504 km), 22-ft (7 m)-wide Roman highway (*via publica*) was constructed between Ptolemais and the Syrian capital Antioch, to facilitate the movement of troops and goods (Goodchild 1949); in 67 CE it served as the rallying point for Vespasian and Titus (*War* 3.29; *Life* 410).

the chiefs⁴¹⁰ to meet up there. And from Berytus,⁴¹¹ as he was passing through the city, he took an additional 1,500 heavily armed troops.⁴¹² **68** When the other allied group⁴¹³ had come to him at Ptolemais,⁴¹⁴ and Aretas the Arab⁴¹⁵—out of his animosity⁴¹⁶ towards Herod⁴¹⁷—had led quite a large force,⁴¹⁸ both cavalry and infantry, [Varus] right away sent a detachment⁴¹⁹ of his army into the Galilee—adjacent to Ptolemais⁴²⁰—with one of

⁴⁰⁹ Whereas here ἐπίκουροι refers to standing forces contributed by allied dynasts, at 2.502 it seems to indicate irregular volunteers. This assembling of legionary and auxiliary forces under a Roman supreme commander will become a recurring pattern in the various phases of the war against Rome: 2.500-502; 3.124; 5.42. Clients of Rome had an absolute duty to supply auxiliary forces on demand, and they would often be keen to do so in the interest of local stability. To the Romans they provided not only substantially increased manpower, specialist training (e.g., archery, slingshots, and horses), and perhaps more easily expendable light infantry for advance patrols, but also crucial local knowledge—of terrain, weather, and other special conditions: see *War* 3.116 and Gilliver 1999: 23-26.

⁴¹⁰ The word δυνάστης (a recognized “power-holder”), which occurs infrequently in *War* (1.112; 6.438), is a more general term than “king” and therefore useful for including ethnarchs, tetrarchs, and other quasi-royal officials. At 1.365 it is a useful term for referring to both Herod (a king) and Marc Antony (a Roman general with special powers).

⁴¹¹ At the site of modern Beirut, a coastal city somewhat more than half-way along Varus’ march from the Syrian capital of Antioch to Ptolemais. Berytus would be well known to Josephus’ Roman audience because just over a decade before the story time here (thus 15 BCE), it had been re-founded by Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa as a Roman *colonia*—the first outside Italy—populated by the veterans of two legions. See Strabo 16.2.19; Millar 1990; L. J. Hall 2001-2002; Berlin 2002: 67-68. Status as a *colonia* had no doubt recommended Berytus to Augustus as a site for the hearings on Herod’s charges against his sons (*War* 1.536-38).

⁴¹² Given the city’s recent foundation as a Roman veterans’ colony (previous note), these troops may have included volunteers from those recently retired.

⁴¹³ This is one of Josephus’ most common words (πληθος), used here in a neutral sense rather than the pejorative “rabble” or “mob,” as we have often rendered it elsewhere. The word is appropriate because he refers to an impersonal mass of men.

⁴¹⁴ See the note at 2.67.

⁴¹⁵ Aretas (Harithat) IV, whose tomb may be the famous rock-cut “treasury” at Petra, had just begun his long rule (9 BCE-40 CE) over the Nabatean (Nabatu) kingdom (Arabia Petraea); based in Petra, this territory

lay E (beyond Perea) and S of Judea. Cf. Bowersock 1983: 28-58.

⁴¹⁶ Although the word ἔχθος normally indicates the object of the animosity with a noun in the genitive case (“hatred of”), it is a feature of Josephus’ style that he heightens the force with the preposition πρὸς and the accusative case: “animosity [or hatred] against, towards” (1.239 [Herod also the object]; *Ant.* 18.376; cf. Philostratus, *Her.* 707; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 8.1.8)

⁴¹⁷ Herod is of course now dead, but the hatred presumably extends to his kingdom. This notice obscures whatever political motives Aretas may have had, if he needed any beyond obligatory assistance to the Roman governor. Herod’s mother Cypros had reportedly come from Nabatea (1.181), and the two client kingdoms of Rome had enjoyed close relations in the early years (1.123-25, 267), but Herod’s rapid rise under Roman favor alarmed his neighbor so much that King Malichus (Maliku) I arranged the poisoning of Herod’s father Antipater in the late 40s BCE. This in turn led Herod to arrange Malichus’ demise (1.225-37). Although we have not heard in *War* about any direct conflict between this fairly new king Aretas IV (5 years on the throne) and Herod, at least the ground for such ongoing hostility had been laid in these older grievances. According to *Ant.* 16.271-300, 335-55, Herod had serious problems with Syllaeus, the faithless viceroy (and reported murderer) of Aretas’ predecessor Obodas (Avdat, Obidat) III; and because Aretas failed to wait for Augustus’ permission before declaring himself king, Herod nearly ended up king of both Judea and Nabatea (*Ant.* 16.353-54). Whatever his feelings toward Herod, as a client king Aretas was obligated to send military assistance to the Roman commander.

⁴¹⁸ The Greek uses litotes (“not a sparse force”).

⁴¹⁹ Or “section.” MSS VRC have “he both (τε) sent a detachment . . . and.” The original may have read “a certain (τι) detachment,” as at *Ant.* 17.288. So Varus’ strategy is to divide his army in two parts, for Galilee and Judea proper, to deal with the two centers of conflict at some remove from each other; cf. Smallwood 1981: 112-13.

⁴²⁰ At 2.503; 3.38; *Life* 213 Josephus highlights Chabul (Chabolos), 60 *stadia* (12 km [7.5 miles]—actually a little further) E of Ptolemais, as the frontier point between Ptolemais and Galilee (cf. 2.504); at *Life* 118 he says the same of Beit Shearim (Besara), which

his friends, Gaius,⁴²¹ as commander: this man routed* those who had come out against them and also, after capturing the city of Sepphoris,⁴²² both burned* it and reduced* the inhabitants to slavery.⁴²³

69 Now Varus himself pressed on to Samaria⁴²⁴ with his whole force,⁴²⁵ but he held

is further from Ptolemais to the SE. Coastal Ptolemais controlled a substantial surrounding territory (χώρα; cf. 2.188 below, with fuller notes), which in effect defined the W limit of (Judean) Galilee. Cf. *War* 3.35: Galilee's W boundary is marked by "the limits of the hinterland (χώρα) of Ptolemais." At 2.188, however, for momentary rhetorical reasons Josephus will adopt Ptolemais as part of Galilee.

⁴²¹ On the ancient connotations of "friends," see the note at 2.4. The identity of this Gaius is a puzzle, complicated by the parallel at *Ant.* 17.288, by variant MS readings both there and here, and by Varus' known family relations. MS P here has "his friend [i.e., Gaius]" rather than "[one] of his friends" (τὸν αὐτοῦ φίλον rather than τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων), which gives a better syntax but leaves the other reading hard to explain as a corruption. More troubling: the earliest witness (Latin) mentions a son of Varus' friend Gallus: *amici sui galli filio his rectore praeposito*. And although *Ant.* 17.288 continues as this passage does, with a single actor routing opponents and burning Sepphoris, the antecedent there may have two men in view: Varus' son *and* one of his friends, both unnamed. Yet the Latin and MSS AM there omit "and," thus: "Varus' son, one of his friends." Further, there is room for confusion with the words themselves, since copyists who did not know the referents might easily confuse "Gaius" [ΓΑΙΟΣ] with "son" (ΥΙΟΣ) and possibly even "Galilee" in the accusative (ΓΑΛΙΛΑΙΑΝ) with a form of "Gallus" (ΓΑΛΛΟΝ).

As for Varus' known relatives: there is only one son (Quinctilius Varus), born to his third wife (Claudia Pulchra), but this son was apparently not yet born at the time of this episode. Although certainty is out of the question, the simplest solution to all these problems might be that ΓΑΙΟΣ misreads an original ΥΙΟΣ, so that Josephus wrote here about the son of one of Varus' friends. Vitucci (624 n. 2) thinks that this shadowy figure must have been one of Varus' legionary legates. W. John (PM 24.965), supported by Syme (1986: 314-15), suggests Varus' nephew Lucius Nonnius Asprenas, who was then military tribune under Varus. I keep the reading "Gaius" here because the MS evidence favors it and it would be difficult to find reasons for confidence in other readings.

⁴²² A Roman road led directly from Ptolemais to Sepphoris, about 17 km (10 miles) SE. See the note to "Sepphoris" at 2.56: the inclusion of "city" seems a reminder, for an audience that does not know the region, of why Varus should concentrate his efforts there.

⁴²³ See the note at 2.56. This destruction of Sepphoris

in 4 or 3 BCE may be exaggerated, in light of the limited archaeological evidence for a thorough burning of the city in this period (Meyers 2002: 112), but even the destruction of substantial parts might provide important historical context for the youth of Jesus of Nazareth, whose family lived about 3 miles (5 km) S of the city, in Nazareth (Mark 1:9; Matt 2.23; Luke 1:26-27; John 1:45). The restoration of Sepphoris in coming years by Herod's son Antipas (apparently renaming it Autocratoris, *Ant.* 18.27; cf. Bennett 2007: 220-27, arguing that the dedicatee was Gaius Caesar) must have been the major economic, social, and political influence in the region. This early and singular experience of Roman revenge (Jerusalem did not suffer in the same way—below) may have helped determine the city's future path of whole-hearted cooperation with Rome; see the note to "Sepphoris" at 2.56. In connection with the parallel passage (*Ant.* 17.289) Simonetti appropriately observes (2002: 743 n. 135) that the severity of the Roman attack on Sepphoris suggests the complicity of significant elements of the population in Judas' violent activities from that base (*War* 2.56; *Ant.* 17.271).

⁴²⁴ For Samaria (now Sebaste), see 1.64-65 (destroyed by Hyrcanus and his sons), 166 (repopulated under Gabinius), 403-404 (Herod's refoundation) and notes. It is curious that Josephus prefers here the ancient name—from King Omri's 9th-cent. BCE foundation as capital of Israel (1 Kgs 16:23-24), refounded by Alexander the Great in 323 BCE—to the one that applied at the time of this event (and at Josephus' time); for parallel usage see the note to "Strato's Tower" at 2.97. The Samaritans (now Sebastenes) appear to have been conspicuously close to Herod's regime: probably in 27 BCE he had conspicuously refounded their city as "Sebaste" in honor of Augustus, building the first known temple for the cult of the newly established *princeps*, settling some 6,000 veterans, and granting the city a privileged constitution (*War* 1.118, 403). On all this, see Bennett 2007: 66-98. Herod had from the beginning resorted to Samaria, then Sebaste, as a secure haven (1.303, 314, 344, 551; *Ant.* 15.292-96). He married Mariamme there (1.344) and another wife, Malthace, originated from Samaria (1.562). Given this consistency of evidence about Samaria-Sebaste's special role as a safe city, where Herod could find rest from his conflict with the Hasmonean Antigonos and his supporters (1.303, 314, 344) or later kill his sons with impunity (1.551), it is unclear why Bennett (2007: 69-72) dismisses the *Sicherheitsaspekt* of the city's founding alleged by Josephus—that Herod

back from that city upon discovering that it had not been agitating⁴²⁶ in the disorders⁴²⁷ of the others⁴²⁸ and bivouacked^{*429} instead near a village called Arus,⁴³⁰ it was the property of Ptolemy⁴³¹ and for this reason it was sacked by the Arabs,⁴³² who were raging⁴³³

felt vulnerable because of a populace that included men willing to kill for perceived violation of the laws (*Ant.* 15.291)—as merely the later *Tendenz of Antiquities*, and historically false. It stands to reason, at any rate, that Samaria-Sebaste would not be involved in an uprising against the Herodian regime or their Roman masters. Nevertheless, once Herod's son Archelaus is installed as king, the Samaritans will send a delegation to Augustus to complain about his rule (2.111).

Varus, then, headed almost due S, on a different road from that taken by the officer who headed SE to Galilee (2.68). Samaria (Sebaste) was about 50 miles (80 km)—if his route followed the attested (post-70) Roman road, which veered quite a way E after Legio—S of Ptolemais.

⁴²⁵ That is: the bulk of his force, minus the detachment sent into Galilee (2.68).

⁴²⁶ Varus' decency receives emphasis, also below in his dismissal of the Arab auxiliaries for being unworthy allies (2.76); his virtues are enhanced by the implicit contrast with those around him—Sabinus (cf. 2.17) and the Arabs.

⁴²⁷ See the note at 1.4.

⁴²⁸ See further 2.96: the Samaritans are rewarded for failing to participate. This notice anticipates a theme of Samaritan exemption from Judean troubles, especially prominent in the *Antiquities*: Josephus will claim that they distanced themselves completely from the Judeans when the latter faced troubles (*Ant.* 9.290-91; 11.340), especially in relation to rebellious movements (*Ant.* 12.257). Within *War*, although Josephus does not elaborate the point, even in the Great Revolt Samaria will remain chiefly a safe area for the Romans, garrisoned as a base (3.309); nevertheless, Josephus reports a massacre of (unarmed?) Samaritans by the Roman general Cerealis, at Vespasian's direction, with 3,000 infantry and 600 cavalry.

⁴²⁹ This verb (ἀνάλιζομαι), which appears 12 times in the *War* (also 1.277, 289, 334, 370; 2.301, 542; 3.59, 85; 4.285, 660; 5.51) but only once elsewhere in Josephus (*Ant.* 1.278), by itself suggests something much more transient and open to the air (explicitly *War* 1.370; 3.59; 4.285; *Ant.* 1.278) than the terms for military camps he uses in *Life*: the digging of a fenced camp (χάραξ: *Life* 214, 395, 399, 400, 420) or establishing a base (στρατόπεδον: *Life* 214, 398, 405). Although he also uses this verb in connection with a thoroughly dug-in camp in his famous excursus on the Roman army (*War* 3.85; cf. 2.542), that seems to be a matter of varying diction (cf. στρατόπεδον, at 3.82, 89).

⁴³⁰ Arus is about 12 miles (20 km) SSW of Samaria as the crow flies, albeit through hilly terrain: a good day's march for full legionary columns with auxiliaries, support units, and baggage trains (cf. Gilliver 1999: 49-50)—if there had been a direct road. The known Roman road out of Sebaste from the second century CE, however, ran first SE through Neapolis (Nablus) and by Gerizim, then SW to Khirbet et Tira and W from there. This was a route of nearly 35 km (20+ miles): an extremely difficult march in one day for an encumbered army. Since a straight line connects Samaria/Sebaste, Arus, and Sappho (the next stop: 2.70), there joining the known road to Ammaus (cf. *War* 2.71), in manageable intervals of 20 and 25 km, dropping to 12 km before the planned sack of Ammaus, it is tempting to posit—albeit without other evidence—such a marching route (perhaps a minor road or broad trail). Such a hypothetical route would have run through Thamna, about half-way between Arus and Sappho, and this makes sense: as a regional center one might expect it to sit on the intersection of E-W and N-S highways (according to 2.567, John the *Essaeus* was given command of Thamna region, including Ammaus—again suggesting a road between these two sites; cf. 3.55). Moreover, there is a known road on the southern-most 12 km leg of the proposed route, from Ammaus to within half a mile of Sappho, which seems to stop abruptly. It is admittedly difficult to imagine a road from Sappho to Samaria/Sebaste, given the number of E-W ranges and rivers that would need traversing, but there are substantial N-S ridges. Varus' itinerary—Samaria, Arus, Sappho, Ammaus—, which happens to track a straight line with conceivable day-marches, is difficult to understand if one follows only the known roads, far to the E and W of these sites, and passing through much larger sites that go without mention.

⁴³¹ See the note at 2.14, also 2.24; Ptolemy has most recently been mentioned at 2.64, where he is with Gratus, on the Roman side, putting down the Judean rebels.

⁴³² That is, the auxiliary force contributed by the Nabatean king Aretas IV (2.68).

⁴³³ This is an odd word choice for Josephus, who usually predicates this kind of rage or wrath (μῆνις) of God (*War* 6.41; *Ant.* 1.164; 2.344; 4.8; 8.112; 9.104, 246; 15.299), in keeping with the general tendency of classical authors (cf. LSJ)—so much so that he can use the cognate noun μῆνιμα without qualification as a cause of divine wrath (*Ant.* 16.188). Yet just as a few cases of spectacular human (albeit heroic) rage appear in the classical texts, most famously Achilles' in Homer (*Il.* 1.1), so Josephus occasionally—perhaps ironically—can have

against even the friends of Herod.⁴³⁴ **70** From there he proceeded* to Sappho,⁴³⁵ another fortified village, which they likewise sacked along with all the adjoining [villages]⁴³⁶ they encountered. Everything was filled with fire and carnage,⁴³⁷ and nothing could withstand the ravages of the Arabs.⁴³⁸ **71** And Ammaus was also incinerated⁴³⁹ after its residents had fled:⁴⁴⁰ Varus directed this on account of his anger that Areius and his men had been butchered.⁴⁴¹

Varus in Jerusalem ends revolt.
Ant. 17.292

(5.2) 72 From there he advanced on Hierosolyma, and merely by being seen with his force he thoroughly scattered [those occupying] the camps of the Judeans. **73** Whereas these men⁴⁴² absconded, having fled⁴⁴³ up into the countryside,⁴⁴⁴ those in the city received

ordinary humans carry such vengeful anger: *Ant.* 18.188 (Tiberius toward Agrippa I); *Life* 392 (Galileans toward Tiberians), and here. Josephus appears to have chosen the more classical form of this verb, *μηνίω* (also in the other occurrences, at *Ant.* 8.112; 15.299), rather than the common Hellenistic form *μηνιάω* (see LSJ)—unless the variant reading of MSS MLVR is correct—in keeping with the classicizing style of *War* (see Introduction).

⁴³⁴ That is, the Arabs were hostile not only to Herod himself (so 2.68) but even to friends such as Ptolemy. This notice indicates a triangle of animosities: some Judeans rebel; they are subdued by Roman legions and units of the royal Herodian forces, such as those led by Gratus, Rufus, and Ptolemy, though most royal forces have supported the rebels (2.52); the Arabs join the cause in order to subdue the Judean rebels—but because this was Herod’s kingdom and they hated him, they also turn on friends of Herod such as Ptolemy, who are ostensibly on the same side in this conflict (against the rebels). The Latin offers an alternative and puzzling reason for their sacking of Arus: “a possession of Ptolemy, afterwards seized by the barbarians and by the friends of Herod, who were hostile to Ptolemy;” which has no support in the Greek MSS.

⁴³⁵ See the note to “Arus” in 2.69. This village (mod. Saffa) lies about 25 km SSW of Arus, continuing a direct line from Samaria through Arus to Ammaus, though no known roads follow this line until the Sappho-Ammaus leg. Such a direct route would have presented a challenging but manageable day’s march (through hill country) for an encumbered army. If instead Varus followed the known main road SW to Lod (Lydda) and then SE to Sappho, his army would have faced a trek of some 30 miles (50 km). According to *Life* 269, it was possible to reach Jerusalem from Galilee (Xalot) via Samaria in 3 days, which would require at least 35 km per day (assuming the known highway from Samaria S and a fairly straight continuation N into the area around Xalot, though this last is unattested).

⁴³⁶ The MSS read *προσόδους* (a noun meaning [in the singular] “road leading up to, approach”; abstractly, “income, revenue.” Josephus would be saying that they

destroyed Sappho and likewise all the approaches they encountered, which does not render good sense. Niese reasonably follows Destinon’s emendation to the adjective *προσόρους* (“on the border of, contiguous, adjoining”), meaning that they destroyed Sappho and the nearby sites. If that is correct, Josephus uses *πρόσορος*—attested before his time only in Xenophon (*Cyr.* 6.1.17)—only here in *War*, also at *Ant.* 5.82 (which makes the use here more plausible).

⁴³⁷ This is a concise description of the horrifying but normal consequences of Roman military intervention against a rebellious city, which would be well known to Josephus’ Roman audience: cf. Polybius 10.15.4-6; Ziolkowski 1993; Campbell 2002: 70-76. Blood and fire dominate the pictorial scenes of Jerusalem’s destruction in the triumph described by Josephus (*War* 7.143-45). There seems to be irony implied here, however, since it is the neighboring Arabs (cf. 2.76) who usurp the Roman role of sacking cities—impulsively, rather than as a consequence of the city’s proven hostility (cf. Onasander 34.4; 35, 38).

⁴³⁸ This portrait of the Arab auxiliaries’ barbarity (cf. 1.101) in contrast to the proper soldiering of Varus builds up to 2.76, where Varus will dismiss the Arabs for fighting out of private resentment and vengeance; it also anticipates *War* 5.550-56, where Titus will have exactly the same problem with his Arab allies’ waging war with unrestrained passion, implicating the Romans in their “savage brutality and hatred of the Judeans.”

⁴³⁹ See the note at 2.58.

⁴⁴⁰ This appears to be another example of Varus’ virtue (cf. 2.69, 75-76). According to 2.63, Areius and his men had been killed by Athrongeus’ rebels; the inhabitants of Ammaus are not implicated. Varus had to do something to exact punishment for the outrage against Roman forces, but because he realized that the residents of Ammaus were innocent, he allowed them to leave beforehand.

⁴⁴¹ Or “had their throats cut” (see the note to this phrase at 2.30), though the most literal sense is not indicated in the story of the event (2.63 above).

⁴⁴² That is, the Judean rebel soldiers who had camped around Jerusalem.

him and were busy off-loading⁴⁴⁵ the responsibility for the rebellion,⁴⁴⁶ saying⁴⁴⁷ that, whereas they themselves were not agitating, on account of the festival⁴⁴⁸ they had necessarily received the rabble, and so it was rather a case of [their] being besieged along with the Romans than of [their] making war along with the rebels.⁴⁴⁹

74 Yosep,⁴⁵⁰ the cousin of Archelaus,⁴⁵¹ and Rufus along with Gratus⁴⁵² had previously gone out to meet⁴⁵³ him, leading—together with the royal army⁴⁵⁴—also the Sebastenes.⁴⁵⁵ Those from the Roman legion⁴⁵⁶ [had gone out] too, arranged in the customary manner.⁴⁵⁷ (Sabinus did not stay put⁴⁵⁸ so as to come into the sight of Varus, but left the city

⁴⁴³ The conjunction of the two verbs creates a colorful phrase (ἔχοντο φύγοντες), emphasizing their immediate and complete dispersal: colloquially, “they high-tailed it out of there.” Josephus will use the same phrase, which is best attested beforehand in Euripides (*Andr.* 1055; *Orest.* 1486; cf. *Hipp.* 878; Aristotle, *Frag. var.* 9.56.665), of the young Agrippa avoiding his creditors (*Ant.* 18.163).

⁴⁴⁴ The rugged Judean hills with their thousands of caves were the well-known refuge of those fleeing troubles in Jerusalem from the time of David (e.g., 1 Sam 23:29; 24:1) through the Hasmonean revolt (*War* 1.36) to the Bar Kochba Revolt in 132-135 CE and later. The caves of Wadi Murabba’at have been particularly revealing of refugees’ lives.

⁴⁴⁵ Thus, whereas the rebels in the countryside removed *themselves* bodily, this was not an option for the residents of Jerusalem, who could only try to remove *the blame* from themselves. Josephus’ tone seems playful, evoking the terror that Roman legions could arouse in otherwise confident rebels.

This colorful verb (ἀποσκευάζω) is distinctive: the 19 occurrences in Josephus’ corpus (6 in *War* 2) represent a much higher frequency than the occasional examples we find in earlier authors (1-2 each in Polybius, Diodorus, Dionysius, and Philo). Striking is the nearly verbatim clause (with “responsibility” and “rebellion”) in Agrippa’s speech at 2.403 and its echo at 2.418.

⁴⁴⁶ Or “secession, defection” (ἀπόστασις); see note at 2.39.

⁴⁴⁷ Often in Josephus, as here, this simple verb (λέγω) flags an intended deception. See the note to “said” at *Life* 22 in BJP 9.

⁴⁴⁸ According to 2.42-43 a vast angry mob had flooded into Jerusalem for Pentecost that year. Throughout *War* Josephus develops a consistent and plausible picture of the festivals (Passover, Shavuot/Pentecost, Sukkot/Tabernacles) as times of trouble: 2.10-11 (see note to *Pascha*), 42-43, 224, 255.

⁴⁴⁹ The verbal elegance of the Jerusalem leaders’ defense intensifies the ironic tone: the matching compound infinitives stress “being besieged along with” (συμπολιορκτηθῆναι) rather than “making war along with” (συμπολεμῆσαι). In the interest of varying his language, at *Ant.* 17.293 Josephus will abandon this neat

contrast for a more awkward play on “besieging,” active and passive.

⁴⁵⁰ This, the same name as our author’s (Ἰωσήφ), is the 2nd most commonly attested masculine name in the period (cf. Hachlili 2005: 200); Josephus himself mentions some 19 Yoseps, and 3 of the 10 generals chosen to lead the war will bear this name (2.563, 567, 568). Although the other most popular names (e.g., Simon, Judas, Mattathias) had Hasmonean roots (cf. Farmer 1957-58), and although “Joseph” has some slight—confused—Hasmonean connection (2 Macc 8.22), it seems that this name was revered mainly for the biblical patriarch and namesake of the eponymous tribe, praised in Hasmonean literature for (a) an obedience to divine law that led him to become “lord of Egypt” (1 Macc 2.53) and (b) his sexual self-control (4 Macc 2.2).

The Yosep in question here has been introduced at 1.562 as Herod’s nephew and son-in-law—husband of Herod’s daughter Olympia (by Malthace). According to *Ant.* 18.134 he was the son of Herod’s brother Yosep (who had died at Jericho before Herod’s reign began, *War* 1.323-24).

⁴⁵¹ *Ant.* 17.294: “cousin of King Herod” (but see previous note). Josephus does not often speak of cousins, and all but one (*Ant.* 1.290) of the 12 occurrences refer to members of the complicated Herodian family; this is the last cousin to appear in the *War*. Josephus gives no systematic account of the royal army, but the audience would not be surprised that the monarch’s family members keep appearing as senior officers (cf. 2.55).

⁴⁵² This pair, especially Gratus, have been featured in the foregoing narrative as officers of the Herodian army who had broken for Roman loyalty: 2.52, 58-59, 63-64.

⁴⁵³ This compound verb (προυπαντάω) appears only here in the *War*, only at *Ant.* 8.7 otherwise in Josephus.

⁴⁵⁴ Cf. 2.52, 55, 62 and notes: it is unclear from the preceding narrative how much of the Herodian army remains intact.

⁴⁵⁵ See above 2.52, 58, 63 and notes.

⁴⁵⁶ This is the legion left in Jerusalem by Varus at 2.40; cf. 2.45, 63.

⁴⁵⁷ The awe-inspiring order of the legions, though a familiar subject to Josephus’ Roman audience (e.g.,

beforehand for the sea.)⁴⁵⁹ **75** Now Varus, using a detail from his army, sent out around the countryside after those responsible for the commotion,⁴⁶⁰ and of the many who were rounded up, those who showed themselves less disturbance-prone⁴⁶¹ he placed under guard,⁴⁶² whereas those who were most responsible—about 2,000—he crucified.⁴⁶³

Varus pacifies Idumea. *Ant.* 17.297

(5.3) 76 Now it was reported to him that throughout Idumea myriads⁴⁶⁴ of heavy infantry were still holding out.⁴⁶⁵ When he found the Arabs not possessing the character of allies⁴⁶⁶ but rather serving as soldiers for the sake of private emotion,⁴⁶⁷ and damaging the

Onasander 27, 30), is a significant theme of his narrative—partly for ironic purposes; see Introduction and Hadas-Lebel 1987: 832-36. This order (κόσμος; here the verb κοσμέω) is described in general at 3.93-97, where κόσμος (3.93) is largely interchangeable with [ἐν ἔθει] σύνταξις (3.74). See further 3.115-28 (διατάξας . . . Ῥωμαίους ἔθος); 5.47-53; 6.18. Indeed, the Greek word most consistently used for Latin *legio*, τάγμα, means “[what is] ordered.”

⁴⁵⁸ Or: “not being able to bear or tolerate, not submitting to the ordeal of” (οὐδ’ . . . ὑπομείνας); cf. 2.82, where it has one of these senses. Evidently we should understand that Sabinus knew himself to be guilty for the steps he had taken in relation to Herod’s estate without awaiting orders from Rome (cf. 2.17).

⁴⁵⁹ The sea in this case must be the (Latin) *mare nostrum*, the Mediterranean, not the Sea of Galilee as often in Josephus. Presumably Sabinus travels via coastal Caesarea, from where he could head N to Syria by ship without risking an encounter with the legate’s troops on land routes. This notice confirms the impression thus far that the equestrian agent of Augustus, Sabinus, was at odds with the distinguished senator Varus (cf. 2.16-17, 45, 66).

⁴⁶⁰ See the note at 1.4; this word (κίνημα) is a key term from the prologue.

⁴⁶¹ This (θορυβώδης) is another rare word in *War* (also 4.321); otherwise only at *Ant.* 4.36 in the classic rebellion against Moses. Before Josephus’ time, the term is best attested in medical, physiological, and scientific contexts (Hippocrates, *Prisc. med.* 10; *Morb. pop.* 5.1.95; 7.1.121; *Ep.* 19; Aristotle, *Hist. anim.* 632b; Strabo 11.3.3), picked up occasionally for political or philosophical application: Plato, *Tim.* 42d; *Leg.* 671a; Polybius 29.11.2. The latter usage becomes much more popular with Josephus’ contemporaries in the “second sophistic”: Plutarch, *Cam.* 27.3; 33.6; *Cor.* 17.4; *Flam.* 10.6; *Luc.* 32.3; *Ag.* 13.4; *Mor.* 564b, 656f, 678c, 714d, etc.; Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 14.1 [Kaibel]; Galen 10 times; Lucian, *Ver. hist.* 2.5; *Pseudol.* 16; *Merc. cond.* 24; Arrian, *Anab.* 1.25.6; *Cyneg.* 7.3.

⁴⁶² On Varus’ virtues of self-control, justice, and clemency, see also 2.69, 76-77.

⁴⁶³ The first crucifixions in *War* occur about a century and a half before this story time, conducted by Alexan-

der Ianneus against his own subjects (1.97, 113). This is the first instance of Roman crucifixion—“the most pitiable of deaths,” as Josephus remarks (*War* 7.202; cf. 5.449-51). For crucifixion as the most disgraceful form of death, see 4.317. Crucifixion, which seems often to have followed a severe beating, was both a painful and a humiliating way to die. Although not invented by the Romans, it was widely used by them, especially for slaves, bandits, rebels, and provincial criminals (as here): Quintilian, *Decl.* 274; Seneca, *Ep.* 101; Appian, *Bell. civ.* 1.120; Josephus, *War* 2.241, 308; 4.444; 5.449-51; *Life* 420. Roman citizens and especially members of the upper classes were usually either subject to more instant forms of execution (beheading), pressured to take their own lives, or exiled. On crucifixion, see Hengel 1977; Tzaferis 1985; Zias and Sekeles 1985.

⁴⁶⁴ Greek μύριοι can mean either an immense, countless number or, as a definite number, 10,000—often signaled by other numbers such as 2 or 3 (times) or a military context requiring a count. It is difficult to know which is intended here. At 2.55 Josephus has said that 2,000 deserters from Herod’s army joined the rebel cause in Idumea. Although 10,000 could be intended here, “vast number” seems all that is needed.

⁴⁶⁵ In the verb (συμμένω), the prefix συν indicates more the bond with the leader or cause (in effect, loyalty) than with the unit: the point is not that a large unit remained intact, but that many soldiers remained loyal to the rebel cause. In Josephus the verb occurs only in *War*, in keeping with its military connotations: holding ground or remaining loyal in the face of serious threat (1.386; 2.205, 334; 3.314, 461; 6.245; cf. Thucydides 1.18.3; 4.74.4; 7.80.4; 8.73.5; Isocrates, *Or.* 4.148; Xenophon, *Hell.* 7.1.2).

⁴⁶⁶ Character (ἦθος) was a central subject of discussion in ancient philosophy and rhetoric; see the Introduction to BJP 9 as well as *Life* 426, 427 and 430 with notes. In addition to character in general (i.e., of the aristocratic male), there was often thought to be a fixed character proper to each role in life: youth, old age, male, female, slave, friend, ally, enemy, and so on. Here, evidently, the term is ironic: the “alliance” is to be strictly in the interests of Rome, which do not include the Arab’s resentment of Herod. *Ant.* 17.296 clarifies the point: Aretas’ army had frequently disobeyed

countryside, exceeding his own policy by virtue of their animosity toward Herod,⁴⁶⁸ he sent them away* and with his own legions kept pressing hard after those who had revolted. **77** Yet before it came to blows⁴⁶⁹ these men handed themselves over, Achiab having so advised them.⁴⁷⁰ Although Varus dismissed the charges against the bulk [of them],⁴⁷¹ he sent the commanders to Caesar⁴⁷² to be interrogated. **78** And whereas Caesar pardoned the others, certain relatives of the king—for there were some among them who were related to Herod by ancestry⁴⁷³—he ordered punished⁴⁷⁴ because they had undertaken military action against a king⁴⁷⁵ of the same house.⁴⁷⁶ **79** And so Varus, when he had stabilized matters

Varus' directives (and requests) out of a desire for gain.

⁴⁶⁷ The emotion in question is “animosity” or “rage” according to 2.68-69; see notes there. The Arabs thus represent the antithesis of Roman military principles, which are all about order, discipline, and relentlessly rational planning: see 3.88, 93, 100, 105; 4.45; also Onasander 6, 32; Harris 2001: 201-28; Sherman 2005: 65-99.

⁴⁶⁸ Josephus thus concludes, with an implicit moral, the theme of the Arabs' unworthy motivation (begun in 2.68-69).

⁴⁶⁹ This (πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, “before getting to [the point of] hands”) is a formulaic phrase for Josephus: *War* 1.93; 2.514; 4.420, 528; 5.52, 102; 6.22; *Ant.* 9.200; 20.78; without πρὶν, *Ant.* 5.73, 268; 15.114, 120. His model may be Dionysius, who uses the phrase 5 times (*Ant. rom.* 8.84.1; 9.53.4, 64.1; 13.8.2; 14.9.4) and another 4 times without “before” (πρὶν) (*Ant. rom.* 9.2.4, 50.2, 56.4, 70.1)—the only form attested before Dionysius (Xenophon, *Anab.* 1.2.26; *Cyr.* 3.1.3; Posidonius, *Frag.* [Jacoby] 2a.87f.43). Between Dionysius and Josephus it turns up in Philo, *Mos.* 1.263 and Onasander 19.1; 29.2. From Josephus' time onward the phrase becomes popular: Plutarch, *Mar.* 19.6; *Luc.* 31.8; *Ant.* 39.6 (without πρὶν); *Tim.* 27.8; *Aem.* 26.6; *Marc.* 20.1; *Arist.* 19.7; *Phil.* 6.13; *Luc.* 25.5; *Mor.* 597e, 873b; Phlegon, *Frag.* [Jacoby] 2b.257f.40.

⁴⁷⁰ In 2.55 we learned that Herod's cousin Achiab, who had prevented the king's suicide in the latter's final days (1.662), had been in command of royal troops in Idumea and so became the enemy of those soldiers in Idumea who joined the Judean revolt. It stands to reason that his admonitions, as their former commander, would be particularly effective in persuading such men to give up the fight.

⁴⁷¹ This is another application of πλῆθος, often rendered “mob” or “rabble” in this translation.

⁴⁷² That is, Augustus.

⁴⁷³ This intriguing notice finally exposes a bias in Josephus' account: whereas he has implied that the rebel movement was anti-Herodian, with the Herodian commanders (2.55, 74) ranged firmly on the reactionary Roman and loyalist side, he now allows—yet without

names—that many rebel commanders were also Herodians. This opens up the possibility (we lack evidence to know) that the issues may not have involved simply primarily pro- or anti-royal sentiments, as Josephus has implied, but related to some other power struggles (possibly ideological ones too) among Herodian commanders. However that may be, it makes good sense in general terms: rebels in a class-based society needed credible leaders, and many or most leaders of Herod's army would have been either relatives or other particularly trustworthy others such as seconded Romans (e.g., Rufus and Gratus).

⁴⁷⁴ Lit. “ordered [someone] to punish [them]” (κολάσαι προσέταξεν)—omitting the personal object of the order. Contrast *Ant.* 7.135; 14.327 (προστάσσω X [dative] κολάσαι Y [accusative]) and *Life* 429 (he ordered Y to be punished, κολασθῆναι προσέταξεν). Although κολάζω basically means “check, trim, prune” and so metaphorically “discipline, punish,” here as often in Josephus it seems to be a euphemism for execution; cf. *Ant.* 17.295, which uses κολάζω for ἀνασταυρώω (crucify) above (*War* 2.75). Although the omission of an implied personal object is not in general worrying, I am unable to find a parallel for this phrase; the closest is perhaps Diodorus 19.96.4, which has a clear personal antecedent object for the “order,” though in the expression itself (προστάξας κολάσαι) the dative object is left understood.

⁴⁷⁵ Since Archelaus was emphatically not a king (2.2, 26) or even quasi-king (ethnarch) before the decision taken in the following story, the possibilities appear to be (a) that this action of Augustus did not take place until Archelaus was back and installed as ethnarch or (b) that the king in question is the deceased Herod, and the offense is against his legacy.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ant.* 17.298 elaborates: they had shown contempt for justice in taking up arms against family. Although the basic principle of filial piety seems uncontroversial, we need to recall that ancient royal families were normally beset by intrigue, murder, and removal of potential rivals by imprisonment or execution: *War* 1.70-73, 120, 273, 433, 445, 467-72-73, 478, 481, 535-37, 550-51, 639-40, 663-64. Ironically, in the main story, 3 sons of Herod

in Hierosolyma and left behind as a garrison the same legion as before,⁴⁷⁷ returned* to Antiocheia.⁴⁷⁸

Delegation from Jerusalem to Rome; Caesar reconvenes council. Ant. 17.299

(6.1) 80 With Archelaus back in Rome, another legal case⁴⁷⁹ was being put together* against Judeans who had gone out* as emissaries before the rebellion,⁴⁸⁰ with Varus' indulgence,⁴⁸¹ with a view to the self-government⁴⁸² of their nation.⁴⁸³ There were fifty of them present, but over 8,000 of the Judeans in Rome⁴⁸⁴ were standing by in support.⁴⁸⁵ 81 After Caesar assembled a council⁴⁸⁶ of the Romans who were in office⁴⁸⁷ and his friends⁴⁸⁸

who have survived his purges are now contending with each other in Rome for kingship.

⁴⁷⁷ See 2.40 and notes.

⁴⁷⁸ See note at 2.18. Here ends Josephus' lengthy digression on the Varian war, which was prompted by the notice at 2.39 that Augustus, while pondering Herod's succession, had received news of a Judean revolt from Varus. It effectively puts another spin on the question of kingship and diadem-lust, as a counterpoint to the Herodian story, as well as anticipating many themes of the later war.

⁴⁷⁹ I.e., in addition to the case brought in defense against Antipas' rival claims (2.20-25), which has been heard by Caesar and his advisory council (2.26-38).

⁴⁸⁰ Or "secession, defection" (ἀπόστασις); see note at 2.39.

⁴⁸¹ Or "trust, assignment, direction." The implication appears to be that Varus would not have allowed them (presumably leading members of the élite) to travel during the war. Indeed the absence of so many established leaders no doubt facilitated the many outbreaks described above. This sentence does not imply that the rebellion is over by this point, for Archelaus, after his return from Rome, will play a role in the suppression of the conflict (2.64-65). Cf. the reference to Varus' kindness in "sending" another party from Judea at 2.83.

⁴⁸² See the notes to "self-government" (αὐτονομία) at 2.22, 53: this is autonomy under Roman governors. Cf. a passage in Nicolaus of Damascus (*FGrH* 3.354), in which an embassy of Greek cities requests self-government; also Smallwood 1981: 108-10.

⁴⁸³ The parallel at Ant. 17.300 is somewhat clearer: "An embassy of Judeans arrived in Rome, Varus having permitted the nation their mission for the sake of requesting self-government."

⁴⁸⁴ This figure (also at Ant. 17.300) is often used along with Ant. 18.84 (4,000 Judean males of military age were conscripted in 19 CE, though many others who refused were punished—supported by Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.85, though his figure may include Egyptians) in calculations of the Judean population of Rome around the turn of the era (Leon 1960: 135; Donfried and Richardson 1998: 19, 120, 249). The resulting estimates still vary widely, however, from 20,000 to twice that number or more.

See Barclay, 1996: 295. If accurate, Josephus' numbers could support a total Judean population in Rome (including women, children, and the elderly) of 30-40,000—a significant proportion of the city's estimated 1,000,000 population. This passage is one of the few explicit indicators of the Roman-Judean community's keen interest in the political affairs of the homeland. Two generations earlier, Cicero had famously complained, in his defense of the Asian governor Flaccus, about the size of the Judean crowd in Rome and its influence in the popular assemblies (*Flac.* 66-69).

⁴⁸⁵ The verb συμπαρίστημι (here imperfect middle/passive) occurs in Josephus only in this passage (again at 2.82) and earlier at 1.243. He has the cognate agent-noun συμπαραστάτης ("comrade, one who stands near to help") at Ant. 7.136; cf. Sophocles, *Phil.* 674; Aristophanes, *Plut.* 326. The double prefix—indicating "alongside" and "with"—stresses the sense of solidarity. But the verb is extremely rare before Josephus' time (*Oed. col.* 1340; note the similar συμπαραστατέω in Aeschylus, *Prom.* 218; Aristophanes, *Ran.* 387), best known from a saying of the 3rd-cent. BCE comic playwright Menander: "For every man, a daemon stands nearby to help (συμπαρίσταται), instantly present, mystagogue of the good life" (quoted in Plutarch, *Mor.* [*Tranq. anim.*] 474b; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 5.14.130). It is possible that Josephus picks up the verb from Sophocles' *Oed. Col.* 1340, given the likelihood of Sophoclean influence on the tragic Herodian story of Josephus, in which this verb has otherwise appeared (2.244).

⁴⁸⁶ This is again the *consilium principis*; see the note to "council" (συνέδριον) and verb at 2.25.

⁴⁸⁷ Compare the wording here (ἀθροίσαντος δὲ Καίσαρος συνέδριον τῶν ἐν τέλει Ῥωμαίων) with 2.25 ([ὁ Καίσαρ] συνέδριον μὲν ἀθροίζει τῶν ἐν τέλει Ῥωμαίων). The close verbal parallel highlights the resumption of the earlier story of the succession hearings.

⁴⁸⁸ The term "friend" (φίλος; Lat. *amicus*) had a distinct political usage, for the circle of closest advisers around an eastern monarch or especially the Roman *princeps* (emperor); see note at 2.4. In his autobiography Josephus imitates this rather grand usage in his own political career, pointedly ironizing the word "friend" at *Life* 79—though he also claims to have had many real

in the temple of Apollo⁴⁸⁹ on the Palatine⁴⁹⁰—this was his own personal construction,⁴⁹¹ arrayed⁴⁹² with astonishing extravagance⁴⁹³—the Judean bloc⁴⁹⁴ stood with their elders, Archelaus opposite with his friends.⁴⁹⁵ **82** Now the friends of this man's relatives⁴⁹⁶ were on neither of the two sides: not deigning⁴⁹⁷ to stand by and help⁴⁹⁸ Archelaus, on account

friends in Judea; e.g., *Life* 99, 131, 144, 205, 220, 234, 236, 241, 274, 294, 324-26, 368, 378, 408, 419.

⁴⁸⁹ Temples to Apollo (eternally youthful twin of Artemis, god of music, drama, poetry, knowledge, wisdom, prophecy, bow and arrow, increasingly identified with the sun) were found throughout the eastern empire, notably at Athens, Corinth, Delphi, and Bassae in Greece, Didyma in Turkey (see the index to Pausanias), also at Pompeii and Rome. See further the following notes.

⁴⁹⁰ The *palatium* is one of Rome's 7 hills, the first to be settled according to tradition (cf. *Ant.* 19.223) and the one usually chosen by Rome's rulers, from Augustus onward, for their residences. Overlooking the forum along its SW side, it was the area that gave us, perhaps as a result of Domitian's magnificent construction there (B.W. Jones 1992: 95-96; Zanker 2002), the word "palace" (> *palatium*).

⁴⁹¹ Apollo was one of Augustus' favored deities, and indeed his alleged father (Suetonius, *Aug.* 94). Vergil's *Aeneid* (8.704) has Actian Apollo drawing his bow in support of Octavian against Antony and Cleopatra at the battle of Actium; that text also mentions the Temple of (Phoebus) Apollo on the Palatine (8.720). Although he began building a shrine to Apollo on the Palatine in 36 BCE, Augustus greatly enhanced it after his victory at Actium, adorning it with the Portico of the Danaids and a library of Greek and Latin texts (A. H. M. Jones 1970: 149-50); the temple was dedicated in October of 28 BCE. The Temple of Apollo sat immediately E of Augustus' modest private house (*domus augusti*): it is commonly thought to have faced the Circus Maximus, though Claridge (*LTUR* 5.225; 2003) argues that it opened inward to the Palatine. The Augustan complex encompassed this temple and its grounds, which the *princeps* used to conduct business (as in this narrative) and in which the Senate often met—in the library space—towards the end of Augustus' reign. See *LTUR* 2.46-48 ("Domus: Augustus"); Casali 1995-96; Royo 1999; Tomei 2000a, b; Miller 2000; Severy 2000; Haselberger 2002: 46, 68. For Domitian's development of the adjacent area, Zanker 2002; Dio 53.3; Suetonius, *Aug.* 29.1.

⁴⁹² The same verb (κοσμέω) is rendered "arranged" at 2.74.

⁴⁹³ By all accounts the Temple of Apollo was a stunning site, of dazzling marble with gold and ivory accents. On the inside were three large statues—Pythian Apollo flanked by his sister and mother (Propertius, *Eleg.* 2.31.1-16)—and on the outside not only the Portico of the

Danaids and the library (see note to "personal construction" in this section), but above the pediment the chariot of the sun-God Sol and other grand images. Abundant decorative statues and exotic lamp-holders added to the effect: see Ovid, *Trist.* 3.27-35, 59; Pliny, *Nat.* 34.14; 36.13, 24-25, 32-36; Dio 49.15.5; 55.12.4-5.

Josephus must have been acquainted with the Palatine hill of the 60s to early 90s from his personal visits. It figures prominently in his account of Gaius' death and Claudius' succession (*Ant.* 19.75-76, 85-86, 223, 266-68)—where even though his basic material must come from a source, the narrative color is consistent with his own. Even though Vespasian had given him a place to live on the Quirinal hill (see note to "imperium" at *Life* 423 in BJP 9), he may at least have visited Poppaea Sabina in 63-64 (*Life* 13-16), answered charges of treason before the Flavians (*maiestas*: *War* 7.447-50; *Life* 428-29), and received Domitia's benefactions (*Life* 429) in the Palatine imperial residences. The Temple of Apollo may have been damaged in the fire of 64, though we do not know how badly (Champlin 2003: 124-25); in any case, Josephus may have seen it before the fire on his first visit. It was a public space; even if Josephus did not enter it from religious considerations, its impressive aspect would have been obvious from both other points on the Palatine and the Circus Maximus below.

⁴⁹⁴ This is another use of the versatile word *πληθος*, elsewhere rendered "mob" or "rabble." It is not clear exactly which group is meant here: most likely would be the 50 mentioned as "present" at 2.80, though the distinction between the mass of people and their elders might suggest the Roman Judeans; but there are far too many of them (8,000) to have more than mere representation in the temple.

⁴⁹⁵ See the note to "friends" at 2.81. Josephus is drawing a vivid picture of two sides presenting their cases, facing each other along the rectangular sides of the temple, with Augustus and his council presumably at the head of the room.

⁴⁹⁶ This cryptic phrase appears to refer to the earlier Herodian opponents of Archelaus (2.20-22, 26-33): along with Antipas, his mother, and other relatives this group included Ptolemy brother of Nicolaus, and the orators Ireneus and Antipater.

⁴⁹⁷ See the note to the same verb (ὑπομένω), rendered "stay put" at 2.74. It is characteristic of Josephus to use the same word repeatedly, with different senses, in a short space.

of hatred and envy,⁴⁹⁹ and yet being ashamed to be seen by Caesar with the accusers.⁵⁰⁰

83 Also present with these was Philip the brother of Archelaus⁵⁰¹—having been sent beforehand by Varus out of kindness⁵⁰² for the sake of two [things]:⁵⁰³ both to contend on the side of Archelaus⁵⁰⁴ and, if Caesar should apportion the House of Herod⁵⁰⁵ among all the descendants,⁵⁰⁶ to be thought worthy of⁵⁰⁷ a certain stake.⁵⁰⁸

(6.2) 84 When it was permitted⁵⁰⁹ for the accusers to speak,⁵¹⁰ they first went through

*Delegation
accuses Herod,
Archelaus. Ant.
17.304*

⁴⁹⁸ See the note to this word at 2.80—these are 2 of the 3 occurrences of the verb συμπαρίστημι in Josephus. See the previous note.

⁴⁹⁹ Hatred and envy (μῖσος καὶ φθόνος) were a natural pair in ancient rhetoric and moral philosophy (Ps-Aeschines, *Ep.* 2.3; Xenophon, *Mem.* 2.6.20; Plato, *Phaedr.* 232d; Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1372b; Polybius 6.7.8, 9.1; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 10.14, 48; Plutarch, *Pel.* 34.3; *Eum.* 8.1; *Dion* 7.3; *Brut.* 29.8; *Galb.* 16.3; *Mor.* 96b, 176d; Lucian, *Phal.* 1.1; *Cal.* 10; *Abdic.* 5; *Nav.* 27, 39; Diogenes Laertius 10.117), so serviceable that Plutarch devotes one of his moral essays to them (*De invidia et odio*). Josephus uses the pair elsewhere at *Ant.* 2.10; 6.193; 20.21, 29.

⁵⁰⁰ Not simply because they were accusers, presumably, for this group have themselves accused Archelaus (2.26-33). Rather, Josephus anticipates an issue of status and seemliness in connection with the new delegation's claims. Quite unlike the earlier accusations against Archelaus, their charges will be leveled mainly against his father, Herod, with Archelaus featuring only as the king's true (tyrant) son (2.84-91). Yet Augustus has always appeared in *War* as Herod's close friend and patron (1.387-400), and so these royal challengers of Archelaus have no wish to identify themselves with such thoroughgoing denunciations of the deceased king and familial patriarch.

⁵⁰¹ This is the first appearance of Philip (26 BCE-33 CE) in the succession narrative of book 2. He was introduced in 1.562 as Herod's son by Cleopatra of Jerusalem (therefore, a step-brother to Antipas and Archelaus, Herod's sons by Malthace). Raised and educated in Rome, like Archelaus, he was an intended victim of plots by Herod's son Antipater (by Doris): 1.602, 646. Although Philip had never been marked to succeed Herod as king, unlike Antipas (1.646) and Archelaus (1.664), Herod's final will had given him Trachonitis and unspecified adjacent regions (1.668), which he will indeed receive from Augustus: see further 2.94-95, 167-168, 182; Kokkinos 1998: 236-40.

⁵⁰² Greek κατ' εὐνοίαν, paralleled by the verb εὐνοέω in *Ant.* 17.303, where it clearly describes Varus' kindness toward, or friendship for, *Archelaus*. This notice continues the benevolent portrait of Varus, also echoing 2.80—Varus' sending of the 50 delegates with his indulgence, permission, or trust before the revolt (possibly the

sense of “beforehand” here [προπέμπω]).

⁵⁰³ This is an elegant phrase, occurring only here in Josephus (δοῦν ἔνεκα) and rarely attested before him: Plato, *Crat.* 418e; fragments of Theopompus and Philochorus; Theophrastus, *Elig. mag.* B.187; Isocrates, *Areop.* 70; Demosthenes, *Ep.* 2.4; Ps-Demosthenes, *Near.* 77; Didymus, *Dem.* 10.41; Philo, *Spec.* 4.127; *Contempl.* 33.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ant.* 17.303 claims more clearly that Varus' kindness was directed first of all toward Archelaus, whose friend he was.

⁵⁰⁵ In this story, two normally different senses of the common word οἶκος (“royal house, estate to be inherited”) come together: the inheritance in question is not mere land or wealth but the dynastic rule.

⁵⁰⁶ This expectation of two possible results—one claimant to be chosen king or a division of Herod's kingdom (κἂν διανέμη τὸν Ἡρώδου Καίσαρ οἶκον πᾶσι τοῖς ἐγγόνοις)—intersects precisely with what the narrator last reported about Caesar's reflections before the digression on the Varian war (2.38: “or apportion the rule among all the offspring” [εἴτε καὶ πάσῃ τῇ γενεᾷ διανεῖμαι τὴν ἀρχήν]). Did Varus in Syria, then, know about Caesar's private thoughts? The raising of these possibilities appears to be a dramatic literary device constructed to prepare the audience for the known outcome (2.93-100); it seems impossible to know whether (and unnecessary to suppose that) Varus had any such clear motives.

⁵⁰⁷ Or “be rewarded with.” Varus, in arranging all of this, appears as patron of both Archelaus and Philip.

⁵⁰⁸ This appears to be Josephus' knowing reference to 1.668, where the dying Herod in fact gave Philip Trachonitis and neighboring areas.

⁵⁰⁹ This is an unusually elegant construction (neuter aorist passive participle of ἐπιτρέπω)—“It having been permitted [allowed, turned over] to the accusers to speak. . . .”

⁵¹⁰ It is curious that Josephus here, in contrast to all other speeches in this section and most in his corpus (except where the masses briefly voice their views), does not identify a single speaker. Read literally, his consistent plurals and concluding reference to “the Judeans” (2.92) imply a chorus of 50 speaking in unison. One might imagine, more realistically, that various speakers took up different parts, so that Josephus is collapsing

Herod's criminality,⁵¹¹ saying that it was not a king they had endured, but the most savage tyrant⁵¹² of those who had ever yet exercised tyranny. At any rate, although a vast number had been dispatched by him, those left behind had suffered such things that they pronounced happy* those who had perished.⁵¹³ **85** For he had tortured not only the bodies of his subjects⁵¹⁴ but even the cities: though he had truly maimed⁵¹⁵ his own [cities], he had arrayed those of the foreigners⁵¹⁶ and donated the blood of Judea to alien

several speeches into one. But the oration has a logical and rhetorical coherence, unimaginable as spontaneous group expression (e.g., 2.85). Perhaps he simply had no idea from his sources who had actually presented the Judean brief (if indeed he did not fabricate this part of the hearing) and, rather than drawing attention to this deficiency, opted for the lesser evil of a group speech. The effect of this anonymity, in any case, is to deny the speakers any distinction of social status, which might be crucial to an individual: they are a nameless mass.

⁵¹¹ Although *παρανομία* (going “beyond the law, criminality”) is in this case related to Judean law—the *πάτριοι νόμοι* (“ancestral laws”) mentioned in 2.86—in Josephus the categories themselves are generic: every nation has its constitution or ancestral laws, traditions, and so law-breakers. The language here is such that Caesar and his council should understand it perfectly well without reference to Judean (or indeed “religious”) law (cf. Mason 1991: 96-110): every nation's legal system is a comprehensive code of what we might distinguish as civil, criminal, and religious law. The charge against Herod is partly that he failed to observe his own nation's laws while promoting other cities and their cultures—a basic failure for a statesman, if true—and partly that he behaved as a tyrant (see next note), acting “beyond the law” in general.

⁵¹² “Tyrant” and “tyranny,” the themes of this speech (see also 2.88), are key terms of *War*: see 1.10 and the note there, also to “self-government” at 2.22 and “bandit-chief” at 2.55. Violence (also *βία*, *δύναμις*, *φόνος*) was the essence of tyranny, the natural function of acting outside law and custom (cf. *παρανομία* above), as a law unto oneself. Diodorus (32.9a.1) claims that “Pseudo-Philip,” after defeating the Roman, “turned aside to savagery and tyrannical criminality” (*ἐξετράπη πρὸς ὀμότητα καὶ παρανομίαν τυραννικὴν*). Phrases linking savagery and tyrants are common in Josephus (*War* 1.27; 4.567, 596; 6.433; 7.32; *Ant.* 17.342) as in other ancient writers (Polybius 9.23.22; 21.34.1; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 4.73.2; 6.82.2; 10.6.4; 11.35.5; Diodorus 14.12.4; 19.1.8, 71.2; 26.15.1; 33.4.1, 14.3; 2 Macc 4:25; 7:27; 3 Macc 6:24; 4 Macc 9:30; 18:20; Demetrius, *Elec.* 237; Plutarch, *Pel.* 28.9; *Sulla* 13.1; *Dion* 15.1; *Mor.* 314f, 315d. 403c; Polyaeus, *Strat.* 6.7.2; Appian, *Mithr.* 110; Dio- genes Laertius 2.106).

⁵¹³ This word-group (*μακάριος*, *μακαρίζω*: “happy, pronounce happy/ congratulate”) is often used paradoxically

by Josephus and others, as here: the dead are to be blessed. At *War* 4.385 Josephus uses the same verb to assert that, under Zealot terror in Jerusalem, the survivors declared the dead happy, and those being tortured in prisons called blissful even those who lay dead and unburied. That is because the Zealots, like Herod in this speech, throw aside all constraints of law and piety: in a world so dramatically turned upside down, only the dead are fortunate. Eleazar at Masada (7.356) has the Indians pronouncing happy their fellows who take their own lives and advance to immortality. Whereas Solon had reportedly advised not to call anyone happy before his death, but only lucky (Herodotus 1.32.70: *πρὶν δ' ἂν τελευτήσῃ, ἐπισχεῖν μὴδὲ καλέειν κω ὄλβιον, ἀλλ' εὐτυχέα*), Josephus rewrites this maxim with *μακάριος*-language when he uses the fortune-reversals of the Commagenian king Antiochus to illustrate (*War* 5.461): “that we should call no one happy before his death” (*ὡς οὐδένα χρὴ λέγειν πρὸ θανάτου μακάριον*). Thus Josephus takes a principle of philosophical resignation in the face of fortune's reversals (so that happiness should not be pronounced before the conclusion) to an ironic extreme in desperate circumstances: death was in such cases the sole hope for happiness—so bleak was life under tyranny. For yet a different paradoxical take on *μακάριος*-language see Luke 6:20-23.

⁵¹⁴ Some examples of Herod's torture in the preceding narrative: 1.485, 527, 529, 577, 584, 586, 590, 592, 599; cf. the Judean tyrants at 5.425, but contrast Titus at 6.345 (for “many” at least). Here, however, Herod's use of physical torture (mainly against slaves, guards, and foreigners), which was commonly used against such people also by constitutional authorities such as Roman provincial governors (cf. Pliny, *Ep.* 10.96 and comments *ad loc.* in Sherwin-White 1966), is not the object of criticism: the main charge—with grand rhetorical flourish—is that he tortured and maimed the very cities that were his primary responsibility. This would be a serious charge, were it borne out in the narrative; but see the note to “foreigners” in this section.

⁵¹⁵ The verb (*λωβάομαι*) is potent, with connotations of mutilation and outrage together: it appears in *War* elsewhere only at 1.270; 5.540.

⁵¹⁶ Herod's gifts to foreign cities have been listed at 1.422-28 (mainly in Syria, Asia Minor, and Greece; he also endowed the Olympic Games). But the sympathetic narrator, in sharp contrast to these Judean speakers,

peoples.⁵¹⁷ **86** In place of the old prosperity⁵¹⁸ and the ancestral laws,⁵¹⁹ he had filled the nation rather with poverty⁵²⁰ and ultimate criminality.⁵²¹ In short, the Judeans endured* more calamities⁵²² from Herod in a few years⁵²³ than their ancestors had suffered in all the time since their withdrawal⁵²⁴ from Babylon.⁵²⁵ (They emigrated back when Xerxes was

has listed those liberal benefactions (τὸ μεγαλόψυχον ἐπεδείξατο, 1.422) only briefly, after a detailed description of his building program in his own realm: Jerusalem's temple, palace, and fortress, the city of Sebaste (Samaria), the temple at Panias, and projects at Caesarea, Jericho, Herodium, and elsewhere (1.401-21). Against *that* background, this speech appears mischievous—and rhetorically tortured, in contrast to the parallel in *Ant.* 17.304-14 (cf. Simonetti 2002: 744 n. 140)—though many of these Judean projects were oriented towards the imperial or other foreign cults, and out of keeping with the national traditions; cf. Bennett 2007: 28-170.

⁵¹⁷ This highly rhetorical language, perhaps exaggerated to absurdity here, is replaced in the parallel (*Ant.* 17.305-7) by a concrete argument: Herod presided over the dissolution and disappearance of some settlements in his purview, while adorning foreign cities, *by* expropriating the property of the nobility whom he had executed. That claim fits *Antiquities'* different narrative ethos, in which Herod is pointedly assimilated to the model of the monarchical tyrant: there he anticipates Gaius Galigula (*Ant.* 19. 133-36, 174, 176), who also killed nobles (εὐπατρίδα) and confiscated their property (19.2-3, 131-32). Cf. Mason 2003a, 2008b.

⁵¹⁸ Greek εὐδαιμονία, a keyword in Josephus' lexicon, on which see the note to "happiness" at 1.11. In this narrative, the reign of the Hasmonean high priest John Hyrcanus has been the shining example of εὐδαιμονία (1.68-69), and Josephus will repeatedly lament its loss (also 2.258; 7.143). In *Antiquities* he makes a great deal of εὐδαιμονία as unique promise of the Judean constitution (*Ant.* 1.14, 20) and the special heritage of his nation (4.114-22).

⁵¹⁹ This is a formulaic phrase in Josephus, largely interchangeable with other phrases (e.g., τὰ πάτρια νόμιμα/ἔθη) that he uses to describe *any* nation's system of law and custom; these terms are not special to Judea. See Mason 1991: 96-115.

⁵²⁰ Josephus' language is ironic: filling with emptiness, or poverty.

⁵²¹ Herod's criminality, or arrogation to himself of a status above the law (παρανομία), is the essence of tyrannical behavior: see notes to 2.84, the speech's opening line. The parallel in *Ant.* 17.307-9 offers much more detail about Herod's tyrannical behavior, though the author seems to be assimilating him to Gaius Caligula: see note to "alien peoples" at 2.85.

⁵²² See the note to this key theme-word (συμφορά) at 1.9, 11. It occurs 90 times in *War*: of these, 21 occur-

rences are in bk. 1 and 18 in bk. 2. In light of the Judean accusers' claim here, it is noteworthy that in the prologue Josephus as narrator—if only for momentary rhetorical needs there—has made the Judean lot under Roman rule (presumably at least from 6 CE) singularly happy, before the unprecedented *calamity* of Jerusalem's fall (1.11). In the narrative, however, Judean leaders' criticism of Herod's government (as already of his father Antipater and brother Phasael) began well before his installation as king. Still, in contrast to *Antiquities*, the narrative voice of *War* never unequivocally condemns Herod, even where it allows that some of his actions contravened the law (1.648-50). Most often, criticisms come from envious, troublesome malcontents (1.208-12, 242-47, 265, 315-16), and chiefly from ungrateful and impious rivals within his own family (1.431-655). Although the narrative does allow glimpses of widespread popular hatred (e.g., 1.660), this attitude is not endorsed or even explained by the narrator. *War's* Herod is mostly an inspiring and pious champion of the Judeans (e.g., 1.354-57, 373-80). Paradoxically, at 1.372 the king rallies his people to face down apparently major calamities (συμφορά).

⁵²³ Herod was effective king of Judea from 37-4 BCE, though in *War's* presentation (1.181, 204) his dominance in the region began about a decade earlier, in the earlier 40s under his father Antipater.

⁵²⁴ Josephus makes an unusual word choice here, since ἀναχώρησις normally means for him "retreat" or "withdrawal," usually in military contexts (*War* 1.223, 236; 2.300; 4.202, 635; 5.284, 290, 333; 6.23, 113, 185, 279; 7.198; *Life* 151, 171).

⁵²⁵ The Judean exile in Babylon (586-536 and later BCE)—the destruction of the first temple by the neo-Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar, the mass removal of the Judean upper classes to Babylonia, and the gradual return of many to Judea under the Persian kings Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius, and Xerxes, as well as the rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem—is a pivotal complex of events in Josephus' understanding of Judean history. He will discuss it again in his major speech (*War* 5.389-93) and, most tellingly, will structure the 20 books of the *Antiquities* around these events as fulcrum, in books 10 (end of first temple and captivity) and 11.1-91 (gradual return of some from exile). Alongside the many thematic parallels he adduces or implies between his situation and Jeremiah's and Daniel's, or between the divine plan then and now (e.g., the Judeans' enemies being used to purge the polluted temple), a crucial point concerns the

king.)⁵²⁶ **87** To such a degree of restraint⁵²⁷ and habitual bad fortune had they proceeded, however, that they endured the bitter slavery⁵²⁸ and awaited⁵²⁹ a freely chosen succession.⁵³⁰

88 At any rate, Archelaus, the son of such a tyrant, they both readily addressed as king,⁵³¹ after the death of his father, and joined with him in mourning the death of Herod;⁵³² they also prayed together with him about the succession.⁵³³

89 But, as if struggling mightily⁵³⁴ that he should not appear to be an illegitimate⁵³⁵ son

fulfillment of prophetic prediction: whether of the fall of the first temple (10.33-34, 79, 140-41), the restoration under Cyrus (11.5-6), or later events (10.275-81; 11.336-37)—all foreseen precisely long before they occurred.

⁵²⁶ Xerxes I, son of Darius Hystaspes and Atossa, ruled the Persian empire from 485-465 BCE. He was notorious in the Greco-Roman world for his disastrous attempt to invade Greece in 480 BCE, which ended with his rout at Salamis. Josephus' linking of the return from Babylon with Xerxes is interesting for several reasons. First, as he will indicate in *War* 5.389-93 and *Ant.* 11.1-18, the return is normally attached to the reign of Cyrus (559-530 BCE), who first proclaimed the repatriation of the Judeans (cf. *Ezra* 1.1; *Isa* 44.28). Second, however, *Ant.* 11.8 makes it clear that only some leaders (of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, Levites and priests) returned under Cyrus. According to *Ant.* 11.120-38 a much larger group (but still a small minority of the 12 tribes, 11.133) left decades later under Ezra, in the time of Xerxes. Thus Josephus already shows here a somewhat nuanced awareness of the story he will later tell in detail (contrast S. Schwartz 1990: 24-35, who does not include this passage in his analysis of *War*'s biblical knowledge). Third, Josephus also anticipates his correction of the Bible's claim (*Ezra* 7.1) in *Ant.* 11.120-21 that it was Artaxerxes (i.e., Xerxes' successor) who authorized Ezra's mission. Once again, this indicates little change in his biblical knowledge between *War* and *Antiquities*.

⁵²⁷ Or "mildness, moderation": the Judean people had schooled themselves not to rebel even under tyrannical government and attendant bad fortune. The μέτριος word-group, famous from Aristotle (e.g., *Eth. nic.* 1119a; *Pol.* 1313a, 1314e, 1315b), who advocated pursuing the middle way between extremes (e.g., aggression and timidity), but also important for Polybius (e.g., 20.2-3; cf. Eckstein 1995: 28-83, 118-60) in articulating the way of the statesman, is basic to Josephus' vocabulary. In his narratives it has much to do with self-control, mildness, and the avoidance of partiality, partisanship, or zeal. Its chief political manifestations are accommodation (as here), in the case of the ruled, and the avoidance of brutality when applied to rulers. Thus Alexander Ianneus' reputation for restraint was undercut by his brutal actions (1.85, 90-92); it was this crucial quality that Gaius Caligula lacked, which Claudius had by nature (2.208); Gessius Florus was admonished to acquire more

of it after his violence and bribery (2.281, but 306, 349); Agrippa II hopes that future governors will do better in this respect (2.354). By extension, then, the word often means "reasonable, decent, respectable" (cf. 2.275 and note). On the absence of a political faction of "moderates" in Josephus' narratives, see the note to "reasonable [folk]" at 2.275.

⁵²⁸ "Bitter slavery" (πικρὰ δουλεία) is a phrase attested elsewhere (Euripides, *Troi.* 964; *Frag. Hyps.* 61+82; Plato, *Resp.* 569c; Aristotle, *Ath. pol.* 2.3; *Mir. ausc.* 840b; Polybius 4.81.13; Agatharchides, *Mar. eryth.* 24; LXX *Esth* 4:17; Philo, *Mos.* 1.247; Epictetus, *Diatr.* 4.1.19), but it is used several times by Josephus (also *Ant.* 11.263; 20.120). The point is ironic: whereas slavery (δουλεία) should be associated with foreign oppression, and it is what the Judeans had endured in Babylon (*Ant.* 11.2), Herod has made them slaves in their own land. On the highly charged language of freedom and slavery throughout *War*, see the Introduction.

⁵²⁹ I give two verbs ("endured," "awaited") for Josephus' 1, because his sentence artfully gives the same verb two objects in different cases (genitive and accusative), which lend the verb different nuances (ὥστε ὑπομείναι τῆς πικρᾶς δουλείας καὶ διαδοχὴν ἀθύραρετον). They endured bitter slavery under Herod and were even willing to countenance it again in a successor (Archelaus).

⁵³⁰ This adjective (ἀθύραρετος) occurs only 4 times in Josephus, all in *War* and all paradoxical as here: a freely chosen prison (3.144), a pitiable end (4.312), folly and bad things leading to destruction (6.310). Here the Judeans confess to an acquired mentality of slavery that conditions them even to choose for themselves a successor to Herod, awful though he was.

⁵³¹ So indeed the implication of 2.2 above.

⁵³² So 2.1-2 above.

⁵³³ This 3rd item in the list of loyalty proofs offered by the Judean delegation, which has no support in the preceding narrative, exposes the rhetorical slant of their appeal. This portrait of devoted loyalty is cast in doubt by the story in 2.1-13, where "the entire rabble" (2.11) assaulted with stones the soldiers who were (reportedly) trying to keep peace by suppressing the rebel leaders. It seems from the narrative, as distinct from the speeches, that much of the populace has in fact bridled (albeit powerlessly) under Herodian rule; cf. 1.660.

⁵³⁴ Greek ἀγωνιῶ, used commonly of athletic competition but in *War* metaphorically (only here and at

Request for annexation to Syria. Ant. 17.314

of Herod, he prefaced⁵³⁶ his reign with the massacre of 3,000 citizens:⁵³⁷ as many sacrificial victims⁵³⁸ as he had offered to God for his rule,⁵³⁹ with just as many corpses had he filled the temple at a festival.⁵⁴⁰ **90** Those left intact after so many bad things,⁵⁴¹ however, had now reasonably turned in due course to confront these calamities,⁵⁴² and by the law of war⁵⁴³ they wanted to receive their blows to the face.⁵⁴⁴ They pleaded with the Romans to take pity⁵⁴⁵ on the remains of Judea and not to toss away what was left of it to those who were savagely mauling it,⁵⁴⁶ **91** but after joining their region to Syria⁵⁴⁷ to administer

3.456; cf. *Life* 404), of deep emotional concern and resulting effort.

⁵³⁵ Or “bastard, spurious, counterfeit” (νόθος): used of another son of Herod at 1.521, otherwise only at 5.443.

⁵³⁶ I.e., Archelaus’ reign as king had not even begun when he signaled what was to come (2.2-3). This colorful verb (προοιμιάζομαι) occurs only here in Josephus (cf. 2.454; *Ant.* 18.221 for the cognate noun as metaphor). It might carry either literary (“make X a preface, premise”; Plato, *Lach.* 179a) or tragic, theatrical, possibly epic connotations (“make X a prelude [to the play, story]”; Aristotle, *Poet.* 1460a). On the theatrical character of *War*, see Chapman 1998.

⁵³⁷ Like the orator Antipater, speaking for the Antipas faction (2.30), these Judean delegates describe as a simple fact the slaughter of 2.12-13, making it their main evidence of Archelaus’ crimes. They willfully ignore the narrator’s claims about the ruler-designate’s concern and effort to avoid bloodshed, as well as Nicolaus’ response (2.34) that the slaughter had been unavoidable.

⁵³⁸ In his speech for the Antipas faction, Antipater had similarly linked the fate of those who had come to sacrifice at the festival with their animal victims. The same image is used at 1.378: Herod’s Judean ambassadors are slaughtered, as if garlanded sacrificial victims, by the Arabs.

⁵³⁹ The earlier narrative has said nothing about Archelaus’ provision of sacrifices for the sake of his rule, an act that seems out of keeping with his determination to wait for Caesar’s endorsement of that rule (2.2-3). This claim appears, then, as a highly prejudicial rhetorical flourish.

⁵⁴⁰ The festival was Passover; the narrator has already said that it was a time for vast numbers of sacrifices (cf. 2.10 and notes).

⁵⁴¹ Since Archelaus has been charged with only one bad thing (2.89), and that a dubious one in light of the narrative, the reference presumably includes Herod’s alleged evils (2.86).

⁵⁴² See the notes to this key word at 1.9 and 2.86.

⁵⁴³ Or, “convention [or custom] of war.” Although the phrase πολέμου νόμος is well attested before and after Josephus (e.g., Aeschines, *Fals. leg.* 33; Polybius 2.58.10; 5.9.1, 11.3; 7.14.3; Diodorus 38/39.8.1; Diony-

sus, *Ant. rom.* 3.8.2; 6.36.2; Philo, *Mos.* 1.36; Oppian, *Hali.* 2.316; Achilles Tatius, *Leuc.* 2.24.3; Appian, *Bas.* 1.2; *Bell. civ.* 1.7.55, 58; 2.19.140; 3.2.13; 4.16.128; Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 7.24.2; 8.3.8), Josephus is its biggest known user. He gives enough examples in *War* to indicate a range of meaning: 3.363 (in his speech against suicide: by the law of war one should die only by a conqueror’s hand); 4.260 (Jesus the chief priest tries to refuse the Idumeans entry to Jerusalem by it; 4.388 (an ancient prophecy that the temple will burn by the law of war); 5.332 (Titus’ right to sack the city by the law of war); 6.239 (in Titus’ *consilium* some argue that the temple should burn by right of war); 6.346, 353 (Titus remarks that he formerly showed clemency, against the law of war). See also *Ant.* 1.315; 6.69; 9.58; 12.274; 14.304; 15.157. The phrase appears, then, to have two main senses: (a) a special set of norms that justify, in the extreme context of conflict, what would otherwise be barbaric behavior (note Laban’s complaint about this category-confusion in *Ant.* 1.315); (b) a set of minimal constraints even in extreme circumstances (e.g., respecting heralds). Sometimes the phrase appears to mean nothing more than “the way things normally work in war,” with no moral evaluation. The rough Latin equivalent, *ius belli*, occupies a conspicuous position in the opening sentence of Livy’s history (Aeneas was one of two men spared at Troy in spite of the “law of war”, 1.1.1; cf. 26.31.2; Sallust, *Bell. iug.* 91.7; Quintilian, *Inst. or.* 5.10.114), and may have influenced Josephus’ usage for a Roman audience.

⁵⁴⁴ Or “in person, in front.” This part of the speech receives no paraphrase in *Ant.* 17.313-14, and the sense is not precisely clear. Possibly: if the Judeans are joined to a Roman province (anticipating 2.91), the Romans will be able to assess their qualities and if necessary punish them directly, without receiving an impression of them that has been distorted by oppressive client kings.

⁵⁴⁵ For this thematic tragic term (Aristotle, *Poet.* 1449b.27; 1452.38; 1453a.3, 5, 1453b.12), here as a verb, see the note at 1.10 and the one to “compassion” at 1.12.

⁵⁴⁶ Or “tearing it to pieces,” in which case perhaps the rival heirs of Herod are intended—if the Judean delegates know the possibility that the nation might be divided up among them (2.38, 93-94). But there is no

it by means of their own governors.⁵⁴⁸ For this would demonstrate that those now being maligned as factious⁵⁴⁹ and bellicose⁵⁵⁰ know how to tolerate mild governors.⁵⁵¹

92 Whereas, then, the Judeans brought an end⁵⁵² to their accusation with an appeal in this vein, Nicolaus got up and, first, dismissed⁵⁵³ the charges against the kings,⁵⁵⁴ then

indication in the narrative of their knowledge that Caesar is entertaining this option. Perhaps the reference is to the claim made at 2.85, that Herod and Archelaus maimed the state; cf. 2.92, “the charges against *the kings*” (presumably, Herod and Archelaus). At 5.27 and again 5.526 the narrator will use the same verb (σπαράττω) to accuse rebel tyrants of behaving like dogs, tearing away at the body politic (cf. 2.589 of John). Although the MSS L¹VRC have πράσσοσι (“those who were *behaving savagely*”), these examples show that the more vivid verb matches Josephus’ lexicon. For a Roman audience acquainted with theater, the verb would probably carry resonances of Euripides’ *Bacchae*, in which it figures prominently in the context of Bacchic frenzy (735, 739, 1104, 1127, 1135, 1220), and this would enhance the dramatic-tragic tone of *War* (on which, in general, Chapman 1998).

⁵⁴⁷ Although this request is declined by Caesar in the immediate sequel (2.93-94), after Archelaus’ removal in 6 CE Judea will be joined in some way to the province of Syria. Whereas *War* 2.117 (see notes there) appears to make Judea an independent province (ἐπαρχία) under its own praesidial equestrian governor, the following story makes clear that it is in some respects subject to the Syrian governor: e.g., 2.184-87. *Ant.* 17.355, by contrast, simply claims that after Archelaus’ removal his territory was annexed to Syria, and that the legate Quirinius in Syria was charged with making a census of property throughout the whole of his province. Coponius, according to that narrative, was sent along with him, to rule over the Judeans with full authority (18.1)—not, evidently, as an independent governor. See Ghiretti 1985 and Cotton 1999 for the persuasive historical argument that in 6 CE Judea was first incorporated into the province of Syria as a prefecture.

⁵⁴⁸ The Greek is ambiguous: διοικεῖν ἐπ’ ἰδίους ἡγεμόσιν, as I try to indicate in the translation (cf. LCL: “governors from themselves”; M-B: “durch *besondere* Statthalter verwalten lassen”), though if the parallel at *Ant.* 17.314 (ὑποτάσσεσθαι τοῖς ἐκεῖσε πεμπομένοις στρατηγούσι) may be invoked, ἐπ’ ἰδίους would refer to the *Roman* governors of Syria. Roman control of a Judea annexed to Syria was also preferred by the partisans of Antipas at 2.22. Such an arrangement seems to match Josephus’ ideal as well as that of many contemporary Greek aristocrats for their own cities; see the note to “self-government” at 2.22. Just as that passage calls for

a Roman commander (στρατηγός), so also the parallel to the present passage (*Ant.* 17.314) expresses the delegation’s hope that στρατηγοί sent to Syria will take responsibility for Judea.

⁵⁴⁹ Or “agents of sedition/civil strife” (στασιώδεις). Before Josephus, this word appears once or twice only in each of Demosthenes, Xenophon, Aristotle, Polybius, Posidonius, Chrysippus, Dionysius, and Philo, whereas he uses it 16 times. It is thus his characteristic vocabulary. All but 3 occurrences are in *War*, where civil strife (στάσις) is a key term; see the notes to “civil strife” and “insurgents” at 1.10, also to “insurgents” at *Life* 17 in BJP 9. For the sake of variety, it seems, Josephus uses many variants of the στάσι- root for “agents of sedition” (see details in the notes to the passages mentioned). These are conveniently indistinct terms, evoking the broad category of “trouble-makers” familiar to his audience.

⁵⁵⁰ This assumed accusation has no precedent in the narrative itself, but anticipates Nicolaus of Damascus’ assessment of the national character in the next sentence (2.92). At Josephus’ time of writing, after the war, the Roman audience may be presumed to know such a common portrait of the Judeans as belligerent (see Introduction). This perception is paralleled—with due regard for his ad hoc rhetoric—already in Cicero’s speech defending Flaccus (*Flac.* 69): he presents Pompey’s capture of Jerusalem in 63 BCE as a just response to Judean militancy.

⁵⁵¹ See the note to “mildness” at 2.87, and Thucydides 1.38 for the classic statement of a more powerful party’s reacting wisely to mildness. In Josephus’ later narratives, as in his portrait of Quinctilius Varus above (2.16-17, 69, 76), the Syrian governors (of high senatorial, consular rank) appear as an entirely different class of men—cultured, wise, and moderate—from the crass equestrians sent to govern Judea: 2.195-203; cf. *Ant.* 18.88-90.

⁵⁵² Josephus uses this verb (καταλήγω) only in *War*: also at 3.331; 4.8; 5.136, 147.

⁵⁵³ Although all MSS have ἀπεδύσατο (“stripped off, undressed” [the charges]), I follow Destinon and Niese here in reading ἀπελύσατο, a difference of one easily confused letter (Δ for Λ): the latter verb makes better sense and matches Josephus’ known phrasing in *War* 4.338. Further, the Latin has (*criminius*) *dissolutis*, rhetorical parlance for charges being refuted or addressed.

⁵⁵⁴ In view of the Judean delegation’s dual target, the

accused* the nation as both hard to govern⁵⁵⁵ and by nature hardly obedient⁵⁵⁶ toward the kings. He also kept maligning those relatives of Archelaus who had defected to the accusers.⁵⁵⁷

Caesar divides kingdom among Herod's sons.
Ant. 17. 317

(6.3) 93 So then, after hearing each of them Caesar dissolved the council⁵⁵⁸ and, after a few days, gave* half of the kingdom⁵⁵⁹ to Archelaus: he titled him ethnarch⁵⁶⁰ but also promised that he would make him king if he should show himself worthy.⁵⁶¹ 94 The remaining half he divided into two tetrarchies and gave* to the other two sons of Herod, the one to Philip⁵⁶² and the other to Antipas⁵⁶³ (the one contending against Archelaus for the kingship).⁵⁶⁴ 95 Under the latter⁵⁶⁵ were both Perea⁵⁶⁶ and Galilee,⁵⁶⁷ with revenue of two hundred talents,⁵⁶⁸ while Batanea, Trachonitis,⁵⁶⁹ Auranitis,⁵⁷⁰ and certain parts of the estate

plural seems to be shorthand for King Herod and his son Archelaus (see the note to “mauling it” at 2.90), though the latter’s title has yet to be decided.

⁵⁵⁵ This adjective (δύσαρκτος) is exceedingly rare, occurring only 9 times in the TLG corpus. All the more curious, then, that Josephus has two of those occurrences, and in the other (*Ant.* 4.11) it is paired as here (next note) with δυσπειθής, a combination that appears in no other author. The only author known to have used the word before Josephus is Aeschylus (*Cho.* 1024; *Frag.* [Mette] *Tetr.* 44A fr. 530). See also Plutarch, *Luc.* 2.5; *Mor.* [*Princ. iner.*] 779d; Appian, *Bell. civ.* 2.21.149.

⁵⁵⁶ Greek δυσπειθής. Josephus’ Nicolaus, with typically pointed concision (cf. 2.34-36 and notes), juxtaposes two summary adjectives with δυσ-prefixes (see previous note).

⁵⁵⁷ This was also a point in Nicolaus’ rebuttal of Antipas’ partisans at 2.35: those accusing Archelaus had formerly been his advisers. According to 2.20-21, Archelaus’ rival Antipas had won over a number of his (so also Archelaus’) relatives, including their aunt (Herod’s sister) Salome, mother Malthace, and many of those who had sailed with Archelaus.

⁵⁵⁸ See the notes to “council” and relevant verbs at 2.25, 38.

⁵⁵⁹ Or “kingship, sovereignty” (ἡ βασιλεία).

⁵⁶⁰ This title means something like “sheikh” or “tribal/national leader”: “ruler of an *ethnos*.” Of some 33 known occurrences of this word (ἔθναρχης) before the second century CE, 22 are in Josephus and 3 in 1 Maccabees: according to 1 Macc 14:47; 15:1, 2, the Hasmonean high priest Simon was recognized as ethnarch by the Seleucid king (cf. *Ant.* 13.214; 14.148, 151, 191, 194, 196, 200, 210, 212, 226, 306, 314, 317—all but the first concerning Hyrcanus II). Although our evidence of the word’s use is chiefly in Judean circles, it is also known from Syria and the Arab world. For the significant difference between this status and that of king (βασιλεύς), emphasized by Josephus here and at *Ant.* 17.317, see Strabo 17.1.13; 2 Cor 11:32; Lucian, *Macr.* 17.

In his discussion of the Alexandrian Judean community, Josephus quotes a lost passage of Strabo defining

the role of ethnarch there (*Ant.* 14.117): “he both manages the nation (ἔθνος) and administers justice and takes charge of contracts and ordinances, as if he were head of a self-governing political entity (ὡς ἂν πολιτείας ἄρχων αὐτοτελοῦς).” Evidently, Augustus makes use of an existing local (Greek) title; this is not the Greek equivalent of a Latin term. On the title see Schürer-Vermes 1. 333-34 n. 12.

The settlement as described in Josephus’ narrative reveals no little political skill on Augustus’ part. It honors the will of his deceased and loyal client Herod, inasmuch as it gives Archelaus pride of place, with the potential to become king. At the same time it takes account of the energetic criticism of Archelaus’ fitness to be king. Finally, it recognizes the claims of the 2 brothers, more or less in keeping with the terms of Herod’s final will (1.664, 668). For the Archelaus of the narrative, however, it must have come as a blow, and a signal of formidable Judean opposition to him; Josephus’ audience knows that he was fully expecting to become king of his father’s domain (2.2-3). Cf. Smallwood 1981: 108-9.

⁵⁶¹ The paraphrase at *Ant.* 17.317 is characteristically more overtly moralistic: “if he should apply virtue to it [the kingdom/kingship].”

⁵⁶² See the note at 2.83.

⁵⁶³ See the note at 2.20.

⁵⁶⁴ A neat *inclusio*, since this is precisely how Antipas was introduced in 2.20 (with the verb ἀμφισβητέω). The point in mentioning this, as *Ant.* 17.318 emphasizes, seems to be that whereas Archelaus and Antipas had contended for the *kingship* (“the whole rule” according to the parallel), they both ended up with far less.

⁵⁶⁵ The sentence has a chiasmic structure: Philip, Antipas // Antipas, Philip.

⁵⁶⁶ Across the Jordan: see the notes at 2.43, 57.

⁵⁶⁷ See the note to “Galilee and Idumea” at 2.43.

⁵⁶⁸ See the note to “talents” at 2.50.

⁵⁶⁹ Trachonitis has appeared at 2.58; see notes there.

⁵⁷⁰ These adjacent regions NE of Lake Gennesaret (Kinneret, Sea of Galilee), which should include Gaulanitis (*Ant.* 18.106), were introduced as Augustus’ additions to Herod’s reign at 1.398-400. According to 1.668,

of Zenon⁵⁷¹ around Panias,⁵⁷² having revenue of a hundred talents,⁵⁷³ had been assigned under Philip.⁵⁷⁴ **96** Archelaus' ethnarchy⁵⁷⁵ included Idumea,⁵⁷⁶ all Judea, and Samaria,⁵⁷⁷ which was relieved of a quarter of its taxes out of respect for its not having revolted with the others.⁵⁷⁸ **97** As subject cities he received Strato's Tower,⁵⁷⁹ Sebaste,⁵⁸⁰ Ioppa,⁵⁸¹ and

Herod's final revision of his will gave these areas to Philip ("Trachonitis and the adjacent areas"), a decision confirmed by Augustus here.

⁵⁷¹ Named Zenodorus in the parallel (*Ant.* 17.319; cf. 15.344). Long dead by now, he had according to Josephus (*War* 1.398-400) once controlled on lease the so-called domain of Lysanias (W and N of Damascus on the slopes of the Antilebanon range), where he settled Trachonite bandits from further S, who harassed the residents of Damascus. The Syrian legate Varro drove Zenodorus out of those threatening areas, which Augustus then transferred to Herod, making him "procurator of all Syria" (23 BCE; *War* 1.399, but *Ant.* 15.360—adviser to Syrian procurators; discussion in Bennett 2007: 128-30). At Zenodorus' death (20 BCE), the region from Trachonitis to Galilee also passed to Herod.

⁵⁷² The copyists of Josephus' MSS appear to have been baffled by whatever he wrote here, and in their attempt to correct it confused matters further: they have ἰννάων (PAM, followed by Niese), ἰνάων (L) ἰνάων (R), and ἰαμνεῖαν (VC); Latin *innam uicum*. Iamnia is far from the region in question, and in any case it is accounted for in 2.98. Panias is the plausible conjecture of H. Graetz and E. Schürer, followed by Reinach and Thackeray: it is in the appropriate area; it corresponds to the provisions of Herod's final will according to *Ant.* 17.189, which included Πανετιάς in Philip's territory; and a vertical stroke of Π could easily be misread as I. But not all are convinced by the emendation. Schalit (*Conc.* s.v.) and Pelletier accept ἰνάων, as an accusative of ἰνά, as representing a place "im Libanongebiet, Dekapolis"; M-B keep ἰννάων, positing an otherwise unknown site, Innano.

As Josephus explains in *War* 1.404 and 2.168, Panias (mod. Banyas) is near the source of the Jordan River. Herod had built a white marble sanctuary in honor of Augustus there, which revived the use of a site that had hosted the nature cult of Pan—frequented by residents of the Huleh valley before the expansion of the destabilizing Itureans into the region by 75 BCE. The exact site of Herod's Augustus-sanctuary has recently been much debated; see Bennett 2007: 126-46; for the site, Pliny, *Nat.* 5.71, 74. Bennett (2007: 132) argues that Herod wished also to bring stability to the region, which was still subject to Iturean raiders in the N Golan, by establishing a new political center at Panias—anchored in the imperial cult, later accompanied by the city of Caesarea founded by Herod's son Philip soon after Herod's death (here and 2.168).

⁵⁷³ See the note to "talents" at 2.50.

⁵⁷⁴ The perfect passive may reflect 1.668, in which Herod's will is said to have assigned these areas to Philip.

⁵⁷⁵ See the note to "ethnarch" in 2.93.

⁵⁷⁶ See the note at 2.43.

⁵⁷⁷ Pliny (*Nat.* 5.70) groups these 3 regions, with Judea "above" (i.e., higher than) the others.

⁵⁷⁸ As Josephus has already indicated, Samaria did not participate in the revolt suppressed by Varus, a fact that the legate acknowledged by declining to attack the city on his southward march (see 2.69 and notes). Here, however, the entire region seems intended, whereas in 2.69 it is the *city* of Samaria (Sebaste).

⁵⁷⁹ The site of Herod's magnificent city, Caesarea; see the note at 2.16. Thus far in *War*, a "Strato's Tower" has been discussed in two notable contexts: Aristobulus' murder of his brother Antigonus (and the Essene's remarkably fulfilled prediction, in spite of confusion about the location) and Herod's foundation of Caesarea on the coastal site (*War* 1.77-80, 408-15). It may seem surprising that Josephus should use the older name, since he elsewhere emphasizes that this was the *former* name, before Herod's massive rebuilding and refoundation of Caesarea (*Ant.* 15.331-41; 19.343; 20.173). Yet he makes the same choice at the parallel (*Ant.* 17.320). The proposal that he takes this over from his source, perhaps an administrative document specifying Archelaus' revenues (e.g., Simonetti 745 n. 146), runs up against the following problems: (a) Josephus has a tendency to recall the older name, and so must think that this has some benefit for his audience; (b) he similarly uses the displaced "Samaria" at 2.69, and Dicaearcheia almost always instead of the current Puteoli (2.104; *Ant.* 18.160, 248-49; 19.5; *Life* 16); (c) when his Roman contemporary Pliny the Elder describes the coastal cities, he too gives "Strato's Tower" first (*inde Apollonia, Stratonis turris, eadem Caesarea, ab Herode rege condita, nunc colonia Prima Flavia* . . . ; *Nat.* 5.69). In Josephus' usage here we may be witnessing the same sort of perspective as Pliny's: both knew that the city had recently been renamed yet again (for Josephus' knowledge of post-70 names, see [Flavia] Neapolis at 4.449), as *Colonia Prima Flavia Augusta*, and so preferred to invoke the original name, which seems to have endured anyway in some formulations of "Caesarea," to give historical perspective. Even in his recent detailed description of Herod's reconstruction (1.408-15) Josephus mainly presents it as activity conducted at "Strato's Tower" (1.408), supplying

Hierosolyma.⁵⁸² The Greek cities Gaza,⁵⁸³ Gadara, and Hippos⁵⁸⁴ [Caesar] cut off from the kingdom⁵⁸⁵ and attached to Syria. Revenue from the region given to Archelaus was 400⁵⁸⁶ talents.⁵⁸⁷

Other relatives' inheritances.
Ant. 17.321

98 And Salome,⁵⁸⁸ in addition to what the king bequeathed in his will,⁵⁸⁹ was declared* mistress⁵⁹⁰ of both Jamnia and Azotus as well as Phasaelis,⁵⁹¹ and Caesar granted* her also the royal [holdings] in Ascalon.⁵⁹² Now, sixty talents⁵⁹³ in revenue were being collected from all these, and he set her estate under the toparchy⁵⁹⁴ of Archelaus.⁵⁹⁵ **99** Each

“Caesarea” only at the end (1.414). Similarly, the story of the Essene’s prediction (1.77-80) assumes the general familiarity of the older name.

⁵⁸⁰ Formerly Samaria, re-founded in 28 BCE by Herod with the honorary name that was the feminine Greek counterpart to *Augustus*; see the note to “Samaria” at 2.69. Here he uses the Herodian-Roman name we would expect (1.403; cf. Pliny, *Nat.* 5.69), rather than the former “Samaria.”

⁵⁸¹ Joppa has been much discussed through the Hasmonean and Herodian narratives: 1.50, 99, 156, 292-93, 409. This major Mediterranean port was added to Herod’s kingdom by Augustus after his defeat of Antony and Cleopatra (1.396).

⁵⁸² It is striking that Josephus should single out Jerusalem, the obvious capital of Judea, as among the cities made subject to Archelaus—as though it were an autonomous city like the others mentioned. This reinforces the city-based mentality of ancient writers and Roman administrators.

⁵⁸³ The ancient coastal city of Gaza (*Ant.* 1.136; 5.81) had been made free by Pompey (*War* 1.156), but later added to Herod’s kingdom by Augustus (1.396).

⁵⁸⁴ Gadara (on the River Yarmuk in modern Jordan) and Hippos (on a hill overlooking Lake Gennesaret from the E), annexed to Herod’s territory by Augustus (1.396), were both prominent members of the so-called Decapolis: the 10 free Greek cities—different authorities give slightly different lists—straddling the Jordan River and Lake Gennesaret (Kinneret). See Pliny, *Nat.* 5.74 and the note to “Ten Cities” at *Life* 341 in BJP 9.

⁵⁸⁵ That is, from Herod’s former kingdom (possibly “kingship”); there is neither kingdom nor kingship now.

⁵⁸⁶ Although all the MSS for the parallel passage (*Ant.* 17.320) give 600 talents, those here all indicate 400. Numbers, written with Greek letter abbreviations, were highly susceptible to alteration in copying; but Josephus is also quite capable of making such changes from one work to another. Whether this is because of better information in the later work, greater seeming plausibility on reflection, or more arbitrary reasons, we are usually unable to determine.

⁵⁸⁷ See the note to “talents” at 2.50.

⁵⁸⁸ See the notes at 1.181; 2.15.

⁵⁸⁹ The Greek is plural: see the note to “wills” at 2.38. Curiously, according to *Ant.* 17.321, Jamnia, Azotus, and Phasaelis were bequeathed to Salome *by Herod* in his will, along with half a million pieces of coined silver (not mentioned here). That Caesar *added* the Ascalon palace to Salome’s inheritance (so both *War* and *Antiquities*) might make better sense if everything else had been specified in Herod’s will, and such reasoning might account for the clarification in *Antiquities*. See following notes.

⁵⁹⁰ For this collocation (ἀποδείκνυμι δεσπότης/-ις), see Herodotus 3.134; 8.68; and Josephus, *Ant.* 2.263.

⁵⁹¹ All 3 sites were on the margins of Archelaus’ Judean territory. Ancient Iamnia/Jamnia (bibl. Yavneh/Jabneh) was about 10 miles (16 km) N of Azotus (bibl. Ashdod) on the main coastal highway, the latter due W of Jerusalem (cf. 1.50, 156, 166). Each city, slightly inland, also had a port. Azotus would have fallen in the “toparchy” (regional governmental district surviving from the period of Ptolemaic administration in the 3rd cent. BCE [A. H. M. Jones 1937: 274]; cf. *War* 3.54-5; Pliny, *Nat.* 5.70) of Jamnia; see Kokkinos 1998: 189 and 191 with notes. Phasaelis was built by Herod in honor of his brother Phasael (1.418), in the Jordan River valley about 13 miles (22 km) N of Jericho, at a fork in the highway. See further 2.167 and Appendix A to BJP 1a.

⁵⁹² Continuing southwards on the coastal highway, about 8.5 miles (14.5 km) S of Salome’s possession Iamnia, then W to the coast, lay Ascalon (bibl. Ashkelon). A Greek city outside Herod’s kingdom, it had nonetheless benefited from his largesse, including spectacular fountains and colonnades (*War* 1.422). Although the Greek here (plural τὰ βασιλεία) might indicate royal properties other than a palace, the parallel at *Ant.* 17.321 is explicit about a royal residence: τὴν ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι βασιλείον οἴκησιν.

⁵⁹³ See the note to “talents” at 2.50.

⁵⁹⁴ This is a puzzling word choice, since the toparchy *of Iamnia*, which seems to have included coastal Azotus, was that local district: elsewhere in Josephus a toparchy is an administrative region (cf. τόπος) surrounding a mid-sized town such as Acrabetta, Gophna, Thamna, or Bethel (*War* 2.167, 235, 252, 509, 652, 567;

of Herod's other offspring⁵⁹⁶ acquired what had been bequeathed in the wills, but besides that, to his two unmarried daughters⁵⁹⁷ Caesar granted* 500,000⁵⁹⁸ [pieces] of silver⁵⁹⁹ and had them establish homes with Pheroras' sons.⁶⁰⁰ **100** And after the estate, he distributed to them the gift left to himself by Herod, which was 1,000 talents,⁶⁰¹ while he had selected for himself certain inexpensive items from the heirlooms for the honor of the deceased.⁶⁰²

(7.1) 101 At this time a certain young man,⁶⁰³ a Judean by ancestry⁶⁰⁴ but raised in Sidon⁶⁰⁵ by a freedman among the Romans,⁶⁰⁶ on the strength of a resemblance in ap-

False Alexander's plot. Ant. 17.324

3.48; 4.444, 503, 511, 550; *Ant.* 8.284; 13.125; 18.31). At *War* 3.54-55 he says that Judea is divided into 11 "cleruchies" (tribal allotments or inheritances) and then lists the 10 towns (not counting Jerusalem) corresponding to Roman administrative "toparchies." So also Pliny (*Nat.* 5.70), who gives a slightly different list, though both include Iamnia. The Latin reading *ethnarchia* is easier to understand in the context here, since Archelaus has been named ethnarch (but this means that "toparchy" has the text-critical advantage of being the preferable "more difficult reading"): Salome's holdings would be under his general purview. Cf. Pelletier 204 n. 6; Schalit 1969: 201-215.

⁵⁹⁵ I.e., Salome's possessions were neither simply hers nor subject to a Roman governor, but still considered a subset of the Herodian client territory.

⁵⁹⁶ I.e., the children other than Archelaus, Antipas, Philip, and those already executed (Antipater, Alexander, Aristobulus). Josephus has given an overview of Herod's 10 wives (9 plus Mariamme) and children at 1.562-63; see also Kokkinos 1998: 206-45.

⁵⁹⁷ These appear to be Herod's daughters by Phaedra and Elpis, respectively Roxane and Salome (1.563), since they are the only ones not yet married according to the narrative. The word rendered "unmarried" is *πάρθενος*, often translated "virgin." In antiquity generally, the correlation between being not yet married and being a virgin was assumed to be close, though the word often refers to young women with no special emphasis on their virginity, and it can refer to young women who are not virgins (Homer, *Il.* 2.514; Pindar, *Pyth.* 3.34; Sophocles, *Trach.* 1219; Aristophanes, *Nub.* 530).

⁵⁹⁸ To both together, apparently: *Ant.* 17.322 has each daughter receiving 250,000 pieces. This is the equivalent of 2 million HS, or twice the traditional property requirement of a Roman senator—so, a vast sum.

⁵⁹⁹ Or *drachmae*, the standard silver denomination in the Greek world.

⁶⁰⁰ Pheroras, Herod's youngest brother (1.181, 308), had died in a Perea exile (5 BCE) imposed by Herod because of Pheroras' wife's rebellious activities (1.578-81). According to *Ant.* 16.194-200, when Herod had offered his daughter Salampsis in marriage to Pheroras, the latter had declined because of his passion for

a slave woman, and so the girl was given to a son of Phasael. According to 16.226-28, however, the same girl (apparently) was later betrothed to one of Pheroras' sons. The sons of Pheroras remain unnamed throughout the narrative, their marital relationships hardly clarified. See Kokkinos 1998: 172-76.

⁶⁰¹ See *War* 1.646 for the original bequest to Augustus. *Ant.* 17.323 has 1,500 talents.

⁶⁰² It would be improper for Caesar to take nothing at all from Herod's respectful bequest. This description of Herod (*ὁ κατοιχόμενος*) has a measure of reverence, appropriate to Caesar's sentiment for a departed friend. *Ant.* 17.323 clarifies the moral lesson: Caesar kept these things not because of their value but in order to remember the king. The verb *κατοιχόμενος* is not common in Josephus (*War* 6.3; *Ant.* 4.256; 19.357, 363, 364), though these 6 occurrences, matching 6 in Plutarch, stand over against only 24 attestations in all Greek literature before Josephus. It seems to be a newly fashionable word.

⁶⁰³ On young males in Josephus' narratives, see the Introduction and the note to "youths" at 2.225: as in Thucydides and especially Polybius, they frequently cause problems; see further 2.106. Chapman (1998: 88-90) observes that Josephus often uses *τις*, as here, "to introduce provocative or exemplary material" by means of an otherwise minor character. In this case, the false Alexander adds yet another strand to the struggles for monarchical succession, which have occupied bk. 2 thus far. There is an ironic dimension to this story, inasmuch as the main contest in Rome has been about Caesar's recognizing Herod's legitimate heir(s), as also in this comic-relief episode: *all* monarchical succession—including even that of Augustus, as Josephus' audience well knew—must reckon with problem of identifying (or creating) legitimate heirs. See the Introduction and Mason 2008b.

⁶⁰⁴ For this phrase, see Cohen 1994.

⁶⁰⁵ An ancient coastal city (known from the Paleolithic era), 27 miles (45 km) S of Beirut (mod. Lebanon), Sidon had been the renowned Phoenician capital, and deeply Hellenized from the 5th-4th centuries BCE. Although it was given autonomy by the Seleucids (111 BCE), and Pompey recognized that status in 63 BCE, this was lost in 20 BCE as a consequence of the city's hav-

pearance was misrepresenting himself as Alexander⁶⁰⁷—the one who had been disposed of by Herod.⁶⁰⁸ He came to Rome in the hope that [his fraud] would escape detection.⁶⁰⁹ **102** Now there was a certain collaborator,⁶¹⁰ his compatriot,⁶¹¹ who knew everything that happened throughout the kingdom: having been instructed by this man, he was alleging⁶¹² that those who had been sent for his and also Aristobulus' elimination had, out of compassion,⁶¹³ spirited them away by a substitution of similar bodies.⁶¹⁴ **103** At any rate, after deceiving the Judeans on Crete⁶¹⁵ with these [lies] and being splendidly furnished with

ing supported Marc Antony's losing cause. Yet Augustus restored the city and extended its territory E all the way to Mt. Hermon. Sidon was an economic leader in the region, famous for its purple dye and its glass blowing. It was one of the foreign cities Herod had provided with a theater (1.422). In the early 3rd century CE it would receive the status of a Roman *colonia*, under Elagabalus (a native of Emesa in Syria).

⁶⁰⁶ The phrasing of MS P is awkward ("by the freedman of the Romans," *παρὰ τῷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπελευθέρῳ*), though perhaps easiest to explain as original on the principle of preferring the "more difficult reading." MSS LVRC (and M for the most part) have "by a certain one of the Roman freedmen" (*παρὰ τίνι Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἐπελευθέρων*), which makes easier sense, but is suspect because it conforms the text to *Ant.* 17.324, though the later work normally varies its phrasing vis-à-vis *War*. Latin has the ambiguous *apud aliquem libertinum romanum*.

⁶⁰⁷ The following story remarkably anticipates, by a century and half, Cassius Dio's account of a false Alexander [the Great]: active in 221 CE, and resembling the great general of a half-millennium earlier, he gathered much support, including accommodation and provisions, as he moved through Moesia and Thrace (Dio 79.18.1-3). More directly relevant for Josephus' audience: we know of 3 different characters who pretended to be Nero in the years following that emperor's suicide (June 68 CE), and Tacitus claims that there were *many* (*Hist.* 2.8). The first appeared in 69 CE and impressed people with his singing and lyre-playing, and with his facial resemblance to Nero; he established his strongest following on the Greek island of Cynthos, only about 60 miles (100 km) N of Melos—the stronghold of Josephus' impostor here (see below): cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* 2.8; Dio 64.9.3. The second, active in Titus' reign (79-81 CE), was named Terentius Maximus: Dio 66.19.3. The third, who appeared in the middle of Domitian's reign (ca. 88-89 CE) was supported by the Parthians as a *provocateur* (Tacitus, *Hist.* 2.8; Suetonius, *Nero* 57.3). See Pappano 1937; Bastomsky 1969; Gallivan 1973; Chilver 1979: 42; esp. Champlin 2003: 10-16.

Since at least the first of these impostors must have been known to *War*'s Roman audience, it is hard to avoid

the conclusion that Josephus is evoking a parallel—thereby commenting further on the pitfalls of monarchical succession (see Introduction and Mason 2008b). Millar (1964: 214-18) discusses Josephus' false Alexander in the context of the false Neros described by Cassius Dio.

Simonetti (745 n. 147), commenting on the parallel (*Ant.* 17.324-38), proposes that this episode marks the end of Josephus' use of Nicolaus as source. In truth, we have no way of knowing whether this story came from Nicolaus. At any rate, Josephus has thoroughly massaged it for his purposes.

⁶⁰⁸ That is, Herod's son by Mariamme I, executed with Aristobulus in 8/7 BCE at Sebaste/Samaria for his alleged part in a conspiracy against the king (1.451-52, 550-51).

⁶⁰⁹ *Ant.* 17.325 clarifies: this resemblance emboldened him to make a play for power (i.e., assuming Herod's legacy).

⁶¹⁰ Greek *συνεργός*. Whereas *Ant.* 17.325, 334, 336, 337 make it clear that the collaborator is an older man, and the impostor's *teacher*—all the more guilty in that he has corrupted a youth—that point is minimized here with the language of collaboration, though it might perhaps be assumed from the conclusion at 2.110 (that only the impostor was fit for labor, whereas the chief culprit was executed).

⁶¹¹ That is, another Judean.

⁶¹² *Ant.* 17.327 suggests that the impostor was himself carried away by the fraud.

⁶¹³ See the note to this key term at 1.12.

⁶¹⁴ According to *Ant.* 17.326, one of the men sent to kill the sons had gone so far as to kill others for the purpose of substituting bodies.

⁶¹⁵ This large and famous Mediterranean island S of the Aegean—the base of pre-historic "Minoan" civilization, home to dozens of cities, and a Roman "senatorial" province together with Cyrenaica after Octavian's victory at Actium, had hosted a substantial Judean community since at least the 1st century BCE. Cf. Philo, *Legat.* 281-82 (Crete is one of the places reportedly "full of Judeans"); Schürer-Vermes 3.4-5, 68, 71-72 (for later inscriptions from there). Josephus' last known wife was from a Cretan-Judean family of some distinction (so *Life*

supplies,⁶¹⁶ he sailed across to Melos.⁶¹⁷ There, after he had collected much more because of the perfectness of his credibility,⁶¹⁸ he even induced⁶¹⁹ his foreign associates⁶²⁰ to sail off with him to Rome. **104** When he had landed at Dicaearcheia,⁶²¹ he took* abundant gifts from the Judeans there⁶²² and, exactly as if a king, was sent onward by his “father’s” friends.⁶²³ To such a degree of trust had the likeness of appearance worked its effect, that those who had seen⁶²⁴ Alexander, and plainly knew* him,⁶²⁵ swore⁶²⁶ that this man was

427), though the length of their residence on the island is uncertain.

⁶¹⁶ Although Josephus uses the cognate noun several times, this is the only occurrence of the verb ἐφοδιάζω in his corpus.

⁶¹⁷ Established shipping routes in the Greek and Roman worlds followed coastlines, avoiding the open sea as far as possible (cf. Paul’s perilous trip from Judea to Rome in Acts 27:2-28:1). Josephus’ own route to Rome will place him “in the middle of the Adriatic” (*Life* 15), which means that his ship also avoided the open water of the Mediterranean. Traveling from the E it was customary to head N from Crete to the Greek islands, of which Melos marked the SW corner.

The Melians were famous from, among other things, Thucydides’ Melian dialogue (5.85-113), in which they naively espouse principles of honor and self-respect before a delegation from Athens, failing to grasp the immediate threat posed by the powerful Athenians, who proceed to destroy them.

⁶¹⁸ Here is another fashionable term in *War*. The noun ἀξιοπιστία is rarely attested before Josephus—only in Diodorus (1.23.7; 37.10.1) and Strabo (*Geog.* 2.1.8). Yet he has it 4 times, 3 in *War* (1.627; 2.103, 255; cf. *Ant.* 13.403), in each case with the strong sense of deceptive posturing. In the 2nd century CE the word becomes more popular: 5 times in Galen and pseudo-Galen, 19 in Aris- tides, also in Numenius, Ptolemy, Sextus Empiricus, and often in the church fathers. (The adjective ἀξιοπιστος has earlier and broader attestation, but it generally lacks the connotation of deception to which the abstract noun lends itself.)

⁶¹⁹ See the notes to this verb at 1.5; 2.55.

⁶²⁰ Or “foreign sponsors, friends,” a word (ἰδιόξενος) highlighting the paradox that strangers should be devoted to one’s welfare. In Josephus the word occurs only here and in the parallel episode (*Ant.* 17.328, 331). The narrative does not imply that the pretender’s foreign friends were Judeans (contrast the situation in Crete). To the contrary, the parallel claims that Melians’ stake was purely financial: thinking that this man was royalty, they expected that he would reward them once he had received his rightful throne (*Ant.* 17.327)—much, perhaps, as King Herod had lavished funds on Greek cities. In this passage too, at 2.105, 110 Josephus will single out the Melians (in contrast to the *Judeans* of Crete,

Dicaearcheia, and Rome) for ridicule because of their great investment in this shady character.

⁶²¹ An old Greek colony on the Bay of Naples, later colonized by the Romans and renamed Puteoli in the early 2nd century BCE: mod. Pozzuoli. Especially given Josephus’ Roman context (see Introduction), it is unclear why he favors the older Greek name, though he does so consistently (*Ant.* 17.328; 18.160, 248-49; 19.5; *Life* 16; Puteoli only at *Ant.* 18.161 and *Life* 16—both in conjunction with the Greek name). Although it is conceivable that he is influenced by a source (cf. D. R. Schwartz 1990: XV, 6-7, 50, 178), he tends to retain old names for certain sites, even after describing the name change: cf. 2.69 (Samaria), 97 (Strato’s Tower). Further, this might well be part of his Atticizing program in *War*, or at least his wish to retain a non-Roman, Greek-Eastern perspective, even while addressing Romans. Precisely in describing Dicaearcheia, Strabo (5.4.6-7) does something similar: immediately after describing how the Romans renamed the city Puteoli (Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ μετωνόμασαν Ποτιόλους) at the time of Hannibal, he continues using the Greek name (5.4.7). (On the complexity of Strabo’s cultural identity, see Clarke 1999: 193, 216-44.) In the story time here, under Augustus, Puteoli was the port where ships approaching Rome normally offloaded cargo for transfer to riverboats that would carry it up the Tiber; Ostia, which would become Rome’s main port, had not yet been developed. See the note at *Life* 16 in BJP 9.

⁶²² The Judean community of Dicaearcheia will reportedly prove important to Josephus personally, when he seeks to find an avenue of access to the Roman court (*Life* 16). The only (probably) Judean inscription from Puteoli (or if not, from nearby Marano) in the 1st century CE (or slightly later) is *JJWE* 23, in Latin, recording a gerousiarch named Ti. Claudius Philippus.

⁶²³ Farmer (1957-58: 148) observes that this episode (if treated as a historical datum) incidently reveals the continuing prestige of Hasmonean ancestry among Judeans even in the Diaspora.

⁶²⁴ Though translated as a pluperfect the Greek verb is perfect, and matched by the coming vivid present participle: “those who have seen Alexander, and plainly knowing. . . .”

⁶²⁵ Although Josephus’ verb ἐπίσταμαι is normally employed for knowing things rather than people, in 2.106 it will take “Alexander” as direct object, in a phrase

he.⁶²⁷ **105** In fact, the entire Judean [population] in Rome poured out for the spectacle⁶²⁸ of him, and there was a countless horde⁶²⁹ in the narrow alleys⁶³⁰ through which he was being carried. For to such a degree of insanity⁶³¹ did the Melians advance that⁶³² they carried him in a sedan-chair and furnished a royal court⁶³³ at their private expense.

*Exposed by
Caesar. Ant.
17.332*

(7.2) 106 Now Caesar, knowing precisely⁶³⁴ the features⁶³⁵ of Alexander (for the latter had been accused by Herod before him),⁶³⁶ detected the trickery⁶³⁷ of the resemblance even before seeing the fellow.⁶³⁸ But yielding a bit of credence also for happier hopes⁶³⁹ he sent* a certain Celadus⁶⁴⁰—one of those who “plainly knew Alexander”⁶⁴¹—having directed [him]

nearly identical to this one. Augustus’ aide Celadus (2.106) appears to be in this group.

⁶²⁶ Or “would swear”: following the set-up of this sentence with “to such” and “that” (anticipating result clause), this present infinitive (διόμνυσθαι) might indicate only a potential result rather than a real one. But in 2.105 the same structure is used, and there the result (carrying in a litter and so on) seems real.

⁶²⁷ Although this may sound unbelievably gullible, there are modern parallels. Cf. Welch 2007 on the 20th-century Polish factory worker Franziska Schanzkowska, who impersonated Grand Duchess Anastasia (ironically, her name means “resurrection”) Nikolaevna, alleged survivor of the 1918 massacre that destroyed the Russian Romanovs, persuading even relatives and some family friends. Only the most famous of nearly a dozen claimants to Anastasia’s identity, she became known in America as Anna Anderson. Her claim was not disproven until 1994, a decade after her death, by DNA testing of her remains.

⁶²⁸ The sarcasm is heightened by a possibly implied comparison with a true leader’s triumphant return: the same language is used of Vespasian’s greeting in Rome at 7.69–71. On the language of spectacle here (ἡ θέα), see Chapman 1998.

⁶²⁹ See the note to this characteristic phrase at 2.43.

⁶³⁰ The city’s crowded alleyways would have been all too familiar to Josephus’ Roman audience; see famously the complaints that Juvenal puts in the mouth of his friend Umbricius, who is fleeing to the more salubrious Cumae (*Sat.* 3.232–67).

⁶³¹ Greek φρενοβλάβεια vividly implies damage to the reasoning faculty, in distinction from the more abstract words for madness or fervor such as μανία; this vivid word is also used of Nero’s exploits in the theater at 2.251 below. Neither this noun nor its cognates is widely attested (Herodotus 2.120; Euripides, *Frag. oen.* 40.5; Hippocrates, *Ep.* 17.186; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 5.9.2) before Philo, who uses the word group 20 times. Josephus, who has 5 occurrences—in *War* only (1.625; 2.105, 251; 6.398, 401)—appears to be using newly fashionable language, which occurs then also in Plutarch (*Nic.* 4.6), Lucian (*Syr. dea* 18, 43), and later authors.

⁶³² The structure of this sentence is strikingly similar to that of 2.104: past-tense form of ἔρχομαι + εἰς τόσoutov + genitive noun + ὥστε + result clause with present infinitive. Josephus’ repetition of this structure reinforces the sense of astonishment at the impostor’s success.

⁶³³ In the sense of paying court by providing an entourage of attendants (θεραπεία). See the note to “attentiveness” at 2.2.

⁶³⁴ The adverb ἀκριβῶς is not in the best MSS (PAM), though Latin has *optime*, matching the Greek adverb in MSS LVRC, and the ἀκριβ- word group is favored by Josephus.

⁶³⁵ Greek χαρακτήρας (accusative) suggests engraving or branding (something dug in), such as on coins. Note the similar usage at *Ant.* 13.322.

⁶³⁶ The story was in 1.452 (cf. *Ant.* 16.91): Alexander was accused by Herod, before Caesar, of trying to poison him—a charge that reportedly resulted from his brother Antipater’s machinations.

⁶³⁷ Greek ἀπάτη. *War* 2 is dense with the language of guile, trickery, fraud, deceit, deception, and dupes—all translations of the word-group (ἀπατάω, ἀπατεῶν, ἀπάτη), of which the noun is used here. Of the 78 occurrences of these forms in Josephus, 8 are in *War* 2 and 4 are in the parallel sections of *Ant.* 20 (160, 167, 188)—nearly a 6th of the whole. Although I could have used English “trick” as a base for all forms (trick[s], the tricked, trickster, trickery/trick) to highlight the consistency in Greek, that would not always convey the most apt sense in a particular context; I indicate the thematic unity with notes.

⁶³⁸ *Ant.* 17.332 plausibly elaborates: Caesar knew that Herod could not have been so easily deceived in a matter of supreme importance to him.

⁶³⁹ For the pairing of these two words, ironically suggesting futile hope, see 1.616; 6.364 has the adjective ἰλαρός alone in a similar vein.

⁶⁴⁰ *Ant.* 17.332 identifies this man as a freedman of Caesar’s, a situation also suggested by his Greek name (“loud noise, din”). Pelletier (29 n. 2) suggests that the name might be a corruption of the Céladon (Keladèn), which appears in Ovid, *Met.* 5.144; 12.250. But the

to bring the young man to him. **107** Now when he⁶⁴² saw him, he determined⁶⁴³ very quickly the differences in the face, and once he had ascertained that his whole body was harder [than Alexander's] and indeed slavish-looking,⁶⁴⁴ he grasped the whole scheme.⁶⁴⁵ **108** But what entirely provoked⁶⁴⁶ him was the brazenness⁶⁴⁷ of the things being said by him ["Alexander"]. For to those who were trying to find out about Aristobulus⁶⁴⁸ this fellow would say that, although he was being kept safe, he had been purposely⁶⁴⁹ left behind on Cyprus,⁶⁵⁰ protected

name does not seem to require special explanation: Solin (2003: 2.1211-12) lists about 60 examples (under the rubric "noise-names"), mostly found among slaves and freedmen.

⁶⁴¹ This phrase picks up the category of persons mentioned in 2.104. Thus one assumes that Celadus was among those duped, as *Ant.* 17.332 makes clear, though the following narrative is far less clear.

⁶⁴² The antecedent of this pronoun, hence the subject of the following story, is not clear. Thackeray (in LCL), Pelletier, and M-B take it to be Celadus who immediately detects the fraud on seeing the man, who is irritated by the story concerning Aristobulus, and who offers him his life (in the name of Caesar) if he names his collaborator. The latter half of 2.109 would favor this reading if it meant that the impostor followed Celadus to Augustus (ἔπειτα πρὸς Καίσαρα)—implying that he has been with Celadus until this point. The Latin follows this reading, helpfully inserting Celadus' name (Ladus) twice in 2.109.

Problems with such a reading: (a) the simple article for a pronoun here (rather than οὗτος to clarify that it is the last-named character) might more naturally make the subject of the preceding sentence (Caesar) the subject of this one; (b) Celadus' mission (2.106) appears restricted to bringing the man to Augustus, so that the *emperor* may interview him and make his deductions; (c) the similarity of language between 2.104 and 2.106 tends to support the claim of *Ant.* 17.332 that Celadus was among those who [thought they] "knew Alexander plainly" and yet were fooled by him; (d) the brilliant and immediate detection of the plot might suit Caesar better than Celadus; and (e) the parallel at *Ant.* 17.332-37 makes a sharp distinction between Celadus' ignorance (in spite of having known the boys) and Caesar's wise perception, and clearly has Caesar conduct the interview, finally offering him his life. Although Josephus often changes characters and roles in his later version, where the basic plot can be read as harmonious we should read it that way. On balance, we should perhaps favor Caesar (Augustus) as the subject of the sentence. See further the following notes.

⁶⁴³ This recognition scene has parallels going back to the *Odyssey* (e.g., 21.205-28) in Greek literature, and to the Joseph story in the Bible (cf. Esau and Jacob). Roman comedy also dealt in such revelations, though

usually it was the reverse recognition—of an apparent slave as in fact a free man.

⁶⁴⁴ The adjective δουλοφανής, remarkably, occurs only here in all known Greek literature. Tacitus (*Hist.* 2.8) says that according to some reports, the first false Nero (see note to "Alexander" at 1.101) was a slave, from Pontus.

⁶⁴⁵ Outside of Josephus' reproduction of Strabo's neutral use of σύνταγμα for a troop (*Ant.* 14.116), this word has distinctly pejorative connotations in his narratives, as something craftily arranged (*War* 1.495; 2.172, 290) or, if referring to a group, a band of bandits or similar (τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν ληστῶν, *War* 4.135, 509, 513, 558; *Ant.* 20.161; *Life* 106).

⁶⁴⁶ See the note at 2.8. This rise of intense emotion (absent from the *Antiquities* parallel) artfully prepares for its resolution in Caesar's laughter at 2.110: a comic scene, after all.

⁶⁴⁷ Josephus' word (τόλμα)—"daring, courage, spirit-edness; boldness, audacity, impudence"—can be either a virtue or a vice (2.412; 4.139, 158, 186-88), depending upon context. Often in *War* it does not fall neatly into either category, but simply indicates rather a manly daring in the face of improbable odds—often of those who drove the rebellion against the aristocrats and Romans (3.14, 22, 149, 161, 176, 228, 452, 479, 498 [of Titus, approvingly]; 4.90; 5.306)—without implying a verdict on their larger undertaking. *War* uses τόλμα 52 times (the much longer *Antiquities* only 24); the verb τολμάω 51 times; τόλμημα 10 times; τολμηρός 10 times; and even τολμητής once. Cf. *Ant.* 6.343-50, where Josephus' expatiation on Saul's paradigmatic manliness, courage, and greatness of soul entirely dwarfs his obituary notice concerning Saul's disobedience to divine commands (6.378; cf. 6.335-36).

⁶⁴⁸ According to *Ant.* 17.334 it is Augustus himself who questions the impostor about Aristobulus. Aristobulus was (the real) Alexander's brother, publicly executed with him on conspiracy charges (cf. 1.540-51).

⁶⁴⁹ Although in some other literature ἐπίτηδες can suggest deceit (Euripides, *Iph. aul.* 476), and Josephus might indeed be playing with the two senses here, elsewhere in *War* (1.82; 2.190; 5.24, 61, 150) the adverb seems to mean only "purposely."

⁶⁵⁰ Although the island of Cyprus, a senatorial province at this time (since 22 BCE)—about 250 miles (400

against plots: for while they were split up⁶⁵¹ they were less vulnerable to being attacked.

109 He⁶⁵² took him away in private, therefore, and declared, “The reward you have from Caesar⁶⁵³ is life—for identifying the one who induced⁶⁵⁴ you⁶⁵⁵ to do such deceitful things.” And so the fellow, having said that he would make him known to him, followed* with Caesar⁶⁵⁶ and pointed out* the Judean who had exploited his resemblance⁶⁵⁷ for a business: for he had taken “so many gifts at each town that Alexander didn’t⁶⁵⁸ take as many while alive!”⁶⁵⁹ **110** Caesar laughed at these words and, while he consigned⁶⁶⁰ Pseudalexander⁶⁶¹

km) NW of Judea in the Mediterranean—appears only here in *War*, *Antiquities* describes something of the Judean community there (*Ant.* 13.284-87, cf. 328, 331, 358). Augustus had reportedly given King Herod control over the copper mines of the island (*Ant.* 16.128).

⁶⁵¹ The theme of separated brothers was standard fare in New and Roman comedy (cf. Plautus’ *Menaechmi* and Terence’s *Adelphi*), a circumstance that might add to the comic potential of this story. Although it is well enough attested in earlier authors, with 1-5 occurrences in Euripides, Xenophon, Plato, Aristotle, and Theophrastus, a few more examples in Aristoxenus and fragments of Chrysippus, the verb διαζεύγνυμι is a particular favorite of Philo’s, who has it some 59 times. Josephus uses it 11 times, Galen 39 times.

⁶⁵² See the note to “he” at 2.107. Here the Latin clarifies by inserting the name Ladus (for Celadus), though we should perhaps favor Caesar, for reasons given above.

⁶⁵³ The language is ironic, since the *princeps* was understood to be, and portrayed himself as, the world’s chief patron, benefactor to his millions of dependents (Millar 1977; Saller 1982: 41-78). Although this 3rd-person reference to Caesar might imply that Celadus is speaking, other considerations indicate Augustus himself (see note to “he” at 2.107), in which case it is an imperial self-reference.

⁶⁵⁴ See the notes to this verb at 1.5; 2.55.

⁶⁵⁵ See the note to “collaborator” at 2.102: in the *Antiquities* parallel, this other man is presented as an older teacher.

⁶⁵⁶ Or “followed him to Caesar.” The language (ἔπειτα πρὸς Καίσαρα) is awkward on any reading. Although it is most naturally read such that the impostor has been speaking with Celadus (but see the note to “he” at 2.107), and follows *him* (understood) in going to Caesar (so Thackeray in LCL, Pelletier, and M-B; cf. the similar constructions at *Ant.* 1.292; 9.25; 20.97), that would not make perfect sense of the context, for the eventual going to Caesar would have no substance: he follows to Caesar and points out the culprit (Was the culprit with Caesar?). The Latin, though assuming that Celadus (*Ladus*) has been the interlocutor all along, nevertheless gives *ad caesarem at ladum sequitur*, suggesting that Pseudalex-

ander follows both of them as he proceeds to identify the culprit. Much more clearly *Ant.* 17.337, which has had Pseudalexander speaking with Caesar all along, now has him explain the whole scheme—without the confusing stage movements. On balance it seems best to follow Whiston’s “followed Caesar” (who has been speaking with him all along).

⁶⁵⁷ See the note to “collaborator” at 2.102. Whereas *Ant.* 17. 332-38 presents the partner as an older mentor and evil genius, this passage ultimately puts the fraud down to a money-making scheme.

⁶⁵⁸ Although the better MSS (PAM) omit the negative, leaving a straight comparison of gifts received by Alexander and his impostor, the negative found in the Latin (*non accepisset*) and MSS LVRC seems to fit the humorous atmosphere slightly better.

⁶⁵⁹ This is in quotation marks because the next sentence precludes the possibility that this sentence is a straightforward editorial observation. The quoted words might begin as early as “exploited . . .” If it is correct that Caesar (not Celadus) has been speaking with the impostor thus far, then it must be Pseudalexander who provokes the emperor’s laughter. Alternatively, Celadus has been speaking all along and the words are his—in contrast to *Ant.* 17.332-38.

⁶⁶⁰ Curiously, this verb (ἐγκατατάσσω) occurs only here and again in the next sentence (2.111) in Josephus—another example of his habit of using a word once or twice and then discarding it (see BJP 9. lii). This verb is rare before Josephus’ time: the geographer Hipparchus (*Geog. frag.* 63.9); twice in Ps-Longinus (*Subl.* 10.7.5; 43.4.1)—variously dated from 1st to 3rd centuries CE; and in Onasander’s mid-1st century book on generalship (*Strat.* 10.3.14). Russell and Winterbottom (1972: 461) note the parallels between Longinus and Philo. Perhaps Josephus had some of the same literary influences: there are many parallels to Philo’s diction throughout *War* 2.

⁶⁶¹ The comic atmosphere of this episode is enhanced by Josephus’ obviously made-up name (we never learn the man’s real name, even from *Ant.* 17.336 where Augustus demands: “Simply tell me who you yourself actually are. . . !”). This name recalls the *Pseuderakles* of Menander (mentioned, e.g., by Plutarch, *Mor.* 59c).

to the rowers because of the good condition of his body,⁶⁶² he directed that the man who had induced⁶⁶³ him⁶⁶⁴ be done away with. As for the Melians, their expenditures were adequate punishment for their stupidity.⁶⁶⁵

(7.3) 111 When Archelaus had received the ethnarchy⁶⁶⁶ and, in memory of old conflicts,⁶⁶⁷ treated savagely not only the Judeans but even the Samaritans,⁶⁶⁸ and each of them had sent embassies⁶⁶⁹ against him to Caesar,⁶⁷⁰ in the ninth year⁶⁷¹ of his rule he himself was banished⁶⁷² to Bienna, a city of Gallia [Gaul],⁶⁷³ while his property⁶⁷⁴ was

*Archelaus
exiled. Ant.
17.349*

⁶⁶² Presumably, Augustus made the impostor a slave. On the good conditioning required for rowing, cf. Polybius 10.17.12-15, describing Scipio's treatment of his prisoners from the capture of New Carthage in 210 BCE: "he selected those whose strength, appearance, and age made them most suitable and mixed them in with his ships' crews." Slaves were assigned to the crews of warships, and could hope for their eventual freedom (as Polybius notes). The Roman state did not operate a merchant marine, which depended upon private enterprise (Aldrete and Mattingly 1999: 177-92).

⁶⁶³ See the notes to this verb at 1.5; 2.55.

⁶⁶⁴ That is, the collaborator of 2.102; this phrase picks up the language of Caesar's offer in 2.109. Although this sentence makes the collaborator responsible for the whole affair, as does the parallel in *Ant.* 17.324-38, he was introduced in 2.102 as responsible for the fabricated story about switched bodies.

⁶⁶⁵ It is unclear whether Josephus intends this as his own editorial remark or rather as part of Augustus' assessment ("were *deemed* adequate punishment. . ."). It is possible that the alleged stupidity continues to play upon this island's image from Thucydides' Melian dialogue (see note to "Melos" at 2.103), although there they are more naïve than gullible.

⁶⁶⁶ Josephus finally resumes the main succession narrative that began bk. 2, picking up the story left at 2.93, before the digression on the false Alexander. Although he has been *de facto* ruler of Judea since his father's death, it is crucial to the story's themes that Archelaus only now "receives" the rule from Caesar (e.g., 2.2-3).

⁶⁶⁷ Josephus has not made the precise nature of these differences clear. Some are perhaps the controversies of 2.5-13, except that Archelaus there appears to have justice on his side, in dealing with determined revolutionaries after his patience is exhausted. This passage implies more extensive conflicts, perhaps dating (cf. "old") from the period of his father Herod's reign. Other enemies of Archelaus may include supporters of his brother Antipas' royal candidacy and the rebel leaders of 2.55-65 (note 2.63-64).

⁶⁶⁸ This notice comes as a surprise because in the preceding narrative the Samaritans were emphatically not part of the revolts that broke out in Archelaus' absence (2.69); their loyalty had earned them substantial tax relief (2.96). Moreover, they seem to have been conspicuously

supportive of the Herodian regime in the past (see note to "Samaria" at 2.69). Simonetti (746 n. 152) observes that the appearance of embassies from both Judeans and Samaritans is an index to a broad perception of misrule. On "Samaritans," see 2.232 and notes.

⁶⁶⁹ According to Strabo (16.2.46) and Cassius Dio (55.27.6), Archelaus' brothers Antipas and Philip, who had challenged him for the kingship in 4 BCE, also traveled to Rome in 6 CE, to defend their own administrations and to join in the accusation of Archelaus. Kokkinos (1998: 228 n. 84) adduces in support inscriptional evidence (*OGIS* 417) of a trip to Rome by Antipas in that year.

⁶⁷⁰ *Ant.* 17.342 notes that the delegates justified their embassies on the ground that Archelaus disobeyed the stern charge from Caesar, at his appointment, to exercise mildness. Caesar's charge is implied at *War* 2.93.

⁶⁷¹ The parallel at *Ant.* 17.342 (as also *Life* 5) corrects this to the tenth year, or 6 CE—a case in which the later work evidently depends on this one (rather than Josephus' abbreviating sources here that are more fully or accurately presented in *Antiquities*). Kokkinos (1998: 228 n. 83) and Pelletier (30 n. 2, 204-5) note Dio 55.27.6: Archelaus was banished during the consulate of Aemilius Lepidus and Lucius Arruntius = 6 CE. On Archelaus' removal cf. Smallwood 1981: 117. Remarkably, this sentence fragment is all that Josephus records of Archelaus' 10-year rule in *War* (aside from the occult episode following), in sharp contrast to its detailed treatment of the succession issue, which has occupied most of 2.1-110. This emphasis on succession can hardly be accidental, since Josephus presumably has *some* information about Archelaus' decade-long reign; in *Ant.* 17.339-41 he at least describes a few of the ethnarch's achievements (including the removal and appointment of high priests and building projects). In *War* he chooses to focus all but exclusively on the succession entanglements, in keeping with his deep interest in matters of governance and constitution, aristocracy, kingship, and tyranny (a major theme of *War*); see Introduction and Mason 2008b.

⁶⁷² Banishment from the city where one's ancestry, identity, and status were grounded, even if the place of exile was fairly comfortable in itself, was considered a shameful and severe punishment for a member of the élite, who would identify closely with the leadership of his own state; cf. 1.661.

consigned⁶⁷⁵ to Caesar's treasuries.⁶⁷⁶ **112** Before being summoned by Caesar, they say,⁶⁷⁷ he saw a dream like this:⁶⁷⁸ he imagined⁶⁷⁹ he saw nine⁶⁸⁰ full and tall stalks of grain⁶⁸¹ being devoured⁶⁸² by oxen.⁶⁸³ He sent for the seers⁶⁸⁴ and some of the Chaldeans,⁶⁸⁵ and

⁶⁷³ Vienna (or Vienne) was a significant city on the Rhone River (SE modern France), across the Alps from Italy in Gallia Narbonensis. It lay on the highway just S of the Roman capital of the 3 Gauls: Lugdunum. This Vienna had fallen to the Romans in 121 BCE and been made a *colonia* with Latin rights by Julius Caesar after his visits in 58 and 52 BCE. Relocation from the extreme E of the empire to the extreme (and Latin-speaking) W emphasized Archelaus' displacement from all the social networks and avenues of influence that had been the basis of his status in Jerusalem. On Archelaus' exile cf. Strabo 16.2.46; Dio 55.27.6.

⁶⁷⁴ The Herodian royal property in Judea has been an issue of ongoing contention: Augustus' immediate seizure of it may be intended to preclude Sabinus' renewed efforts to interfere: cf. 2.16-19. Herod's last known intention (1.646) was to bequeath only 1,000 talents, along with unnamed other gifts, to Augustus (in that case, presumably, to his personal *patrimonium*; see note to "treasuries" in this section).

⁶⁷⁵ See the note to this word in 2.110.

⁶⁷⁶ This phrase (τοῖς Καίσαρος θησαυροῖς) appears to represent the Latin *fisci Caesaris* (cf. *Ant.* 18.158; 19.28, where the form is singular), though Josephus is the only literary source for the Greek phrase. In the late Republic all public revenue and expenses had been channeled through the *aerarium Saturni*, the state treasury, which could be used only by senatorial decree. Each province also held a "chest" (*fiscus*—lit. "basket") for local revenue and disbursement at the discretion of the governor, who had to reconcile his accounts with the *aerarium* on returning to Rome. Finally, the wealthy Roman élite also enjoyed their personal *fisci*. Since Augustus and his successors in the principate became in effect governors of all their provinces (i.e., their single *provincia*), they took control of the provincial *fisci*, a major source of state income, and their appointees controlled the *aerarium*. As wealthy men, each also had his personal *fisci* (*privatum* or *patrimonium*). It has been a matter of energetic scholarly debate whether—and if so, when—the early emperors also came to control a separate public treasury called the *fiscus*, or whether the word was simply co-opted, confusingly, for "the whole financial administration controlled by the emperor" (A. H. M. Jones 1950: 25): his personal estate, which often supplemented the *aerarium*, the latter also being sustained by the provincial *fisci*. Beginning at least with Tiberius (but probably already Augustus) the *princeps* appointed a Chief Accountant (*a rationibus*) to manage his public income and expenditures. Cf. *inter alios* Frank 1933; Syme 1939: 410; Rostovtzeff 1957:

54-56; Masi 1971; Brunt 1990: 134-62; Alpers 1995; Lo Cascio 2000; Millar 2004: 47-72. Crucial primary texts include Seneca, *Ben.* 7.6.3; Pliny, *Pan.* 42.1; Cassius Dio 69.8.1; 71.32.2.

Although Josephus does not explain here whether Archelaus' property was held and leased or liquidated, *Ant.* 17.355 claims that the new Syrian *legatus* Quirinius sold the property. On Jones' model (1950; cf. 1937: 120-21), the proceeds might well have remained in the provincial *fiscus* for imperial use, though Millar (2004: 62) takes Josephus' construction to imply confiscation to the emperor's personal estate (*fiscus*).

⁶⁷⁷ According to *Ant.* 17.345 it was Archelaus who related this dream to his friends.

⁶⁷⁸ Archelaus' dream anticipates, in form and content, the momentous dreams later in Josephus concerning high office, involving the biblical Joseph (*Ant.* 2.64-86) and Daniel (*Ant.* 10.195-210) as dream-interpreters. Like this one, Pharaoh's dream—interpreted by Joseph—is about oxen and stalks of grain (*Ant.* 2.81-86); Nebuchadnezzar's, interpreted by Daniel, likewise involves the unsuccessful efforts of seers, Chaldeans, and Magi. Without providing comparable specifics in his own case, Josephus will nonetheless identify himself as an unparalleled interpreter of dreams (*War* 3.351-53; 4.623-29; cf. Gray 1993: 35-79). Such dreams are by no means confined to the biblical world. Cf. Oppenheim 1956; Gnuse 1996. The future emperor Julian confided, in a letter before his accession (*Ep.* 14), a dream concerning a great tree, fallen, and a young tree rising strong beside it—though he professed to have no idea of the vision's significance.

⁶⁷⁹ Introducing a dream report with "he imagined [or thought he saw, *δοκέω*]" was common in Greek accounts; see J. S. Hanson 1980: 1409. So also, in the context of Joseph's dream interpretation, *Ant.* 2.71, 81. For detailed analysis of these two dreams, see Gnuse 1996: 193ff.

⁶⁸⁰ In keeping with its adjustment of Archelaus' tenure as ethnarch to 10 years (*Ant.* 17.342), *Antiquities* (17.345) will also change the number of stalks to 10!

⁶⁸¹ Josephus uses here the old Attic plural *στάχυς*, in keeping with the Atticizing tendencies of the *War*, whereas in LXX Gen 41.7; Matt 12:1; Mark 2:23; Luke 6:1 the form is *στάχυας*, which Josephus will use in the Joseph story (*Ant.* 2.83). The fullness and size of the grain (but moreso the oxen) is paralleled in the Joseph story: *Ant.* 2.81-83.

⁶⁸² Josephus uses this intensified compound verb (*καταβιβρώσκω*) only here.

kept inquiring what they thought it signified. **113** Though others were interpreting it differently, a certain Simon, an *Essaeus* by type,⁶⁸⁶ said he supposed that⁶⁸⁷ the stalks of grain

Dreams of Archelaus, Glaphyra. Ant. 17.345

⁶⁸³ Cf. the oxen in Pharaoh's dream at *Ant.* 2.81.

⁶⁸⁴ Since Judas the *Essaeus* has been called a seer (μόντις) at *War* 1.78 (cf. *Ant.* 13.311), this general category may include Simon here.

⁶⁸⁵ Although Chaldeans (Aram. *Kaldaya*, from the land of Kaldu) were originally the inhabitants of a land in S. Babylonia, part of the Arsacid Parthian empire when Josephus was writing, already by the time of Herodotus (1.181, 183) the name had come also to refer specifically to Babylonian priests (*magi*) with expert knowledge of various occult sciences: astrology, prediction based upon astrological signs, and magic (Polybius 43.2.7; Strabo, *Geog.* 16.1.6 [cf. 1.2.15]; Lucian, *Fug.* 8; Pausanias 4.32.4). Such Chaldeans and *magi* were well known in Rome (Cicero, *Div.* 1.2, 91; 2.70; Juvenal, *Sat.* 6.533; Apuleius, *Met.* 2.12-14; *Apol.* 97; *Hist. Alex. Magn.* 5.1.22): long ridiculed by some as charlatan practitioners of an irrational science (Cicero, *Div.* 2.87-100; Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.27; 3.22; 12.22, 52, 68), but also feared by those in power for their potential to predict doom (Tacitus, *Ann.* 6.20; 14.9; 16.14). Tacitus alleges that the emperor Tiberius had trained in Chaldean skills while living in Rhodes (*Ann.* 6.20). Though somewhat unexpected in Archelaus' Judean court (they appear only here in *War*), these Chaldeans anticipate Josephus' story of the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar in *Ant.* 10.194-99. There—the only other passage in Josephus where μόντις (seers) and Chaldeans are mentioned together—the same groups are summoned (pleonastically with *magi*) to explain Nebuchadnezzar's dream, with the same lack of success as here, except that there they are shown up by the gifted Judean Daniel rather than by an Essene. Cf. Gnuse 1996: 132 and the literature there. Although it is not entirely implausible that Archelaus kept Chaldeans or other seers in his court for such purposes, one must suspect literary manipulation, or some kind of transfer from the Daniel story (in his own mind, at least), on Josephus' part.

The story might also have gained force from recent events. About a decade before Josephus' time of writing, the Persian Tiridates (about to receive the throne of Armenia from Nero) came to Rome: he and some of his entourage were *magi*. Nero reportedly took advantage of their presence to try to raise the shades of his murdered mother Agrippina; their failure led him to denounce *magi* as frauds (Pliny, *Nat.* 30.4-7; cf. Suetonius, *Nero* 34).

⁶⁸⁶ Greek Ἐσσαῖος τὸ γένος: or "by ancestry, origin, birth, race, tribe, group, bloc, class, kind." Both parts present interpretative problems. On Ἐσσαῖος: When he speaks of Essenes, Josephus habitually uses one

Greek spelling for the singular (Ἐσσαῖος: *War* 1.78; this passage; 3.11; *Ant.* 13.311; 17.346) and another for the plural (Ἐσσηνοί: *War* 2.119, 158, 160; 5.145; *Ant.* 13.171-73, 298; 15.372-78; 18.18-22; *Life* 10-12); see Excursus above and table. Only once does he use the plural Ἐσσαῖοι (*Ant.* 15.371-78), and that is only to explain that the group is known by this term among Judeans, but then goes on to use the familiar Ἐσσηνοί for his Greek-speaking audience. The easiest explanation of the variation, then, seems to be that the name of the Essenes was already known in the *n*-form, and so he accommodated his audience's expectation; but when he referred to an individual, since there was no established usage in Greek and Latin, and it sounded odd to call someone an Ἐσσηνός—a form that might also have distracting resonances (cf. Callimachus, *Iov.* 66; *Aet.* fr. 178 l. 23; Herodian, *Pros. cath.* 3.1.15.5, 16; *Suda s.v.*) —, he had nothing to lose by using the Semitic *-ai* form for the singular.

Support for this explanation comes from the following. (a) Whereas Christian and other Judean authors (the NT authors and early rabbis) mention only Pharisees and Sadducees among the voluntary associations of Judea, writers with more historical-ethnographical interests mention *only* Essenes and neither of the others: Philo (*Prob.* 57-71; *Hypothetica*, in Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 8.11-12 [379-84]), Pliny the Elder (*Nat.* 5.73), and Dio of Prusa (in Synesius, *Dio* 3.2). So anyone who knew Pliny's or Dio's work, for example, might remember the name *Esseni*. (b) In this work directed at an audience in Rome (1.1-8), Josephus also devotes by far the largest amount of space to the Essenes, beginning with a reference to their *reputation* (2.119) and making a point of their *Judean* ancestry, perhaps considering that that was not widely known (cf. repeated *gens* in Pliny, *Nat.* 5.73). (c) Whereas Philo, a fellow-*Ioudaios*, consistently uses the *-aios*-form for both singular and plural, in keeping with Josephus' explanation, the Greek and Latin authors mentioned use only the *n*-form (they lack examples of the singular): they knew them as *Esseni* and Ἐσσηνοί, which explains his choice of this plural in spite of what he describes as native usage. (d) Pausanias (8.13.1) mentions priests and priestesses of the goddess Artemis who spend their lives in purity (including sexual) and do not take baths, and certain "banquet hosts" (ἰστιάτορες) in Ephesus who follow the same lifestyle for a year only, and are known to the citizens there as "Essenes" (καλουμένους . . . Ἐσσηνας). Whether Josephus' audience had heard of the Judean Essenes (*Essaioi*, *Essenoi*)

were years, whereas the oxen were a reversal of circumstances,⁶⁸⁸ because they [oxen] altered the countryside while ploughing.⁶⁸⁹ So he [Archelaus] would exercise kingship⁶⁹⁰

or not, it seems that he used the *-n* plural to meet an audience expectation.

The Aramaic or Hebrew term underlying *Essaios* remains a subject of debate. Proposals have included: “secret ones” (סְּתוּיִם [Kohler 1901-1906: 230-32; cf. 2.137-42]), “healers” (רְפָאִים [Vermes 1960]), “pious ones” (חַסִּידִים ; cf. Heb. חַסִּידִים), and “doers [of the Torah]” (from עוֹשֵׂה הַתּוֹרָה [Goranson 1984; see Grabbe 1992: 496-97; VanderKam 1994: 91-92]). A complication: at least in the case of John the Ἐσσαιός at *War* 2.567 and 3.11, the label seems to indicate his origin in a place called Essa: the commanders named with John are described as Niger the Perea (i.e., from Perea, by γένος in 2.567) and Silas the Babylonian. When John is called the Ἐσσαιός, therefore, the label would naturally be read as indicating an origin in “Essa.” Essa is attested in Josephus as an alternative name for Gerasa in the Decapolis (*Ant.* 14.393; cf. *War* 1.104), which was home to a famous Pythagorean writer on mathematics and music (Nicomachus).

It may be significant, then, that Josephus compares Essenes with Pythagoreans (cf. Taylor 2004) just where he mentions the Essa name (*Ant.* 15.371)—if the group’s name in fact arose from a place (so Bergmeier 1998, but with a different Essa in view). Just as “Chaldean” had come to mean something quite different from its original geographical referent (see note at 2.112), the name Ἐσσαιός might have come to the Essenes from an old geographical origin but changed its meaning over time. As Cicero must explain concerning the Chaldeans, their name derives not from their currently well-known abilities but from their ancestry (*non ex artis sed ex gentis vocabulo nominati*; *Div.* 1.2).

The second, possibly related puzzle is τὸ γένος. Normally, Josephus uses this phrase to indicate one’s place of origin, ancestry, or birth—especially in the phrase Ἰουδαῖος τὸ γένος, a “Judean by birth [or ancestry]”; see Cohen 1994. Just a few sentences further on, the Essenes will be described as Ἰουδαῖοι γένος ὄντες. The word γένος, moreover, occurs regularly in conjunction with Ἐσσαιός: at *War* 1.78 (of Judas the Essene), *Ant.* 13.311 (of Judas), and 17.346 (of Simon, as here). This would fit with the speculation above about the geographical origin of the name; it may be relevant that Pliny the Elder apparently regarded the *Esseni* as a distinct tribe or even race (*gens* twice: *Nat.* 5.73), except that he also mentions their practice of self-perpetuation by taking in outsiders (so, not a tribe). Josephus speaks of their adopting others’ children (*War* 2.120), which would

make it difficult to understand γένος in the sense of tribe or ancestral group. Philo (in Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 8.11 [379b]) pointedly rejects the term γένος on the ground that the Essenes are a voluntary organization, though his conscious rejection of the term might confirm that others were using it—as Pliny would use *gens*.

To complicate matters: in some cases Josephus uses γένος of a philosophical school, apparently meaning in that case only “kind,” “type,” or *genus* of a *species* (cf. εἶδη, “forms” [of philosophy] at *War* 2.119). Thus in *Ant.* 13.172 he uses γένος of the Essenes, where he is contrasting the three Judean schools on their philosophical views: there it seems to be merely an alternative to αἵρεσις (“school, party, faction”) in the previous sentence. At *Ant.* 15.371 says that the γένος of *Essaioi*, “as they are called among us,” follow the way of life taught to the Greeks by Pythagoras. But it is not only the Essenes: at *Ant.* 13.297 the Sadducees are a γένος. Possibly, Josephus is playing language games, using the familiar designation of the Essenes while implicitly qualifying it by his narrative. However these problems are resolved, this use of τὸ γένος for Simon the Essene does match Josephus’ usage elsewhere, and the introduction of an *Essaios* here helps to prepare for the long passage on the Ἐσσηνοί that soon follows (2.119-61).

⁶⁸⁷ Josephus often discusses the remarkable Essene ability, singularly and collectively, to predict the future: *War* 1.78; *Ant.* 13.311; 15.372-78; 17.346; cf. *War* 2.136 on other occult powers.

⁶⁸⁸ Greek μεταβολὴν πραγμάτων, repeated later in this sentence (in plural). The motif “reversals [or upheavals, of fortune]” is fundamental to *War* (see the notes to “upheaval” at 1.5, 23 and the Introduction). This particular cliché—reversal of circumstances—was established in the Athenian orators (Isocrates, *Pan.* 138; *Areop.* 6; *Antid.* 161; Aeschines, *Ctes.* 79) and Aristotle (*Ep.* 3; *Rhet.* 1371a; *Div. Arist.* 49). Historians before Josephus who use the phrase fairly often are his model Polybius (3.3.2; 9.23.4, 26.6; 30.8), Diodorus (19.52.6, 59.6; 20.60.2, 102.3; 26.12.2), and Dionysius (*Ant. rom.* 8.25.3; *Din.* 3.54). Philo has the phrase several times (*Post. Cain.* 109; *Gig.* 28; *Abr.* 81; *Spec.* 2.67) and Plutarch exploits its dramatic possibilities in his *Lives*: *Publ.* 1.3; *Per.* 9.1; *Timol.* 14.4; *Pel.* 13.7; *Mar.* 42.1, 45.9; 11.7; *Nic.* 19.10; *Alex.* 17.1; *Cato Min.* 53.3; *Demetr.* 30.4; 41.8; *Arat.* 17.6; *Artax.* 21.5. Josephus also uses it several times (*Ant.* 8.235; 15.264; 17.346-47; 18.118; *Life* 26, 87; cf. *War* 2.259).

⁶⁸⁹ This elaboration, that oxen are connected with

for the number [of years] of stalks of grain,⁶⁹¹ but after having been in various reversals of circumstances he would expire.⁶⁹² After hearing these things, five days later, Archelaus was summoned to his trial.⁶⁹³

(7.4) 114 I considered worthy of mention also the dream of his wife Glaphyra, who was the daughter of Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia:⁶⁹⁴ she had first been the wife of Alexander,⁶⁹⁵ who was brother of the Archelaus⁶⁹⁶ about whom we are narrating and son of King Herod, by whom he was also disposed of,⁶⁹⁷ just as we have explained.⁶⁹⁸
115 After his death she wedded Ioba,⁶⁹⁹ king of Libya.⁷⁰⁰ When he expired,⁷⁰¹ and she

ploughing, anticipates Joseph's explanation of Pharaoh's dream at *Ant.* 2.84. The verb he uses for ploughing, ἀροτριῶ, occurs only here in his corpus and it is very rare in classical and Hellenistic Greek literature (Aesop, *Fab.* 299.1; Theophrastus, *Caus. plant.* 4.12.13; *Hist. plant.* 8.6.3; Callimachus, *Dian.* 161), though common in the LXX (15 times), Philo (*Spec.* 4.205), and NT (1 Cor 9:10; Luke 17:7). More standard is the ἀρόω used in the parallel at *Ant.* 17.347.

⁶⁹⁰ Although the preceding story has emphasized that Archelaus did *not* hold the office of king, but only that of ethnarch (2.2-3, 30-32, 37-38, 93-100 and notes), Josephus can use βασιλεία-language loosely in relation to Archelaus when it suits his purpose, as here (cf. *Ant.* 18.93; *Life* 5). Moreover, given the many parallels between Archelaus' dream and the dreams of Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar (see note to "this" at 2.112), he may be deliberately assimilating Archelaus to the role of the potentate who has a fateful dream interpreted by a pious Judean.

⁶⁹¹ MSS PMV give a variant spelling (followed by Niese but not by Thackeray) ἀσταχύων (rather than σταχύων). Although it makes no difference to the English translation, this form of the word recalls the famous story of Periander in Herodotus 5.92 (z.2) receiving cryptic advice from Thrasybulus on how to rule (by lopping off the conspicuous stalks—there, rivals for power).

⁶⁹² It is not certain that Archelaus died in this Gallic exile: he may have returned to Judea in the 20s CE. Cf. Kokkinos 1988: 228-29.

⁶⁹³ According to *Ant.* 17.343, Augustus sent Archelaus' agent in Rome, also named Archelaus, to fetch the ethnarch. There it is the agent's arrival in Judea that occurs 5 days after the ethnarch's dream.

⁶⁹⁴ This Archelaus bore the name of his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather—the first a general of Mithradates VI. His father, married to a former escort named Glaphyra, had become caught up in the Roman civil wars to his great disadvantage (Cicero, *Fam.* 15.4.6; Strabo 12.537, 558). With the support of Marc Antony, however, the Archelaus who was that man's son and Glaphyra's father was made king of Cappadocia in 36 BCE (Appian, *Bell. civ.* 5.7; Dio 49.32.3); he was of the same vintage as Herod, whom he outlived to become a favorite

of Augustus. The *princeps* both recognized his rule and enlarged his kingdom. Because of his friendship with Tiberius' rival Gaius, in old age and failing health Archelaus would be summoned by Tiberius to Rome, to face charges of treason (17 CE); there he died, after acquittal, at which point his kingdom became a Roman province (Suetonius, *Tib.* 8.37; Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.42).

War 1 has said quite a bit about King Archelaus, featuring his personal intervention and trip to Judea when Glaphyra's well-being was jeopardized by Herod's anger with her husband, Herod's son Alexander (1.499-512). In that story King Archelaus appears as a master diplomat and psychologist, effecting multiple reconciliations through clever ploys.

⁶⁹⁵ This marriage (ca. 17 BCE) was described in *War* 1.446 (cf. *Ant.* 16.11). According to *War* 1.476-77; *Ant.* 16.193, 206-10, Glaphyra was fully a part of the dissension in Herod's court, not least because of her vocal claim to independent noble ancestry. She and Alexander produced two sons, Tigranes and Alexander (*War* 1.552).

⁶⁹⁶ More precisely step-brother: whereas Alexander had been the son of Herod and the Hasmonean Mariamme I, Archelaus was the son of Herod and the Samaritan Malthace (*War* 1.562-63).

⁶⁹⁷ The death of Alexander (with his brother Aristobulus), in 8 or 7 BCE, was recounted in *War* 1.550-51: they were strangled in Sebaste/Samaria on Herod's orders. Herod reportedly sent Alexander's widow Glaphyra back to her father in Cappadocia with her dowry (*War* 1.553). Josephus has just told the story of Pseudalexander, which begins with the reminder that Herod had eliminated his son Alexander (2.101), and at 2.178, 222 Josephus will recall the point repeatedly—constantly alluding to the pitfalls of monarchical succession.

⁶⁹⁸ On Josephus' use of either the editorial "we" or the 3rd person to describe himself in the *War*, like Caesar (e.g., *Bell. civ.* 3.10) but unlike Herodotus and Thucydides, see the Introduction.

⁶⁹⁹ Caius Iulius Iuba, King Juba II of Mauretania (ca. 50 BCE – 23 [19/20?] CE), was a Roman citizen who had unusually close connections with the capital (cf. *PIR*² 4.118 no. 65); he normally used the Latin *REX IUBA* on his coins. His father Juba I, king of Numidia

(to the E of Mauretania), had played a prominent role in the Roman civil wars as a partisan of Pompey the Great, raising forces against Julius Caesar with Cato and Scipio; he and Cato committed suicide in 46 BCE following Pompey's defeat at Thapsus. In his triumph Caesar exhibited the infant son (b. 48 BCE) in place of the dead father. Brought up in Rome as a ward of, and later soldier under, Octavian/Augustus, who granted him citizenship (D. Roller 2003: 59-75; cf. Braund 1984: 16-17), Juba II was given the kingship of Mauretania (modern Morocco and NW Algeria) in 25 BCE, which he seems to have held until his death, apparently in 23/24 CE (cf. Strabo 17.3.7; Dio 51.15.6; 53.26.2; 55.28.3; Plutarch, *Ant.* 87; D. Roller 2003: 244).

Augustus gave Juba II Cleopatra Selene, daughter of the deceased Antony and Cleopatra and ward of the emperor's sister Octavia (Roller 2003: 76-90). Although Cleopatra had been raised in Rome, like Juba, she may not have been as Romanized as he; at least the coins with her name on the reverse (in Greek) express keen awareness of her Ptolemaic royal lineage. A scholar and prolific writer (D. Roller 2003: 163-211, 261-63), Juba II was near 50 when he married Alexander's widow Glaphyra, about 12 years his junior. The connections among African, Egyptian, and Judean royals illustrate Braund's observation (1984: 17) that the Roman education of foreign nobility in the early empire promoted not merely the integration of client kings with Rome, but also of one royal family with another.

D. Roller has sketched plausible circumstances for this marriage to Glaphyra (2003: 212-26). Juba II was one of 3 scholar-diplomats designated by Augustus to assist Gaius Caesar, the emperor's grandson and heir-apparent (cf. *War* 2.25), in his Arabian-Parthian expedition, which began in 2 BCE (cf. Pliny, *Nat.* 12.56; 32.10). Another member of the group was Glaphyra's father Archelaus. (Other members of the entourage were M. Lollius, P. Sulpicius Quirinius [later legate of Syria], and L. Aelius Seianus.) Roller argues that, although Juba II did not likely travel extensively with Gaius, he did make the journey E to the Arabian Gulf, perhaps leaving the expedition in 1 CE. From 2 CE he would have moved to Archelaus' Cappadocian territory, "to write his report [*On Arabia*—known from fragments and citations in Pliny, above] in Archelaos' library and to marry Glaphyra" (D. Roller 2003: 226). In that case, Glaphyra need never have accompanied Juba to his Mauretanian kingdom: the brief marriage would have ended with his departure from Cappadocia in 4 CE (D. Roller 2003: 248).

⁷⁰⁰ Libya was not the name of an administrative district before the 3rd century CE, but a convenient label for the vast region of N Africa (mod. Morocco, N Algeria, Tunisia, Libya) formerly dominated by Carthage (Herodotus 4.181, 196), and incorporating several Roman provinces

or client kingdoms through the 1st century CE (Cyrene, Africa, Numidia, and the Mauretians). In his survey, Strabo thus describes Libya as the land that extends from Egypt (to the E) and Ethiopia (to the S) all the way along the Mediterranean to the Straits of Gibraltar (2.5.33). At 6.4.2 he remarks: "Both Mauretania [*Maurousia*] and also *many parts of the rest of Libya* have been transferred to Iuba [NB: still living, but cf. 17.3.7], on account of his good will and friendship toward the Romans." Strabo devotes a lengthy final section of his survey to all these areas, under the heading of "Libya" (17.3). One of Juba's own major studies was the *Libyka*; for other Greek authors on Libya see Ottone 2002.

⁷⁰¹ Here οὐ τελευτήσαντος; at *Ant.* 17.349, μεταστάντος. Josephus is mistaken in having Juba die at this point and portraying Glaphyra as "returning" (to Cappadocia?) a "widow." Juba II lived until about 23/24 CE—Strabo mentions his recent death as he composes the final book of his *Geographica* (17.3.7), and his coins continue to the 48th regnal year (from 25 BCE)—, long after the story time here (Mazard 1955: 87, no. 187; Kokkinos 1998: 228 n. 81; D. Roller 2003: 244-45). Juba II and Glaphyra must therefore have divorced around 4 CE, an event that Roller (note to "Ioba" in this section) plausibly connects with the king's return to Mauretania from Cappadocia. It would perhaps have enhanced Josephus' (Alexander's) case against Glaphyra (that the marriage to Juba should have sufficed, 2.116) if he had known that divorce rather than death had ended that marriage.

Roller offers an explanation for Josephus' error, on the basis of the two Greek terms (above): Whereas his source—likely Nicolaus—had spoken of Juba's "departure" using the common sense of μεθίστημι ("change position, move, shift"), Josephus misunderstood the word (on account of imperfect Greek) as death, a possible but uncommon metaphorical sense. He did this both when he made Glaphyra a widow of Juba, in *Antiquities* and more clearly here in *War*, using the verb τελευτάω ("finish life, expire") of Juba. Ingenious though this theory is, it presents problems. *War* is an impressive Greek production. Just where Josephus has the collaboration of learned Greek associates, in *War* (*Apion* 1.50), he is supposed to have misunderstood his source, even though he uses the same verb himself in the ordinary sense of "travel" or "move away" (*War* 2.22; 3.399—of his own life story); in *Antiquities*, where he consistently varies the language of *War*, he happens to fall back on the precise diction of his source (Nicolaus) and yet still considers Glaphyra a "widow"; and throughout *Antiquities* too he uses the verb dozens of times in its normal sense.

We know that Josephus made a mistake, then; we do not know why. It may simply result from his assumption, without knowledge of the circumstances of Juba's career, that Glaphyra had been with him in Mauretania, and so would most likely have left at his death.

returned⁷⁰² and was living as a widow⁷⁰³ with her father, the ethnarch Archelaus gazed⁷⁰⁴ [at her] and got into such an erotic state⁷⁰⁵ that he immediately sent away⁷⁰⁶ Mariamme,⁷⁰⁷ who had been wedded to him, to take her for himself.⁷⁰⁸ **116** When she came to Judea, just a short time after her arrival she imagined Alexander standing in front of her, saying:⁷⁰⁹ “Although the marriage in Libya⁷¹⁰ was enough for you,⁷¹¹ not being satisfied with this you double back⁷¹² to my hearth—a third husband, and in this case [it is] my brother

⁷⁰² That is: to Cappadocia, a return implied also at *Ant.* 17.350, where Cappadocia is connected only with her widowhood. But see previous notes above.

⁷⁰³ This alleged widowhood of Glaphyra, temptress of this story, may in part be configured to evoke the image of Dido from Virgil’s *Aeneid*; see the following notes.

⁷⁰⁴ The erotic gaze is a well attested feature of ancient poetry and novelistic writing. See Hirt 2001 and, for novelistic-erotic elements in Josephus generally, Braun 1934; Moehring 1957. Archelaus must have been traveling through Cappadocia (or Cilicia), like Juba before him, perhaps on a trip to Rome, in about 4 or 5 CE; cf. Kokkinos 1998: 227.

⁷⁰⁵ In *War*, *eros* (ἔρως) has appeared most prominently in Josephus’ descriptions of Antony’s passion for Cleopatra (1.243, 359) and of Herod’s for Mariamme (1.436 twice, 440, 441, 442, 444, 484; cf. Pheroras’ troubles at 1.484, 506). The precedent of Antony and Cleopatra has special significance, partly because it was still so infamous for a Roman audience, partly because Josephus may be evoking here the affair of Dido and Aeneas from the *Aeneid*, which was partly inspired by that fateful love. In classical literature *eros* is generally a destructive, tormenting force; this is clear also for Josephus’ Herod (1.436-444) and Antony (1.243, 359-60). In the *Aeneid*, Eros disguised as Ascanius/Iulus makes Dido fall in love with Aeneas (1.657); thus Dido eventually breaks her oath to remain faithful to her first husband Sychaeus (4.552: *non servata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo*). She “marries” Aeneas, though he disavows the bond before leaving her behind. Virgil (4.257) and Dido (4.314-321) both emphasize the “Libyan” locale of this marriage, and it is conceivable that Josephus links Juba with Libya in order to strengthen the evocation.

⁷⁰⁶ Greek ἀποπέμπω (as of Josephus’ own divorce at *Life* 426); the parallel at *Ant.* 17.350 is stronger: “threw out” (ἐκβάλλω). It is uncertain whether Archelaus would have followed Judean or Roman divorce procedures, though in either case Josephus’ audience would presumably have understood this as an impetuous action by the ruler. On Roman divorce, see Rawson 1991 and Treggiari 1991: 435-82.

⁷⁰⁷ The identity of this Mariamme is uncertain. Kokkinos (1998: 264-65) makes a good case for Mariamme III-IV, the daughter of Aristobulus and Berenice (1.552), hence sister of Agrippa I. If that is correct (cf. Pelletier 205 n. 9, citing doubts of T. Reinach and A. Schalit),

Archelaus’ marriage to her must have been brief indeed, since she seems only to have been born in about 14 BCE, and so was not yet 20 when he divorced her for Glaphyra; cf. *Ant.* 17.350.

⁷⁰⁸ Josephus includes several stories of powerful men who “took” women for themselves on the basis of lustful observation (e.g., *Ant.* 18.109-10: Antipas and Herodias; 20.141-42: Felix and Drusilla; cf. 7.130-31: David and Bathsheba). Inasmuch as passion prevails over virtue, all such events appear to be implicitly wrong for Josephus and his audience (even if they serve to spice the narrative). Although he restrains any editorial condemnation, Josephus often points out the disastrous consequences of such passion-indulgence, as here. Contrast the behavior of the Essenes in the portrait that soon follows: 2.120.

⁷⁰⁹ If the comparison with Dido and Aeneas (see previous notes) holds, then Alexander speaks in a role recalling that of Dido’s dead husband Sychaeus, though the latter does not make such an indignant appearance: he and Dido reunite in the underworld at *Aen.* 6.473-74; at 4.460-61, after Dido decorates a sanctuary in his honor, she seems to hear the voices and words of her husband calling; at 1.353-59 he tells her how he was murdered and how she can escape.

⁷¹⁰ See the note to “erotic state” at 2.115. But see the notes to “Ioba” and following in 2.115: it is more likely, also given the absence of African evidence for Glaphyra, that she never lived with her husband in Mauretania.

⁷¹¹ A paradoxical statement, since Glaphyra has reportedly married Archelaus after the Libyan’s death. Nevertheless, the Greek is a plain indicative imperfect, not subjunctive (“the Libyan marriage *should have* sufficed for you”): the aggrieved and domineering husband seems to declare that one remarriage *was enough*, the limit of her entitlement, though meaning that it should have sufficed. Alexander’s complaint might sound more reasonable if he (or Josephus) had known that Glaphyra’s marriage to Juba had ended in divorce (see the note to “expired” at 2.115), so that she might be portrayed as willfully pursuing serial marriages. Others understandably translate with the subjunctive or conditional perfect: “Le mariage africain aurait dû te suffire” (Pelletier); “Ti sarebbe dovuto bastare il matrimonio in Africa” (Vitucci); “Die lybische Heirat hätte dir genügen können” (M-B).

⁷¹² This is an unusual choice of verb (“to bend back, in a convex way,” ἀνακάρπτω), otherwise used in *War*

you have chosen⁷¹³—, you brazen woman!⁷¹⁴ Except that I won't stand by and watch the outrage,⁷¹⁵ but I'll remove you even if you're unwilling."⁷¹⁶ After recounting this dream in detail,⁷¹⁷ she lived barely two days.

(8.1) 117 The territory of Archelaus having been marked off for a province,⁷¹⁸ Copo-

*Judea becomes
a province. Ant.
17.354*

only to describe the topography of, and walls around, Jerusalem (5.133, 252, 505). Given the context, a sexual *double entendre* is conceivable.

⁷¹³ Although Archelaus was Alexander's step-brother (see note to 2.114), a point that might weaken the ghost's case, for the purpose of levirate marriage it seems that the status of brother was determined by common paternity alone (see next note). Crucially, in any case, all the language in 2.115 indicates that *Archelaus*' desire was the deciding factor in this marriage, not Glaphyra's promiscuity. The incident highlights Josephus' one-sided treatment of women's alleged faithlessness (see notes to 2.121 below).

⁷¹⁴ Greek ὄ τολμηρά. See the note to "brazenness" at 2.108. Although Glaphyra is the only woman Josephus describes with this adjective, the τολμ- word group is basic to his vocabulary. One might read Alexander's charge as accusing her, in effect, of behaving like a man. (Cf. Josephus' description of Queen Alexandra at *Ant.* 13.430-32.) For analysis of Josephus' women, see Mayer-Schärdel 1995; Ilan 1996; for women in *War*, Grünenfelder 2003: esp. 268-97.

⁷¹⁵ Greek ὕβρις, a hallmark of tragedy in keeping with *War*'s tragic ethos (see Introduction), though here possibly a more prosaic "outrage." Josephus does not explain the specific outrage, except in creating the specter of an extremely jealous ghost. In *Ant.* 17.341, by contrast, he specifies that Glaphyra's marriage to Archelaus contravened Judean (levirate) law, which prohibits marriage to the brother of a deceased man if there are children from that first union (Lev 18:16; 20:21), as there were in this case—and the law requires such marriage if there are not (Deut 25:5-6). Although the Bible does not qualify "brother" status, the Talmud would later hold that men born of the same father (irrespective of mothers) were brothers for the purpose of levirate marriage (y. *Yebam.* 1:1 [2b]; b. *Yebam.* 17b; *Midr. Tanh.* to Deut 25:5—references owed to Martin Lockshin of York University), therefore not to marry the widow of a brother if he had fathered children with her. Although this analysis may have been in Josephus' mind as he wrote *War*, he omits it entirely, presenting Alexander's grievance rather as a kind of male jealousy: his former wife has made herself too available, now even with his own brother!

⁷¹⁶ In light of other parallels with the Aeneas-Dido story of the *Aeneid* (see previous notes), this might recall Aeneas' words to the shade of Dido at *Aen.* 6.460: *invi-*

tus, regina, tuo de litore cessi ("I was unwilling, queen, when I left your shore"). Suetonius appropriates this at *Tit.* 7.2 to describe Titus and Berenice, when she must leave Rome: he was unwilling and so was she (*invitus invitam*). Josephus and Suetonius may be echoing the same Virgilian resource concerning foreign royal women, given Josephus' Roman context.

⁷¹⁷ It is curious that Josephus gives the time from Glaphyra's *relating* the dream, not—the more dramatic course—from her *experience* of it, inviting the skeptic's question, whether she recounted it and died years after the dream itself (not his intention, of course). We may see here a glimpse of the historian's conscience: if she died shortly after experiencing this dream, the author must explain how anyone could have known the connection. He clarifies, but fails to put all the narrative pieces together.

⁷¹⁸ Or "as a province" (εἰς ἐπαρχίαν περιγραφείσης). See also *War* 2.220: after the death of Agrippa I in 44 CE, Claudius would once again make the royal territories a province. Tacitus (*Hist.* 5.9) elides this period before Agrippa I, claiming that Judea first became a province, after native-princely rule, under Claudius (ruled 41-54 CE). The *Antiquities* parallel (17.355; 18.1-2) claims, rather differently from *War*, that the territory subject to Archelaus was now assigned, annexed, or made an appendage to the existing province of Syria (προσνεμηθείσης τῇ Σύρων . . . προσθήκη τῆς Συρίας γενομένην). That is why, in *Antiquities*, the mandate of the distinguished ex-consul Publius Sulpicius Quirinius (*cos. ord.* 12 BCE, *CIL* VI 17130), sent to govern Syria as imperial *legatus*, included both liquidating the estate of Archelaus in Judea (17.355) and conducting a property census there—as throughout his entire province (18.2). The census under Quirinius (famously connected with the birth of Jesus and Judas' rebellion; Luke 2:1-2; Acts 5:37) seems to assume Judea's incorporation into Syria. According to *Ant.* 18.2, Quirinius was accompanied and supported (συγκαταπέμπεται) by Coponius: an equestrian (see following notes) with full authority over a subset of the larger command—the Judeans. The situation as described in *Antiquities* thus precisely fulfills the hope of the Judean elders who went to Rome following Herod's death in 4 BCE: they asked to be delivered from kingship, to become instead a part of Syria (προσθήκη δὲ Συρίας γεγονότας) and subject to the Roman commanders there (*Ant.* 17.314; cf. *War* 2.91).

nius,⁷¹⁹ a procurator⁷²⁰ from the equestrian order among the Romans,⁷²¹ was sent.* He had

That Judea was *joined to Syria* in 6 CE, rather than being constituted an independent jurisdiction (so Ghiretti 1985), is suggested by a number of considerations, including Tacitus' evidence (above) and parallel cases in which prefects were sent to areas *within provinces* that needed special attention (cf. Cotton 1999: 77-78 and n. 14). Eck (2003: 98) compares the status of Noricum after its incorporation under Augustus (16 BCE) into the province of Illyricum-Pannonia, apparently also under an equestrian prefect who reported to the senatorial governor of the larger province. Cf. Bennett 2007: 188-89.

It is telling that even *War*, though making a different claim, seems to assume this situation in the following narrative. Members of the Judean elite in *War* have assumed all along that incorporation into the Roman provincial system would mean *joining Syria* (see 2.22, 52, 80, 91 and notes—as in *Ant.* 17.314 above). In *War* 2, despite its presentation of the equestrian governors as independent actors, the Syrian legate mysteriously remains responsible for Judea (e.g., 2.185, 239-44, 333). This responsibility obtains not only when “serious disorder” threatens (*pace* Schürer-Vermes 1.361 n. 36; Smallwood 1961: 267): the Syrian governors appear *consistently* as overlords of Judea. During Petronius' tenure as Syrian legate (ca. 37-40 CE; *War* 2.185-203), the Judean prefects are not even named in *War*: he alone carries Gaius' mandate to install the imperial statue in Jerusalem's temple. (NB: *Antiquities'* references to the Judean governors under Petronius are extremely vague and telling. Pilate's replacement in 36/37 CE [*Ant.* 18.89], one Marcellus, appears to have lain entirely within the discretion of the Syrian legate Vitellius [“one of his friends”]. And the title of the man who apparently replaced Marcellus, Marullus—“commander of the cavalry” in Judea [*Ant.* 18.237]—tends to confirm the auxiliary nature of the Judean prefecture.) Most curiously: although Josephus fails to mention the new Syrian legate Quirinius or his census here in *War*, he will twice refer *incidentally* to Quirinius' role at the time of Judas' rebellion: *War* 2.433 (Judas rebelled “in Quirinius' [time]”) and 7.253 (Judas persuaded many Judeans not to support the census, “when Quirinius was sent as assessor to Judea”). In spite of its emphasis on Judea's governors, then, *War* itself tends to support *Antiquities'* picture, in which Judea became part of Syria in 6 CE. This leaves open the question of Judea's status in 44 CE (cf. 2.220 below).

The distinction in this difference fades somewhat, to be sure, when we recall that in Roman usage “province” (*provincia*) was not a territory as much as the limits of a Roman magistrate's power-to-demand-obedience (*impe-*

rium): see Sherwin-White 1963: 11-12; Shatzman 1999: 53. All of the imperial territories governed by Caesar's emissaries, whether senatorial legates or equestrians, or indeed client kings and princes, were part of the same system. In this specific case, there may be little practical difference between calling Judea a “province” with its own procurator, answerable to the more senior neighboring governor (as *War*), and describing Judea as part of the Syrian province with its own local, lower-level governor (as *Antiquities*), for all provinces were part of the emperor's *provincia*. Still, questions remain about the details of administration—the paths of taxation revenue and administrative responsibility, for example. Conditions may also have evolved over the first few decades of direct Roman rule.

War's omission of both the Syrian connection and Quirinius, though Josephus was obviously aware of them, seems to confirm his wish to establish the incompetence of Roman administration in Judea as a primary cause of rising tensions. By focusing on Judea as if it were a separate province, he can highlight the allegedly unworthy equestrians—a point more easily made if he ignores their distinguished superiors in Syria.

⁷¹⁹ This Coponius is unknown outside Josephus. His Latin name has unfortunate connotations—an alternative form of *Cauponius*: “tavern boy, waiter, or property of a shop-keeper”—, though they support Josephus' emphasis on the second-rate character of these governors. Even the root name Caupo/Copo is attested only a few times, chiefly in Africa (Kajanto 1982: 321).

⁷²⁰ Greek ἐπίτροπος means “administrator, [legal] guardian, custodian, agent”; it is also the standard representation of the Latin *procurator*. In the early first century CE, *procurator* (as an official designation) was used chiefly of the financial administrators—*procuratores Augusti*—who served in all provinces under higher-ranking proconsuls and imperial legates, but acted largely independently, handling public revenue and expenditure. Under Claudius that they received a general broadening of their powers to include civil governance (cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.60). Before Claudius, other men of equestrian rank had been occasionally sent by the emperor to govern provinces, or ethnic groups within them, that presented special problems (Mauretania, Noricum, Raetia, and most famously Egypt; cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* 1.11; cf. Strabo 17.3.25 on Augustus' use of equestrians as governors); yet such men were designated “prefects” (*praefecti*, Greek ἑπαρχοί)—an essentially military title given also to many other prestigious positions held by equestrians (see following note): cf. Sherwin-White 1963: 6; Schürer-Vermes 1.358-60; Brunt 1990:

received from Caesar an authority that went as far as putting [people] to death.⁷²² **118** In

163-87. This titlature was strikingly confirmed in Judea for Pontius Pilatus (19-37 CE?; see 2.169 below) by an inscription from coastal Caesarea, published in 1961, which reads in relevant part [*Pon*]tius Pilatus [*Praef*]ectus Iuda[ea]e. See Frova 1961; Feldman 1984: 318-20; Schürer-Vermes 1.358 n. 22; Boffo 1994: 217-233 (no. 25) for updated bibliography, a new critical edition, and detailed commentary. For recent interpretations of the *tiberieum* structure bearing this inscription, see Alföldy 1999 (a rebuilt lighthouse-tower on the E side of the harbor entrance) and Bennett 2007: 205-14 (a building for the cult of Tiberius, with a critical review of earlier suggestions). All such proposals involve conjectural reconstructions of the 5-7 missing letters before the “s” that precedes *tiberieum*.

Since Coponius was apparently dispatched as a prefect (*praefectus*, ἑπαρχος), Josephus’ nomenclature here seems incorrect, though the same problem is found in Tacitus (e.g., *Ann.* 15.44 on Pilate). Perhaps they simply imposed the terminology of their own time on earlier governors. Or perhaps Judea’s early governors had both prefectural and procuratorial functions, and Claudius merely began to insist on the procuratorial title only—whether because he wanted to advertise the non-militarized state of the provinces or he wished to emphasize the governors’ direct responsibility to him, rather than to neighboring senatorial governors (Levick 2001: 48-49).

At any rate, Josephus’ labels for the governors of Judea are notoriously imprecise (e.g., Schürer-Vermes 1.359): (a) ἐπίτροπος, of Coponius here [6-9 CE], Pilate [19-36/37 CE, *War* 2.169], Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander [44-48 CE, *War* 2.220], Cumanus [who received the ἐπίτροπήν, 48-52 CE, *War* 2.223], Felix [52-58/60 CE, *War* 2.247], Festus and implicitly Albinus [ἐπίτροπή, 59?-64 CE, *War* 2.271-73], M. Antonius Iulianus [war-time governor, *War* 6.238], and generally for all governors to the outbreak of war [2.348]; (b) ἑπαρχος, of Albinus [in later reflections, *War* 6.303, 305], Annius Rufus and Valerius Gratus [12-18/19 CE, *Ant.* 18.33], Cuspius Fadus [*Ant.* 19.363], Festus implicitly and Albinus [*Ant.* 20.197]; (c) other terms such as ἡγεῖσθαι, ἡγεμόν, προϊστήματα, ἐπιμελητής, of Coponius [*Ant.* 18.2], Pilate [*Ant.* 18.55], Marcellus and implicitly Pilate [37 CE, *Ant.* 18.89], Felix [*Ant.* 20.137]. In all this, one pattern clearly emerges: at their first mention in *War*, Josephus invariably uses “procurator,” whereas he never uses this term in *Antiquities*. Thus, when he mentions the governor a second time, whether this is later in *War* or (mainly) in *Antiquities*, he varies his language. Although it does not seem to matter which term he substitutes for ἐπίτροπος in the later cases (hence, the issue seems not to be a concern for technical precision),

the other terms all have nobler status-connotations (cf. Levick [2001: 48]: Claudius’ change of titlature from prefect to procurator “looks like a downgrading, likely to cause resentment”). In *War*, again, Josephus seems concerned to stress the low character and status of Judea’s equestrian governors, in order to help explain the origins of the conflict. In this he agrees with Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.9.

⁷²¹ The Roman *ordo equestes* was the distinctly lower of Rome’s two élite ranks, the other senatorial. Although it had begun as a class of those wealthier men who could provide their own horses for military service, by the early principate the equestrian order had become a purely honorary civic status, determined by a property qualification of 400,000 HS (cf. Horace, *Ep.* 1.1.58). Efforts either to re-establish the order on a more illustrious basis (Pliny, *Nat.* 33.8) or to create an élite rank within it (alluded to in Tacitus, *Ann.* 11.4) were frustrated by the early emperors’ opening of the order to wealthier freedmen. See Pflaum 1950, 1960-61, 1982, with Millar 1963; Brunt 1990: 163-87.

Josephus’ introduction of direct Roman rule in Judea with the observation that this (mere) procurator and equestrian was given the power to kill (see next note), sets the tone for the following story of mismanagement and cruelty by men unworthy of such office (e.g., 2.169, 223, 247 [254-70], 273, 277). Equestrian prefects and procurators were not, as a class, of recognized character and *gravitas*—in sharp contrast to the senatorial governors of Syria (see previous note and 2.75, 77, 192-203, 239-44, 280-81), a perspective with which Roman authors from the senatorial class would easily have agreed (Tacitus, e.g. *Ann.* 14.32 [end], 33 [beginning]; *Hist.* 5.9). Note the parallel at *Ant.* 17.355; 18.1, which belabors the credentials of the Syrian legate Quirinius, who was also in charge of Judea according to that text: a Roman senator who had held all the offices up to the consulship, extremely distinguished also in other (unnamed) ways. On status issues in the appointment of governors, see Lendon 1997: 222-24.

⁷²² This verb (κτείνω) is often found in juridical contexts, for both murder and judicial execution: Plato, *Euth.* 4b; *Prot.* 322d; *Leg.* 871e; Lysias, *Or.* 10.11. Josephus appears to be rendering a Latin phrase, familiar in his own (post-Claudian) time, for distinguishing what modern scholars call praesidial procurators from more ordinary procurators, with financial and business responsibilities, viz.: *procuratores Augusti* holding the *ius gladii* (cf. *ILS* 1368, 1372, 9200; Brunt 1983: 55-57; Levick 2001: 48). Cf. *Ant.* 18.2, where the same Coponius, though portrayed there as a junior associate of the Syrian legate Quirinius (see preceding notes), is sent “to govern the Judeans with full authority.” Evidence from

his [term]⁷²³ a certain Galilean man by the name of Ioudas⁷²⁴ incited the locals⁷²⁵ to rebellion,⁷²⁶ lambasting them if they were going to put up with paying tribute to Romans⁷²⁷

Judas the Galilean, a sophist. Ant. 18.9

Augustus' time to the early 2nd century CE (e.g., Pliny, *Ep.* 10.30) suggests that the power of capital punishment was the prerogative of the proconsul or imperial legate, ordinarily a man of senior senatorial rank, as part of his *imperium* (Sherwin-White 1963: 3-6; Lintott 1993: 65-69), and not normally subject to delegation. So this point about the "procurator's" powers would need clarification for a Roman audience. This authority held by the Judean prefect-procurator accords with that enjoyed by the equestrian prefect of neighboring Egypt, though his position was in other respects unique (Sherwin-White 1963: 6-7).

⁷²³ Contrast *War* 2.433, which connects the rebellion with the Syrian governor Quirinius' administration, and see the note to "province" at 2.117.

⁷²⁴ This famous biblical-patriarchal and Hasmonean name (יהודה) is the 4th most frequently attested for this period. According to the partial parallel at *Ant.* 18.4 Judas was "a Gaulanite man (or Golani) from a city by the name of Gamala." Since, however, even the *Antiquities* sequel (18.23; 20.102) reverts to "Judas the Galilean," a tag attested also in Acts 5:37 and consistently in *War* (cf. also 2.433), this appears to be the name by which he was best known. In *Ant.* 18.4 Josephus may be claiming that, although the man was *known* as "Judas the Galilean," he was actually from Gamala in the Golan. Gamala, to the E of lake Gennesaret, apparently always had close connections with Galilee, and Josephus' portfolio as Galilean commander included, exceptionally, this natural fortress across the lake (*War* 2.568; cf. *Life* 398; for Gamala, see Appendix A in BJP 9). For conjectures as to how the Gaulanite Judas might have come to be known as "the Galilean," see Hengel 1989: 331 n. 100.

In Josephus this Judas becomes patriarch of a rebel dynasty, according to *Ant.* 18.9, 23 a "fourth philosophy" (alongside Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes); cf. Black 1974. In *War*, a Messianic pretender and leader of the later revolt in its earliest phase (d. 66 CE), named Manaem (Menachem), will be called a son of Judas (2.433)—though if he was active in rebellion 60 years after his father, either he was rather old for this sort of thing or his father had been old at Menachem's birth. Further, the famous Eleazar son of Ya'ir, rebel leader of Masada (d. 73 CE), is portrayed by Josephus as both "a relative of Menachem" (2.447) and "a descendant of Judas" (7.253). *Ant.* 20.102 adds that two of Judas' sons, named Simon and Jacob, were executed for rebellious activity by Ti. Iulius Alexander when he was prefect of Judea (46-48 CE).

It is a further question whether this Judas is to be identified with the one who led rebel activities around

Sepphoris in Galilee after Herod's death in 4 BCE (2.56), who is described as the son of a Galilean rebel named Ezekias killed in 47 BCE by the young Herod (1.204); see the notes at 2.56. If that Judas became active again in Judea on Archelaus' removal in 6 CE as "Judas the Galilean," then we would have a rebel dynasty lasting well over a century. But Josephus, who seems keen to make links among Judas' descendants (possibly to concentrate and marginalize rebel ideology), does not hint at such a linkage. If Judas was active in 6 CE, 54 years after his father's (Ezekias') death in 47 BCE, he must have been at least in his late 50s, possibly older. Although this is possible, it would render unlikely his fathering Menachem much later than 6 CE, and so would push the latter well into his 60s for his own rebel activities of 66 CE. If the two Judases are distinguished, and we understand Judas of Galilee in 6 CE to be in his 20s or 30s, then it is much easier to accommodate a rebel son Menachem in 66, at roughly the same age (if born ca. 30-35 CE).

For sustained analysis of Judas the Galilean's followers and ideas, albeit somewhat positivistic and perhaps overly systematic, see Hengel 1989: 76-145, 325-43; more recent and sensitive to historical-literary questions is Jossa 2001: 63ff.

⁷²⁵ Or "people of the region" (ἐπιχωρίοι)—not Judas' fellow-Galileans or Golanites, presumably, since they remained under the Herodian client rule of Antipas and Philip and so had no reason to rebel at the imposition of new taxes; *Ant.* 18.2-11 implies that Judas was active in Jerusalem.

⁷²⁶ Or "secession, defection" (ἀπόστασις); see note at 2.39. The ultimate goal was not rebellion, of course, but separation leading to independence.

⁷²⁷ Greek φόρος (any sort of financial exaction or levy) usually refers in Josephus to tribute, paid by a subject state to a great power (e.g., *War* 1.154; 2.403; 7.218 [of the post-war tax for Jupiter Capitolinus]; *Ant.* 10.155; 11.297; 12.158, 294). Jerusalem and Judea had been placed under heavy tribute when Pompey subdued the country in 63 BCE (*War* 1.154; *Ant.* 14.74), the moment Josephus also connects with the Judeans' decisive loss of freedom to the Romans (*Ant.* 14.77; *War* 2.356-57; 5.365, 396). The terms of the tribute are uncertain, though they would have comprised at least produce taxes in kind and land taxes in money (Hengel 1989: 134-37). They were apparently lightened by Julius Caesar as a favor, though they still reportedly amounted to 25% of produce plus a tithe to the local rulers (*Ant.* 14.200-206; cf. Pucci ben Zeev 1998: 85-88). It seems from the present passage and other indicators that Herod and his sons had

and tolerate mortal masters after God.⁷²⁸ This man was a sophist⁷²⁹ of his own peculiar school,⁷³⁰ which had nothing in common with the others.⁷³¹

not been required to furnish regular tribute payments to Rome for Judea (but *Ant.* 17.308), though Appian (*Bell. civ.* 5.75.318-19) has Herod assessed some kind of tribute (once only? To Antony alone?) for Idumea and Samaria (Pastor 1997: 109-10). The Romans dealt with client kings in a wide variety of ways, depending upon resources needed and diplomatic considerations (Braund 1984: 63-66; Lintott 1993: 70-96). As one who enjoyed a special relationship (as “friend and ally”) with the great power, in any case, Herod more than fulfilled the expectation that he would assist the Romans in other tangible ways as needed (Richardson 1996: 229-34; Shatzman 1999: 81-82).

Judea’s direct incorporation into the provincial structure following Archelaus’ removal brought with it a new or restored financial levy, to be based on the census of property that *Ant.* 18.1-4, 26 describes. The collection of this tribute appears to have been a special exercise conducted by the nation’s leaders. In the early stages of resistance against Rome (in protest at the governor Florus), it will go unpaid; when King Agrippa II persuades the leaders to resume payment they must undertake an emergency collection throughout the Judean villages (2.403-5). When some Judeans then drive the king from the city, Agrippa sends the leaders (apparently those who had undertaken the emergency collection) to Florus in Caesarea, so that *he* might appoint people to “exact the tribute from the region” (2.407). This all suggests that the tribute was assessed again (see above) as a percentage of agricultural production, payable at least partly in kind, and that Judean officials were charged with conveying it to the governor at Caesarea. The amount in arrears at the time of the revolt was reportedly 40 talents (2.405), a modest sum in this context (see the note to “talents” at 2.50): it might have represented only that fraction of the tribute that remained ungathered when the payment was halted.

Although Josephus treats it as self-evident that the imposition of tribute implied the loss of national freedom, or servitude (2.365, 368, 373-74), and hence might predictably spark rebel activity, such as we find also in other provinces when tribute was imposed (Tacitus, *Ann.* 6.41; Dio 54.34.36; 56.18.13), biblical-Judean tradition had particular scruples about census-making, which might also have played a role in Judas’ movement. See 2 Sam 24; Hos 2:1; 3 Macc 2.28-32, with Hengel 1989: 120-34.

⁷²⁸ See further 2.433 on Judas’ appeal to God’s sole mastery, 7.323 on Eleazar son of Ya’ir’s similar slogan, and especially *War* 7.410: surviving members of the

sicarii (see 2.254-55) flee to Alexandria, where they persuade many to undertake revolutionary activities, assert their independence (ἐλευθερία), to regard the Romans as in no way superior to themselves, and to consider God their sole master (θεὸν δὲ μόνον ἡγεῖσθαι δεσπότην). Josephus adds that no amount of torture could persuade them to call Caesar “master” (7.418-19). The centrality of freedom as a watchword for the Judean rebels is confirmed by Jerusalem coinage from the 2nd and 3rd years of the revolt carrying the legend “freedom of Zion” (תורתן זיון): Meshorer 1982: 2.260-617. For proposals concerning the theological dimensions of “freedom” as a rebel slogan, see Hengel 1989: 90-145.

Judas’ appeal for freedom, made explicit at *Ant.* 18.4, 23, intersects with one of *War*’s prominent themes: the work is in part a meditation on the meaning of freedom (ἐλευθερία): see 2.22, 53, 80, 91 with notes. In Josephus’ presentation (e.g., *Ant.* 1.78), God’s mastery is basic to all Judean thinking. The question is what that means for practical government. Whereas the nation’s élite since Hasmonean times have consistently sought “autonomy” in the context of foreign rule, Judas champions a bid for a more radical independence, of the kind that Josephus claims was irretrievably lost in Pompey’s time (*War* 2.345, 355-57; 5.365, 395-96; *Ant.* 14.74). The rebels’ preoccupation with freedom appears often (2.264, 348, 361, 443; 4.95, 146, 228, 234, 245-46, 271; 5.408; 7.255, 327, 334, 341, [344], 370, 372), though it tends to be ironized by the narrator and by members of the élite, who suspect that the “tyrants” really wish to enslave the nation to themselves (4.159, 175-77, 185, 258, 347, 389, 510; 5.28); the aristocracy conceives of freedom largely in terms of security *against local tyrants*. The slipperiness of “freedom” language was well known from the period after Alexander the Great, in which each new conqueror promised Greek cities freedom from his predecessor; it had been fully exploited by the Romans themselves in Greece (Green 1990: 414-15; Walbank 1992: 39, 43, 53, 93-94; Green 2007: xvii-xviii, 33-34). For the opposition, as here, between freedom (ἐλευθερία) thus conceived and the payment of tribute (hence servitude) to Rome, see Agrippa’s speech below: 2.365, 368, 373-74.

The programmatic passage on government in *Antiquities* (6.31-44), like the earlier passages on autonomy in *War*, connects political freedom with aristocratic government, and slavery with monarchy. In *Ant.* 6.38-39, God tells Samuel that the people’s demand for a king insults God because it is a rejection of his exclusive rule, whereas priestly aristocracy would have preserved God’s

complete sovereignty (6.36-37). See also *Apion* 2.185, which idealizes the supremacy of divine rule through priestly administration. If Josephus has a consistent outlook on the matter, it seems to be that divine sovereignty is fulfilled through priestly-aristocratic government; sometimes (as under Rome) foreign rule is useful in guarantee the national aristocracy's freedom to govern, over against native tyrants (cf. 5.256-57; a view partly shared with Plutarch, *Flam.* 11.7); native monarchy and rebellion against the world power often go hand in hand, since rebel leaders typically assume messianic-royal pretensions; they are disastrous for the proper functioning of the aristocracy and so for the nation's "freedom." Notice, finally, the close parallels between *War*'s elaboration of freedom/autonomy and the discussion that *Antiquities* (19.39, 54, 79, 100, 169, 182-83, 186, 233, 250, 261-63) locates in the Roman Senate following Gaius Caligula's assassination in 41 CE. See Mason 2003a, 2008b.

⁷²⁹ Josephus will continue to call both Judas (2.433) and his son Menachem (2.445) sophists (σοφιστάι). This is significant because he uses the word sparingly, reserving it with Platonic associations (cf. the *Gorgias*) for teachers who incite the young to rebellious action: *War* uses it otherwise only of the teachers who instructed their disciples to topple Herod's golden eagle (1.648, 650, 655, 656; 2.10; cf. *Ant.* 17.152, 155). The only other application in Josephus is to the anti-Judean writers of Egypt, who are "reprobate sophists, deceiving the young" (*Apion* 2.236). For the Greek background, see the notes to *Life* 36-42 in BJP 9, on Justus of Tiberias: although Josephus does not label him a sophist, his portrayal of Justus fits the stereotype. In the parallel (*Ant.* 18.2-11, 23-24), without using the word sophist he presents Judas as the self-appointed head of a "philosophical school."

⁷³⁰ This is the first occurrence in Josephus of *αἵρεσις* with the meaning "philosophical school." The word has a variety of senses, deriving from the active (*αἵρέω*, "take," therefore "taking, capture" of a town) and middle voices (*αἵρέομαι*, "choose," therefore "choosing, choice"), but it had also come to mean "the group with which one chooses to associate" (or "faction") and specifically, in Hellenistic usage, "philosophical school" (of the Platonic Academy, Aristotelian Peripatos, Stoa, and so forth): Polybius 5.93.8; Diodorus 2.29; Cicero, *Fam.* 15.16.3; Dionysius, *Comp.* 2; Diogenes Laertius 7.191 (on the title of a work by Chrysippus); Philo, *Plant.* 151 (and *Contempl.* 129, of the Therapeutae). Josephus uses the word 31 times, 13 of these for the Judean "philosophical schools": Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes, as well as—sarcastically—the rebel Judas' followers (*War* 2.118, 122, 137, 142, 162; *Ant.* 13.171, 288, 293; 20.199; *Life* 10, 12, 191, 197). The philosophical connotations of the word here are clear from the following facts: (a) although Josephus has many words for "group" or "faction," he

reserves *αἵρεσις* almost entirely for *these* groups; (b) he typically portrays their interests (e.g., fate and free will, the soul) and lifestyles in terms that the ancients considered philosophical; and (c) he uses more explicit philosophical language in these same contexts: the verb φιλοσοφῶ in 2.119, 166, and the noun φιλοσοφία in the parallel at *Ant.* 18.11, 23, 25 (a replacement for *αἵρεσις* here). Although *αἵρεσις* has most often been translated as "sect" (as in LCL for this passage), that term should be avoided if it connotes aberrance or deviance from a main body, since all the schools receive this label. Although *αἵρεσις* is the word Josephus uses most characteristically for the schools, he can substitute for the sake of variety *μοῖρα*, *μόριον*, *τάγμα*, *σύνταγμα*, and *γένος*—as in 2.113 above of Essenes (see table in Le Moyne 1972: 32).

⁷³¹ This fundamental difference between Judas' way of thinking and that of other Judean "schools" is programmatic: it has to do with the problem of freedom (see note to "God" in this section). Although the parallel in *Antiquities* (18.4-9) emphasizes the novelty of Judas' views even more than *War*, it adds the new claim that his group was co-founded by a Pharisee named Saddok/Zadok (*Ant.* 18.9-10), and that his "philosophy" agrees with the Pharisees *except* in its passionate desire (*ἔρωσ*—sarcastic language, perhaps) for freedom (*ἐλευθερία*). If there is a contradiction, it is not between *War* and *Antiquities*, but between *Ant.* 18.4-9 and 18.9-10, 23.

Some scholars have argued that here in *War* Josephus "suppresses" the link between Pharisees and militant freedom-seekers—on the assumption that he was a Pharisee (Paret 1856: 818; R. Meyer 1965: 52 n. 4; 54-56; Black 1974: 50; Alon 1977: 44-46; Hengel 1989: 86)—, whereas in *Antiquities* he relaxes his authorial grip and lets the truth of the connection slip out. Hans Rasp thought that Josephus wished to lend a new validity to Judas' school in the *Antiquities* by linking them with his new-found Pharisaic friends, the Yavnean rabbis (1924: 39, 44, 47). But these theories appear unlikely in the absence of evidence that Josephus wished to identify with the Pharisees, and in the face of abundant evidence that he preserved his authorial control through his last writings, maintaining his distaste for rebel philosophy throughout (cf. Mason 1991: 282-85). The reverse case is therefore more likely: by the time he composed the *Antiquities-Life*, which includes a number of hostile reports about Pharisees (not least in his own career—*Life* 189-98; cf. *Ant.* 13.288; 17.41-45), he was happy to forge a new rhetorical bond between the still-despicable Judas and the Pharisees. If this connection were rhetorical, it would be hazardous to build upon it historical constructions of radical Pharisaic wings or the like (pace Hengel 1989: 86-89).

EXCURSUS I: THE ESSENES OF JOSEPHUS' WAR

Although its concentric structure highlights Pharisees and Sadducees at the beginning and end, the following passage on the three Judean philosophical schools (2.119-66) is dominated by the Essenes, whose description consumes 43 of the 47 sections (2.119-61). Before proceeding with the commentary, it seems helpful to pause and consider the function of this famous passage in Josephus' work. This is especially so because the standard treatments of *War's* Essenes begin from the assumption that the people in question were the group(s) who produced and cherished the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS), found in the vicinity of Khirbet Qumran from 1947 onward.^a Such studies therefore understand the meaning of Josephus' text to be discernible only by comparison with the DSS, in particular the *Damascus Covenant (CD)* and *Community Rule (IQS)*. Since that procedure ignores literary-contextual clues to Josephus' meaning (i.e., his own language and structures) along with historical-contextual ones (i.e., what his Roman audiences could have gathered from his language), it conflicts with the interpretative principles that underlie this commentary.

In a DSS-based reading of Josephus' Essenes, much of his own description must be sidelined to accommodate the hypothesis. When he speaks of constantly traveling Essene males, who refuse to stain their skin with cosmetic oil, whose only leaders are democratically elected, who pray to the sun—"God," whose rays must not be offended—and hold Greek-like views of the soul's origin from the ether as well as immortality, even though Josephus emphasizes and celebrates these traits, they must be dismissed either as misunderstandings, perhaps of his sources, or as deliberate "Hellenizations" of the underlying apocalyptic-sectarian reality—at which he does not even hint.

Such a reading not only obscures Josephus' meaning in the Essene passage. It also invokes

categories that cannot easily be applied to Josephus outside of this passage (thoughtless use of sources and "Hellenizing"), and still more it reverses normal historical method. For example, if we were investigating the Pharisees we would first examine evidence for the Pharisees and construct a picture of the group. Only afterwards would we consider evidence that does not identify itself as Pharisaic, but which might have some bearing on the group (such as Psalms of Solomon or Jubilees). To begin by assuming that texts that do not identify themselves as Pharisaic nevertheless represent the heart of Pharisaism, and then interpret explicit evidence for the Pharisees in light of them, would be to argue backwards. The same is true with any other historical phenomenon, and with the Essenes.

This excursus introduces the following detailed notes, which have to do with understanding *War's* Essenes contextually, by providing an overview of the passage and its context in Josephus. I briefly consider some historical issues at the end. Excursus II will do the same for King Agrippa II's major speech (at 2.345), which has likewise usually been mined for other purposes, without much regard for Josephus' context. As with everything in the commentary, these are offered not as last words but as first words: doorways to help open up the text of Josephus to fresh reading on its own terms.

Location and Structure

War's Essene passage is bound securely to its context both fore and aft. The preceding material (2.1-118) has highlighted the shortcomings of King Herod's heirs, whose bitter succession struggle ends with the egregious Archelaus as *ethnarch* of Judea, probationary to his possible appointment as king should he prove worthy (2.93). Worthy he is not, and he soon finds himself ignominiously exiled to Gaul (2.111). Josephus passes from a detailed account of the succession struggle to the exile with hardly a word about the intervening decade. His interests are, as almost always, with moral questions. In his concluding remarks on Archelaus, he has paused to describe the uncontrollable passion that drove the diadem-crazed prince to abandon his

^a E.g., M-B 1. nn. 30-85; Cross 1961: 70-106; Black 1961: 25-47; Adam 1972; Vermes and Goodman 1989; Beall 1988; Sanders 1992: 342-79; Grabbe 1992: 2.494-95; Bergmeier 1993; Gray 1993: 82-110; Rajak 1994; VanderKam 1994: 89.

legitimate wife and “take for himself” Glaphyra, the widow of another son of Herod, Alexander, and of the “Libyan” King Juba II (2.115). In that story Josephus has further implied Glaphyra’s wantonness, exposed by Alexander’s ghost (“You brazen woman!”) in a dream that presages her death (2.116).

It cannot be a coincidence that the Essene passage opens with sharp contrasts on all of these fronts. The first points that Josephus makes about the group have to do with their complete mastery of the passions, their full awareness of women’s “wanton ways” and untrustworthiness, and their lack of concern about any natural, personal succession (2.119-21). He goes on to emphasize their community of goods, their opposition to marks of personal distinction (even everyday cosmetic practices), and their concern, when they achieve positions of leadership, not to outshine their fellows (2.122-23, 140). Josephus’ association of vice and the passions with women (as well as many men) is typical of his larger narrative tendencies. One small but clear example is the phrase “wanton ways of women” (ἀσελγείαι γυναικῶν), which is what the Essenes avoid by not marrying (2.121). The phrase is hardly found before his time,^b but he uses it formulaically—of Herod’s wife Mariamme (*War* 1.439), Jezebel (*Ant.* 8.318), Cleopatra (*Ant.* 15.98), and certain transvestite Galilean Zealots in Jerusalem during the war (*War* 4.562).

Near the end of the Essene passage, Josephus gives greatest emphasis to the heroic endurance of these men, to the point of fearless death even under torture (2.151-58). This prepares, in both general theme and specific language, for examples of Judean endurance in defense of the laws, on the part of the populace as a whole, in the narrative soon to follow: under Pontius Pilate (2.169-77) and then in the face of Gaius Caligula’s demand that his colossal statue be installed in Jerusalem’s temple (2.184-205). Although the Essenes adopt a peculiarly disciplined lifestyle, therefore, this is only the embodiment of Judean virtue in a concentrated form.

^b Philo, *Mos.* 1.305; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 2.56; and fragments of some astrological writers. Otherwise, wantonness was often attributed to *men* under the influence of drink and women (Polybius 10.38.2; 25.3.7).

As for structure: I noted that the passage begins and ends with reference to the Pharisees and Sadducees (2.119, 162-66), though they are minor players. This is the first indication that Josephus gives this passage the same sort of concentric pattern that governs each of his works as wholes. If we move one step in, we see that he begins and ends his description of the Essenes by talking about women, their trustworthiness, sexual relations, and succession (2.119-21, 160-61). Moving another step in, he describes the Essenes with the rare *nomen agentis* καταφρονητής: near the beginning and end of the passage, they are “despisers” of the two great human motivators, wealth (2.122) and the terrors of death (2.151). Then we learn that they “make it a point of honor” (ἐν καλῷ τίθενται)—another rarely attested phrase—to avoid getting oil on their skin and to defer to their elders (2.123, 146; cf. *Ant.* 19.299). Although that second reference prevents us from imagining a rigid series of matching panels, the two corresponding discussions of Essene sun-reverence (2.128, 148) reinforce the pattern again. In this architecture, the central panel or fulcrum (2.139-42), which lies at the middle of the passage, comprises the twelve oaths taken by Essene initiates. The pivotal function of this passage is signposted by the matching verbs “reckon in” (ἐγκρίνω) and “reckon out” (ἐκκρίνω), which sit as gateways just before and after the oaths (2.138, 143)—and appear only here in Josephus.

Because this concentric structure matches Josephus’ tendencies in composing whole works—e.g., *War* features the Leontopolis temple at the beginning and end (1.31-33, explicitly looking ahead to 7.421-36), and works toward the fulcrum story of the murder of Ananus and Jesus (4.300-54)—its presence here suggests at least two things. First, the passage is Josephus’ deliberate and artful construction (see further on sources, below). Second, the Essenes are of considerable importance to *War*.

Prominent Themes and Relation to Josephus’ Work

The importance of the Essene passage for Josephus’ literary aims is borne out by the concentration of charged, thematic language within it. The ethos of *War* has to do with Judean manliness and martial virtue: Josephus’ most explicit aim in writing (though there are many others) is to redeem his people’s reputation after their recent defeat, which

has led to constant belittling and humiliation (cf. 1.1-12, esp. 1.7). As he now comes to describe an all-male order of philosophers, which excludes women (aside from the endnote at 2.160-61) and practices an extraordinary regimen of discipline and hard-core toughness, he takes the opportunity to press home those values. It appears that the Essenes are already known and admired (they are the only school mentioned by contemporary authors outside of Judea: Philo, Pliny, and Dio; see below), and Josephus will take full advantage of this reputation to enhance his image of Judeans.

Hence, the passage is filled with the language of martial order: τάγμα, προστάσσω, τάξις, εὐτάξια, ἄσκησις, and δίαίτα. Only in *War* does Josephus call the Essenes a τάγμα, the term he normally uses for a Roman legion—by far the most common use in *War*, where it appears 128 times. Although he calls all the schools by various names (ἄιρεσις, φιλοσοφία, μοῖρα, etc.), he uses τάγμα of the Essenes 5 times in this passage, and once of the Sadducees immediately afterward (2.122, 125, 143, 160, 161). Although he has the phrase ἐν τάξει (“in order”) only four times in all his writings, two of these are near each other in this Essene passage (2.130, 133): the Essenes do things in an *orderly* way. Josephus claims that they only take action when *ordered* to do so, using the cognates προστάσσω and ἐπίταγμα (2.134, 139). Other conspicuous terms related to martial virtues are δίαίτα (“regimen”)—five of *War*’s eleven occurrences are in this passage—, and ἄσκησις or ἀσκέω (“discipline,” “training”: 2.119, 150, 166 [cf. *Ant.* 1.6 and *Apion* 2.192, where Josephus claims that Moses perfected training in virtue, ἄσκησις ἀρετῆς]). Since this usage is only in *War*, and not in the Essene passages of *Antiquities*, it seems clear that Josephus has shaped his account to fit *War*’s overall martial outlook.

At *War* 2.138 Josephus remarks that endurance (καρτερία) was the criterion of the tough Essene initiation. Then in 2.151-53 he gives a vivid portrait of the results. Exhibiting a genuine contempt for death, during the recent war Essenes endured every kind of torture, in the course of which they “smiled in their agonies.” As the commentary shows, that whole section on toughness under torture has strong verbal associations with the Hasmonean narratives of 2 and 4 Maccabees, and it reinforces the tone of manly courage. Endurance was the most famous

trait of the Spartans, and said to be the whole focus of their training,^c emulated also by philosophers.^d (We must remember that ancient philosophy was largely concerned with practical training in toughness.) This is an important word group for Josephus, who uses it about 134 times, nearly half of these (63) in *War*—usually in relation to the endurance of the Judean fighters or the “steadfastness” of their defenses. In the *Apion*, again, he makes endurance a distinctive Judean trait (1.182; 2.146, 170, [225], 228, 273, 284). Three times (*Apion* 2.225, 228, 273) he contrasts the Spartans’ mere *reputation* for endurance with the undeniable Judean *display* of this virtue in the recent war—much as in the Essene passage.

I have mentioned Josephus’ insistence that the Essenes were “despisers” of both wealth and death: the latter issue provides the climax of the Essene passage, which receives more space than any other issue (2.151-58), though scholars tend to ignore it. “Contempt for death” (θανάτου καταφρόνησις or περιφρόνησις), the subject of countless moral-philosophical discussions, including an epistle by Josephus’ older contemporary Seneca (*Ep.* 24—there, *contemno mortem*), was regarded as the acid test of an ancient philosophy. One could teach any high-sounding principles, but it was only the ability of those teachings to enable the practitioner to face pain and death with perfect equanimity that proved their efficacy (cf. Warren 2004).^e

The collocation of καταφρόνησις or περιφρόνησις (“disdain, contempt”) with θάνατος or τὰ δεινά (“death, terrors”) is well attested in historians and moral philosophers of the Roman period, but the author with the biggest investment is Josephus. For him, disdain for terrors or death is a

^c Xenophon, *Ages.* 5.3; 10.1; 11.9; Plutarch, *Mor.* [*Apoph. lac.*] 208c, 210a, 237a; *Lyc.* 2.2; 16.5-6; 18.1; 29.5; *Ages.* 11.7; 30.3.

^d Cf. Xenophon, *Mem.* 1.2.1; 2.1.20; 3.1.6.

^e Of countless examples: Diodorus 5.29.2; 15.86.3; 17.43.6, 107.6; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 5.46.4; Philo, *Prob.* 30; *Abr.* 183; Musonius Rufus, *Diss.* 10; Epictetus in Arrian, *Diatr.* 4.1.70, 71; Plutarch, *Brut.* 12.2; Lucian, *Peregr.* 13, 23, 33; Marcus Aurelius, *Med.* 4.50.1; 9.3.1; 12.34.1; Polyaeus, *Strat.* 5.14.1; Diogenes Laertius 1.6; Phalaris, *Ep.* 103.3; Appian, *Celt.* 1.9; *Bell. civ.* 5.4.36; Dio 43.38.1; 46.26.2, 28.5; 62.25.1.

distinctive and conspicuous Judean trait. *War* has introduced the theme with Athrongeus, the rebel of 4 BCE (2.60), otherwise a less than admirable figure. Thereafter it becomes the chief characteristic of all Judean fighters (3.357, 475; 5.88, 458; 6.42; 7.406), even those whom Josephus opposes politically, which the Roman generals can only *try* to inculcate in the storied but often unimpressive legions (6.33). Throughout *Antiquities* too Josephus features this Judean quality, beginning with an encomium on King Saul (*Ant.* 6.344-47). There we meet the only other example in Josephus of the agent-noun καταφρονητής: other would-be “despisers of terrors,” he declares, should learn from Saul’s manly example. Most compelling are Josephus’ remarks in the *Apion*: the Judean constitution itself inculcates contempt for death (θανάτου περιφρόνησις), among other virtues (*Apion* 2.146), and precisely in wartime Judeans despise death (θανάτου καταφρονεῖν, 2.294). Again, Josephus’ description of the Essenes embodies his vision of Judean culture.

This connection may be seen most efficiently by comparing the Essene passage with summary paragraphs from the final section of the *Apion*, where Josephus describes the dominant characteristics of his people. For example, he introduces his “non-panegyric” on Judean culture (*Apion* 2.145-46):

For I think it will become clear that we have laws optimally oriented towards piety (εὐσέβεια), towards community (κοινωνία) with one another, and towards humanity (φιλανθρωπία) among the world at large; yet further, towards justice (δικαιοσύνη), towards endurance in the course of struggles (ἢ ἐν τοῖς πόνοις καρτερία), and towards contempt for death (θανάτου περιφρόνησιν).

Or again, *Apion* 2.293-94:

What greater beauty than inviolable piety (εὐσέβεια)? What greater justice (δικαιότερον) than obedience to the laws? What more beneficial than to be in concord with one another (πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμονεῖν), to be prey neither to disunion (δίσασθαι) in adversity, nor to arrogance (ὕβριζοντα) and faction (στασιάξειν) in prosperity; in war to hold death in contempt (θανάτου καταφρονεῖν); in peace to devote oneself to crafts or agriculture (τέχνας ἢ γεωργίας); and to be convinced that everything in the whole universe (πάντα δὲ καὶ πανταχοῦ) is under the eye and direction of God?

Just as concord, an Essene hallmark (*War* 2.122-23, 134, 145), becomes a national characteristic in the *Apion*, so also the solemnity, gravity, or seriousness (Greek σεμνότης) that Josephus there identifies as the outstanding Judean trait (*Apion* 1.225; 2.223), which is most conspicuously exhibited by his good self (*Life* 258),^f provides the first point he will make about the Essenes here in *War*: they certainly are known for cultivating seriousness (*War* 2.119). In *Apion* 2.193-96, 199-202, 205, likewise, Josephus attributes other Essene characteristics—simplicity of life and an insistence that marital sex be exclusively for procreation, not for pleasure (cf. *War* 2.160-61)—to all Judeans. Even the Essenes’ investigations into the curative properties of roots and stones (2.136) reveal close verbal parallels to his description of King Solomon’s inquiries, the records from which continue to provide Judeans with effective means of healing and exorcism (*Ant.* 8.44-49; cf. *War* 7.185).

Language and Possible Sources

This consideration of Josephus’ language and dominant themes in the Essene passage already indicates that it is his creation. Even if we ignored his claim to have studied with each school in his youth (*Life* 10-12), his descriptions of Essenes in Jerusalem and throughout Judea’s towns would have meant that he knew enough about them (as of the Pharisees and Sadducees) to portray them on the basis of personal knowledge. It has often been argued, however, that he borrowed much or most of his Essene material from other sources. That proposal has at least two consequences. First, it explains, to the satisfaction of many advocates of the Qumran-Essene hypothesis, how he could so completely misrepresent the group—assuming that they are accurately represented by the DSS (cf. Bergmeier 1993: 9). Second, the notion that Josephus relied on sources for the Essenes explains to some scholars why he says so little about the period from 6 to 41 CE, but so much about the Essenes. Lacking sources for the early Roman governors, they reason, he chose to fill the space with what he did have: source material for the Essenes.

^f Cf. *War* 7.65 on Vespasian; *Ant.* 12.24 on the Tobiad Joseph.

The second position stems from an old but long since discredited view of Josephus' method of writing: that he was not so much an author as a rather incompetent anthologist, who simply strung together whatever sources he could find to create the illusion of a narrative. Although that theory dominated the field in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, it was put to rest in principle by the work of R. Laqueur (1920), which showed that sources could not account for the literary traits of Josephus' narratives, even where he gave completely different versions of the same events, for his own life story (not from sources) was the clearest example of that versatility. The literary dimensions of his work must come from him.

This point, which has since been confirmed in countless ways, especially with the aid of the *Concordance* (completed in 1983) and electronic tools for literary analysis, means that sources do not mechanically dictate what Josephus includes and excludes. For example, he clearly had much more source material available for his Herodian and Hasmonean histories in *War* 1 than he chose to use: that narrative (as much of *War* 2) appears to be a condensed version of something larger. The careful structuring of the narrative, the unified pitch and tone of *War*'s language and sentence construction, and the presence throughout of Josephus' charged vocabulary—all amply illustrated in this commentary—show that he crafted the narrative and placed material where he wished. His knowledge of the past, whether empirical or traditional, or some kind of source material was a necessary condition for his production of narrative that was not freely invented; it was not, however, a condition sufficient to explain what he included and excluded. The artful interweaving of Archelaus' quest for the diadem with the revolt of 4 BCE, in which other unworthy men wrapped diadems on their heads or presented themselves as Herod's sons (2.1-111), suggests his own deep interest in questions of constitution, kingship, and tyranny, which will be fully developed in *Antiquities*. Josephus chose his themes, topics, and structures. Here he could have given more proportional representation to all three schools (cf. *Ant.* 18.12-22), but he chose instead to give the Essenes the lion's share.

We have seen that the Essene passage shows many hallmarks of Josephus' own authorial hand. Did he, nonetheless, derive it ultimately from other sources?

The most famous case for relieving Josephus of responsibility for this passage was made independently by Matthew Black (1956) and Morton Smith (1958), who proposed that the same source on the Essenes was taken over by Josephus in *War* (with only small adjustments) and by the early third-century Christian, Hippolytus of Rome, in his *Refutation of All Heresies* (9.18.26-29). Although the older and natural assumption had been that Hippolytus used Josephus, Black argued that significant non-Josephan features of Hippolytus could not easily be explained as the latter's elaborations of Josephus, and further that Hippolytus seemed more "Jewish" (i.e., closer to rabbinic themes) than Josephus. Smith argued that whereas Hippolytus normally quotes verbatim, he does not show such a relationship with Josephus' text here, and there is no other evidence that he knew Josephus. If Hippolytus has strikingly similar material on the Essenes, but did not get it from Josephus, the only explanation seemed to be a common source.

That hypothesis was overturned by Christoph Burchard's much fuller analysis of both Hippolytus and Josephus (1977). Burchard showed that this section of the *Refutatio* is replete with Hippolytus' distinctive language and themes. Further, Hippolytus often replicates characteristic Josephan phrases and style, betraying his dependence. Burchard concluded that *War* 2.119-61 must be the main source for Hippolytus' description of the Essenes, in which case there is no reason to posit an Essene source behind *War*.[§]

The issue was not settled, however, because Burchard left unaddressed some of the original insights of Black and Smith. A. I. Baumgarten (1984) therefore proposed a different approach. Shifting his attention to Hippolytus' treatment of the Pharisees, rather than the Essenes, in the same passage, he showed that there was something to the "more Jewish" flavor of the later work, in the form of a clearly more pro-Pharisaic presentation than Josephus gives, which could not easily be attributed to Christian outlooks in the early third century. His own solution took up an option that Smith, Black, and Burchard had overlooked, which arises because of the long interval between Josephus and Hippolytus: the Christian teacher's account must *ulti-*

[§] Smith reportedly later retracted his proposal under the influence of Shaye Cohen (Bergmeier 1993: 23 n. 9).

mately come from Josephus (so Burchard), but not by direct borrowing (so Black and Smith). Rather, another writer must have revised Josephus' account (in a pro-Pharisaic direction, among other things), and it was this revised version of Josephus that Hippolytus used. In any case, this route to identifying Josephus' sources may now be considered closed.

More recently, Roland Bergmeier (1993) has written a book on "the Essene-portrayals in Flavius Josephus" that is entirely devoted to the ingenious reconstruction of Josephus' putative sources. After observing that the DSS have intruded far too much into the interpretation of Josephus' Essenes, instead of turning to the narratives themselves he tries to understand each of Josephus' putative sources in *its* own right (1993: 51-52).

Noting the two different forms of the name "Essene" in Josephus, to begin with, Bergmeier proposes that most of the Ἐσσαιῶς "anecdotes" have a decidedly non-Jewish coloring and therefore mostly come from Nicolaus of Damascus (1993: 17-18, 21)—the *deus ex machina* of older source criticism. By contrast, the Ἐσσηνός passages and one Ἐσσαιῶς story must come from three other sources now intermingled in Josephus, namely: a Stoicizing "three-school" source in the doxographical tradition; a Hellenistic-Jewish source representing the themes and speech habits of Alexandrian Jewry, from which Philo and Josephus independently drew; and another source that understood the Essenes as Jewish Pythagoreans, which influenced both Pliny on the Essenes and Philo in his description of the Therapeutae (1993: 48). Bergmeier imagines Josephus constantly moving back and forth, meticulously but slavishly combining these sources. Phrases that sound more Stoic or Pythagorean or Alexandrian-Jewish flag the transition to a new source (1993: e.g. 67, 92-93). For example, the repetition of "Judeans" in 2.119, or "Greeks" in 2.155-56, creates doublets that must signify a change of hand (1993: 63).

The considerations raised above, on reading Josephus in narrative context, combined with the following commentary notes, raise problems for this conception of Josephus' approach to his work. Three further points may suffice by way of response.

(a) Bergmeier's basic proposal that Josephus' two names for Essenes (Ἐσσαιῶς, Ἐσσηνός) provide a criterion for source distinctions (1993: 13, 24) does not match the evidence. He connects the v-form with his "three-school source" (1993: 56), though there is no correlation between the

form of the name and the "school" passages (it is used also at 5.145; *Ant.* 13.298; 15.372). Rather, the distinction appears to be as follows. Josephus always uses Ἐσσηνοί in the plural, never in the singular. Conversely, with one telling exception, he always uses Ἐσσαιῶς in the singular, of an individual named Essene. The telling exception is at *Ant.* 15.371-78, where he reports that "those called Ἐσσαιῶι among us" were excused from the oath of loyalty to Herod—but then returns to calling them Ἐσσηνοί. It seems, then, that in using the Ἐσσηνοί form Josephus is accommodating his audience. They are used to hearing this name for the group (cf. Pliny's *Esseni* at *Nat.* 5.73, and Synesius, *Dio* 3.2). His explanation that Judeans prefer Ἐσσαιῶι accords with both Philo's consistent employment of that form and his own use of Ἐσσαιῶς for individuals. That is: where there is no established euphony, in the singular, he defaults to the native form.

(b) When Bergmeier comes to Josephus' description of the first two Essene oaths (2.139)—that they will show piety towards the Deity (εὐσεβέω τὸ θεῖον) and maintain justice behavior towards humanity (τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους δίκαια φυλάξειν)—he pursues at some length a strained parallel with Philo, and then early Christian literature, in order to establish that this must come from the alleged Alexandrian-Jewish source (1993: 36-37). But this pair of complementary virtues is absolutely characteristic of Josephus elsewhere, turning up routinely from his portraits of the righteous Judean kings to his presentation of John the Baptist.^h The pair is also found widely throughout the Greek moral philosophers from Plato onward.ⁱ There is no reason to doubt that Josephus has composed this passage.

(c) In his final chapter, Bergmeier identifies 51 *hapax legomena* in *War* 2.119-61 as indices to Josephus' use of sources (1993: 108-9). Yet there are several problems with using uniquely occurring words in a mechanical way to argue for the presence of sources.

First, the logic involved in using such words as evidence of a different authorial hand runs as follows. Given that each writer favors certain vocabulary, if we analyze a text and find high con-

^h *Ant.* 7.338, 341, 356, 374, 384; 8.280; 9.16, 236; 12.43, 56; 18.117 (cf. *Apion* 2.145-48, 170-71, 291).

ⁱ Plato, *Phileb.* 39e 10; *Euthyphr.* 12e 6; *Gorg.* 507b [τὰ δίκαια καὶ ὄσια]; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 8.2.2; 8.8.1; 8.28.3; 8.62.3; 9.44.8 etc. See the notes at 2.139.

centrations of language not found elsewhere in this author, but *which is likely to have characterized another author*, it might mean that the author under investigation has borrowed material. The problem is that much of Josephus' unusual vocabulary in the Essene passage does not suit this logic, for it is either barely attested in ancient Greek literature or it is hardly attested before his time and becomes more common from his time onward. The latter is a trait of much of *War*'s language, which rides the crest of the new forms characteristic of the Second Sophistic. But in such cases it becomes highly unlikely that the unusual language results from borrowing.

For example, Josephus calls the little shovel given to Essene initiates by three names: σκαλίζ, ἀξινίδιον, and ξινάριον (2.137, 148). All three words, though perfectly intelligible to Greek speakers, are unattested before his time, and the second one appears only here before the 10th century. Similarly, his clever term for "neophyte," νεοσύστατος, is not found before him. Is it reasonable to attribute such words to a source, on the ground that they were likely characteristic of another writer's speech? The case of the hatchet also highlights Josephus' typical concern for varying his diction. Similarly, when he describes the Essenes "digging" a hole for defecation (ὀρύσσω) and then filling back the hole that had been "excavated" (with ἀνορύσσω), it would be odd to imagine that the best explanation of the compounded form, simply because it occurs only here, is his borrowing from a source.

Second, it is hardly surprising that the Essene passage, which deals with subjects completely different from those of *War* as a whole, should have a relatively high concentration of unique words. *War* is a narrative of political and military history, whereas the Essene passage is a lengthy excursus on a tightly knit philosophical school, and the only one of this kind. Most of the unique terms identified by Bergmeier thus refer to: sectarian boundary markers (admit, eject, outsiders, condescending to eat [grass, if expelled], neophytes); special philosophical-school traits (dress, being trained, wear white, exchange, return item, school member, refectory, pray beforehand, wrap around [mantle], theologize, wise saying, inculcate); unique implements of this school (different words for the small hatchet, loincloth), and their remarkably ethical practices, described in an attempt at sublimity (sobriety, masters [of temper], servants [of peace], medicinal roots, extreme long life). Obviously, Josephus has

little occasion to use most of these words elsewhere in a political-military history.

Finally, arguing from *hapax legomena* raises an obvious problem: What about *dis* and *tris legomena*? If the unique appearance of a word in one passage suggests that it comes from a source, what shall we say when a word appears in the Essene passage and only once or twice elsewhere in Josephus? Examples: ὑπεροψία (*War* 2.120; 3.320); ἐντυπώ (*War* 2.120; *Ant.* 12.68, 72); καταφρονηταί (*War* 2.122, 151; *Ant.* 6.347); ἀλείφω (*War* 2.123; 5.565; *Ant.* 6.165); ἔκτοπος (*War* 2.136; 4.319); and καθεκτ-words (-ος, *War* 2.12; -εον, *War* 5.20; -ικος, *War* 2.135). We cannot say that the source is responsible for the word in the Essene passage and the other occurrence or two. Given that *War* is written in a very artful style, there seems to be no basis for concluding that rare words indicate sources.

It was in part the familiar problems with using *hapax legomena* to determine authorship that gave rise to the use of stylometric analysis for this purpose. In stylometric analysis, one examines the frequency of such incidental function-words as particles and conjunctions, as better indicators of habitual style than deliberately chosen diction, tallying their frequency against both control texts from the same author and sample blocks from other authors. Because of natural variations in an author's writing patterns, the critic requires massive cumulative odds against mere coincidence (say, more than 1,000,000:1) to challenge authorship of a given text or section (Williams 1992: 1-22). D. S. Williams has performed such an analysis on *War* 2.119-61 and found it entirely consistent with Josephus' authorial habits across the breadth of his corpus, in marked contrast to the habits of several ancient authors, including Nicolaus (Williams 1994). Whatever the shortcomings of stylometry, it seems a more refined tool than simple lexical studies for identifying distinct authorship, inasmuch as it does not depend on data that might result from changes of subject or deliberate variation. It supports the otherwise probable conclusion that Josephus wrote *War* 2.119-61 as we have it, whether or not he also used sources.

Other Accounts of the Essenes

Once we have confirmed that Josephus wrote *War*'s Essene passage as it stands, that it was he who decided to feature the Essenes at disproportionate

length as standard-bearers for the nation's virtues,^j and that they play a significant role in *War's* narrative as models of manly fortitude and courage, it remains to consider the problem of the historical reality behind Josephus' descriptions. Standard method requires that the historian gather all contemporary evidence bearing on the phenomenon in question, try to understand it in its own right, and then test hypotheses to find the one that will best explain the evidence. Although we lack the space here for such analysis, a brief survey seems necessary because of the strange neglect of standard method in this case. Of the four contemporary sources for Essenes, by far the most important—because they reflect pre-70 realities and offer relatively extensive coverage—are the accounts in Josephus and Philo.

Outside of the present passage, Josephus mentions Essenes relatively often. At *Ant.* 13.171-73 he will place them on a spectrum with Pharisees and Sadducees according to each school's view of fate and free will. *Ant.* 18.18-22 is the counterpart in the later work to this passage. As he does routinely in parallel narratives, he changes things considerably in the later version. Although that passage is much more proportionate in relation to his portraits of Pharisees and Sadducees (18.12-17) than this one, the Essenes still receive the largest amount of space there; they appear as peerless philosophers, unmatched by Greeks or barbarians. Along with his repeated emphasis on their community of goods, celibacy—emphatically: there is no mention of marrying Essenes now—and ordered life, Josephus adds that they number about 4,000 men; they do not own slaves; and they are committed to agriculture.^k Most interesting is a comment on Essene sacrifice, which seems to say that when they bring their victims to the temple they are excluded from offering them in the common (priestly?) court, but make their sacrifices according to distinctive prescriptions (18.18). Unfortunately, Josephus' language

^j Perhaps it needs emphasizing that when I speak of Josephus' *Vorliebe* for the Essenes, which is deducible from the location, amplitude, structure, and themes of *War's* Essene passage, I am of course not speaking about the man Josephus' emotions or psyche, to which we have no access. We can speak only of what literary critics call the "implied author" and the literary impression of his work.

^k In *War* they engage in various "crafts" (2.129). It is striking that Josephus will say of Judeans generally that

there shares the obfuscatory style of *Ant.* 17-19 in general, and in addition is plagued by textual variants and grammatical uncertainties.

Otherwise, Josephus claims to have studied with the Essenes, as with the other schools, in his youth (*Life* 10-12). His narratives mention individual Essenes relatively often (see above), usually in connection with their teaching students and foretelling the future, in and around Jerusalem (*War* 1.78-80; 2.112-13; *Ant.* 13.311; 15.371-78; 17.346), an ability attributed to them also in the following passage (2.159). And a figure named John the *Essaeus*—the same word as for individual Essenes—becomes a commander in the revolt against Rome, appointed at the same time as Josephus (*War* 2.567; 3.11, 19). On the debated significance of his epithet—whether he should be understood as an Essene, or as a man from Essa, or indeed whether all "Essenes" have a connection with Essa—please see the relevant commentary notes.

Like Josephus, but a generation earlier and so independently, Philo seizes upon the Essenes of Palestine-Syria as model philosophers. His early work, *Every Good Man is Free*, was the counterpart to a lost treatise, *Every Bad Man is a Slave*. Although the theme of internal freedom was made famous by Stoics, who characteristically argued that the good man can never be compelled to act because he will happily face death first (cf. *Prob.* 23-25), the Platonist Philo casts this as common philosophical property, recognized by all wise men (*Prob.* 2-7). When he reaches the proof (*probatio*) stage of his discourse on the subject, after surveying other examples—Magi and Indian gymnosophists, in addition to Greeks—he turns to Judea's Essenes (*Prob.* 75-91). As in Josephus, the emphasis throughout this essay is on toughness and endurance, getting beyond the fear of both death and poverty or disrepute (*Prob.* 23). The clearest examples of freedom will be those who faced torture with no loss of composure and resolve (*Prob.* 106-9).

Giving the Essenes' number as about 4,000, Philo locates them in the villages of Judea (avoiding the moral disease of cities), and stresses their absolute equality, community of goods, lack of slaves or hierarchy (cf. Josephus' emphasis on election of leaders), attention to agriculture and crafts,

they engage in "crafts and agriculture" (*Apion* 2.294)—a sign of their simplicity of life.

avoidance of trade or the manufacture of anything that could be used for immoral purposes, special attention to the sabbath as a time of study in virtue, and shared accommodations and meals. Philo places particular emphasis on the great age of this school, which has seen various tyrannical rulers come and go in Judea, none of whom has been able to tarnish the name of the Essenes (which he takes to mean “holy” by Greek derivation), who are perfect examples of free men.

Another work of Philo’s that has not survived intact, called the *Apology* or *Hypothetica*, and copiously quoted by the fourth-century CE Eusebius in his *Preparation for the Gospel* (*Praep. ev.* 8.11.379a-81a), also featured the Essenes. (After citing this work, Eusebius goes on to quote the passage just considered from *Every Good Man is Free*.) Eusebius’ quoted material again mentions the wide dispersal of Essenes in Judea (here: villages and cities, in large and populous groups). New emphases are the maturity of these men, who labor at their agriculture and crafts in heat and cold without complaint, details of their communal life, and their pointed rejection of women’s company and marriage, with reasons elaborated by Philo.

The Elder Pliny (C. Plinius Secundus, d. 79 CE), a Roman equestrian of wide experience, and author of a *Natural History* of the known world that appeared in Rome about the same time as Josephus’ *War*, singles out *Esseni* for mention in his quick sketch of Judea (*Nat.* 5.68-73)—the only group so honored in that section. The direction of his description of Judea is first up the Mediterranean coast (coming from Egypt), then into the central-northern interior, around the Kinneret (Gennasaret) in a clockwise direction, down the Jordan River, and finally around the Dead Sea in a clockwise direction, concluding on its west side. His description jumps around quite a bit, for example in simply listing the ten toparchic capitals (5.70), and in a short space he makes a large number of errors: placing Samaria before Ascalon and Ashdod in his northward progression (5.68), then locating Gamala in Samaria (5.69), Iulias with Hippo to the east of the Kinneret, and Tarichea to its south (5.71), Machaerus and Callirhoe to the south of the Dead Sea (Asphaltitis, 5.72). He amplifies the area of the Dead Sea considerably, making it 100 miles long and 75 wide (5.72).

It is in his final comments on the western sector of the Dead Sea that Pliny mentions the *gens* of Essenes (*Nat.* 5.73). If we ask why he mentions

them here, the answer is not difficult to imagine. He usually mentions groups only if they are remarkable in some way, and these—whom he admires and his audience might already know in some way—he must fit into the description of Judea. Since he has so far been rattling off specific cities and other sites, it is not clear where he could have mentioned the Essenes even if he shared the understanding of Philo and Josephus that they were widely dispersed in Judea. Having essentially drawn a circle around Palestine from west to north to east, he mentions them here before closing his description of the region:

“To the west [of Lake Asphaltitis], the Essenes completely shun the shores, which cause harm (*ab occidente litora Esseni fugiunt usque qua nocent*): a solitary tribe, wonderful beyond all others in the world, being without any women and renouncing all sexual desire, without money, and with only palm trees as companions. Each day their associates are replenished from an equal number, tired of life, whom fortune with its vicissitudes [or: in waves] leads to their customs. So for thousands of ages—remarkable to say—a tribe is eternal (*gens aeterna est*) into which no one is born! So productive for them is the reconsideration of life by others.

Below these used to be the town of En Gedi (*infra hos Engada oppidum fuit*), second only to Jerusalem in fertility and groves of palm trees, but now likewise a ruin (*nunc alterum bustum*). After that (*inde*) Masada, a fortress on a crag—for its part not at all far from Asphaltitis (*et ipsum haut procul Asphaltite*). Thus is Judea.”

Before the discovery of the DSS, scholars understood Pliny’s location of the Essenes in a vague and general way: since he mentions the now-destroyed city of En Gedi “below” the Essenes (*infra hos*), the Essenes were assumed to live—still, after En Gedi’s destruction—in the Judean hills to the west, away from the lake, which Pliny has already described as noxious and unpleasant (*Nat.* 5.71). This had been the understanding of the third-century plagiarist of Pliny, C. Iulius Solinus, who took from Pliny that Essenes occupied the internal parts of Judea (*interioria Iudaeae*) west of the Dead Sea (*Coll.* 35.9, 12). Scholarship before 1950 followed suit.¹ Although Pliny’s meaning is much debated

¹ W. H. Dixon (1869: 1.163-74, 176, 177-79, 194-95) located the Essenes between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea, on the slopes of Mar Saba and En Gedi,

in light of the Qumran discoveries, the basic issue seems clear. Either Pliny's description should be understood in a way that is basically compatible with the testimony of Philo and Josephus, which seems entirely possible, or there is no reason to accept his testimony. That is, there is no other case in which Pliny is credited where he disagrees with Josephus on Judean realia, since he obviously does not have a clear understanding of the region. It is hard to see why an exception should be made with the Essenes.

Finally, the famous orator-statesman and Josephus' younger contemporary, Dio Chrysostom, from Prusa in northern Asia Minor, apparently mentioned the Essenes with admiration in a now lost work. At least the fifth-century writer Synesius, in his biography of Dio (3.2), relates that Dio "somewhere praises the Essenes." It is unclear how much if any of the accompanying description in Synesius, about their lifestyle beside the "Dead Water" and their communal happiness, goes back to Dio, since it closely matches Synesius' own language in places, and it is his habit to cite a saying and offer his own elaboration. But it is at least significant for the historian that Dio had apparently heard of Judea's Essenes and indicated his respect "somewhere."

Given the general agreement of these independent and contemporary sources on Judea's Essenes, the historian is in an unusually good position. Very often we find ourselves with only one narrative

around Ras el Feshka and "in the villages below Bethlehem." Cf. Taylor 2002: 156. The major reference works put Essenes somewhere west of En Gedi: W. Bauer in *PW* (s.v. 1924: 390, "auf der Westseite des Toten Meeres in der und um die Stadt Engada [Engeddi]"); K. Kohler in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* (1905: 5.231-32, "the Essenes at En Gedi"); E. Schürer (1910: 2.193-94, the Essenes should not be located *only* "in the desert of Engedi on the Dead Sea" as Pliny implies). When A. Dupont-Sommer (1952: 86 n. 1) proposed that, because Pliny's description moves from En Gedi to Masada, he really intends to move from north to south (placing Essenes north of En Gedi and therefore near Qumran), he fully recognized that this was a new proposal, in contrast to the usual interpretations of Pliny, and that his proposal might not be found convincing. In 1957, Yigael Yadin understood this, as he supported what "Dupont-Sommer suggests with justice" (1957: 185). Later scholarship, however, came to insist that Pliny's description of the Essenes was hardly compatible with any referent other than Qumran (Stern 1974: 2.481; Schürer-Vermes 2.563 and n. 6; Grabbe 1992: 2.492-94; Vermes 1995: xxv; Magness 2002: 41).

source for a given phenomenon; multiple lines of independent contemporary evidence are to be treasured. Our task is to hypothesize the lost reality of the Essenes that produced these various accounts, and drew the admiration of very different writers: an upper-class Alexandrian-Judean and Platonist philosopher (Philo), a proud member of Jerusalem's priestly aristocracy and new Roman citizen writing for audiences in his adopted home (Josephus), a Roman explorer and recorder of the world's exotica (Pliny), and a Greek statesman-orator who spent much of his career focused on civic politics under Roman rule, dealing with issues of concord and avoidance of factionalism (Dio).

The Historical Essenes

Given this variety of perspectives, the many areas of agreement nonetheless, and the simple but remarkable fact that the Judean Essenes impressed each of these writers enough to merit mention and admiration, hypothetically imagining the underlying reality should not be unusually difficult. To have generated such accounts, the historical Essenes must have been somewhat as described: an impressive association of celibate males, widely dispersed throughout Judea, that welcomed outside initiates willing to undertake their simple and rigorous way of life. Their lifestyle placed a premium on utter simplicity, forswearing of private ownership (community of goods), common meals of simple fare, equality within the order (with a democratic election of leaders as needed), and the plainest possible form of dress. They shunned conventional values, even the ubiquitous use of cosmetic oil. Their strenuous daily labor was offset on sabbaths, to which they devoted all their attention to study and improvement in virtue. They were especially revered for their incorruptibility and their ability to face death, even under torture, with equanimity. They were admired because they had succeeded in implementing many features of utopian societies, recalling in this respect the lost practices of the much-admired Spartans (without the militarism, as philosophers insisted).^m Above all, they represented

^m The 3rd-century Platonist Porphyry will present an admiring portrait of the Spartans as models of the disciplined life and regimented diet (*Abst.* 4.3.1-5.2), ostensibly featuring abstinence from meat, shortly before turning to the Essenes of Judea (4.11.3-13.10) and using Josephus' description in *War* for the purpose.

a philosophical ideal, that Josephus will attribute to the whole nation of Judeans.

If this was something like the historical reality, one could easily imagine how each author added particular emphases and distinctive language in connection with his own literary aims. Philo's concern with internal freedom might have determined his choice of topics and emphasis in the extant essay; his claims that Essenes put aside logic for ethics, and that they study allegorically, obviously fit his literary concerns. Josephus' pervasive "order" language is apparently stressed to match *War's* context (he does not have the same emphasis elsewhere), though it is a plausible embellishment. Pliny's reflections of amazement similarly suit his wonder-recording purposes.

Some details are harder to explain, such as Josephus' addition of marrying Essenes after his main discussion (at 2.160-61), which he will omit from his later account, to portray Essenes as celibate in keeping with the other reports. This endnote in *War* might, however, result from his immediate literary concerns (see commentary). Pliny's vague location of Essenes might not be worth much, and might also arise from the constraints of his account (or knowledge). If he implies by his repeated use of *gens*, "thousands of ages past," and the welcoming of outsiders from all over, that Essenes are not ethnic Judeans, this would be either mistaken (most likely) or a matter of disagreement between him and Philo and Josephus.

Still, the sort of group that lies beneath all of these accounts looks clear enough in its main lines. The writers' disagreements are of the sort that we expect from independent reporters, whether caused by misperception, partial knowledge, or literary-rhetorical artifice. The utopian reputation of the group may have been inflated in relation to the reality. But there were other such groups around from time to time: the Spartans' much-admired regimen had existed, as had the Pythagoreans, and Philo devotes another essay (*On the Contemplative Life*) to the somewhat similar Therapeutae in Egypt, of whom he says: "this type exists in many places in the world" (*Contempl.* 21). It seems that only a determined effort to live up to those ideals could have attracted such singular interest in the Essenes, and these independent portraits of them.

To return to our starting point, however, this is not the commonly held view of the group. The dominant theory is that underlying Philo's and Jose-

phus' Essenes (and Pliny's and Dio's) are a group that do not identify themselves as Essenes and seem to be very different in fundamental ways. The DSS community, namely, appears in its texts as a righteous-remnant, new-covenant group (*CD* 1-2), which sees the world in the sharply dualistic terms of light and darkness. They are the sons of light, led by the Prince of Light, awaiting divine vengeance against all the sons of darkness (*IQS* 1.1-10), who live under the dominion of Satan, the Angel of Darkness (*IQS* 1-4). These men of the Covenant are led by the caste of priests and Levites, who appear on almost every page of the sectarian scrolls. They have a major grievance against the (non-Zadokite) priestly leadership of Jerusalem, especially against the Wicked Priest who persecuted their Teacher of Righteousness, along with the Scoffer and the "seekers after smooth things" (*CD* 1-2). Accordingly, they follow their own (solar) calendar, rejecting the established lunar calendar and its appointed times. Priests and Levites will play a prominent role in the coming 40-years' war against the Kittim (including Romans) and the sons of darkness (*IQM*). The community also awaits two anointed eschatological leaders, one from Aaron's line and one from Israel (*CD* 12.23-13.1; 14.19; 20.1). The covenanters believe themselves to be among the final generations before the apocalypse, and interpret scripture in a distinctive *peshet* mode as referring to themselves (e.g., *IQpHab*).¹¹

The many problems with supposing that these were the people Josephus featured as Essenes, so deeply admired by Philo, Pliny, and Dio, will now be clear. The new covenanters represent a mentality completely at odds with the aristocratic, Greek-cultured, statesman-like values of Josephus and the others who so admiringly describe Essenes. Josephus, friend of the future emperor Titus in Rome, a man of the world and skilled politician if ever there was one, champion of Jerusalem's Hasmonean-priestly aristocracy, and tireless advocate of the constitution of Moses practiced by all Judeans, wrote his *War* in a high register of Atticizing Greek. Josephus has carefully read and absorbed his Thucydides, Polybius, Hellenistic historians, some orators and

¹¹ For expert overviews of the leading ideas emerging from the DSS on their own terms, see e.g. Yadin 1957: 73-155; VanderKam 1994: 110-19; Vermes 1995: 41-64.

playwrights. His ideas about life under Roman rule are complex and sophisticated, quite comparable to those of his contemporaries Plutarch and Dio. Josephus rejects out of hand the whole apocalyptic mentality reflected in the Scrolls, along with messianic claimants, prophets, and anyone else who misleads the gullible with promises of end-time salvation (e.g., 2.259-63; 6.285). His detailed interpretation of scripture is all in the public-constitutional vein, allowing him to compare it (as Philo does) with Greek constitutions. There is no hint of a sectarian interest in this author.

The notion, therefore, that Josephus (like Philo and Pliny) first came to admire the new covenanters of the DSS as models of the virtuous philosophical life, and then took care to expunge all of the sect's clear and distinctive ideas from his account, as he enthusiastically promoted them before his Roman audience, and that he even mischievously credited them with a Greek-like view of the soul and sun-worship, does not seem to have plausibility in its favor.

This is not to rule out in advance the possibility that the Essenes might turn out to have been DSS new covenanters—or Judean-Christians, or some other group that does not call itself Essene—misunderstood and/or misrepresented and strangely admired by Philo, Josephus, and the others. But such a hypothesis will need to explain the Essene evidence considered above. The question is not about conclusions, but about historical methods.

When the Qumran-Essene hypothesis was launched in the 1950s, by a group of outstanding scholars, it did not need to pass these tests, for it emerged in a very different scholarly environment, which seemed to lend it plausibility. Before Morton Smith's seminal article (1956) on diversity and Hellenization in Judea, Martin Hengel's initially controversial *Judaism and Hellenism*, the work of Jacob Neusner and his many students on the varieties of Judaism and the limitations of rabbinic authority, and especially the beginnings of serious scholarship on Josephus (with Louis Feldman and the *Concordance*), the following assumptions still dominated the field. (i) Whereas the Pharisees were (thought to be) known from rabbinic literature and the NT, like the Sadducees to a lesser extent, the Essenes, who did not appear in either corpus, must have left some traces *somewhere*. (ii) Correspondingly, when the DSS were discovered, they

had to fit somewhere in the religious landscape of “three sects” described by Josephus. (iii) Judea was dominated by Pharisaic-rabbinic leadership, with a priestly-Sadducean rump. One could not expect to find much sectarian diversity beyond that in Judea. (iv) Josephus, being a Jerusalem priest, was not capable of high-level reflection and writing in Greek, and so must have used sources and ghost-writers for most of his accounts, including the “school” passages (before Black and Smith, thought to come from Nicolaus). (v) Josephus' data could be wrenched from their contexts and used as needed, individually, because those contexts had little meaning or historical value.

Accordingly, when scholars observed that the DSS community rules shared certain features with Josephus' Essenes—an ordered mainly male community, with shared property, long and difficult initiation procedures, communal meals of simple but holy food—, they understandably reasoned that these *must* be those long-mysterious and invisible Essenes. Judea could surely not accommodate two groups that were so similar.

The conditions that favored the Qumran-Essene hypothesis have changed dramatically in the past half-century, however. We now recognize the region's capacity for hosting a wide diversity of schools and sects, other than those mentioned by Josephus (he does not, for example, give the Christians any mention beyond the disputed passage in *Ant.* 18.63-64). Most importantly, the evidence of Josephus and the other writers on the Essenes can no longer be treated piecemeal or as partially understood source vestiges: it must be taken seriously and comprehensively explained by any hypothesis concerning the Essenes. It has become meaningless to speak of “Hellenizations” by an author whose deepest thoughts about his world are so ably expressed, across thirty volumes, in Greek alone. The Qumran-Essene hypothesis, to the extent that it depends upon discarded assumptions, does not have the same explanatory power today. If it is to be argued, it must deal with the evidence as now understood.

For these reasons, the following commentary does not assume that the new covenanters of the DSS were “the real Essenes,” but rather seeks to understand Josephus' narrative elements in their literary and historical contexts.

Three
philosophical
schools. Ant.
18.11

(8.2) 119⁷³² For three forms⁷³³ of philosophy⁷³⁴ are pursued among the Judeans: the members⁷³⁵ of one are Pharisees,⁷³⁶ of another Sadducees,⁷³⁷ and the third [school], who certainly are reputed⁷³⁸ to cultivate seriousness,⁷³⁹ are called* Essenes;⁷⁴⁰ although Judeans

⁷³² The opening sentence of this long digression on the “schools” recalls the famous opening sentence of Caesar’s *Gallie War* (1.1): “Gaul is a whole divided in three parts: of which Belgae inhabit one, Aquitani another, and the third, those who in their own language are called Celtae, in ours Galli (*Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres, quarum unam incolunt Belgae, aliam Aquitani, tertiam qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostra Galli appellantur*).” The resemblance, which extends to such particular features as the separation of the third term from the others, suggests that Josephus intends to evoke an exotic ethnographic atmosphere. At least, he presumably expected an appreciative nod from his Roman audience. This parallel might have some bearing on the question of his knowledge of Latin (see Introduction).

⁷³³ Meaning “that which is seen,” therefore “forms, shapes, figures” or “kinds, classes,” this word (εἶδος) was a favorite of Plato (400+ occurrences) and Aristotle (640+ occurrences), among others. It has solid philosophical credentials, therefore, being used to mean everything from perfect Platonic forms or ideas (*Phaed.* 103e; *Resp.* 596a) to kinds or classes of almost anything (*Pol.* 262e; *Soph.* 235d). Given its proximity to γένος in the same sentence here, it is possible that Josephus intends to exploit Aristotle’s use of the word for a subset of a *genus* (*Rhet.* 1393a)—“species.”

⁷³⁴ Josephus’ descriptions of Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes as “philosophical schools,” here and in *Ant.* 13.171-73; 18.11-22 (also *Life* 10-12, with commentary in BJP 9), have invited much negative comment: he (or his source) is alleged to have dressed up and misrepresented Jewish-Judean phenomena in Greek dress. The classic statement is Moore 1929. Whatever truth there may be in the charge (problem: our knowledge of these groups comes largely from Josephus), we must remember that ancient “philosophy” was much more a way of living—sometimes exclusively concerned with training in virtue, in ways that we more naturally associate with religious or civic-group training (e.g., Scouts or Guides)—than a system of abstract thought (cf. Mason 1999b). This is clear from Josephus’ rough contemporaries, Seneca, Epictetus, Plutarch, and Dio of Prusa (cf. Marcus Aurelius’ *Meditations* and later Boethius’ *Consolation of Philosophy*). Indeed, as Lucian’s *Nigrinus* illustrates (cf. also *Hermotimus*), philosophy was the arena in which one underwent the sort of radical conversion of lifestyle and values that we connect with religion (cf. Nock 1933: 164-86).

Like Josephus, Philo presents the Essenes as exemplary Judean philosophers (*Prob.* 75-91). After calling Moses “the practitioner of a straightforward philosophy” (*Prob.* 43; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 1.18-25), and mentioning a few truly wise men among Greeks, Persians, and Indians (*Prob.* 73-74), he turns to describe at length the *Essaioi* of Judea (*Prob.* 75-91). In the course of that description, he observes that the Essenes leave the logical branch of philosophy to logic-choppers, since it has nothing to do with establishing virtue, and physics to “star-gazers,” since that sort of knowledge is beyond human nature [punning on Greek φύσις]; the Essenes concentrate rather on the ethical component of philosophy, by constant immersion in their traditional laws and mores.

⁷³⁵ Greek αἰρεσιστῆς. This is a good example of Josephus’ tendency to use a word several times in a short space and then drop it (see BJP 9: lii). He uses this word only here and then twice as an alternative for “Essenes” in the following paragraphs (2.124, 141). The word is a noun of personal agency built from the αἵρεσις (“philosophical school”) just used in 2.118 of Judas’ school (see note there). Just as he will call individual Essenes αἰρετιστῆς at 2.124 and 141, he will label the group a αἵρεσις at 2.122, 137, 142. Yet more distinctively in this passage he will label them a τάγμα (“order, legion”: 2.122, 125, 143, 160, 161), in keeping with his emphasis on their tight, military-style discipline, though in 2.164 he will describe Sadducees with the same word.

⁷³⁶ Josephus mentions or discusses Pharisees at *War* 1.571; 2.162-63; 2.411 (i.e., they hardly figure in the *War*); *Ant.* 13.171-73, 288-98, 400-32; 15.3; 17.41-45; 18.12-15; *Life* 10-12, 189-98. Scholarly discussion of the Pharisees—their name, origin, character, beliefs, connection with Josephus, links with militant movements, and place in society—is vast. See Mason 1991, 1994, 1999a (with summaries of earlier work); Saldarini 1988; Grabbe 1992: 2.467-84; Stemberger 1995; Baumgarten 1997.

⁷³⁷ This is the first reference to Sadducees in Josephus. Elsewhere he mentions them rarely and with little discussion: *War* 2.164-65; *Ant.* 13.171-73, 293, 296-98; 18.17-17; 20.199; *Life* 10-12. Scholarship on the Sadducees is not nearly as copious as that on the Pharisees because of more limited sources in Josephus, the NT, and rabbinic literature. See especially Le Moyne 1972, as well as Saldarini 1988, Stemberger 1995, Grabbe (1992: 2.484-91), and Baumgarten 1997.

⁷³⁸ Possibly “imagine themselves to cultivate seri-

by ancestry,⁷⁴¹ they are even more mutually affectionate than the others.⁷⁴² **120** Whereas

*Essene life:
distinctive
structures*

ousness” (δοκεῖ σεμνοτητα ἀσκεῖν). This is one of Josephus’ characteristic constructions: subject + δοκεῖ + infinitive [+ object] (Mason 1991: 106-13). It is an open-ended formulation in two ways: (a) the auxiliary verb can either refer to the subject’s thought (he intended, imagined) or it can be impersonal (he/it seemed, was regarded, reputed); (b) either way, it remains unclear without context whether the reputation or intention was realized. Was the reputation deserved? In the context here, it seems that (a) the Essenes’ reputation is the point (*contra* Whiston: the sect “pretends to a severer discipline”) and (b) Josephus heartily endorses that reputation (δῆ). In speaking of their reputation for cultivating seriousness (σεμνότητα ἀσκεῖν), a virtue closely connected with self-control (see the next sentence, 2.120), Josephus recalls Philo’s remark (in Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 8.11 [380d]) that the Essenes proscribed marriage at the same time that they prescribed “the cultivation of exceptional self-control” (διαφερόντως ἀσκεῖν ἐγκράτειαν).

That the verb δοκεῖ refers to the Essenes’ reputation seems confirmed by the fact that this group (contrast Pharisees and Sadducees) is well known by the Alexandrian Judean Philo (*Prob.* 57-71; *Hypothetica*, in Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 8.11 [esp. 381a]), Josephus’ Roman contemporary Pliny the Elder (*Nat.* 5.73), and Dio of Prusa (in Synesius, *Dio* 3.2). One of Josephus’ main reasons for digressing at such length on the Essenes, then, might be to give the audience what he thought they wanted: more authentic knowledge of this exotic group. Josephus will make them representative of the Judeans as a people.

⁷³⁹ Or “solemnity, dignity, gravity.” (The phrase σεμνότητα ἀσκεῖν is balanced at the end of the passage by the Pharisees’ ὁμόνοιαν ἀσκοῦντες.) Greek σεμνότης corresponds to the peculiarly Roman virtues, anticipated by Sparta, of *dignitas* and *gravitas*. Plutarch’s lives of Greek and Roman rulers feature this term (*Rom.* 13.7; *Num.* 4.2; 8.3, 5; *Sol.* 1.6; 12.1; 15.6; *Publ.* 9.9; *Per.* 5.3; 7.6; 24.5; *Fab. Max.* 10.7; *Cor.* 10.8; *Arist.* 5.2; 6.3; *Cato Maj.* 6.4; *Phil.* 15.9; *Mar.* 17.2; *Lys.* 17.6; *Sull.* 13.4; *Luc.* 6.2; *Ages.* 21.3; *Pomp.* 1.3; 21.3; 42.5; 53.2; *Cato Min.* 5.4; 17.144.1 etc.), as do his tracts on government (*Mor.* [*Sen. resp.*] 788a-b, 789f, 794a-c, [*Praec.*] 801d, 803a, 811b-c, 813c, 820c, 822b, 823e). Romans often portrayed Greeks in contrast to themselves as lightweight and frivolous (cf. Balsdon 1979: 30-58; Plutarch, *Cat. Maj.* 6; Lendon 1997: 42). The same point about Greeks was made by the Spartan kings, who reportedly cultivated a distinctive way of life, characterized by modesty, seriousness (Xenophon, *Lac.* 3.4-5), and impa-

tiency with the frivolous pursuits of others—especially empty rhetoric (Plutarch, *Mor.* [*Apoph. Lac.*] 212f, 215e, 220a)—over against their neighbor states (Xenophon, *Lac.* 1.2; Plutarch, *Lyc.* 21.1; 22.3).

In keeping with such Spartan-Roman ideals, Josephus eulogizes the Judean statesman at the center of the *War*, Ananus (see Introduction), as a “serious and extremely just man” (σεμνὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ δικαιοτάτος; *War* 4.319), and he also credits Vespasian with this virtue—in the eyes of the Roman Senate (7.65)—in contrast to earlier emperors such as Nero. Josephus uses the abstract noun only 8 times, but in highly significant places: in *Apion* 1.225; 2.223 he makes dignity or seriousness the distinctive trait of the Judeans (in contrast to allegedly frivolous Egyptians); in *Ant.* 12.224 the Tobiad Joseph, is credited with such *gravitas*; and unsurprisingly he singles out this virtue as the hallmark of his own public life (*Life* 258). The verb ἀσκέω and its noun ἄσκησις also resonate with Spartan and Roman values of discipline and moral exercise (Plutarch, *Cat. Maj.* 3.3; 4.3), and Josephus uses the word group of both the Essenes (2.150) and the Judeans as a nation: the latter pursue training in character and virtue (*Apion* 2.171, 173, 192, 272).

⁷⁴⁰ Of the 3 schools, Josephus has most to say about the Essenes; the following (2.119-61) is by far his longest and most favorable discussion of any school. They appear elsewhere at *War* 1.78, 213; 2.567; 3.11; 5.145; *Ant.* 13.171-73; 13.298, 311; 15.371-78; 17.346; 18.18-22; *Life* 10-12. On their name and identity, see the note to “*Essaeus* by type” at 2.113. Paradoxically, scholarship on the Essenes is much more copious than for any other school *not* because Josephus has the most to say about them (he was traditionally taken for a Pharisee), but because of the standard identification of the Essenes with the producers of the DSS from Qumran. Books ostensibly about the Essenes, or even Josephus’ Essenes (e.g., M-B [1962]: 1. nn. 35-86; Beall 1988; Vermes and Goodman 1989; Bergmeier 1993; Rajak 1994) explicate Josephus’ descriptions mainly by comparison with the DSS, rather than according to his own narrative and language. For the state of the question, see Stemberger 1995, Grabbe (1992: 2.491-99), and Baumgarten 1997.

⁷⁴¹ See the notes to “type” at 2.113 and to “forms” in this section. Josephus may be playing with this language, since he makes Judas an Essene by γένος at 2.113 and yet now says that Essenes are *Judeans* by γένος. He may also be quickly dispelling any suspicion that the famed Essenes are not in fact Judeans, an impression one might gain from Pliny’s repeated term *gens* for the group (*Nat.* 5.73); he emphasizes that they are admirable

these men shun the pleasures⁷⁴³ as vice,⁷⁴⁴ they consider self-control⁷⁴⁵ and not succumbing to the passions⁷⁴⁶ virtue.⁷⁴⁷ And although there is among them a disdain⁷⁴⁸ for marriage,⁷⁴⁹

specimens of his own countrymen. Grammatically, this notice also prepares for the coming statement about their great mutual affection.

⁷⁴² Cf. *War* 2.166, the conclusion of the passage (creating an *inclusio*), where Josephus contrasts Pharisees—who are mutually affectionate and cultivate harmony in the general assembly (φιλάλληλοι as here), with Sadducees, who are extremely rude even to each another. His concern for collegial relations continues in the descriptions at *Ant.* 18.12 (of Pharisees).

⁷⁴³ The Greek word ἡδονή normally (though not always) indicates physical or sensual pleasure (see LSJ), as the context here—avoiding marriage—also suggests. The biblical figure of Cain becomes in Josephus’ hands the paradigm of vice (κακία) expressed through the pursuit of physical pleasure (ἡδονή . . . τῷ σώματι, *Ant.* 1.60). For pursuit of the pleasures (ἡδονάς) as vice (κακία), see Thucydides 3.58.1-2; Plutarch, *Mor.* 545e, 555e; Diogenes Laertius 7.104. For Aristotle (*Eth. eud.* 1222b, 1227b etc.) it is not pleasures *per se*, but an excess of pleasure (or sorrow) that is bad. The closest parallel to Josephus’ “shun the pleasures” appears to be in Philo (*Sacr.* 45): “When it has heard these things, the mind *shuns pleasure* [singular without article] and clings to virtue.” Shunning pleasure, the reverse of normal human behavior, was the Leitmotif of Spartan training: the laws of Lycurgus were said to instill “contempt for the pleasures” (Plutarch, *Mor.* [*Apoph. Lac.*] 210a). Galen (*Plac. hipp. Plat.* 5.5.3, 16) observes the normal human tendency when he describes children naturally pursuing “the pleasures” and shunning or fleeing work.

⁷⁴⁴ Or “cowardice.” See the note to “virtue” in this section.

⁷⁴⁵ The Essenes’ disciplined restraint—Greek ἐγκράτεια, one of the most frequently discussed virtues in relation to all emotions (cf. Seneca, *On Anger*; Plutarch on *Control of Anger, Tranquillity of Mind*)—contrasts here with the utter lack of control over the passions exhibited by Archelaus in the preceding paragraphs (2.115). Plato can speak of “containment of the pleasures” (ἐγκράτεια ἡδονῶν, *Resp.* 390b; cf. Aristotle, *Eth. nic.* 1149a), though the noun often appears alone in the absolute sense of “self-control,” as in Josephus here (Aristotle, *Eth. nic.* 1145b). For Josephus’ model Polybius, self-control was the distinguishing feature of the aristocrat, who acquired it through culture or education (παιδεία); it was this quality that enabled him to be a leader, over against the impulsive masses, soldiers, and barbarians (Eckstein 1995: 77, 118-93, 248). On the crucial importance of self-mastery in the Roman hierarchy of aristocratic values, see Earl 1967: 1-43; Lendon 1997:

41-42, 91; Plutarch, *Cato Maj.* e.g., 1-9; *Mor.* 198d-f. See further 2.138, where ἐγκράτεια appears as what all Essene novices must prove before they advance to the second stage.

⁷⁴⁶ This phrase is an articular infinitive: “the not-collapsing-before-[the-assault-of-the]-passions.” The language of “falling” or “cringing before” (ὑποπίπτω) the passions, as if submitting to a conquering enemy, evokes an ongoing moral contest; for the military use of the verb see *War* 5.329, 365, 382; 7.371. Cf. Philo’s repeated description of the Essenes as “athletes of virtue” (in Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 8.11 [379d]; *Prob.* 38, 88). Slaves to passion in *War* have included Marc Antony (re: Cleopatra, 1. 243, 359), Herod the Great (re: Mariamme, 1.436, 440, 441, 442, 444, 484), Pheroras (re: a slave-girl, 1.484, 506), and Archelaus (re: Glaphyra, 2.115). Mastery of the passions or emotions (πάθη), a primary virtue of both philosophy and Roman elite culture (Plutarch, *Cat. Maj.* 2.3; 3.6; 4.2; 11.3), was the subject of discussion also among Jewish-Judean writers, for example in 4 Maccabees (1:1) and Philo’s *Every Good Man is Free*.

⁷⁴⁷ The contrasting pair “virtue and vice” (ἀρετή καὶ κακία), very common in Greek ethical discussions (e.g., Aristotle’s *Eudemian* and *Nicomachean Ethics*, also his *Virtues and Vices*), also represents one of Josephus’ favorite themes. He mentions “virtue” (ἀρετή) some 116 times in his paraphrase of the Bible, whereas the canonical LXX has it only 8 times. For the pair, see *War* 2.156 (of Essenes), 585; 4.387; *Ant.* 1.72; 4.325; 6.93; 8.252; 17.101, 246; 18.13-14 (of Pharisees); 19.16; *Apion* 2.145. For Roman conceptions of virtue and vice (*virtus, vitiositas/malitia*), and their relation to the Greek terms, see M. Roller 2001: 22-26.

⁷⁴⁸ Josephus uses ὑπεροψία only here and at 3.320 (of the Judeans’ indifference to suffering in war, admired by Vespasian).

⁷⁴⁹ The exotic ethnographic character of this passage comes to light through a comparison with Strabo 7.3.3: he describes the Mysoi, who on account of their piety eat no living creatures (existing on milk, honey, and cheese, and who thus deserve the name “God-fearers”), and then the “Founders” among the Thracians, who live without women—*so devoted are they to living honorably and without fear*. Cf. *Ant.* 18.22, where Josephus possibly (i.e., depending upon the Greek text) compares the Essenes with these (there “Dacian”) “Founders.” Sexual restraint was a subset of the general ideal of self-control for much of the Roman elite, and frequent sexual activity was sometimes thought to diminish the vital energy

adopting⁷⁵⁰ the children of outsiders⁷⁵¹ while they are still malleable⁷⁵² enough for the lessons⁷⁵³ they regard them as family and instill in them their principles of character.⁷⁵⁴
121 without doing away with marriage⁷⁵⁵ or the succession resulting from it,⁷⁵⁶ they never-

(*pneuma*) that defined masculinity (Gleason 1999: 73, 76). For the manliest of occupations, membership in the legions, singleness was required, and when Philo wrote that Essenes forego marriage so as to avoid distraction (*Apol.* 14-17; cf. Paul, 1 Cor. 7.32-35), he was using a familiar logic for legionary singleness (Herodian 3.8.5). The inclination of Roman aristocratic males to avoid marriage and children was a growing problem, which Augustus had enacted laws to check (Dio 56.1-2; Parkin 1992: 119-21).

Next to the absence of private ownership, the celibacy of the Essenes is the point made most emphatically by all writers who mention them, from Pliny's description ("without any women [*sine ulla femina*] and renouncing all sexual desire," *Nat.* 5.73) to Philo (as cited by Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 8.11 [380d-81a]), who has them banning marriage as the chief obstacle to communal relations: "None of the *Essaioi* takes a woman" [Ἐσσαίων γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀγεται γυναῖκα]. In the parallel at *Ant.* 18.21, Josephus himself is equally emphatic: "they do not take in [or bring into the community] wives." All of this serves to isolate Josephus' surprising description at the end of this passage, of "a different order of Essenes" who *do* marry (2.160-61); see the notes there. It appears that both Jesus and Paul advocated celibacy (Matt 19:10-12; 1 Cor 7:7-8, 32-35; 9:5-6), as did perhaps such teachers as John the Baptist and Bannus. Outside of *IQS* (which says nothing explicit on the matter), however, the DSS appear to assume that community members marry and raise children (*IQSa* 1.4; *CD* 7.6-7; *IQM* 7.4-5; *11QT* 45.11-12), and a few skeletons of women and children have been found in the cemetery at Qumran (Vermes 1995: 9; Magness 2002: 163-87—she suggests that only 3 are certainly female).

⁷⁵⁰ Although Greek ἐκλαμβάνω ("receive from, select, take away or out, carry off") offers a variety of senses, including the forcible removal (if βίβη is added) of one's children (Isocrates, *Pan.* 2.194), the congenial context here suggests a mutually agreeable arrangement with the parents. But see the following note.

⁷⁵¹ So also Hippolytus, *Haer.* 9.18. The monastic practice of adopting others' children in order to maintain the school's complement does not appear in the parallel (*Ant.* 18.21-22), in spite of its even stronger emphasis on Essene celibacy. Pliny (*Nat.* 5.73; see Excursus) says rather that the group is continually replenished through the arrival of crowds "tired of life and the vicissitudes of fortune"—evidently, adults. That accords with Philo (in Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 8.11 [379b]), who emphasizes that

there are *no* children, adolescents, or even young men among the Essenes, but only men nearing old age, volunteers who are there by choice. In *Prob.* 76, Philo claims that Essenes have fled the evils of the cities to live in village communities, again implying adult novices. Most remarkably, Josephus himself describes a 3-year admission process at 2.137-42, which tests one's character and self-control, which culminates in the awesome oaths of initiation, and which would seem absurd if required of children. It is difficult, therefore, to reconcile this claim about adoption with other evidence—unless perhaps one should imagine that Essenes ran schools, orphanages, or other associations that would begin to prepare children for *later* entry into the group as adults.

⁷⁵² Or "yielding, delicate, soft." Though widely attested in classical Greek, this adjective (ἀπαλός) occurs only here in Josephus.

⁷⁵³ In Josephus, lessons indicated by this word (μαθήματα) are always predicated of children; the word occurs elsewhere only at *Ant.* 4.211; 16.6.

⁷⁵⁴ "Principles of character" renders the Greek plural of ἦθος. See the note to "philosophy" in 2.119 above, and to "character" at *Life* 430 in BJP 9. The testing of character will be the crucial criterion for admission to the order (2.138).

⁷⁵⁵ The point seems to be that the Essenes do not call for the end of marriage *tout court*—the verb here, ἀναίρέω, is commonly used by Josephus in military contexts for "getting rid of"—or denounce the institution in general, for that would mean the end of humanity; it is only that Essenes keep themselves away from it. See the note to "marriage" at 2.120. Even still, this passage does not prepare us for the marrying Essenes of 2.160-61.

⁷⁵⁶ This comment on succession (ἡ διαδοχή) creates a bond with the preceding narrative, which has been devoted to the Herodian succession crisis, beginning in Herod's lifetime with numerous wills and continued through the rivalry among his sons—a debacle that Josephus has chosen to feature. It is unclear whether the succession in question here is that of humanity (cf. the 2nd-cent. CE medical writer Soranus, *Gyn.* 3.24.1, on marriage and human succession) or only of the Essene order; excluded, at any rate, is any craving for personal succession, in sharp contrast to the worries of the politically powerful. Curiously, the "different order of Essenes" described in 2.160-61 holds this succession (also ἡ διαδοχή—supporting the symmetry) in such high regard—as "the greatest function of life," without which the race or order (γένος: see notes to "type" at 2.113

theless protect themselves from the wanton ways of women,⁷⁵⁷ having been persuaded that none of them preserves her faithfulness to one man.⁷⁵⁸

(8.3) 122 Since [they are] despisers of wealth⁷⁵⁹—their communal stock⁷⁶⁰ is astonish-

and “ancestry” at 2.119) would die out—that they are willing to suffer the deed themselves. Since this main body of Essenes has already dealt with the problem of succession, by adoption, one must imagine either that there was a dispute about the sufficiency of the adopted newcomers’ numbers (*contra* Pliny, *Nat.* 5.73), or about their suitability, or about one’s personal obligation to perpetuate the human race (cf. Gen 1.28); it is also possible Josephus has invented marrying Essenes. See the notes to that passage.

⁷⁵⁷ This phrase (ἀσελγείαι γυναικῶν) is characteristic: Josephus uses it of the *femmes fatales* Jezebel (*Ant.* 8.318), Cleopatra (*Ant.* 15.98), and Herod’s wife Mariamme (*War* 1.439), also of transvestite Galilean Zealots in Jerusalem during the war, who “used to imitate women’s passions and dream up forbidden desires on account of the excess of their wantonness” (*War* 4.562). Cf. also Philo, *Vit. Mos.* 1.305; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 2.56. This conjunction of words is not common in Greek literature before Josephus, where wantonness is sometimes attributed to *men* in relation to women and drink (Polybius 10.38.2; 25.3.7); it does turn up in the fragmentary 1st-century BCE astrological writings of Timaeus Praxidas (*Frag.* 1.99), Antiochus (*Frag.* 7.113, 115 [*Monac.* 7]), and Dorotheus (*Frag.* 343); similarly the 2nd-cent. CE astrologer Vettius Valens (*Anthol.* 2.4, 17, 37, 41 [Pinegree]).

⁷⁵⁸ Greek μηδεμίαν . . . τὴν πρὸς ἕνα πίστιν. In the preceding story of Glaphyra’s dream (2.114-16), Josephus has illustrated his claim about women’s fickleness with the dead Alexander’s tirade against his widow. In *Ant.* 17.352 that charge is formulated universally: “Glaphyra, you certainly prove correct the customary saying, ‘women are faithless’ [ἄπιστα].” According to *Ant.* 4.219, Moses rejected evidence from women because of their silliness and brazenness; cf. 13.430-31; *Apion* 2.201. For the portrait(s) of women in Polybius, one of Josephus’ main literary influences, see Eckstein 1995: 150-60. On women in Josephus, see among others Mayer-Schärtel 1995; Ilan 1999: 85-125; Matthews 2001; Grünfelder 2003. For women as faithless (ἄπιστα) see Euripides, *Iph. taur.* 1298; Menander, *Frag.* 801 [Kock] (“the nature of woman is faithless”); Plutarch, *Lyc.* 15.9; *Mor.* [*Apoph. Lac.*] 228b.

Although Essene sources agree on the group’s celibacy, they offer various reasons for it. Josephus will later say (*Ant.* 18.21) that taking in wives introduces a source of dissension (στάσις), which might have many interpretations: male competition for women’s attention, or strife and distraction within a marriage. Philo (in

Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 8.11 [380d-81a]) dwells at length on women’s putative shortcomings (they are selfish, jealous, manipulative and, after giving birth, arrogant and violent). A woman’s ability to distract a man, also discussed by Philo here, figures in Paul’s preference for celibacy (1 Cor 7:32-35) and in the logic for singleness in the Roman legions (Herodian 3.8.5). At any rate, such disparaging remarks about women and their influence were common in Roman circles (e.g., Plutarch, *Mor.* [*Reg. apoph.*] 198d-f; *Cat. Maj.* 1-9). Sexual restraint was a rhetorical ideal of the Roman elite male (Gleason 1999: 73, 76).

⁷⁵⁹ Josephus uses “despiser” (καταφρονητής) only 3 times: again of the Essenes (2.151) and once of the early Saul’s example as a “despiser of terrors” (*Ant.* 6.347). This *nomen agentis* form of the verb καταφρονέω is attested very rarely before his time (LXX Hab. 1:5; 2:5; Soph. 3:4; Philo, *Legat.* 322), though his contemporaries Epictetus (*Diatr.* 4.7.33) and Plutarch (*Brut.* 12.2; *Mor.* [*Virt. sent.*] 84a, 1044a) begin to use it. Although the term often indicates negative character traits (e.g., despisers of the laws and justice in Epictetus, *Diatr.* 4.7.33; LXX Hab. 1:5), Josephus and Plutarch use it ironically—of despising the things ordinarily most desired (wealth) or feared (suffering); cf. 2.151 (a symmetrical parallel): the Essenes despise the terrors associated with death. On all this compare the legendary Spartans, whose lawgiver Lycurgus had banished wealth and poverty: he made all the land one and persuaded the citizens to live on the basis of equality, surpassing each other only in virtue (Plutarch, *Lyc.* 8.1-2). Traditional Roman detestation of *luxuria* is comprehensively reviewed by Weeber 2003; cf. Dalby 2000.

⁷⁶⁰ Greek θαυμάσιον αὐτοῖς τὸ κοινωτικόν. Josephus elaborates on their community of goods at 2.127. It is unclear whether he means here only that the fact of their sharing is amazing, or that the resulting size of their communal wealth impresses outsiders. This is the sole occurrence in Josephus of the adjective κοινωτικός, though fellowship or common life (κοινωνία) is a major Josephan theme. In part, it is the opposite of the hatred for humanity (μισανθρωπία) with which Judeans have often been charged, especially after the war with Rome. He protests that the Judean laws are designed to produce κοινωνία (*Apion* 2.146, 151, 208): “we were born for κοινωνία, and he who sets its claims above his private interests is particularly favored by God” (*Apion* 2.196). When Greek philosophers taught “simplicity of life and fellowship with one another,” they were only imitating Moses (*Apion* 2.281). Even more pointedly (*Apion*

ing⁷⁶¹—, one cannot find a person among them who has more in terms of possessions.⁷⁶² For by a law,⁷⁶³ those coming into the school⁷⁶⁴ must yield up⁷⁶⁵ their funds⁷⁶⁶ to the order,⁷⁶⁷ with the result that in all [their ranks] neither the humiliation of poverty⁷⁶⁸ nor the superiority of wealth⁷⁶⁹ is detectable, but the assets of each one have been mixed in together, as if they were brothers,⁷⁷⁰ to create one fund⁷⁷¹ for all.

123 They consider olive oil⁷⁷² a stain,⁷⁷³ and should anyone be accidentally smeared⁷⁷⁴

2.291), the Judean laws “appeal *not for misanthropy* but rather for the *communal sharing of goods*” (οὐδ’ ἐπὶ μισανθρωπίαν, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων κοινωσίαν παρακαλοῦντες). The Essenes, then, only display a more obvious commitment to the virtues that characterize the nation as a whole.

⁷⁶¹ This editorial interjection of “astonishing” (θαυμάσιος) is typical of Josephus: *War* 4.478; 5.174; *Ant.* 2.198, 265.

⁷⁶² Community of goods is the Essene trait most fully and frequently discussed in all Essene texts. Josephus will later say that “goods are common among them” (*Ant.* 18.20); Pliny remarks that they have no money (*Nat.* 5.73); Philo says that they are almost unique among humankind in living without goods and property (*Prob.* 77), and describes their practice in detail (in Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 8.11 [379c-d]). Namely: they combine their possessions, forswearing anything that produces wealth; they receive income from trades, but hand it over to a steward for redistribution; they share not only the same food but also clothes, each being able to take whatever he needs from the common collection.

Such community of goods was one of the most fundamental utopian and philosophical ideals, often associated with primitive, uncorrupted humanity (Ferguson 1975: 19-20). It characterized Pythagoras’ *mathematikoi*, Plato’s ideal state (*Leg.* 745c); the republic of the Stoic Chrysippus (Plutarch, *Mor.* [*Stoic. rep.*] 1044b-d; Cicero, *Fin.* 3.20.67; Ferguson 1975: 119), Philo’s *therapeutae* (*Contempl.* 18), the early Christians of Acts (2:44-45; 4:34-37), the men of the Alexandrian Museum (Strabo 17.1.8), and the group behind the *Community Rule* of Qumran (*IQS* 1.11-13; 6.19-23; contrast *CD* 14.12-16). On this point, again, the Essenes embody Josephus’ ideal for all Judeans (*Apion* 2.281). See also the note to “communal stock” in this section.

⁷⁶³ Or “convention, rule” (νόμος).

⁷⁶⁴ See the notes to “school” at 2.118 and “adherent” at 2.119.

⁷⁶⁵ Greek δημεύω, “make or declare public,” which Josephus uses only here and at 3.435 (of the mourning that “became widespread” at the premature news of his own death).

⁷⁶⁶ Greek οὐσία: “substance.” Cf. colloquial English “stuff” or perhaps “worth.”

⁷⁶⁷ Or “corps.” This (τάγμα) is one of several terms Josephus uses as an alternative to “school” (ἀγρεσις)—

see the notes to “school” at 2.118 and “adherents” at 2.119—in this passage (also 2.125, 143, 160, 161). As the standard equivalent of the Latin *legio* (legion), the word seems particularly appropriate for the highly disciplined, all male, eminently courageous corps of Essenes; Josephus also uses it of the Sadducees at 2.164.

⁷⁶⁸ For poverty (πενία) as humiliation (ταπεινότης), see also Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 6.54.1; 10.19.1; Josephus, *Ant.* 7.84.

⁷⁶⁹ *Ant.* 9.3 has a similar phrase, ὑπεροχὴ διὰ πλοῦτον. Here it is ὑπεροχὴ πλούτου.

⁷⁷⁰ The Spartan lawgiver Lycurgus, after dividing up all the land and banishing gold and silver along with every kind of inequality, is said to have declared “All Laconia looks like a family estate newly divided up among many brothers” (Plutarch, *Lyc.* 8.4; cf. *Mor.* [*Apoph. Lac.*] 226b-c).

⁷⁷¹ See the note to “funds” earlier in this section.

⁷⁷² Olive oil (τὸ ἔλαιον) was an extremely important commodity throughout the Mediterranean world. In addition to its use in food—providing as much as a third of the average person’s caloric intake (Tyree and Stefanoudaki 1996: 171)—it served for lighting, fuel, hygienic and cosmetic products, and medicines. Greeks and Romans customarily washed by smearing themselves with oil, rubbing it in, and then scraping it off (along with any grime) with an implement known as a strigil, in the Greek gymnasium or Roman baths. Large rotary olive presses and squeezing centers continue to be found even in small Galilean towns and remote areas (Hestrin and Yeivin 1977; Goodman 1990: 227). Since in conventional life olive oil seemed indispensable (Garnsey 1999: 12-14; Tyree and Stefanoudaki 1996), Josephus’ claim that the Essenes avoided it and bathed only in cold water (*War* 2.129) would make them quite remarkable ascetics: see the note to “dry” in this section.

⁷⁷³ This avoidance of contact with oil (on the skin—there is no exclusion for food and fuel) is mentioned only by Josephus, of the ancient authors who describe the Essenes. Their preference for cold-water baths (2.129) indicates extreme simplicity and toughness. For the same language, that olive-oil leaves a “stain,” see Plutarch, *Mor.* [*Quaest. conv.*] 696d: physical stains from olive-oil [ἐλαίου κηλῖδας] endure and cannot be easily removed from clothes. Josephus applies such practical knowledge about this property of oil, perhaps playfully, to *skin*.

For a possible connection with the DSS (*CD* 12.15-17),

with it he scrubs⁷⁷⁵ his body, for they make it a point of honor to⁷⁷⁶ remain hard and dry,⁷⁷⁷ and to wear white always.⁷⁷⁸

Hand-elected⁷⁷⁹ are the curators of the communal affairs,⁷⁸⁰ and indivisible⁷⁸¹ are they,

depending upon whether one reads $\eta\omega\psi$ ["oil, fat"] or $\eta\omega$ ["his name"], see J. Baumgarten 1967-69: 183 and Beall 1988: 45, 142 n. 56. Contrast the readings in Vermes 1995: 111 ("All wood and stones and dust defiled by the impurity of a man shall be reckoned like men with regard to conveying defilement") and García Martínez 1996: 43 ("And all the wood and the stones and the dust which are defiled by man's impurity, by defilement of oil in them . . ."). Whereas Baumgarten and Beall argue that the issue for the Qumraners (whom they equate with Essenes) involves the capacity of oil to conduct impurity, Josephus plainly makes their concern a preference for hard, dry skin—much as the Spartans were reported to favor—and the question is not oil considered impure (on which cf. *Life* 74 with notes in BJP 9), but olive oil in general. See the following note and the one to "dry" in this section; for the purity of oil.

⁷⁷⁴ Or "anointed" ($\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\iota\phi\theta\eta\ \tau\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\kappa\omega\nu$). All 3 occurrences of $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\iota\phi\omega$ in Josephus (also 5.565; *Ant.* 6.165) occur in conjunction with the cognate noun $\tau\omicron\ \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$ as here. The other reference in *War*, a nearly symmetrical counterpart at the end of bk. 5 (5.565), concerns the reprehensible behavior attributed to John of Gischala, whose men deliberately smeared themselves with olive oil from the temple stores as they consumed the sacrificial wine; Josephus immediately cites the coming divine punishment (5.566). The possibility here that one might be *accidentally* smeared implies that the Essenes handled wine for other purposes (cooking, fuel, light); they only refrained from the effeminate-seeming practice of washing and anointing themselves with it. This appears to confirm that the issue was not purity, which would have implications for cooking and eating and not simply for skin.

⁷⁷⁵ The verb $\sigma\mu\acute{\iota}\chi\omega$ (here middle voice) occurs only here in Josephus. Before his time it is rarely attested (e.g., cf. Homer, *Od.* 6.226; Strabo 3.4.16; 17.3.7), mainly—as later—in medical texts (Hippocrates, *Mul. aff.* 75.13, 17; 190; *Diaet. morb.* 18.8; dozens of times in the *Materia Medica* of the 1st-century CE Dioscurides Pedianus; Cyranides 4.60, 69; cf. Plutarch, *Mor. [Quaest. conv.]* 627e).

⁷⁷⁶ Or "consider it beautiful, fine [ironically], good" ($\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\ \tau\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha\iota$)—a phrase attested sparsely before Josephus (cf. Polybius 6.56.3; cf. 1.81.9; Strabo 4.5.4; 11.13.11; later Appian, *Bell. civ.* 1.12.103), which he employs also at *Ant.* 19.299. He uses the same expression at 2.146, symmetrically, of Essene deference to elders.

⁷⁷⁷ Greek $\tau\omicron\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\chi\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\ \tau\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha\iota$. The stative verb $\acute{\alpha}\nu\chi\mu\epsilon\acute{\omega}$ normally has negative connotations

("be unwashed, squalid, parched, hard and dry")—indicating a condition to be avoided or relieved through rain or washing, as in its other appearances in Josephus: *War* 4.457; *Ant.* 7.297 (cf. Plato, *Resp.* 606d; Diogenes Laertius 8.59; 9.3; Plutarch, *Num.* 13.6-7; *Ages.* 30.3; *Mor. [Reg. apoph.]* 193a, 365d). For the metaphorical use of this word group, for the simple and austere philosophical lifestyle, which this passage matches, see Diogenes Laertius 4.19.

In view of the many parallels between Josephus' Essenes and the Spartan legend (see Excursus), it is noteworthy that the Spartans too were remembered for considering their dry—unwashed—skin (same root: $\acute{\alpha}\nu\chi\mu\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\ \tau\grave{\alpha}\ \sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$) a mark of toughness (Plutarch, *Lyc.* 16.6; *Mor. [Apoph. Lac.]* 237b), matching Josephus' language here. Both groups thus reject conventional standards take it as honorable (or "beautiful") to *avoid* what most others consider essential—in appearance as in property, wealth, and lifestyle.

On the opposite end of the moral spectrum, in Josephus' narrative it is men who have no shred of self-control who *indulge* the use of oil: at *War* 5.565-66, John of Gischala impiously distributes the temple supplies of oil and wine to his men, who anoint themselves and drink heartily. This same group, Josephus claims earlier (4.561-62), went so far as to adopt women's ways: plaiting their hair, wearing women's clothes (in spite of *Ant.* 4.301), drenching themselves in perfume, applying make-up, giving in to "the passions of women" ($\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta\ \gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\omega\nu$), and indulging a "surfeit of wantonness" ($\acute{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho\beta\omicron\lambda\eta\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\lambda\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$). For Roman resonances, compare Tacitus' disdain for Nero's distribution of oil to the equestrian and senatorial orders at his dedication of a gymnasium: "a Greek predilection (*Graeca facilitate*)" (*Ann.* 14.47). The Essenes' discipline in physical appearance thus reflects their moral perspicuity as surely as the rebels' degeneracy produces a disgraceful demeanor.

⁷⁷⁸ According to 2.137, the novice Essene is presented with white clothes at the point of probationary acceptance, 3 years before full membership. White was widely recognized in the ancient Mediterranean world as the color of purity, of the Gods' clothing, of temple service, and to some extent of celebration: see Croom 2000: 28; Sebesta 2001: 48, and the note to "white garment" at *War* 2.1. The verb $\lambda\epsilon\nu\chi\epsilon\iota\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ occurs only here in Josephus. Other authors use it in similarly lofty, sublime contexts: Strabo 7.2.3; Philo, *Contempl.* 66 [of the Therapeutae]; *Cher.* 95; Herodian 8.7.2; Dio 63.4.2; 74.1.4.

⁷⁷⁹ The adjective $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\tau\omicron\nu\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ occurs only here in Josephus (cf. $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\tau\omicron\nu\omicron\upsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ at *Ant.* 18.22) and is rare elsewhere. The main alternative to being "elected

each and every one, [in pursuing] their functions to the advantage of all.⁷⁸²

(8.4) 124 No one city is theirs, but they settle⁷⁸³ amply in each.⁷⁸⁴ And for those school-

by show of hands” was to be lot-elected (κληρωτός: Aeschines, *Tim.* 21; *Ctes.* 14, 25, 29; Aristotle, *Ath. pol.* 55.2), as were early Christian leaders according to Acts 1:26. Election by hand thus implied the conscious preference of one’s peers, in contrast to both the choice of fate (Aristotle, *Ath. pol.* 54.3; Lucian, *Nav.* 29; Plutarch, *Flam.* 16.6) and leadership by assumed or inherited class, caste, or clique.

It is unclear how this system of elected officials (see also next note) relates to the 4-phase seniority system (“according to the duration of their training”) indicated at the symmetrical counterpart, 2.150. Did senior members (there) take direction from elected curators or managers (here) of lesser seniority? The problem is resolvable if Josephus describes here the practices of full members only—a status achieved only in the fourth year of association (2.138)—and if the 4 grades of 2.150, according to time in the order, refer to members in various phases of initiation. At *Ant.* 18.22 the text seems to imply that both the community’s financial administrators and *its priests*—whose tasks appear confined to food preparation—are elected. See the next note.

⁷⁸⁰ A phrase very close to this one (οἱ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμεληταί) is in Diodorus (34/35.2.19): οἱ καθ’ ἕκαστον ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν κοινῶν. The word ἐπιμελητής is used often by Plato for the various kinds of official needed in his ideal state, alongside the Guardians of the laws (νομοφύλακες, *Leg.* 640d, 755d, 758e, 760e, 764c, 765d, 766b, 772a, 801d, 813c, 847c, 848e, 929d, 951e; *Resp.* 424b), also by Xenophon of certain officials appointed by Cyrus (*Cyr.* 8.1.9). Of all possible forms of leadership, that by such curators, guardians, or “care-givers” is a token of communities who are thus free from the despotism of kings and tyrants (cf. Philo, *Prob.* 45). In *War* 2.129 the Essene curators (ἐπιμεληταί) are responsible for assigning tasks and maintaining the daily schedule; at 2.134 Josephus claims that without orders from these curators (μὴ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν προσταξάντων) the Essenes will do nothing except render help and offer pity. In that same passage, with his typical concern to vary his diction, he uses the word ἐπίτροποι (“managers, those entrusted”—also his usual term for Judean procurators in the *War*; cf. the note at 2.117) for the same men. See the previous note for the relation between these officials and the seniority-based grades of 2.150.

In sharp contrast to the DSS, which feature (a) an individual community leader known as the מְבַרֵךְ (“guardian”: *IQS* 6.12, 20; *CD* 9.18-22; 13.11, 16; 15.8-14) or פְּקִיד (“official”: *IQS* 6.14; *CD* 14.6; cf. Beall 1988: 46-47) as well as (b) group-rankings based on caste (priests, Levites, and others, possibly Israelites and pros-

elytes, *CD* 14.3-6; cf. Beall 1988: 99-100), Josephus describes among his Essenes only these elected officials, and only in the plural (here and at 2.129, 134), along with the 4 grades determined *according to time in the order* (at 2.150)—not according to caste. He mentions priests, remarkably given his own proud membership in the priesthood, only in connection with blessings over food in this passage (*War* 2.131) and more generally in connection with food preparation at *Ant.* 18.22. Priests do not figure in any hierarchical structure among Josephus’ Essenes.

⁷⁸¹ This word (ἁδιαίρετος in plural) occurs only here in Josephus. It has strong philosophical and mystical connotations: Aristotle uses it hundreds of times, Philo dozens. This atmosphere of complete harmony, albeit without the use of this word, is matched by Josephus’ presentation of Judean culture as a whole in *Apion* 2.170, 179, 294.

⁷⁸² Or “assigned by all” (πρὸς ἀπάντων): for the syntax cf. Smyth § 1695. This rather poetic sentence, featuring two strong words unique in Josephus’ lexicon, lacks an explicit verb to clarify the meaning. This contributes to an air of solemnity.

⁷⁸³ Josephus’ choice of verb (μετοικέω) suggests “settling alongside” as aliens or foreigners (cf. “metics” in Greek cities), thus not belonging in the same way as native or ordinary citizens. This makes sense in view of their highly regimented communities attached to these cities.

⁷⁸⁴ Compare Philo (in Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 8.11. [379a]): “They live in many cities of Judea, and also in many villages and large, populous groups.” In *Prob.* 76, by contrast, Philo says that the Essenes flee the *cities* because of their wickedness, preferring village life, agriculture, and crafts. According to *Ant.* 18.19, agriculture is the Essenes’ sole occupation, which would also support locations outside away from cities in the proper sense. Nevertheless, in Josephus’ narratives individual Essenes appear only in the Jerusalem area: *War* 1.78 (cf. *Ant.* 13.311); 2.113, 567 (a member of the order? Cf. 3.11); 5.1145; *Ant.* 15.371-78.

In spite of Josephus’ distinction between cities and villages in some cases (e.g., *Life* 188), he can also use the word “city” (πόλις) very loosely: at *Life* 123, Gabara in Galilee is a large city, at 229 a mere village. Similarly, such small towns as Gischala (*War* 4.2, 92), Iotapata (*War* 3.111-12, 289 [also Iapha]; *Life* 332, though a village at *Life* 188), and Gamala (*War* 2.568; 4.2, 12; *Ant.* 18.4) are called cities in some places; at *Life* 235 Josephus claims that Galilee alone held 204 “cities and villages.” The main point here seems to be not that the Essenes

members⁷⁸⁵ who arrive from elsewhere, all that the community has is laid out for them in the same way as if they were their own things, and they go in and stay with those they have never even seen before as if they were the most intimate friends.⁷⁸⁶ **125** For this reason they make trips without carrying any baggage at all—though armed⁷⁸⁷ on account of the bandits.⁷⁸⁸ In each city a steward⁷⁸⁹ of the order appointed specially for the visitors is designated quartermaster⁷⁹⁰ for clothing and the other amenities.

126 Dress⁷⁹¹ and also deportment of body: like children being educated with fear.⁷⁹² They replace neither clothes nor footwear until the old set is ripped all over or worn

live in *cities*, in contrast to other kinds of settlement, but only that they have no single center, with established communities in many places. This point serves Josephus' aim (see Excursus) of presenting the group as typical of widespread Judean values; they are not a small and obscure group of philosophical heroes. It is developed in the following sentences, according to which the Essenes configure their communities in the expectation of constant travel and visitors.

This distribution of Essenes throughout Judea, without a center, stands in some tension with Pliny's location of *Esseni* to the W of the Dead Sea (*Nat.* 5.73; cf. Excursus), though Pliny does not necessarily locate all or most Essenes there (NB: Latin lacks the definite article)—and in any case he may be mistaken as he is about much Judean geography (see Excursus on Essenes). The plain statements of Philo and Josephus, apparently independent in this respect, also pose a problem for the classic version of the Qumran-Essene hypothesis, which made Khirbet Qumran the Essene base, though some advocates of the hypothesis have dramatically revised this claim (e.g. Stegemann 1992: 161).

⁷⁸⁵ See the note to "members" at 2.119.

⁷⁸⁶ Cf. Mark 6:10-11; Matt 10:10-11; Luke 9:3-5; 10:3-7, where Jesus similarly instructs his followers to travel without food, money, or extra clothing, and to find accommodation and food in strangers' homes.

⁷⁸⁷ Diogenes the Cynic, paradigm of the simplest possible life, reportedly carried a staff in his travels during later life (Diogenes Laertius 6.23)—and put it to effective use (6.32). According to Mark 6:8, a staff was the only accessory that Jesus permitted his followers when they traveled, though Matt 10:10 and Luke 9:3 forbid even this.

⁷⁸⁸ Although the term "bandit" (ληστής) is often used by Josephus in rhetorical ways to attack political enemies (see notes to "chief bandit" at 2.56 and to "banditry" at 2.142), mundane banditry was also a standard feature of the 1st-century Judean landscape; note the situation assumed by Josephus' parable of the good Samaritan (Luke 10:30) and cf. Isaac 1984; Shaw 1984; Grünwald 1999.

⁷⁸⁹ See the note at 2.14.

⁷⁹⁰ Or "controller" (= Latin *quaestor*): Greek ταμείων. This is the only occurrence of the present par-

ticiple, which functions here as an official function, in Josephus. Cf. Demosthenes, *Mid.* 174; *Tim.* 15; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 10.44; esp. Plutarch, *Luc.* 37.1; *Tib. Gai. Gracc.* 23.9; *Cic.* 1.6; 17.2; *Mor.* [*Praec.*] 806d; note the cognate ταμίαι in Eusebius' preervation of Philo (*Praep. ev.* 8.11 [380a]) and, without official connotations, at *War* 2.135.

⁷⁹¹ Or "equipment, gear": Josephus uses καταστολή only here. Before his time it is attested only in the Hippocratic corpus, Diodorus (15.94.3), Aristonicus (*Sign. Il. ad* 2.193), Aristeas (284-85), Musonius Rufus (3.68), and 1 Tim 2:9. It becomes more popular with his contemporaries Plutarch (*Per.* 5.1), Epictetus (Arrian, *Diatr.* 2.10.15, 21.11), and 2nd-century writers.

⁷⁹² Greek τοῖς μετὰ φόβου παιδαγωγούμενοις. The participle refers to the role of child-rearing ordinarily entrusted in the Greek world to a pedagogue (παιδαγωγός), who assumed general responsibility for an upper-class child's care and education, partly as an intermediary between other teachers and the parents (e.g., Xenophon, *Lac.* 2.1). He also protected the child from sexual or other interference and would typically assist with homework and memory drills. Although the apostle Paul famously describes being under a pedagogue's care as a form of slavery (Gal 4:1-2), upper-class children by no means always lived in fear of their pedagogues: cf. (much later) Libanius, *Or.* 58. Pedagogues had above all to be trusted by the parents to protect the child's interests. Cf. Cribiore 2001: 47-50, and in the 4th-cent. CE the emperor Julian's tribute to his pedagogue (*Misopogon* 351a).

Xenophon implies that it was the *absence* of pedagogues in Sparta (see previous note) that produced an education in fear: boys were trained instead with whips (*Lac.* 2.2-6). That seems closer to the image of strict discipline among Josephus' (adult) Essenes. As a parallel, note the Spartan requirement of disciplined dress and deportment from its young men: "on the roads, he [Lycurgus] ordered them to keep the hands inside the cloak, to proceed in silence, and not to be looking around but to stare ahead in front of their feet" (Xenophon, *Lac.* 3.4). But the standard posture of modesty advocated for children by pedagogues was similarly to walk with the head lowered: cf. Xenophon, *Lac.* 3.4; Plutarch, *Mor.* [*Virt. doc.*] 439f; Lucian, *Amor.* 44; Cribiore 2001: 49.

through with age.⁷⁹³ **127** Among themselves, they neither shop for nor sell anything,⁷⁹⁴ but each one, after giving the things that he has to the one in need, takes in exchange⁷⁹⁵ anything useful that the other has. And even without this reciprocal giving,⁷⁹⁶ the transfer to them [of goods] from whomever they wish is unimpeded.⁷⁹⁷

(8.5) 128 Toward the Deity, at least,⁷⁹⁸ pious observances⁷⁹⁹ uniquely [expressed].⁸⁰⁰ Before the sun rises,⁸⁰¹ they utter nothing of the mundane things,⁸⁰² but only certain ancestral prayers⁸⁰³ to him,⁸⁰⁴ as if begging⁸⁰⁵ him to come up.⁸⁰⁶

*Essene life:
daily regimen*

Again, Josephus writes artfully, without verbs.

⁷⁹³ Cf. the Spartan practice of going without the standard Greek tunic, receiving only one simple outer covering (ιμάτιον) each year (Plutarch, *Mor.* [*Apoph. Lac.*] 237b). Indeed, the rough Spartan cloak (τριβών) had become the distinctive garb of the philosopher (Hadot 1998: 7-8).

⁷⁹⁴ Cf. Plutarch on the Spartiates: they are forbidden to sell anything, but freely take from their neighbors when in need (*Mor.* [*Apoph. Lac.*] 238f).

⁷⁹⁵ This is the only occurrence of the compound verb ἀντικομίζω in Josephus. It is attested before him only in Aristonicus (*Sign. Il. ad* 17.126), though Plutarch (*Lys.* 26.2) and Appian (*Bell. civ.* 4.9.70) will also use it.

⁷⁹⁶ This word (ἀντίδοσις) occurs only here in Josephus.

⁷⁹⁷ Once again Josephus writes a sentence without a main verb.

⁷⁹⁸ The qualification seems useful because piety (εὐσέβεια) could be directed towards parents, elders, city leaders as well as to the Gods. See references in next note.

⁷⁹⁹ Piety (εὐσέβεια and cognates) expressed toward the Deity (πρὸς τὸ θεῖον or τὸν θεόν) is a characteristic expression of Josephus, not found in other authors to anywhere near the same degree; it is typically paired with justice toward humanity as a summary of human ethical obligation. See the notes at 2.139 on the first two Essene vows and Mason 1991: 85-90.

⁸⁰⁰ This is another sentence lacking a verb.

⁸⁰¹ Like many ancient writers, Josephus commonly uses the ἀνίσχω form of ἀνέχω for the sun's rising: *War* 5.160; 7.281; *Ant.* 4.305; 6.79. But the only author before Josephus to use this particular sort of phrase (πρὶν with ἡλιος and infinitive ἀνασχεῖν), which Josephus has several times in his works (also *Ant.* 3.79, 199; 6.76; 937), appears to be Philo in his portrait of the Essenes as quoted by Eusebius (*Praep. ev.* 8.11 [379d]), though Philo does not have them praying to the sun. Still, the coincidence of language is surprising enough that one must suspect influence of Josephus' word usage on Eusebius (Josephus' dependence upon Philo is unlikely given the frequency of this usage in *Antiquities*: it is Josephus' own) or cross-fertilization of MSS. Much of Josephus' language throughout *War* 2, not only in the Essene passage, is conspicuously "Philonic."

⁸⁰² Greek βέβηλος occurs regularly in *War* (4.182; 5.16; 6.271), where it regularly contrasts with sacred things as here, and *Antiquities* (3.181; 12.38, 320; 15.90).

⁸⁰³ For the phrase (πατρίους εὐχάς) see *Ant.* 14.260 and Pindar, *Pyth.* 4.98; Aeschines, *Tim.* 23; Philo, *Somm.* 1.215; *Mos.* 2.133.

⁸⁰⁴ The phrase εἰς αὐτὸν must mean "to, towards the sun" because the pronoun is masculine, whereas the preceding "Deity" is neuter. Josephus' comments on Essene reverence for the sun (see also 2.148: Essenes are modest when defecating "so as not to outrage the rays of God") have long puzzled interpreters, especially those who read this passage in light of the DSS. Vitucci (626 n. 7) charges Josephus with a certain "improprietà di linguaggio," by giving the impression that the Essenes worshipped the sun. Normally, Josephus' remarks are either flattened to match the Scrolls' "prayers at dawn" (Beall 1988: 52-54) or they are taken encourage arbitrary source theories (e.g., Bergmeier 1993: 84), on the ground that no faithful Judean could speak thus. After all, the *Temple Scroll* intensifies the biblical prohibition of sun-worship, on pain of death by stoning (*11QT* 55.15-21; cf. Deut 17:2-5; Ezek 8:16-19). We ought, however, to read this passage in light of Josephus' narrative themes and audience.

Elsewhere Josephus tends to personify the sun and to see it as a representation of God. Later he will claim that the Zealots "polluted the Deity" by leaving corpses unburied *beneath the sun* (*War* 4.382-83; cf. 3.377; 4.317), and his Titus will vow to bury the memory of Jerusalem's cannibalism so that "the sun cannot look upon it" (*War* 6.217). In *Ant.* 1.282-83, God parallels his watching over the earth with the sun's: Abraham's children "shall fill *all that the sun beholds* of earth and see. . . . *for it is I who am watching* over all that you will do. . . ." Moses positions the tabernacle, the house of God (3.100), to catch the sun's first rays (3.115). He directs the Israelites to create an altar oriented towards the sun (4.305). The high priest's upper garment is woven with gold to represent the ever-present rays of the sun (3.184). Cf. 4.114; 6.76, 216; 8.49; 9.225. Though otherwise elaborating the biblical portrait of King Josiah's reforms (*Ant.* 10.268-70; cf. 2 Kgs 23:19-20), Josephus tellingly omits Josiah's destruction of horses and chariots that had been *dedicated to the sun* (cf. 2 Kgs 23:11).

129 After these things, they are dismissed by the curators⁸⁰⁷ to the various crafts⁸⁰⁸ that they have each come to know, and after they have worked strenuously until the fifth hour they are again assembled in one area, where they belt on linen covers and wash their bodies in frigid water.⁸⁰⁹ After this purification⁸¹⁰ they gather in a private hall,⁸¹¹ into which

It seems significant, then, that he also turns the phrase of *1 Macc* 9.10, “Far be it from me to do this deed!” into “May the sun not look upon such a thing” (12.424), and has Marc Antony speak of the sun’s looking away from the murder of Julius Caesar (14.309; cf. 16.99, 108; 18.46; *Apion* 1.306). Josephus’ portrayal of the Essenes thus matches his general tendencies.

Certainly, Essene reverence for the sun would have been highly resonant for a Greco-Roman audience. Sun worship was widespread through the near and far E, already since the emergence of Akhenaten (“glory of the [sun-disk] Aten”) as Egyptian Pharaoh in the 18th Dynasty (14th cent. BCE). In early Greece, the informal worship of Helios (the Sun) was common, and is partly reflected in the popularity of the name Heliodorus (“gift of the sun”); the pre-socratic philosopher Anaxagoras’ claim that the sun was merely a red-hot mass caused outrage (Diogenes Laertius 2.12). Hesiod (*Op.* 339) mentions offering sacrifices at the rising and the setting of the sun (the “holy light”), and Plato speaks of Socrates’ praying to the sun (*Sym.* 220d; cf. *Leg.* 887d-e on the commonality of this practice, and Albinus, *Epit. doctr. Plat.* 14.6). The prestige of the sun for philosophers was helped along by the Stoic Cleanthes’ (early 3rd-cent. BCE) identification of it with the driving principle of the world (τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν τοῦ κόσμου, Diogenes Laertius 7.139; cf. Philo, *Opif.* 116; *Somn.* 187). Incidentally, the Spartan Lycurgus is said to have established his constitution under the tutelage of Delphic Apollo (increasingly identified with Helios), and reverence for Apollo remained customary among the Spartans (Herodotus 1.65; Plato, *Leg.* 674d; Xenophon, *Ages.* 1.34; 2.15, 17; *Lac.* 8.5). In utopian literature after Alexander, sun worship had a prominent role, inspired by Plato’s Atlantis (*Criti.* 113b-121c, esp. 115b), by the travel narrative of Iambulus to an Island of the Sun (Diodorus 2.55-60), and by the *Sacred Inscription* of Euhemerus, in which the Sacred Isle (Panchaia) was associated with the sun (Diodorus 5.41.4ff; cf. Ferguson 1975: 104-6). The nationalist Pergamene rebel Aristonicus (2nd-cent. BCE) may have been influenced by Iambulus in calling his followers “sun-citizens” (Strabo 14.38.1). Cf. Ferguson 1975: 104-6, 127, 144.

Sun worship was encouraged by the widespread identification of the sun with Apollo (Euripides, *Phaethon* 225; Horace, *Saec.* 9), especially in Rome. A constant reminder of this, at least until the great fire of 64 CE, was the representation of Sol-Helios driving his sun-chariot above the pediment of Augustus’ Palatine temple

of Apollo (see 2.81 above and notes). To the W of the Palatine was the Circus Maximus, with its Egyptian obelisk from Heliopolis standing on the central *spina*, dedicated by Augustus to Sol in 10 BCE to (*CIL* 6.701); cf. Champlin 2003: 118-20. Augustus was said to have been fathered by Apollo (Suetonius, *Aug.* 5), to whom also he dedicated at least two temples. Most impressive was Nero’s extraordinary program, just a decade before Josephus was writing in Rome, of suffusing his reign with the imagery of Apollo (from 59 CE) and then Sol (from 64); see Champlin 2003: 112-44. Nero’s association of himself with Apollo and Sol did not tarnish *their* prestige; it was Vespasian, in 75 CE, who finally raised the colossal statue of Sol near the site of the Colosseum (Dio 66.15.1). The native Roman God Sol Indiges would eventually be eclipsed by the Syrian import Sol Invictus (the Unconquered Sun), who remained dominant from the 3rd century until the rise of Christianity in the 4th. Julian’s short-lived reversal of the Christian trend was reflected in part by his *Hymn to King Helios*, which gives at least a sense of what philosophically informed reverence for the sun would sound like.

⁸⁰⁵ The verb ἰκετεύω (“entreat, approach as supplicant”) is common in Josephus, with many of its more than one 100 occurrences relating to God—supporting the impression both here and at 2.148 (the symmetrical parallel) that Josephus means to suggest a kind of sun worship on the part of the Essenes.

⁸⁰⁶ The verb is ἀνατέλλω, which Josephus changes from “rise” (ἀνίσχω) earlier in this section, presumably for characteristic *variatio*.

⁸⁰⁷ See the notes to “hand-elected” and “affairs” at 2.123.

⁸⁰⁸ Or “skills, trades.” The reference to trades is also significant because Josephus considers participation in trades (τέχνη) and agriculture (γεωργία) the admirable peace-time activity of *all Judeans* (cf. *Apion* 2.293). It is hardly coincidental that according to *Ant.* 18.19 the Essenes engage in the other side of this pair, agriculture—also the ideal pursuit according to Roman tradition (Plutarch, *Cat. Maj.* 2.1; 3.1-4). Cf. Philo on Essenes who engage in agriculture (in Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 8.11 [379d]).

⁸⁰⁹ Greek: ἀπολούονται τὸ σῶμα ψυχροῖς ὕδατιν—an act of purification (ἀγνεία), as the next sentence says. Josephus himself was no stranger to the purificatory cold bath. He boasts in *Life* 11 that when he was with Bannus he “bathed frequently in frigid water, day and night, for purification” (ψυχρῶ ὕδατι . . . πρὸς ἀγνείαν). Else-

none of those who hold different views⁸¹² may enter: now pure themselves, they approach the dining room⁸¹³ as if it were some [kind of] sanctuary.⁸¹⁴ **130** After they have seated themselves⁸¹⁵ in silence, the baker serves the loaves in order,⁸¹⁶ whereas the cook serves each person one dish of one food.⁸¹⁷ **131** The priest offers a prayer before⁸¹⁸ the food, and it is forbidden to taste anything before the prayer; when he has had his breakfast he offers another concluding prayer. While starting and also while finishing, then, they honor⁸¹⁹ God

where he explains that Judeans who experience nocturnal emissions plunge into cold water the next day (*Ant.* 3.263).

⁸¹⁰ See the previous note: washing is typically for purification. Given that novices are admitted to the “purer of the waters for purification” only after 1 year and approved for the community after two more (2.138), it seems that this description applies only to those of (at least) the second phase. Josephus’ John the Baptist, note, gives a different twist to the process of purification by water when he insists that baptism is a purification (also ἀγνεῖα) for the body only, presupposing the prior cleansing of the soul (*Ant.* 18.117).

⁸¹¹ Greek ἴδιον οἴκημα could have several meanings: “private, personal, special, distinct, peculiar, or ordinary” + “building, residence, chamber, room, structure, or hall.” The point seems to be not that it is a private residence (where such communal dining would be implausible) but that it is not a public building or temple in the city (though they regard it “as if it were some sacred precinct”), open to the uninitiated (see next note), and in no way like familiar dining rooms (because no noise or carousal, below). For the contrast between private and public (i.e., temple) spaces (e.g., οὔτε τὰ ἰρὰ οὔτε τὰ ἴδια) see Herodotus 6.9.3; 8.109.3.

⁸¹² This is the only occurrence in Josephus of the adjective (here plural) ἑτερόδοξος, which occurs before and around his time only in philosophical contexts, as here: Plato, *Theaet.* 190e, 193d; Philo, *Sobr.* 68; *Migr.* 175; *Her.* 247; *Spec.* 2.193; Epictetus, *Diatr.* 2.9.19; Sextus Empiricus, *Pyr.* 2.6, 118; *Math.* 164, 187, 258, 365; Lucian, *Eun.* 2. Medical applications come in the 2nd century with Galen and Soranus. The Spartans famously avoided contact with outsiders, whether by traveling abroad or by receiving foreign guests who might contaminate their ways—except in the rare cases in which the visitors were willing to adopt the Spartan regimen (Plutarch, *Mor.* [*Apoph. Lac.*] 238e).

⁸¹³ Curiously, given the frequent occurrence of the verb δεῖπνεῖν (to dine), Greek δεῖπνητήριον occurs only here in Josephus and is not attested in literature before him, though his younger contemporary Plutarch (*Luc.* 41.5) has it. Possibly Josephus wishes to emphasize, with a somewhat clinical word, that this is merely a place for the group to eat, utterly free of the associations of the *triclinium*, where diners recline for banquet-like meals and entertainment. It is unclear whether this dining room

is the same structure as the private hall (or special building) just mentioned, or a room within it.

⁸¹⁴ Josephus chooses generic language (καθάπερ εἰς ἅγιόν τι τέμενος), readily intelligible to his audience. Although τέμενος was the standard Greek term for a sanctuary, *War* uses it sparingly (9 times, 4 of which are in bk. 7) and usually of a foreign precinct (so 1.403; 2.210; 7.158, 429, 434 [the last two at Leontopolis]; *War* 4.388; 5.5; 7.377 are exceptions). In *Antiquities* it occurs chiefly in descriptions of the first and second temples. In relation to the Jerusalem temple, Josephus most often speaks of the sacred precinct or temple area (τὸ ἱερόν) or the central shrine building (ναός).

⁸¹⁵ Greek καθίζω continues to set the stage for the following portrait of uprightness and discipline at the Essene table: they have no inclination to recline (κατακλίνω, ἀνακλίνω) on dining couches, as their contemporaries normally did for main meals, a posture lending itself to the many forms of crudeness associated with the *triclinium*. Although it could serve as another term for “recline” in certain contexts (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 8.4.2; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.75-76), Josephus normally uses this verb in contexts of grand, formal, or even pompous sittings, as of a king or governor on his throne (*Ant.* 7.356, 358, 382; 8.2, 7, 399; 9.156), in a chariot (9.114), or on a *bema* (*War* 2.172; 3.532 [Vespasian]; 20.130), or for the seating of a council (*Ant.* 20.202, 216; *Life* 236, 368). At *War* 2.25 Gaius was thus “seated” in Augustus’ council.

⁸¹⁶ Josephus uses the phrase ἐν τάξει only 4 times in his corpus. That it appears twice in the Essene passage (cf. 2.132) is no accident: it reinforces the quasi-military “order” vocabulary. See the note to “order” at 2.122.

⁸¹⁷ Compare the famous communal meals of the Spartans, which Lycurgus established to preclude over-eating and to enforce a simple diet (Plutarch, *Lyc.* 10.1-2); see also the next section on Essene dinners.

⁸¹⁸ Josephus apparently coins the double-compound verb, προκατεύχομαι: it occurs only here in his writings, and is attested earlier only in the fragments of the 4th-cent. BCE Alcidas’ *Rivalry* (*Certamen*) between Homer and Hesiod (*Frag.* 5.41). Otherwise, it appears only in quotations of this passage (Porphyry, Eusebius) before the 9th century CE.

⁸¹⁹ The verb γεραίρω occurs only here in Josephus. Before Josephus, the writers who most characteristically use this word to speak of honoring God (or the Gods) are

as the sponsor of life.⁸²⁰ At that, laying aside their clothes as if they were holy, they apply themselves to their labors again until evening.

132 They dine in a similar way: when they have returned, they sit down with the visitors, if any happen to be present with them, and neither yelling⁸²¹ nor disorder⁸²² pollutes⁸²³ the house at any time, but they yield conversation to one another in order.⁸²⁴ **133** And to those from outside, the silence of those inside⁸²⁵ appears as a kind of shiver-inducing⁸²⁶ mystery.⁸²⁷ The reason for this is their continuous sobriety⁸²⁸ and the rationing of food and drink⁸²⁹ among them—to the point of fullness.⁸³⁰

Dionysius (*Ant. rom.* 1.88.3; 2.23.4; 11.14.3) and Philo (*Sacr.* 117; *Her.* 110; *Spec.* 1.272; 2.132, 134, 209).

⁸²⁰ The word “sponsor” (χορηγός) means first of all “chorus-leader” and then “chorus-subsidizer”: the one who foots the bill for the show. It is therefore an ironic way to speak of God’s furnishing *life*. Although this way of speaking about God will appeal to some later writers (e.g., Plotinus, *Enn.* 4.2.2, 7.3; 6.9.9; Themistius, *Philanthr.* 229a; Eusebius, *Const. Or.* 26.2), it seems attested before Josephus only in a remark in Plato’s *Laws* (665a), according to which Apollo and the Muses have been provided by the Gods as “choir-leaders.” In *Ant.* 6.342, however, Josephus will again speak of God with this language, as “producer of good things.”

⁸²¹ Josephus uses κραυγή only in *War* 1-7, but he does so 24 times, a striking example here of *War*’s characteristic language.

⁸²² For the latter term (θόρυβος), see the note at 1.4. This pair of words (κραυγή καὶ θόρυβος), a natural combination for orators—Demosthenes, *Con.* 5; Aeschines, *Ctes.* 122; Dio Chrysostom 7.23; 30.42—turns up also in *War* 3.493; 6.255-56. Before Josephus it was favored by Polybius (3.51.9; 5.15.5; 15.30.3; 16.3.14; 38.12.4) and Diodorus (13.87.5, 95.4; 14.74.4; 18.67.1; 20.29.7, 65.2); see also Dionysius, *Demosth.* 12. Josephus’ contemporary Plutarch uses the pair extensively: *Cam.* 42.3; *Fab. Max.* 22.4; *Alc.* 31.3; *Aem. Paul.* 18.9; *Phoc.* 33.9; *Cat. Min.* 44.5; *Mor.* [*Cons. Apoll.*] 119b. Although it uses different vocabulary, cf. Xenophon’s description of Spartan communal meals: “there, there is little chance of outrage, little chance of drunken uproar, little chance of shameful behavior or shameful speech” (*Lac.* 5.6).

⁸²³ “Pollution” is a prominent theme in *War* (see Introduction): the verb μιαίνω (used here) occurs some 21 times in this work (all cognates, 36 times), 17 times elsewhere in Josephus. See the note to “polluted” at 2.210.

⁸²⁴ The repetition of this phrase (ἐν τάξει; cf. 2.130) is hardly accidental, but helps reinforce the sense of order and calm.

⁸²⁵ Cf. Xenophon (*Lac.* 3.5) on the quiet atmosphere of Spartan communal meals: “it is a precious thing with them if they even answer something that is asked.”

⁸²⁶ The word φρικτός will appear again in Josephus

only in *War*, in connection with the horrors perpetrated by the rebels in Jerusalem: 5.435, 438; 6.199. Curiously, given Josephus’ relatively generous usage and the extreme popularity of the word group in the Church Fathers, it is very sparsely attested before his time: Callimachus, *Aetia*, frag. 75; LXX Jer 5:30; 18:3; 23:14; Wis 6:5; 8:15; Ezekiel Trag., *Exag.* [Snell] lines 197, 219—mainly texts in the Judean tradition. Plutarch, however, begins to use it: *Cor.* 18.4; *Cic.* 49.2; *Arat.* 32.3; *Num.* 10.6.

⁸²⁷ Aside from the ironic usage at *War* 1.470, of Herod’s son Antipater’s bizarre life, Josephus always uses μυστήριον in connection with a mystery cult or rite (*Ant.* 19.30, 71, 104—of Gaius Caligula’s penchant for his own mystery cult; *Apion* 2.189, 266). In *Apion* 2.189, significantly, he compares Judean culture as a whole, because it is more permanently and successfully executed, to a mystery cult of another nation. Such a comparison across categories is not standard; the point seems to be that even a small, devoted group of another nation could not produce what this entire nation of Judeans has.

⁸²⁸ This word (νήπις) appears only here in Josephus. It is attested in only 3 writers before his time, all of whom were likely inspirations (Polybius 6.1.4; Philo, *Ebr.* 129, 152; *Leg.* 3.82; Strabo 7.3.11; 15.3.20); it provides further evidence of the “Philonic” character of Josephus’ language throughout *War* 2.

⁸²⁹ “Food and drink” (τροφή καὶ ποτός) make a predictable and common pair, though outside of Josephus, who uses the pair often (*War* 7.278; *Ant.* 3.34, 86; 4.45; 6.360, 377; 7.159, 274), only Aristotle and Plutarch juxtapose the words with much frequency.

⁸³⁰ The phrase translated “until full” (μέχρι κόρου) turns up also at *War* 4.465 in a different context. This suggests that it does not come from a source on the Essenes, for it is otherwise attested only in Josephus’ older contemporary Cornutus (53) and later in Galen (*Hipp. libr. vi epidem. comm.* 17b.198 [Wenkebach]), Achilles Tatius (*Leuc. Clit.* 1.6.1), and a few Christian authors of late antiquity. This portrait of the Essenes also matches Josephus’ emphasis on the restraint of Judean sacrificial meals in general, in contrast to those of other nations (*Apion* 2.195). The Spartans were similarly famous for

(8.6) 134 Whereas, then, in these other matters there is nothing that they do without the curators⁸³¹ having ordered it,⁸³² these two things are matters of personal prerogative⁸³³ among them: [rendering] assistance and mercy.⁸³⁴ For helping those who are worthy, whenever they might need it, and also extending food to those who are in want are indeed left up to the individual; but in the case of the relatives, such distribution is not allowed to be done without [permission from] the managers.⁸³⁵

135⁸³⁶ Of anger, just controllers;⁸³⁷ as for temper, able to contain it;⁸³⁸ of fidelity, masters;⁸³⁹ of peace, servants.⁸⁴⁰

And whereas everything spoken by them is more forceful than an oath, swearing itself they avoid,⁸⁴¹ considering it worse than the false oath,⁸⁴² for they declare to be already

their impressive restraint in food and drink: Lycurgus ordered that they receive just enough, not too much or too little (Xenophon, *Lac.* 5.3-4; Plutarch, *Lyc.* 10.1-2).

⁸³¹ On these curators, see the notes to “hand-elected” and “affairs” at 2.123.

⁸³² The discipline of always voluntarily living under orders (inasmuch as the leaders are elected: 2.123) recalls the Spartan regimen that Xenophon describes: “But in Sparta even the most powerful men show particular deference to the magistrates, and pride themselves on being humble, and when they are called they run—and do not walk—to obey” (Xenophon, *Lac.* 8.1-4). Cf. Plutarch, *Mor.* 212c: when asked why the Spartans were the happiest of all nations, King Agesilaus replied: “Because more than the others they cultivate both ruling and being ruled.”

⁸³³ The adjective *αὐτεξούσιος* (“in one’s power”) is a favorite of Josephus’. Although he has it some 10 times (also *War* 2.288; 3.86, 184; 5.556; *Ant.* 4.146; 15.266; 16.46; *Apion* 2.173), and it will be widely employed by the church fathers, it is barely attested before his time, and mainly in Philo (*Legat.* 183; *Cher.* 88; *Plant.* 46; *Ebriet.* 44; *Jos.* 148; *Spec.* 1.14; 2.82; *Alleg.* 3.73; *Virt.* 210; *Her.* 85, 301; *Prob.* 57; *Quaest. gen.* 4, frag. 51b; cf. Chrysippus, *Frag. log. phys.* frag. 990; Diodorus 14.105.4; Dorotheus, *Frag. gr.* 390; Epictetus, *Diatr.* 2.2.3).

⁸³⁴ Or “pity” (*ἔλεος*).

⁸³⁵ Greek *ἐπίτροποι*, evidently used interchangeably (for variety) with *ἐπιμεληταί* (curators) at the beginning of this section; see the note to “affairs” at 2.123.

⁸³⁶ The taut, verbless style of this sentence and many of those following fits its austere philosophical subject, calling to mind similarly terse passages in Marcus Aurelius’ *Meditations* (e.g., 1.1-17).

⁸³⁷ See note to “quartermaster” at 2.125.

⁸³⁸ This is the only occurrence in Josephus of the adjectival form *καθεκτικός*, and he has *καθεκτ-* words only in the *War* (also 2.12; 5.20). Before his time the root *καθεκτ-* occurs most often in moral contexts and especially in Philo, with a negative prefix on the passive form of the root (*δυσκάθεκτος*, *ἀκάθεκτος*) referring to

ungovernable or unrestrainable passions, lusts, or yearnings (Xenophon, *Mem.* 4.1.3-4; Philo, *Agr.* 84; *Migr. Abr.* 132; *Somm.* 1.36, 122; *Jos.* 40, 154; *Spec.* 2.9, 94; 4.82). Although Galen (typically with *ἡ δύναμις*, the “power, faculty”: *Loc. aff.* 8.369, 371, 401, 440; *Hippocr. pror.* 16.710.10, 719.3; *Hippocr. epid.* 17a.558.8, 705.11, etc.) and Artemidorus (2.14, 47; 3.33, 35; 4.5, 57) will begin to favor the “active” and positive form of the adjective (*καθεκτικός*, “able to constrain, contain, check”) in the 2nd century CE (cf. also Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 3.91 [Kaibel]), before Josephus this form is found only in Aristotle (*Hist. anim.* 635b.3; *Probl.* 963a.21; *Top.* 125b.18).

⁸³⁹ The 5th (or 4th) oath sworn by the Essenes, according to 2.140, is to keep faith (*τὸ πιστόν*) with all, especially those in power. Contrast women, according to 2.121: none of them is able to maintain fidelity or loyalty.

⁸⁴⁰ This description serves Josephus’ narrative aims perfectly. Unlike the reckless rebel tyrants, whose hot-headed behaviour precipitated the revolt, the Essenes always keep their composure with dignity and peaceful action. Unlike the traitorous, lying rebels, they do not break faith. They are the best examples of the ideal Judean temperament. “Peace” (*εἰρήνη*) is a favourite word of Josephus’: the noun appears 106 times alone. “Temper” (*θυμός*) is particularly frequent in the *War* (39 of its 57 occurrences), where Josephus regularly cites it as a vice of the rebels. “Able to restrain,” or *καθεκτ-* words, occur only in the *War* (2.12; 5.20).

⁸⁴¹ According to *Ant.* 15.371, King Herod excused the Essenes from the general oath of loyalty, though their refusal to swear oaths is not given as the reason there.

⁸⁴² Greek *ἐπιτορκία*. A paradoxical statement: making an oath (*ὄρκος*) is worse than breaking one. Whereas the common assumption that oath-breaking is bad presupposes that oaths *should be made* (and kept), the Essenes reject the very resort to oaths. It is a noteworthy feature of *War* (and *Antiquities-Life*) that those who use oaths to confirm their word are the least trustworthy (*War* 1.260 [Parthians]; 2.451-53 [the Judean rebels]; 4.214-15 [John of Gischala]; *Ant.* 1.323 [Laban]; *Life* 101-2, 275 [John of Gischala, “oath-breaker”]). Therefore, Josephus’ Ess-

degraded one who is unworthy of belief without resorting to God.⁸⁴³

136 They are extraordinarily keen about the compositions⁸⁴⁴ of the ancients,⁸⁴⁵ selecting especially those [oriented] toward the benefit of soul and body.⁸⁴⁶ On the basis of these and for the treatment of diseases,⁸⁴⁷ roots,⁸⁴⁸ apotropaic⁸⁴⁹ materials, and the special properties of stones⁸⁵⁰ are investigated.⁸⁵¹

enes embody his own narrative perspective in preferring to speak honorably without the need of oaths. At *Ant.* 3.92, he has Moses restrict oath-making to important matters, a limitation that both explains his (and his Essenes') condemnation of casual oath-making and allows the truly *awesome* Essene oaths that follow in 2.139-42.

⁸⁴³ Perhaps in the sense "without resort to God." The observation is humorous: if one cannot be believed without invoking God, then one is in a sorry position. A similar point is made by Matthew's Jesus: 5:33-37. The phrase *δίχα θεοῦ* is unattested before Josephus. This is, however, the 1st of 3 occurrences in *War* 2 (also 2.140, 390)—the only examples in this work, in striking proximity. *Antiquities* uses related but more elaborate expressions (2.171; 4.60). This phrase offers another example of *War*'s use of newly fashionable language, for the same phrase appears in Josephus' contemporaries Plutarch (*Cam.* 6.3) and Epictetus (Arrian, *Diatr.* 3.22.2, 53).

⁸⁴⁴ Possibly "bodies of doctrine, interpretations" (*συντάγματα*), though even if so, some kind of written object of study seems likeliest.

⁸⁴⁵ Given the occult nature of Essene inquiry here, it is noteworthy that the closest (roughly contemporary) parallel to Josephus' phrase *παλαιῶν συντάγματα* is in the 2nd-cent. CE astrologer Vettius Valens' work (*Anth.* 3.9.3 [Pingree]): *παλαιῶν συνταγματογράφων*. The ancients in question evidently include Solomon (see the note to "investigated" below), who allegedly wrote much about cures through roots and other substances. Beall (1988: 70-73) makes a good case for including the pseudographical 1 *Enoch* and *Jubilees*, since they also mention cures through herbs and roots (*Jub.* 10.10-14; 1 *Enoch* 7.1; 8.3; 10.4-8) and they were widely read in the 1st century. But there seems no reason to limit these ancients to Judeans: see the notes to "roots" and "stones" below. Josephus may well have chosen "of the ancients" rather than "holy" [compositions] precisely so as to include such non-canonical material. (On his "canon" see *Apion* 1.37-43 and Mason 2002).

⁸⁴⁶ The closest parallel phrase appears in Philo (*Spec.* 1.298), who speaks of sleep as a divine gift that works "to the benefit of both *body* and *soul*."

⁸⁴⁷ Or "the cure of sufferings" (*πρὸς θεραπείαν παθῶν*).

⁸⁴⁸ The study of roots for curative purposes had a long history in the Greco-Roman world. Aristotle's prolific student Theophrastus (4th cent. BCE) based much of the

9th book of his *Research into Plants* (9.8.1) on the studies of predecessors known as "root-diggers" (*ρίζοτόμοι*). He observes (9.8.1): "The powers of roots are many and for many [purposes], but the medicinal ones are especially sought out as being the most useful." Josephus' contemporary Pliny the Elder included in his *Natural History*, published in Rome in the 70s, detailed studies of plants as remedies, and this section of his work (*Nat.* 24-28) is filled with references to specific roots (*radices*) as ingredients in the cures. At *War* 7.1178-85 (esp. 185) Josephus will describe a plant (*ruta graveolens*; rue) that, though fatal to the touch (he claims), when uprooted and somehow applied to the ill, is a potent means of driving out demons. The "virtues of roots" were among the things of which King Solomon was alleged, in some Jewish texts, to have deep knowledge: see *Wis* 7:20 and the note to "investigated" in this section.

⁸⁴⁹ Or "prophylactic" (*ἀλεξητήριος*), a word found only here in Josephus. For the occult connotations of this term—the protection includes defense against demons—see the note to "investigated" in this section. Given the Theophrastean context, it is noteworthy that one of the few authors to use this word is Theophrastus (*Hist. plant.* 7.13.4), of bulbous plants that keep witch-craft from a home. For other uses of the word: Aeschylus, *Sept. Theb.* 8 [a title for Zeus]; Euripides, *Herc.* 470; Xenophon, *Eq.* 5.6; Plato, *Pol.* 279d; the Hippocratic corpus (passim); Nicander, *Ther.* 7, 100, 714, 934; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 1.27. Cyranides and esp. Galen will use it extensively.

⁸⁵⁰ For "the special properties of stones" see Theophrastus, *Lap.* [a work devoted to stones] 3.5; 41.1; 48.1; Galen, *Simpl. med. temp.* 12.207.2. The combination of roots and stones (often involving breaking up stones and applying the in some way to certain roots) is found frequently in the medical and magical writers of antiquity, not least among Josephus' rough contemporaries Dioscorides Pedanius (*Eup. simpl. med.* 1.133.1; 2.36.4, 118.2, 119.4; *Mat. med.* 1.78.2; 4.91.1; esp. 5.126.3), Cyranides (1.7.19, 8.26, 10.95, 17.16), and Galen (*Simpl. med. temp.* 11.811.4; 12.41.13, 68.7).

⁸⁵¹ As Thackeray noted, following J. B. Lightfoot (LCL *ad loc.*), this passage has a close parallel in *Ant.* 8.44-49. There Josephus describes one of the most prominent ancients, Solomon, whom he credits with thousands of "compositions" (*συντάσσω*—8.44-45; cf. *συντάγματα* here). These record the king's comprehensive study of nature and the various properties (*ιδιώματα*) of each

(8.7) 137 To those who are eager for their school, the entry-way is not a direct one, but they prescribe a regimen⁸⁵² for the person who remains outside for a year, giving him a little hatchet⁸⁵³ as well as the aforementioned waist-covering⁸⁵⁴ and white clothing.⁸⁵⁵ 138 Whenever he should give proof of his self-control⁸⁵⁶ during this period, he approaches nearer to the regimen⁸⁵⁷ and indeed shares in the purer waters for purification,⁸⁵⁸ though he is not yet received into the functions of communal life.⁸⁵⁹ For after this demonstration

*Essene life:
initiation, oaths*

form (8.44). In particular, they describe the craft (τέχνη) of exorcism, “for the benefit and treatment (εἰς ὠφέλειαν καὶ θεραπείαν)” of humanity (8.55). Josephus there describes an instance of such *therapeia* (8.46, twice) that he witnessed. The exorcist used a root (ρίζα) prescribed by Solomon for the purpose (8.47). By the time we read his closing line—he describes Solomon so that no one *under the sun* should be ignorant (8.49)—we might conclude that Solomon was an Essene. Cf. the plant (rue) used for exorcisms at *War* 7.185. Josephus’ portrait of Solomon as natural scientist is paralleled in *Wis* 7:17-22.

⁸⁵² Greek δίαίτια is a favorite word of Josephus’, the word-group occurring some 102 times in his writings. It has many senses (e.g., “resolution [of disputes], place of residence, customary food”), but only in a few places does he use it of the disciplined Judean way of life (e.g., *War* 2.488; *Apion* 1.182; 2.173-74, 235; cf. *Ant.* 3.280), sometimes in contrast to other peoples’ customary ways of life (e.g., *Life* 113). In *War*, 5 of 11 occurrences are concentrated in this Essene passage (2.137, 138, 151, 155, 160); in the parallel school passage of *Ant.* 18.12-22, however, only the Pharisees are described with this word (18.12, 15), though it is a favored word in *Ant.* 17-19 in various senses (23 occurrences there). The tough Spartan regimen allegedly established by Lycurgus was characteristically called a δίαίτια (Xenophon, *Lac.* 5.1; Plutarch, *Lyc.* 11.3; 24.1; *Mor.* 209f, 210a, 225f, 226f, 227b), and the term was occasionally used for other philosophical lifestyles (Plutarch, *Mor.* [*Virt. vit.*] 100d; Epictetus, *Diatr.* 3.22.87; Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 5.22).

⁸⁵³ This diminutive (ἄξιναρίον) of ἄξινη occurs only here in Josephus, and it is not attested before his time, though it appears once each in the 2nd-cent. CE lexicographers Aelius Dionysius (*Att. onom.* Z.5) and Pausanias Atticus (*Att. onom.* Z.4). At *War* 2.148, where the purpose of this instrument is explained, Josephus uses σκαλῖς and ἄξιναρίδιον, both of which also occur only there in Josephus. The latter is unattested anywhere else except the 10th-cent. *Suda* lexicon, which simply gives it as a synonym for ἄξιναρίον here; the former appears before Josephus only in Strabo 3.2.9 (possibly from Posidonius). This variety, and especially the use of two different but extremely rare diminutives of “axe,” suggest that the unusual vocabulary in the Essene pas-

sage comes from Josephus’ preference for a variety of unusual words with respect to this unique object; such language could not easily be explained as the ordinary diction of a source.

⁸⁵⁴ This περίζωμα is mentioned again (and only) at 2.161, where Josephus claims that male Essenes who marry wear this as covering while bathing (while their wives wear full dresses). It was described in different language (linen coverings belted on) in the description of Essene bathing at 2.129.

⁸⁵⁵ According to 2.123 the Essenes always wear white (see notes there), though it seems from 2.129, 131 they lay aside these white clothes for their daily immersion (in a loin-cloth) and for afternoon work. The loin-cloth and work clothes may also have been white.

⁸⁵⁶ This basic Essene (and male, Greek-aristocratic, and Roman) virtue was introduced at 2.120; see the note there.

⁸⁵⁷ See the note at 2.137.

⁸⁵⁸ Or “sanctification.” The language here (τῶν πρὸς ἀγνείαν ὑδάτων μεταλαμβάνει) seems a clear reference to the purificatory daily bath before luncheon mentioned at 2.129 (ἀπολούονται τὸ σῶμα ψυχροῖς ὑδάσιν, καὶ μετὰ ταύτην τὴν ἀγνείαν), an essential feature of Essene communal life (cf. 2.161).

⁸⁵⁹ The entire phrase renders plural συμβίωσις; this is the only plural example in Josephus and the only occurrence of the noun in *War*. With 5 examples in total (also *Ant.* 2.51; 6.210; 15.240, 260—all concerning male-female cohabitation, in the singular), Josephus is a relatively heavy user of the word; is well attested before his time only in Aristotle (twice), Polybius (4), Diodorus (10), Wisdom of Solomon (3), and Philo (3); his contemporary Plutarch has it 13 times. What he means about participating in the baths but not these aspects of communal life is not clear. Did these candidates take the daily bath but not proceed to the common meal? Since Josephus’ Essenes are found in all Judean cities (2.124), perhaps this means that initiates continued living outside the community during this period.

According to *IQS* 6.14-23, initiates into the DSS community go through a 2-year initiation marked by (a) initial interviews for suitability, (b) examination after a year, successful completion of which permits access to the holy food and reckoning of one’s goods with the community’s (but not yet mixing), and (c) a final review,

of endurance,⁸⁶⁰ the character is tested for two further years,⁸⁶¹ and after he has thus been shown worthy⁸⁶² he is reckoned into⁸⁶³ the group.

139 Before he may touch the communal food, however, he swears dreadful oaths⁸⁶⁴ to them:⁸⁶⁵ first, that he will observe piety toward the deity; then, that he will maintain just actions toward humanity;⁸⁶⁶ that he will harm no one,⁸⁶⁷ whether by his own deliberation or

completion of which allows access to the community's drink and admixture of property. There is a parallel here to early Christian initiation phases, which became more elaborate after the 1st century CE: initial inquiry, instruction, and preliminary examination; catechumenate (associating with the community for a year or more); rites of election (careful scrutiny and perhaps exorcism, separating one from the world); and finally baptism (often at Easter) bringing full membership.

⁸⁶⁰ Greek καρτερία: the most famous trait of the Spartans and the whole focus of their training (Xenophon, *Ages*. 5.3; 10.1; 11.9 Plutarch, *Mor.* [*Aph. lac.*] 208c, 210a, 237a; *Lyc.* 2.2; 16.5-6; 18.1; 29.5; *Ages*. 11.7; 30.3), emulated by philosophers (cf. Xenophon on Socrates, *Mem.* 1.2.1; 2.1.20; 3.1.6). This is also an important word-group for Josephus, who uses it about 134 times, nearly half of these (63) in *War*—usually concerning the endurance of the Judean fighters or the “steadfastness” of their defenses. That καρτερία is the Leitmotif of Josephus' training of his own Galilean soldiers (2.580) shows again that the Essene passage fits neatly in *War*, as exemplary of Judean virtue. Note also *Apion* 1.182; 2.146, 170, [225], 228, 273, 284, where he makes this a distinctive Judean trait. In 3 of these cases (2.225, 228, 273), tellingly, Josephus contrasts the Spartan reputation for endurance with what he presents as the undeniable Judean fact of it, in light of the recent war. On Essene endurance under torture, see further below, 2.151-53.

⁸⁶¹ Presumably, 2 years from admission to the purifying waters. In his opening remarks (2.120) Josephus emphasized that children adopted by the order were trained in its “principles of character”; here the character is finally tested. On the centrality of character (τὸ ἦθος) in ancient moral philosophy and rhetoric, and for Josephus (it is the theme of his *Life*), see BJP 9: xxxviii-1 and the note at *Life* 430 in that volume.

⁸⁶² Those Essenes who marry (2.161 below) put their potential wives through a similar ordeal, testing them through 3 years and as many “purifications.”

⁸⁶³ Josephus uses ἐγκρίνω (“judge, deem, or reckon in or among”) only here. The verb is matched at 2.143 by its opposite: “reckon out” (ἐκκρίνω). This symmetrical parallel of rare (at least this one: mainly in Plato, some 7 times) and corresponding verbs, on either side of the intervening 12 oaths, helps to identify that list of oaths as the central panel or fulcrum in this concentrically structured passage.

⁸⁶⁴ Or “shiver-inducing oaths” (ὄρκους . . . φρικώδεις). Josephus has this collocation twice (cf. *Life* 101). Although it seems unattested in literature before his time, it turns up in both his contemporary Plutarch (*Alex.* 30.11) and later 2nd-cent. authors (Phrynicius, *Praep. soph.* 107; Pollux, *Onom.* 1.37; Dio 8.36.29). This suggests again that Josephus often selects newly current vocabulary and phrasing.

It is often proposed (Thackeray in LCL, n. b to 2.135; Bergmeier 1993: 69) that Josephus contradicts himself by first making a point of the Essenes' avoidance of swearing (ὀμνύειν περιστανταί)—on the ground that every word of theirs is stronger than an oath (2.135)—and now listing a dozen dreadful oaths that they do in fact swear (ὄρκους . . . ὄμνυσι φρικώδεις; 2.139). These are not contradictory propositions, however, and Josephus' explanation of Moses' commandments in *Ant.* 3.92 helps to clarify the matter. There, all Judeans are forbidden “to swear by God on a trivial [or base: φαῦλος] matter.” Although swearing in general is not encouraged, this passage implies that it is acceptable to swear oaths in cases of rare solemnity. Indeed, Josephus claims that he inclined to believe the Jerusalem delegation (not to chastise them for law-breaking) because they swore “the most dreadful oaths that we have” (τοὺς φρικώδεστάτους ὄρκους παρ' ἡμῶν; *Life* 275; cf. 101). The context of *War* 2.135 suggests that the prohibition there concerns the common oath, merely to guarantee one's word in ordinary situations. Thus the Essenes' “steering clear” of such swearing would not seem to preclude their making these life-defining *dreadful* (φρικώδεις) oaths to God upon finally entering the order.

⁸⁶⁵ Several of the Essene oaths that follow match Josephus' later instructions to his own soldiers in training (2.581-82): if they wished to remain allies with God, they must abstain from soldiers' usual behaviors: theft (κλοπή), banditry (ληϊστεία), and inflicting harm or injury (βλαβή).

⁸⁶⁶ Greek εὐσεβήσειν τὸ θεῖον, ἔπειτα τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους δίκαια φυλάξειν. Josephus is keenly aware that, especially after the revolt, Judeans are widely accused of impiety (ἀσέβεια) or atheism in relation to the Gods and misanthropy with respect to their fellow human beings (e.g., *Apion* 2.148, 291). One of his pervasive themes, therefore, from the beginning to the end of his corpus, is that his people cherish *piety* toward God and *justice* (also philanthropy) toward their neighbors—more, indeed, than any other nation. This pair of virtues

under order; that he will hate the unjust and contend together with the just;⁸⁶⁸ **140** that he will always maintain faithfulness to all, especially to those in control, for without God⁸⁶⁹ it does not fall to anyone to hold office,⁸⁷⁰ and that, should he hold office,⁸⁷¹ he will never

provides his most typical characterization of Israel's good leaders: *Ant.* 7.338, 341 (David: God always rewards the pious and just), 356 and 374 (David admonishes Solomon to rule with piety and justice), 384 (David's dying charge to Solomon: be just toward your subjects and pious toward God); 8.280 (Abijah to Jeroboam); 9:16 (Josaphat enjoyed divine favor because of his justice and piety toward the Deity); 9.236 (virtuous king Jotham was pious toward God and just toward humanity); 12.43 (Simon the Just was so called because of his piety toward God and benevolence toward humanity); 12.56 (modifying *Aristeas*). According to *Ant.* 18.117, the renowned baptist named John also exhorted Judeans "to practise justice toward one another and piety toward God." By beginning the Essenes' oaths with piety and justice and ranking piety above all (cf. *Apion* 2.145-46, 170-71), Josephus makes them ideal representatives of the national virtues.

It seems to have been the Sophists who furnished lists of virtues and vices, and it was natural that a set of "cardinal virtues" quickly emerged (Plato, *Phaed.* 69B-C; *Symp.* 196D; Aristotle, *Pol.* 1259B; Cicero, *Fin.* 65; Philo, *Opif.* 73; *Cher.* 5; *Post.* 128; *Mos.* 2.185 etc.; Diogenes Laertius 3.80, 91; 7.92, 102, 126). These were commonly held to be justice (δικαιοσύνη), wisdom (φρόνησις), courage (ἀνδρεία), and self-control (σωφροσύνη), of which Plato featured wisdom and justice (*Prot.* 323a-b; *Gorg.* 492b-c, 519a; *Resp.* 364a, 430d, 500d; *Leg.* 632c), with holiness (ὁσιότης) added at times (*Prot.* 329c, 349b; *Men.* 78d). Although Plato incidentally includes piety (εὐσέβεια) with the other virtues (e.g., *Euth.* 12e; *Phil.* 39e), and earlier writers had mentioned piety in close proximity to justice (Theognis 1.145, 1141; Sophocles, *El.* 464; *Phil.* 85; Euripides, *Alc.* 1148 [piety toward strangers, note]; *Hipp.* 1309; *Hec.* 1230; *Hel.* 162), it seems to have been the 5th and 4th-century Athenian orators Antiphon (*Tetr.* 2.2.11; *Chor.* 7, 51), Isocrates (*Nic.* 2; *Pac.* 33, 34, 63; *Panath.* 124 [specifying *περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς* and *περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους*, respectively], 163, 183, 204 [objects specified], 217), Demosthenes (*Phil.* 3.16; *Cor.* 1 [objects specified], 7, 126; *Arist.* 97; *Boeot.* 1.41; *Exord.* 54.1; *Tim.* 35), and Dinarchus (*Dem.* 84), who began to pair piety and justice by themselves as the sum of human ethical obligation: to the Gods and to humanity. Their near contemporary, the historian Xenophon (4th cent. BCE), significantly places piety and justice (εὐσέβεια καὶ δικαιοσύνη) at the head of the virtues in his assessment of Socrates'

character (*Mem.* 4.8.11), which is particularly interesting because in his praise of the Spartan Agesilaus, piety and justice (*Ages.* 3.2-5; 4.1-3) also come first, followed by self-control, courage, wisdom, patriotism, urbanity, foresight, and simplicity (*Ages.* 4.4-8.8). Later, Diodorus (1.2.2, 49.3, 92.5; 3.60.2, 64.7; 5.7.7, 8.3, 79.2; 6.6.1, 8.1; 12.20.3; 33.5.6), Dionysius (*Ant. rom.* 1.4.2; 4.32.1; 8.2.2, 8.1, 28.3, 62.3; 13.5.3; *Isoc.* 7), occasionally Philo (*Praem.* 162; *Legat.* 213), and Athenaeus (*Deipn.* 6.107 [Kaibel]) would follow suit. Josephus' programmatic preference for this pair is thus noteworthy, though his model is uncertain.

⁸⁶⁷ Contrast normal human behavior (*War* 2.581) and even that of Josephus' Pharisees, to whom he attributes the inclination to harm (βλάπτω) those in power (*Ant.* 13.401; 17.41).

⁸⁶⁸ Compare *Ant.* 15.135: "God always exhorts us to *hate* arrogance and injustice."

⁸⁶⁹ See the note to this phrase at 2.135.

⁸⁷⁰ Or "to rule, govern." It is unclear in this sentence whether such office-holding is envisaged within the Essene communities, in the larger Judean society, or possibly in Roman administration: the noun and verb (ἄρχω, ἀρχή) could mean any of these things. The passage is most often taken, not without reason, to reflect Essene acquiescence under foreign rule (M-B *ad loc.*: obedience to the sect's authorities "steht außer Frage"). In *War* Josephus repeatedly insists on the current divine support for Roman rule, most distinctly in the speeches he crafts for King Agrippa II and for himself: 2.387, 350, 390 ("without God [same phrase as here] it is impossible to put together such a formidable empire"), 539; 3.351-54, 396, 400-1, 404; 4.323, 622; 5.367 ("God, who went the round of the nations, bringing to each in turn the rod of empire, now rested over Italy"). And there are close parallels in roughly contemporary authors of Judean background, such as Paul, to the demand for acceptance of Roman rule as God-ordained (Rom 13:1).

Nevertheless, the context here seems to favor a local-community reference. He has already stressed Essene submission to the community's own leaders (2.123, 126, 134). The repetition of that point is not a problem, since we are now dealing with oaths rather than description of the lifestyle: indeed, one might expect the oaths to provide the basis for Essene behavior as otherwise described. Thus, the oath that follows this one raises the prospect of an Essene's coming into office, in which case he must not abuse his authority. The mutuality created

abuse his authority⁸⁷²—outshining his subordinates, whether by dress or by some form of extravagant appearance;⁸⁷³ **141** always to love the truth⁸⁷⁴ and expose the liars;⁸⁷⁵ that he will keep his hands pure from theft and his soul from unholy gain;⁸⁷⁶ that he will neither conceal anything from the school-members⁸⁷⁷ nor disclose anything of theirs to others,⁸⁷⁸ even if one should apply force to the point of death.⁸⁷⁹

by (a) respect for those currently in authority and (b) the promise of humility if one assumes office oneself, seems to require that the offices in question are Essene-communal (with Beall 1988: 81).

⁸⁷¹ See the previous note. This passage seems to confirm that Josephus has in mind communal Essene offices, rather than Judean or Roman governance.

⁸⁷² Greek μηδέποτε ἐξυβρίσειν εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν. In Josephus' (Polybian and Jeremianic-Danielic) scheme of things, abuse of the fortune that allows one to enjoy success or power for a time is among the classic human errors. In *War* he uses the verb ἐξυβρίζω with εἰς *X* to express such a violation—a coinage of his own. Several times he refers, as here, to someone's abuse of (ἐξυβρίζω εἰς) power or office (ἐξουσία or ἀρχή): *War* 1.206: young Herod did *not* abuse his authority; 4.492 (cf. 2.250): Nero *did*; *Ant.* 14.161: Herod's brother Phasael did *not*. How one behaved in a position of authority will be a major concern also in Josephus' autobiography. In *Life*, which celebrates his character (ἦθος, 430), he makes an issue of his behavior while he held great ἐξουσία (80): he repeatedly adduces his clemency toward enemies held at his mercy (262-65, 304-8, 377-80), his mildness toward his dependent charges (30-31, 97-100, 112-13, 417-21), his protection of women's honor (80), and his invulnerability to bribery and corruption of all kinds (79-86). Underlying this scheme is the Polybian insight (see Introduction) that, since fortune (τύχη) brings the inscrutable rise or fall of various persons and groups, no one should take his temporary success for granted; Josephus therefore speaks also about "abusing fortune" (2.184, 250; 5.120—see notes there). In *Antiquities*, by contrast, the verb ἐξυβρίζω normally takes as object a person (whether human or divine), as the one "abused" or "violated."

⁸⁷³ The point of the Greek phrase ἢ τιμι πλείονι κόσμῳ seems to be the implicit contrast with inward superiority through virtue. The Spartan king Agesilaus, whom Xenophon offers as a moral example to all (*Ages.* 10.2), is said to have insisted that he prove his leadership credentials exclusively by superior *endurance*: he would accept only the worst bed among his men (4.2) and he made it a point of honor to keep his dress extremely plain (τῆ . . . τὸ σῶμα φαυλότητι), while splendidly equipping his army (11.11). He is said to have drawn the contempt of the Egyptians because of his simple dress, until he could persuade them that greatness and distinc-

tion came entirely from virtue (Plutarch, *Mor.* [*Apoph. Lac.*] 214e). Cf. Plutarch's advice to the statesman, not to go after advantageous seats in the theater, luxury, ostentatious clothing, or other outward status symbols (*Mor.* [*Praec.*] 823b).

⁸⁷⁴ At the beginning (*War* 1.30) and end (*Apion* 2.296) of his corpus, Josephus addresses his works to "those who love the truth" (τοῖς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀγαπῶσιν), and he regularly assures audiences of his own truthfulness (e.g., *War* 1.4; *Ant.* 1.6; *Life* 40; *Apion* 1.6).

⁸⁷⁵ Or "throw out" the "deceivers, impostors, cheaters" (τοὺς ψευδομένους προβάλλεσθαι). The only character so far described as a ψευδόμενος has been Pseudalexander (2.101).

⁸⁷⁶ This rather poetic parallelism (χεῖρας κλοπῆς καὶ ψυχῆν ἀνοσίου κέρδους καθαρὰν φυλάξιν) captures the spirit of Josephus' summary of the latter half of the decalogue, binding on all Judeans, in *Ant.* 3.92 (μὴ κλοπὴν δρᾶν). It also matches his rules for his own soldiers in Galilee (2.581-82: κλοπῆς . . . τε κέρδος); note his condemnation of the intransigent rebels (5.402), whom he accuses of just such secret sins.

⁸⁷⁷ See the note to "members" at 2.119.

⁸⁷⁸ Although this might seem like a sectarian principle, it corresponds closely to Josephus' view of the whole nation's attitude toward outsiders, as he expresses this in *Apion* 2.209-10: "It will be seen that [Moses] took the best of all possible measures at once to secure our own customs from corruption, and to throw them open ungrudgingly to any who elect to share them. To all who desire to come and live under the same laws with us, [Moses] gives a gracious welcome. . . . On the other hand, it was not his pleasure that casual visitors should be admitted to the intimacies of our daily life." Cf. also the renowned Spartan insistence on avoiding foreign travel or visitors from abroad, unless willing to adopt their laws (Plutarch, *Mor.* [*Apoph. Lac.*] 238e), as well as the secrecy of their meetings (236f).

⁸⁷⁹ For the virtue of perseverance to the point of death (μέχρι θανάτου; note this phrase again at 2.144), cf. Isocrates, *Arch.* 59; Plato, *Resp.* 361d; Diodorus 15.27.2 (on the Spartans' fame); Strabo 16.2.9; Plutarch, *Caes.* 18.4; *Dem.* 38.5; *Mor.* [*Apoph. Lac.*] 239c. The phrase is conspicuously favored by 4 Maccabees, traditionally thought to have been written by Josephus (4 Macc 5:37; 6:21; 7:8, 16; 13:1, 27; 15:10; 16:1; 17:7, 10).

142 In addition to these, he swears that he will impart the precepts to no one otherwise than as he received them,⁸⁸⁰ that he will keep away from banditry,⁸⁸¹ and that he will preserve intact their school's books and the names of the angels.⁸⁸² With such oaths as these they completely secure⁸⁸³ those who join them.

(8.8) 143 Those they have convicted⁸⁸⁴ of sufficiently serious errors they expel from the order.⁸⁸⁵ And the one who has been reckoned out⁸⁸⁶ often perishes⁸⁸⁷ by a most pitiable fate.⁸⁸⁸ For, constrained by the oaths and customs, he is unable to partake of food from others. Eating grass⁸⁸⁹ and in hunger, his body wastes away and perishes. 144 That is why they have actually shown mercy⁸⁹⁰ and taken back many in their final gasps, regarding as sufficient for their errors this ordeal to the point of death.⁸⁹¹

⁸⁸⁰ Greek μηδενὶ μὲν μεταδοῦναι τῶν δογμάτων ἐτέρως ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς μετέλαβεν. This concern for precise transmission of the tradition matches Josephus' view of Judean tradition in general (e.g., *Apion* 1.29-43). Although the precise referents here are intramural, the scrupulous preservation of Judean tradition is also a major theme elsewhere in Josephus. He normally uses the παραδίδομι/παραλαμβάνω pair, perhaps because he is describing the pure transmission of the Judean laws from Moses to the present (*Ant.* 3.280, 286; 4.295, 302; 4.304; *Apion* 2.279), whereas the context here is not clearly inter-generational, but more a horizontal "imparting" or sharing. Nevertheless, we are in the same semantic arena of accurate transmission.

⁸⁸¹ It may seem odd that Josephus should list two similar oaths (theft at 2.141 and banditry here), but banditry seems to be a distinct activity—for him and his audience (see note to "chief bandit" at 2.56). In his own instructions to his newly enlisted soldiers in Galilee, he will similarly require them to forswear "theft as well as banditry and plunder" (κλοπῆς τε καὶ ληστείας καὶ ἀρπαγῆς). Thus, the life to be avoided by the Essenes is the one lived by Cain, who abandoned the simple and virtuous way in favour of pleasure and banditry (ἡδονή, ληστεία; *Ant.* 1.61; cf. *War* 2.125).

⁸⁸² Or "of the messengers" (τὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ὀνόματα). If "angels," one should not imagine later western representations.

⁸⁸³ The compound verb ἐξασφαλίζομαι, only here in Josephus, is extremely rare before and outside his work (*Aristeas* 100; *Diodorus* 27.15.3; *Strabo* 17.1.54; then in late antiquity). Without the intensifying prefix, the verb is much more common (16 times in Josephus), and it normally means "make secure, fortify" (used of walls or cities: 2.609; 4.120; 6.15; *Life* 317). But the sense here might well be that the candidate is "proven, verified" by the process of oath-taking, and made safe for the community. At any rate, the representation of philosophy as a safe or "non-slip" way of living (ἀσφάλεια) was common (cf. *Plutarch, Mor. [Superst.]* 171e; *Lucian, Men.* 4; *Hermot.* 21, 29, 33, 47; *Justin, Dial.* 8.1; *Luke* 1:4).

⁸⁸⁴ Possibly, "whom they catch in [the act of]." Although ἀλίσκομαι ("take, catch") might seem to require this sense, in legal contexts it may refer to conviction by due process (see LSJ).

⁸⁸⁵ Cf. *Xenophon, Lac.* 10.7: those who fail to live up to the Spartan legal code (νόμιμα), Lycurgus ordered excluded from among the peers.

⁸⁸⁶ This verb (ἐκκρίνω), which occurs only here in Josephus, matches "reckon in" at 2.138 above, establishing a symmetry around the 12 oaths. In contrast to that rare verb, however, this one—with possible senses of "exclude, secrete, excrete, ooze," as well as "reject, condemn"—is amply attested from the pre-Socratics onward, plentifully in the medical and scientific writers (13 times in the Hippocratic corpus; 87 times in Aristotle).

⁸⁸⁷ This is the middle voice of διαφθείρω, which Josephus will repeat in the next sentence. I have usually translated this verb in the active voice as "destroy," a favorite euphemism for "kill"; see the note to "destroy" at 2.11.

⁸⁸⁸ This form of the "fate" word-group, μῶρος, occurs only here in Josephus.

⁸⁸⁹ Or herbs, possibly in implied contrast to grain (a proper human food). Unsurprisingly, this verb (ποηφάγω) occurs only here in Josephus and rarely in other writers except in biological and medical contexts (*Hippocrates, Diaeta* 49; *Aristotle, Hist. anim.* 595a; *Part. anim.* 693a; *Galen, Hipp. epid. comm.* 17a.562—distinguishing humanity from grass-eating animals) cf. *Herodotus* 2.25, 100. *Appian (Mithr.* 328) similarly describes men reduced by war to the barbaric practices of cannibalism and grass-eating: those who ate grass became ill (cf. his *Lib.* 471, 499).

⁸⁹⁰ Or "pity" (ἐλέεω); cf. 2.134.

⁸⁹¹ See the note to this phrase at 2.141. Josephus' use of it only in these near places is typical of his practice: exploiting a word or phrase twice or more within a short space, possibly in different senses, and then dropping it. See *BJP* 9: lii. There are hints in the Paul's letters of a similar sort of exclusion from the community and its sacred meal, leading to death (1 Cor 5:3-5; cf. perhaps 11:27-30), along with intervention (as here) to take back the penitent offender before his demise (2 Cor 2:5-11).

*Essene life:
judicial system*

(8.9) 145 Now with respect to trials,⁸⁹² [they are] just and extremely precise:⁸⁹³ they render judgement after having assembled no fewer than a hundred, and something that has been determined by them is non-negotiable.

There is a great reverence⁸⁹⁴ among them for—next to God—the name of the law-giver,⁸⁹⁵ and if anyone insults him⁸⁹⁶ he is punished by death.⁸⁹⁷

146 They make it a point of honor⁸⁹⁸ to submit to the elders⁸⁹⁹ and to a majority. So if

⁸⁹² In taking careful precautions for the trial of cases, the Essenes anticipate Josephus' portrayal of Moses (*Ant.* 3.66-74) and of himself: one of his first actions as commander of Galilee was to appoint a council of 70 men and smaller councils of 7 in each town for the trial of cases (*War* 2.571-72; *Life* 79).

⁸⁹³ This language (ἀκριβέστατοι καὶ δίκαιοι) is typical of Josephus: he everywhere applauds a scrupulous precision (ἀκρίβεια) in history-writing, truth-telling, and legal interpretation (*Ant.* 4.309; 20.260, 262; *Apion* 1.18, 29-36, 54, 67; 2.144, 175, 227, 257; Mason 1991: 89-96). Perhaps because Josephus often links ἀκρίβεια with the laws (νόμοι, etc.), he happens not to juxtapose this word-group with “justice” (δικαί) words, though in other Greek writers precision with respect to justice or simply pairing “precision” with “rightness” was common phraseology (Isocrates, *Arch.* 30; *Pan.* 39; Demosthenes, *Chers.* 38; *Aristoc.* 148; *Aphob.* 4; Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1.3.16-17; Lycurgus [orat.], *Leocr.* 31; Plato, *Resp.* 484d; Diodorus 4.8.3; 11.47.2; 37.5.2; Philo, *Spec.* 4.213; Plutarch, *Mor.* [*Apoph. Lac.*] 209e; Aristides, *Panath.* 117.33-34, 155.29 [Dindorf]). Philo even describes God as ἀκριβοδίκαιος (*Her.* 143; cf. *Somn.* 101; *Jos.* 65; negative in Aristotle, *Eth. nic.* 1138a). On precise justice with respect to judgments or trials (κρίσεις): Plato, *Leg.* 907b; Diodorus 5.79.1; Philo, *Plant.* 175; *Spec.* 4.190. Whereas Josephus' Pharisees are merely *reputed to be* the most precise in the laws (*War* 1.110; 2.162; *Life* 191), his description of the Essenes has no such qualification.

Elsewhere, too, he takes pride in the *severity* of Judean law. He considers it a powerful attraction of the Judean code that it leaves no loopholes for crime (*Apion* 2.276-77), that its justice is sure and swift (2.178), and that numerous crimes merit the death penalty (2.214-17); he contrasts this with other systems. Centuries earlier Xenophon had similarly contrasted the severe Spartan constitution with others: it inflicted the heaviest penalties not only on those who committed real crimes, but even on those who simply failed to live virtuously (*Lac.* 5-6). Plutarch says that the Spartan King Agesilaus was precise and legally scrupulous (ἀκριβῆς καὶ νόμιμος), except that he did favors for his friends (*Mor.* [*Apoph. Lac.*] 209e). Given the widespread despair over crime and social deterioration that Roman authors attest (e.g., Catullus 64 [end]; Cicero, *Div.* 2.2.4; Juvenal 3.268-314, etc.), we can imagine that Josephus expected his audi-

ence to be impressed by the inexorable justice of the Judean code and the Essenes' high standards.

⁸⁹⁴ This is the only occurrence in Josephus of σέβας (“awe, reverence”), though he has many forms of the same word-group.

⁸⁹⁵ “Lawgiver” (νομοθέτης) is Josephus' characteristic term for Moses (e.g., *Ant.* 1.6, 15, 18; *Apion* 2.156, 161). In spite of efforts to read this passage in light of the DSS, the term cannot plausibly be a reference to Qumran's Righteous Teacher (correctly Beall 1988: 92-93, with discussion). The extraordinary rank that Josephus implies here for Moses, in relation to God, such that defamation of his name amounts to the capital charge of misusing the divine name, is supported by his own account of Moses in *Antiquities*. There he calls Moses a divine man (θεῖον ἄνδρα, 3.180) and speaks of Moses' “super-human power” (τῆς ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον . . . δυνάμεως, 3.318); because Moses' laws clearly originate with God he is “esteemed higher than his own nature” (τῆς αὐτοῦ φύσεως κρείττονα νομίζεσθαι, 3.320). Moses surpassed all other men (4.328), and in his words one seemed to hear the very speech of God (4.329). Although Josephus does not divinize Moses, he does leave his special status ambiguous in much the same way as the Essenes do here. The Spartans conspicuously honored all their kings after death, but especially their lawgiver, as a demi-god. The lawgiver Lycurgus was granted a posthumous temple in Sparta, where he received annual sacrifices “as to a god” (Xenophon, *Lac.* 15.2, 9; Plutarch, *Lyc.* 5.3; 31.3).

⁸⁹⁶ See further 2.152, where Josephus claims that the Essenes could not be made to “defame the lawgiver” (βλασφημέω τὸν νομοθέτην—the same phrase as here), even under heavy torture and the threat of death. Note the interesting parallel in Plutarch, *Mor.* [*Apoph. Lac.*] 227a, concerning the defaming of a Spartan king on account of his difficult legislation.

⁸⁹⁷ Greek κολάζεται θανάτῳ. For “punishing by death” in such a dative construction, see Plato, *Resp.* 492d; *Leg.* 735e; Demosthenes, *Mid.* 176; Lysias, *Erg.* 3; LXX 1 Esdr. 8.24; Diodorus 12.62; 16.31, 54; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 8.78.5; Philo, *Ebr.* 135; *Spec.* 2.232; Dio, *Or.* 4.106; Plutarch, *Artax.* 27.1; *Galb.* 28.3; Appian, *Bell. civ.* 4.9.73. Josephus also uses the collocation fairly often: *War* 5.124, 483; *Ant.* 7.150; 11.130, 144; 16.369.

⁸⁹⁸ Greek ἐν καλῷ τίθενται; see the note at 2.123.

⁸⁹⁹ It is unclear whether the status of these elders

ten were seated together, one person would not speak if the nine were unwilling.

147 They guard against spitting into [their] middles⁹⁰⁰ or to the right side⁹⁰¹ and against

is formal, or the issue is merely a polite deference to age—as to an apparently informal majority who desire silence. Below (2.150) Josephus will describe a formal division of grades according to time in the discipline, but it is not certain that such grades correlate with age, since the entry procedures of 2.137-42 leave open the possibility of older men joining after younger colleagues (but 2.120). At 2.123 and 134 Josephus describes a leadership structure that is (emphatically) elected by hand rather than age-based; see the notes there and at 2.150.

⁹⁰⁰ Greek τὸ πτύσαι εἰς μέσους. The somewhat peculiar prepositional phrase, “into middles . . .,” is favored by Josephus. Before his time the heaviest known user of the phrase was Dionysius—9 instances (*Ant. rom.* 1.87.2; 5.46.4; 6.12.2, 5; 7.35.5; 8.65.5; 9.11.4, 48.3; 10.41.4), whereas others employed it sparingly (Aristophanes, 1; Polybius, 1; Diodorus, 3; Strabo, 1; cf. Plutarch, 3). Josephus has it a remarkable 15 times (here and *War* 4.216; 6.42; *Ant.* 3.13, 308; 5.54, 206; 9.56; 12.429; 17.130, 131; 19.261; *Life* 37, 251, 255). Contrast the more expected neuter singular substantive εἰς τὸ μέσον (“into the middle”), which is far more evenly distributed among ancient authors and across genres: 107 instances by the end of the 1st century CE—before Plutarch (who has it 14 times), though Josephus uses it only twice (*Ant.* 9.149; 17.177). It seems odd to prefer this masculine plural form of the adjective without a definite article. (The note at *Life* 37 in BJP 9 does not explore this peculiarity.) The other surprise is that Josephus departs even from established usage of εἰς μέσους. Those who had employed the phrase earlier did so in a nearly formulaic way: with a verb of forceful or aggressive movement (βιάζω, press or force; ώθέω, push or shove; ῥίπτω, cast or hurl; ἵημι, release or shoot) and complementary direct object explaining whose “middles” were in question—usually πολεμίους (combatants) or ἐχθρούς (enemies, adversaries): it was usually a case of someone’s charging into the enemies’ “middles.” Josephus, however, has those combinations in only 3 of the phrase’s 15 occurrences (*Ant.* 5.206; 9.56; 12.429). In his narratives the accompanying verb is usually neutral (χωρέω, advance; πάρεμι, come by or be present; προ-/παρ-έρχομαι, step forward or come along; παράγω, lead by; φέρω, carry) and the “middles” are left without a noun-object complement (*War* 4.216; *Ant.* 3.308; 5.54; 17.130-131; 19.261; *Life* 37, 251, 255); often, the implied group is a “mob” of one’s own compatriots. Since the phrase by itself is unclear, we must rely on context for meaning (see next note).

⁹⁰¹ Josephus mentions spitting in two other places, both concerning the law of levirate marriage, which is

irrelevant here (*Ant.* 4.256; 5.335). Although it is possible that the Essene prohibition has to do with simple politeness, the context here does not suggest group activity: the same verb governs avoidance of spitting and of Sabbath work, the latter of which is illustrated by discussion of defecation practices. And the second qualification, “to the right side,” seems to preclude a group context, since it cannot be that it was acceptable to spit on those to one’s left.

There is a more likely explanation in view of Josephus’ language (τὸ πτύσαι εἰς μέσους ἢ τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος). Spitting in general, but particularly into the middle area of one’s body (Theophrastus, *Char.* 16.14; Theocritus, *Idyll.* 20.11; Tibullus 1.2.96)—the chest or torso (εἰς κόλπον πτύσαι; *in sinum spuendo*)—or to the right side, e.g. into the right shoe before dressing (Pliny, *Nat.* 24.172; 28.38; cf. Petronius, 74.13), were behaviors popularly thought to prevent or cure illnesses, though regarded by critics as superstitions (many examples in Nicolson 1897). The custom of spitting for luck or health was grounded in a belief in the curative powers of human saliva (explicitly Pliny, *Nat.* 38.35-39). Given the non-group context (sabbath observance and private defecation) and the very specific alternative here (to the right side), Josephus’ μέσους (“middles”) might well refer to refer to the middles of bodies, thus equivalent to κόλπος (so *Life* 326, where Josephus seizes an opponent wrestler-style, around the μέσος; cf. Herodotus 9.107; Aristophanes, *Eq.* 387; *Nub.* 1047), rather than to the middle of the group, as is normally assumed—for it was surely not acceptable to spit at a person on one’s left. If this interpretation is valid, then like some other philosophers, Josephus’ Essenes reject the common practice of spitting for good luck or to ward off disease.

It is widely assumed that Josephus’ remarks on Essene avoidance of spitting (in these two directions) is “strong evidence” for the Qumran-Essene identification (Beall 1988: 96; cf. Grabbe 1992: 2.495; VanderKam 1994: 87), because the *Community Rule* (*IQS* 7.13-15) prescribes a month’s penance for anyone who has spat into the middle of a gathered assembly (ואיש ואיש מושב הרבים (ירוק אל תוך מושב הרבים)). In spite of the superficially similar subject—spitting—the parallel is unimpressive. *IQS* 7 is listing a number of offensive behaviors that will be punished, e.g.: insulting companions, deceiving them, treating communal property recklessly, speaking foolishly, lying down to sleep during a meeting, going naked without reason, spitting into the assembly, dressing shabbily, or laughing uproariously. These are all the activities of people who lack self-control when they get together: a prohibition on public spitting (as in many

applying themselves to labors on the seventh days,⁹⁰² even more than all other Judeans: for not only do they prepare their own food one day before, so that they might not kindle⁹⁰³ a fire on that day, but they do not even dare to transport a container⁹⁰⁴—or go to relieve themselves.⁹⁰⁵

148 On the other days⁹⁰⁶ they dig a hole of a foot's⁹⁰⁷ depth with a trowel⁹⁰⁸—this is what that small hatchet⁹⁰⁹ given by them to the neophytes⁹¹⁰ is for—and wrapping their cloak around them completely,⁹¹¹ so as not to outrage the rays of God,⁹¹² they relieve

modern health clubs) is expected and unremarkable. If we had rules for other groups, we should expect similar prohibitions. (The Talmud [*b. Ber.* 24a-b], e.g., recommends ways of avoiding spittle build-up.) The context in Josephus is entirely different from that of *IQS* 7 in that it is not obviously public; it presents this matter as an example of extraordinary rigor (not as the avoidance of repugnant behavior); and it specifically indicates two directions.

⁹⁰² Judeans' observance of the sabbath was probably their best known, sometimes ridiculed, custom (e.g., Horace, *Sat.* 1.9.60-78; Ovid, *Ars amat.* 1.75-76, 415-16; Persius 5.184; Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.4-5; Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 4.6.2; Juvenal 14.105-6; Apion in *Apion* 2.21; cf. Schäfer 1997: 82-92; Gruen 2002: 48-50). In his later works Josephus will often mention this day with familiar σαββατ-forms, transliterating Hebrew כַּבֵּשׁ (*Ant.* 3.91, 143, 237; 12.259, 274; 13.12, 234, 252; 14.63, 64, 226, 242, 245, 258, 264; *Apion* 2.21, 27, 175, 282). In keeping with *War*'s Atticizing avoidance of foreign diction (see Introduction), however, it uses σαββατ-words sparingly (only 1.147; 2.456, 518, 635; cf. the Sabbatical River in 7.99, a special case). Josephus usually prefers to speak, as here, of the "7th days" (ταῖς ἑβδομάσιν)—a phrase rarely used in his later works.

In any case, the sabbath is conspicuous in *War*'s narrative. Josephus mentions it early in comparison with the 7th year (of rest), and again when Pompey faces diminished resistance while taking the city, since Judeans may fight only in direct self-defense, but do not pursue discretionary war-time activities, on the sabbath (1.145-48). King Agrippa's deliberative tour-de-force speech against the coming war cautions that the rebels will face the dilemma of either observing the Sabbath, and losing militarily, or violating it and losing divine favor (2.390-92). In the first conflict, however, they ignore the sabbath with great success (2.517-18). Then John of Gischala tricks a gullible Titus, using the sabbath as a pretext for his fateful escape to Jerusalem (4.99-103), and a Syrian Judean named Antiochus, who abandons his ancestral traditions, makes a point of trying to end sabbath-observance (7.50-53).

⁹⁰³ Reading ἐνάουσιεν with Niese, Thackeray and MSS MLR, though PA*, the corrector of A, and marginal glosses of LR have forms of ἄπτω or ἐνάπτω ("ignite"), sometimes in the passive voice, reading πῦρ ("fire") as a

nominative: "so that a fire might not be ignited."

⁹⁰⁴ Although Josephus does not engage in the later rabbinic discussions of what constitutes prohibited "work" on the sabbath, the two Essene restrictions he mentions—kindling fires and carrying jars—both have biblical warrant (Exod 35:3; Jer 17:21-27) and so figure essentially in rabbinic analysis (*m. Shabbat*, esp. 7:2).

⁹⁰⁵ The verb ἀποπατέω ("walk off, away"), which occurs only here in Josephus, is euphemistic for leaving the road to relieve oneself. For the sake of *variatio* Josephus manages to find another, rarer word in the next sentence.

⁹⁰⁶ That is, on days other than sabbaths.

⁹⁰⁷ Only here does Josephus use this elegant adjective, ποδιαῖος: "foot-long as to depth" rather than saying "one foot deep" or the like.

⁹⁰⁸ Greek σκαλίσ occurs only here in Josephus. Before his time it is attested only in Strabo 3.2.9. See the note to "hatchet" at 2.137 above. This implement recalls the הַת' of Deut 23:14 (OT 23:13), with which the Israelites were instructed to dig holes for defecation outside the camp.

⁹⁰⁹ Greek ἀξινίδιον occurs only here in Josephus and is unattested elsewhere except the 10th-cent. CE *Suda* lexicon, which merely gives it as a synonym for the form at 2.137 [ἀξινάριον]. See the note to 2.137, on the significance of this diction variation.

⁹¹⁰ This is the only occurrence in Josephus of νεοσύστατος (lit. someone or -thing "newly constituted"). It is unattested before his time and afterwards turns up only in a few medical writers, in relation to new diseases: Galen, *Comp. med. sec.* 12.830; Oribasius (4th cent. CE), *Coll. med.* 10.17.2; Aetius (6th cent. CE), *Latr.* 7.36.24; 8.16.12; 15.15.479.

⁹¹¹ This is the only occurrence of περικαλύπτω in Josephus—a word with few occasions for literal employment, since the preposition merely intensifies the meaning of the root: "conceal, cover." Josephus thus emphasizes that the sun-deity must not be offended by the merest glimpse of skin when the Essene is engaged in such undignified activity: the philosopher must be completely covered around. Cf. Deut 23:15 (OT 23:14) which warns the Israelites, precisely in the context of defecation, that God must not see "any naked thing" of them (עֲרוֹת דַּבָּר) and turn away from them.

⁹¹² Or "the God": the sun is obviously in view. Josephus' vivid phrase (τὰς ἀλύγας τοῦ θεοῦ) recalls Eurip-

themselves⁹¹³ into it [the hole]. **149** After that, they haul back the excavated⁹¹⁴ earth into the hole. (When they do this, they pick out for themselves the more deserted spots.)⁹¹⁵ Even though the secretion⁹¹⁶ of excrement is certainly a natural function, it is customary

ides, *Heracl.* 749-50, where the Chorus calls upon the “luminous rays of the God who brings light to mortals” (λαμπρόταται θεοῦ φαεσιμβρότου ἀύγαί) and anticipates Julian’s *Hymn to King Helios* (1.9), which also conveys the piety that might be involved: “since my childhood, a powerful longing for the rays of the God has fully possessed me; since I was a little boy, my mind was so completely given to the light that illuminates the ether. . . .” Cf. *Hymn. homer. cer.* 35, 280; Nicander, frag. 74.39 (Gow and Scholfield); Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 15.31.42 (Kaibel). Philo of Alexandria speaks frequently of God as “the purest ray” or as rays of sun: *Fug.* 136; *Mut.* 6; *Somn.* 1.72, 116 (“the rays of God”: αἱ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀύγαί), 239; *Praem.* 25; *Mos.* 1.66. On Essene reverence for the sun, see the notes at 2.128 above.

⁹¹³ The verb θακεύω, a more vivid synonym for ἀποπατέω in the previous sentence, occurs only here in Josephus. It is not attested before his time, though the undatable *Appendix Proverbiorum* (2.66) attributes to Peisistratus a saying about defecation within the precincts of Apollo’s temple (cf. also *Anth. Graec.* 11.407). Strikingly, after brief appearances just after his time in Plutarch (Plutarch, *Lyc.* 20.6; *Mor.* 232f [same anecdote]) and Artemidorus (1.2.96), it more or less disappears from Greek literature (except in the quotations of Josephus and in medieval lexicographers). This again makes it unlikely that Josephus borrows the word, though it is hapax, from a source.

⁹¹⁴ Although this verb (ἀνορύσσω) occurs only here in Josephus, it is a compounded form of the verb ορύσσω just used (“dig”) in 2.148, to which it refers.

⁹¹⁵ In keeping with the whole tenor of Josephus’ description of their pronounced modesty and purity, the Essenes’ preference for remote places for defecation is understandable. It recalls the prescription of Deut 23:13-15 (OT 23:12-14): the Israelites are to relieve themselves “outside the camp”; there they are to dig a hole for the purpose (with a stick or peg, ἧλ) and cover it again.

Many scholars have found what seems an impressive parallel in the avoidance of sabbath defecation among Josephus’ Essenes and among the people of the DSS, usually connected with the settlement at Qumran. For *IQM* 7.6-8 prescribes that latrines be located 2,000 cubits (roughly 1 km) from the camp, in the projected time of war, and *IIQT* 46:13-16 specifies 3,000 cubits (about 1.4 km), whereas one is permitted to walk only 1,000 cubits on the sabbath (*CD* 10.20-21; cf. Exod

16:29). It is considered striking that Josephus’ Essenes agree with the DSS in effectively prohibiting sabbath bowel movements.

A. I. Baumgarten (1996) has pointed out, however, that Josephus’ clear and distinctive prescription for Essene toilet practice poses a substantial difficulty for the Qumran-Essene hypothesis, because the *IQM* 7.7 and *IIQT* 46.13-16 (cf. 4Q91, f1, 3.7) both indicate built latrines: the latter “roofed houses with holes in them.” By contrast, Josephus emphasizes the ad hoc nature of Essene toilet practice, and hence the fundamental importance of the purpose-made hatchet received at initiation (2.137, 148). In any comparison with Josephus’ Essenes, therefore, *IIQT*’s prescriptions can only be explained away. The recent identification of a built latrine facility in the main Qumran complex itself (in L 51; cf. Magness 2002: 105-13) also creates obvious difficulties for identification of the site as Essene, which too can only be explained away, e.g. as necessitated by “fecal emergencies” (Zias and Tabor 2006-07: 633-34). In Magness’s view (2002: 108-9): “it appears that only practices which deviated from the norm are described by Josephus. . . . When they did not have access to built latrines in permanent settlements, they relieved themselves in the manner described by Josephus.” But of course Josephus appears to think that he is describing standard and distinctive Essene practice.

The yet more recent identification of an area some 300-400 m. NW of Qumran revealing parasitological evidence of old human excrement (Zias and Tabor 2006-07) faces different problems. Although Zias and Tabor propose that “this quadrant of the Qumran site is the only one that fits closely Josephus’ description of Essene toilet practices,” and “he may have well observed firsthand in the Qumran area” how Essenes relieved themselves (p. 638), Josephus is plainly describing Essene behavior throughout the cities (2.124), and not at Qumran. His language about their “picking out for themselves the more deserted spots” (τοὺς ἐρημοτέρους τόπους ἐκλεγόμενοι) would not seem to make much sense in the scenario depicted by Zias and Tabor, who describe the parasite field as the *only* suitable site for remote defecation (p. 638), which everyone would have had to use. It is in any case entirely unclear how or when the fecal parasites got there, or whether this was not also a built latrine site.

⁹¹⁶ The noun ἔκκρισις here is cognate to the verb ἐκκρίνω (“reckon out”) just above (2.143), where it is used of one ejected from the order. By using the two

to wash themselves off after it as if they have become polluted.⁹¹⁷

(8.10) 150 They are divided into four classes, according to their duration⁹¹⁸ in the training,⁹¹⁹ and the later-joiners are so inferior to the earlier-joiners that if they should touch them, the latter wash themselves off as if⁹²⁰ they have mingled with a foreigner.

151 [They are] long-lived,⁹²¹ most of them passing 100 years⁹²²—as a result, it seems to me at least,⁹²³ of the simplicity of their regimen⁹²⁴ and their orderliness.⁹²⁵ Despisers

*Essene
endurance,
toughness*

forms in such proximity (and hardly anywhere else), Josephus may be intending a word-play. The noun he uses elsewhere only at *Ant.* 3.261, speaking of gonorrhea, leprosy, and menstruation as grounds for exclusion from the community: in the last case, significantly, he describes the secretion as “natural” (κατὰ φύσιν)—albeit still requiring a period of purification—as here (φυσική).

⁹¹⁷ See the note to “pollutes” at 2.132: a major theme of the *War* (μίαισμα); see also Introduction. For washing off pollutions, see Philo, *Det.* 170.

⁹¹⁸ In 2.123 and 134 above (see discussion there), Josephus describes the executive leadership of the order—the curators/managers—as elected. It is not immediately clear how one should reconcile an elected leadership with the rigid seniority system mentioned here. Thackeray (LCL n. *b* to 2.150) passes along from J. B. Lightfoot the compelling proposal that these 4 grades correspond to the 4 levels of initiation described at 2.137-42. This would explain the rigid separation of newcomers (i.e., 1st-year novices) from senior (i.e., full) members on grounds of purity, which would not seem feasible if such men were working, bathing, and eating together (e.g., 2.128-33). It would also explain the principle of elected curators, which would obtain only among the full (4th-grade) members. It perhaps deserves emphasis (in general support of Beall 1988: 99-100) that neither the system of *elected* curators (2.123, 134) nor that of *duration*-determined grades (on any explanation of the latter) in Josephus matches the information gleaned from the DSS about Qumran leadership (by a Guardian/Overseer [רַב־בַּיִת] as well as Zadokite priests, Levites, and others; e.g., *IQS* 2.19-23; *CD* 14.3-4; *IQM* 13.1), *pace* among others M-B 437 n. 76.

⁹¹⁹ Or “exercise, discipline.” This is the nominal form (ἄσκησις; cf. “ascetic”) of the verb ἀσκέω, rendered “cultivate” at 2.119, 166. Just as the Essene philosophy is a system of training the character for Josephus, so too is the entire culture according to the Judean constitution (*Apion* 2.171-73). For the great power of rigorous training to inculcate virtue, irrespective of one’s birth, see the reported sayings of the Spartan lawgiver Lycurgus (Plutarch, *Mor.* [*Apoph. Lac.*] 226a-b). Plutarch’s Spartan sayings often juxtapose δίατα (regimen) and ἄσκησις, as Josephus does here (2.137-38, 151).

⁹²⁰ Note the similarity of wording with the previous

sentence: ἀπολούεσθαι . . . καθάπερ (“wash themselves off as if”)—possibly the reason for linking these substantively different statements.

⁹²¹ This is the only occurrence of μακρόβιος in Josephus. Aristotle had written a study of animals with varying lengths of life (*On Long and Short-Lived [Animals]*), though more germane for comparison with Josephus is Lucian’s 2nd-cent. CE essay, *The Long-Lived (Macrobioi)*, in which he observes that one’s regimen of life (δίατα), along with congenial air and soil, contributes much to longevity (*Macr.* 3-4, 6). Of entire nations, he has heard that the Chinese (*Seres*), who all drink water, live to 300 years (*Macr.* 5), though when it comes to describing individuals he counts anything over about 80 as a notably long life (8, 11-13, 15-16, 22, 27). Philosophers and orators often seem to live past 100 (*Macr.* 18-19, 23). The only lawgiver he includes is the Spartan Lycurgus (*Macr.* 28), who reached 85. On some of the complexities involved in calculating real life expectancy in the Roman world, see e.g. Parkin 1992; Frier 1999.

⁹²² In Lucian’s list of long-lived nations (previous note), the Chaldeans normally pass 100 because of a barley-bread that keeps them sharp-sighted and stronger than other men (*Macr.* 5). Lucian thinks that even without the benefit of outstanding air and soil, which have enabled some others to live to extraordinary lengths, in Rome itself one might hope for a long life if one applies oneself to healthy diet and exercise (*Macr.* 6). Josephus will later attribute the longevity of the ancients, e.g. Noah, who lived to 950 (*Ant.* 1.104-6), to their special relationship with God *and to their diet*—as well as a special favor granted for them to pursue astronomical calculations beyond normal life spans. He uses the same verb for longevity [παρρατείνω] there as here. In *Ant.* 10.190-94 he considerably embellishes the Bible to discuss the beneficial effects of the diet maintained by Daniel and his associates.

⁹²³ The phrase ἔμοιγε δοκεῖν is peculiar (contrast ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ—attested dozens of times in Xenophon, Plato, Aeschines, etc.) and an almost unique stylistic trait of *War*. Before Josephus it is found once in Plato’s *Meno* (81a) and once in the *Hippias Maior* (291a) attributed to Plato (also in the Orphic *Testimonia*, frag. 5.6, and Stobaeus, *Anth.* 4.1.114, both difficult to date), but otherwise in no known author before the 2nd century CE. Yet Josephus has it here and at *War* 2.479; 3.302; 4.312; 6.4.

of terrors,⁹²⁶ triumphing over agonies by their wills,⁹²⁷ considering death—if it arrives with glory—better than deathlessness.⁹²⁸ **152** The war against the Romans⁹²⁹ proved their

It is a stylistic trait of *War*, therefore, and hardly likely to have been borrowed from a source on the Essenes.

⁹²⁴ See the note at 2.137.

⁹²⁵ Or “discipline.” The word εὐταξία appears frequently (13 of 16 times in Josephus) in *War*, where it is otherwise in every case the hallmark of the Roman legions: 1.22 (coupled with ἄσκησις as here—previous section), 143; 2.529, 580; 3.85, 467, 488; 4.635; 5.285, 353; 6.22. At 2.580 Josephus will hold out Roman discipline as a model for his own Galilean soldiers. Given his choice of τάγμα (“order”) as a group description of the Essenes (the word translated “legion” in other contexts), it is hard to escape the conclusion that he wishes to evoke all of the legions’—and Spartans’—less bellicose virtues (absolute discipline, celibacy, unflinching courage, etc.) in this admirable “corps” of Judean men. Although Spartan discipline was more typically described with the nearly synonymous εὐνομία (Plutarch, *Lyc.* 5.3; 29.6; 30.2; *Mor.* 239f), Xenophon may use εὐταξία at *Lac.* 8.1 (so Dindorf, where the MSS have εὐεξία).

⁹²⁶ Holding death (see the next sentence) and its terrors in contempt was widely understood to be the acid test of any claim to true philosophy, and this was a point of intersection between ethical and martial virtue: Warren 2004; Diodorus 5.29.2; 15.86.3; 17.11.4-5, 43.6, 107.6; Dionysius *Ant. rom.* 5.46.4; Philo, *Prob.* 30; *Abr.* 183; Musonius Rufus, *Diss.* 10; Epictetus, *Diatr.* 4.1.70, 71; Plutarch, *Brut.* 12.2; Lucian, *Peregr.* 13, 23, 33; Marcus Aurelius, *Med.* 4.50.1; 9.3.1; 12.34.1; Poly-aenus, *Strat.* 5.14.1; Diogenes Laertius 1.6; Phalaris, *Ep.* 103.3; Appian, *Celt.* 1.9; *Bell. civ.* 5.4.36; Dio 43.38.1; 46.26.2, 28.5; 62.25.1. Cf. esp. Seneca’s moral epistle on “despising death” (*contemno mortem*, *Ep.* 24), which offers many parallels to the present passage (2.151-59). The Essenes display a Stoic-like (and ideal Roman) imperviousness to external impressions (cf. Cicero, *Part. or.* 75-80).

The phrase καταφρονηταὶ τῶν δεινῶν is striking, first, because 2 of the 3 occurrences in Josephus of the unusual agent-noun καταφρονητής (“despiser”) occur in this Essene passage: at 2.122 (near the beginning; note the symmetry) they are “despisers of *wealth*.” This equal disdain for the two great human motivators—pleasure (cf. 1.120, through wealth) and pain (portending death)—happens to agree with Plutarch’s roughly contemporary portrait of the Spartans, who also despise (καταφρονέω) both the pleasures (*Mor.* [Apoph. *Lac.*] 210a) and death (210f, 216c, 219e).

But the author with the heaviest investment in such language is Josephus: throughout his writings he pres-

ents contempt for death as a singular Judean virtue. In *War* the theme has been introduced casually in the person of the rebel Athrongeus (2.60), but it will become the chief characteristic of Judean fighters (3.357, 475; 5.88, 458; 6.42; 7.406), which Roman generals can only try to inculcate in the legions (6.33). Throughout *Antiquities*, similarly, Josephus features this Judean trait, beginning with an encomium on King Saul’s example (*Ant.* 6.344-47). There we meet the only other example of the agent-noun καταφρονητής in Josephus: “fellow-despisers of terrors” will learn much from Saul’s example. Note especially Josephus’ remark that the Judean constitution inculcates contempt for death (θανάτου περιφρόνησις), among other virtues (*Apion* 2.146), in all Judeans, and his closing statement (*Apion* 2.294) that in wartime Judeans despise death (θανάτου καταφρονεῖν). Once again, his description of the Essenes embodies his fondest vision of the entire Judean tradition; it can hardly come from a source.

⁹²⁷ On mastery over pain through a set of laws, see Plato, *Leg.* 634b; in more general philosophical terms, Epicurus, *Gnom. frag.* 4: πάντα ἀλγηδῶν εὐκαταφρόνητος; cf. Philo, *Prob.* 30. Josephus has a curious parallel on the defeating of pain under torture in *Ant.* 18.25—of the “4th Philosophy.” Cf. 4 Macc 3:18; 14:1, 11.

⁹²⁸ Such a saying (τὸν δὲ θάνατον, εἰ μετ’ εὐκλείας πρόσσεισι, νομίζοντες ἀθανασίας ἀμείνονα), though closely paralleled at 1.58, seems unattested elsewhere. It was a commonplace that death with glory was preferable to an ignoble life (Xenophon, *Lac.* 9.1—the famous principle of the Spartans; cf. Plutarch, *Mor.* [Apoph. *Lac.*] 225d) or that death with glory brings, or amounts to, immortality (Polybius 6.54.2; Philo, *Prob.* 120; *Plant.* 45-46; *Virt.* 33; 4 Macc 6:19 // Origen, *Exhort. mart.* 22; Josephus, *Ant.* 12.282). In both cases the assumption is that real deathlessness is of course unobtainable, but glory achieved in life (especially glorious death) at least preserves one’s name in perpetuity, which is a kind of immortality. To say that death with (immortal) glory is preferable to immortality itself is paradoxical, and the more effective for it.

⁹²⁹ This formulation (ὁ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμος) matches that of the opening sentence of this work (τὸν Ἰουδαίων πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον; “the war of Judeans against Romans”) and *Ant.* 1.4 (“the war against the Romans waged by us, the Judeans” [τὸν μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ἡμῖν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις γινόμενον]). Josephus does not flinch from understand-

souls in every way:⁹³⁰ during it, while being twisted⁹³¹ and also bent,⁹³² burned and also broken,⁹³³ and passing through all the torture-chamber instruments,⁹³⁴ with the aim that they might insult the lawgiver⁹³⁵ or eat something not customary,⁹³⁶ they did not put up with suffering either one: not once gratifying those who were tormenting [them], or crying.⁹³⁷ **153** But smiling in their agonies⁹³⁸ and making fun⁹³⁹ of those who were inflicting

ing the conflict as one waged by his people, in which he proudly fought, against the Romans—even though its causes, course, and consequences were regrettable. See also *Apion* 2.271-72 and 2.219: the facts [presumably, the recent war in particular] have made it clear to everyone that “already many of our people, and on many occasions, have chosen to suffer spectacularly rather than utter a single word against the law.”

⁹³⁰ Knowing that one’s handling of death is the true test of philosophy, in the *Against Apion* Josephus claims that his compatriots in general have spectacularly passed the test before the Roman world (*Apion* 2.232-34): “Has anyone ever heard of a case of our people, not, I mean, in such large numbers, but merely two or three, proving traitors to their laws or afraid of death? I do not refer to the easiest of deaths, on the battlefield, but death accompanied by physical torture, which is thought to be the hardest of all. To such a death we are, I believe, exposed by some of our conquerors . . . from a curiosity to witness the astonishing spectacle of men who believe that the only evil that can befall them is to be compelled to do any act or utter any word contrary to their laws. . . . Our willing obedience to the law in these matters [sc. with respect to food and drink] results in the heroism we display in the face of death.”

⁹³¹ Of the 5 occurrences of στρεβλόω in Josephus, 4 are in the *War* (1.548; 4.329; 7.373), with several of the following words clustered there as here: βάσανος (“torture”), αικία or αικίζω (“torment”), διαλέγω (“test, prove, expose”), ὑπομένω (“endure”). These same words are concentrated, along with others graphically depicting endurance under torture, in 4 Maccabees (στρεβλόω—7:4, 14; 8:11, 13, 24; 9:17, 2; 12:3, 11; 14:12; 15:14, 24, 25; αικία—1:11; 6:9, 16; 7:4; 14:1; 15:19; ὑπομένω—1:11; 5:23; 7:9, 22; 9:8, 30; 15:30; 16:17, 22; 17:4, 12, 17, 23), a fact that seems to highlight Josephus’ debt to this work.

⁹³² Josephus uses the verb λυγίζω (here passive participle) only here, and it is barely attested before his time (Sophocles, *Trach.* 779; Plato, *Resp.* 405c; Eupolis, frag. 339 [Kock]). From the 2nd century CE, however, it becomes more popular: Lucian, *Salt.* 77; *Pod.* 114, 287; Galen *passim*; Pollux, *Onom.* 3.155; Philostratus, *Imag.* 2.32.2; Aelian, *Nat. an.* 2.11; Tatian, *Or. graec.* 22.1.

⁹³³ The Greek is euphonous: καίόμενοι τε καὶ κλώμενοι. Burning as torture again recalls 4 Maccabees (6:26, 27; 10:14; 15:22; 16:4; 18:14). In *War*, the

main object of burning—and endurance—is the temple in Jerusalem (5.445; 6.10, 165, 21, 234, 271, 272, 282, 316, 355, 264, 372).

⁹³⁴ Josephus uses βασανιστήριον (“torture chamber”) only here. Though amply attested from Plutarch onward, it seems to appear before his time, outside of a fragment from Theopompus (frag. 63 [Kock]), only in 4 Maccabees (6:1; 8:1, 12, 19, 25)—another indication of the Maccabean literature’s influences on him here (see preceding notes in this section). Similarly, the “instruments” (ὄργανα) of torture appear often in 4 Maccabees (6:25; 9:20, 26; 10:5, 7, 18), elsewhere in *War* at 1.635. Seneca has his friend Lucilius imagine the horrible instruments of torture that tear away the flesh, as he encourages him to despise death (*Ep.* 24.14).

⁹³⁵ See 2.145 above, where the Essenes are said to consider defamation of the lawgiver (Moses) a capital offense.

⁹³⁶ Or “any of the unaccustomed things” (τι τῶν ἀσυνήθων). This is the only occurrence in Josephus of the negative ἀσυνήθης, and we do not know its precise referent. The closest verbal parallel seems to be in Galen, whose book on familiar vs. unfamiliar practices (*De consuetudinibus* 114) includes the example of unaccustomed foods (βρώματα ἀσυνήθη)—in a more general sense (cf. his *Comp. med.* 13.167). Josephus appears to mean foods excluded by biblical law as currently interpreted (Deut 14-15; cf. *Ant.* 3.259-60; *Apion* 2.173-74); the forced eating of pork and such things was a typical feature of persecution, especially in the paradigmatic Hasmonean revolt (2 Macc 7:1; 4 Macc 5:1-2; cf. *War* 1.34). Josephus’ concern for dietary law comes up repeatedly in his narratives: his adversary John of Gischala allegedly had improper (ἄθεσμος) food served at his table (*War* 7.264); Daniel and his colleagues refused the food of the Babylonian royal court (*Ant.* 10.190-94—Josephus turns this into a preference for vegetarian food); and Josephus’ imprisoned colleagues in Rome inspired his admiration because, not forgetting piety, they were existing on figs and nuts (*Life* 14).

⁹³⁷ The precise sense of the Greek (οὐδέτερον ὑπέμειναν παθεῖν, ἀλλ’ οὐδέκολακεῦσαι ποτε τοὺς αἰκίζομένους ἢ δακρῦσαι) is unclear. One problem is the meaning and object range of the governing finite verb ὑπομένω, which could have the senses “survive, live on”; hence “bear with, submit to”—the last meanings espe-

the tortures, they would cheerfully⁹⁴⁰ dismiss their souls,⁹⁴¹ [knowing] that they would get them back again.⁹⁴²

(8.11) 154 For the view has become tenaciously held among them that whereas our bodies are perishable⁹⁴³ and their matter impermanent, our souls endure forever, deathless:⁹⁴⁴

Essene views of soul, afterlife

cially common with a following infinitive as here (“to suffer, undergo X”). The second problem is the meaning of the infinitive παθεῖν, and the third, the relationship between it and the following infinitives (“flatter, gratify” and “weep, cry”). Are these also covered by the finite verb? If so, does the “neither” refer to forced eating of non-kosher food or defaming the lawgiver (the more natural reading, since they precede), or (also, awkwardly) to the possibilities of gratifying the tormentors or crying (the infinitives following)? And what exactly is the “suffering” that the Essenes *did not tolerate*, since they did in fact undergo terrible tortures? All of this is complicated by the strong disjunction “but” in Greek, where I have placed the colon.

The MS tradition reflects these problems. V glosses “neither” as “of the things not customary.” In his 3rd-cent. paraphrase of this passage, which is otherwise quite faithful, Porphyry (*Abst.* 4.13), as quoted also by Eusebius (*Praep. ev.* 9.3 [407c]), resolves the matter by breaking up the sentence, omitting παθεῖν, interposing explanatory clauses, and supplying ὑπομένω *twice*, with different referents: “*From such a training as this they have produced endurance: for example, being racked and twisted . . . with the aim that they might defame the lawgiver or eat something not customary, to submit in neither case. They displayed this in the war against the Romans, when they did not submit to gratifying their tormentors or to crying.*” In the translation above I have given full weight to the problematic “suffering” (παθεῖν), reading it in light of the Essenes’ voluntary dismissal of their souls (next sentence), and included the following infinitives as part of what the Essenes did not endure, while leaving the precise referent of “neither” ambiguous. The resulting sense is that they did not cling to life, but ended their suffering (and precluded either tears or capitulation to the torturers) by confidently letting go of their souls—robbing the tormentors of their goals.

⁹³⁸ According to *War* 3. 320-21, Vespasian was deeply impressed with Judean courage at Iotapata, after capturing a fighter who held out under every kind of torture, even fire, refusing to tell his captors what they wished to know. When crucified, he too “met death with a smile.”

⁹³⁹ Or “regarding ironically.” Josephus has a large investment in “irony” language, here κατετριώνεομαι, esp. in the *War* (1.84, 209; 2.26, 29, 153, 298, 522; 4.127, 152, 279, 334, 340, 342; 5.233, 242, 531; 7.270). *Antiquities-Life* has, by contrast, only 3 occurrences: *Ant.*

15.279, 374; *Life* 367. This language is closely related to that for “figured speech” (built on the σχῆμα- root: 2.29, 259, 603; 4.154, 265, 336, 340) and reinforces *War*’s tragic-ironic character (see Introduction). Such discourse was not used by earlier known historians (e.g., Herodotus, Thucydides, Polybius), which makes Josephus’ interest in the category that much more interesting—given his debt to the classical historians in many other ways. Although Josephus has some 18 occurrences of εἰρων-words, the major users before his time are Aristophanes (3), Plato (16), Aristotle (29), Theophrastus (6), Demosthenes (3), Dionysius (11), and Philo (2). His rough contemporary Plutarch (36) also has a large investment, which might suggest that the explicit use of irony-language, indicating everything from chicanery to artful speech, was a sign of his times (see Mason 2005a).

⁹⁴⁰ Others who face death cheerfully (εὐθυμοσ) include Josephus himself (3.382), Titus’ faithful soldiers (6.184), the Judean fighters (6.364), and Herod’s brother Phasaël (*Ant.* 14.369). On the virtue of contempt for death, see the note to “terrors” at 2.151.

⁹⁴¹ The phrase “dismiss [or let go of, send away, give up] one’s soul” (here τὰς ψυχὰς ἠφίεσαν) is one that Josephus uses several times (*War* 6.183; 7.344; *Ant.* 5.148; 14.369; 19.107). It usually has a strong sense of voluntariness (rather than merely letting go of life), as in the only other author near Josephus’ time who employs the phrase (cf. Hippocrates, *Aff. int.* 39.26): the 2nd-century Pausanias (2.5.8; 4.21.11; 5.27.11; 7.13.8; 8.40.2, 5, 44.8, 51.8; 9.33.1; 10.2.4, 22.4, 23.12, 32.17; cf. Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. Clit.* 5.12.3). Such active release of life, in order to regain it later, recalls the Maccabean martyrs’ behavior in 2 Macc 6:23; 7:11; 14:46; 4 Macc 6:27-30; 10:20-21; 12:19.

⁹⁴² The language of “getting/giving [bodies, spirits, souls] back again” (κομίζω + πάλιν), in the resurrection or afterlife, continues to echo the martyrdom scenes of 2 Macc 7:11, 14, 23, 29; esp. 14:46.

⁹⁴³ A common observation (φθαρτὰ μὲν εἶναι τὰ σώματα): cf. Aristotle, *Cael.* 305a; Philo, *Opif.* 119; Galen, *Plac. Hipp. Plat.* 8.3.16.

⁹⁴⁴ Cf. Plato, *Meno* 81b (citing Pindar and others): “The human soul is deathless (τὴν ψυχὴν . . . ἀθάνατον) and although it comes to an end, which is called death, it then lives again (πάλιν γίγνεσθαι) and is never destroyed.” Josephus’ Greek for describing the Essenes is: φθαρτὰ μὲν εἶναι τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν ὕλην οὐ μόνιμον αὐτῶν,

they get entangled, having emanated from the most refined ether,⁹⁴⁵ as if drawn down by a certain charm⁹⁴⁶ into the prisons that are bodies.⁹⁴⁷ **155** But when they are released from the restraints of the flesh,⁹⁴⁸ as if freed from a long period of slavery,⁹⁴⁹ then they rejoice and are carried upwards in suspension.⁹⁵⁰ For the good, on the one hand, sharing the view of the sons of Greece⁹⁵¹ they portray the lifestyle⁹⁵² reserved beyond Oceanus⁹⁵³ and a place⁹⁵⁴

τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἀθανάτους ἀεὶ διαμένειν. This closely matches his language elsewhere; cf. the remarkably similar observations in his own speech at Iotapata, which agrees even in diction and μέν . . . δέ sentence structure (3.372): “Whereas indeed the bodies are mortal for all, and fashioned of perishable matter, a soul is forever deathless, and—a portion of God—takes up residence in the bodies” (τὰ μὲν γε σώματα θνητὰ πᾶσιν καὶ ἐκ φθαρτῆς ὕλης δεδημιούργηται, ψυχὴ δὲ ἀθάνατος ἀεὶ καὶ θεοῦ μοῖρα τοῖς σώμασιν ἐνοικίζεται).

⁹⁴⁵ Greek ἐκ τοῦ λεπτοτάτου φοιτώσας αἰθέρος. Cf. the roughly symmetrical parallel in 6.47: Titus reassures his despondent troops that “souls released from the flesh by the sword on the battlefield are hospitably welcomed by the purest element, ether (τὸ καθαρώτατον στοιχεῖον αἰθήρ).” These are the only occurrences of αἰθήρ in Josephus, except for the quotation at *Apion* 2.11. In Homeric cosmology, ether was the upper region of the heaven or air (ἀήρ): *Il.* 14.288. The 1st-century CE Heraclitus (*All. Hom.* 22.4) remarks that “the most refined ether is fastened up (less likely “kindled”) by/from the air” (τὸ λεπτότατον ἀπὸ ἀέρος αἰθήρ ἀνάπτεται). In the 3rd cent. CE Porphyry defines ether as “the air having the most refined particles” (ἔστι γὰρ ὁ αἰθήρ ἄηρ ὁ λεπτομερέστατος; *Peri agalm.* 4.3). For ether as the home of souls, cf. [Plato], *Epin.* 984c; Empedocles, *Frag.* 115.20 (the demiurge casts souls from the ether into the sea); Alexander Polyhistor, frag. 140.67 [Müller] (they say that the soul is a fragment of the ether). A Greek inscription (*IG* 1.442 noted in LSJ) remarks that “souls are received by the ether, bodies by the earth.” The Indian interlocutor of Philostratus’ Apollonius (*Vit. Apoll.* 42, end) observes that Apollonius bears in his soul a generous portion of ether. This seems to be a great compliment to him, rather than a comment on humanity in general, for earlier (34) he had declared ether, as the 5th element, the stuff of the Gods: what they inhale as mortals inhale air.

Forms of λεπτός with αἰθήρ occur mainly in philosophical fragments from Chrysippus (in Philo, *Aet. mund.* 102: in the great conflagration of the cosmos it will be resolved into “the most refined ether”; in Plutarch, *Mor. [Fac. lun.]* 928c: Stoics say that the luminous part of ether became sky, the condensed part stars, the most sluggish part the moon; cf. *Mor. [Stoic. rep.]* 1053a) and Posidonius (*Frag.* 271c [Theiler]).

⁹⁴⁶ Only here does Josephus use the word ἴνυξ. Although it literally indicates a kind of bird (wryneck), the practice of binding a iynx to a wheel in order to charm estranged lovers back to one another (Pindar, *Pyth.* 4.213; *Nem.* 4.35) had the result that the word itself had come to stand for “spell” or “charm” (Aristophanes, *Lys.* 1110; Xenophon, *Mem.* 3.11.17-18; Diogenes Laertius 6.76; Philostratus, *V. Ap.* 8.7); cf. English “jinx.” In the context of romance, the word was often accompanied by ἔλκω (“draw, pull”) as here. So Xenophon and Pindar above; Theocritus, *Id.* 2.17, 22, 27, 42, 47, 52, 63; Plutarch, *Mor.* 1093d; Lucian, *Dom.* 13; Aelian, *Nat. an.* 1.23; 2.9; 2.21; 5.40; 6.31; 10.14 etc. By using such a colorful word in the context of *souls* being attracted toward bodies, in such an apparently original way, Josephus continues to display learned wit.

⁹⁴⁷ Cf. Josephus’ speech at Iotapata: a soul is “a portion of God [that] takes up residence in the bodies” (θεοῦ μοῖρα τοῖς σώμασιν ἐνοικίζεται; *War* 3.372). He often speaks of death as therefore the liberation or release of the soul: *War* 1.84 [a body of shame detains the soul]; 6.47, 7.344, 353 [Eleazar at Masada speaking]; *Ant.* 6.3; *Apion* 2.203). Sievers (1998) collects the passages and offers concise analysis; cf. Mason 1991: 156-70. The background is broadly Platonic: *Phaedo* 65a; *Crat.* 400c (cf. Courcelle 1965); cf. the cave analogy of *Resp.* 514a-518b. Note also Seneca (*Ep.* 24.4): “What, then? Am I free *now*? Look at this burdensome weight of a body to which Nature has bound me!”

⁹⁴⁸ Alexander Polyhistor vividly portrays the veins, arteries, and sinews of a body as the very restraints (δεσμά) that bind the ether-soul (*Frag.* 140.102-104 [Müller]).

⁹⁴⁹ That the body was a prison for the soul was a commonplace in Platonic thought, as it is in Josephus (see note to “bodies” at 2.154).

⁹⁵⁰ Greek μετεώρους φέρεσθαι. The verb and adjective form a well-attested pair, though not otherwise in Josephus. A fable of Aesop (29) speaks prosaically of a crow carrying its scavenged cheese (ἐν μετεώρῳ φέρων).

⁹⁵¹ On Greco-Roman views of the afterlife, see e.g. Cumont 1922; Moore 1963; Stettner 1933; Long 1948; Glasson 1961; Jackson Knight 1970; Pater 1984; Caes 1985; Beck 1999. This reference to Greeks in the 3rd person, developed below with mildly sarcastic or at least

burdened by neither rain nor snow nor heat, but⁹⁵⁵ which a continually blowing mild west wind⁹⁵⁶ from Oceanus⁹⁵⁷ refreshes.⁹⁵⁸ For the base, on the other hand, they separate off a murky, stormy recess⁹⁵⁹ filled with unending retributions.⁹⁶⁰

distancing overtones (2.156), is characteristic of Josephus (see the notes to *War* 1.13-16), and it raises the question of his expected audience. The following phrases (through 2.156a) draw heavily from Hesiod's famous passage concerning the 4th race in his description of the declining eons (*Op.* 156-78), perhaps also from Pindar; see notes below.

⁹⁵² This is an artful re-use of the word Josephus has favored for the *Essene* "regimen" (δίαίτα; see note at 2.137).

⁹⁵³ Compare the Greek here (τὴν ὑπὲρ ἄκεανὸν δίαίταν) and that for "the heroes and demi-gods" as well as "the Islands of the Blessed" in 2.156 (τὰς μακάρων νήσους) with Hesiod's description of the 4th age (*Op.* 169-170): "And they [the happy heroes] live, having a carefree spirit, in the Islands of the Blessed alongside deep-flowing Oceanus" (καὶ τοὶ μὲν ναίουσιν ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες ἐν μακάρων νήσοισι παρ' Ὠκεανὸν βαθυδίνην). Oceanus was the vast water-body—sometimes called a "river," but understood without a bank on the far side—that was generally thought to enclose the inhabited earth (cf. Hecataeus of Miletus, ca. 500 BCE, in Jacoby 1a.1.F frag. 302b; Aristotle, *Mund.* 393b; Cicero, *Rep.* 6.20.21; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.130; 3.185; Romm 1992: 12-44; Dilke 1998: 13, 34-71). Herodotus' famous challenge did not make much of a dent in the tradition (4.8; cf. 2.23; 4.36): "As for Oceanus, in discourse *they say* that it flows round the whole earth from where Helios [the sun] begins its rise, though they cannot demonstrate this in practice." Early in the 1st century CE Strabo pointedly reaffirms Homer's conception of encircling Oceanus as both the region where the sun rises and the place where it sets. Mentioned often by Homer (e.g., *Il.* 14.311; 16.151; 18.402) and Hesiod (e.g., *Theog.* 133, 265, 282, 294), this unexplored and mysterious body of water, and the limits of social existence it represented, were full of exotic possibilities—from the Hyperboreans and Homer's Cimmerians to Plato's Atlantis and Euhemerus' Panchaea (see note to "come up" at 2.128). Oceanus was the subject of a lost book by the polymath 1st-century BCE Stoic philosopher Posidonius (Strabo 2.2-3) and appears frequently in writers with geographical interests such as Diodorus and Strabo.

Given that Philo uses the word "beyond-oceanish" (ὑπερωκεάνιος) for "strange, unworldly" (*Conf.* 134; *Somn.* 2.130), his remark that the Roman empire includes not only what is within the Ocean but also lands beyond it (*Legat.* 10) is all the more effective; he is possibly thinking of Britain (not yet taken in Philo's time), for Josephus and others hold that Britain (now conquered)

was an island across and surrounded by the Ocean (*War* 2.378; 6.331; cf. Florus 1.45.2, 16 and Mattern 1999: 115 n. 157). In Josephus' day it was commonly asserted, hyperbolically, that the Roman empire had become effectively coextensive with the inhabited earth, and some dreamed of travel beyond Oceanus. See Romm 1992: 9-44, 121-71.

⁹⁵⁴ Josephus at Iotapata: "the souls of those who die naturally are allotted the holiest heavenly place" (χῶρος).

⁹⁵⁵ The passage evokes the image of the abode of the Gods, Mt. Olympus, in Homer, *Od.* 6.43-6, which has "neither wind. . . , nor rain. . . , nor snow. . . but shining bright air (αἴθρη) and white light." At any rate, "beyond Oceanus" indicates a world entirely removed from the one known to mortals.

⁹⁵⁶ This is the only reference to the zephyr (ζέφυρος) in Josephus. Hesiod had famously personified Zephyrus and the other winds as divine beings (*Theog.* 378-80).

⁹⁵⁷ Although the syntax of the sentence appears to suggest this translation of ἐξ ὠκεανοῦ ("from Oceanus"), because of the need for anchoring the participle "blowing over" and the finite verb "refreshes," the compound verb ἐξωκεανίζω in Strabo—who favors it—means rather "(to) place/locate *beyond Oceanus*" (Strabo 1.2.10, 17, 18, 35, 37, 40; 7.3.6; cf. Polybius 34.4.5; Aristonicus, *Sign. Odys.* 4.556), a usage that in this context would parallel ὑπὲρ ὠκεανόν in the preceding clause.

⁹⁵⁸ Cf. Pindar, *Ol.* 2.54-74 (B. L. Gildersleeve, trans.): "Wealth adorned with excellence . . . is a brilliant star, a man's true light, at least if one has and knows the future, *that the reckless souls of those who have died on earth immediately pay the penalty--and for the crimes committed in this realm of Zeus there is a judge below the earth; with hateful compulsion he passes his sentence.* But having the sun always in equal nights and equal days, *the good receive a life free from toil, not scraping with the strength of their arms the earth, nor the water of the sea, for the sake of a poor sustenance. But in the presence of the honored gods, those who gladly kept their oaths enjoy a life without tears, while the others undergo a toil that is unbearable to look at.* Those who have persevered three times, on either side, to keep their souls free from all wrongdoing, follow Zeus' road to the end, to the tower of Cronus, *where ocean breezes blow around the island of the blessed* (ἐνθα μακάρων νᾶσον ὠκεανίδες αὔραι περιπνέουσιν) . . ."

⁹⁵⁹ Greek ζοφώδη καὶ χειμέριον ἀφορίζονται μυχόν. Although the final word might indicate a remote or innermost room (cf. Thackeray in LCL, "tempestuous

156 It was according to the same notion that the Greeks appear to me⁹⁶¹ to have laid on the Islands of the Blessed⁹⁶² for their most courageous men, whom they call heroes and demi-gods,⁹⁶³ and for the souls of the worthless⁹⁶⁴ the region of the impious⁹⁶⁵ in Hades, in which connection they tell tales⁹⁶⁶ about the punishments of certain men⁹⁶⁷—Sisyphuses⁹⁶⁸

dungeon”; Josephus uses it of the Holy of Holies at *Ant.* 3.142), it is hard to visualize a stormy chamber. In any case, the emphasis is on the contrast between the clear, sun-blessed, and temperate zone reserved for the good and the obscure, miserable place for the wicked.

⁹⁶⁰ Greek γέμοντα τιμωριῶν ἀδιαλείπτων: see the similar phrases at 2.157 and 2.163, of the fate of the wicked in Essene and Pharisaic theology, respectively.

⁹⁶¹ Greek δοκοῦσι δὲ μοι: see the parallel in Polybius, discussed in the note to “retribution” at 2.157 below.

⁹⁶² This image, along with several others in the immediate context, derives ultimately from Hesiod, *Op.* 169-170 (see note to “Oceanus” at 2.155 above). Nevertheless, between Hesiod and Josephus many other writers had mentioned blessed islands, notably Pindar (see note to “refreshes” at 2.155), Plato with Atlantis, and Euhemerus with Panchaia (see the note to “come up” at 2.128).

⁹⁶³ Greek τοῖς τε ἀνδρείοις αὐτῶν, οὓς ἥρωας καὶ ἡμιθέους καλοῦσιν. Cf. Hesiod’s famous 4th age of humanity, described at *Op.* 159-60 (see note to “Oceanus” at 2.155 above): “a divine race of hero men, who are called demi-gods” (ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖον γένος, οἱ καλέονται ἡμίθεοι). The two terms are often used either interchangeably or in overlapping senses: of Homer’s and Hesiod’s characters (Plato, *Crat.* 398c; Theocritus, *Idyll.* 17.5; Diodorus 4.1.1, 1.4-5, 85.7; 5.49; 17.1.4; Philo, *Congr.* 16.1; Plutarch, *Mor.* [*Def. or.*] 415b; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 2.7; 31.17, 92; 33.2; Lucian, *Men.* 15; Aelius Herodian, *Part.* p. 52) or the founders and great figures of Rome’s past (Diodorus 37.11.1). Although Josephus is comparing Essene and Greek beliefs here, his language distances himself from the Greek conceptions (“laid on,” “they call,” “they tell tales,” the plural names of the impious in Hades, etc.). On “heroes,” cf. Theophrastus, *Char.* 16.4: the superstitious person, on seeing a certain poisonous snake, erects a hero-sanctuary on the spot. A minor work by the 3rd-cent. CE Philostratus, Ἡρωϊκός (*Heroicus*), deals critically with the Homeric heroes of the Trojan War; cf. Aitken and Maclean 2001, 2004.

⁹⁶⁴ Or “the wretched, rotten, useless, base, evil” (οἱ πονηροί), extended from the literal sense of “weighed down, oppressed,” thence “wearisome, grievous”: a usefully vague stock category in Josephus and many ancient authors (cf. 2.258, 273, 275, 304, 352, 538, 539).

⁹⁶⁵ For this phrase as descriptor of Hades, see Philo, *Cher.* 3; Plutarch, *Mor.* [*Soll. anim.*] 975b; esp. Lucian, *Ver. hist.* 2.26; *Cat.* 12; *Men.* 12; *Luct.* 8.

⁹⁶⁶ Greek μυθολογέω. The only other occurrences of this verb in Josephus (*Apion* 1.25, 105) has a clearly pejorative sense: “to retail fables” (in contrast to historical records or reliable evidence). In established usage long before his time, this verb and cognate nouns (e.g., μῦθος, μυθολογία) referred in the first instance—without necessarily any moral assessment—to the stories of heroes, Gods, and Demi-gods told by Homer, Hesiod, and the early tragedians (Isocrates, *Nic.* 48-9; Plato, *Phaedo* 61b-e; *Pol.* 304c-d; Aristotle, *Pol.* 1284a, 1312a). The 4th-cent. BCE historians Ephorus and Theopompus, students of Isocrates, were known, notwithstanding much praise for their writing, for recycling fables as history (e.g., Diodorus 1.9.5; 4.1.2-3; cf. Sacks 1990: 112). Plato had famously opposed such story-telling to truth, and so excluded the use of the classical poets, with their scandalous tales about the gods, from his ideal state (*Resp.* 377b-378d, 388e-392d; cf. *Phaedr.* 229b-c, 276e). Diodorus makes telling and relevant use of μυθολογία in his moralizing prologue (1.2.2): if even the fabricated (πεπλασμένη) stories of Hades incite men to virtue, how much more will history, which deals in truth, train the character for excellence? Seneca (*Ep.* 24.18) likewise hesitates before mentioning Ixion, Sisyphus, and (the punishment of) Tityus, after noting Epicurus’ attack on such ideas about the Gods.

Elsewhere in his writings Josephus comments bitingly on the unseemly character of Greek mythology in its portrayal of the divine: *Ant.* 1.15, 22; *Apion* 2.239-41 (cf. Feldman *ad loc.* in BJP 3, Barclay in BJP 10). In the last passage he remarks that virtually all Greek thinkers have censured the poets in this respect. For another barbarian association of Greeks with tale-telling, see the Egyptians in Diodorus 1.25.4 (but Plutarch on Egyptian mythology at *Mor.* [*Is. Osir.*] 360a). Note Josephus’ implicit contrast between the Greeks’ mythologizing here and the Essenes’ much more respectable theologizing (“discourse concerning God”) at 2.158.

⁹⁶⁷ Homer (*Od.* 11.576-600) describes the terrible suffering of 3 (i.e., not Ixion’s) of these formerly great kings in Hades, as witnessed by Odysseus, listing them in reverse order: Tityus lying in the plain, with vultures constantly tearing at his liver; Tantalus unable to eat or drink, though surrounded by water and food; Sisyphus laboring endlessly to push his rock up over a hill. Plato mentions the same 3, referring to Homer, as examples of those whose permanent suffering in Hades, though they themselves are beyond help, serves as a deterrent

and Tantaluses,⁹⁶⁹ Ixions⁹⁷⁰ and Tityuses⁹⁷¹—establishing in the first place the [notion of] eternal souls and, on that basis, persuasion toward virtue and dissuasion from vice.⁹⁷²
157 For the good become even better in the hope of a reward also after death, whereas the impulses of the bad are impeded by anxiety, as they expect that even if they escape detection while living, after their demise they will be subject to deathless retribution.⁹⁷³

to new arrivals there (*Gorg.* 525b-e)—apparently on the assumption that these may be swayed toward virtue and reincarnated with better hopes. Lucretius (3.978-1023) interprets the 3 as allegories of the human passions. Although Ixion is not mentioned in these adaptations of Homer, it was natural to include him because of the similarity of his permanent, horrible punishment. Josephus' older contemporary Seneca, indeed, mentions Ixion, Sisyphus, and Tityus (the last implied), along with Cerberus, in his letter on despising death (*Ep.* 24.18). Since Josephus appears to be the first extant writer to make this grouping of 4; Lucian (*Men.* 14) will do the same a couple of generations later (cf. his *Pod.* 11, which omits Tityus).

⁹⁶⁸ This apparently sarcastic use of plural names in lists of famous Greeks is paralleled in *Apion* 2.154, where Josephus mentions among Greek lawgivers "Lycurguses and Solons." Sisyphus was the legendary founding king of Corinth, who cheated death first by binding Death in chains and then by conspiring with his wife Merope not to perform the proper rituals after his removal to the underworld, from which he was therefore released. Death had been sent his way by Zeus, in punishment for having revealed Zeus' secret (that the latter had abducted Asopus' daughter). Cf. Theognis 1.701-12. For his punishment, see note to "men" above.

⁹⁶⁹ Tantalus offended the gods in some fundamental way to do with eating. One of the famous stories (Pindar, *Ol.* 1.46-58) claims that he invited the Gods to dinner and served up his son Pelops, dissected and boiled. For his punishment, see note to "men" above.

⁹⁷⁰ Ixion, who does not appear with the other 3 in Odysseus' vision of Hades (*Od.* 11.576ff.: see next note), is less frequently mentioned in classical sources: Homer, *Il.* 14.317; Pindar, *Pyth.* 2.21-48; Eur. *Herc.* 1298; *Phoen.* 1185; Aristotle, *Poet.* 1456a. This legendary king of Thessaly and paradigmatic criminal (humanity's first parricide) repaid his patron, Zeus, by attempting to rape the latter's consort Hera. His punishment was to be bound forever to the revolving wheel of fire. Josephus' inclusion of him with the other 3 anticipates Lucian, *Men.* 14, and later writers.

⁹⁷¹ Tityus was a giant, son of Earth, who was sent to the underworld by Zeus, Apollo, Artemis, or some combination, according to different legends, for having sexually assaulted Leto, mother of the last two Gods mentioned. See Hyginus, *Fab.* 55; Apollonius of Rhodes

1.759ff. His punishment (see note to "men" above) is aimed at the seat of desire, the liver.

⁹⁷² Josephus appears to be aware (perhaps at second hand) of Plato, *Gorg.* 525b-e, where Plato draws out the paradigmatic value of these heinous criminals and their eternal punishment for all other criminals who arrive in Hades—who, unlike the examples, still have a chance of reform. See the note to "certain men" in this section. For the utilitarian connotations, see the note to "retribution" at 2.157.

⁹⁷³ For similar phrases to "deathless retribution" (here ἀθάνατον τιμωρίαν), see 2.155 (of Essenes) and 2.163 (of Pharisees). Outside of Josephus the closest parallel appears to be in Philo, *Spec.* 3.84 (τὸ τῆς τιμωρίας ἀθάνατον), another example of Josephus' "Philonic" language in *War* 2.

This utilitarian assessment of belief in a deity or divine punishment after death, which anticipates early modern philosophy, is not found much before Josephus. Its earliest attestation seems to be in a fragment of the play *Sisyphus*, perhaps by Critias or Euripides (Döring 1978: 43). Outside these fragments and Polybius (below), Klaus Döring can point to partial parallels only in Isocrates (11.24-7), though in connection with Egyptian religion, Varro (preserved in Augustine [*Civ. Dei* 4.27, 31; 6.4-6]), and Cicero, though only with respect to augury (*Div.* 2.28, 43, 70, 74, 75, 148).

The closest parallels in general point and spirit are in Polybius, who speaks of the Roman constitution's unique incorporation of piety and ritual, and Diodorus. Polybius makes the remarkable claim—prefaced with a self-conscious series of 3 "it seems to me" phrases—that what is an object of reproach among others, superstition (δεισιδαιμονία), is actually what holds the Roman commonwealth together (6.56.7-12): "They seem to me (ἐμοί γε μὴν δοκοῦσι) to have done this for the sake of the rabble. For if the commonwealth had comprised wise men, perhaps this device would not have been necessary. But since every rabble is fickle and full of criminal desires, irrational hatred, and a violent spirit, it is left for the masses to be restrained by invisible fears and such drama as this. For this reason it seems to me that the ancients did not introduce notions concerning the gods or about the terrors of Hades carelessly and as if by chance; rather, that people today carelessly and irrationally expunge them." Diodorus, perhaps influenced by Posidonius, gives the same impression: belief in

158 These matters, then, the Essenes theologize⁹⁷⁴ with respect to the soul, laying down an irresistible bait⁹⁷⁵ for those who have once tasted of their wisdom.⁹⁷⁶

(8.12) 159 There are also among them those who profess to foretell what is to come,⁹⁷⁷ being thoroughly trained⁹⁷⁸ in holy books,⁹⁷⁹ various purifications,⁹⁸⁰ and concise sayings⁹⁸¹

*Essene
predictive
abilities*

punishment after death is a necessary means of social control. Diodorus 1.2.2 is discussed in the note to “tell tales” (2.156). See also Diodorus 34/35.2.47: “It is surely to the advantage of common life that superstition (δεισιδαιμονία) concerning the Gods is imprinted in the souls of the many. For there are but few who behave honestly on account of innate virtue; the great mass of humanity hold back from criminal conduct only because of legal penalties and the retributions from God” (34/35.2.47).

Contrast Josephus’ contemporary, Plutarch—albeit addressing fellow-élites and apparently not considering the needs of ordinary people. Arguing that superstition (δεισιδαιμονία) is worse than atheism, he says that the fear it engenders does not end with death: “it attaches to death the conception of undying evils (κακῶν . . . ἀθανάτων; cf. Josephus’ ἀθάνατον τιμωρίαν; 2.157), and just when he [the superstitious person] ceases from the affairs of life, it seems to begin those affairs that never cease” (*Mor.* [*Superst.*] 166f-167a). At 170f. Plutarch even mentions Tantalus as an ironic example: the superstitious person would be as pleased to be free of his fear as Tantalus would be to come out from under his rock.

⁹⁷⁴ The verb θεολογέω is rare before Josephus, though attested as early as the pre-Socratics (Thales, *Test. fr.* 12; cf. Pherecydes, *Frag.* 2.8; 4.12; Aristotle, *Met.* 983b; *Mund.* 391b; Hecataeus of Abdera in Jacoby 3a.264.F frag. 25 l. 256; Diodorus 1.23.7, 29.6, 86.2, etc.; Philo, *Opif.* 12), and he uses it only here. More common is the noun θεολογία, which Josephus has 3 times in *Apion* (1.78, 225, 238). Note the implicit contrast, in spite of the formal parallel adduced, between what Essenes do (“theologize”) and what Greeks do (“mythologize”): on the latter, see the note to “tell tales” at 2.156.

⁹⁷⁵ See the note at 2.54. This (δέλεαρ) is a common word in *War* 1-2 (5 occurrences), though after that it appears only at *Apion* 2.284. In that passage, as in other authors (Plato *Tim.* 69d; *Soph.* 222e; [Longinus], *Subl.* 32.5; Plutarch, *Cato Maj.* 2.4), Josephus assumes that *evil and pleasure* are seductive—cf. Plutarch, who speaks of flatterers destroying the young élite by “dangling the irresistible bait (δέλεαρ ἀφύλακτον) of pleasure before them” (*Mor.* [*Educ.*] 13a). But Josephus implies there what he says plainly here: Judeans [Essenes] are enticed rather by high-minded theological conceptions. Cf. *Ant.* 18.14-15, where it is the Pharisees’ similar views of the afterlife that commend them to the masses.

⁹⁷⁶ As Gerlach (1863: 8) observed long ago, this editorial remark strongly suggests that our author wished to identify himself with the Essenes. But this does not mean that he, a statesman beyond such narrow affiliation, wished to be seen as a school member. The many parallels with *Apion* 2.146-295 (see Excursus) and the verbal parallels with his own views elsewhere (preceding notes) show that he understands the Essenes, who seem to be well known outside Judea, as the embodiment of Judean values.

⁹⁷⁷ The foregoing description of the Essenes was prompted in part by the story of one of their number who had accurately predicted Archelaus’ downfall (2.112-13). This link with prediction was first established in 1.78-80, where an Essene seer predicted Aristobulus I’s murder of his brother Antigonus in “Strato’s Tower.”

⁹⁷⁸ Or “inwardly trained, inculcated.” The compound verb ἐμπαιδοτριβέω is exceedingly rare, and unattested before this, its only occurrence in Josephus. Aside from 1 example in the (3rd-cent. CE) Cassius Dio (77.21.2), the next nearest appearances are in quotations of this passage (Porphyry, *Abst.* 4.13; Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9.3 [407c]). More common is the simpler παιδοτριβέω, which means “train in gymnastics” (a παιδοτρίβης being a gym or a wrestling teacher). Josephus continues to imply a rigorous, athletic sort of training.

Of the concrete examples of Essene prediction thus far in *War* (1.78-80; 2.113): in the former, the Ἐσσαῖος taught his art in the temple court, confirming the impression that accurate prediction was a matter of long training, not merely spontaneous inspiration. *Antiquities* (13.311; 15.371-78; 17.346) will continue this portrayal of Essene prediction as a special skill. Some scholars, partly reflecting their concern to establish underlying sources, have sensed differences between Josephus’ wording in this passage and his narrative descriptions of Essene prediction (Gray 1993: 105-6; Bergmeier 1993: 54-55). But the few words of *War* 2.159 can hardly bear such weight; further, it seems pointless to apply theological rigor to a rhetorical historian.

⁹⁷⁹ Greek βίβλοις ἱεραῖς . . . ἐμπαιδοτριβούμενοι. “Holy books” is a common Josephan phrase: *Ant.* 1.26, 82, 139; 2.347; 3.81, 105; 4.326; 9.28 *et passim*. He will later insist upon his own ability to predict the future with precision, which he does precisely on the basis of *his* training in the holy books’ prophetic statements: “With respect to assessing dreams, he was quite capable of making coherent the ambiguous utterances of

of prophets.⁹⁸² Rarely if ever do they fail⁹⁸³ in their predictions.⁹⁸⁴

(8.13) 160 There is also a different order of Essenes.⁹⁸⁵ Though agreeing with the *Marrying Essenes*

the Deity: he knew well *the prophetic statements of the holy books* (ἱερῶν βίβλων), being both a priest himself and a descendant of priests” (*War* 3.352). In *War* 6.312 Josephus actually interprets such an “ambiguous” statement “in the holy writings” (ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν). Prediction from Scripture is thus a subject in which he is plainly interested (cf. 3.405)—not one that he would likely pass over if it had appeared in his sources. Indeed, Josephus and individual Essenes (possibly with Jesus son of Ananias, 6.300-309) are the only parties after John Hyrcanus in the 2nd century BCE (*Ant.* 13.299-300) whom he credits with accurate prediction.

⁹⁸⁰ The ἀγνεῖα/ἀγνεύω word-group is highly significant for Josephus (*War* 1.26; 5.194; 7.264, etc.). We should assume, it seems, that purification is a prerequisite for divine revelation: cf. Exod 19:10-15.

⁹⁸¹ Greek προφητῶν ἀποφθέγματα. This is the only occurrence in Josephus of ἀπόφθεγμα (here plural and connected with the prophets). The sense of the word, barely distinguishable from the *chreia* or “useful saying” that provided material for manipulation in rhetorical education (Aelius Theon, *Prog.* 60), is perhaps best illustrated by Plutarch’s collections: *Apophthegms of the Spartans* and of *Kings and Commanders*, respectively. An apophthegm was a pithy, pregnant saying located in a briefly described context. The term appears often in conjunction with “Laconian” (or Spartan; cf. English “laconic”) or with βραχυ- (“short”) words, for the Spartans were renowned for their detestation of long speeches. They trained their young to speak with concision (see the admiring discussion and examples in Plutarch, *Lyc.* 19-20).

⁹⁸² Josephus’ use of προφητ- terminology is quite restrictive: he means by it the ancient authors of the Judean holy books (the Scriptures) and some of their inspired ancient contemporaries. The very few exceptions may come from his sources (*Ant.* 1.240; *Apion* 1.312). John Hyrcanus (late 2nd cent. BCE) is Josephus’ exception: this remarkable man was the last credited with exercising the “prophetic gift” (προφητεία; *War* 1.68; *Ant.* 13.300): after him there have been only false prophets (*War* 2.26; 6.286; *Ant.* 20.97, 169). In spite of their abilities in precise prediction, neither the Essenes nor Josephus himself receives the label “prophet(s)” from him. See further Blenkinsopp 1974; Feldman 1990; Gray 1993: 20-26.

⁹⁸³ Josephus uses ἀστοχέω only here and at *War* 4.116; 5.61. It was something of a Polybian favorite: he accounts for 9 of the 28 attestations before Josephus.

⁹⁸⁴ Josephus remarks likewise, of the Essene who foretold Aristobulus’ murder of Antigonus (1.78), that

that seer had never once made a mistake or lied in his predictions.

⁹⁸⁵ Josephus’ account of the Essenes appears formally complete at this point. With due regard for his distinctive language and emphases, they sound roughly like the likewise emphatically celibate Essenes of Philo (in Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 8.11: “no Essene takes a woman”) and Pliny (*Nat.* 5.73: *sine ulla femina*), as of Josephus himself in the later parallel (*Ant.* 18.21: “they do not conclude marriages”). It comes as a surprise, then, that he should casually introduce “a different order” of Essenes who marry, though they reportedly agree with the others in every other respect of thought and practice. Having made such a clear case against marriage in the foregoing description (2.120-21), he must now explain why these Essenes marry.

Scholars often remark that Josephus describes two kinds of Essenes: marrying and celibate. But that is a rather neater picture than he gives, for he does not say at the outset, where we should expect it, that “there are two kinds of Essenes”; nor does he anticipate this group where one might expect a comparison. Contrast his introduction of 3 schools at 2.119, in keeping with normal rhetorical practice, even though Pharisees and Sadducees will not be discussed until the end. Instead, he describes the Essene order (2.119-59) as though everything applied to them all, and as if celibacy were fundamental to their other virtues—the clearest example of imperviousness to the passions (2.120-21). In describing the Essene practice of adopting others’ children *because they do not produce their own* (2.120), for example, he might at least have anticipated this group of Essenes with their different solution. The “different order,” which differs fundamentally, appears as an afterthought with respect to content (though suiting the passage’s concentric structure).

Moreover, the internal logic of this addendum is puzzling. How can these marrying Essenes claim that the whole *genos* would die out if they were celibate (2.160), when the main Essenes have already faced and dealt with that problem, by adoption? What has become of the Essenes’ utter mistrust of women (2.120), which lay at the heart of their virtues? And crucially: How is it possible for these marrying Essenes to follow *all* the other prescriptions and customs of the rest, if they cannot live celibate lives and share all things as the celibate males do? Josephus’ complete failure to explain how the marrying Essenes live, aside from their bathing habits, is a puzzle. The mystery is exacerbated by what seems his defensive tone: although these Essenes do marry, they still regard women in the properly disparaging way. They are not soft!

others about regimen⁹⁸⁶ and customs and legal matters,⁹⁸⁷ it has separated in its opinion about marriage. For they hold that those who do not marry cut off the greatest part of life,⁹⁸⁸ the succession,⁹⁸⁹ and more: if all were to think the same way, the line⁹⁹⁰ would very quickly die out.⁹⁹¹ **161** To be sure, testing the brides in a three-year interval,⁹⁹² once

Bergmeier (1993: 68), who attributes the main passage to Josephus' sources, assumes that the marrying Essenes must come from yet another source. But the unity of language between *War* 2.119-59 and 2.160, and between this addendum and Josephus' outlook elsewhere (e.g., about the purpose of marriage), seems to close that escape route. Since the narrative is clearly his, and yet it throws up both historical and literary problems, it is possible that he has simply invented marrying Essenes for momentary purposes, which he will ignore again in his later account. There is demonstrably a good deal of whole-cloth invention in his own life story (see BJP 9 Introduction), his biblical paraphrase, his speeches, and much of his dramatic narratives. So we should not be shocked at the prospect of invention. Possible reasons for creating Essenes who marry are not hard to conjure.

In bringing forward the celibate Essenes as ideal representatives of his nation, widely distributed among the cities, Josephus might have realized that such an ideal lifestyle would seem impractical for a whole culture. Roman aristocrats could admire philosophical ideals, and even go off as young men to join a radical philosophical society, but they were expected to come back into the world of grown-up politics (cf. Tacitus, *Agr.* 4.3). Celibate life was too extreme for ordinary living. It was the common assumption among both Judeans (cf. Gen 1:26) and Romans that marriage was the necessary social norm, even if exclusively (as here) for procreation. Augustus' measures to increase marriage rates were clearly aimed at raising the level of reproduction in Rome, not at enhancing personal or connubial fulfillment. Describing those measures, Tacitus (*Ann.* 3.25) and Cassius Dio (54.16.1-2) speak of "marriage and the procreation/rearing of children" as if there were little distinction. If Josephus wished to make the Essenes plausible to his Roman audiences, it made sense to leave open a marriage option, if strictly for reproductive purposes. And since he has indicated his own profound admiration for this group (2.158), expressing through them the traits of the national character, it might help to leave open a way in which he too—though several times married and a father (*Life* 426-28)—could be thought to practice Essene-like behavior.

On any accounting this unassimilated addendum, still marked by Josephus' language and integrated into the larger concentric structure of the Essene passage, is puzzling. That Josephus invented a vaguely conceived mar-

rying group might best explain its peculiar features.

⁹⁸⁶ See the note to this important word at 2.137.

⁹⁸⁷ Greek ἔθη καὶ νόμιμα, a frequent conceptual pairing in Josephus, with largely overlapping meanings (also with νόμοι, laws); cf. Mason 1991: 100-102.

⁹⁸⁸ Possibly "the most important function of life" (μέγιστον . . . τοῦ βίου μέρος), though the phrase μέρος βίου often appears, sometimes with "large" or "greater" or a numerical fraction, for actual parts or components of one's life (Aristotle, *Probl.* 956b; Polybius 3.19.9; 16.21.7; Philo, *Det.* 74.4; *Abr.* 155; Marcus Aurelius, *Med.* 3.4.1; 8.24.1)

⁹⁸⁹ The issue of marriage and human succession (διαδοχή) here creates an *inclusio* with 2.120-121, which began the Essene passage. The closest linguistic parallels, linking marriage and succession of children, seem to be from the 2nd-cent. CE authors Soranus (*Gyn.* 1.34, who makes it the sole purpose of marriage) and Hierocles (*Frag. eth.*, pg. 56 ln. 5). In the preceding sections of the narrative, the word διαδοχή has been used frequently, but in relation to the problem of Herod's royal succession: 1.458, 503, 552, 587, 637; 2.2, 15, 26, 37, 87-88. It is quite possible that Josephus intends a contrast between these philosophers, who are not fundamentally concerned even about pursuing basic human succession, and the diadem-driven would-be monarchs, lusting after royal succession in the preceding story.

⁹⁹⁰ Or "type, race" (τὸ γένος); cf. Lat. *genus*. See the notes to "type" at 2.113 and "ancestry" at 2.119—both cases where Josephus has recently used γένος of Essenes. Possibly he is being deliberately ambiguous here, as to whether it is the order that would die out, if no Essene married, or the (human) "race"—if no one at all were to marry.

⁹⁹¹ This group of Essenes thus adopts a Spartan-like solution to the dilemma that, although ideal asceticism in Greco-Roman terms would avoid the distractions of women (cf. 2.119-120), such a regimen would quickly end in the absence of men. Just as the Spartans solved this problem by requiring marriage for the purposes of breeding only, still prohibiting settled married life for men in their prime (who could make only furtive conjugal visits to their wives: Xenophon, *Lac.* 1.5-10), so later Roman-era authors value marriage preeminently for the sake of children: *liberorum procreandorum causa* (PMich, vol. 7, document 434, r, 3; PRyl., vol. 4, document 612 ext. 3; cf. Frier 1999: 95). Tacitus (*Ann.* 3.25) and Cassius Dio

they have been purified three times⁹⁹³ as a test of their being able to bear children,⁹⁹⁴ they take them in this manner;⁹⁹⁵ but they do not continue having intercourse with those who are pregnant,⁹⁹⁶ demonstrating that the need for marrying is not because of pleasure, but for children.⁹⁹⁷ Baths [are taken] by the women wrapping clothes around themselves, just as by the men in a waist-covering.⁹⁹⁸ Such are the customs of this order.⁹⁹⁹

(8.14) 162¹⁰⁰⁰ Now, of the former two [schools],¹⁰⁰¹ Pharisees,¹⁰⁰² who are reputed¹⁰⁰³

Pharisees and Sadducees

(54.16.1-2) conflate “marriage and the procreation/rearing of children” and Josephus’ younger contemporary Soranus insists that men and women couple in marriage *not* for “the enjoyment of pleasurable sensations” but for “the sake of children and succession” (διαδοχή; *Gyn.* 3.24.1). The same idea, perhaps grounded in the basic command to multiply (Gen 1:26), is found throughout Judean literature of the Roman period (cf. Barclay, note to “procreation” at *Apion* 2.199 in BJP 10). Josephus will make the same claims for all Judeans at *Ant.* 4.261 and *Apion* 2.199: intercourse is permitted “only if it is with the intention of procreation.”

⁹⁹² This recalls the 3-year probation for male novices described above (2.137-38). Josephus is one of the first attested users of this word (τριετία), which he will use once again (*Ant.* 19.351). First attested in Theophrastus (*Caus. plant.* 1.20.4) and then Philo (*Virt.* 156, 158), it becomes popular with Josephus’ contemporaries and later authors (Plutarch, *Tib. Gai. Grac.* 23.9; *Dem. Ant.* 6.3; Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 13.54 [Kaibel]; Acts 20:31). The Latin equivalent *triennium* is much more widely used from an earlier date (by Plautus, Cicero, and Caesar).

⁹⁹³ This appears to be a reference to purification following menstruation, which the rabbis understood to involve complete immersion in the ritual bath (*miqveh*) 7 days after the last sign of menstruation (*b. Nidd.* 66a). There could, then, be little chance of error in determining that the girl had in fact passed puberty. But if purification after menstruation is the referent, the relationship between these 3 cycles and the 3-year interval just mentioned remains unclear.

⁹⁹⁴ The *Mishnah* contemplates, at least for legal purposes, the possibility of marriage involving a woman who has not yet menstruated (*Nidd.* 1.4; 10.1; cf. *b. Nidd.* 66a), and that the discovery of sterility might occur only around age 18 or 20 (after marriage: 5.9). These Essenes, then, ostentatiously ensure that a woman is fertile before marriage, to stress the exclusive purpose of the union.

⁹⁹⁵ Both the content and the structure of this sentence recall Josephus’ description of males’ admission to the order at 2.137-38: in each case the candidate is taken in after much testing in the course of 3 years (δοκιμάζω, πεῖρα).

⁹⁹⁶ The difficult text at *Apion* 2.202 has often been read as similarly declaring impure (in the case of all Judeans) any man who has sexual relations with a preg-

nant woman. In BJP 10 *ad loc.*, however, Barclay offers detailed analysis and concludes that the passage is concerned the impurity contracted from a corpse, even that of a stillborn or aborted fetus. Nevertheless, Josephus’ earlier remark there, that intercourse is permitted only for the sake of procreation (*Apion* 2.199), would, if taken to its logical corollary, preclude sex during pregnancy.

⁹⁹⁷ On the purpose of marriage as breeding (τεκνοποιία) only, see the note to “die out” in 2.160.

⁹⁹⁸ This piece of clothing, distinctive of the order, has been introduced at 2.129, 137. Male bathing is thus apparently no different in celibate or marrying groups: whether or not women are present, men wear the waist-cloth for decorum.

⁹⁹⁹ “This order” is perhaps deliberately ambiguous. It must refer at least to the marrying Essenes of the preceding paragraph, since they have been introduced as a “different order.” Yet Josephus names only 3 schools, and since this sentence also marks the transition to the remaining two (the Sadducees are also an “order” here), he may be referring to the larger Essene order.

¹⁰⁰⁰ The following comparison between Pharisees and Sadducees as affirmers and deniers of respective philosophical positions (Fate, survival of the soul, post-mortem rewards and punishments, mutual affection), with the Essenes already covered as *sui generis*, is drastically modified in *Ant.* 13.171-73, where the Essenes and Sadducees assume the pole positions and the Pharisees occupy the middle. *Ant.* 18.12-20 is something of a mixture: it accommodates all 3 schools with roughly equal space (though the Essenes still outshine the others), and the most obvious contrasts are between Pharisees and Sadducees, but the sharpness of the contrast is diminished there. The effort to map schools across a spectrum of belief, concerning Fate, is paralleled in Cicero (*Fat.* 39) and Tacitus (*Ann.* 6.22).

¹⁰⁰¹ Cf. 2.119, which introduced Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes, in that order, before the great Essene digression.

¹⁰⁰² Of the vast scholarship on the Pharisees, see esp. Neusner 1971; Rivkin 1978; Saldarini 1988; Mason 1991; Grabbe 1992; Sanders 1992; Stemberger 1995; Neusner and Chilton 2007.

¹⁰⁰³ Possibly, though less likely, “imagine themselves to interpret. . .”; see the note to “reputed” at 2.119—the opening sentence on Essenes (note the symmetry of

to interpret the legal matters with precision,¹⁰⁰⁴ and who constitute¹⁰⁰⁵ the first school,¹⁰⁰⁶ attribute everything to Fate and indeed to God.¹⁰⁰⁷ **163** although doing and not [doing] what is right¹⁰⁰⁸ rests mainly with the human beings,¹⁰⁰⁹ Fate also assists in each case.¹⁰¹⁰

2.119-66)—and Mason 1991: 106-13. This construction recalls the similar introduction of the Pharisees at *War* 1.110 (see notes there), where their reputation for precision in the laws appears to be contradicted by the accompanying story.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Greek μετ' ἀκριβείας δοκοῦντες ἐξηγεῖσθαι τὰ νόμιμα. The major terms here recall the first description of the Pharisees at 1.110, δοκοῦν . . . τοὺς νόμους ἀκριβέστερον ἀφηγεῖσθαι, and anticipate Josephus' final mention of the group in *Life* 191 (οἰπεριτὰ πάτρια νόμιμα δοκοῦσιν τῶν ἄλλων ἀκριβεία διαφέρειν (cf. also *Ant.* 17.41). See notes to 1.110 and BJP 9 *ad loc*; Mason 1991: 82-113, 130-32. It seems that we have to do with the Pharisees' popular esteem for their seeming precision in interpreting the laws, which the aristocratic legal expert Josephus either mentions without explicit comment (as here) or openly disparage, according to context.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Greek [τὴν πρώτην] ἀπάγοντες [αἴρεσιν]. The use of ἀπάγω (“lead or take away, off, astray”) with αἴρεσις is odd if the sense is meant to be as neutral as translated here, for it normally has to do with carrying off prisoners in war-time (*Ant.* 10.83, 98; 11.61) or cattle (*War* 3.452; 5.65; *Ant.* 5.167; 8.294; 9.191), without the consent of the carried, or the withdrawal of troops from a siege (*Ant.* 7.290, 393; 8.365). The phrasing is not attested outside of Josephus before the 4th-cent. CE John of Chrysostom, for whom it is likewise a “carrying off”: ἀπάγειν αὐτοὺς τῆς πονηρᾶς ἐκείνης αἰρέσεως (*Christ. prec.* 48.793.37). In his aborted *Lexicon* Thackeray followed Hudson's conjectural emendation to ἐπάγω, which has a much wider range of positive associations than the ἀπό prefix. If we remain with the wording attested in all the MSS, however, it would seem that Josephus intends a negative sense. The Pharisees carry or lead off (astray?) the followers of their school.

¹⁰⁰⁶ “First” might refer to the Pharisees' antiquity in relation to the others, their status as “leading” school, or simply their first place on the list that began the discussion of philosophy in 2.119. These options represented by the translations of Reinach, Thackeray, and M-B respectively. See also Mason 1991: 129-31.

¹⁰⁰⁷ This mirrors the Stoic view (cf. *Life* 12) that “everything is caused by Fate” (*omnia fato fiunt*: Cicero, *Fat.* 40-1; Diogenes Laertius 7.149). In *Ant.* 13.171-73, however, it is the Essenes who attribute everything to Fate—the Pharisees attributing some things but *not others* (οὐ πάντα)—, though *Ant.* 18.13 will realign things much as here. Cf. Mason 1991: 133-42. This term for

“Fate” (ἡ εἰμαρμένη) does not appear in Herodotus, Thucydides, the tragedians, or Diodorus; it occurs only 3 times in Polybius, 5 in Dionysius, once in Strabo (Plutarch has some 101 occurrences). Before Josephus' time the word was used most often by philosophers (pre-Socratics, Plato, and esp. the Stoics Zeno and Chrysippus; an essay by Cicero, *De fato*, is extant). The 20 occurrences in Josephus qualify him as a heavy user, especially among historians. Of these 20 cases, more than a third (7) fall in the brief descriptions of the philosophical schools, as here. Subtracting these, we find Fate most often in *War*—9 times, against 3 in *Antiquities* and 1 in *Apion*—and it turns up in important places.

In 6 occurrences in the context of the temple's destruction, it appears in close proximity to “God,” as also here. In *War* 6.108, Josephus chastises himself for trying to save the rebels, those whom *God* has condemned in spite of *Fate*. God had sentenced the temple to flames, and then the “fated” day arrived, for there is no escape from Fate (6.250, 267). Josephus marvels at Fate's precision in choosing the date of the temple's destruction (6.268). It was equally divine providence and a “certain just Fate” that granted Vespasian hegemony (4.622; cf. *Ant.* 19.347). One need not make a systematic theologian of Josephus to observe that he uses “Fate” with some consistency, as a force or principle closely allied with God. Plainly, Josephus would identify himself with the position attributed to the Pharisees here, to the Essenes elsewhere.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Although this phrase (τὸ πράττειν τὰ δίκαια καὶ μὴ) sounds formulaic, the last 4 words do not seem to appear elsewhere as a fixed phrase. The first phrase, “doing the right thing,” is found in Aristotle, *Eth. nic.* 1105b; Lucian, *Anach.* 22. More common is the sequence “(the) doing or not (doing)” ([τὸ] πράττειν καὶ μὴ [πράττειν]): Plato, *Resp.* 433a; Demosthenes, *Phil.* 3.8; Anaximenes, *Rhet.* 17.2; Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1373b; Arius Didymus, *Philos.* 65.2. The δικ- word group can be translated variously—“righteousness, justice, rightness, fairness, conformity to law or custom”—, and in biblical and Christian texts often leans toward “righteousness,” but Josephus employs this prominent word-group usually in the more mundane Greco-Roman senses of justice, propriety, uprightness, fairness. See Mason 1991: 142-49.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Greek ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κείσθαι. The use of κείμαι with ἐν or ἐπὶ to mean “that which is one's power or prerogative” is common in Josephus: *War* 3.389, 396;

Although every soul is imperishable,¹⁰¹¹ only that of the good passes over to a different body,¹⁰¹² whereas those of the vile are punished by eternal retribution.¹⁰¹³ **164** Sadducees, the second order,¹⁰¹⁴ do away with Fate altogether¹⁰¹⁵ and place God beyond both the com-

5.59; *Ant.* 1.178; 5.110; 13.355; 18.215; 19.167. Note also the similar phrasing for the Sadducean position below (2.165) and in *Ant.* 13.173. Aristotle had long before elaborated the ethical category of “what lies in human power” with similar language: “When the origin of an action is in oneself, it is also in one’s power to do it or not (ἐπ’ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ πράττειν καὶ μὴ)” (*Eth. nic.* 3.1.6). In particular, Aristotle conventionalizes the phrase (τὸ) ἐφ’ ἡμῖν for “what is up to us” (*Eth. nic.* 3.5.2).

¹⁰¹⁰ Greek βοηθεῖν δὲ εἰς ἕκαστον καὶ τὴν εἰμαρμένην. The verb βοηθέω recalls Stoic discussions of the role of Fate in human actions. After Socrates’ reputed introduction of ethics to philosophy (Diogenes Laertius 2.16), causation in human actions became a central issue for philosophers. Plato deals with the problem in a number of contexts (e.g., *Phaedo* 80d-81d; *Resp.* 614b-621d; *Tim.* 41d, 42d, 91d-e). Although Aristotle credits nature, necessity, and chance with much influence in human affairs, he holds that the choice of virtue or vice lays “in ourselves” (*Eth. nic.* 3.3.3-5.2). Most important: according to Cicero, the Stoic Chrysippus distinguished two kinds of causes: principal or antecedent (*causae perfectae et principales*) and “helping” or proximate (*causae adiuvantes et proximae*; *Fat.* 42). When one pushes a drum down a hill, for example, the antecedent cause of its rolling is its particular nature (its rollability). The push given to begin the roll is a near or “helping” cause—though in every single case such an initiating cause will be found. So also humans have a certain character or nature, but Fate intervenes in each action by applying a certain prod to that character. Of course, the relationship between determinism and free will has, in various guises, remained one of the central problems of philosophy. Though Josephus will attempt a more sophisticated expression of the Pharisees’ view in *Ant.* 18.13, it does not add much. From rabbinic literature, a parallel to Josephus’ statement is often drawn from a saying attributed to R. Akiva in *m. Avot* 3.16: “All is foreseen, but freedom of choice is given” (Danby trans.). Yet the key phrase (לְכָל הַכּוֹזֵר יֵצֵא) may simply mean that all is observed (by God, by others); cf. Schechter 1961: 285.

¹⁰¹¹ Greek ψυχὴν τε πᾶσαν μὲν ἄφθαρτον. Cf. *Ant.* 18.14 on the Pharisees’ view, “there is with souls a deathless power” (ἀθανατόν τε ἰσχύν); 18.18 on the Essenes’ view, “they make souls deathless” (ἀθανατίζουσιν δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς). Here too the Pharisees agree with the Essene position recently described (“souls endure forever, deathless”) and indeed with standard philosophical

views, including apparently Josephus’ own: see 2.154 and notes.

¹⁰¹² Greek μεταβαίνειν δὲ εἰς ἕτερον σῶμα τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν μόνην. According to the parallel in *Ant.* 18.14, similarly, Pharisees hold that the souls of the virtuous encounter “an easy path to living again” (ῥαστόνην τοῦ ἀναβιοῦν). On this point the Pharisees appear to depart from the Essene position, which envisions a spiritual home beyond Oceanus for the souls of the righteous—a view that Josephus explicitly compares with Greek notions (2.155). The difference may not be as great as it seems, however, since Josephus’ own character speaks about the souls of the good going first to a heavenly place and then to “holy new bodies”—in the revolution, or succession, of ages (ἐκ περιτροπῆς αἰώνων): *War* 3.375; *Apion* 2.218. He thus envisages an intervening period of the soul’s existence before its re-incarnation.

Although this kind of “living again” (παλιγγενεσία, ἀναβίωσις) has both substantive and linguistic parallels to (especially) Platonic images of reincarnation, in which souls may face an interval in Hades before living again (*Meno* 81b; *Phaed.* 70c, 71e-72a), Josephus’ emphases on the holiness and singularity of the new body, its nature as reward [whereas for Greeks, reincarnation is generally viewed as a burden], and the specification that this will happen in the succession of ages (not as an ongoing pattern) create affinities with current pictures of resurrection (e.g., Paul in 1 Cor 15:35-51; cf. in detail Cavallin 1974; survey in Elledge 2006). Josephus’ ambiguous language would no doubt make the Pharisees’ view of afterlife, whatever that was historically, sound more familiar to his audience (see Mason 1991: 156-70). Whether such language reflects his knowledge of the group or he is obfuscating matters because talk of “bodily resurrection” would make audiences uncomfortable (cf. Acts 17:31-33; Celsus *ap.* Origen, *C. Cels.* 5.14; Augustine, *Civ.* 22.4-5) seems impossible to say.

¹⁰¹³ Greek τὰς δὲ τῶν φαύλων αἰδίῳ τιμωρίᾳ κολάζεσθαι. In the parallel at *Ant.* 18.14, rewards and punishments are both allotted “beneath the earth” (i.e., in Hades), where the souls of the wicked face eternal imprisonment (εἰργμὸν αἰδίου). The Pharisees’ belief in eternal retribution is thus far indistinguishable from that of the Essenes, who posit “unending retributions” (τιμωριῶν ἀδιαλείπτων, 2.155) and “deathless retribution” (ἀθάνατον τιμωρίαν, 2.157).

¹⁰¹⁴ See the note at 1.119. The Sadducees (Le Moyne 1972; Saldarini 1988; Wassèn 1990; Grabbe 1992: 2.484-87; Sanders 1992; Stemberger 1995; Baumgarten 1997, *passim*) hardly appear in the NT. They are absent

mitting and the contemplating of evil:¹⁰¹⁶ **165** they claim that both the honorable and the

from Paul's letters; Mark presents them as 2-dimensional characters "who say there is no resurrection" (Mark 12:18); John collapses them into an undifferentiated Judean leadership (they do not appear by name); Matthew couples them with the Pharisees to represent the joint leadership of the old Israel who reject Jesus (Matt 3:7; 16:1-12). Only Luke-Acts offers a more nuanced portrait: in Acts 4:1 and 5:17 the high priest and Temple authorities are said to be Sadducees. This clarifies the closing section of Luke (19:39), where the relatively congenial Pharisees leave the story at Jesus' entry into Jerusalem. Near the end of Acts (23:8), the author makes the Sadducees' denial of resurrection an issue that Paul can use to divide the Jerusalem court, adding the unparalleled statement that they also deny the existence of angels or spirits.

Rabbinic literature contains many references to the **סִדְּוֵי**, the etymology of which is uncertain. Scholars have usually taken the term to approximate "Sadducees" (Greek Σαδδουκαῖοι) and linked it with the biblically authorized high-priestly family of Zadok (1 Kgs 2:35; Ezek 40:46), which lost power under Antiochus IV. The connection is not certain because there is a linguistic difficulty in the double δ of the Greek, and it is unclear why the non-Zadokite priesthood after Antiochus' time would perpetuate that name. Rabbinic **סִדְּוֵי** generally appear as allies of the mysterious Boethusians (a Greek name) and in dispute with the sages and/or the פְּרוּשִׁים (Pharisees). The **סִדְּוֵי** have their own date for Pentecost (*m. Hag.* 2.4; *Men.* 10.3) and purity laws that differ from those of the majority (*m. Yad.* 4.6-7). Although they seek to find fault with the others' ritual prescriptions (*m. Par.* 3.3), they do *not* appear in early rabbinic literature as wealthy aristocrats. They can be isolated from "Israel" as much as the Samaritans (*m. Nid.* 4.2). Early rabbinic literature does preserve some hint that the priestly aristocracy (though not identified as Sadducean) was compelled to follow the prescriptions of "the elders" (not Pharisees); see *m. Yoma* 1.1-7. The Babylonian Talmud reports the explicit claim that Sadducean chief priests had to follow Pharisaic dictates (*Yoma* 19b). But this is very late and of doubtful use for reconstructing 1st-century conditions, half a millennium earlier.

Lawrence Schiffman (1994) has argued that correspondences between positions attributed to the rabbinic **סִדְּוֵי** and those advocated by *4QMMT* from Qumran show that the people behind some DSS were proto-Sadducees; both groups claimed loyalty to the priestly line of Zadok. This view has not won wide acceptance yet because of the major disagreements between the views of the Scrolls' authors (with strong emphasis on spiritual powers, heavenly intervention, and coming judg-

ment) and those attributed to the Sadducees in the NT and Josephus.

Although Josephus was a proud member of the priestly aristocracy so coldly portrayed by Acts, neither of the incidents he reports of the Sadducees expresses any admiration. In *Ant.* 13.288-296 he relates a story about the Hasmonean John Hyrcanus' rejection of the Pharisees in favor of the Sadducees, at the instigation of a Sadducee named Jonathan. Josephus indicates there that the Sadducees' rejection of the Pharisees' tradition "of the fathers" caused much conflict between the two groups (*Ant.* 13.297), and the Sadducees had the support only of "the well fixed." He repeats these points in *Ant.* 18.16-17: although the Sadducees include men of the highest standing, they defer to the Pharisees because of the latter's popular support (18.17). Although much of the Sadducean outlook might seem suited to the aristocrat Josephus, their Epicurean-like denial of an afterlife and rejection of fate in favor of unfettered free will, as here, stand in sharp conflict with his views. His second incident involving Sadducees is also related in a hostile tone. Before the arrival of the new governor Albinus, the high priest Ananus arranges for the execution by stoning of Jesus' brother James and others. Ananus is a member of the Sadducees, who "when it comes to judgments, are savage in contrast to all other Jews" (*Ant.* 20.199). Although Josephus elsewhere praises the severity of the Jewish laws against wrongdoers (*Apion* 2.276-278), he apparently considers the Sadducees cruel.

¹⁰¹⁵ Greek τὴν μὲν εἰμαρμένην παντάπασι ἀναίρουσιν. The repetition of the main verb (ἀναίρειω) in the next sentence strengthens the picture of the Sadducees as deniers of all these positive philosophical (theological) claims. At *Ant.* 13.172 the Sadducean position is described in nearly identical terms (Σαδδ. δὲ τὴν μὲν εἰμαρμένην ἀναίρουσιν). Possibly, Josephus intends irony, for in Stoic doctrine it is *Fate* that (creates and) "does away with" everything in existence: ἔπεται τῷ πάντα γίνεσθαι καθ' εἰμαρμένην. . . ἀναίρετέον ἄρα τὸ πάντα γίνεσθαι καθ' εἰμαρμένην, ᾧ τοῦθ' εἶπετο (Chrysippus, *Frag.* 1004.11). Here, paradoxically, the Sadducees (presumptuously think that *they*) do away with Fate. In his narrator's voice, at least, Josephus is committed to the proposition that God, providence (πρόνοια), and/or Fate (ἡ εἰμαρμένη) oversee human affairs. See e.g., *Ant.* 1.14, 20; 10.277-81; 16.395-99.

¹⁰¹⁶ Greek τὸν θεὸν ἔξω τοῦ δρᾶν τι κακὸν ἢ ἐφορᾶν τίθενται. The language (θεός, ἐφορώω, κακόν) is typically Josephan: *War* 1.630-1; 5.413. In these passages, and programmatically in *Apion* 2.181 (note also *Ant.* 1.20, though with other language), he speaks of God's contemplating (ἐφορᾶν) everything (πάντα). Cf. Homer

despicable reside in the choice of human beings,¹⁰¹⁷ and that it is according to the judgment of each person to embrace either of these. The survival of the soul,¹⁰¹⁸ the punishments and rewards in Hades¹⁰¹⁹—they do away with them.¹⁰²⁰ **166** And whereas Pharisees are mutually affectionate¹⁰²¹ and cultivate concord¹⁰²² in relation to the community, Sadducees have a rather harsh disposition even towards one another:¹⁰²³ encounters with their peers¹⁰²⁴ are as uncouth as those with outsiders.

Such is what I had to say concerning those among the Judeans who philosophize.¹⁰²⁵

(9.1) 167 With the ethnarchy of Archelaus¹⁰²⁶ having passed over¹⁰²⁷ into a province,¹⁰²⁸ the remaining [brothers], Philip¹⁰²⁹ and the Herod called Antipas,¹⁰³⁰ continued administering their own tetrarchies.¹⁰³¹ When Salome expired,¹⁰³² she bequeathed

(*Od.* 12.322), speaking of the Sun's universal purview, and Philo, *Leg.* 3.171; *Quaest. gen.* 1.fr. 69.

¹⁰¹⁷ Greek ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων ἐκλογῆ τὸ τε καλὸν καὶ τὸ κακὸν προκεῖσθαι. For the language of moral choice, see the notes to "right" and "human beings" at 2.163.

¹⁰¹⁸ The closest parallel to Josephus' language here (ψυχῆς διαμονή) comes in Plutarch, *Mor.* 560d, f.

¹⁰¹⁹ This phrase both clarifies what Josephus assumes about the Pharisees' views above (2.163), that the rewards and punishments are dispensed in Hades, and anticipates *Ant.* 18.14, which puts the Pharisees' rewards and punishments "beneath the earth."

¹⁰²⁰ In the parallel (*Ant.* 18.16) Josephus puts the Sadducean view of afterlife in propositional rather than negative terms: "their doctrine dissolves the souls together with the bodies" (τὰς ψυχὰς ὁ λόγος συναφανίζει τοῖς σώμασι).

¹⁰²¹ Greek φιλάλληλοι recalls the same word in the opening sentence (2.119; note symmetry), where however the *Essenes* are said to outshine all other schools in mutual affection; the Pharisees' mutual affection is relative to the Sadducees' harshness even toward one another. At *Ant.* 18.14, Josephus explains that the Pharisees defer and give honor to those advanced in age, and do not rashly contradict them.

¹⁰²² Or "consensus, unanimity, oneness of mind, harmony"; Greek ὁμόνοια is a significant contrapuntal theme of *War* (1.460; 2.345, 467; 3.496; 4.369; 5.72, 278; esp. 6.216), where 13 of its 24 occurrences in Josephus occur. It is the lost (but proper Judean) alternative to the civil strife (στάσις) that wracked the nation and brought war with Rome. Cf. *Apion* 2.179, 283. *Cultivating* concord, with ἀσκέω, recalls the opening sentence (2.119), where the *Essenes* cultivate seriousness.

¹⁰²³ The disputatiousness of the Sadducees towards their own "teachers of wisdom" is alleged in the parallel: *Ant.* 18.16. Elsewhere Josephus attributes to them a harshness, severity, or even savagery in their legal judgments: *Ant.* 13.294; 20.200.

¹⁰²⁴ Given the many possibilities for designating fellow-members or associates of the same school, this phrase (πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοίους) is striking. Though it might simply indicate "their kind, those like them," οἱ ὅμοιοι

was also a technical term for the qualified aristocracy among the Spartans especially (Xenophon, *Anab.* 4.6; *Lac.* 10.7; 13.1; cf. Herodotus 3.35 on the Persians). Given the many links between the Spartans and *Essenes* just portrayed (see Excursus), it is just possible that Josephus' audience would have picked up a further allusion here.

¹⁰²⁵ This concluding statement reprises the opening line (2.119), which introduced three forms or bodies that philosophize (in both, φιλοσοφῶ in middle voice) among the Judeans, consolidating the overall symmetry of the lengthy passage.

¹⁰²⁶ See 2.96-97 for the scope of Archelaus' territory.

¹⁰²⁷ This is the only occurrence of μεταπίπτω ("fall over/down, pass over to, change to") in *War*. In the *Antiquities* it is normally used for a change of political or religious constitution or regime—for the worse (*Ant.* 6.83; 12.2, 320; 13.281; 15.365; 18.124). Cf. Tacitus' *quando in formam provinciae cesserant* (of a British client kingdom), *Ann.* 14.31.

¹⁰²⁸ In 6 CE. Josephus resumes the narrative of 2.117-118, which he interrupted for the long digression on the philosophical schools. For the status of Judea as "province," see the relevant notes on the earlier passage, and note again Tacitus' impression (*Hist.* 5.9) that Judea lost its native rule and became a province only under Claudius. Here Josephus takes advantage of a rhyme not apparent in English: ἐθναρχίας (genitive, ethnarchy) becomes ἐπαρχίαν (accusative): a province.

¹⁰²⁹ Augustus had given Philip Batanea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, and an area around Panias at 2.94-95; see also the note to "Philip" at 2.14.

¹⁰³⁰ Augustus had given Antipas Perea and Galilee according to 2.94-95; see also the note to "Antipas" at 2.20.

¹⁰³¹ The rhyme, reinforcing Josephus' ostensible concern with varieties of political constitution, continues (see note to "province" in this section) with τετραρχίας (accusative plural).

¹⁰³² *Ant.* 18.31 dates Salome's death to the tenure of Ambivulus as governor (9-12 CE); Kokkinos (1998: 192) proposes 10 CE.

*Philip founds
Caesarea,
Antipas founds
Tiberias. Ant.
18.32*

to Iulia,¹⁰³³ the wife of the August One,¹⁰³⁴ her own toparchy¹⁰³⁵ as well as both Iam-
neia¹⁰³⁶ and the palm-groves in Phasaelis.¹⁰³⁷ **168** And when the Roman *imperium*¹⁰³⁸
passed over to Tiberius the son of Iulia,¹⁰³⁹ after the death of *Augustus* (who had been

¹⁰³³ Introduced in 1.566, according to MSS PA, as “Livia, the wife of the Caesar [Augustus],” though the other MSS have “Iulia” there as here. It is difficult to decide the reading there: “Livia” might be preferable as *difficilior* in light of Josephus’ more common usage (*Ant.* 16.139; 17.10, 141, 146, 190; 18.31, 33), but “Iulia” could be the more difficult (so, preferable) reading if one posited an effort at scribal correction to “Livia” for this period of her life. This is the remarkable woman born Livia Drusilla (58 BCE–29 CE), who married Tiberius Claudius Nero, by whom she bore the later *princeps* Tiberius; she divorced this man while pregnant in order to marry the future *Augustus*, Octavian (39 BCE). Josephus identifies her as wife of Augustus here presumably to distinguish her from Augustus’ notorious daughter by Scribonia, who had the same name (see 2.25 above). Livia was perhaps the most famous and highly regarded woman—and not merely a woman—known to Josephus’ Roman audience. Her divine cult had been celebrated even before her death outside of Rome (Barrett 2002: 207–14). Following her death, the Senate voted her divine honors, which were finally granted by Claudius in 42 CE (Velleius 2.130.5; Tacitus, *Ann.* 5.2.2; Dio 58.2.1; Suetonius, *Tib.* 51.2). Aside from Tacitus, who was ready to attribute all sorts of perfidy to high-standing Roman women, a wide range of evidence shows that Livia-Iulia Augusta was held in the highest regard long after her death (Barrett 2002: 219, 222–25).

At the story time here, Salome’s death in 10 CE, Livia was not yet known as Iulia (Augusta)—the name bequeathed by Augustus to mark her adoption into his family (14 CE). That Josephus consistently gives her this honorific and family name may confirm his expectation of a Roman audience (see Introduction). On Livia in general, see Huntsman 1997; Barrett 2002; on her name, Barrett 2002: 307–8; on her close relations with King Herod and his sister Salome (established perhaps during her visit to Judea with Augustus in 20 BCE), Barrett 2002: 37, 196–97, 207.

¹⁰³⁴ Here Josephus uses the familiar Greek translation (Σεβαστός) of Augustus’ awe-inspiring title (*Augustus*). I would translate it “Augustus,” were it not that the next sentence gives the transliterated Latin title Αὐγούστος, which has a stronger claim to English “Augustus.”

¹⁰³⁵ See the notes at 2.98, where Salome is granted Jamnia, Azotus, Phasaelis, and the royal holdings of Ascalon, altogether producing 60 talents in revenue—but all under the “toparchy” of Archelaus. The “toparchy” of Salome is difficult to identify, since Jamnia, though it

appears here to be distinct from her toparchy, was otherwise itself considered a toparchic center encompassing also coastal Azotus (*War* 3.54–5; Pliny, *Nat.* 5.70; cf. A. H. M. Jones 1937: 274–75, who notes that it remained under the Roman governor’s administration regardless of ownership).

¹⁰³⁶ See the note at 2.98.

¹⁰³⁷ Phasaelis is modern Khirbet Fasayil, N of Jericho in the Jordan valley (see Appendix A in BJP 1a). On its celebrated honey-dates, including the “Nicolaus” variety, see Pliny, *Nat.* 13.44–45. According to 2.98 (see notes there), Augustus had granted the territories mentioned here to Salome as part of *his* final disposition of Herod’s former kingdom. *Ant.* 17.189 and 18.231 claim, however, that they were granted by *Herod’s will*; Augustus added as his own gift the royal palace at Ascalon. Perhaps the “and” is more explicative or exegetical than additional. It was common for client monarchs of Rome to bequeath territories to their patrons; here we see the parallel practice on a minor scale among client-royal women.

¹⁰³⁸ See the note to this phrase at 1.3. Of its 11 occurrences in *War*, 5 are in bk. 2.

¹⁰³⁹ Tiberius Claudius Nero (42 BCE–37 CE), named after his father (Livia-Iulia’s ex-husband), was adopted by his step-father Augustus in 4 CE and renamed Tiberius Claudius Caesar; he became Tiberius Caesar Augustus on his accession to the principate in 14 CE (cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.5). His elevation in Augustus’ final years was the conclusion of a long and complicated succession struggle, which had seen him fall from favor over against Augustus’ grandsons; their premature deaths and other political conditions had finally brought him back into full favor as heir-designate (Seager 2005: 40–47). By 13 CE, he already held the essential powers needed for supreme rule—unlimited *imperium*, tribunician power, and in general, powers equal to those of Augustus (Levick 1999b: 62–4, 75–6)—although *pater patriae* and *pontifex maximus* would not follow for some months. The nature and date of his “accession,” marked by prolonged negotiations with the senate following Augustus’ death on August 19 (Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.7, 13; cf. Suetonius, *Tib.* 24.1; 67), have proven thorny issues for scholars to interpret (Levick 1999b: 68–81; Seager 2005: 48–57). The standard date is the Senate debate on Sept 17, 14 CE, though Josephus must be counting from about Oct. 13 when he gives the regnal period (*Ant.* 18.224; cf. *War* 2.180 below). Tacitus, though recounting the debate more fully than others, claims that Livia delayed news of Augustus’ death so as to announce at

leader¹⁰⁴⁰ of the republic¹⁰⁴¹ for 57 years plus 6 months and 2 days,¹⁰⁴² both Herod¹⁰⁴³ and Philip continued still in their tetrarchies. The latter founded* a city—Caesarea—at Panias by the sources of the Jordan,¹⁰⁴⁴ and in lower Gaulanitis,¹⁰⁴⁵ Iulias,¹⁰⁴⁶ where-

once both that event and her son Tiberius' position as "master of the state" (*rerum potiri*; *Ann.* 1.5; cf. Salome's tactical delay, re: Herod's death at 1.666, and Alexander Jannaeus' advice to Salome Alexandra at *Ant.* 13.401). Although Josephus prescinds from direct comment on Tiberius' character in *War*, he will elaborate considerably in *Ant.* 18-19 (on which see Wiseman 1991; Galimberti 2001; Mason 2003a). Tacitus' scathing portrait of Tiberius in the *Annals* (1.4, 6-7, 10, etc.) shaped much of the later tradition.

¹⁰⁴⁰ The Greek verb ἀφηγέομαι is a neat approximation of the idea conveyed by the Latin *princeps* (*esse*): Augustus was decidedly not a king in Roman terms, but the "leader" or "first man" of the republic.

¹⁰⁴¹ Greek τῶν πραγμάτων. Although it literally means "the events, matters, facts, affairs, circumstances, etc.," τὰ πράγματα is also the standard equivalent of Latin *respublica* (e.g., *Ant.* 18.124; 19.173), "commonwealth, republic," sometimes spelled out as τὰ κοινὰ πράγματα (as at *War* 4.278): Polybius 4.62.4; 5.93.4; 6.54.3-4; 10.17.15; 28.6.5-6; 38.15.2; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 2.10.1; 4.8.1, 26.1, 77.1; Augustus, *RG* 1.2. Josephus can easily use it of the ideally aristocratic Judean state: *War* 1.19, 273; 2.594; 4.492; *Ant.* 1.114.

¹⁰⁴² So also *Ant.* 18.32. Augustus (see note to "Romans" at 1.20) died on August 19, 14 CE. Given that he lived to nearly 76 (from Sept. 8, 63 BCE; cf. Suetonius, *Aug.* 5, 100), Josephus has him "taking the leadership of the republic" (ἀφηγησαμένου τῶν πραγμάτων) from about age 18, long before his victory over Antony at Actium (31 BCE) or his recognition as Augustus by the Senate (27 BCE). The calculation must, therefore, be from the death of Octavian's adoptive father Iulius Caesar on March 15, 44 BCE. Suetonius counts in a similar way (*Aug.* 8.3): Augustus ruled the state (*rem p. tenuit*) for 12 years as triumvir with Antony and Lepidus, then 44 years by himself—roughly 56 years in total. By the Gregorian calendar, this period amounts to 43 years, 9 months, 16 days before the Common Era and 13 years, 7 months, 19 days after it, for a total of 57 years, 5 months, 4 days—about a month short of Josephus' total.

¹⁰⁴³ Antipas (see note to his name in preceding section).

¹⁰⁴⁴ Josephus often misleadingly combines building projects of varying dates in such lists. This Caesarea, often called *Philippi* ("of Philip") on the strength of the Latin Vulgate rendering of Mark 8:27; Matt 16:13, to distinguish it from Herod's more famous foundation of the same name on the Mediterranean coast (cf. 2.16 and

note), is dated by its coins to 3/2 BCE (cf. BJP 9: Appendix A)—long before the death of Augustus in 14 CE. Although conventional opinion locates Philip's capital at the site of ancient Paneas/Banias, as a city built around Herod's temple to Augustus in front of the grove to Pan (see the note at 2.95), excavations at nearby Omrit have raised the question whether that site is more suited to the role: cf. Overman, Olive, and Nelson 2003. For the state of the question (with arguments for rejecting the Omrit hypothesis), see Bennett 2007: 126-46.

¹⁰⁴⁵ I.e., the Golan Heights, occupying the area E and N/NE of Lake Kinneret.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Philip founded Iulias at or near the fishing village of Bethsaida, famous from the gospels, on the N shore of Lake Gennesaret (Kinneret, the Sea of Galilee); see BJP 9 n. 1632 and Appendix A to that volume; collected essays in Arav and Freund 1995. In *Ant.* 18.28 Josephus remarks that Philip named the city after Augustus' daughter Iulia (see 2.25 and notes). It seems improbable however that Philip, who attained power in 4 BCE by the grace of Augustus, either managed to build a city in honor of the notorious young Iulia (so Schürer-Vermes 2.172; Kokkinos 1998: 238) in the brief window between his accession—at which point she was already estranged from Tiberius—and her banishment in 2 BCE, or that he dedicated the city to Iulia after her banishment. So Richardson 1996: 302 n. 36: "Why he should say later in *Ant.* that Bethsaida was named after Augustus' daughter is a mystery."

The context here, by contrast, implies a connection with the Iulia who was Augustus' wife and Tiberius' mother, since all the other names honor an emperor or his wife; this is supported by the fact that other writers know this Iulias and/or the Perean one (below) as *Livias*: Pliny, *Nat.* 13.44; Ptolemy, *Geog.* 5.16.9; Eusebius, *Onom.* 112-13. There is now a growing consensus based on Philip's "Year 34" (i.e., 30 CE) coins, which uniquely feature the word "founder," that this was the year in which Philip founded Iulias, in honor of Livia, who had become "Iulia" in 14 CE (Kuhn and Arav 1991: 87-90; Kindler 1999a, b; Strickert 1995: 181-85; Meshorer 2001: 88-89; Bennett 2007: 251). As for Josephus' connection of the foundation with Augustus' daughter: confusion is always possible, though the simplest explanation of a statement that is both false and redolent of scandal, and (one may posit) known by author and intended audience alike to be improbable, may be that it was meant as a joke. At least, the Roman audience expected for *Ant.* 18-19, which volumes host a prolonged critique of Roman monarchy,

Pilate introduces standards into Jerusalem. Ant. 18.55

as in Galilee¹⁰⁴⁷ Herod [built] Tiberias¹⁰⁴⁸ and, in Perea, the eponymous¹⁰⁴⁹ Iulias.¹⁰⁵⁰ (9.2) 169¹⁰⁵¹ When he had been sent to Judea as procurator¹⁰⁵² by Tiberius,¹⁰⁵³ Pilatus¹⁰⁵⁴

tyranny, and succession (cf. Mason 2008b), might well have laughed at the notion of a city incongruously built to honor the unfortunate Iulia.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Josephus does not mention here (contrast *Ant.* 18.27) the refounding or fortification of Sepphoris (destroyed by Varus at *War* 2.68, 4 BCE) as the “ornament of all Galilee”; he will not return to Sepphoris again until 2.511, at the beginning of the revolt.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Antipas founded Tiberias in 18-19 CE on the western shore of Lake Gennesaret (Kinneret), in honor of the new *princeps*, who had come to power in 14. The parallel account (*Ant.* 18.36-39) is much fuller: it describes the foundation of the city on the site of an old cemetery, which created much controversy. Tiberias appears to have been a true *polis*, with the full range of Greek civic institutions (see A. H. M. Jones 1937: 277; BJP 9: notes at § 31 and Appendix A in that volume). Published archaeological remains thus far date from the 2nd cent. CE. Bennett (2007: 221-29) proposes that Antipas was motivated to found Tiberias in honor of the new *princeps* because Livias/Iulias in Perea was the only city in his territory that served this function; because of his disappointment with the traditional-Judean character of Sepphoris (as recent archaeology has suggested) after its renewal, which limited the tetrarch’s scope of activity (and imperial honor); and because of his desire to recover decisively from his mis-step in renaming Sepphoris “Autocratoris” in putative honor of Gaius Caesar, who had once appeared as Augustus’ likely heir (d. 4 CE). Giving the city the emperor’s personal name was a clear and remarkable honor. The new role of Tiberias as Galilee’s main political and economic center—the later loss of this status is lamented by Justus in *Life* 37-39—must have involved a significant reconfiguration of regional relationships.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Josephus uses the adjective only here and at *Ant.* 1.257.

¹⁰⁵⁰ That is, bearing the name of Augustus’ wife, who is featured in this section as the new *princeps* Tiberius’ mother: Antipas refounded and walled the transjordanian village of Betharampha (bibl. Beit-haram) in her honor (*Ant.* 18.27-28). The town had evidently been significant already in Herod’s time as the site of royal residences (see 2.59 above). Although Josephus has Antipas naming his foundation Iulias, here quite plausibly after Augustus’ death in 14 CE (with Livia’s adoption into the *gens Iulia* at that time), in *Ant.* 18.27 its foundation is dated soon after 6 CE, when it must have been called Livias. Since in later centuries it would (again) be known as Livias (see notes to “Iulias” earlier in this section), A. H. M.

Jones must be correct (1937: 275, 277) in surmising that it was founded as Livias and renamed the “Iulias” from 14 CE (see notes to 2.167).

Bennett (2007: 227-28) proposes that Antipas was playing a shrewd political game by this choice of name: he felt bound to honor his new neighbor (who received Salome’s former territories of Phasaelis and Archelais in 9 CE or later); at the same time he wished to build a bridge to the future with heir-apparent Tiberius, yet without making such an overt step as to name the city after him (repeating his mistake in honoring Gaius Caesar, as she argues, with Sepphoris-Autocratoris). Choosing to honor Tiberius’ mother, wife of the current ruler, offered many possible benefits with no risk.

¹⁰⁵¹ Krieger (1995: 67-69), followed by Bond (1998: 49-62), argues that following two Pilate episodes in *War* support the narrative as follows. The first shows the Judeans peacefully resisting Pilate, with a good outcome; in the second, they respond more militantly with fatal consequences. This difference highlights the moral: “either accept Roman rule peacefully and its governors will show consideration or resort to violence and risk certain annihilation at the hands of Roman troops” (Bond 1998: 56). Both scholars correctly note the different number, configurations, and emphases of the Pilate episodes in *Antiquities*, and commendably argue that they must serve its different narrative context. But their explanation is perhaps too mechanical. Neither response by the Judeans is *violent*: the first creates a “huge disturbance” among them, with outraged masses streaming into Jerusalem to protest; the second explicitly has them yelling at Pilate, it is true, but there seems to be no reason in the narrative to exclude such abuse from the first—not enough of a reason, at any rate, to treat the stories as models of two different kinds of behavior. In fact, Josephus appears to have made every effort to assimilate one story to the other (see notes to the second episode).

¹⁰⁵² Greek ἐπίτροπος. See, however, the note to “procurator” at 2.117 and Bond 1998: 11-12: Pilate’s title should be “prefect” (ἑπαρχος; *praefectus*). This may be simple anachronism (paralleled by Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.44), or it may be that in *War* Josephus deliberately diminishes the stature of the Judean governors to that of functionaries, whom he portrays as incompetent or worse.

¹⁰⁵³ Although Josephus makes a smooth narrative transition from Tiberius’ accession to the new *princeps*’ dispatch of Pilate to Judea, the parallel (*Ant.* 18.29-35, 39-54) includes a considerable amount of information between the governorship of Coponius, who came to

introduced into* Hierosolyma¹⁰⁵⁵—by night, concealed¹⁰⁵⁶—the images of Caesar,¹⁰⁵⁷ which

Judea in 6 CE and that of Pilate (see discussion below for dates). It mentions 3 intervening governors (Ambivulus, 9-12 CE; Annus Rufus, 12-15 CE; Valerius Gratus, 15-? CE), and then digresses expansively on contemporary Parthian affairs. It is difficult to imagine that Josephus did not know the main lines of this history even as he wrote the *War*; if so, he has compressed it all, making it seem to flow naturally so as to highlight Pilate's allegedly harsh regime soon after Judea came under direct Roman rule (the earlier governors being mentioned cursorily even in *Antiquities*).

Although the wording both here and at *Ant.* 18.55 suggests that the following incident came early in Pilate's tenure in Judea (so Bond 1998: 79), perhaps even in the winter of 19-20 (see next note), this is dramatic narrative language, not necessarily transparent of historical reality.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Pilatus' unusual *cognomen* might mean "hairy, shaggy" or "armed with javelins (*pila*)," depending upon whether the "i" is long or short (Kajanto 1982: 354). In *Antiquities*, where Josephus is generally concerned to give the Roman family names (*nomina*) of the governors, he identifies him as *Pontius* Pilatus (*Ant.* 18.35). This fuller name appears also in Luke-Acts (Luke 3:1; Acts 4:27; cf. 1 Tim. 2:11)—a work that shows remarkable similarities to *Ant.* 18-20 (Mason 2003c: 251-95)—and in 3 letters of Ignatius (*Magn.* 11.1; *Trall.* 9.1; *Smyrn.* 1.2). That *nomen* is confirmed by the fragmentary inscription from Caesarea (see note to "procurator" at 2.117), which has ". . . NTIUS PILATUS."

Pilate's dates in office are usually given as 26-36 CE, on the strength of *Ant.* 18.35, which has his predecessor Valerius Gratus in Judea for 11 years, and 18.89, which gives Pilate 10 years in office, a calculation that accounts for Eusebius' claim that Pilate began to govern in the 12th year of Tiberius (= 26 CE; *Hist. eccl.* 1.9). D. R. Schwartz (1992: 182-217), however, makes a compelling argument for the years ca. 19 to 37 as Pilate's term. His case includes these points: (a) Valerius Gratus is reported to have left Judea after deposing 4 high priests in rapid succession (after about a year each from 15 CE) and then leaving Caiaphas in office; (b) the extremely brief account of Gratus' tenure, which is only in *Antiquities* (18.34-35), contrasts with an expansive treatment of Pilate's term in both works (*Ant.* 18.35-89); (c) the long term of Caiaphas as high priest (18-36 CE) is most easily explained by a change of governor and therefore of policy with respect to high priests; (d) most important, the surrounding events in the *Antiquities* narrative—the founding of Tiberias in about 19 CE (18.36-38), the rule of Orodes as king of Armenia (16-18 CE; *Ant.* 18.52), the death of Germanicus in 19 CE (*Ant.* 18.53-54), and

the expulsion of Judeans and Egyptians from Rome in 19 (so Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.85; *Ant.* 18.65-84)—would normally suggest that Pilate arrived at roughly the same time. As Schwartz observes (1992: 184), it seems more economical to explain the unsupported year counts for Gratus' and Pilate's terms in office, even as textual corruptions, than to overturn this complex of accidental narrative evidence.

Schwartz's arguments are independently supported by K. Lönnquist (2000). His "archaeometallurgical" analysis of Judean provincial coinage in the period 6-66 CE shows that in coins dated from 17/18 CE to 31/32 the lead content dropped from about 11% to virtually nil (2000: 465), then returned to its previous levels under Claudius and Nero. Although lead (a common material in Roman aqueduct construction) has not yet been found in the Jerusalem aqueducts, its discovery in the contemporary system at Pnias leads Lönnquist to conclude that it was also used at crucial points in the Jerusalem system (though now lost through subsequent ravages) and that Pilate's removal of lead from his coins was for this purpose. Although he allows that Pilate's predecessor Valerius Gratus may have begun construction or planning (to account for the 17/18 CE), he thinks that the appearance of a new coin type—with upright palm, representing good luck—matches a type otherwise used only for the arrival of new governors. And so he dates Pilate's arrival to 17/18 (2000: 467-68).

If Schwartz and Lönnquist are correct (but cf. Bennett 2007: 199 n. 111), Josephus' quick movement here from Tiberius' accession 14 CE to the appointment of Pilate in 18/19 CE would be more easily intelligible than it is on the customary dating: his passing over the brief term of Gratus would match his treatment of the other 2/3-year terms, of Coponius (barely mentioned at 2.117), Ambivulus, and Rufus, to focus understandably on the governor who spent some 18/19 years in the region and left a decisive mark. It would not, then, be the enormity of Pilate's measures alone that attracted Josephus' interest (note his apparent difficulty in characterizing the aqueduct episode as a catastrophe), but much more Pilate's impressively long term in office. Such a long term would match Tiberius' known policy of leaving provincial governors in office as long as possible (*Ant.* 18.170; Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.80; Suetonius, *Tib.* 41), assuming only that there was some defect with Tiberius' first choice of prefect, Gratus.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Pilate apparently remains in Caesarea (cf. 2.173), in spite of a verb suggesting that he himself led or brought (along) the images into Jerusalem: εἰσκομίζω (so Niese, M-B—a very common word) or παρεισκομίζω (so Thackeray—though a word otherwise attested in literature only in Eusebius' quotation of this passage

[*Hist. eccl.* 2.6.4] and Cyril of Alexandria [*Comm. Joh.* 2.659]).

¹⁰⁵⁶ Greek νύκτωρ κεκαλυμμένας: or “at night, concealed [by darkness].” Some reliefs show images on military standards concealed by covers (Webster 1985: plate IXa). If Pilate both covered the imperial images and brought them in at night, he was going to great lengths to avoid public observation, though it remains unclear whether his motive was to preclude confrontation (in hopes that the public would not see them) or to prepare the ground for it (by creating a *fait accompli*).

¹⁰⁵⁷ That is, of Tiberius (see 2.168). Eusebius (*Dem. ev.* 8.122-123) identifies this incident with an episode related by Philo (*Legat.* 299-305) concerning Pilate’s dedication of gold-covered votive shields *without* images into Herod’s former palace, which provoked similar outrage. Although the identification seems plausible at a glance, given that Josephus fails to mention the shields and Philo the standards, and scholars have also occasionally identified the two, the details of each episode and the timing in relation to Pilate’s career tell decisively against confusing them (cf. Feldman 1984: 316).

¹⁰⁵⁸ Roman military units had various kinds of standards (*signa*, σημάια), which we cannot describe comprehensively given the paucity of surviving evidence—from reliefs (e.g., Trajan’s column in Rome) and occasional literary descriptions (see Webster 1985: 133-50 and plates IX-X; Feugère 2002: 47-52). A standard or *signum* comprised a thin wooden pole, roughly the height of a man, to which was affixed a legionary symbol of some sort at the top, often with other shapes (e.g., discs and wreaths) along the shaft; handles projected part of the way up. Every legion had a standard capped by a silver and/or gold eagle, carried by a specially detailed soldier (*aquilifer*) wearing distinctive animal-skin clothing (cf. *War* 3.123; 5.48; 6.68). The eagle standard was the legion’s most prized possession, its loss (as under Crassus in Parthia, 53 BCE) a massive humiliation (cf. *War* 6.225-226). The similarly dressed *signifer* carried the particular legion’s particular emblem, such as a boar or bull, perhaps with zodiacal associations. The *imaginifer* carried a special standard with the emperor’s portrait-bust (*imago*; Greek εικόν—as Josephus here), sometimes accompanied by portraits of other imperial family members (Goldsworthy 2003: 84, 134; see 143 on this episode; Keppie 1998: plate 14). Each tactical unit within a legion, e.g. cohort and the century, also had a standard, often capped by the figure of an upright hand (representing the soldiers’ oath of loyalty) or spearhead. Finally, many standards were topped by flag-like *vexilla* (sg. *vexillum*), pieces of coloured cloth about 20-22 in. square and hung from a cross-bar and fringed along the edge. Among the Praetorian Guard in Rome, cohort *signa* were capped by imperial busts (Le Bohec 1994: 58).

For auxiliaries, such as those under Pilate’s command here, evidence is harder to come by, though reliefs show these units also making use of at least simple *vexilla*, spearhead-capped standards with *vexilla* beneath, or standards adorned with medallions enclosing an imperial portrait (Webster 1985: plate XIVb) or a bull’s head. At least one infantry cohort had a standard resembling that of a legion, with spearhead at top, two wreath-discs, and an eagle (Webster 1985: 147-49). Available evidence does not suggest that auxiliary cohort standards normally included imperial images.

Uses of standards ranged from the mundane to the sublime: reference-points for military drill, parade, and combat; markers for digging camp; the means of signaling during battle; symbols of victory (cf. *War* 6.403); and emblems for religious and ceremonial functions. They had a numinous quality: they were stored in a special shrine in the camp, fiercely protected in battle, and anointed and decorated for religious occasions. As religious objects they “received” the annual oaths of loyalty to the emperor and even soldiers’ sacrifices (Kraeling 1942: 265-70; Webster 1985: 133-34; cf. *War* 6.413).

Josephus’ language (τὰς Καίσαρος εἰκόννας, αἱ σημάια καλοῦνται) is imprecise, for the images of Caesar were not themselves “standards” (= Lat. *signa*). The parallel at *Ant.* 18.55 (προτομαὶ Καίσαρος, αἱ ταῖς σημάιας προσῆσαν—“busts [or engravings] of Caesar, which connected to the standards”) partly clarifies: Pilate was moving a military unit from Caesarea into winter quarters at Jerusalem; he allegedly had a mind to undo Judean legal tradition, whereas previous governors had left these images outside Jerusalem, using only standards without such decorations in deference to Judean law (cf. 2.170). Josephus implies there that the introduction of these standards was a gratuitous provocation.

Pilate’s coins from 29-31 CE (thus, late in his tenure, following the death of his mother Livia), might be read as confirming his intention to provoke, for they pair arguably “Jewish motifs” (Meshorer 2001: 171) on one side—ears of grain, wreaths—with Roman symbols on the other: cultically important objects such as a sacrificial ladle (*simpulum*) or an augur’s staff (*lituus*; Meshorer 1982: 2.180). Bennett (2007: 203-4) understands the ears of grain as the Demeter symbol that often signified Julio-Claudian women, and so as the symbolism of imperial family cult. That may be, though Agrippa I would use similar symbols extensively on his coins; they are also found on Judean clay lamps and jewelry of the period (Meshorer 2001: 96-97). Bennett’s proposal (2007: 199-201) that Pilate intended to force the imperial cult on Judeans is difficult to square with the evidence for this episode, with his function as Tiberius’ emissary, who should work with local élites to maintain peace, or with what we can reconstruct of both imperial cult and Roman administrative norms (e.g., Millar 1977;

are called “standards.”¹⁰⁵⁸ **170** After daybreak this stirred up a huge disturbance¹⁰⁵⁹ among the Judeans. For those who were close to the sight¹⁰⁶⁰ were shocked at their laws’ having been trampled¹⁰⁶¹—for they think it fitting¹⁰⁶² to place no representation¹⁰⁶³ in the city¹⁰⁶⁴—

Price 1980, 2004a, b; Lendon 1997; Ando 2000; Meyer-Zwiffelhofer 2002).

Bond (1998) contends that Pilate did not wish to antagonize the Judeans but only to integrate them more fully into the empire. She largely follows Kraeling’s (1942) explanation of the standards episode: Pilate’s introduction of image-bearing standards was necessary, for the cohort in question was transferring to Jerusalem either for a long stay or as a staging base for spring maneuvers; either way, if its standards bore imperial images, these would have necessarily remained with the unit (Kraeling 1942: 265, 271-73; Bond 1998: 79).

On the cohorts in Judea, see the note to “Sebastenes” at 2.52. The one garrisoned in Jerusalem (5.244) was based in the Antonia fortress overlooking the temple, with a presence also in Herod’s former palace in the W of the city (Kraeling 1942: 268-69). If a cohort named in honor of Augustus was among those under Pilate’s control (so a *cohors Augusta*, cf. Acts 27:1), that might be the best candidate for a unit bearing imperial images. Their introduction, not only into Jerusalem but in immediate proximity to the temple (i.e., into Antonia), might have seemed a particular threat to the imageless Judean cult on the same temple mount (Kraeling 1942: 274-80). On this view, Pilate’s later agreement to remove the standards (2.174) involved a decision to replace this cohort. In favor of this argument is Pilate’s effort to introduce the standards “under cover and at night” (presumably, so as to *avoid* public offense). Against it is the plain sense of both *War* and *Antiquities* that Pilate returned *the standards*—with no mention of removing the *cohort*—to Caesarea (2.174; cf. *Ant.* 18.59), and with apparent ease (thus, no hint that a major logistical effort was imperiled), as well as the claim in *Antiquities* that it was *possible* to use imageless standards (not cohorts without such standards) when entering the city (*Ant.* 18.56). It may be impossible to reconstruct the episode with any probability because of the nature of Josephus’ evidence: he wishes to portray Judea’s equestrian governors in a dim light, and he has massaged his evidence to (we do not know what he started with) to fit this mold.

¹⁰⁵⁹ The phrase ἐγγείρω + ταραχή is only here in Josephus, and found elsewhere in Nicolaus (*Frag.* 101.934 [Müller]) and the 2nd-cent. CE astrologer Vettius Valens (*App. anth.* 1.6.44). Josephus has a heavy narrative investment in forms of ταραχή (“disturbance”: 184 occurrences in his corpus; cf. 26 in Thucydides and 67 in Polybius); see further 2.175. The modification of ταραχή by the simple adjective μεγάλη (“great disturbance[s]”) was a staple of Hellenistic historians—used almost

exclusively by them, it seems (Polybius 1.53.4; 3.51.6, 74.1; 10.14.4; Diodorus 11.61.3, 87.5; 15.40.1; 18.39.4; 32.1.1; 33.4.2; 37.2.13; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 10.10.1). Josephus hardly uses the simple adjective (*Ant.* 14.273), preferring to heighten the drama with a “greater” (*War* 1.245; *Ant.* 15.223; 16.229) or “the greatest” (*War* 5.101; *Ant.* 13.425) disturbance as here, a usage not attested in earlier historians (cf. Aesop, *Sent.* 4; Epicurus, *Frag.* 72a; Demosthenes, *Arist.* 103).

Since the most basic duty of a governor was to maintain order (see Meyer-Zwiffelhofer 2002) and enlist the local élites as part of the governing project (Ando 2000), Josephus’ indictment of Pilate for provoking huge disturbances implies his basic failure. It is striking, however, that Josephus can (or will) muster only two such episodes from what may have been a 19-year term; note also Tacitus’ description of this period in Judea (*Hist.* 5.9): “Under Tiberius it was quiet (*sub Tiberio quies*).”

¹⁰⁶⁰ That is, those in Jerusalem (as distinct from rural folk). Cf. 2.173 below, where Judeans are alarmed at another sight, and 3.395, where the captive Josephus becomes a “sight” or spectacle (ὄψις as here; cf. θέα in 3.393), which has an emotional effect on both the inner-narrative audience and his literary audience in Rome. On Josephus’ use of “sight” and spectacle to create vividness (ἐνάργεια), see Chapman 1998 and her essay in Edmondson, Mason, and Rives 2005: 289-313.

¹⁰⁶¹ This colorful collocation, πατέω . . . τοὺς νόμους, turns up again at 4.258 in the high priest Jesus’ description of the rebels; it seems to be a Josephan flourish (cf. 1.544, πεπατῆσθαι τὸ δίκαιον), not attested in literature before him. The reference is to the 2nd commandment (Exod 20:4-6), which forbids the fashioning of a cut or hewn image (ἰδωλόν) in the form of anything in the heavens, the earth, or the water. Deut 4:16 qualifies the forbidden image as a male or female form; cf. Deut 4:23, 25; 27:15; Judg 17-18; Ps 106:19. Yet from other passages (Isa 44:9-20; 48:5; Jer 10:14; Nah 1:14), it appears that it is not the act of hewing or cutting that is forbidden, but the construction of images-for-worship, whether cut or cast—in gold or some other metal (cf. *b. Sanh.* 57a, 103b; *Av. Zarah* 2a; *Bech.* 57a; *Temur.* 28b). Given the existence of Herod’s prominent golden eagle above the Jerusalem sanctuary for many years, the presence of animal forms in Antipas’ Tiberian palace—attacked only decades after his death (*Life* 65)—, and the abundance of images in later synagogue decoration (e.g., Goodenough 1988), it seems that the precise import of the biblical prohibition was not self-evident.

Nevertheless, Philo’s Agrippa I declares it a well-

and [in addition] to the indignation¹⁰⁶⁵ of those in the city, the citizenry¹⁰⁶⁶ from the countryside streamed together¹⁰⁶⁷ en masse.¹⁰⁶⁸ **171** They rushed to Pilatus in Caesarea¹⁰⁶⁹ and kept begging him to take the standards out of Hierosolyma and to preserve their an-

known tradition, respected by all *principes* since Augustus, that Jerusalem—city and shrine of the imageless God—was to be kept free of such images (*Legat.* 290-98); violation of that principle would be a “dishonoring of ancient laws” (*Legat.* 301). Cf. *Ant.* 18.120-25, where soon after Pilate’s removal Vitellius plans to cross Judea with two legions, to confront the Nabateans; he yields, however, to the Judean leaders’ request at Ptolemais that his army take another route (via the Jordan?), on the ground that “it was not in keeping with their ancestral [tradition] to stand by and watch images—of which there were many connected to the standards—being carried into their [territory]” (18.121).

Earlier (1.650) Josephus has remarked with respect to Herod’s eagle that “it was unlawful for the temple to contain either images or busts, or a work called after some living creature.” His later précis of the laws (*Ant.* 3.91) seems headed in the same direction as the Talmud, claiming that the law prohibits images of any living being *for worship* (ὁ δὲ δεῦτερος κελεύει μηδενὸς εἰκόνα ζῴου ποιήσαντας προσκυνεῖν). In an important story that has no parallel in *War*, King Herod faces potentially lethal opposition when he has Roman-style trophies (representing Octavian’s conquests) brought in to his new theater in Jerusalem; Herod assuages the anger of most citizens by exposing the unfashioned wood beneath—because observers had assumed that the sculpted representations concealed human forms beneath (*Ant.* 15.272-79). At *Apion* 2.191 Josephus elaborates this law in philosophical terms: God has no need of images.

Josephus’ focus in *War* on images as matters of conflict (1.649-59/2.5-13; here; Gaius’ statue at 2.185-203 [esp. 195]) suggests that he is exploiting his audience’s knowledge of this admirable Judean tradition (Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.5; Juvenal 14.96; cf. Xenophanes, frags. 10, 19-20; Theophrastus *ap.* Porphyry, *Abst.* 2.26; Megasthenes *ap.* Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 1.15.72; Diodorus, 40.3.4; Strabo 16.2.35; *Apion* 1.179; Diogenes Laertius 1.6; Momigliano 1971: 85-94; Feldman 1993: 201-4), to heighten the sense of grievance. Coming soon after the Essene passage, these episodes continue to portray the Judeans as a philosophical people, with worthy conceptions of the deity, enviable laws, and the courage to defend them to the death.

¹⁰⁶² Although Josephus often uses a narrative present tense (marked by asterisk* if translated as past), here he seems to be describing Judean views current also at his time of writing. It is conceivable that the subject of the 3rd-person ἁξιοῦσιν is “the laws” personified, but we expect a human subject (capable of thought). In any case,

this verb introduces a curious note of subjectivity into the interpretation of the 2nd commandment. Whether this was deliberate we cannot say, but it does seem to fit the reality, in which rulers who were generally carefully to avoid offending their people could in certain contexts use images of living forms—and get away with it for long periods (Herod in *War* 1.650; Antipas in *Life* 64-65).

¹⁰⁶³ The word δείκηλον appears only here and shortly afterward (2.195) in Josephus; before his time it is sparsely attested (e.g., Herodotus 2.171; Apollonius of Rhodes, *Arg.* 1.746; Lycophron, *Alex.* 1179, 1259; a fragment of Euphorion).

¹⁰⁶⁴ See the note to “trampled.” Neither the 2nd commandment nor biblical practice (nor Talmudic elaboration) *limits* the prohibition of images to the city of Jerusalem, and that does not seem to be Josephus’ intent (cf. 2.195; *Ant.* 18.121). He appears to mean the principal Judean city as distinct from the cohorts’ main base in (Greek-Syrian) Caesarea. Roman governors tended to see their roles in relation to the cities and their élites, not in relation to a province as administrative territory, of equal importance throughout (see Meyer-Zwiffelhofer 2002: 1-73). The sense appears to be “the city of Jerusalem—famous capital of Judeans everywhere”; this would suit the description of Jerusalem’s imageless tradition, honored by all emperors until Gaius, in Philo’s presentation of Agrippa I’s letter (*Legat.* 290-93, 298).

¹⁰⁶⁵ See the note at 2.29. That Josephus uses the word again (all 16 appearances in Josephus are in *War*) in the next Pilate story (2.175) enhances the literary symmetry of these two stories, though they are quite different in substance.

¹⁰⁶⁶ See the note at 2.1.

¹⁰⁶⁷ See the note to “ran together” at 2.43: this is the formulaic language of popular response to especially Roman provocations. A third of the occurrences of συρρέω in Josephus are in *War* 2, of which this is the first (cf. 2.315, 490, 622); they contribute to the sense of rapidly increasing tension and outrage.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Or (ironically) “in close order.” See the notes to “close order” at 2.12, 63, and note the recurrence in 2.174 below. Josephus clusters occurrences of this word also at 1.80, 84 and 6.80, 82, 86. His distinction here between city (πόλις) and countryside or open space around the city (χώρα) reflects ancient perspectives on the primacy of cities, the assumption being that Jerusalem is the chief city of the central Judean countryside (cf. 4.253, 557; 5.373).

¹⁰⁶⁹ See the note at 2.16: Roman governors took as their main base, and one of the chief sources of their

cestral [customs].¹⁰⁷⁰ But when Pilatus refused,¹⁰⁷¹ they fell down around his residence,¹⁰⁷² prone,¹⁰⁷³ and held out¹⁰⁷⁴ motionless for five days and nights alike.¹⁰⁷⁵

(9.3) 172 On the next [day], Pilatus sat on a tribunal-platform¹⁰⁷⁶ in the great stadium¹⁰⁷⁷ and, after summoning the rabble as though truly intending to answer them, gave* the sol-

recruits to the auxiliary cohorts, Herod's impressive coastal Greek-Syrian city; cf. the note to "residence" in this section.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Greek τὰ πάτρια, interchangeable here (as generally in Josephus—Mason 1991: 96-106; Schröder 1996) with the laws (οἱ νόμοι) mentioned in the preceding sentence (2.170).

¹⁰⁷¹ Notice here the absence of the Jerusalem élite, who will figure largely in later embassies to the respective governors: 2.237. Those élites are the governor's natural conversation partners: they are, or should be, his "friends" (*amici*, φίλοι), who work with him to manage their own people. The masses could only make much cruder approach to the governor; his curt response is not surprising.

¹⁰⁷² The governor's residence (*praetorium*) in Caesarea, as in Jerusalem, was King Herod's former palace. The probable (though still hypothetical) remains of this structure were identified by E. Netzer in the 1970s and substantially excavated by a team from the University of Pennsylvania in the early 1990s. The structure sits on a promontory reef projecting about 100 m. into the sea, immediately NW of the famous Roman-style theater; on the NE the palace projects inland, to abut the Herodian hippodrome. All 3 constructions (palace, theater, and hippodrome), seem thus to have been conceived as a single interconnected complex. In its W (private) section on the promontory, the 2-story palace included a large peristyle courtyard enclosing a pool larger than half-Olympic size (see Appendix A to BJP 1a). Its E (public) part comprised a peristyle courtyard about 42 x 65 m. See the site map by A. Jamim and aerial photographs in Raban and Holum 1996: xxii-xxv, and the essays by E. Netzer, K. L. Gleason, and B. Burrell in the same volume (pp. 193-247). The massing of the Judeans "around" Pilate's residence (περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν), if this was the place in question, could therefore be achieved with a relatively small crowd positioned along the S and E of the residence.

¹⁰⁷³ The natural-seeming combination of καταπίπτω (fall down) and πρηνής (prone) seems unattested in literature before Josephus, though he will use it again at 6.64, of the Roman soldier Sabinus who stumbles and is killed, and at *Ant.* 19.349, where the people prostrate themselves in prayer for the recovery of King Agrippa I (cf. Appian, *Celt.* 10.1, of a Celt's obeisance before Valerius). The posture is strikingly and perhaps ironically similar to that of prostration before a lord or ruler (προσκύνησις), often a Roman ruler, which Josephus

describes often both literally and figuratively: e.g., *War* 1.73; 2.360, 366, 380; 6.123, 331; *Ant.* 2.11, 15; 3.91; 4.137.

¹⁰⁷⁴ This verb of endurance, διακατερέω, is a favorite of Josephus' (15 occurrences, 6 in *War*), as of Diodorus (19 times), whereas Herodotus and Xenophon have it only twice each, Polybius once, and it does not appear in Thucydides. Endurance (κατερέω) is for him a paramount Judean virtue (see note at 2.138).

¹⁰⁷⁵ Needless to say, these 5 continuous days of complete motionlessness must reflect literary license.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Greek ἐπὶ βῆματος. Such a raised podium (cf. "platform" at 2.2) served as the seat of judgment for a magistrate (such as a governor) trying cases or hearing public appeals. It was not an expected or permanent structure within a stadium or hippodrome, which was designed for sports competitions; the parallel (*Ant.* 18.57) adds that this platform was specially constructed for this hearing—and served to conceal Pilate's soldiers. Given that βῆμα occurs only 13 times in *War*, it is striking that 3 of those occurrences are concentrated in these brief Pilate episodes (see 2.175, 176). Josephus worked deliberately to make these very different incidents resemble one another in form and language.

¹⁰⁷⁷ A stadium facility was U-shaped, roughly—hence the name—1 *stadion* (180-200+ m.) in length; it was used chiefly for track and field competitions. In Caesarea no such stadium has yet been found. "Great" might imply, however, that this one was larger than usual. Archaeologists led by Y. Porath in the 1990s unearthed a hippodrome (or *circus*) near the shoreline, supplementing the previously known 2nd-cent. CE hippodrome to the E. The newly discovered facility abuts Herod's promontory palace, now the Roman governor's *praetorium* (see note to "residence" at 2.171 above), and was evidently part of the integrated public-private complex (K. L. Gleason 1996). It was a U-shaped structure in the typical style of a *circus*, about 315 m x 64 m (arena 301 x 50.5 m), seating an estimated 7-13,000 in 12 rows of seats. Such dimensions make it about 50% longer than regular *stadium* (hippodromes were built to accommodate horse races), though still only 25% the size of the *circus maximus* in Rome (600 m x 100 m), which seated some 150,000 (Dodge 1999: 237; Bennett 2007: 117-21).

Given the location of this hippodrome and its shape, it seems the preferred candidate for Josephus' "great stadium"; cf. Porath 1995: 15-27; Humphrey 1996 (esp. 122-24); D. Roller 1998: 117 and n. 79. It is probably also the "amphitheater" mentioned by Josephus among

diers a signal,¹⁰⁷⁸ according to a scheme,¹⁰⁷⁹ to encircle the Judeans with weapons.¹⁰⁸⁰ **173** As the infantry column was positioned around three-deep,¹⁰⁸¹ the Judeans were speechless¹⁰⁸² at the unexpectedness¹⁰⁸³ of the sight.¹⁰⁸⁴ After saying that he would cut them to pieces¹⁰⁸⁵ if they would not accept Caesar's images,¹⁰⁸⁶ Pilatus nodded¹⁰⁸⁷ to the soldiers to bare¹⁰⁸⁸ their swords.¹⁰⁸⁹ **174** The Judeans, just as if by an agreed signal,¹⁰⁹⁰ fell down

Herod's important buildings (*War* 1.415; cf. the note to "hippodrome" at 2.44 for interchangeable language), and the scene of the quinquennial games (including musical and athletic contests, gladiatorial combat and animal hunting, as well as horse races) that he instituted at the city's founding in ca. 13 or 11 BCE (with Bennett 2007: 100, against the accepted date of 10/9 BCE), with support from Augustus and Livia (*Ant.* 16.136-141). The more standard amphitheater in the NE of the city seems to have been built no earlier than the mid-1st century CE.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Or "sign," possibly "watchword" (σημείον); cf. 3.88.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Greek ἐκ συντάγματος. On the negative connotations, see the note at 2.107. The ἐκ-phrase here is not attested in literature before Josephus or among his contemporaries, though he uses it again at 2.290—also of a scheme against Judeans in Caesarea.

¹⁰⁸⁰ All of this language ("tribunal, soldiers, signal, weapons, scheme") serves to emphasize the ostensible power concentrated in the governor's hands—soon to be undermined.

¹⁰⁸¹ On the problem of establishing the number of ranks in the *legionary* column see Goldsworthy 1996: 176-83, esp. 180-81. By having ordinary provincials suddenly face a professional military column (φάλαγξ) in battle formation (cf. 5.131 for a 3-deep legionary column) and following a precisely executed plan, Josephus heightens the power differential and terror of the episode. At the same time, by reusing ἀθρόος of the Judeans at 2.170, 174—a word often used in military contexts for marching in close order (cf. 2.12 and note)—and noticing their unified action *as if* by careful plan, Josephus enhances the ironic "victory" of the Judean masses over the professional soldiers.

¹⁰⁸² This colorful adjective (ἀχανής) occurs only here in *War*; cf. *Ant.* 7.242; 11.236; 17. 143.

¹⁰⁸³ The neuter-singular substantive use of this adjective (τὸ ἀδόκητον) is Thucydidean (4.36.2; 5.10.7; 6.34.6, 8), otherwise not found before Josephus, who uses it again at 4.293. Cf. later Appian, *Lib.* 77; *Bell. civ.* 2.8.53; Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. Clit.* 4.14.4. The plural form of this adjective (as modifier) is characteristically Euripidean (*Iph. Taur.* 896; *Alc.* 1162; *Med.* 1418; *Andr.* 1287; *Hel.* 1691; *Bacch.* 1391).

¹⁰⁸⁴ Greek τῆς ὄψεως. See the note to "sight" at 2.170.

¹⁰⁸⁵ For κατακόπτω with forms of "encirclement" (κυκλω-), see Thucydides 4.96.3; 7.29.5; Xenophon, *Anab.* 1.8.24; Polybius 14.8.11; Diodorus 12.79.5; 15.36.4; 22.13.4.

¹⁰⁸⁶ This language of killing Judeans "if they would not accept" images of Caesar anticipates 2.185, the episode of Gaius' statue.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Or simply "signaled": Greek ἔνευεν is probably to be preferred to "he directed" (ἐκέλευσεν) in MS V, because of multiple attestation (cf. the similar problem at 1.629, where there is better support for κελεύω), though the latter would contribute even more to the re-use of terminology in the second Pilate episode: see note to "disturbance" at 2.175.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Greek γυμνοῦν τὰ ξίφη. Although the phrase is not attested before him, Josephus refers with menacing drama to "baring [or bared] swords" several times (cf. 2.213, 619; *Ant.* 14.463), instead of the more prosaic "drawing" (σπάω) of the sword, which he also uses: *War* 2.211, 471, 644; 4.640; 6.75, 361; *Ant.* 14.357; 19.105, 122, 243, 263.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Both the nod and the "baring" of swords (previous note) contribute to a well-crafted sense of drama that is less clear in the parallel, *Ant.* 18.58; cf. Krieger 1994: 33. The *War* has many more references to swords (ξίφη, 48 of 69) and sword-armed men (ξιφήρεις, 12 of 13) than Josephus' other works, whereas it has only 1 occurrence of "dagger" (ξιφίδιον, 2.255), the concealable weapon of choice in situations other than all-out warfare (7 times in *Antiquities-Life*). Pilate's auxiliaries may have been equipped much as legionary infantry (Webster 1985: 151; Goldsworthy 2003: 136-37), with a sword (*gladius*)—a straight, sharply pointed, double-edged blade of about 40-55 cm (16-22 in.) plus handle, roughly 2 in. wide—suspended improbably high on the right side, with its handle top at chest level (Webster 1985: 128-29; Goldsworthy 2003: 68-70, 133). Or, given a passage in Tacitus (*Ann.* 12.35; cf. Le Bohec 1994: 123) that distinguishes the legionary *gladius* from the auxiliary *spatha*, it may be that Pilate's soldiers carried the latter (a blade some 50% longer than that of the *gladius*), though that weapon may have been needed only by auxiliary cavalry (Goldsworthy 2003: 138; cf. Feugère 2002: 108).

¹⁰⁹⁰ Greek σύνθημα. Josephus will re-use the word in 2.176 and at 2.326, in another important episode involving an egregious governor who provokes protest. An

en masse,¹⁰⁹¹ bent their necks to the side,¹⁰⁹² and shouted that they were ready to do away with themselves¹⁰⁹³ rather than transgress the law.¹⁰⁹⁴ Pilatus, who was overwhelmed¹⁰⁹⁵ by the purity of their superstition,¹⁰⁹⁶ directed* [his men] immediately to carry the standards out of Hierosolyma.¹⁰⁹⁷

ironic inversion: Pilate ostensibly has all the resources at his disposal, and takes the trouble to draw up a careful scheme (2.172). Without any such power or scheme, the Judeans react spontaneously *as if* by a plan—and manage to triumph.

¹⁰⁹¹ Or “in close order.” See the notes to this phrase at 2.12, 170. Josephus’ re-use of ἀθρόος in such a short space (see 2.170) is paralleled at 1.81, 84; 6.80, 82, 86. Given those parallels and the context here, it seems that he intends further to develop the ironic contrast between the Roman military column (*phalanx* in 2.173) and the spontaneously united discipline of the Judeans.

¹⁰⁹² Whereas here the Roman soldiers bare (γυμνῶω) their swords, and the Judeans incline (παρακλίνω—only in *War*; also at 1.618; 6.224) their necks, in the parallel (*Ant.* 18.59) the Judeans *bare their throats* and the swords are not mentioned (cf. Odysseus’ “inclining the head” to dodge an ox hoof; *Od.* 20.301). We seem to have here a case of Josephus’ looking for ways to vary his diction.

¹⁰⁹³ The active infinitive (ἀναίρεῖν σφῶς) in MSS PA is a forceful way of conveying the Judeans’ realization that their determined resistance amounts to suicide; it vividly reinforces *War*’s theme of their contempt for death (see 2.151 and notes) and to a degree anticipates the suicide of Masada (e.g., 7.323–336, 378–379). This “more difficult” reading seems preferable to that of MLVRC, εἰς ἀνάρεσιν (“[declared themselves ready] for elimination”), which seems an accommodation to a more expected passive formulation, as in the parallel (*Ant.* 18.59: “they said that they would receive death with pleasure”) and in the Latin: *vociferantes universos se interfici magis velle*.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Although the phrase παραβαίνω + νόμος, νόμιμα, πάτρια is itself unremarkable, and typical of Greek oratory (Demosthenes has it more than 40 times), Josephus uses it frequently enough (about 65 times; contrast Philo’s 10) that we may consider it characteristic. In the parallel (*Ant.* 18.59) he speaks of “violating the *wisdom* of the laws,” in keeping with that work’s emphasis on the philosophical basis of the Judean constitution. Compare the Essenes’ recently described determination to uphold the law even at the cost of torture or death (*War* 2.152–153) and Josephus’ comments in *Apion* 2.146, 294 about all Judeans’ contempt for death, especially in the crucible of armed conflict. The theme of readiness for martyrdom on behalf of the ancestral laws no doubt owes much to the famous stories of the Maccabean tradition (2 Macc 7; 4 Macc 4–7; e.g., 5.27–35; 6.8–11, 25–27); cf. van Henten 1997 and, on general Maccabean influences on the first

century, Farmer 1956; Bowersock 1995; for an analysis of active and passive resistance in the Empire, Plass 1995. This story anticipates in many ways that of the Judean resistance to Gaius’ effort, through Petronius, to install his statue in the temple (2.192–198).

¹⁰⁹⁵ Greek ὑπερθαυμάζω, expressing extreme wonder, hardly appears before Josephus (Herodotus 3.3 in Ionic form; Chrysippus, *Frag. sing.* 9.2) and is only here in *War*; but cf. *Ant.* 8.170 (the Queen of Sheba’s amazement at the grandeur of Solomon’s palace). Since Galen, Lucian (*Macr.* 24; *Zeux.* 3; *Ver. hist.* 1.34), Polyaeus (8.8.1) and other 2nd-century authors (Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. Clit.* 8.10.4) use the compound more heavily, we see again Josephus’ employment, or even anticipation, of newly fashionable language.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Greek τὸ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας ἄκρατον. The term δεισιδαιμονία (fear or anxiety in relation the divine or spirit-world: Theophrastus, *Char.* 16.1) frequently has negative connotations (e.g., at *War* 1.113). In Plutarch’s essay on the subject (*Mor.* 164e–171) it is a serious moral defect, worse even than atheism because the debilitating emotion of fear carries over into the next life. Plutarch includes Judeans among the superstitious and alleges, coincidentally, that their superstition led them to remain *motionless* in the face of imminent military threat, “as if bound together in one net” (*Mor.* 169c). He also speaks (concerning the Egyptians) of a belief that “knocks over the [weak and naïve] into pure superstition” (εἰς ἄκρατον ὑπερείπουσα τὴν δεισιδαιμονία, *Mor.* 379e). Tacitus liberally employs the Latin equivalent (*superstitio*) of barbarian nations, and the Judeans receive their fair share of such characterizations (*Hist.* 2.4; 5.8, 13; also Cicero, *Flacc.* 67; cf. Schäfer 1997: 186–90).

Yet at 2.230 (the only other occurrence in *War*), the word describes the apparently *virtuous* Judean reaction to a Roman soldier’s burning of the sacred law, unless it should be understood, as it were, in quotation marks there. So it remains unclear—perhaps artfully so—whether the word should reflect Pilate’s negative judgment on this foreign “superstition” or whether the word itself should take a less pejorative sense here. See similarly 2.198, where Petronius marvels at the Judeans’ “unsurpassable cult, religiosity” (θηρησκεία)—with similar ambiguity as to tone.

¹⁰⁹⁷ In *Ant.* 18.59 Josephus claims that Pilate takes the standards back to Caesarea. Zeitlin (1919–20: 259–60) connects this with the memorial day indicated in *Megillat Ta’anit*, the *Fasting Scroll*, thought to have been largely completed before 70 CE, which specifies days on which may *not* fast (IX: Kislev): “On Kislev 3 (November-

Pilate uses temple funds for aqueduct. Ant. 18.60

(9.4) 175 After these [events] he set in motion a different kind of disturbance¹⁰⁹⁸ by exhausting¹⁰⁹⁹ the sacred treasury¹¹⁰⁰—it is called the *corbonas*¹¹⁰¹—on a water conduit,¹¹⁰²

December) the images were removed from the temple court.”

¹⁰⁹⁸ I.e., after the “huge disturbance” just described (2.169), reinforcing the image of Judea’s equestrian governors as unworthy and troublesome men, who have long tried the patience of the people—a charge levelled also by Tacitus: the administration of Judea being entrusted to Roman knights and freedmen, the “patience of the Judeans lasted until Gessius Florus” (*Hist.* 5.10). This is typical Josephan language, both the use of *ταραχή* and cognates (as above) and the combination with *κινέω* (“set in motion”; *War* 4.131; *Ant.* 7.265) or *κίνημα* (“commotion”; *War* 3.309; *Ant.* 15.205). The combination also recalls two of Josephus’ models, Thucydides (5.25.1) and Polybius (1.69.6; 29.15.2).

“Disturbance” is only the first of several terms from the first Pilate story that recycled in the second, along with “indignation,” “rabble,” “tribunal-platform,” language of surrounding, “concealed,” “sword,” “agreed signal,” and “trampled” (possibly also “directed”). This similarity of language, especially in view of the very different sort of “incident” involved, creates the strong impression that Josephus has assimilated the second story to the pattern of the first for literary reasons, including the demonstration of Pilate’s incompetence and of Judean courage.

¹⁰⁹⁹ The parallel (*Ant.* 18.60) lacks this claim, saying only that he had the aqueduct made, with the costs paid by the sacred funds. Given that Josephus uses the compound verb here (*ἐξαναλίσκω*) only 3 other times, and that it is not common elsewhere—most prominent in natural-scientific literature (Hippocrates, *Sem.* 51; Aristotle, *Probl.* 929b; *Gen. anim.* 750a; Theophrastus, *Ign.* 20; *Caus. plant.* 2.10.2, 12.6; 3.9.1; 5.11.2), occasional among philosophers and historians (Chrysippus, *Frag. log.* 572; Posidonius, *Frag.* 289.16 [Theiler]; Aristobulus [in Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 8.10.15]; Diodorus 13.88.7; 15.93.3; 17.11.4, 48.3 etc.; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 5.26.5; 16.6.2; Philo, *Spec.* 3.10; *Mos.* 2.154; cf. Plutarch, *Mor.* 697b)—it is noteworthy that he will use it again in relation to “all the sacred treasures” at 5.187. There, however, he describes the Judeans’ *admirable* exhaustion of their time and their treasury funds to enhance the temple. The sacred treasures were regularly replenished by subventions from Judeans throughout the world; see note to “treasury of God” at 2.50.

¹¹⁰⁰ See the note to “treasury of God” at 2.50, also 2.331.

¹¹⁰¹ This is a rare introduction of foreign terminology in the Atticizing *War*, perhaps intended to stress the narrator’s detailed local knowledge of his subject. The form given here (*κορβωνᾶς*) is taken from MS P and corrections of A and L, against wider support for

κορβανᾶς (MLVRC, Lat *corban*, and some citations, esp. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 2.6.6). The majority reading seems to reflect an effort to reconcile Josephus with the NT (e.g., Matt 27:6), with Josephus’ own spelling elsewhere (*Ant.* 4.73; *Apion* 1.167 [*κορβάν* or *κορβᾶν*]), or possibly with known pronunciation of Hebrew *קרבן*. Suidas (*s.v.* Πιλᾶτος) keeps the -ω- spelling along with Josephus’ definition here; so also the 4th cent. CE Epiphanius, *Pan.* 3.123. Curiously, the syllabic lexicon *Partitiones* associated with the 2nd-cent. grammarian Aelius Herodian includes the -ω- spelling, as here, in its list of *κο*-words and gives precisely the definition from this passage (“sacred treasury”)—apparently showing that author’s familiarity with Josephus.

At *Ant.* 4.73 Josephus speaks, immediately following his discussion of the nazirite vow, of those who designate *themselves* “*corban* to/for God” (οἱ κορβάν αὐτοῦς ὀνομάσαντες τῷ θεῷ), a vow-state from which one can be redeemed; he translates the word there as *δῶρον* (later a loan-word in rabbinic literature). See notes with bibliography in Feldman, *BJP* 3 *ad loc.* *Apion* 1.167 mentions *κορβάν* as a foreign (Judean) oath prohibited among the Tyrians: Josephus interprets it for Greek-speaking readers as *δῶρον θεοῦ* (see Barclay in *BJP* 10 *ad loc.*). Hebrew *קרבן* appears some 82 times in the Bible, mainly in Leviticus and Numbers, meaning “sacrificial gift, something consecrated,” often as cognate accusative of the verb *קרב* (“come near, offer,” e.g., Lev 1:2; 2:1, 4; 3:7, 14). *Corban* is discussed frequently in the Mishnah and Talmud (e.g., *b. Shabb.* 25a; *Ned.* 6a, 13a, 15b, 16a, 20a, 66a; *Tem.* 6b, 13a) in the same sense. It is also mentioned in a famously puzzling passage of the NT, as vowed money improperly redirected from obligations toward one’s parents (Mark 7:11), though Matt 27:6 uses *κορβανᾶς* much as Josephus here, for “temple treasury.” Rengstorff (*Concordance s.v.*) explains the difference of spelling within Josephus on the assumption that the word in this passage reflects an Aramaic *קרבנא*, the “treasury” behind Matt 27:6.

¹¹⁰² That is, an “aqueduct” (*καταγωγὴ ὑδάτων*); the parallel at *Ant.* 18.60 varies negligibly with *ὑδάτων ἐπαγωγὴ*. On the challenges of, and possibilities for, conducting water into a city, see Vitruvius 8.6 and Hodge 2002. In Josephus’ Rome, aqueducts were continually on people’s minds because of the capital’s enormous demand for water: the Flavian period saw several major renovations (see next note), and shortly after came the famous treatise on the subject by Josephus’ contemporary and Nerva’s water commissioner, Sex. Iulius Frontinus (with concise analysis in Dodge 2000). But aqueducts had more than utilitarian value: especially the enduring sections constructed high above ground on arched arcades

it conducted [water] from 400 *stadia* away.¹¹⁰³ At this there was indignation¹¹⁰⁴ among

were symbols of power and conquest (Aicher 1995: 4-6). This circumstance may factor in Josephus' account.

Jerusalem was not favorably situated for a water supply, and the city faced a number of droughts—in spite of Pilate's aqueduct (e.g., Jeremias 1969: 27, 120, 143; A. Mazar 2002: 211). In ancient times the Gihon spring had supplied much of the city's water, its utility famously secured by Hezekiah's underground tunnel (Mare 1987: 99-107). The Hellenistic period (at least) saw the creation of large cisterns S of the temple and pools to the N, serving Antonia and the New City (cf. *War* 5.467; Mare 1987: 161), which were extensively developed by King Herod (B. Mazar 1978), who also created cisterns beneath the temple mount (reconstruction in Ritmeyer and Ritmeyer 2006: 79). By the time of Herod's massive rebuilding program, the city's water needs had become enormous, with unprecedented amounts required for sacrificial operations (*Arist.* 90), for Herod's palace and royal facilities, and for a growing population (Hanson and Oakman 1998: 145-46).

Financing a new aqueduct was a major undertaking. The cost of construction has been estimated at more than 2 million HS (sesterces) per linear km (Leveau 2001: 92-5), 1 million HS being the entire property qualification of a Roman senator. Rome's *aqua marcia* reportedly cost 180 million HS for its 91 km (Frontinus, *Aq.* 1.7). Even though provincial aqueducts, being usually less grand and less capacious, may have cost only half the Roman standard, they were necessarily expensive. The system that served Jerusalem (see next note) used a variety of techniques, from simple cuts in existing rock formations to stone pipes, hewn tunnels, and support structures made of small stones in high-quality concrete (A. Mazar 2002: 213-26).

Inscriptions and literary evidence for other Roman-era aqueducts indicate that financing typically required a combination of imperial grants (common for Rome and its colonies), local community funds, and private donations. This last category was notorious because, as a consequence of death or default, an unfulfilled commitment might fall on the city (Leveau 2001: 87-8). Pliny's letters imply that the Roman governor had the crucial role in arranging finances, by gathering private donations and community funds, before seeking the emperor's approval of the project and requesting any additional help, possibly through a rebate of tribute from provincial *fiscus* (e.g., Pliny, *Ep.* 10.90; Leveau 2001: 91; cf. the note to "Caesar's treasuries" at 2.111).

Such considerations bring home just how little Josephus explains about this aqueduct project, which must have been conceived as a public benefit. Was it Pilate's initiative, or that of the Jerusalem leadership? Had he or they arranged for private donations along with a con-

tribution from the treasury? (Even if the temple treasury was "exhausted," that does not mean that it covered the entire cost.) Had some intended benefactors died or become insolvent, forcing a turn to city funds? Was the imperial treasury involved (the state *aerarium*, the emperor's personal estate, or the provincial *fisci* under his control?), by rebating tribute money or contributing technicians or surveyors, auxiliary soldiers, or materials? Who designed and built the aqueduct?—for such systems required professional planning, given the strict requirements of elevation, gradient, route, materials, pooling and distribution mechanisms. Who gave Pilate access to the temple funds? (There is no mention of a raid, and this must have been done with the cooperation of some city leaders.) Most unclear: designing and building an aqueduct would presumably have taken at least two years (next note). At what point did this protest occur (at the planning stage, after some point in the financial settlement, upon completion)? Was there only one such protest? (If so, why?—given the long time required for the project). Archaeology reveals that Jerusalem's aqueduct system was fairly complex (see the following note): Which part(s) did Pilate build or rebuild? On these crucial historical questions, Josephus is silent.

¹¹⁰³ Although the *stadion* is not a precise measure (a distance of 600 feet, but the "foot" varied locally), and Josephus usually gives *stadia* measurements in multiples of 10, by comparing known distances with his *stadia* figures it emerges that his *stadion* was roughly 200 meters: dividing by 5 yields rough km equivalents, and by 8, miles (cf. BJP 9, note at *Life* 64). The distance indicated here is thus about 50 miles/80 km, though the parallel (*Ant.* 18.60) quietly halves it, to 200 *stadia* (roughly 25 miles or 40 km). Quoting this passage, but probably influenced by the parallel (more than by independent knowledge), Eusebius offers a diplomatic "300 *stadia*" (37.5 miles or 60 km; *Hist. eccl.* 2.6.6). At any of these distances, this would have been an extremely costly undertaking (see note to "conduit"), requiring at least 2, perhaps 3 or 4 years (Lönquist 2000: 473).

Since the mid-19th century scholars have excavated, tracked, and measured Jerusalem's aqueduct system. A. Mazar (2002), on the basis of a fresh analysis, describes 4 elements: an upper and lower aqueduct to Jerusalem from the 3 large spring-fed reservoirs at Solomon's Pools (about 3.5 km SW of Bethlehem), and two aqueducts bringing water to Solomon's Pools from more distant springs. One of the latter, from 'Ein el 'Arrub, traverses a mere 10 km as the crow flies, but 39 km on the ground because of the difficult terrain, ending at the middle of Solomon's Pools. The other feeder aqueduct, from 'Ein ed Daraj in Wadi el Biyar to the uppermost of Solomon's Pools, requires only 4.7 km. From Solomon's Pools to

the rabble,¹¹⁰⁵ and when Pilatus was present at Hierosolyma they stood around¹¹⁰⁶ his tribunal-platform¹¹⁰⁷ and kept yelling at [him].¹¹⁰⁸ **176** But because he had foreseen their disturbance,¹¹⁰⁹ he had mixed in amongst¹¹¹⁰ the rabble soldiers in arms, but concealed¹¹¹¹

Jerusalem, the high-level aqueduct is 13 km in length, built (according to inscriptions) by the Tenth Legion in the 2nd cent. CE; the low-level system runs from the lowest of Solomon's Pools to the temple mount. It runs for 21.5 km, to cover an aerial distance of 11.6 km.

On Pilate's involvement with this aqueduct system, scholarly opinion has varied considerably: some argue that if the high-level aqueduct came from the Tenth Legion in the 2nd century, the low-level one must have been Hasmonean or Herodian, so at most improved by Pilate; others, following Josephus, insist that Pilate constructed an aqueduct *to Jerusalem*, which must therefore be the lower one (A. Mazar 2002: 236-37). Mazar argues that the low-level aqueduct from Solomon's Pools must date from the Hasmonean period, because it shares the characteristics of other Hasmonean aqueducts, it must have been needed long before Pilate's time, and Josephus would surely have mentioned such a major project if it had come from Herod. Pilate was therefore more likely responsible for the meandering extension from 'Ein el 'Arrub to Solomon's Pools. That extension, which would secure the aqueduct and greatly enlarge its capacity, happens to match Josephus' lower (corrected?) figure in the *Antiquities* parallel. It also makes sense as a project of Pilate's tenure—a major enhancement to the existing rudimentary system. Although Mazar's theory runs against Josephus' claim that Pilate constructed a conduit *to Jerusalem*, given the other liberties that Josephus takes with the story—accommodating it to the standards episode, passing over crucial historical questions about who was involved and how the funding worked—this presents no serious obstacle.

Although the addition increased the *total* length of the aqueduct (now 'Arrub to Jerusalem) to about 65 km, which gets closer to the 80 km indicated here, Josephus has dramatically increased the length of the structure built by Pilate. Josephus presents him as undertaking a hubristic adventure—to rival Rome's most magnificent conduits, as the audience would realize—on the back of an unwilling populace. Rome's great aqueducts had lengths of 91 km (*aqua Marcia*, 140 BCE, repaired by Titus in 79), 63.7 km (*anio vetus*, 269 BCE), 69 km (*aqua Claudia*, 52 CE, repaired by Vespasian in 71 and Titus in 81), and 87 km (*anio novus*, also Claudian). See *LTUR* 1.42-44, 63-65; Frontinus, *Aq.* 7, 13; and the excellent overviews in Aicher (1995: esp. 32-45) and Dodge 2000.

¹¹⁰⁴ See the notes at 2.29, 42, 170. Josephus' re-use of this word and several others from the former Pilate

episode (2.170) helps to accommodate the two stories to each other.

¹¹⁰⁵ Given that the aqueduct was a public work for the city's benefit (Lönnquist 2000: 72-73), that governors expected to pay for such works from local resources, and that at least the Mishnah (with due allowance for dating problems) allows at least *surplus* temple funds to be used for city needs (*m. Sheqal.* 2.5; 4.2), the precise reason for the Judeans' reported outrage is not obvious. It has been variously explained as Pilate's misdirection of money intended for sacrifices (Feldman, *LCL Ant.* 18.60 n. b), his interference with the local administration of the temple funds (Lémonon 1981: 167-68)—although he must have had the cooperation of local authorities in gaining access to the funds (McGing 1991: 429)—, or his *draining* of the treasury for this purpose, perhaps because of cost-overruns (Bond 1998: 86-87). The last explanation best suits Josephus' choice of verb (see note to "exhausting" in this section) and it might explain the vague timing of the protest: in spite of Josephus' compression, a protest over the exhaustion of funds presumably could not have occurred before the 2- to 3-year (?) project was well underway, perhaps near completion. But Josephus' dramatic story-telling and lack of information render historical conclusions hazardous.

¹¹⁰⁶ The language of "surrounding" (here περιίστημι) picks up notices in the previous Pilate episode (2.171, 172).

¹¹⁰⁷ See the note at 2.172 above: this is another word re-used from the first story.

¹¹⁰⁸ In the parallel (*Ant.* 18.60), although myriads (tens of thousands) assemble before Pilate and yell at him (καταβοάω as here) to halt the project, only *some* (τινές) "also abused the fellow, making use of insult in the way that a mob loves to do." In *War*, the verb καταβοάω is used exclusively for popular outrage at the behavior of Roman officials in bk. 2 (2.225, 325, 339), with the exception of 3.410, where Josephus is the target.

¹¹⁰⁹ See the note to this word in 2.175.

¹¹¹⁰ The doubly compound verb ἐγκαταμείγνυμι is rare, attested only 11 times before Josephus (6 of those in the scientific-philosophical works of Hippocrates, Aristotle, and Theophrastus; also Philo, *Legat.* 169; *Quaest. exod.* frag. 21), but he has it also at *Ant.* 15.360. His use of it here matches the form for "directed" in the next sentence.

¹¹¹¹ This striking expression, "concealed (κεκαλυμμένος) in civilian clothes," evokes Pilate's concealment of the *standards* in the first episode, which uses the same

in civilian clothes.¹¹¹² Having prohibited them from using the sword,¹¹¹³ but having directed¹¹¹⁴ them instead to beat with sticks¹¹¹⁵ those who had begun screaming,¹¹¹⁶ he gave* the agreed signal¹¹¹⁷ from the tribunal-platform.¹¹¹⁸ **177** Many Judeans were lost from being hit by the blows, but many others from having been trampled under¹¹¹⁹ by their very

perfect-participial form of the same verb.

¹¹¹² The phrase for “civilian [or ordinary, private] clothes” (ἑσθησιν ιδιωτικαῖς) is typically Josephan: also *War* 1.387; *Ant.* 5.228. A similar expression is found in Diodorus (20.34.3).

¹¹¹³ Does Josephus really have special information about the secret instructions Pilate gave to his troops? This notice seems most easily explained on literary grounds: Josephus wants to play this second Pilate episode against the first, in which the soldiers deliberately bared their swords in a threatening gesture (2.173).

¹¹¹⁴ Before Josephus ἐγκέλευ- forms are rare, mainly in Xenophon (*Anab.* 1.3.13; *Cyr.* 5.5.39; *Hipp.* 2.5; *Cyn.* 6.20, 22, 25; 9.7; 10.8; cf. Dionysus, *Ant. rom.* 3.20.3; 4.12.1; Strabo 13.1.35). Later, they appear quite often in Plutarch and Arrian, for example. The 3 cognate forms ἐγκέλευστος (2.6), ἐγκέλευσμα (2.549; *Ant.* 19.110) and ἐγκελεύω (here) appear, curiously, only in *War* 2, with the exception of *Ant.* 19.110.

¹¹¹⁵ Given that “sticks” or “pieces of wood” (ξύλα) were routinely carried by travelling civilians (2.125; Mark 6:8), the point may be that the soldiers should not seem out of the ordinary. If the Judeans had been carrying staffs, they had presumably put them aside before assembling near the governor, so as not to seem a violent mob. The parallel claims that the soldiers *concealed* their sticks under their cloaks (*Ant.* 18.61). The scene anticipates another, more consequential, confrontation before Florus at 2.326.

Pilate’s order to use sticks rather than swords has been variously interpreted, generally on the assumption that Josephus’ stories represent reality, and so discussion is of Pilate’s actual motives. McGing (1991: 429-30) proposes that the governor had learned from the earlier episode at Caesarea: not happy with the alternatives of either mass slaughter or backing down after a show of force, he came up with this middle solution for enforcing discipline without extensive injury. That same analysis works at the narrative level, however: Josephus’ Pilate grows *as a character* and learns from his tactical blunder in the first round, an impression is aided by Josephus’ artful assimilation of the second account to the first. But if that is part of the narrative, how can we reach historical conclusions? Bond (1998: 88-9) argues that Pilate’s approach here supports *Antiquities*’ later claim that only some of the vast crowd were serious troublemakers: were the entire crowd perceived as a threat, as *War* suggests, it would have been a foolish tactic to send plain-clothed soldiers into their midst, where they would be vulnerable

as soon as their identities were revealed. Historically, Pilate must have expected only a few troublemakers. But the problem, again, is finding a firm place to stand for historical reconstruction, which cannot be a process of simply combining elements from literary accounts, or of reasoning historically from narrative details (which may have no substance behind them).

At any rate, the parallel version (*Ant.* 18.61-62) is not readily compatible. There (a) Pilate has the plain-clothesmen quietly *surround* the Judeans, then orders the latter to withdraw, leaving his men free to beat the recalcitrant, whereas *War* has the soldiers interspersed. (b) In *Antiquities* the soldiers hit the Judeans much more vigorously than Pilate had intended, which explains the high death toll, though *War* has quite a different explanation. The *War* episode follows its own internal logic: the governor was determined not to back down, as in the standards episode, and so came up with a better tactic (even if interspersing lightly armed troops in a vast mob does not make the best sense historically. Why not use concealed daggers as the clever *sicarii* will [2.254-55]?). We seem to lack a sufficient basis for either choosing between the stories or reconstructing a better alternative.

¹¹¹⁶ The colorful verb κρίζω here (used classically of the croaks of frogs and ravens)—“cackling” would be a useful rendering if it did not also suggest laughter—is an alternative to καταβοάω (“yelling at” in 2.175). It is a favorite in *War*, which hosts 12 of its 15 occurrences in Josephus. Several times it has “insults” (λοιδορία) as object (2.295; 5.459; 6.108). Its later use in bk. 2, in scenes in which powerfully disaffected crowds abuse Roman governors (e.g., 2.280, 295), helps to unite these episodes and to steadily build tension.

¹¹¹⁷ Josephus re-uses the word (σύνθημα) from 2.174 in the first Pilate episode. This cannot be random, given that the word appears only 6 times in *War*, and that Josephus re-uses so many words from the first episode; he will use it again in a similar story of a later procurator’s fateful excesses (Gessius Florus: 2.326).

¹¹¹⁸ See the note at 2.172, and note again the extensive re-use of vocabulary from the first Pilate episode.

¹¹¹⁹ This verb (καταπατέω) reprises the simpler form πατέω in 2.170: the consequence of Pilate’s trampling upon the laws is that Judeans are literally trampled now. The compound form appears 6 times in *War*, only once elsewhere in Josephus; of the shorter form’s appearances 9 are in *War*, 3 elsewhere. Therefore, the juxtaposition here seems not to be random.

own¹¹²⁰ [people] in the escape.¹¹²¹ Given the calamity¹¹²² of those who had been taken, the beaten down rabble became silent.¹¹²³

Agrippa in Rome. Ant. 18.143

(9.5) 178 Meanwhile,¹¹²⁴ an accuser¹¹²⁵ of Herod the Tetrarch¹¹²⁶ came* to Tiberius:¹¹²⁷

¹¹²⁰ This emphasis, missing from the *Antiquities* parallel, might be interpreted either as excusing the Romans or as taking away credit for their military actions. Given both the immediate context (Pilate's initiation of outrages and earlier capitulation in the face of Judean resolve) and the larger one (emphasizing Judean virtues), the latter seems preferable.

¹¹²¹ This result anticipates a similar but more fateful episode under Gessius Florus (2.326).

¹¹²² Greek συμφορά is a key term in all Josephus' works and it supports the tragic mood of *War*, in which it appears 90 times. See the notes at 1.9; 2.186.

¹¹²³ At this point the *Antiquities* parallel includes a large number of episodes not found in the *War*, beginning with the death of Jesus of Nazareth (18.63-64), then "another horror" under Pilate (18.65) and affairs in Rome ca. 19 CE. In *War* Josephus has moved from the beginning of Pilate's governorship to a somewhat later period (allowing for the construction of an aqueduct), and now to events just before the death of Tiberius in 37 CE.

¹¹²⁴ The following paragraph greatly compresses, and differs in significant ways from, *Ant.* 18.126-236. That narrative has a young Agrippa, who has grown up in Rome attached to the highest social echelon, wasted his wealth, and accumulated massive debts, returning in shame to Judea and, after failing to make a successful new start there, borrowing yet more money to return to Rome.

¹¹²⁵ This way of reintroducing the future King Agrippa I (who has been briefly mentioned in 1.552) is surprising, given that he next appears as a respected figure in Rome who serves as intermediary in the accession of Claudius (2.206-213), then as king of Judea (2.214-218); and especially given that he was the father of Josephus' important patron, Agrippa II, who will be a leading voice of moderation in the coming narrative (2.223, 252, 309, 335-407) and who is still flourishing as Josephus writes *War*.

The much fuller account in *Ant.* 18 has no counterpart to this charge of accusing Antipas, and seemingly excludes it by giving an entirely different reason both for Agrippa's approach to Tiberius (to gain influence at court: 18.126) and for Tiberius' dismissal of Agrippa (disturbing news of his debts, 18.161-63). Finally, according to *Ant.* 18.147-50 Antipas had taken pity on his suicidal and penniless royal relative by giving him a position in Tiberias as commissioner of markets (ἀγορανόμος), though the reported taunts of the tetrarch (18.150) might certainly have soured their relationship.

In *War*'s context, however, where Herod's sons have been in a state of constant rivalry and accusation (2.14-38; forms of the word appear at 2.15, 23, 26, 33, 35), this notice of *another* accusation from the son of a long-dead brother fits the story's tone. It anticipates Agrippa's later accusation of Antipas before Gaius (2.183), which comes only after Antipas has made a bid for royal status equal to Agrippa's—possibly jeopardizing the latter's kingdom (2.182-183; see notes there). *That* accusation story is fully developed in *Ant.* 18.240-52, where in response to Antipas' bid for royal status Agrippa sends a report to Gaius accusing him of conspiracy with the Parthians against the current *princeps*, with a notice that he had earlier conspired with (L. Aelius) Seianus against Tiberius. That notice is a possible source of the accusation mentioned in this *War* passage, though Seianus has died (Oct. 18, 31 CE) some years before the story time (cf. D. R. Schwartz 1990: 52). At any rate, none of that information is given in the *War*, where it might have been inconvenient to raise the prospect of earlier Herodian conspiracy against emperors, and Josephus gives the impression here that Agrippa's intended accusation before Tiberius was only a continuation of Herodian succession-squabbling.

¹¹²⁶ See the notes to "Antipas" at 2.20 and 94 (also Kokkinos 1998: 228-35, 266-69), where he has been made tetrarch over Galilee and Perea by Augustus in the final settlement of Herod's will. His last, disgraceful appearance in the narrative follows in the next paragraph.

¹¹²⁷ See the note to "son of Iulia" at 2.168 for the beginning of Tiberius' reign, which in this narrative is mainly covered by the actions of his prefect in Judea: Pontius Pilatus. The following compressed account gives the impression that Tiberius is in Rome at this time. Although the parallel at *Ant.* 18.126 gives the same initial impression (Agrippa "had gone to Rome a year before the death of Tiberius, to gain some advantage at court"), the fuller narrative there explains correctly that Tiberius had been living on Capri since 26/27 CE. Capri (Capraea) was a temperate island acquired by Augustus off the S end of the Bay of Naples, SW of Mt. Vesuvius and Pompeii, some 128 miles (just over 200 km) from Rome as the crow flies, though rather longer by available routes. Tiberius chose one of perhaps a dozen Augustan residences on the island, the *Villa Iovis* at the rocky E end of the island, for his home. Tacitus remarks that Capri's difficulty of access was its chief commendation to a lewd and anti-social *princeps* (*Ann.* 4.67), and Suetonius makes Tiberius' retirement there a cover

Agrippa¹¹²⁸ the son of Aristobulus (whom Herod his father had killed).¹¹²⁹ When he [Tiberius] did not accept the accusation,¹¹³⁰ remaining at Rome¹¹³¹ [Agrippa] kept courting other eminent persons¹¹³² and especially the son of Germanicus,¹¹³³ Gaius,¹¹³⁴ who was

for sexual depravity (*Tib.* 43-44). These charges, which were perhaps inevitable when a *princeps* withdrew so radically from Roman society, do not seem to arise from any accurate knowledge (cf. Shotter 1992: 59-65).

Although Agrippa was heading to Rome from Judea according to *Ant.* 18.126, he disembarked (as was common) at Puteoli on the N end of the Bay of Naples and wrote from there requesting permission to visit the *princeps* on Capri. But the visit was forestalled by Tiberius' simultaneous receipt of news about Agrippa's debts to the imperial treasury (18.164). Only when this was resolved did Tiberius receive the young man, at which point he tried to facilitate a friendship with his grandson Tiberius Gemellus (18.165).

¹¹²⁸ Marcus Iulius Agrippa (11 BCE – 44 CE), son of Herod's son Aristobulus and Berenice (1.552), was named after Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, Augustus' colleague and son-in-law, who had died in the year before this Agrippa's birth. He was raised in Rome and so became friends with Tiberius' son Drusus (*Ant.* 18.143-46). For his surprisingly exiguous role in *War*, given that he was the only Judean king after Herod the Great, which is limited mainly to activity in Rome on behalf of Claudius (2.206-13), see the note to "accuser" in this section. On Agrippa I in general, see Schürer-Vermes 1.442-54; D. R. Schwartz 1990; Kokkinos 1998: 271-304.

¹¹²⁹ One of Herod's sons by Mariamme I, Agrippa's father Aristobulus was executed with his brother Alexander in 8 or 7 BCE at Sebaste/Samaria for his alleged part in a conspiracy against the king (1.435, 452, 550-51). In *War* 2 Josephus regularly reminds readers, when mentioning these brothers, that Herod had eliminated them (cf. 2.101, 114 [see note to "disposed of"], 222). This is not likely for the purpose of identification alone, since he achieves that by calling them sons of Herod. His repeated reference to their father's murders reinforces the problem of monarchical succession struggles, which has hung over the entire work since at least the death of the Hasmonean John Hyrcanus (1.70-71).

¹¹³⁰ See notes to "accuser" and "Tiberius" in this section: the *Antiquities* parallel has Agrippa at first denied access to the *princeps* on account of massive debts to the treasury, then welcomed when his debt was covered by Gaius' grandmother Antonia (18.184).

¹¹³¹ See the note to "Tiberius" in this section: the implication that Agrippa has met Tiberius in Rome conflicts with the accounts in Tacitus and Suetonius, supported by the *Antiquities* parallel, that Tiberius lived on the island of Capri for the last decade of his life.

¹¹³² Or "other nobles; others of the famous, the illus-

trious, the élite, etc." (τοὺς ἄλλους τῶν γνωρίμων). In the Judean context Josephus uses the plural form frequently for the powerful men (οἱ δυνατοί), the most wealthy; his own father he describes as the most eminent man (γνωριμώτατος) of Judea's greatest city (*Life* 7). The Greek is also a close equivalent of Latin *nobiles*, which in the Roman context refers primarily to those whose families have held a "curule" magistracy (consul, praetor, curule aedile) and were therefore entitled to display ancestor masks (*imagines*). Here it is unclear whether the reference is to Rome's most élite families in general (thus plausible sponsors for Agrippa), or more narrowly, given the adjective "other," to members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty other than the *princeps* himself. The plural might be nothing more than a vague allusion to Tiberius Gemellus, the emperor's grandson, whose companionship was reportedly urged upon Agrippa (*Ant.* 18.166, 188) during the latter's temporary reconciliation with Tiberius.

¹¹³³ Nero Claudius Drusus [Germanicus] (16/15 BCE–Oct. 10, 19 CE) had become a legend in Rome by his military exploits (especially the recovery in 16 CE of the legionary standards lost by Varus in 9 CE) and his early death in mysterious circumstances. Born to Nero Claudius Drusus (Tiberius' brother) and Antonia (daughter of Marc Antony and Octavia), he was adopted by his uncle Tiberius in 4 CE and renamed Germanicus Iulius Caesar shortly before his uncle's adoption by Augustus, which placed both men in the line of succession. His prestige in the popular mind remained formidable, and in *Ant.* 18.166 Josephus will cite precisely this (and the attendant honor in which Gaius was held) as the reason for Agrippa's attention to Gaius in spite of Tiberius' wishes (see further 18.206-211). Gaius was one of 9 children by Agrippina ("the Elder"); others included Drusus Iulius Caesar and Agrippina the Younger.

¹¹³⁴ Gaius "Caligula," soon to be emperor; see the note to "Caesar" at 2.181 below. According to *Ant.* 18.188 (cf. 166-167), this attention to Gaius was an insult to Tiberius, who had rather wanted Agrippa to give his attention to his own grandson (Tiberius Gemellus). Even without that information, given the odium surrounding Gaius' name in Rome at Josephus' time of writing, this attentiveness to the future tyrant can only appear as a colossally misguided gambit on the part of Agrippa. The implicit shamefulness in the parallel account (*Ant.* 18.126-236) has prompted scholarly hypotheses that Josephus could not have written that later narrative while Agrippa lived, or at least while the two were on good terms (already Luther 1910: 55). However that may be, already here in

still a private citizen.¹¹³⁵ **179** In fact, once while he [Agrippa] was banqueting¹¹³⁶ him, and showing him consideration about other things in various ways,¹¹³⁷ he finally extended his hands upward and openly prayed to see him [Gaius] soon the master of everything,¹¹³⁸ Tiberius having died.¹¹³⁹ **180** One of his [Agrippa's] domestics¹¹⁴⁰ passed this along* to Tiberius,¹¹⁴¹ the latter became indignant,¹¹⁴² confined* Agrippa, and held him in a jail¹¹⁴³—

War Agrippa appears with inglorious associations: oddly mentioned first as “an accuser of Herod the tetrarch” (apparently with no clear case) and an early flatterer of the now despised *princeps* Gaius Caligula. Unlike *Ant.* 18, where that friendship at least helps to explain Agrippa's ability to intercede with Gaius in the statue affair (18.289-301—absent from *War*), there seems no constructive reason to mention Agrippa's friendship with Gaius here.

¹¹³⁵ Shotter (1992: 68) notes that Agrippa's friendship was the only real service mediated by Tiberius for Gaius' apprenticeship as *princeps*. Less charitably, Cassius Dio reports (59.24.1) that the Roman people would later be distressed about the prospects of Gaius' reign because (then) King Agrippa and King Antiochus were his “tyrant-trainers” (τυραννοδιδασκαλοι).

¹¹³⁶ The story is quite different in *Ant.* 18.168-169, 179-194: Agrippa and Gaius are in a riding carriage, alone except for their driver (see the note to “domestics” in this section), and *that* is why Agrippa feels free to utter such a prayer—in secret, except that the driver overhears. The story here emphasizes Agrippa's undignified obsequiousness toward Gaius.

¹¹³⁷ The elaboration of this point in such a succinct narrative drives home the point that Agrippa is engaging in recklessly fawning behavior.

¹¹³⁸ See the note to this phrase at 2.2.

¹¹³⁹ See the final note in this sentence below. In the parallel (*Ant.* 18.168-69), the content of Agrippa's (confidential) prayer is first reported along similar lines, though in the retelling by Eutychus (18.179-194) it grows to include conspiracy to murder Tiberius' grandson Tiberis Gemellus, the other candidate for succession to Tiberius (18.206). That addition well illustrates Josephus' freedom in retelling narratives.

¹¹⁴⁰ In *Ant.* 18.168 the domestic is named as Eutychus, Agrippa's freedman and “charioteer” or driver/reinsman (ἡνίοχος); see the note to “banqueting” in this section. Curiously, in that same narrative *another* charioteer named Eutychus turns up as a favorite of Gaius' at the races, driving for the Green Faction (*Ant.* 19.257). It is entirely possible that we should understand Agrippa's chauffeur in Rome and the sports hero as the same man.

¹¹⁴¹ The story is much more complicated in *Ant.* 18.168-188: the driver Eutychus overhears the prayer, but cleverly keeps it to himself until his patron accuses

him (correctly) of stealing, at which point he decides to accuse Agrippa of treason (*maiestas*) by reporting the conversation to the prefect of the city (hence, perhaps, the verb διαγγέλλω here, which suggests a report via a third party). Strangely, however, given his reputation otherwise, during his final years, for eagerness to prosecute *maiestas* (Tacitus, *Ann.* 6.38), Tiberius is uninterested in the driver's news—Josephus blames his inveterate procrastination; D. R. Schwartz (1990: 54) thinks that Tiberius may already have identified Agrippa as future king and so did not wish to prosecute him—and locks Eutychus away indefinitely on Capri. Only somewhat later, at the instigation of Agrippa through the offices of Gaius and especially his grandmother Antonia, does Tiberius reluctantly hear the charge: while briefly visiting Tusculum near Rome, he has the prisoner brought to him. NB: Suetonius (*Tib.* 72) insists that Tiberius left his retirement in Capri only twice, neither time coming into Rome proper, though once reaching the 7th milestone of the Via Appia, which would apparently allow for a trip to Tusculum (about 12 miles SE of Rome).

¹¹⁴² This verb helps to link this episode with the two previous ones concerning Pilate, in each of which “indignation” occurs (2.170, 175). The story time here, late 36 to early 37 CE, was a time of continuing suicides by Roman élites accused of treason and other crimes, despite the fact that Tiberius' end was drawing near, according to bk. 6 of Tacitus' *Annals* 6. (He does not mention Agrippa's arrest.) By early 37 a certain L. Arruntius is reported to have taken his life even though he knew that Tiberius would die at any moment. Tacitus describes him as expressing (just before opening his veins) a sentiment opposite to Agrippa's here: *G. Caesarem vix finita pueritia, ignarum omnium aut pessimis innutritum* (“Gaius Caesar, hardly with his childhood over, ignorant about everything or otherwise educated by vices”). His motive is explained: *prospectare iam se acrius servitium eoque fugere simul acta et instantia* (“already foreseeing a harsher servitude [under Gaius] he would flee both past and future evils”) (Tacitus, *Ann.* 6.48).

¹¹⁴³ We should not think of anything resembling a modern prison, but simply a “place of confinement” (δεσμοκτήριον), in which the detainee had no right to maintenance by the state and his welfare depended mainly on the concern of his friends—to provide food and even a bed (see next note). Cf. the note to “detainees” at 2.4.

with torture¹¹⁴⁴—for six months, until he himself died after ruling for 22 years, 6 months, and 3 days.¹¹⁴⁵

(9.6) 181 After Gaius was designated¹¹⁴⁶ Caesar,¹¹⁴⁷ he both released*¹¹⁴⁸ Agrippa from his chains and appointed* him king¹¹⁴⁹ of the tetrarchy of Philip,¹¹⁵⁰ for this man had

Accession of Gaius; Agrippa awarded Philip's tetrarchy of Philip by Gaius. Ant. 18.237

¹¹⁴⁴ Josephus is partial to the phrase μετ' αἰκίας; he has it 3 other times (*War* 7.369; *Ant.* 11.331; 13.232), whereas before him it appears rarely (in fragments) outside of Diodorus (4.44; 13.19; 33.14). In sharp contrast, *Ant.* 18.202-4 has Agrippa's 6-month imprisonment made *extremely light* by the intervention of powerful friends, Antonia and Macro the Praetorian Prefect, who arrange for him to bathe daily, sleep comfortably, eat well, and receive many visitors; they also ensure that the soldiers guarding him (including the centurion bound to him, 18.196, 203) are humane.

¹¹⁴⁵ Tiberius died on March 16, 37 CE (Suetonius, *Tib.* 73.1; Tacitus, *Ann.* 6.50). *Ant.* 18.224 puts his reign at 22 years, 5 months, and 3 days, evidently counting from Oct. 13, 14 CE, whereas *War*'s date here counts from the same time in September (the end of the 5-day mourning period following Augustus' cremation on Sept. 8, and 4 days before the opening of the Senate debate with Tiberius on Sept. 17; Levick 1999b: 70-71). Josephus' varying figures may be easily accounted for by the vagaries resulting from Tiberius' long negotiations with the Senate and the difficulty of defining what accession meant in his case (Levick 1999b: 68-81, esp. 75), though *War*'s addition of precisely a month suggests either MS or author error here. Tiberius was very close to Augustus' age at death: 77 for him, nearly 76 for Augustus. For the various rumors about the cause of Tiberius' death see Tacitus, *Ann.* 6.50-51; Suetonius, *Tib.* 73-76.

¹¹⁴⁶ Josephus uses a standard Greek equivalent (ἀποδείκνυμι) of Latin *designare* (H. J. Mason 1974: 24), in political contexts a technical term (as also *designatus*) for someone elected to office (e.g., as a magistrate) but not yet in place. In this case, Gaius was not elected but chosen heir by the Praetorian Guard, and he immediately begins to govern. On the succession, see the following note.

¹¹⁴⁷ We might have expected Greek αὐτοκράτωρ (*imperator*) or σεβαστός (*augustus*), the latter being the title that Gaius added to his name in 37 when he became "emperor." In making *Caesar* (Καίσαρ) Gaius' new designation, Josephus retrojects his own time, after the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, when *Caesar* had become a title; for Gaius, however, *Caesar* was part of the inherited family name.

With the death of Tiberius on March 16, 37 CE, Gaius Julius Caesar Germanicus (Aug. 31, 12-Jan. 24, 41 CE), commonly known—against his will—by the childhood nickname of *Caligula* ("Bootsy"), rose to supreme power, aged only 24. He was no doubt immediately acclaimed

imperator (which was coming to have the effective meaning of *princeps/emperor*; Barrett 1989: 53) by the Praetorian Guard detachment led by his supporter Macro, at Misenum where he was at the time. The Senate ratified this acclamation in a meeting on March 18, and Barrett (1989: 71-72) makes a strong case for April 21 as the date of the law [*lex*] passed by the popular *comitia*, hence the "legal" date of accession. Gaius was the son of Tiberius' nephew Germanicus and Vipsania Agrippina ("the Elder")—daughter of M. Vipsanius Agrippa and Iulia—and his rise culminated a lengthy and fraught succession plan on the part of Tiberius (cf. Barrett 1989: 17-41), on which *Ant.* 18.205-227 will expatiate, in keeping with that work's interest in constitutional questions (cf. Mason 2003a, 2008b). Caligula's accession was followed by the rapid accumulation of other traditional powers and titles: *tribunicia potestas*, *augustus*, *pater patriae*, *pontifex maximus*. His brief but notorious reign (37-41 CE) is related crisply in *War*, almost exclusively with reference to the attempted placement of his statue in the temple (2.184-203). *Ant.* 18-19, by contrast, dwells at length on his accession, life, death, and character (18.211-223, 261-309; 19.1-156; cf. Wiseman 1991).

The tendency of modern scholarship has been to dismiss the more lurid stories of Caligula "the monster" as products of an extremely hostile senatorial perspective, though recent studies have been willing to accept that at the core of the hatred probably lay a wide range of character defects in the young ruler (Balsdon 1934; Barrett 1989; Hurley 1993: v-xviii; Wardle 1994: 63-95).

¹¹⁴⁸ MSS PA, usually the two best for this work, have instead a plural verb ("they released"), which is possible, though the parallel verb "appointed" is singular.

¹¹⁴⁹ According to *Ant.* 18.228-37: Gaius first releases Agrippa to house arrest, so as not to move with unseemly speed in liberating a prisoner of Tiberius, intending to release him immediately after Tiberius' funeral; Antonia, however, persuades him to wait a while for the sake of decorum. Some days later, Gaius sends for him, gives him a haircut and new clothes, exchanges his iron chain for one of equal weight in gold, and gives him a diadem as new king.

¹¹⁵⁰ The parallel in *Ant.* 18.237 adds the tetrarchy of Lysanias (= Abila, NW of Damascus, plus some of Lebanon), though *War* 2.215 has Claudius add this only when Agrippa is made king in 41 CE. On the complexities and possibilities, see Kokkinos 1998: 280-81. The son of Herod and Cleopatra, Philip reportedly at first supported his step-brother Archelaus' claim to kingship

died.*¹¹⁵¹ But after Agrippa had arrived for his rule,¹¹⁵² he stirred up through envy the desires¹¹⁵³ of Herod the tetrarch.¹¹⁵⁴ **182** In particular this man's wife Herodias¹¹⁵⁵ kept

before Augustus in Rome (2.83), but when the *princeps* opted to divide the kingdom he accepted the title of tetrarch over the areas anticipated by Herod's will: Batanea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, Gaulanitis, and the area around Pnias at the source of the Jordan, where he founded a new city of Caesarea (2.94-95, 167-168). Thus his territory lay E and N/NE of Lake Gennesaret (Kinneret). According to *Ant.* 18.108, before the grant to Agrippa his territory had been annexed to the province of Syria—a transfer (in both directions) that illustrates the minimal differences among the various modes of Roman control (cf. Shatzman 1999).

¹¹⁵¹ This after-the-fact mention of Philip's death is a bit confusing, for he died in 33 (ca. Sept. according to Kokkinos 1998: 237) or 34 CE (the standard dating, in view of *Ant.* 18.106)—so: 3 or 4 years earlier than this story time and prior to (possibly a cause of) the events in the previous paragraph. At 2.178 Agrippa goes to Rome, apparently in the summer of 36, after which he will be imprisoned by Tiberius until the latter's death in March 37. D. R. Schwartz (1990: 50-52) plausibly suggests that this story conflates two trips to Rome, the first in 33 or 34, when Agrippa began his cultivation of Gaius. In any case, Josephus' after-the-fact mention of Philip's death seems to result, again, from his drastic reduction of a fuller narrative before him, of the sort found in *Ant.* 18: in focusing on Agrippa's accusations against Antipas and (non-) dealings with Tiberius, he saw no need to mention Philip until Agrippa's reception of the kingdom required it.

In *Ant.* 18.106-108 he provides a glowing obituary for the long-ruling and moderate tetrarch: Philip remained in his territory and was constantly travelling around it, solicitous of his people's well-being and hearing their cases promptly; he punished the guilty and released the innocent. That assessment coincides with the Roman ideal for governors, an ideal that Josephus shows in both works to have been missed almost entirely by the equestrians sent to govern Judea. Philip died and was buried in his foundation of Iulias. Bennett (2007: 241-44) finds it remarkable that Josephus does not condemn Philip for his involvement with imperial cult and other legal failings; but this is perhaps to underestimate his freedom as an author.

With Niese, Thackeray, and M-B I follow the present tense given by MS P (θνήσκει) as the "more difficult reading"; the rest of the Greek MSS and Lat (*decesserat*) have a more suitable perfect or pluperfect. Awkward though it seems here with another present-tense verb carrying the main action, Josephus often speaks of someone's dying with a narrative present (*War* 1.23; 3.334;

Ant. 1.354; 4.83; 5.119, 360; 18.44; 19.271).

¹¹⁵² Philo's *Embassy to Gaius* (179) narrates that the newly appointed king stopped in Alexandria en route to his possessions in the summer of 38 CE, prompting riots and ridicule by the gentile population. Therefore, he remained in Rome for more than a year after Gaius made him king. For discussion, see D. R. Schwartz (1990: 55-57). On the basis of Agrippa's coinage, Schwartz argues that Agrippa must have counted his first regnal year from the autumn (Tishri) preceding Gaius' accession.

¹¹⁵³ "Stirring up desires" (ἐγείρω [here more emphatic διεγείρω] + ἐπιθυμία) is language best attested in Philo of Alexandria (*Spec.* 1.192; 2.193; 4.129; cf. Plato, *Resp.* 555a; Plutarch, *Mor.* [Cup. Div.] 525b, [Brut. anim.] 990d). Envy (φθόνος) was a natural correlative of such desires (*Life* 80; cf. Plato, *Leg.* 863e, 869, 934; Epictetus in Arrian, *Diatr.* 2.16.45). Ancient philosophy in general, but especially Stoicism, assumed that excitement of desire or passion was a bad thing.

¹¹⁵⁴ That is, Antipas (b. 25 BCE): full brother and rival of Archelaus for the kingship in 4 BCE, but granted the tetrarchy of Galilee and Perea when his brother became ethnarch (see notes at 2.20-23, 94, 167 ["the Herod called Antipas"]). By this point he had been ruling his territory for perhaps 40 years (the date of Augustus' settlement being uncertain) and he was about 62 years of age. But now he was neighbor to a nephew, some 14 years his junior, who had been granted the honor of *kingship*. See further the following note.

¹¹⁵⁵ The famous figure whose dancing daughter—in the traditional reading—the gospels blame for demanding the head of John the Baptist (Mark 6:17-28), Herodias (b. 15-13 BCE) was the daughter of Aristobulus (son of Herod) and Berenice, hence the slightly older sister of Agrippa I (1.552). Kokkinos (1998: 265-70) offers a brilliant, albeit unprovable, theory to explain the history behind this narrative. His reconstruction takes its cue from the gospels (Mark 6:17; Luke 3:19/1), against Josephus (*Ant.* 18.109-110), in having Herodias married to Philip (not to another Herod) for about 30 years preceding that tetrarch's death. When Philip died, Kokkinos proposes, Antipas (former contender for Herod's kingdom) naturally thought of trying to absorb the territory beside his own, and so visited Philip's widow Herodias to negotiate the plan before presenting it in Rome in 34 CE. She agreed, but (now aged about 48) insisted on a marriage to cement the deal, which would require Antipas to divorce his royal Nabatean wife (cf. *Ant.* 18.109), whom Kokkinos identifies as the now 50-year-old Phasaelis (1998: 230-32). The latter heard and fled

goaded him into a hope of kingship,¹¹⁵⁶ scolding¹¹⁵⁷ [him for] his inactivity¹¹⁵⁸ and asserting that by his not wanting to sail to Caesar¹¹⁵⁹ he was depriving himself of greater rule: “For, given that he [Caesar] had made Agrippa a king from a private citizen, would he indeed¹¹⁶⁰ hesitate¹¹⁶¹ [to make] *him* one, from a tetrarch?”¹¹⁶² **183** Having been persuaded¹¹⁶³ in these matters, Herod went to Gaius, by whom his greed was penalized¹¹⁶⁴

to her father King Aretas IV, who must have been all the more perturbed because he also had designs on this territory, which the divorce would thwart. Aretas’ subsequent defeat of Antipas in battle would in turn have angered Tiberius all the more (cf. 18.114) because the *princeps* had already approved Antipas’ scheme. Kokkinos observes that Tiberius’ earlier decision to hold the tribute from Philip’s tetrarchy in escrow, apparently pending some future settlement (*Ant.* 18.108), suits the notion that he was open to establishing a new Herodian prince there. Finally, Gaius’ appointment of Agrippa would be a deliberate attempt at once to promote his friend and to undo the plan backed by Tiberius.

Attractive though it is because of its explanatory power, the theory requires that Josephus was completely wrong (in spite of apparent confidence) in naming Herodias’ husband before Antipas—not in itself a difficult proposition—and it must also insert an earlier trip by Antipas to Rome in 34, where Josephus’ narrative seems to have little room. Further, the standard hypothesis that Mark was in error is easy to accept, both because of numerous errors in Mark and because Matthew and Luke, which use Mark and frequently correct it, either hedge or omit the connection between Herodias and Philip (some MSS of Matt 14:3; Luke 3:20). Even if Kokkinos were wrong in some specifics, however, it does seem antecedently likely that Antipas would have coveted Philip’s territory, and that such designs factored (more than simply the wish to be a king *like* Agrippa) into his resentment of Agrippa.

However that may be, Josephus’ Roman audience presumably would not have known a back story of Herodias’ political intentions, even if Kokkinos has this right. At the level of *War*’s story (leaving aside historical reality), Josephus simply blames her for inciting the tetrarch’s implausible ambitions. The cliché that noble women were often the cause of powerful men’s downfall was widespread in ancient literature, as in Tacitus’ portraits of the principal women of the Julio-Claudian line, and it is common in Josephus (e.g., *Ant.* 4.129-154; 13.400-432; 17.34-76; 18.344-352, 360-62). *Ant.* 18.255 stresses even more obviously the woman’s evil counsel: Antipas pays the penalty for having listened to “womanish frivolous chatter” (γυναικείων ἀκορασσάμενῳ κουφολογίῳ).

¹¹⁵⁶ That is, rekindling the hope of kingship that Antipas had harbored as a young man more than 40 years earlier: the struggle that opened *War* 2 (2.20-23, 94, 167).

¹¹⁵⁷ This prefixed form of the verb (καπονειδίζω) is a hallmark of *War*’s style: though used again at 2.609, 638 (both predicated of Josephus’ character); 4.160—in all these cases intensified with πολλά—it is not found in literature before Josephus, except in a variant at Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 11.42.4. Cyril of Alexandria is the next user.

¹¹⁵⁸ Greek τὴν ἀργίαν. Cf. 4.160, where Ananus and Jesus scold the Jerusalemites for their sluggishness (νοθείαν) in failing to act against the Zealots.

¹¹⁵⁹ Since this story has said nothing about Antipas’ reluctance, it once again appears that Josephus is compressing a fuller account: *Ant.* 18.245-46 stresses the initial determination of Antipas not to go to Rome, content as he was with his quiet life.

¹¹⁶⁰ This correlation of clauses with ὅπου and ἦπου is rare, though Isocrates (*Antid.* 70) instances a similar *a fortiori* sense: “And since (ὅπου) in addressing a king I have spoken for his subjects, surely (ἦπου) I would urge upon men who live under a democracy to pay court to the people.”

¹¹⁶¹ With MSS PAM (followed by Niese and Thackeray) I read διστάζω (only here in Josephus), which requires that this be a question as the MSS punctuate. MSS LVRC and M (margin) have instead διανίστημι, which could be either a question or an emphatic statement, as the ἦπου γ’ might otherwise suggest: “I am certain that he would *raise up* [a king] from a tetrarch. . . .”

¹¹⁶² Direct quotation here emphasizes the wife’s malignant role; see the note to “Herodias.” The form of her argument serves to keep matters at a superficial (ostensibly womanish) level, for Agrippa, Judean blueblood and friend of the *princeps*, was certainly no ordinary citizen. A stronger argument might have been that Antipas was King Herod’s own son, named in one version of the will as his heir (1.646), whereas Agrippa was a much younger grandson of the king. Indeed, this is a key point in the much fuller presentation of Herodias’ argument in *Ant.* 18.240-46: although both men are descendants of Herod, Agrippa is the wastrel son of a man condemned to death by the king, whereas Antipas is the king’s own beloved son.

¹¹⁶³ Or “induced.” See the notes to the latter verb at 1.5; 2.55.

¹¹⁶⁴ This note in conjunction with the following statement about Agrippa seems a tell-tale sign that Josephus has compressed an *Antiquities*-like narrative. Here he has dramatically trimmed the story to make it a matter of simple over-reach on Antipas’ part, whereas the longer

with exile to Spain.¹¹⁶⁵ For Agrippa had followed after him as accuser,¹¹⁶⁶ and to him Gaius added the tetrarchy also of that man [Herod Antipas].¹¹⁶⁷ And Herod, his wife sharing his banishment,¹¹⁶⁸ expired* in Spain.¹¹⁶⁹

(10.1) 184¹¹⁷⁰ Gaius Caesar abused fortune¹¹⁷¹ to such a degree¹¹⁷² as both to consider himself a God and to wish to be called¹¹⁷³ the same,¹¹⁷⁴ to skim off¹¹⁷⁵ from the home-

story has Antipas banished precisely because of charges of treason or *maiestas* brought by Agrippa (*Ant.* 18.247-252). The two motives for the exile are both given here, but they sit uneasily together, for why would Agrippa have been needed to document Antipas' evident greed?

That Antipas was exiled in 39 CE seems a necessary conclusion, and one universally accepted, from established dates in Agrippa's career both before (e.g., arrival in the kingdom, summer of 38) and after this event.

¹¹⁶⁵ Here is a significant problem of method in textual and historical criticism. MSS PC and corrected L have Σπανίαν and most of the others Ἰσπανίαν (some with smooth breathing), though uncorrected L and A had Πανίαν (Panias, in the newly acquired territory of Agrippa, Antipas' enemy!). But the parallel at *Ant.* 18.252 pointedly makes Antipas' place of exile Lugdunum in Gaul, which is close to Vienna, the place of Archelaus' earlier exile (cf. the note to [Gaul] at 2.111), and so has much in its favor. Kokkinos (1998: 235) simply declares that he was banished to Gaul. Both Niese and M-B go so far as to adopt the emendation Γαλλίαν, without any MS support, though Thackeray stays with Σπανίαν. Since this reading has on its side both the overwhelming MS support and the principle that one should favor the most difficult possibility (if it will explain how the easier ones came to be), there seems to be little alternative here.

Hoehner (1972: 262 and n. 1) follows a long tradition of scholars in arguing that there is no problem accepting both *War*'s "Spain" and *Antiquities*' "Gaul" if the Lugdunum to which Antipas was exiled was not the famous Roman capital and gateway to Gaul (modern Lyons), but rather Lugdunum Convenarum (modern St. Bertrand-de-Comminges), at the N edge of the Pyrenean mountains in Aquitania and therefore close enough to Hispania to be included there as well as in Gaul. Neat though this theory is, it does not really solve the problem that Josephus' "Lugdunum, a city in Gaul" (*Ant.* 18.252) would more naturally be taken to mean the famous city, and that even Lugdunum Convenarum could hardly be called "Spain."

¹¹⁶⁶ See the note to this word at 2.178. The parallel (*Ant.* 18.240-52) narrates that in response to Antipas' bid for royal status, Agrippa sent a report to Gaius accusing his uncle of conspiracy with the Parthians, claiming also that he had earlier conspired with (L. Aelius) Seianus against Tiberius. Although it is impossible to know whether that charge has any substance to it, it is entirely plausible that if Antipas was pining for a kingdom he

would have explored possibilities for alliance with the Parthians. They had always had interests in the Levant and, even though they were seldom in a position to do anything about it, there is evidence of limited adventurism on the part of the Artabanus III, king through the 30s (e.g., Dio 68.26.1-4; see Introduction).

¹¹⁶⁷ As M-B (1.441 n. 107) observe, *Ant.* 19.351 complicates matters by claiming that Agrippa received Antipas' territory only in his 4th year of ruling under Gaius, which should be the year 40, a year after Antipas' removal.

¹¹⁶⁸ According to the parallel, Gaius offered to spare Herodias when he learned that she was the sister of his friend Agrippa, but she was determined to share her husband's fortunes whether good or bad; Gaius sentenced her to exile (giving also *her* possessions to Agrippa) because of her impudence (*Ant.* 18.252-54).

¹¹⁶⁹ See the note to "Spain" earlier in this section, where the same MS considerations apply.

¹¹⁷⁰ This paragraph is taken bodily into Constantinus Porphyrogenitus' 10th-cent. work, *Of Virtues and Vices* 95.63.

¹¹⁷¹ Greek ἐξύβρισεν εἰς τὴν τύχην, a phrase that Josephus will also use at 2.250 of Nero, and at 5.120 of the Judean rebels (who foolishly make too much of their temporary victories against the legions). It seems to be Josephus' coinage, though it draws from a Polybian theme underlying his work (see Introduction): fortune brings temporary success and catastrophe, always subject to sudden reversal, and therefore the proper response to success is humility. See the notes to "authority" at 2.140 and "fortune" at 2.373. Josephus will elaborate in *Ant.* 19.15-16: Gaius' sudden death, which preserved the laws of all peoples and the survival of the Judeans, is a lesson "to those who imagine that good fortune is eternal, but do not [realize] that if it is not accompanied by virtue it turns out badly."

¹¹⁷² As in the case of Nero, who will also "abuse fortune" (2.250-251), Josephus assumes that the story is familiar to his Roman audience. He will build on their knowledge of Gaius' misdeeds in Rome, briefly listed here, to treat exclusively the *princeps*' efforts in Judea.

¹¹⁷³ Philo puts it perhaps more effectively: "Gaius grew beside himself, not only *saying* but actually *supposing* himself to be a God" (*Legat.* 162). Barrett (1989: 140-53) offers crucial historical context for the widespread impression that Gaius made an insane demand to be worshiped as a God. He observes that: the lines

land¹¹⁷⁶ its noblest men,¹¹⁷⁷ and to extend the impiety even to Judea.¹¹⁷⁸ **185** Accordingly, he sent Petronius¹¹⁷⁹ to Hierosolyma with an army to set up¹¹⁸⁰ the statues¹¹⁸¹ of himself

Gaius orders his statues erected in Jerusalem temple. Ant. 18.261

between divine and human were often blurry in Greco-Roman culture; the Greek East in particular had shown no hesitation to offer worship to rulers; and although it was considered immoderate to accept worship in Rome while living (deification of “good emperors” at death being the standard), there was a range of nuances in the *principes*’ responses to offers of temples from their provincial subjects. The incident about to be described seems to have had a significant political impetus generated by non-Judeans living in Jamnia (cf. Philo, *Legat.* 199-203); Josephus’ account is calculated to elicit, from a Roman audience long accustomed to despising Gaius’ memory, a sympathetic ear for the Judean sense of having been unreasonably imposed upon by Roman authorities.

¹¹⁷⁴ Unlike Philo (*Legat.* 12-14), Josephus himself at *Ant.* 18.255-56, Suetonius (*Cal.* 37), and Cassius Dio (59.2.6), who allow Gaius an initial constructive or even honorable phase before a severe illness altered his mind, *War* here compresses his entire reign into a portrait of thoroughgoing impiety. On Gaius’ divine pretensions, see e.g. Philo, *Legat.* 75, 79, 81-114, where the *princeps* is said, with abundant sarcasm, to have imitated various demigods and the most revered deities in dress and appropriation of symbols.

¹¹⁷⁵ This elegant verb (ἀκροτομέω), “cut off the peak/top/zenith,” occurs only here in Josephus, and rarely before his time. The cognate adjectives usually refer to cut rock or stone (πέτρα, λίθος). The reference is to executions of the nobility: the top layer of society. Cf. *Ant.* 19.1-211 (with references in the following note) for extraordinary detail; Wiseman 1991.

¹¹⁷⁶ Greek τὴν πατριίδα—in this case, Rome. For Gaius’ deprivations in Rome, see the detailed narrative of *Ant.* 19.1-211, with translation and commentary by Wiseman 1991; Galimberti 2001: 165-92. For historical interpretation, Barrett 1989: 73-113; on the significance of that narrative for Josephus’ Flavian-Roman context, Mason 2003a, 2008b.

¹¹⁷⁷ Cf. the silent object lesson given by the tyrant Thrasylbulus of Miletus to a messenger from Periander of Corinth (Herodotus 5.92f): cutting down the tallest ears of wheat, he “destroyed the best and richest part of the crop.”

¹¹⁷⁸ The following story of Gaius’ effort to place his statue in the Jerusalem temple is described in greater detail in Philo’s *Embassy to Gaius* (188-348), nearly contemporary with the events, and mentioned briefly by Tacitus in his summary of Judean-Roman conflicts preceding the war (*Hist.* 5.9). Josephus’ own parallel account (*Ant.* 18.256-309), is much longer and more

complex than this one. There Gaius decides to install the statue after he takes umbrage at a delegation of Judeans from Alexandria led by Philo, in light of accusations by the other delegation (which included Apion) that the Judeans dishonor Gaius by refusing to host his images or swear oaths to him (18.258). The negotiations between Petronius and the Judeans are more protracted there, and divided between Ptolemais and Tiberias (18.269-278); it is members of the royal élite who convince Petronius to challenge Gaius (18.273-278); and King Agrippa, then in Rome, temporarily persuades Gaius to abandon his plan (18.289-301). Philo’s contemporary account, in particular, provides crucial context missing here (viz., the instigation of the whole affair by disgruntled gentiles living in Jamnia). For judicious efforts to reconstruct the events, see e.g. Smallwood (1961: 31-6, 267-325; 1976: 174-80, 235-50) and Barrett (1989: 182-91). Curiously (given that it involved a significant military campaign), the entire episode is absent from Suetonius’ *Life of Gaius*.

¹¹⁷⁹ Publius Petronius came from a rising family in the early principate: his grandfather had been equestrian prefect of Egypt, and his father *triumvir monetalis* under Augustus. Petronius’ personal success in the *cursum honorum* led to the office of suffect consul in 19 CE, his brother holding the same honor in 25; from about 29 to 35 he served as proconsul of Asia (*PIR*² 6.101-2). Petronius married a daughter of the consular Plautii family, and their grandchildren would include the ordinary consul of 61 as well as Petronia, the wife of the short-lived emperor A. Vitellius (*PIR*²). Petronius replaced L. Vitellius as legate of Syria, probably serving from 39 (possibly 37 or 38) to 41 or 42 (cf. *Ant.* 18.261; Smallwood 1961: 267; *PIR*²). That Josephus has Gaius charge the Syrian legate with this task, omitting any mention of a prefect in Judea, tends to confirm that Judea was at this point still fully integrated into the province of Syria; see note to “province” at 2.117. On Josephus’ claim that Petronius was sent in order to install Gaius’ statue and the attendant chronological problems, see the notes to “unsown” and “sowing” at 2.200.

¹¹⁸⁰ This verb (ἐγκαθιδρύω) is almost peculiar to Josephus. Although before Josephus the word is hardly attested—Euripides (*Iph. Taur.* 978), the Hippocratic corpus (*Anat.* 1), and Aristotle (*Mund.* 397b)—, he has it 5 times (also 2.197, 266; 6.47; *Ant.* 8.393). In the 2nd cent. Athenaeus uses it (*Deipn.* 11.46; 14.50 [Kaibel]) and Julius Pollux (*Onom.* 1.11) cites it as he illustrates the many different ways of saying the same thing (building a temple), though strangely it does not enter standard usage until late antiquity. The future participle makes

in the shrine, having ordered that if the Judeans were not going to accept [them],¹¹⁸² he should get rid of those who were preventing it and reduce all the remaining nation to utter slavery.¹¹⁸³ **186** But God was evidently concerned¹¹⁸⁴ about these orders.

While Petronius, with three legions and many auxiliaries¹¹⁸⁵ from Syria, was driving out of Antiocheia into Judea,¹¹⁸⁶ **187** some of the Judeans did not believe in the rumors of war, whereas those who did believe¹¹⁸⁷ were without resources for defense.¹¹⁸⁸ Fear quickly spread through everyone—the army being already at Ptolemais.¹¹⁸⁹

(10.2) 188 This is a coastal city of Galilee,¹¹⁹⁰ founded opposite the Great Plain.¹¹⁹¹

*The city of
Ptolemais*

sense here to express purpose; thus Niese has not opted for the aorist participle found in MSS PALVR¹.

¹¹⁸¹ All other sources (note to “Judea” at 2.184) indicate a single colossal statue. Since Josephus has not mentioned these images before, the definite article may indicate his Roman audience’s awareness of the story (cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.9).

¹¹⁸² This phrasing εἰ μὴ δέχονται Ἰουδαῖοι recalls the preceding account of Pilate’s attempt to install another Caesar’s images in Jerusalem (εἰ μὴ προσδέξαιτο [τὰς εἰκόνας]), which in several respects prepares for this episode; see the note to “images” at 2.173.

¹¹⁸³ The simpler form of the verb “to enslave,” ἀνδραποδίζω, appears 10 times, evenly spread through 3 works of Josephus (with 4 occurrences in *War* 1-3); cognates are the nouns ἀνδραποδισμός (“enslaving”: *Ant.* 2.248; 20.123) and ἀνδράποδον (“slave”: *War* 4.394; *Ant.* 2.189; 4.309; 6.41, etc.; *Apion* 2.133). Here Josephus uses an emphatic form of the verb, by adding the prefix ἐξ-. This form is concentrated in *War* 1-3 (1.65, 88, 222; here; 3.134, 304; otherwise *Ant.* 12.296; 14.275). Possibly Josephus focuses on this word group in *War* 1-3 because the more obvious word for slavery, δουλεία, will become a key term in the work’s ongoing debate about the meaning of political freedom and slavery (2.88, 349-80, 367; 4.175, 344, 394; 5.422, 458; 6.206; 7.255, 302, 323-24, etc.). See Introduction.

¹¹⁸⁴ Although MSS PLVR have ἔμελλε here, suggesting *hesitation* on the part of God, reading ἔμελε with Niese, Thackeray, M-B, and others (inspired by the ἔμμελε of MS C) makes better sense of the syntax and meaning: Gaius’ orders were a matter of concern to God. Elsewhere too Josephus has God as the agent of such concern (*War* 5.60; *Ant.* 3.88; 4.318; 7.45). Divine concern for human affairs is an ongoing theme of Josephus’ works, becoming the Leitmotif of *Antiquities* (1.14, 20; 10.277-80).

¹¹⁸⁵ In *War*, this configuration of forces recalls Varus’ 3-legion army (2.40, 66-67), possibly evoking for a Roman audience the legions that Varus would later lose in Germany, and it anticipates the army of 3 legions plus auxiliaries that will be brought by Vespasian and Titus (*War* 3.65). Philo (*Legat.* 207), who lived through these events, sarcastically relates that Petronius was ordered to take into Judea half of the force assigned to protect

the border along the Euphrates from the powerful Parthian armies—the legions based in Syria, of which there were 4 by this time (Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.5); *III Gallica*, *VI Ferrata*, *X Fretensis*, and *XII Fulminata* (detailed analysis in Dabrowa 1986, 1993, 1996). That claim would agree with Josephus’ own statement in *Ant.* 18.262, that Petronius brought two legions. Whether two legions or three, the force was calculated to enforce Gaius’ desire by overcoming any Judean opposition.

¹¹⁸⁶ For Antioch, the chief city of Roman Syria, see the note at 2.18. This account passes over Philo’s claim that Petronius, reluctant from the start to execute Gaius’ command, ironically ordered a *magnificent new statue* to be built, from the finest materials—to delay as long as possible—in Sidon, far from the Judean heartland.

¹¹⁸⁷ This narrative technique of charting reactions on a spectrum, from disbelief on one end (ἀπιστέω) to belief with some other condition on the other, turns up again at *War* 5.539; 6.214.

¹¹⁸⁸ Greek ἐν ἀμηχάνῳ πρὸς τὴν ἄμυναν; cf. the similar expression in Josephus’ younger contemporary Plutarch (*Crass.* 25.7; cf. Dio 10.40.45; 36.23.3).

¹¹⁸⁹ For Ptolemais, see the note at 2.67. *Ant.* 18.269 will add that Petronius’ army wintered there in preparation for a spring campaign, a timing consistent in both of Josephus’ accounts. Since he attaches the statue mandate to Petronius’ commission as *legatus*, he implies that this occurred in the autumn (of 39 CE); but see the notes to “unsown” and “sowing” at 2.200.

¹¹⁹⁰ Of the many kinds of digression employed by Josephus—to vary scene, provide relief and delight, educate an audience without knowledge of Syrian conditions, and create suspense—the geographical excursus is a favorite in the *War* (e.g., 3.35-43; 4.4-8; esp. 5.136-247). On the models and functions of geographical digressions in Josephus, see Shahar 2004; on geography and history more generally in ancient writers, Clarke 1999 (who argues that geography is far more integral to the historical project—and vice versa—than the conventional assessments of its role as mere *variatio* or “background” suggest). The much fuller parallel to the story of Petronius and Gaius’ statue, in *Ant.* 18, will omit this description of Ptolemais and its surroundings.

What does it contribute to the narrative here? One clue is Josephus’ inclusion of Ptolemais in *Galilee*,

It is surrounded by mountains: from the eastward range—that of Galilee¹¹⁹²—it is 60 *stadia*¹¹⁹³ away;¹¹⁹⁴ from the southern one—to Carmel¹¹⁹⁵—a distance of 120 *stadia*;¹¹⁹⁶ but in relation to the highest one, toward Ursa¹¹⁹⁷—the one the locals call the “Ladder of the Tyrians”¹¹⁹⁸—this [city] stands off 100 *stadia*.¹¹⁹⁹ **189** At a distance of just about two *stadia* from the town, the river called Beleos¹²⁰⁰ flows by, very small indeed, by the side of which is the tomb of Memnon,¹²⁰¹ which has near it a 100-cubit¹²⁰² space worthy of

whereas elsewhere he pointedly distinguishes between Galilee, which is Judean, and this Roman city (*War* 3.29-30, 35-36, esp. 38; *Life* 105, 118, 213-15 [esp. 214], 342). This discussion of Ptolemais’ natural wonders—the world-famous sand of the Belus River (below), one of only 4 or 5 known centers of glass-quality sand in the Roman world (Isings 1957: 2; Vose 1980: 27-8), and an incidental note about the nearby tomb of renowned Greek hero thrown in for good measure, allegedly in Judean territory—helps to raise the Judeans’ profile with respect to both resources and technical skill. Some scholars are convinced that Judeans had a lot to do with the “Phoenician” or Syrian glassware that was widely traded throughout the E Mediterranean—even before 100 CE, after which the evidence becomes considerable (Kisa 1908: 1.96-100; Neuburg 1949: 26-54; 1962: 50-70; Engle 1984; Isings [1957: 4] is skeptical). On the basis of waste from a glass factory from mid-1st century BCE Jerusalem, V. Tatton-Brown (in Tait 1991: 62) considers it likely that Judeans were among the pioneers of glass *blowing*. Without making any of this explicit, Josephus’ momentary incorporation of the famed source for glass-sand into Judean Galilee suggests some such link.

¹¹⁹¹ That is, the NW to SE Plain of Esdraelon, or Jezreel Valley, which separates Galilee from Samaria; cf. 2.595; 3.39; *Life* 115, 126, 318. The most obvious approach to the plain of Acco/Ptolemais from Judean territory is via the narrow pass that closes the Great Plain at the NW end.

¹¹⁹² See the note to “Galilee and Idumea” at 2.43.

¹¹⁹³ About 12 km. See the note to “*stadia*” at *Life* 64 in BJP 9.

¹¹⁹⁴ This figure closely matches the roughly 11-12 km distance between Ptolemais and the nearest points at which the Galilean hills rise to the NE and the E. In *Life* 214 Josephus gives the same figure, however, for the distance between Ptolemais and Chabolos/Chaboulon (*Life* 214), which he regards as the W limit of Galilee (*War* 2.503; 3.38): Chaboulon will fall first to Cestius Gallus’ forces in late 66 (*War* 2.503-4), and Josephus will use it as his own base for monitoring the Romans at Ptolemais during the early revolt (*Life* 213-14). The village of Kabul, usually identified as the site of ancient Chaboulon, is somewhat further away—roughly 15 km to the SE.

¹¹⁹⁵ Josephus has mentioned Mt. Carmel, one of the most prominent and impressive features of the coast, at

War 1.66, 250, in such a way that he seems to assume audience knowledge. This appears reasonable: it is discussed by Scylax, *Peripl.* 104; Strabo 16.2.27-28; Pliny, *Nat.* 5.75; 36.190; Tacitus, *Hist.* 2.78; Suetonius, *Vesp.* 5.6; Claudius Ptolemaeus 5.15.5.

¹¹⁹⁶ The Carmel range is actually somewhat closer to Ptolemais on the S than to the Tyrian Ladder on the N, about 15 km/9.3 miles as the crow flies (75 *stadia*), or 18-20 km/11-12.5 miles (up to 100 *stadia*) following the curved highway around the Haifa Bay. If Josephus was thinking of the distance due S, past Gaba-Hippeon, to meet the Carmel range at one of its further points, the distance could easily exceed 120 *stadia*.

¹¹⁹⁷ Greek *κατ’ ἄρκτον*. Although the expression means “to the N,” I translate thus because Josephus does not give the compass direction (*βόρειος* or similar), which he uses dozens of times elsewhere and which would complement “southern” (*μεσημβρινός*), used of Carmel in this passage. The more colorful term here, which he also has frequently, evokes the constellation of Ursa Major. On the importance of the constellations for ancient cosmology, see Hannah 2005: 5-28.

¹¹⁹⁸ As Josephus’ language indicates, he does not expect his Roman audience to know this name, which is used in 1 Macc 11:59 (cf. *Ant.* 13.146) for the rapid ascent, on the road to Tyre, between Rosh ha-Niqra and Ras el-Bayada.

¹¹⁹⁹ This precisely matches the N/S distance on the Roman coastal road: 20 km (12.5 miles).

¹²⁰⁰ Lat. *beleum*. The river is called *Belus* in Pliny (*Nat.* 5.75 [also *Pacida*, though that name usually attaches to the Qishon to the S]; 36.190), who puts it at 5,000 paces (5 Roman miles), and in Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.7. The name is a Latinized form of Ba’al, the Semitic name for God, and specifically here of Tammuz-Adonis, the God of vegetation and healing worshiped in Sidon to the N. In Greek myth, Heracles was directed by the Delphic oracle to this river, to a plant that would heal his wounds; he founded the city Acco nearby as a result. And so the river God Belus appears on Roman coins, with the healing plant, through the early centuries of the Common Era (e.g., Engle 1978: 11). For pictures and detailed analysis of the sacred river’s role in glass-making, which she considers a Hurrian (biblical “Horite”) specialty from about 2,000 BCE, see Engle 1978.

¹²⁰¹ The mythical Memnon, presumably the one in view here, had tombs (*memnoneia*) in various middle-

wonder.¹²⁰³ **190** For it is circular and hollow,¹²⁰⁴ and it yields the glassy sand:¹²⁰⁵ whenever

eastern centers. Son of Dawn (Eos) and Tithonus (Hesiod, *Theog.* 984-85), this king of the Ethiopians—according to the now lost Cyclic epic *Aethiopsis* (cf. West 2003 for summary and revisionist analysis), supplemented by early 6th-cent. BCE art and occasional notes in other poetry of the period—brought his forces to assist his uncle Priam in the defense of Troy (cf. *Od.* 11.522; cf. 3.111-12; 4.185-202). During his climactic fight with Achilles, the two heroes' mothers (Eos and Thetis) pleaded with Zeus for his favor. When Memnon lost, one tradition holds that he became immortal, another that the smoke from his pyre became warring birds who fell back into its flames—and so birds called memnonides gather annually at his tomb to fight and die again.

Where was his tomb? Perhaps because of the mythical importance of his death, local traditions grew up in various places. The leading contenders were Persian Susa (Strabo 15.3.2; Pausanias 10.31.7), Egyptian Thebes (mod. Luxor), and Egyptian Abydos (Strabo 17.1.42)—the seeming disparity made intelligible by the fact that “Ethiopians” were located both in the far E (*Il.* 1.423-24; 23.205-7; Herodotus 5.54.2; 7.151 places them in Susa) and in Africa S of Egypt. Drews (1969) thinks that the epic writers assumed the eastern-Susian origin of the hero. The Theban connection involves in some way a linguistic parallel between the *Amen-* pharaohs and ‘Memnon’; the tomb of Ramesses VI hosted the Colossi of Memnon, a major tourist attraction then and now. From one of the two seated statues of Amenhotep III, whom R. D. Griffith (1998) indeed considers the model of the ancient Memnon, in front of the tomb complex, a breath-like sound was said to be produced by the first rays of dawn: even though Strabo heard it, he preferred to think it some kind of trick (Strabo 17.1.46; Pausanias 1.42.3; cf. Bowersock 1984).

Strabo also claims that Susa hosted monuments to Memnon, but reports (15.3.2) a tradition from Simonides that the hero was actually buried the small coastal town of Paltus in Syria. This was less than 300 km (about 180 miles) N of Ptolemais, which puts it in the same general region and makes sense of competing claims for Memnon's tomb indicated by Josephus' reference here.

¹²⁰² About 50 m (164 ft), apparently indicating the diameter of the hollow.

¹²⁰³ Pliny's account says nothing about such a depression near the tomb, but rather claims that the special sand from the muddy river appears only with the ebbing of the tide (*Nat.* 36.191).

¹²⁰⁴ Greek *κυκλωτερής μὲν γὰρ ἔστιν καὶ κοῖλος*. The alliteration in *kappa* helps the description; cf. Strabo describing a mysterious crocus-producing cave in Cilicia (14.5.5: “it is a great circular hollow,” ἔστι δὲ κοιλὰς

μεγάλη κυκλωτερής). Latin: *est enim species uallis rotundae*.

¹²⁰⁵ Josephus' use of the definite article (τὴν ὑελίνον ψάμμον) may reflect an assumption that his Roman audience has heard of this phenomenon. This is plausible, since the remarkable properties of the Belus river's sandbanks had been famous for centuries among Egyptians, Phoenicians, and Greeks, and were mentioned by his near contemporaries in Rome, Pliny the Elder (*Nat.* 5.75; 36.190-91) and Tacitus (*Hist.* 5.7). Indeed, Pliny famously claims that glass was discovered at this very spot (*Nat.* 36.190-91): some traders in soda (or *nitrum*: a form of sodium carbonate and bicarbonate), the story goes, forced ashore and attempting to cook meals by resting pots on their cargo, were amazed to see that their campfires fused the sand and the soda to produce glass. Although one function of the soda is to lower the temperature necessary for melting the silica of the sand from around 1,700 degrees C to less than 1,000 degrees, it is doubtful that the traders' campfires produced such heat! More likely, glass production was discovered incidentally in other smelting operations, whether strictly commercial or religious (Neuburg 1949: 1); in any case Egypt, rich in sodium carbonate, was producing glass objects well before 2,000 BCE (Neuburg 1949: 8, 11; Healy 1999: 355). In his other relevant passage, Pliny's language is closer to Josephus: “the river Pacida or Belus, which covers its narrow bank with sand of a kind used for making glass” (*vitri fertiles harenas*). Tacitus is particularly interesting because he knows about the glass-making properties of the Belus' sand, even though he is confused about the river's location (making it “also”—like the Jordan—empty into “the Judean sea” [*Judaico mari inlabitur*], which seems to mean the Dead Sea). This confusion suggests, however, that he has heard about the sand of the Belus, and remembered the basic story.

The chief ingredients of glass are silica, from high-quality sand, alkali (whether sodium- or potassium-based), and lime, the last of which is needed to give the product sufficient strength (Vose 1980: 1-25). It seems that Roman glass typically had around 71% silica and 16% soda (Neuburg 1949: 2; cf. Healy 1999: 352 n. 28 for a recommended standard formula, and for detailed scientific analysis of ancient and medieval glass, McCray 1998). Trowbridge 1930 provides an analysis of the ancient terminology involved, with modern correspondences and translation issues. Although Pliny's account omits any mention of lime, the needed 3rd ingredient, some scholars suggest that the sand of the Belus' banks might have contained substantial amounts of limestone (e.g., V. Tatton-Brown and C. Andrews in Tait 1991: 21).

the many ships docking here empty it,¹²⁰⁶ the area refills itself¹²⁰⁷ again, with the winds drawing to it the glistening sand just as if by design,¹²⁰⁸ while the mine¹²⁰⁹ is immediately changing [it] all into glass. **191** And more amazing than this, it seems to me,¹²¹⁰ is that the glass overflowing from the spot becomes ordinary¹²¹¹ sand again. This place, then, has received such a peculiar nature.¹²¹²

(10.3) 192 Having mustered¹²¹³ in the plain at Ptolemais,¹²¹⁴ Judeans with women and children¹²¹⁵ kept imploring¹²¹⁶ Petronius, first for the sake of their ancestral laws¹²¹⁷ and

Petronius negotiates over statues. Ant. 18.263

Pliny claims that sand from the Belus was for some time the sole source of silica for glass (*Nat.* 36.191), adding that Sidon, up the coast from Ptolemais, was a major center of glass production (36.193; cf. Strabo 16.75.8, who knows only that the Sidonians have especially suitable sand). An excavation led by Z. Goldmann in 1956 revealed a Hellenistic-Roman glass furnace in Ptolemais (*EAEHL* 1.18). On the Sidonian industry, see Engle 1980, 1983; the former also treats the important role of Bet Shearim—20 km E of Haifa and therefore close to the Belus—as a glass-making centre by at least 100 CE; cf. Engle 1973: 1-50. For pre-70 Jerusalem's involvement in glass production, see Engle 1984.

¹²⁰⁶ Presumably, ships to carry the sand to glass production centers, especially in Sidon.

¹²⁰⁷ The compound verb ἀντιπληρόω has very sparse attestation in Greek literature (Thucydides 7.22.2, 69.1; 8.17.1; Xenophon, *Hell.* 4.8.10; 5.1.5, 4.65; *Cyr.* 2.2.26; Theophrastus, *Caus. plant.* 1.13.3, then in late antiquity); Josephus uses it here and in a different sense at 2.502.

¹²⁰⁸ It has been suggested that the sand of the Belus is well suited to glass-making because of its fineness, which results from its having been carried by hamsin winds from Africa—the finer sand traveling farthest. I have been unable to verify the source of this theory, though it might help to explain Josephus' reference to the winds.

¹²⁰⁹ Or “quarry” (τὸ μέταλλον, as 7.189; *Ant.* 16.128): not a processing operation with mills, as in modern times, but simply the ore site—in this case a naturally mysterious one (2.191).

¹²¹⁰ Editorial μοι δοκεῖ is a favorite device in Josephus, which helps to strengthen the bond of intimacy with his audience by injecting personal judgment and emotion into the narrative: cf. 4.17; 5.552; *Ant.* 16.159; *Apion* 2.143. He can also lend it to his characters for their speeches: *War* 1.373; *Ant.* 8.227; 15.384. The more characteristic and distinctive expression in *War*, however, is ἔμοιγε δοκεῖν: 2.151, 479; 3.202; 4.312; 6.4.

¹²¹¹ Or more strongly, “useless, pointless.” This may be the object that Gaius Caligula had in mind when he dismissed the style of Seneca as “sand without lime” (Suetonius, *Cal.* 53.2): it was incapable of producing something beautiful. Josephus uses the adjective εἰκαλῶς 9 times, but only in *War* 1-6 (though the cognate word-

phrase εἰκῆ, vastly more common in other ancient writers, appears only at *Ant.* 12.34; *Apion* 2.234). This concentration is the more impressive because the word is not widely used before Josephus, who includes it in the first sentence of the prologue and in each book of *War* except 7. Notice the clustered recurrence at 2.195. Relatively heavy users are Polybius (5: 4 of these comparative or superlative), Philo (17), and Josephus' contemporary Epictetus (8).

¹²¹² Literally: “received such a nature (φύσις) by lot (λαγχάνω)” —or from the Gods, or as a given. For the sense of the phrase, see Plato, *Phil.* 49c; *Tim.* 54a; 63b; Dio 38.11.3; Plotinus, *Enn.* 6.1.17. Here it functions as a decisive end to the geographical digression.

¹²¹³ The verb ἀθροίζω (here passive) suggests more than mere assembling or coming together (συνάγω, συνέρχομαι). Typically used of armies, it highlights the spontaneous quasi-military discipline that Josephus regularly attributes to the Judeans in *War*; it is cognate to the adverb ἄθροος (“in close order, in column, en masse”) that he uses of the Judeans at 2.12, 16, 170, 174 (the latter two in the face of Pilate's provocation).

¹²¹⁴ Just described (2.188). Philo (*Legat.* 225-27) has the Judeans remarkably filling “the whole of Phoenicia” and dividing themselves into 6 groups: males and females, each grouped according to age—the old, the young, and those in their prime. It is the male elders in chorus who address the legate.

¹²¹⁵ Referring to women and children in crowd scenes as a way of intensifying the tragic pathos was increasingly common in Hellenistic historiography: Herodotus (“children and women”): 1.164, 166, 176; 2.30; 3.45; 4.121; 5.14; 6.19, 138; 8.36, 60, 106; Euripides, *Med.* 1143; Xenophon, *Anab.* 1.4.8; *Cyr.* 3.1.25, 29, 3.44; 8.8.4; Hippias, *Frag.* 1.42, 51; Manetho, *Frag.* 42; Aeneas Tacticus 3.6; 5.1; Philo Mech., *Parasc.* 94.47; Polybius, about 46 times—e.g., 1.74, 66.8, 68.3; 2.56.7, 58.10; 3.109.7; 4.32.8, 54.2, 71.13; 5.78.1, 111.6; 8.36.3; 9.39.3; 10.17.6, 34.3, 10, 35.1; 11.28.7; 12.6b.8, 25h.5; 15.11.5; 16.25.6, 31.5, 32.4; 1 Macc. 1.32, 60; 2.38; 3.20; 5.13, 23, 45; 8.10; 13.6, 45; 2 Macc 6:10; 12:3, 21; 15:8; Posidonius [Theiler] frag. 99, 136c, 138; Diodorus, 70 times—1.57.6, 67.6, 71.4, 88.6; 2.1.10, 40.5; 3.15.2, 18.5, 24.3, 32.1, 53.3, 54.4; 4.31.1, 55.1; 11.13.4, 28.5, 39.1; 12.42.2, 46.7, etc.; Dionysius—about 35 times—

then for their own sakes. Yielding to the rabble and the pleas, he left* the statues¹²¹⁸ and armies¹²¹⁹ in Ptolemais **193** while he went ahead into Galilee,¹²²⁰ summoned both the rabble and all the notables¹²²¹ to Tiberias,¹²²² and explained the power of [the] Romans¹²²³ as well as the threats of Caesar.¹²²⁴ He further demonstrated that their petition was senseless: **194** for with all the subject nations¹²²⁵ having set up the images of Caesar¹²²⁶ in each city along with their other gods, the fact that they [the Judeans] alone were opposed to this¹²²⁷ was

e.g., *Ant. rom.* 1.46.4; 2.30.4, 34.2, 35.6, 50.6; 4.11.5, 25.4, 50.4. Josephus exploits the formula more than most, using it some 105 times, about 25 of these in *War* (1.97; 2.192, 198, 307, 395, 400, 475; 3.113, 261; 4.71, 79; 6.351, 384; 7.228, 321, 362, 380, 382, 385, 386, 391, 393). Note especially the concentration of references in the Masada narrative, where tragic sorrow abounds.

¹²¹⁶ Whereas Josephus uses the verb ἵκετεύω about 100 times, this intensified form (καθικετεύω) occurs only 4 times in his corpus (also 4.640; *Ant.* 5.302; 19.234).

¹²¹⁷ For this key phrase in Josephus, οἱ πάτριοι νόμοι, see the note at 2.6.

¹²¹⁸ Only this account has more than one statue (cf. 2.185). It differs from the others also in implying that Petronius is bringing “the statues” with him, whereas Philo makes it particularly clear that he has only ordered the construction of a colossal statue in Sidon (*Legat.* 221-22).

¹²¹⁹ I follow MSS PAM in reading the plural; the other MSS have a singular.

¹²²⁰ Philo’s account knows nothing of the consultations in Tiberias, placing all encounters in Phoenicia, whereas in the parallel (*Ant.* 18.264-72) Josephus will considerably elaborate on the Ptolemais/Tiberias distinction.

¹²²¹ Josephus will repeat the distinction between the rabble and the eminent (here τὸ τε πλῆθος καὶ οἱ γνώριμοι), which ancient audiences would immediately recognize (and which should help them see the Judeans as part of civilized society), at 2.199. The point seems to be that a respectable Roman official such as Petronius respects the social distinctions within Judean society, and treats the élite quite differently from the masses (cf. also Quadratus’ actions at 2.241-43). The former, being men somewhat like himself, need to be won over through reasoned discussion. Contrast the behavior of the equestrian governors dispatched to Judea, who generally fail to make this distinction and treat the entire nation as alien and contemptible, Florus even crucifying men of equestrian rank (2.308; cf. 2.171-74, 176-77, 224-27, 270 [partial exception], 274-76).

The parallel at *Ant.* 18.273 names Aristobulus (II: son of Herod’s son Aristobulus, d. 8/7 BCE, and brother of Agrippa I, similarly raised in Rome; Kokkinos 1998: 314-16), Helcias/Hilkiah “the Great” (=Alexas III, grandson of Herod’s sister Salome and third husband Alexas, father of both the Helcias who would visit Rome in con-

nection with the wall obstructing Agrippa II’s view of the temple [*Ant.* 20.189-94], and of the Iulius Archelaus who would be among the friends to receive a copy of Josephus’ *War* [*Apion* 1.51-52]; Kokkinos 1998: 197), and the other powerful men of that (Herodian) family, as well as the principal men of Tiberias. That notice lends support to Kokkinos’ point (1998: 196) that members of the Herodian dynasty (much more than the priesthood) still constituted the heart of the native élite in this period, and so fulfilled their role of representing the people’s grievances to the Roman authorities in order to maintain calm.

¹²²² See note at 2.168.

¹²²³ The “power of the Romans” (ἡ Ῥωμαίων δύναμις) is a prominent theme in Josephus, the one expression conveniently signifying both their abstract power (sometimes accompanied by their “fortune”: *War* 2.373, 384; *Ant.* 12.414; 16.401; 20.70-71; *Life* 175; cf. *War* 6.399) and its concrete manifestation in military “forces” (e.g., *War* 2.357; 7.275; *Life* 285, 378).

¹²²⁴ The combination of threats and the power to enforce them should be enough to bring ordinary subjects—except those quite willing to die—into line. Conspicuously absent from Petronius’ case (repeated at 2.199) are any claim of justice, law, or morality behind Gaius’ plan and any hint of the legate’s personal investment or requirement. Josephus presents him as a sympathetic, wise, and ironic character, caught in the realities of the power he represents.

¹²²⁵ This appeal to other subject peoples anticipates the speech of Agrippa II (2.357-401): even formerly mighty states must now find ways of cooperating with Rome, and Judeans need to do the same.

¹²²⁶ This phrase (Καίσαρος εἰκόνας) recalls the Pilate episode at 2.169, 173, another clear effort at binding these episodes together. The noun “images” reoccurs at 2.197.

¹²²⁷ This condensed analysis of Judean exceptionalism, placed in Petronius’ mouth, closely matches that of Apion, speaking for the Alexandrian delegation to Gaius (which started the whole initiative) according to *Ant.* 18.258: whereas *all those subject to Roman rule* set up altars and temples to Gaius, and in all respects welcome him *as they do their own Gods*, the *Judeans alone* consider it improper to honor him with statues and swear by his name. This interpretation is the precise opposite of that given by Philo (*Legat.* 114-18), accord-

tantamount to being in rebellion¹²²⁸—with insolence besides.¹²²⁹

(10.4) 195 But while they were putting forward¹²³⁰ the law and the ancestral custom,¹²³¹ and how it would not be lawful¹²³² to place any representation¹²³³ of God—let alone of a man—in the shrine itself or even in some ordinary¹²³⁴ place in the countryside,¹²³⁵ Petronius seized upon [this] and declared,¹²³⁶ “But surely also in my case, is not the law of *my* master to be guarded? For after transgressing it and sparing you, I shall rightly perish. The one who sent me,¹²³⁷ and not I, will make war with you; I myself, just like you, am under orders.”¹²³⁸ **196** At this, the rabble shouted that they held themselves ready to suf-

ing to which the rest of the world flattered Gaius, some Romans even abandoning their own ancestral dignity and freedom by introducing the foreign practice of prostration (ἡ προσκύνησις), whereas the Judeans alone had the death-defying courage to oppose him. Both Philo and Josephus (see note to “trampled” at 2.170) relish the chance to dwell on what was apparently the most admired of Judean peculiarities: their imageless conception of God.

¹²²⁸ Greek σχεδὸν ἀφισταμένων. By withholding any hint of criticism or alternative response (unless Gaius can be dissuaded), Josephus continues to build a compelling case for the necessity of revolt less than 3 decades later—in popular sentiment, which would (when fanned by demagogues) make the war inevitable.

¹²²⁹ “Insolence” here (ὑβρις) is cognate to the verb rendered “abused” at 2.184 (ἐξυβρίζω), where Gaius was the subject. Thus Josephus constructs a compelling rhetorical balance: he has narrator has accused the emperor of insolence, whereas the Roman governor must necessarily see Judean non-compliance as insolence.

¹²³⁰ Greek προτείνω, here in a metaphorical sense: “appealing to” as the basis for an argument or claim. Contrast Petronius’ rhetorical posture (2.199): brandishing in a threatening way (ἐπανατείνω) the power of Rome. MSS LVRC have the aorist participle, suggesting that Petronius waited until the Judeans were finished their appeal. The present participle (with MSS PAM), translated here, rather gives the sense that he cut them off with his counter-appeal to the compelling dictates of Caesar.

¹²³¹ This concern helps to bond the episode with the recent story of Pilate’s images: see the note to “ancestral [customs]” at 2.171. Law and custom (νόμος καὶ ἔθος) form a regular pair in Josephus, along with several other related terms (τὰ πάτρια, τὰ νόμιμα, οἱ πάτριοι νόμοι, etc.): such general categories were familiar to his audiences from their own cultures (cf. Latin *mos maiorum*) and they are often interchangeable in his narratives, or susceptible of different combinations. See the note to “ancestral laws” at 2.6 and Mason 1991: 96-106.

¹²³² Although the reference is to the 2nd commandment (Exod 20:4-6), the Bible does not spell out the prohibition as Josephus does, and it seems that the prohibition of images was interpreted differently by different groups

and at different periods; see note to “trampled” at 2.170. The adjective θέμιτος (“lawful”) and its negative form occur 12 times in *War* 1-6, but only 3 times in the much longer *Antiquities*, which more obviously concerns the laws (and 3 times in *Life* and *Apion*). In all but 2 of Josephus’ 18 uses, the adjective is negated either with α-privative (most common) or with οὐ or μὴ as here (οὐδέ). Two earlier occurrences of ἀθέμιτος in *War* have to do with Herod’s unlawful golden eagle (1.650, 659).

¹²³³ This rare word (δείκλιον) occurs elsewhere in Josephus only in the recent episode concerning Pilate and the images (2.170; see note there); its repetition helps to bind these two stories together. The main examples before Josephus, outside of fragments: Herodotus 2.171; Lycophron 1179, 1259; Apollonius of Rhodes, *Arg.* 1.746; 4.1672.

¹²³⁴ Or “useless”; see the note to this word at 2.191—the proximity illustrating Josephus’ habit of using words in clusters, often in quite different contexts.

¹²³⁵ These elaborations of the law against cut images (see note at 2.170) are *a fortiori* appeals, though in reverse of the standard order. Thus: the law covers images even of humans, and even in the countryside (i.e., it is general and unrestricted): How much more does it prohibit an attempt at *divine* representation, and in the very *temple*?

¹²³⁶ *Ant.* 18.265-68 has Petronius voice these sentiments while still dealing with the Judeans in Ptolemais, before his trip to Tiberias.

¹²³⁷ I.e., Gaius and his imperial forces. This notice provides a reverse example of Agrippa’s claim that the bad governors in Judea were not sent knowingly by Caesar (2.352).

¹²³⁸ This sympathetic Roman official expresses himself much as the centurion of Luke 7:8 (εἰμι ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν τασσόμενος). Here Josephus effectively uses *oratio recta* for Petronius, to make vivid the psychology and internal struggle of this individual at this time and place—a distinguished Roman, determined to rule well but faced with demands by an absolute master, hosts an internal moral deliberation (and does not simply command the people to do as he says, unlike Pilate). When he describes the ongoing, collective (and equally moving) commitment of the masses to the laws, Josephus turns to *oratio obliqua*.

fer everything for the sake of the law. After he had quelled their outburst, Petronius said, “Will you, then, make war on Caesar?”¹²³⁹ **197** The Judeans declared that they offered sacrifice twice a day for Caesar and the Roman people,¹²⁴⁰ “but if he wants to set up the images, he will need first to offer up as a sacrifice¹²⁴¹ the entire nation of Judeans”—and they were presenting themselves ready for the butchery,¹²⁴² children and wives included.¹²⁴³

¹²³⁹ Petronius’ question is programmatic for the entire *War*. In many ways, obvious and subtle, Josephus returns to the irresistible power of the Romans and their *princeps*—the basic fact for all statesmen in the Mediterranean basin since the time of Polybius. Making war on Rome would be madness. Agrippa II will ask much the same question as part of his point that it would be unwise to respond to local humiliations with a war on Caesar and Rome itself (2.350-57). Here, however, Gaius Caesar is the culprit, and with passages such as these Josephus relentlessly builds a case for the seeming inevitability of war. In this tension between knowing about Roman invincibility and being forced to fight anyway (e.g., the predicament of Ananus at 4.320) lies the tragedy of the war and of Jerusalem (cf. *War* 1.7-12).

¹²⁴⁰ This notice plants the seed for a major episode later in *War* 2 (2.409-10): Eleazar son of Ananias will persuade those conducting the temple service to stop accepting sacrifices from foreigners—thus ending, Josephus explains, the traditional daily sacrifice on behalf of Rome and the emperor, and laying a foundation for war. According to Philo (*Legat.* 157, 317, 357), Augustus expressed his reverence for the imageless God of the Judeans and his respect for the temple—being unable to donate an image in the usual fashion (Smallwood 1961: 311)—by initiating a daily sacrifice of two lambs and a bull at his own expense. Although *Apion* 2.77 (see Barclay’s note *ad loc.* in BJP 10) indicates that the Judeans bore the expense, it is easy enough to reconcile the claims, each serving its author’s needs, if for example the costs came from tribute money after 6 CE (Smallwood 1961: 241). Bennett (2007: 194-97) dismisses the notion that Augustus sponsored this offering (further below).

Josephus’ description of the sacrifice as *for Caesar and the Roman people*, matched by the later reference to it (2.409 see note there), recalls the cult of “Rome and Augustus” that was well established in gentile cities, including Herod’s foundations at Sebaste and the Caesareas Maritima and Philippi (at Panias).

Bennett (2007) offers a comprehensive challenge to the scholarly consensus with her argument: that soon after Actium, Herod, like his neighbors (esp. in Asia Minor), understood the necessity of offering cult to Augustus and the imperial family (hence the large temples at Sebaste, Panias, and Caesarea); that he was uniquely able to balance such facilities for imperial cult with attention to Judean traditions (e.g., in rebuilding the temple); that with his death in 4 BCE the failure of

cult from Judea became increasingly conspicuous and a matter of concern to Augustus, who had never exempted the Judeans from the expectation of imperial cult and had never supported the Jerusalem sacrifice as a substitute, much less contributed to it (194-97); that Caligula was only the clearest exponent of a general demand from the ruling side (293-94); and that the unsatisfied expectation of imperial cult was (on both Roman and Judean sides) a major factor in the tensions that led to war. The problems with this ambitious reconstruction include: (a) its need to reject the plain and detailed statements of contemporaries, Philo and Josephus, on the acceptability of the Jerusalem sacrifice; (b) the absence of evidence in Judean or early Christian literature that imperial cult was a significant cause of rebellion in Judea; and (c) the considerable literature on imperial cult, which tends to highlight its diversity and ambiguities (Habicht 1970; Price 1980, 2004a, b; Gradel 2002), in keeping with the general emphasis on the diverse “periphery” of the empire and the need for statesmanship and consensus on both sides (Millar 1977; Lendon 1997; Ando 2000; Meyer-Zwiffelhofer 2002), which the arrangement described by Philo and Josephus appears to fit.

¹²⁴¹ The verb προθύω (only here and at 1.371 in Josephus), coming soon after θύω in the same sentence, indicates a word play. Gaius intended that his statue, as of a God, would become the object of sacrifice. The Judeans declare, in effect: If he wants a sacrifice before his statue, he will need to sacrifice the entire nation first (and this is an outrageous demand, since we already sacrifice to God for his and the Romans’ welfare). The image of Judeans as sacrificial victims (rather than as sacrificers of animal victims to Gaius) recalls 2.10-4, 30 and parallels Luke 13:1 (re: Pilate), on the confusion of human with animal victims. An additional irony is that coins and other images related to the imperial cult most often present the emperor and his family as chief sacrificers (on behalf of the world) to the Gods, rather than simply as objects of sacrifice as Gods without further ado (cf. Price 1980, 1984a); Caligula should have been satisfied with sacrifices for his well being—as Trajan would be (Pliny, *Ep.* 10.100).

¹²⁴² As at 2.30 (see “savagely butchered” and note there), Josephus artfully connects the language of animal sacrifice with that of human slaughter (σφαγή), also construed as sacrifice, since the victims would die for holy purposes.

Whereas Josephus presents the Judeans as passive

198 Amazement and compassion¹²⁴⁴ went into Petronius¹²⁴⁵ at these [words], both for the insuperable devotion¹²⁴⁶ of the men¹²⁴⁷ and for their ready, ecstatic disposition¹²⁴⁸ toward death. Unsuccessful¹²⁴⁹ for the time being, they were dismissed.¹²⁵⁰

(10.5) 199 On the succeeding [days], calling meetings with the powerful men in private and with the rabble in public,¹²⁵¹ although sometimes he would appeal and sometimes he

and ready to be killed if necessary (as also in the Pilate episodes above), Tacitus' brief note (*Hist.* 5.9) claims that Gaius' provocation elicited armed opposition. Smallwood (1961: 275) argues that, although Josephus—who agrees with Philo in this respect—might have had reasons to play down Judean militancy, it is easier to imagine that Tacitus has erroneously assumed armed resistance, in light of the later war. Since, however, Josephus does not exclude resistance (but plausibly predicts slaughter if it comes to a stand-off), and since armed opposition to Gaius' madness could hardly have been objectionable at Josephus' time of writing, and given the literary artistry on all sides, it seems impossible to gain any purchase on what actually happened.

¹²⁴³ See note to “women and children” at 2.192.

Whereas Josephus gives this declaration to the Judeans gathered in Tiberias, Philo has those who crowd “Phoenicia” elaborate on the same point: at *Legat.* 234-36 they offer to kill themselves along with women and children, rather than suffer the planned sacrilege.

¹²⁴⁴ Or “astonishment/surprise and pity” (θαῦμα καὶ οἶκτος). Ps-Hermogenes (3rd cent. CE?), in his work on the *Forceful Method* (*Dein.* 36.8-22), claims that whereas the essence of comedy is the interweaving of the laughable with the pointed or barbed, tragedy interweaves pity/compassion and amazement (οἶκτος καὶ θαῦμα). This is clear not only from tragedies, he says, but also from Homer's epics (Plato having made Homer the father of tragedy), which abound in pity and amazement. This pair is a variation on Aristotle's more famous prescription of pity and *fear* (cf. *Ant.* 1.176) as the heart of tragedy, though his word for pity/compassion is ἔλεος (*Poet.* 1449b, 1452b, 1453a-b, 1456b). “Compassion” and “pity” are Leitmotifs of *War* (see 1.12 and note), which is in many respects a “tragic history” (see Introduction).

¹²⁴⁵ This expression (οἶκτος εἰσῆει τὸν X) occurs several times in *War* (1.58; 6.182; 7.338) and is paralleled at 2.400 with εἰσέρχουμαι.

¹²⁴⁶ Or “cult, ritual, worship.” Like the purity of δεισιδαιμονία that overcame Pilate at 2.174 (in connection with the same issue of images), the unconquerable—or stubborn (ἀνυπέβλητος)—θρησκεία that astonishes Petronius here can be understood as either virtuous or contemptible: either *cultus*/ritual/worship or vain superstitious practice. Josephus leaves Petronius' assessment artfully ambiguous, especially through the evocation of both amazement and pity (2.198).

¹²⁴⁷ Josephus' underscoring of the males' (τῶν ἀνδρῶν) concern for the deity fits with his overall emphasis on the manly virtue of the Judeans, recently stressed in describing the all-male Essenes (2.119-59). Perhaps the males are also singled out because their willingness to sacrifice also their own wives and children is part of the reason for Petronius' “pity.”

¹²⁴⁸ Judean contempt for death is a prominent theme in *War*: see Introduction and notes at 2.151. Josephus' language here (ἐτόιμου παραστήματος) has a studied ambiguity, reflecting the legate's viewpoint. The noun is a Hellenistic construction, first attested in Diodorus' admiring portrait of the daring Thebans confronting Alexander's Macedonians (17.11.4; cf. 17.21.6): there it is paired with “soul” (ψυχῆς) to suggest a reaching beyond oneself to exceed the normal limits of courage, or self-transcendence. This noun is a key word in *War* 1-6, where Josephus uses it a remarkable 16 times, about half the time with “soul” as in Diodorus (*War* 1.59, 74; 2.198, 476, 580, 588; 3.175; 4.34, 193; 5.63, 90, 324; 6.13, 52, 62, 81). It does not appear in his later works, and before his time it occurs rarely in literature (Diodorus as above; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 8.39.2; *Demosth.* 22; Philo, *Mos.* 2.172, 197, 273; *Spec.* 1.57). Even after Josephus, no known author will favor the word as *War* does. Especially without the “soul” complement, as here, the noun has an incomplete sense: it is neither pejorative nor laudatory, but more descriptive of an amazing transcendence. As this high Roman official observes the remarkable determination of the natives, he may (in the story) feel both admiration and annoyance.

¹²⁴⁹ This adjective (ἄπρακτοι) sustains the ambiguity: it could mean that the Judeans left “intractable, unyielding.” Yet parallel occurrences of similar phrases in Josephus (*Ant.* 15.349; 16.293; 20.129), esp. at 2.233 below, suggest the sense given here. The larger construction (with διαλύω) may derive from Thucydides (1.24.7; 2.59.2; 4.99.1).

¹²⁵⁰ Or “disbanded, adjourned” (διελύθησαν); cf. 2.238.

¹²⁵¹ Josephus repeats here the distinction made at 2.193 between the mob (τὸ πλῆθος) and the notable, eminent, powerful men (there οἱ γνώριμοι; here οἱ δυνατοί). See the note to “notables” there, and compare the differentiated appeals of the chief priests at 3.222. Every ancient society had such an elite class. Shaw (1993, 1995) argues that Josephus was caught between two constructions of power: the old Mediterranean kind based on powerful

Petronius' descision to refuse Gaius. Ant. 18.276

would advise, most often he would forcefully threaten,¹²⁵² brandishing¹²⁵³ the might of the Romans¹²⁵⁴ and Gaius' angry desires¹²⁵⁵ as well as his own compulsion¹²⁵⁶ in these [matters]. **200** Since they were not giving in to a single attempt of his, and as he saw also the countryside in danger of remaining unsown,¹²⁵⁷ for it was time for sowing¹²⁵⁸ and

autonomous men and the institutionalized Roman sort, in which the older kind had been to some extent formalized in civic offices and social structures. The irony, well known to Josephus and his contemporaries (cf. Plutarch's *Advice to the Statesman*), was that the "powerful men" of an eastern city such as Jerusalem were in fact severely constrained by representatives of the Roman regime such as Petronius.

¹²⁵² Alternating between persuasion and (the threat of) force is a rhetorical commonplace, also characteristic of Josephus' narratives: see the note to "force" at 2.8.

¹²⁵³ The double-prefixed verb that Josephus uses here (middle of ἐπανατείνω), which suggests a vivid holding of something up and over someone else, or brandishing it aggressively, contrasts markedly with the προτείνω (put forward, in argument) that he uses of the Judeans at 2.195. The care with which he chooses his words is indicated by the fact that this form appears only 3 times in Josephus (also 3.360; *Ant.* 2.272), and rarely before his time outside of Philo, where it appears a remarkable 23 times (cf. also Xenophon, *Cyr.* 2.1.23; Polybius 2.44.3; 15.29.14; Diodorus 32.6.4; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 6.48.3; *Comp. verb.* 5.55).

¹²⁵⁴ This phrase (ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἰσχὺς) is characteristic of *War* (1.135 [programmatically]; 2.371, 387, 577; 3.31; 5.343, 364; 6.159; 7.203). Before Josephus it is found, though not formulaically, in Dionysius (*Ant. rom.* 2.36.3; 3.23.11; 8.9.3); for usage similar to Josephus' see Appian, *Illyr.* 38; *Bell. civ.* 2.21.150.

¹²⁵⁵ Or simply "tempers." This compelling pair—the emperor's designs and the unstoppable might of his forces—reprises the opening summary of Petronius' case at 2.193: the power of Rome and the threats of Caesar.

¹²⁵⁶ Petronius' ἀνάγκη ("necessity, compulsion") puts him in the same category as other statesmen (such as Josephus, 2.562, and Ananus, 4.320)—all of them attached to moral duty. The language highlights the legate's complete detachment from any personal preferences. The "necessity" word group is important for Josephus: he uses it about 370 times, in many contexts and with various nuances. In addition to the various pedestrian uses, he employs this word group in relation to the law of Moses and its demands, the dictates of piety, and the constraints upon a historian (2.73; *Life* 161, 291). Most striking are those cases where he plays off *necessity* against *choice*: one does something from necessity and not from choice; or some rebel leaders, where they encounter compatriots who do not choose to follow them, use *compulsion* instead (*War* 2.562 [cf.

2.324—ironic reversal]). This motif of rebel methods in turn feeds into the larger problem in the *War* of the meaning of "freedom" and "slavery," and the recurring paradox that those who rebel against Rome on the pretext of freedom are in fact the first to compel their own people, tyrant-like, to behave in ways they do not choose (4.236-344; cf. *Life* 42).

Polybius had reflected much on the theme of the political necessity facing Greek statesmen in the face of Roman power (Eckstein 1995: 194-236): they were compelled to find a *modus vivendi* with the superpower. Josephus can sound the same theme as a principle of statecraft under Roman hegemony (1.3, 322; 2.1, and the speech of Agrippa II [2.345-404], without featuring this word), but writing after the obvious fact of the war he can also turn the moral-political code on its head by insisting that intolerable local Roman government (*War* 2.352) and resulting popular sentiment *compelled* the Judeans to fight (*Life* 27). At *War* 4.320, the murdered high priest Ananus is said to have known that Rome could not be fought and yet he prosecuted the war out of necessity (ὅπ' ἀνάγκης).

¹²⁵⁷ Contrast Philo, *Legat.* 248-49: the crops were ripe and *ready for harvest*, and Petronius feared that the Judeans would destroy them if pushed; see next note. According to *Ant.* 18.273-74, it was the Herodian notables in Tiberias who pointed out that if Petronius continued with Gaius' plan, the land would remain unsown.

¹²⁵⁸ Josephus' two narratives are consistent in dating Petronius' arrival in Ptolemais to the autumn (of 39): getting the statue erected was an essential part of his brief in assuming the legateship in that year (2.184-85; *Ant.* 18.261); the legions are to winter in Ptolemais before the execution of this order in Jerusalem (*Ant.* 18.269); heavy rains break out at the end of negotiations (*Ant.* 18.285-86); winter storms will delay Gaius' return letter to Petronius (2.203 below); and it is now the time for *sowing seed* (cf. *Ant.* 18.274-74). Smallwood (1981: 177 n. 115) argues, however, that Josephus must be mistaken: since Philo was not only a contemporary, but was in Rome in the year 40 when he heard of this crisis, we must prefer his claim (*Legat.* 249, 257) that Petronius' meeting with Judeans in Ptolemais occurred at *grain-harvest time*—i.e., late spring (of 40), which Josephus might have confused with a spring sowing time; since Gaius died in January 41, the winter storms that affected his letter would have been in winter 40/41. (On the agricultural issues, see Sperber 1978; Safrai 1994: 104-84; Pastor 1997.)

the masses were idly spending fifty days¹²⁵⁹ with him, he finally assembled them, saying: **201** “It is rather for me to face the risk.¹²⁶⁰ Either, with the God collaborating,¹²⁶¹ I shall persuade Caesar and happily be saved along with you, or, upon his becoming provoked,¹²⁶² I shall readily give up my own life for the sake of so many.”¹²⁶³ He dismissed the rabble, who were praying fervently¹²⁶⁴ for him, and, taking the army from Ptolemais, he returned to Antiocheia.¹²⁶⁵

202 From there he immediately sent a message to Caesar about his own foray into Judea and the pleas of the nation, and [said] that, unless he wished to destroy also the countryside in addition to its men, it would be necessary to protect their law¹²⁶⁶ and re-

The dilemma, then, is whether to reject the detailed and incidentally consistent report of Josephus or the contemporary and even more detailed account of Philo. As a function of his source-critical treatment of Agrippa I’s career, D. R. Schwartz (1990: 77-89) proposes a solution that gives full weight to both accounts: Petronius brings his army to Ptolemais for the winter of 39/40; the Judeans demonstrate massively in the spring of 40 and Petronius writes a first, diplomatic letter to Gaius planning delay, and citing concern for the spring harvest (ca. May, 40); Gaius replies moderately (ca. August); Petronius heads to Tiberias, where he encounters the month-and-a-half strike mentioned here (threatening the autumn sowing) and writes more forthrightly to Gaius (ca. October/November, 40); Gaius receives this and replies angrily in December/January, but dies soon afterwards. Agrippa’s intervention fell in the final few months (September to December, 40). The solution is elegant and plausible, even without the specific source-critical proposals offered by Schwartz (e.g., that Josephus depends on Philo’s *Legatio* and its lost continuation, abbreviating Philo and correcting from a lost *Life of Agrippa*). See also Pastor 1997: 150-51 and notes.

¹²⁵⁹ The parallel at *Ant.* 18.272 specifies (a biblical) 40 days of supplication. It is a curious index of his desire to change his stories in the retelling that *Antiquities/Life* normally changes numbers given in *War* for the same episodes. Although MS-transmission problems may account for some of the discrepancies, they are so widespread that this is an unlikely explanation for most.

¹²⁶⁰ This is the only occurrence of the adjective *παρᾶκινδυνευτέον* in Josephus, and before his time it seems to appear in literature only in Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 9.57.5. Possibly its gerundive force is meant to evoke the Roman Petronius’ way of speaking in Latin.

¹²⁶¹ An ironic observation: Petronius cleanly distinguishes “the God” from “the Caesar,” but the latter (the legate’s current master) has insisted on his own divinity—the claim that initiated this episode (2.184). Petronius thus allies himself with the subject people against his own ruler. Josephus continues his use of ambiguous language in portraying Petronius. Although the distinguished legate can hardly be made into a Judean partisan, his reference to “the God” (or simply “God”) leaves

the referent open: a particular deity in his pantheon, the category of the deity in general, and/or the Judean God. A similar ambiguity will attend Titus’ climactic observations at 6.411: “It was indeed together with (a) God that we made war (σὺν θεῷ γε ἐπολεμήσαμεν), and it was (a) God who brought the Judeans down from even these defenses.”

¹²⁶² On the verb, see the note at 2.8. If we judge from the parallel genitive absolutes here, it would seem that it is *God* who will either collaborate with the legate or become annoyed with him, in either case dictating his fate. It is possible, however, that Josephus intends Gaius in the second clause.

¹²⁶³ This is a remarkable statement from a Roman *legatus*, whose main responsibility was to execute the wishes of the *princeps* and administer the province as its master wished. He would be dying not so much for the Judean laws (a rather novelistic prospect) as to spare the many lives that would be pointlessly lost, on both sides of a conflict. Although unparalleled, it seems, this would not seem to be an entirely implausible motive for a distinguished senator facing the insane and dangerous policy of a young *princeps*.

¹²⁶⁴ This is the only occurrence of *κατεύχομαι* in *War* (otherwise, 4 occurrences in the biblical paraphrase of *Ant.* 1-11).

¹²⁶⁵ See the note at 2.18. Petronius thus unilaterally concludes the mission he began at 2.186, leading his legions on the long march back up the coastal highway. This heightens the suspense dramatically, since this obviously meant that the legate no longer had any intention of fulfilling Gaius’ order, no matter what the outcome of his further correspondence.

¹²⁶⁶ The metaphorical language of observing, preserving, or cherishing the law(s) (τοὺς νόμους [δια]φυλάττειν) is Platonic (*Pol.* 292a; *Leg.* 626b, 769e, 951b) and also common among the Athenian orators (Isocrates, *Nic.* 56; *Pac.* 102; *Antid.* 293; Demosthenes, *Mid.* 177; *Aristog.* 1.45; cf. Xeonophon, *Hell.* 1.7.29). Closer to Josephus’ time, Dionysius uses the phrase in charged ways (*Ant. rom.* 1.34.4; 2.73.2; 4.36.2; 10.55.4), as does Philo a couple of times (*Mos.* 2.19; *Quaest. Exod.* 2.19). Such language is characteristic of Josephus’ lexicon, as we see especially in the final quarter of the *Apion*: *Ant.*

Death of Gaius Caligula

lax the order. **203** To these letters Gaius wrote back, not¹²⁶⁷ very moderately, threatening death to Petronius¹²⁶⁸ because he was becoming a slow executor of his orders.¹²⁶⁹ But it happened that, whereas the couriers with these [letters] were subjected to winter storms¹²⁷⁰ on the sea for three months, others reporting Gaius' death had smooth sailing. At any rate, Petronius received the letters about these matters twenty-seven days earlier than the ones against himself.¹²⁷¹

Claudius chosen by praetorians. Ant. 19.162, 212, 225

(11.1) 204¹²⁷² After Gaius had held the *imperium* for three years and eight months¹²⁷³ and been murdered in a plot,¹²⁷⁴ Claudius was seized^{*1275} by the military units¹²⁷⁶ in Rome.¹²⁷⁷

7.338, 384; 11.156; *Apion* 1.60; 2.184, 227, 272.

¹²⁶⁷ MSS PA omit the negative, though it seems necessary, and the others have it. That leaves of the problem of explaining MSS PA, however. It is conceivable that Josephus wrote without the negative, sarcastically (or even intending to describe a restraint of style), in which case PA are correct and the majority reading would be easy to understand as an effort at "correction."

¹²⁶⁸ *Ant.* 18.304 purports to quote from the letter, ordering Petronius to become his own judge and assess what penalty he should pay (presumably suicide) for having drawn Caesar's wrath on himself.

¹²⁶⁹ Philo (*Legat.* 248-337) offers a much more elaborate account, describing Petronius' crafty letter, Gaius' outraged initial response and more cautious actual reply, Agrippa's coincidental intervention with his own letter to Gaius, Gaius' temporary relaxation of the order, and his final decision to go ahead with a new statue—leaving the outcome unspecified at the close of that work.

¹²⁷⁰ This notice fits with Josephus' consistent setting of the story in the autumn, beginning at the time of sowing (2.200), and with the claim in *Ant.* 18.269 that Petronius wintered his legions in Ptolemais. But Philo claims that this episode occurred in the spring; see notes to "unsown" and "sowing" at 2.200.

¹²⁷¹ *Ant.* 18.305-9 expatiates on Petronius' reaction to this providential coincidence (συντυχία) and the swiftness of divine retribution against Gaius.

¹²⁷² The following brief story of Claudius' accession (2.204-14) has a much more elaborate counterpart in *Ant.* 19.114-273, which reports in detail the debates of the Senate, the crucial and clever maneuvers of Agrippa, and the deaths of the anti-Claudian leaders (Chaerea and Lupus). Given the different emphases, with the *Antiquities* account giving much more space to Agrippa I's activities, scholars have often discussed Josephus' sources in each case. Whereas Scramuzza (1940: 58) supposed that the present passage came from a Jewish-Judean source, Sordi (1993: 215-16) proposes the 8-volume autobiography of Claudius mentioned by Suetonius (*Claud.* 41); cf. Galimberti 2001: 196. Levick (2001: 192-93) considers the accounts "illuminatingly divergent," holding that *War*'s reflects Flavian efforts to rehabilitate Claudius, whereas the *Antiquities* parallel was written under Agrippa II's guidance (flattering his father).

There are problems, however, with all such proposals. First, *Antiquities* 13-20/*Life* is simply much fuller than *War* 1-2: the extra material had to come from somewhere, is almost always different from (and often contradictory of) *War*, and cannot reasonably be explained in general by different sources or political allegiances. Second, both Claudius and Agrippa appear in very positive colors in both passages, and Agrippa's role, though necessarily smaller in *War*, is still crucial (as the story folds into his career). Finally, Josephus' support of Agrippa II is already clear as he writes *War* (e.g., 2.344-407; cf. *Life* 362-67). It seems difficult, perhaps impossible, to find secure grounds for anything more than speculation about Josephus' sources here. For historical reconstruction of the events that also isolates outstanding problems, see Levick 2001: 29-39.

¹²⁷³ *Ant.* 19.201 puts it "having exercised *imperium* for 4 years, except for 4 months." Suetonius (*Cal.* 59.1) gives 3 years, 10 months, and 8 days, evidently counting from Tiberius' death (March 16, 37 CE) to Gaius' assassination on January 24, 41; Cassius Dio makes it 10 days shorter (59.30.1). As we have seen (notes to "son of Iulia" at 2.168, to "Caesar" at 2.181), accession in the early principate—since there was no definitive point at which the ruler was "crowned" emperor or the like, but his power emerged from the granting of several extraordinary powers—could be counted from different points. Kienast (1996) gives Gaius' accession date as March 18, when the Senate proclaimed him Augustus, whereas Barrett (1989: 71-72) adduces evidence that April 21 (date of the *lex imperii* from the popular *comitia*) was the crucial date. That would split the difference between Suetonius and Josephus.

¹²⁷⁴ In *War* Josephus reserves the compound noun δολοφονέω ("murder" + "bait, trick, cunning, deceit") for Roman political murders, which typically result from conspiracy: Sextus Caesar at 1.216, Galba at 4.494. His casual reference here assumes his Roman audience's familiarity with the death of this infamous *princeps*; contrast the extraordinary detail of *Ant.* 19.14-113 (or to 19.211, to include the murder of Gaius' family and Josephus' obituary), where he will use the story to illustrate that work's constitutional and moral themes (*Ant.* 19.15-16). For analysis, see Wiseman 1991; Galimberti 2001: 183-93; D. R. Schwartz in BJP 8 (in preparation).

205 The Senate,¹²⁷⁸ the consuls Sentius Saturninus¹²⁷⁹ and Pomponius Secundus¹²⁸⁰ so

Gaius was murdered by a group led by Cassius Chaerea, a tribune of the Praetorian Guard, who apparently had personal grievances against the *princeps* (Barrett 1989: 161); Suetonius, *Cal.* 58.

¹²⁷⁵ *Ant.* 19.216-20: a soldier named Gratus found Claudius in hiding, identified him as “a Germanicus” (the family title inherited from Nero Drusus, and made beloved by the heroic general, Gaius’ father and Claudius’ brother, who had died in 19 CE), and took him with the other soldiers to make him *princeps*; similarly Suetonius, *Claud.* 10.

¹²⁷⁶ The units (στρατεύματα) in question were the only substantial, highly trained forces permitted in the city of Rome: the cohorts of the Praetorian Guard. (Other units in Rome were the German bodyguard of the *princeps*, 3 urban cohorts, who mainly kept order in the city [below], and the 7,000 vigiles, who combined firefighting and policing duties). At *Ant.* 19.214 Josephus calls the Guard (τὸ στρατηγικόν) the purest or cleanest element (καθαρώτατον) of the army, perhaps referring to their superior skill, possibly indicating a relative immunity to purchase of their loyalty. The Guard was an élite force with higher pay, better chances of promotion, and a shorter and lighter term of service than legionaries. In 27 BCE Augustus had established this force, comprising 9 cohorts of 500 men each, as a bodyguard under his direct control: 3 cohorts were stationed around the city, 6 in the surrounding countryside (Suetonius, *Aug.* 1.49). In 2 BCE he gave control of the Guard to two equestrian *praefecti praetorio*. Under Tiberius, the notorious L. Aelius Seianus became sole Prefect and moved the entire force to a single barracks outside the Viminal Gate (cf. Suetonius, *Tib.* 37).

The power that Seianus acquired proved the importance of this force for all future rulers. Shortly before the story time here, Gaius had increased the strength of the Guard to 12 cohorts (6,000 men). Because of their support for Otho in 69 CE, Vitellius would replace the force with his own Guard, now comprising 16 cohorts of 1,000 men each, but one of Vespasian’s “Augustan” reforms was to return them to their original strength of 4,500 men in 9 cohorts. Domitian would add a 10th. The prestige of the Guard was such that Titus chose as his first wife the daughter of a Prefect (Suetonius, *Tit.* 4), and he himself would take the prefecture while virtual co-regent with Vespasian (*Tit.* 6). On the development of the Guard, see Watson 1969: 16-18; Webster 1985: 96-98.

Claudius’ special relationship with the Praetorian Guard, which was based in part on his being brother of the revered Germanicus (*Ant.* 19.217), is reflected in his issue of gold coins (Levick 2001: plates 4, 7). He report-

edly gave both the Guard and the legions a huge donative (Josephus says 5,000 denarii [*Ant.* 19.247]; Suetonius has 15,000 HS [= 3,750 denarii; *Claud.* 10]), in return for their oath of personal allegiance. On imperial donatives to secure military support, see note to “profits” at *War* 1.5.

¹²⁷⁷ All the MSS except P add here εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν (“for the rule”). Without that clarification the audience might suppose that the soldiers in question were hostile to Claudius and intended harm, like those who will be enlisted against him in the next sentence. But the sequel (2.207) shows that these soldiers seized Claudius against his will in order to install him as *princeps*. The very helpfulness of the added phrase, along with its absence from one of the best MSS for *War*, makes it suspect. It is more difficult to imagine that Josephus wrote it and the copyist of P had some reason for omitting it than it is to imagine that Josephus (followed by P) did not include it, but the other MSS supplied it. Josephus’ intention in omitting any such explanation at this point may be suggested by the parallel (*Ant.* 19.218-19), according to which Claudius himself thought he was being seized for violent purposes. Especially if Josephus was compressing such a longer story when he wrote the concise version here, it is reasonable that he would have first tried to build suspense by not explaining why Claudius was “seized” by the soldiers. Certainty is not possible, however: the copyist of P *might* have carelessly read or misunderstood the story and so removed the phrase.

¹²⁷⁸ Although the adjective σύγκλητος means [something] “called together,” Josephus expects his audience to know this feminine substantive (ἡ σύγκλητος) as the standard equivalent of Latin *senatus* (i.e., roughly capturing *patres conscripti*—a traditional description of the Senate’s membership), and he reserves the word for this purpose (using it some 61 times)—even providing the derivative συγκλητικός for one of senatorial rank (*Ant.* 14.210; 19.3, 32, etc.). In *War*, 5 of the word’s 12 appearances appear in this story of Claudius’ accession.

¹²⁷⁹ Gnaeus Sentius Saturninus (*Ant.* 19.166) was a distinguished senator from a consular family with marked republican leanings. His grandfather had been consul in 19 BCE. The year 4 CE had seen a C. Sentius Saturninus as ordinary consul and then Cn. Sentius Saturninus, probably this man’s father (*PIR s.v.*), suffect consul from July 1 (Klein 1881: 16). The Sentius in question here began his term as ordinary consul with the *princeps* Gaius in 41, continuing on throughout that year (as far as we know) following the *princeps*’ death. He would meet his end among Nero’s republican victims, with Thrasea Paetus and Barea Soranus (Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.7).

moving, after entrusting the three cohorts that were standing fast with [them]¹²⁸¹ to guard the city, gathered in the *Capitolium*.¹²⁸² Because of the savagery of Gaius, they voted to

¹²⁸⁰ Like Sentius, Quintus Pomponius Secundus came from a distinguished senatorial family, in which his brother was the more famous one. In 41 CE the present Pomponius took over as consul at Gaius' death (Jan. 24); 3 years later (44 CE) his brother Publius Pomponius Secundus would serve as suffect consul. Cassius Dio (59.6.2) claims that under Tiberius, this present Quintus Pomponius had spent 7 years ("after his consulship") under arrest, subjected to mistreatment; Dio offers it as an example of the early Gaius' virtue and rejection of Tiberius' methods that he released Pomponius (though Gaius would soon turn against the Senate). On the basis of Tacitus, *Ann.* 5.8.1, however, Syme (1970: 30) cites the story in Dio as an example of that author's blunders, arguing that it actually concerns the brother, P. Pomponius Secundus. Q. Pomponius' brother was accused of friendship with the son of Seianus, and after the latter's fall spent 7 years in prison. Tacitus calls the brother "a man of great refinement of character and shining talents" (e.g., he was a tragic poet), and Pliny the Younger thought highly enough of him to write his biography (*Ep.* 3.5). So: an illustrious senatorial family.

Q. Pomponius Secundus was the step-brother of Gaius' wife Caesonia (Syme 1979: 805-14), and a fierce opponent of the monarchy after Gaius' death. Opposing Claudius' installation, as this narrative and the *Antiquities* counterpart show, he would meet his end as a conspirator against Claudius in the revolt led by Arruntius Scribonianus in 42 CE (Tacitus, *Ann.* 13.43; cf. Wiseman 1991: 72). Josephus writes as if both Sentius and Pomponius were very familiar to his Roman audience, which is entirely likely.

¹²⁸¹ Although Josephus' vague language might lead one to think that these are Praetorian cohorts, who will soon defect from the senators and rejoin the main body in the barracks (2.211 below), Suetonius (*Claud.* 10.3) clarifies that it was the *cohortes urbanae*—a sort of police force created by Augustus late in his reign (Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.5; cf. Webster 1985: 98-99)—that initially stood with the Senate. Since the urban cohorts were 3 in number (X, XI, XII), that would make sense of the story here (though *Ant.* 19.188 has 4—the number under Claudius, who added a *coh. XIII*).

In the parallel (*Ant.* 19.221-33), the division is more clearly between the Guard as a whole, who wish to appoint Claudius as their man (19.225), and the senators, who want to assert their power to arrange the government (19.226-33). The populace (19.228-29) tends to side with the Praetorians, but for their own reasons: Claudius would provide a check on senatorial abuses and ambition, which might otherwise lead to another

civil war. That narrative incidentally mentions a military force on the side of the consuls, the strength of which constantly shifts according to the speaker: considerable, according to the Senate's opening gambit (19.232); negligible, according to the senatorial envoys who visit the Guard (234); virtually non-existent, according to Agrippa, who sees any conflict as one between the Guard's élite professionals and a motley crew of slaves along with the Senate (241-43). All of this makes the best sense if the soldiers temporarily with the Senate were the urban cohorts; Wiseman (1991: 80) insists there is "no likelihood" that any of the Guard supported the Senate.

¹²⁸² Roman authors and audiences understood *Capitolium* with various levels of specificity, and the Latin *in Capitolino* (matching Josephus' εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον) was similarly ambiguous. The name could refer to the entire hill at the NW end of the forum, which comprised two summits linked by a depression, or only the walled SW summit, devoted to sacred buildings, or only the most famous of these buildings: the Temple of *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus* ("Jupiter Best and Greatest") *Capitolinus*. As Josephus notes (*Ant.* 19.4), this last was the most important temple in Roman civic life. It sat on a podium 3.6 m (12 ft) high, and about 62 x 53 m (203 x 174 ft) in area. Although fires and lightning strikes often required rebuilding or repairs (ongoing in Josephus' time following the fire of 69 CE), the shrine was central to Roman identity. It was reached by a road (*Clivus Capitolinus*) leading uphill from the *Via Sacra* in the *Forum Romanum*. Cf. Haselberger 2002: 78-79, 89-90, 155.

The Senate ordinarily convened in the consecrated *Curia Iulia* alongside the forum, but they sometimes met in other sacred buildings, and the Capitoline Temple of Jupiter was used for sessions of special import. In republican times, victorious generals had traditionally offered thanksgiving sacrifices there. Suetonius (*Cal.* 60) and Cassius Dio (60.1.1) agree with Josephus in locating this meeting of the Senate after Gaius' death on the Capitoline, the former attributing it to the senators' wish to avoid the building named for the Julio-Claudian dynasty (*Iulia*) because of their republican values. Like Josephus here, Suetonius and Dio (*apud* Xiphilinus) collapse what were evidently two crucial meetings of the Senate, late on Jan. 24 and early on Jan. 25 (*Ant.* 19.158-233, 248-52). Wiseman notes that the Temple of Jupiter was well suited to defense, the consuls having already transferred the treasury there for that reason (Dio 59.13.3). *Ant.* 19.248 calls the temple that of "Jupiter Bringer of Victory" (νικηφόρος), but Wiseman (1991: 96) shows that this was consonant with the Capitoline temple's tra-

make war against Claudius:¹²⁸³ for they would establish¹²⁸⁴ the rule through aristocracy,¹²⁸⁵ even as in former times they used to manage affairs,¹²⁸⁶ or they would determine by vote the one worthy of *imperium*.¹²⁸⁷

(11.2) 206 As it happened, at the very same time as the Senate¹²⁸⁸ sent for Agrippa (who was staying nearby),¹²⁸⁹ calling for consultation, so did Claudius¹²⁹⁰ from the barracks,¹²⁹¹

*Negotiations
involving
Agrippa. Ant.
19.236*

ditional role for republican generals (above) and need not indicate a separate temple—of Jupiter Victor.

¹²⁸³ Greek Κλαυδίῳ πολεμεῖν ἐψηφίζετο. This is serious, heavily charged language in a Roman context: making war (normally an activity against foreigners) against fellow-citizens. It would involve placing Claudius in the same category of public enemy (*hostis*)—denying him citizen rights and legal protections—once occupied by Catiline (Sallust, *Cat.* 7, 9, 31, 44, 48, 51-52, 60; Cicero, *Cat.* 2.8.17; 3.12.27-28) and Marc Antony (Livy 119.4; Cicero, *Fam.* 12.10.1); cf. Levick 2001: 35.

¹²⁸⁴ Although this verb is in the future tense (καταστήσασθαι), the parallel verb below (κρίνειν) is accented as a present infinitive in all MSS. Niese mentions Cocceius' proposal to change the second to a future as well (κρινεῖν), which has generally been followed by more recent editors.

¹²⁸⁵ A telling choice of language: it seems that with Gaius' sudden death, some senators immediately broached the possibility of a return to the Republic and rejecting of any supreme ruler (Suetonius, *Claud.* 10; Josephus, *Ant.* 19.174-81, 188-89: τὸ ἀβασίλευτον, οὐκέτι ἐπὶ τῷ ἐφεστηκότι, 261-62)—a radical understanding of senatorial *libertas*, returning to a time when consuls had been masters of the military (*Ant.* 19.187). But most senators quickly realized that they could not overcome the Praetorian and popular support for Claudius, and so interpreted their *libertas* to mean that they would choose a worthy *princeps* (*Ant.* 19.249-51). Eventually, they settled for “choosing” the Guard's choice: Claudius.

Yet even the originally pondered return to a Republic would not have meant an “aristocracy” as such, for notwithstanding the Senate's great influence in directing affairs, the republican constitution had been mixed (Polybius 6.11; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 2.7.2, 9.1; 7.50.2, 56.3): popular voting assemblies passed the laws (*leges*), and there were vestiges of royalty in the powers enjoyed by the two consuls. Republican government could be viewed as a de facto aristocracy, since the consuls were also part of the Senate and the Senate, the magistracies and priesthoods held by senators were crucial to the operation of the state, and senatorial counsel had massive influence on policy. Yet Josephus' language about aristocracy here seems chosen in part to link Roman and Judean history, for according to his narrative, aristocracy in the simpler form of government, by a hereditary priestly élite, is indeed the best and traditional form of Judean government (cf. *War* 1.170; 2.22, 80,

91 and notes; also *Ant.* 6.36; 11.111; Mason 2008b).

¹²⁸⁶ The Senate's desire for a return to the old ways of collegial governance, before a “tyrant” dominated them, is the burden of Sentius' extraordinary speech in *Ant.* 19.169-84.

¹²⁸⁷ This crisp summary of opinions, developed over time in the *Ant.* 19 parallel, suggests that Josephus is abbreviating a much fuller source here, perhaps like that used for the later work.

The senators' choice would naturally be one of their own men, rather than a figure imposed from outside. *Ant.* 19.251-52 names the contenders as Marcus Vinicius (*cos.* 30 CE) and Valerius Asiaticus, though they were reportedly cowed by the Praetorian support for Claudius. This program—either aristocratic governance or senatorial choice of the most worthy *princeps*—is formally parallel to the wishes of the Judean aristocracy as reported at 2.22 (see notes there): either self-rule under their own aristocratic élite or a monarch of *their* collective choosing. According to *Ant.* 19.235 the Senate's dignity may still be respected in a small compromise: Claudius, who will rule in any case by virtue of his military and popular support, will *accept* supreme power (ἀρχή) as something granted by the Senate (παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς δέχεσθαι διδομένην). But this only returns to the status quo established by Augustus and Tiberius.

¹²⁸⁸ See the note at 2.205.

¹²⁸⁹ The verb ἐπιδημέω can mean either “be at home (as opposed to living abroad)” or “stay, reside in (a given place) as a foreigner.” Given that Rome was not Agrippa's permanent home, and that in the only other 2 occurrences of the verb in *War* (1.532; 3.313) the subjects are visitors, I render it thus.

Agrippa has been introduced in this volume at 2.178. Like many members of his family, having been raised in Rome he continues to spend substantial periods of time there. According to 2.181-83 he last visited in 39/40 to challenge his uncle Antipas' claim to royal status; upon the latter's exile, he received the territories of Galilee and Perea into his growing kingdom. But *Ant.* 18.289-301 gives him an important role in temporarily dissuading Gaius from the statue affair, in the autumn of 40 CE, and he seems to have returned to Judea, to take his new kingdom, in the autumn of 41; cf. D. R. Schwartz 1990: 77-89; Kokkinos 1998: 287-90.

¹²⁹⁰ The account in *Ant.* 19.229-44 portrays Agrippa's role quite differently. There, the Senate first dispatches the tribunes of the plebs, [Q.] Veranius and a certain

so that he might be useful to them¹²⁹² for what would be necessary. And he [Agrippa],¹²⁹³ having fully understood that the Caesar¹²⁹⁴ was already in power,¹²⁹⁵ went off* to Claudius. **207** The latter sent him up*¹²⁹⁶ to the Senate¹²⁹⁷ as an emissary, explaining his own intention:¹²⁹⁸ that although at first he had been seized by the soldiers unwillingly,¹²⁹⁹ still he would deem it neither right to leave the eagerness of these men in the lurch, nor safe¹³⁰⁰ [to leave in the lurch] his own fortune¹³⁰¹—for merely having encountered the imperial call¹³⁰² was hazardous.¹³⁰³ **208** Moreover, he would administer the office as a good patron

Brochus, to persuade Claudius to yield power to the Senate. When he is on the brink of doing so, Agrippa pushes his way in to see him and begins working on him to seize the opportunity for supreme power (19.238). Agrippa then begins a cunning double game, pretending to stand with the Senate and represent their position to Claudius (so that he can learn their strength and resolve) while plotting with Claudius a successful strategy for power.

¹²⁹¹ The Praetorian barracks (*castra praetoria*) just outside the *porta Viminalis* (see note to “units” at 2.204), parts of which survive; cf. E. L. Caronna in *LTUR* 1.251-54; Coulston 2000.

¹²⁹² The plural apparently includes the soldiers and Claudius. But in the parallel (see note to “Claudius”) it is Agrippa who directs affairs.

¹²⁹³ Although most MSS have κἀκεῖνος (emphatic “And that one”), two of the better ones (PA) do not; the Latin explicitly adds his name (*videns Agrippa*). The simplest explanation, it seems, is that Josephus did not include the demonstrative pronoun, leaving the subject of the verb ἄπεισιν (“he goes off”) grammatically vague. The Latin translator added Agrippa’s name, whereas Greek copyists inserted the demonstrative pronoun.

¹²⁹⁴ This construction seems to assume that “Caesar” was a title of office, as it had clearly become in Josephus’ time under the Flavians; see note to “Caesar” at 2.181. At Claudius’ accession the matter was complicated. There were no naturally descended or adopted male *Iulii Caesares*, but Claudius had a familial connection to the famous name by virtue of being uncle to the previous *princeps*, Gaius. Levick (2001: 42) argues that Claudius arranged to have the name formally voted to him—a step on the road to its later use as a title.

¹²⁹⁵ This narrative consistently presents Agrippa as dutifully adapting himself to the one in power (as his great-grandfather Herod had done with brilliant success: 1. 127-31, 179, 183, 218-20, 242, 386, 400), whereas in the *Antiquities* parallel (see note to “Claudius” in this section) Agrippa inspires and leads Claudius to power.

¹²⁹⁶ “Up” onto the Capitoline hill, where the Senate is meeting at the Temple of Jupiter (see 2.206 and note to “*Capitolium*”).

¹²⁹⁷ See the note at 2.205.

¹²⁹⁸ By contrast, *Ant.* 19.238-44 has Agrippa visit Claudius to encourage him to seize power. He then goes home, from where the Senate summons him to hear his views. After pointing out that Claudius’ Praetorian supporters would preclude any effort by the Senate to displace Claudius by force, he duplicitously proposes that he go to persuade Claudius to *lay aside* voluntarily any claim to power (19.244).

¹²⁹⁹ As Levick (2001: 34-39) shows, there are good reasons to doubt Claudius’ utter lack of complicity in his elevation. Ever since plots against Gaius had been mooted, some of which were motivated by anti-imperial republican sentiments, Claudius as uncle of Gaius and brother of Germanicus, so a plausible candidate for power (cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 6.46: Tiberius had thought of Claudius as successor), had reason to worry for his safety. He could either remain aloof from the pending assassination and live in perpetual fear, or join the plot with the Praetorians and try to secure his future through them. Levick notes that Claudius is said by Josephus (*Ant.* 19.102) to have been one of the 3 figures who left the theater where Gaius was to be murdered before the deed (the other two being the senators’ choices for *princeps*), which might suggest his advance knowledge—if one discounts Josephus’ explanation that this resulted from the efforts of the conspirators to remove Gaius’ relatives, so that they would not interfere.

¹³⁰⁰ A similar rhetorical flourish (“neither safe nor right”) was used by Dinarchus, *Philoc.* 14; cf. [Dionysius], *Ars rhet.* 8.7; Plutarch, *Them.* 3.3.

¹³⁰¹ See the note to this word at 2.373.

¹³⁰² Greek τὸ τυχεῖν τῆς ἡγεμονικῆς κλήσεως. The general sense is clear enough, but the precise nuance depends on construing the adjective: often “authoritative,” but in this case presumably the call to be ἡγεμών ([supreme] governor), with ἡγεμονία (also the standard equivalent to Latin *imperium*: the power held by high-ranking magistrates to exercise command). The adjective occurs elsewhere in *War* only at 2.308, where *imperium* is not at issue.

¹³⁰³ Cf. Tacitus’ portrait of Mucianus’ urging Vespasian to challenge Vitellius for the principate in 69 CE: “The time is long gone when you could be seen as not yearning for power; now, that *imperium* is your only ref-

and not as a tyrant.¹³⁰⁴ For he would be satisfied with the honor of the address,¹³⁰⁵ and would yield to all¹³⁰⁶ [of them] the deliberation¹³⁰⁷ over each [item] of public business.¹³⁰⁸ And even if he were not by nature moderate,¹³⁰⁹ the death of Gaius presented to him a sufficient example¹³¹⁰ of [the need for] prudence.¹³¹¹

(11.3) 209 Agrippa reported these [things]. The council¹³¹² responded: having come

uge! Are you forgetting how Corbulo [Nero's successful general in the E] was murdered?" In addition to the general truth of the observation that those in or seeking power often eliminate rivals, the observation is particularly apt in this case: the anti-Gaius movement led by the consuls were opposed to monarchy; if they had had their way, anyone with imperial ambitions or credentials might have been at risk.

¹³⁰⁴ Claudius' characterization of himself as good patron or protector (προστάτης), as not a tyrant (τύραννος), has rich associations. Plato had argued (*Resp.* 8.565d-566a) that tyrants typically arise from a noble patronal role, when they first taste blood after violently suppressing the people. Cf. Aristotle, *Pol.* 5.1305a; Diodorus 14.12.1 (when Clearchus was entrusted with supreme power, he was no longer a patron, but a tyrant); esp. Josephus, *War* 4.596; *Ant.* 4.146; 14.157. It is a Leitmotif of Josephus' critique of monarchy, adapted from Aristotle and Polybius, that it often degenerates into tyranny (cf. Mason 2003a, 2008b). For a Roman audience, the irony here is that even the bad emperors (e.g., Tiberius, Gaius, Nero, Domitian) were typically portrayed as having begun well, but then fallen or abruptly turned to tyranny.

¹³⁰⁵ It is not clear which address (προσηγορία) Josephus has in mind, since there was yet no office of "emperor" (*pace* Whiston: "the honor of being called emperor"): the early principate consisted an accumulation of formal offices and powers along with implicit recognition by the Senate as the leader or chief patron (*princeps*). Josephus' anachronistic treatment of the name *Caesar* as though it were a title rather than the inheritance of the Julio-Claudians (see note to "Caesar" at 2.181) and his reference to this title again in the previous sentence (2.206) render that a better possibility. Or again, he has captured the principal role of the *princeps* as chief patron with the term *προστάτης* (perhaps *princeps*) in this sentence; that is also possible likely. The parallel (*Ant.* 19.246) removes the problem by having Claudius pledge, with Josephan rhetorical balance, that "in name only (ὄνοματι μὲν μόνῳ) would the rule come to be [his], whereas in fact (ἔργῳ δέ) it would devolve to all of them in common." On Josephus' ongoing contrast between names, titles, or addresses and real power, as a function of the appearance/reality dichotomy, see the notes to "titles" at 2.2, 28.

¹³⁰⁶ Although it is conceivable that Josephus means by *πᾶσιν* "the whole people" (Thackeray in LCL, Pel-

letier, M-B), given the context of the speech (before the Senate), the "all" being yielded to might more understandably be the senators. In that case, the point is that the *princeps* will not hoard power for himself, but will respect their legitimate share in governing. This reading is strengthened by the use of double-meaning words for "deliberation" and "public affairs" in what follows (see notes), for only the Senate could plausibly be granted such oversight. This is one of the points of close verbal contact with the *Antiquities* parallel (19.246-47), which is similarly ambiguous: κοινῆς πᾶσι προκεισομένης.

¹³⁰⁷ Greek βουλή, which means "counsel" and by extension the body that gives the counsel: the *council* or Senate (as in the next section, 2.209). This is one of several word plays in the passage. See also the parallel uses of "put up with" in 2.209.

¹³⁰⁸ Or "of the commonwealth, the republic" (Greek τὰ πράγματα, the standard equivalent of Lat. *res publica*). Indeed Josephus' Claudius (via Agrippa) could be saying that he would leave each executive *function* in the commonwealth to the Senate's discretion, reserving for himself only the supreme address.

¹³⁰⁹ For the phrase φύσει μέτριος, see also Demosthenes, *Cor.* 321; Aeschines, *Ctes.* 11; Plutarch, *Dem.* 47.4.

¹³¹⁰ Curiously, Josephus uses ὑπόδειγμα only in *War* (6 times), though this is his most Atticizing work, whereas he prefers the more acceptably Attic παράδειγμα in *Antiquities* (20 times) and *Apion* (once); the latter term appears in *War* only at 7.351. Outside the medical writer Apollonius, the word used here was favored most conspicuously by Polybius (used 11 times), who also does not use παράδειγμα.

¹³¹¹ In the parallel (*Ant.* 19.245-47), it is not Agrippa who gives this speech to the Senate in chamber, but Claudius who conveys the same sentiments to a delegation from the Senate visiting him in the Praetorian barracks (after a brief conspiratorial interview with Agrippa).

¹³¹² That is, the Senate. Whereas ἡ σύγκλητος is the term that Josephus, like other Greek writers, reserves for the Roman Senate (see the note at 2.205), ἡ βουλή being a generic term for the council—typically 500 citizens of a Greek city (2.639; *Ant.* 14.190, 213, 225, 235, 244, 259, 314)—also that of Jerusalem (2.331, 336), when he must frequently refer to the Senate he can also intersperse the generic term for the sake of variation (cf. *Ant.* 19.229, 235, 242, 248). The transition has a special

to rely on both a military force¹³¹³ and good judgments,¹³¹⁴ they would not tolerate¹³¹⁵ a voluntary slavery.¹³¹⁶

When he heard these [things] from the council, Claudius again sent Agrippa to report to them that *he* would not tolerate¹³¹⁷ betraying the men who had united behind him, but he would make war unwillingly¹³¹⁸ upon those he least wanted to [fight]. **210** It was necessary,

effect here because Josephus has just used βουλή in its other main sense, for the Senate's deliberative power (see "deliberation" at 2.208).

¹³¹³ That is, the 3 urban cohorts who stand with the senators (2.205), though these will soon defect (2.211). At *Ant.* 19.232 the Senate adduces "much of the army" (τῆς στρατιᾶς πολὺ) and a vast number of slaves as their own supporters—possibly a rhetorical bluff.

¹³¹⁴ This may be shorthand for the long list of arguments made by the Senate at *Ant.* 19.229-33. The senators are trying to revive their bygone role as a fully deliberative body whose decisions counted, not one whose judgments are constantly adapted to the wishes of a *princeps*.

¹³¹⁵ Josephus' language continues to strengthen the bond between his narrative and the political discourse of Flavian Rome. *Patientia* or ὑπομονή was highly charged language among the Roman elite, especially in Tacitus, concerning the toleration of rivals for power, tyrants and monarchs, or (from foreign perspectives) Roman rule itself (cf. Cicero, *Cat.* 1.1; *Fam.* 12.15.3; Tacitus, *Hist.* 1.16 [Galba to Piso: Romans cannot tolerate either complete slavery or complete freedom]; 2.37; 3.31, 66; 4.80; *Ann.* 1.31; 3.65; 4.46; 12.50 [of Armenians]; 13.56; 14.26, 64; 15.6; 16.16 [*patientia servilis*], 22 [the *princeps*' tolerance of opposition, as 6.38]).

¹³¹⁶ This paradoxical phrase (δουλείαν ἐκούσιον) touches an issue that was often discussed in paradoxical terms in antiquity: the nature of freedom and slavery. To understand the force of such discussions appear we need to recall, first, the basic division of humanity between slaves and free, and second, the political domination of former Mediterranean states by Rome (often described as slavery, as in the speeches of *War*). These situations led to much reflection on the nature of true freedom, especially among Stoic philosophers, with their view that the only worthwhile freedom was internal: all good men were free (the title of a tract by Philo) and all bad men were slaves (to vice: the title of a lost essay by Philo; cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 47.17). The paradoxical language of *voluntary slavery* thus has many applications: positively, when in Plato's *Symposium* (184c) the character Pausanias compares the voluntary slavery to love with willing slavery to virtue; negatively, when Seneca decries the voluntary slavery (*servitus . . . voluntaria*) of free citizens to shows and actors—in addition to their more understandable slavery to fear and hope, sex and greed (*Ep.* 47.17).

War is largely about this issue of "freedom" and the competing claims to effecting it (resulting in the *stasis*, tyranny, and final slavery that fill these pages; see Introduction and the note to "slavery" at 2.185). A central paradox is that the rebel leaders, though campaigning under the banner of freedom, invariably become tyrants, who impose the most bitter slavery on their compatriots; their aristocratic opponents reject such a voluntary servitude to unworthy compatriots (e.g., *War* 2.264, 443; 4.177-78, 394). The theme of voluntary slavery will be reprised in the narrative soon after Claudius' death, when the Judean rebels ironically threaten their compatriots with death if they choose voluntarily to be slaves (τοὺς ἐκούσιως δουλεύειν προαιρουμένους) to the Roman *imperium* (2.264; so also the Masada rebels, harassing their neighbors at 7.255). And then, just after the midpoint of the work, the adversaries of John of Gischala, who emerges as a tyrant with monarchical ambitions, fight him because they prefer war to a voluntary slavery (4.394). The dead end of the rebels' naïve approach to freedom (as something radical and absolute) will be their attempt, dictated by necessity, to make a virtue of suicide at Masada as the last, desperate act of "free" men (7.384-85).

In explicating these themes, Josephus has frequent recourse (as in this passage) to affairs in Rome. He brings the two worlds into closest contact in *Ant.* 19, where he gives considerable space to the Senate's debates after the death of Gaius concerning their freedom (e.g., 19.57, 168-78, 181, 184, 227, 248, 250). These intersect with ongoing struggles in Judea between monarchy (e.g., in Saul and Herod) and aristocracy; see Mason 2003a, 2008b. This recalls Tacitus' characterization: Tiberius, no lover of public liberty himself, used to leave the *curia* muttering disdainfully in Greek, "How prepared these men are to be slaves!" (*o homines ad servitatem paratos!* *Ann.* 3.65; cf. *Hist.* 1.16).

¹³¹⁷ Notice the artful repetition of the verb ὑπομένο for both the Senate and Claudius. It is part of Josephus' narrative even-handedness that he presents both cases with full vigor; both positions are understandable and neither has an obvious moral advantage. One finds the same balance in Tacitus, where *patientia* is used both of the Senate's tolerance of (or even debasement before) the *princeps* and of the *princeps*' putting up with various aggravations; see the note earlier in this section.

¹³¹⁸ The paradoxical word play continues: whereas the senators *would not* tolerate a *willful* (ἐκούσιον) slavery,

however, that an area for the war be pre-approved¹³¹⁹ outside the city, for it would not be holy for the sanctuaries of their native land to be polluted¹³²⁰ by internecine slaughter¹³²¹ on account of their bad counsel.¹³²²

Upon hearing these [things], he [Agrippa] reported them to the councilors.¹³²³

(11.4) 211 But meanwhile, one of the soldiers with the Senate¹³²⁴ drew his sword and shouted, “Men and fellow-soldiers,¹³²⁵ what have we suffered that we want brother-killing,¹³²⁶ and to rush against those kinsmen with Claudius,¹³²⁷ when we have on the one hand an *imperator*¹³²⁸ who cannot be blamed in any way, and on the other hand such obligations towards those on whom we are about to advance with weapons?” **212** After saying these things, he rushed¹³²⁹ through the middle of the council,¹³³⁰ drawing after him

and Claudius would not tolerate leaving his supporters in the lurch, now Claudius is about to undertake war *unwillingly* (ἄκων)—on those whom he least wishes to fight.

¹³¹⁹ The rare form προαποδείκνυμι, barely attested before Josephus (Isocrates, 3.12), turns up in his writings 3 times—also *Ant.* 17.102; *Apion* 2.8.

¹³²⁰ Greek ὁμοφύλῳ φόνῳ μαιίνεσθαι. Again, Josephus’ Claudius expresses prominent themes of *War*. For the pollution of the shrine (singular in Jerusalem) by carnage, especially involving compatriots, see: 2.424; 4.150, 159, 163, 201, 215, 323; 5.10, 402; 6.95. Without the temple context, note also the closely matching language at 3.391 (μιᾶναι τὴν δεξιᾶν ὁμοφύλῳ φόνῳ).

¹³²¹ Greek ὁμοφύλῳ φόνῳ. This appears to be Josephus’ coinage, which he employs often (3.391; 4.184; 5.381; 6.4, 109, 122; *Ant.* 17.285). Irrespective of the source he used for this piece of Roman history, therefore, he has fully assimilated the episode to the primary themes of *War*: civil war and murder, a result of bad thinking, and polluting the ancestral holy places. This accommodation serves his ongoing comparison between Judean and Roman politics; see Introduction.

¹³²² The noun κακοβουλία is barely attested in literature before Josephus (Chrysippus, *Frag. mor.* fr. 265), though he has it 5 times (also 1.631; 2.346, 399; *Ant.* 6.42); Plutarch (*Comp. Lys. Sull.* 4.2; *Cato min.* 35.7; *Ag. Cleom.* 17.7) and Diogenes Laertius (7.93) use it occasionally. This closing note answers, symmetrically, the Senate’s opening assertion of their own *good* judgments (2.209: γνῶμαι ἀγαθαί).

¹³²³ I.e., senators; see the note to “council” at 2.209. In the *Antiquities* parallel (19.238-47) Agrippa takes a great deal more initiative: first, encouraging Claudius to thoughts of empire (19.238), then pretending to be on the side of Senate liberty, asking Claudius to give up any claim (19.240, 244), then reporting to Claudius on the Senate’s weakness (19.245), which intelligence paved the way for Claudius’ final stroke.

¹³²⁴ I.e., the urban cohorts: see notes to “with [them]” and “Senate” at 2.205.

¹³²⁵ The noun συστρατιότης, which occurs again in the next sentence and 6 times in *War* (3 in *Ant.*), is

lightly attested before Josephus (esp. Xenophon, *Hell.* 2.4.20; 5.3.17; *Anab.* 1.2.26; once each in Isaeus, Plato, Diodorus, Strabo; twice in Aristotle); it is much more common from Josephus’ time onwards (e.g., in Plutarch [14], Appian [17], Herodian [10], Polyaeus [11], Cassius Dio [13]).

¹³²⁶ Greek ἀδελφοκτονεῖν. This compound verb and cognates are rare before Josephus (LXX Wis 10:3; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 3.21.2; Nicolaus of Damascus, *Frag.* 5.68), outside of Philo, who uses it often (*Spec.* 3.16, 18; *Agr.* 21; *Post. Cain.* 50; *Jos.* 13; *Virt.* 199; *Det. pot.* 96; *Ebr.* 66; *Legat.* 234; *Cher.* 52.7; *Fug.* 60; *Praem.* 68, 72, 74). Josephus also employs the word-group liberally (*War* 1.606, 638; *Ant.* 1.65; 2.24, 29; 13.314; 17.60; 17.75, 91). This is another example of his “Philonic” language.

¹³²⁷ Although Josephus does not clarify it in this version (perhaps he expects a Roman audience to know?): the Praetorian Guard; see 2.205-6 and notes.

¹³²⁸ Another standard Greek equivalent (ἀντοκράτωρ), used consistently by Josephus. I retain the Latin here because it is a hardly translatable term; cf. the note at *Life* 342, and to *imperium* at *Life* 5, in BJP 9. Of the two senses given by Cassius Dio (52.41.3-4)—describing a victorious general or an honorary title for a supreme ruler, only the latter applies to Claudius here. Dio notes (52.40.2) that—in his time, 3rd century CE—Romans used this term as a euphemism for the distasteful “king.” The soldiers’ exclamation is ironic, in that *imperator* Claudius was at this point desperately lacking in military credentials, which lack is what drove his successful invasion of Britain (43 CE) soon after taking office (cf. Levick 2001: 137-48). Note Suetonius’ observation (*Claud.* 12) that Claudius modestly refrained from assuming *imperator* as part of his name (*praenomen*).

¹³²⁹ Josephus re-uses the verb (ὀρμᾶω) from the previous section ironically. Normally, as there, it is used of aggressive attacks; here he stresses that the urban cohorts are not about to rush against their Praetorian brothers, but only to “rush” (or charge) through the Senate.

¹³³⁰ See the note at 2.209.

all his fellow-soldiers.¹³³¹ Now, the nobles¹³³² immediately became very anxious about the desertion and in their turn, since a saving reversal of course¹³³³ did not appear, urgently pursued the soldiers' route to Claudius.¹³³⁴

213 Those who were more egregiously flattering fortune¹³³⁵ came out to meet them in front of the wall¹³³⁶ with swords bared,¹³³⁷ and it might have been dangerous for those leading the group¹³³⁸—before Claudius even knew about the charge of the soldiers¹³³⁹—if Agrippa had not run up and explained to him the danger of the situation,¹³⁴⁰ and that if he [Claudius] did not restrain the charge of those who had become rabid¹³⁴¹ against the nobles¹³⁴² then, after destroying those on whose account being supreme¹³⁴³ is impressive,¹³⁴⁴ he would be king of a desert.¹³⁴⁵

¹³³¹ See note in the previous section.

¹³³² Yet again Josephus uses a Greek word (εὐπατρίδα) that he normally reserves for its equivalence to a Latin term (in this case, *nobiles*). Although the Latin word essentially means “renowned, illustrious,” it specifically designated first the patrician order (Livy 6.42; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 2.8, 9.2) and later, from the 4th century BCE, those whose ancestors had held one of the highest (“curule”) magistracies in Rome—consulship, praetorship, curule aedileship; holding such offices entitled heirs to display the ancestors’ *imagines* (painted masks).

It is in the specific sense of “well born” that the Greek term overlaps. In *Antiquities* Josephus uses the word only 6 times: 5 of these concern Roman nobles whom Tiberius (18.226) and then Gaius (19.2, 75, 132, 136) mistreated and executed on trumped-up charges, mainly to confiscate their property. In the other case (*Ant.* 17.307-10), Josephus uses the word of Judean “nobles” executed by a tyrannical Herod, implying a link with the later Roman despots. The only two occurrences in *War* are in this sentence and the next. The Roman audience should understand that the nobles in question, who are distraught at losing their chance for freedom from a *princeps*, are those who have suffered so much at the hands of Tiberius and Gaius. Josephus appears to use the term here as a rough equivalent of “senators,” without requiring the more technical sense of *nobilitas*.

¹³³³ The phrase ἀποστροφὴ σωτήριος has a Thucydidean ring (ἀποστροφὴν σωτηρίας: 8.75.3).

¹³³⁴ In the much fuller parallel (*Ant.* 19.248-67), this is a second, pre-dawn meeting of the Senate called by the consuls, attended by only a fraction of the body (no more than 100 of 600 senators). The course of the meeting is more complicated there: only some senators, it seems (19.264: “those senators who had gone with Quintus”), go to the Praetorian camp, in the face of serious opposition; these include the consul Q. Pomponius.

¹³³⁵ Greek οἱ σφοδρότερον κολακεύοντες τὴν τύχην. The closest parallel to this curious phrase appears to be in Plutarch’s essay *On the Fortune of Alexander the Great* (*Mor.* 331a), where he complains that the poets eulogize Alexander not for what he cultivated (*viz.*, moral virtue) but for what chance or fortune gave him (*viz.*, power),

which was “his fortune”: οἱ ποιηταὶ κολακεύοντες αὐτοῦ τὴν τύχην . . . The Latin Josephus interprets: *fortuna Regis* (“the ruler’s/king’s fortune”). In the present passage, as in Plutarch, the point seems to be that these aggressive soldiers are merely taking advantage of the upper hand that fortune has momentarily handed them, against all the wisdom of Polybius (*cf.* note to “fortune” at 2.184): they might as easily have found themselves in the opposite camp. On fortune, see the note at 2.373 below.

¹³³⁶ The wall of the Praetorian camp, just outside the Viminal Gate. See notes to “units” at 2.204, to “bar-racks” at 2.206.

¹³³⁷ See the note to “bare” at 2.173.

¹³³⁸ In *Ant.* 19.263, the consul Q. Pomponius is singled out for mention: the Praetorians would have murdered him, had Claudius not intervened.

¹³³⁹ The point of this clause, missing from the parallel, seems to be to highlight Agrippa’s intermediary role (only in *War*’s version).

¹³⁴⁰ Curiously, since Agrippa plays a much larger role in the *Antiquities* parallel, this particular deed is unnecessary there because Claudius intervenes directly and personally protects the consul, but not the other senators, who are mistreated by the soldiers (19.263). Agrippa’s appearance comes slightly later (19.265), in the form of advice on handling the Senate as a whole.

¹³⁴¹ This is the first of 5 occurrences of the colorful verb λυσσάω (“be rabid”) in *War* (only—also 2.312; 4.371 [a central passage]; 5.4; 6.196); it is thus part of *War*’s vocabulary of beast-like madness and unreason. Although it is found among the tragedians and other classical authors, Josephus might more likely have been inspired by Polybius (5.11.5; 16.1.2; 23.10.16; 32.15.8), the main historian to use it in related senses, or Philo, who has the verb a remarkable 20 times.

¹³⁴² See the note to this word in the previous section.

¹³⁴³ Or “having control, being in charge” (τὸ κρατεῖν).

¹³⁴⁴ Or “brings with it prominence.” Although simple, this adjective (περίοπτος)—“conspicuous, in plain view, visible from all around”—had only a recent history by

(11.5) 214 After hearing these [things], Claudius restrained the rushes¹³⁴⁶ of the military and welcomed* the Senate¹³⁴⁷ into the camp.¹³⁴⁸ He showed kindness towards them,¹³⁴⁹ and went out with them right away to offer sacrifices of thanksgiving for his rule.¹³⁵⁰

215 He promptly presented Agrippa with the latter's entire ancestral kingdom,¹³⁵¹ having added to it from outside also Trachonitis and Auranitis,¹³⁵² which had been given by Augustus to Herod,¹³⁵³ and besides these another kingdom called "Lysanias's."¹³⁵⁴ 216 He

*Agrippa
awarded former
kingdom of
Herod the
Great. Ant.
19.274*

Josephus' time (Diodorus [2], Dionysius [2], Strabo [1]), whereas he uses it 9 times (in *War*, 2.344, 476; 3.232). The parallel (*Ant.* 19.265) has Agrippa advise a kinder, gentler approach to the senators on the ground that, if anything bad happened to them, Claudius would have no others to rule (οὐχ ἔξειν ὧν ἄρξειεν ἑτέρων). Both constructions are paradoxical, even cynical. Although one might imagine that monarchs rule the masses (*vulgus*, τὸ πλῆθος), and so could dispense with a standing council of élites, in Josephus' formulation this would miss the point: the *princeps*—ostensibly "first man" of the Senate, and no king—gains his prestige from his pre-eminence over other powerful men, in the Senate. Senate hopes for the removal of the principate, mooted above, are shown to be fantasies; the mere survival of the Senate will be an achievement.

¹³⁴⁵ The dark humor in being king of a desert (ἐρημίας βασιλεύς) is anticipated by Josephus' Herod in 1.355 (also the parallel, *Ant.* 14.484): the new sovereign implores his Roman ally Sossius to restrain his soldiers (after they have assisted Herod in seizing his kingdom) so that he will not be left king of a wasteland. The ironic quality of the phrase may account for "king" here, which Josephus uses sparingly of Roman *principes*, for whom associations with kingship were to be avoided in Rome. With Herod's remark may be compared that of the Pict Calgacus according to Tacitus, *Agric.* 30: "Where they [the Romans] create a desert, they call it peace (*ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*)." Titus, by the same logic (*War* 5.373), insists that it is *not* in his interest to capture a city devoid of men and a devastated countryside.

¹³⁴⁶ Repetition of the same verb and noun creates a sort of antiphonal response to Agrippa's plea in the previous section: Claudius did precisely what he was asked to do.

¹³⁴⁷ See the note to "Claudius" at 2.212: according to *Ant.* 19 it is a fraction of the Senate's membership. For the Senate, see the note at 2.205.

¹³⁴⁸ See the note to "barracks" at 2.206. For the imprecise relationship between παρεμβολή (there) and στρατόπεδον (here)—they can be interchangeable, though the former sometimes refers to the site or grounds rather than the constructed camp—see e.g. *War* 3.76-77, 90.

¹³⁴⁹ According to *Ant.* 19.264-65, Claudius' kinder treatment came at the insistence of Agrippa: he had

otherwise protected only the consul, Q. Pomponius. *War*'s version could nevertheless be a compression of the (source of the) later version.

¹³⁵⁰ The noun χαριστήρια, here preceded by θύσων τῷ θεῷ τὰ περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, always indicates thanksgiving sacrifices in Josephus, but nearly always to the Judean God (*Ant.* 2.269; 3.60, 225, 228, 245; 4.101; 6.10, 57, 151; 9.209; 10.24; 11.110; 12.25, 349). Presumably these in Rome would be conducted in the temple to Jupiter on the Capitoline. By contrast, the parallel at *Ant.* 19.266 (cf. 19.268) has Claudius carried through the heart of the city, from the Praetorian camp on the NE side to the Palatine hill (in the SW), the residential area of the *principes*, where he invites the Senate to convene (perhaps in the Temple of Apollo) to decide the case of Gaius' assassins.

¹³⁵¹ Or "with the entire kingdom of his fatherly inheritance" (τῇ πατρῷα βασιλεία πάση). Modern translators (Thackeray, Pelletier, M-B) tend to specify that the kingdom was that of Agrippa's *grandfather* Herod. This may be correct, but the Greek does not say so, and such an interpretation creates difficulties for what comes next: the *addition* to this kingdom of areas that were formerly, as Josephus notes, part of Herod's domains. He clearly means to indicate the Judean heartland based in Jerusalem, along with Galilee (held not only by Agrippa's grandfather Herod, but also by the later Hasmoneans and by biblical kings long before). Levick (2001: 166): "By giving Agrippa Judaea in 41 Claudius made him a great king, ruler of as much territory as Herod the Great."

¹³⁵² See notes at 1.398-400; 2.58 ("Trachonites"), 95. These are territories lying E (NE and SE) of Lake Gennesaret, the Sea of Galilee, beyond Gaulanitis (the Golan Heights). These territories from Philip's tetrarchy will also be given to Agrippa's son (Agrippa II) at 2.247.

¹³⁵³ Josephus reverses what has been "added" to what. The kingdom of the Judean heartland held by his grandfather Herod is in fact the significant addition to the regions N and NE that he holds already. Josephus has reported that Agrippa received the territories of the deceased tetrarch Philip—in 37 CE, at Gaius' accession (2.181)—including: Trachonitis, Batanea, Auranitis, and Gaulanitis (so *Ant.* 18.106; *War* 1.668; 2.95). According to 1.398-400, Trachonitis, Batanea, and Auranitis (apparently also Lysanias' kingdom) were indeed part of Herod's kingdom, added by Augustus in about 23 BCE.

made this gift clear to the people by edict and ordered the magistrates,¹³⁵⁵ after engraving the award on bronze tablets, to dedicate them in the *Capitolium*.¹³⁵⁶ **217** He also presented* his [Agrippa's] brother Herod,¹³⁵⁷ who was himself also his relative by marriage,¹³⁵⁸ since he was married to Bernice,¹³⁵⁹ with the kingdom of Chalcis.¹³⁶⁰

(11.6) 218¹³⁶¹ Quickly, as it would from a domain of such magnitude, wealth was

¹³⁵⁴ Lysanias was a 1st-century BCE Iturean king (1.248; cf. 103, 185), whose territory was also connected with Zenodorus (1.398; cf. the note to “Zenon” at 2.95 above). It lay W and N of Damascus in the slopes of the Antilebanon range.

¹³⁵⁵ In a Greek city οἱ ἄρχοντες had both a general (“office-holders”) and a specific meaning: either one person whose title was *archon* (the senior civic official) or a member of the 10-member board of *archons*. In Greek cities and leagues the nomenclature was complicated by the addition of *στρατηγός* (also plural, sometimes in boards of 10 as in Cleisthenes’ Athens). As a translation of Latin terms, ἄρχων had official status only as the equivalent of *magistratus*, as we see from bilingual inscriptions: “[it] refers above all to an independent magistrate, acting under his own auspices” (H. J. Mason 1974: 111). Although the term was widely used by Greek authors for the *princeps*, the consuls, provincial governors, and even various military prefects, such usage was neither stable nor official. The context here suggests that Josephus means to indicate Roman senatorial magistrates. In the vast majority of the 136 occurrences of the term in his corpus, however, it has the general meaning of a city’s leaders or ruling class: we are often not dealing with Greek cities and their formal institutions or nomenclature (e.g., *Ant.* 3.70-71, 222, 232; 4.126; 7.363).

¹³⁵⁶ Josephus anticipates here his keen interest in these “bronze tablets (δέλτοι χαλκαί) in the Capitolium,” to which he will appeal repeatedly in the *Antiquities* (12.416; 14.191, 197, 219, 221, 266, 319; 16.48; cf. *War* 7.10) as proof of Judean rights granted by the Senate and various Roman monarchs. It was traditional for such tablets, especially senatorial decrees related to foreign policy, to be deposited in the Capitoline Temple of Jupiter. Levick observes (2001: 97) that under Claudius the Senate issued *senatus consulta* at a faster rate than in other periods of the early principate. As Moehring points out (1975: 131), however, the fire of 69 CE—ignited during the civil war between Vitellianists and Flavian partisans (Tacitus, *Hist.* 3.71-75)—destroyed thousands of these. Scholars continue to discuss which tablets might have been available in Josephus’ Rome (after a vigorous effort at restoration by Vespasian: Suetonius, *Vesp.* 8), what access Josephus had, and how he used them (see Pucci ben Zeev 1995, 1998).

¹³⁵⁷ Son of Herod’s murdered son Aristobulus II and Berenice I (*War* 1.552 and note). Here in *War*, this

Herod’s death (48 CE) follows after just a few sentences (2.221). In *Antiquities*, he plays a much more important role between his marriage to Berenice (19.277) and his death (20.104). He was reportedly respected by Claudius (20.13), whom he and Agrippa persuaded to issue an edict on behalf of Alexandria’s Judeans (19.279), and from whom he won a hereditary authority over the temple with power to designate the Judean high priest (20.15-16).

¹³⁵⁸ Here brother-in-law, though Greek γαμβρός is also used of sons (Whiston here: “son-in-law”), fathers, and brothers.

¹³⁵⁹ So her name is spelled (Βερνίκη) in the Greek MSS of *War* 1-2, whereas throughout *Antiquities-Life* her name appears as Berenice (Βερενίκη): she was Iulia Berenice (b. 28 CE), daughter of Agrippa I and Cyprus. *Ant.* 19.354 narrates that, although she was only 16 when her father died in 44 CE, her marriage at that time to her father’s brother (Herod of Chalcis) was already her second; the first had been to a prominent Alexandrian, M. Iulius Alexander, son of the alabarch Alexander—apparently in 41 CE. The marriage to Herod of Chalcis will end with his death in 48 CE, after which Berenice will marry King Polemon of Chalcis (*Ant.* 20.145-46). Later (in her late 40s) she will cause a scandal in Rome by becoming the lover of the heir-apparent Titus, 11 years her junior: he reportedly dismissed her immediately upon his accession (Suetonius, *Tit.* 7; Tacitus, *Hist.* 2.2; Cassius Dio 66.15.4, 18.1; Jones and Milns 2002: 105-7). Between these marriages and other relationships, Berenice was so often found in her bachelor brother Agrippa II’s company (e.g., Acts 25:13, 23) that rumors of an incestuous affair circulated widely (*Ant.* 20.145; cf. Juvenal 6.156-60). In spite of Josephus’ generally disparaging outlook on women, however, *War* consistently portrays Berenice as a stateswoman, an energetic and deeply committed leader in Judea before the outbreak of war (cf. 2.310-14, 333-34, 405, 426, 595).

¹³⁶⁰ Cf. *War* 1.185 and note. This Chalcis (*sub Libano*) was the leading center of Iturea—in the S Bekaa Valley between the Lebanon and Antilebanon ranges—nestled in the W edge of the Antilebanon. Cf. Schottroff 1982; Butcher 2003: 93-96, 115-16. Butcher observes (96) that this notice “may mean that he inherited the remnants of the Ituraean kingdom.”

¹³⁶¹ The next two paragraphs read as a précis of the material that Josephus will later use for *Ant.* 19.326-52; 20.1-16, 97-104; 18.130-42. We have here a set of very

flowing to Agrippa,¹³⁶² and it was not long before¹³⁶³ he exploited these resources; for he began to surround Hierosolyma with a wall¹³⁶⁴ so great that if it had been completed at

brief statements on many topics—Agrippa’s wall, his death, his children, the two governors who followed him in Judea, and the family line of his uncle Alexander—that suggest Josephus’ knowledge of much more (along the lines of what is in *Antiquities*) than he chooses to relate here.

¹³⁶² From the northern regions, formerly assigned to Philip, Josephus has mentioned an annual revenue of 100 talents (2.95); Galilee and Perea, Antipas’ former tetrarchy, yielded 200 (2.95); and the heartland that was Archelaus’ territory yielded 400 (2.97, though 600 according to *Ant.* 17.320). This was a massive income (4.2 million drachmas on the low end, 5.4 million on the high end); see the note to “talents” at 2.50. *Ant.* 19.352 indicates a total revenue of 12 million drachmas (diminished by vast expenditures), but the text seems to say that Agrippa took measures to maximize revenue from his territories.

¹³⁶³ Josephus here uses a fixed expression (οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν) that he also favors elsewhere (*War* 1.490; 3.186, 193; 4.227, 362; 5.457, 546; 7.84, 416, 451, and often in *Antiquities*), but which had come into vogue only with Dionysius. Before Dionysius, who uses it 27 times, it appears once or twice in Demosthenes, Aeschines, Xenophon, and Diodorus. Philo has it 23 times; Josephus uses it 22 times; and from his time onward it is common (Galen, Lucian, Aristides, Artemidorus), though curiously it is absent from Plutarch.

¹³⁶⁴ In view of the elaborate description of Jerusalem’s walls at *War* 5.147-55, this appears to be the “3rd wall” undertaken by Agrippa. Josephus reports in the later passage that the city’s population had long since overflowed its original walls, especially in the “New City” area (Bezetha) to the N. Agrippa, recognizing the vulnerability of those living in these areas, set about incorporating their neighborhoods into the city with a wall constructed of massive ashlar: 9 m (30 ft) long and 4.5 m (15 ft) wide. The size is plausible, if staggering to contemplate, given the size of the blocks used by Herod for the temple’s western retaining wall (some of which are 50% longer than this). Scholars have long debated where this 3rd wall ran. Although many have located its course roughly along the line of the present old city’s N wall, excavations in 1925-1927 found remains of fortifications about 450-500 m N of the present (16th-cent.) wall, and the weight of scholarship now favors that option. See the discussions in Schmitt 1981; Hamrick 1966, 1968, 1977; Klöner 1986. Josephus claims that Agrippa only got as far as laying the foundations, halting the project out of fear that Claudius would suspect revolutionary

intentions (5.152). He notes, however (5.155), that the later defenders of Jerusalem hastily built it up to a height of about 37 ft (12 m).

That claim about Agrippa’s fear of being thought rebellious is intriguingly elaborated in *Ant.* 19.326-27: the Syrian legate C. Vibius Marsus (*cos.* 17, legate 42-44 CE), who had an ongoing feud with Agrippa related to other behavior construed as conspiratorial (viz., hosting a group of regional kings: 19.338-42, 363), reported the wall project to Claudius; the latter, suspecting revolutionary possibilities, urgently wrote that Agrippa should desist. Levick (2001: 159) suggests that precisely this Roman suspicion of alliances among the region’s kings might well have been Claudius’ main reason for discontinuing native rule in Judea after Agrippa’s death in 44 and recreating it as a province (see 2.220).

The 3 passages involving Agrippa and Jerusalem’s walls, in keeping with the pattern of such parallels, do not quite agree. (a) Here he does not mention the New City, and one might rather think of the main city walls, except that the language (περιβαλεῖν ἤρξατο τεῖχος) implies a new construction, prevented by Agrippa’s death. (b) The passage in bk. 5 speaks of a *new* wall for the New City. (c) The parallel at *Ant.* 19.326 claims that Agrippa “fortified the walls of Jerusalem that *faced* [or “joined, looked to”] the New City (τὰ δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τεῖχη τὰ πρὸς τὴν καινὴν νεύοντα πόλιν . . . ὠχύρου), by both broadening their width and raising their height”—a project ended by the legate’s report to Claudius (19.327). The language of that passage might seem to suggest the fortification of Jerusalem’s *existing* walls on its N and most vulnerable side (the other 3 sides being marked by deep valleys), in which case the project of walling the New City (described in *War* 5) would be something different. But the connections among the passages (fear of creating a revolutionary impression, mention of the New City in *War* 5 and *Ant.*, the remarkable and indomitable nature of the walls, had they been completed, in all 3 passages) suggest that all references are to the same wall, for the New City.

If the same (3rd) wall is in view, then either this passage and the one in bk. 5 mislead by ignoring the fact that it already had a base of some sort (*Ant.* 19.326), and the residents of the New City were already enclosed in some measure (so Bennett 2007: 305-8, who sees Agrippa’s attempt at internal legitimation and strengthening non-Roman alliances), or Josephus reports on two or more phases: the beginning here, halted for fear of creating a revolutionary impression (*War* 5), followed by an attempt to build on that incomplete foundation, which

Agrippa I dies,
44 CE. *Ant.*
19.346

that size it would have made the siege never-ending¹³⁶⁵ for the Romans.¹³⁶⁶ **219** But he forestalled the work before it reached its height by having expired in Caesarea.¹³⁶⁷ He had exercised kingship for three years,¹³⁶⁸ having been leader¹³⁶⁹ of the tetrarchies for three additional years before that.¹³⁷⁰ **220** He left behind* three daughters who had been born from Cyprus¹³⁷¹—Bernice, Mariamme, and Drusilla¹³⁷²—and a son Agrippa¹³⁷³ from the same

was halted by Marsus' report (as *Ant.* 19—all the more a concern if Agrippa had already started and stopped once), and the summary verdict here, that Agrippa would have completed this pet project (at some point) if *death* had not prevented him.

Cicero (*De off.* 2.60) lists the construction of city walls, docks, harbors, and aqueducts as worthwhile projects for a city's élite to sponsor (in contrast to public entertainments or disbursements of cash, which have no lasting effect, except to create further expectations, and can bankrupt the giver). With the notable exception of proudly unwall'd Sparta, a city's walls were a source of great pride—the bigger, the better. They also served obvious practical purposes: not only in the rare event of war under Roman rule, but in the day-to-day protection of the city's inhabitants and treasures against bandits. This routine exposure of the city's residents is the motive attributed to Agrippa by Josephus.

¹³⁶⁵ Josephus uses this word (ἀνήνυτος) only in *War* 1-2 (also 1.428; 2.471).

¹³⁶⁶ Josephus makes the same point again in his fuller description of Agrippa's wall at 5.153: the city could not have been taken if Agrippa's initial project had been realized. As it was, even Cestius Gallus in his abortive campaign of October 66 was able to take and burn the New City with little difficulty (2.530). This notice is significant also because it supports one of *War*'s basic themes: the virtue and strength of both the Judeans and their capital city (e.g., 1.2-3, 7-8). Even without Agrippa's wall, the Roman commanders repeatedly recognize the difficulty of the task they face (see Introduction); Titus is made, after his entry into the city, to marvel at its defenses and confess that he could not have taken it without divine aid (6.409-13).

¹³⁶⁷ On Agrippa's reasons for halting construction of the wall, see the note to "never-ending" in this section. Agrippa's death is described most fully in *Ant.* 19.343-52; a brief but similar story appears in Acts 12:20-23 (on a possible connection with Josephus, see Mason 2003c: 163). According to Josephus' longer version, Agrippa was beginning the second day of spectacles for the sake of the emperor's safety, along with his high officials, in the theater at Caesarea (see note to "stadium" at 2.172). When the rising sun illuminated the silver weave of his rich clothing, prompting his flatterers to address him as though divine, and he failed to reject their praise, he was stricken with overwhelming pain in his heart and

torso, which led to his death in the nearby palace 5 days later.

¹³⁶⁸ That is: 41-44 CE; cf. *Ant.* 19.343, 351.

¹³⁶⁹ See the note at 2.168: a useful verb for someone who was not a king.

¹³⁷⁰ That is: the tetrarchy of Philip (2.181) from Agrippa's release by Gaius in 37 CE (though taking possession in the summer of 38); that of Antipas from 39 (2.183); the Judean heartland from 41 to 44 (2.215). On some complexities, see Kokkinos 1998: 280-81. *Ant.* 19.351 gives him 4 years as king under Gaius (37-41), 3 of these over Philip's, plus 1 over Antipas', former tetrarchies. Although he seems to mean that 3 years were given to Philip's tetrarchy alone, then 1 to Antipas' (hence the 4 in total), this implies that he ruled Galilee and Perea only from 40 CE, whereas the narrative above suggests that he received Antipas' territories when the latter was banished to Spain (39 CE; see 2.183 and notes).

¹³⁷¹ Like most Herodian names, this one (beginning with Herod's mother) was re-used for several generations. This Cyprus was the daughter of Herod's nephew Phasael by his daughter (by Mariamme II) Salampsio [Shalom-Zion]; cf. *Ant.* 18.130-31.

¹³⁷² *Ant.* 19.354 elaborates that their ages were 16, 10, and 6; Bernice was married to her uncle, Herod of Chalcis (as 2.217 above), and the younger ones were betrothed to other royalty. The later account offers a much fuller set of connections among the events covered crisply in this paragraph (raising the question, again, whether it is a précis): following Agrippa's death, the non-Judean Caesareans and Sebastenes took to exuberant celebration, which included the abuse of the daughters' portraits in brothels. Reports of this behavior reached Claudius (indicating massive unrest, if the story is true), and that is what prompted him to send Agrippa II—before he was dissuaded by his freedmen [see note to "young" in this section] and sent Fadus instead.

¹³⁷³ This is the first mention in Josephus' corpus of Marcus Iulius Agrippa II, a figure of enormous importance both in Josephus' career and in Judean-Roman relations in the latter half of the 1st century CE. Agrippa II, who will be given the pivotal deliberative speech against revolt (2.344-407), reportedly engaged in extensive correspondence with Josephus as he was preparing this work, and was among the first people to receive a copy (*Life* 362-67). Agrippa was born and educated in Rome, in Claudius' house (*Ant.* 20.9); he must have been relatively well known to Josephus' post-70 Roman

woman. Since he [Agrippa] was altogether immature,¹³⁷⁴ Claudius again made the kingdoms¹³⁷⁵ a province¹³⁷⁶ and sent* Cuspius Fadus,¹³⁷⁷ thereafter Tiberius Alexander,¹³⁷⁸ who

Judea a province again; Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander. Ant. 19.363; 20.100

audience, also because of his sister Berenice's affair with Titus and because of the conspicuous honors he received (including praetorian insignia) from the Flavians in recognition of his support during the war. See Tacitus, *Hist.* 2.2; Suetonius, *Tit.* 7.1; Dio 65.15.3-5; Juvenal 6.158; Kokkinos 1998: 318-41.

¹³⁷⁴ Greek οὐ παντάπασιν ὄντος νηπίου. Although this literally means that Agrippa was still an "infant," he was in fact 16, born in 28 CE (*Ant.* 19.354); but the metaphorical use of the word for a childish or naïve person who lacked political awareness and foresight was well established (cf. LSJ). According to the parallel (*Ant.* 19.360-63), Claudius was at first determined that the youth (there called a "child" [παῖς]; see Feldman's comment *ad loc.* in LSJ) would succeed his father as king, partly to teach a lesson to the Caesareans and Sebastenes who were abusing the memory of his father and the images of his sisters (see previous notes); Claudius was characteristically dissuaded by his freedmen and friends, who argued that the youth was not equal to such responsibilities. The emphasis on Agrippa's youth in both accounts is ironic, given that a decade later Claudius' own 16-year-old heir, Nero, would rule the empire (albeit with the crucial aid of Burrus and Seneca)—a story well familiar to Josephus' audience, and fast approaching in this narrative (2.249-51). Cf. Tacitus' report of the discussion that followed Nero's accession, concerning the fitness of such a youth to rule, and comparisons with Pompey and Octavian (*Ann.* 13.6). For other reasons why Claudius might have wished to end native kingship in Judea, see the note to "Romans" at 2.218.

¹³⁷⁵ Plural, perhaps to remind the audience of Agrippa's growing domains as king: from the NE regions to Galilee and Perea to Judea proper.

¹³⁷⁶ "Again" is slightly misleading, since before Agrippa's reign the Roman prefect had governed only Judea and Samaria (following Archelaus' removal in 6 CE: 2.117), whereas Galilee, the NE territories, and Perea were under the control of the Herodian tetrarchs Antipas and Philip. *Ant.* 19.363 is more accurate in giving "Judea and the whole kingdom" as the new procurator's ("prefect's" there) territory.

This passage raises the important question of Judea's provincial status from 44 CE. Since *War* has portrayed the beginning of direct Roman governance in 6 CE as the creation of a new province under equestrian procurators (2.117), this almost incidental remark implies a simple reversion to that status. But we have seen good reason to think that from 6-41 CE Judea was in fact a prefecture annexed to Syria, as Josephus also implies in *Antiquities* (see note to "province" at 2.117). H. Cotton

(1999), in keeping with Tacitus (*Hist.* 5.9), sees this as the beginning of full provincial status. The formulation in *Ant.* 19.363, that instead of sending Agrippa II to rule, as he first planned, Claudius dispatched Fadus as prefect "of Judea and of the whole kingdom," might lend weight to the idea that this was a new kind of province, much larger than before and comparable to a kingdom (therefore, independent)—except that we cannot rely on such formulations in Josephus. Others have pointed out that the situation from 44 to 66 appears very much the same as from 6-41, with the Syrian legates from Quadratus to Cestius taking fundamental responsibility for order in Judea. See also the next note, on Claudius' measures to keep a legate out of Syria, and the discussion of scholarship in Bennett 2007: 310-13.

¹³⁷⁷ Prefect from 44 to 46 CE. Kajanto (1982: 178) finds only a couple of other examples of the *cognomen* Fadus (it has no meaning as a Latin adjective), which he takes to be an ancient but obsolete first name (*praenomen*). For Cuspius as a family name, see e.g. Cicero, *Fam.* 13.6a; 16.17.

Ant. 19.363-66 relates that Claudius sent Fadus partly in order to keep the Syrian legate C. Vibius Marsus, who had been Agrippa's enemy, from having an excuse to be present in Judea. (Marsus was also soon replaced [*Ant.* 20.1] by C. Cassius Longinus [*cos.* 30].) Further, Fadus came with instructions to punish the Caesareans and Sebastenes for their abuse of Agrippa's memory, and of his living daughters' images, by transferring the auxiliary cohorts in Judea (comprising chiefly men from these cities) abroad and replacing them with units from the Syrian legions. The auxiliaries appealed to Claudius, who allowed them to remain after all; Josephus identifies them as a significant factor in the revolt 20 years later.

¹³⁷⁸ Tiberius Iulius Alexander (prefect 46-48 CE), though casually introduced here, is an important background player in *War*; his name was also probably known to Josephus' Roman audience (cf. Barzan 1988). Of Judean ancestry, Alexander was born into one of the leading families of Alexandria. His father (Tiberius Iulius?) Alexander was a prosperous magistrate (*alabarch*—apparently responsible for tax assessment), who surpassed his compatriots, Josephus claims, in ancestry and wealth (*Ant.* 20.100): he paid for massive gold and silver plates to cover 9 of Jerusalem's temple gates (*War* 5.201-206) and obliged young Agrippa I's appeal for a loan of 200,000 drachmas (*Ant.* 18.159-60). The father Alexander was unusually well connected, being reportedly an old friend of the *princeps* Claudius and agent of Claudius' mother Antonia (*Ant.* 19.276). His brother, Tiberius Alexander's uncle, was the eminent Judean phi-

[both] preserved the nation in peace¹³⁷⁹ by disturbing nothing of the local customs.¹³⁸⁰

losopher and emissary to Gaius, Philo (*Ant.* 18.259). The new prefect's younger brother, Marcus Iulius Alexander, married into Judean-Herodian royalty as the first husband of Agrippa II's sister Berenice (*Ant.* 19.276-77—though she remarried by age 16: 19.354).

The prefecture of Judea, which Tiberius Alexander took up at about age 31, followed an earlier period as regional administrator (ἐπιστρατηγός) of the Egyptian Thebaid; the prefecture was still only the beginning of a stellar career for this eastern provincial. When Domitius Corbulo entered Parthian territory in 63 CE to escort the Armenian king Tiridates to Rome for coronation, Alexander—now a “distinguished Roman knight” according to Tacitus (*inlustris eques Romanus*, *Ann.* 15.28)—had a place of honor in his entourage. Only 3 years later (*War* 2.309) he reached the highest position then open to an equestrian: the prefecture of Egypt, which he held for 4 years (66-70 CE). This turned out to be an extraordinarily eventful period. Soon after arriving, he used his legions (*III Cyrenaica* and *XXII Deiotariana*) and other forces to suppress a riot for which he held the Alexandrian Judeans chiefly responsible; the number of dead reportedly reached the tens of thousands (*War* 2.490-98). Within just 4 weeks of Nero's death in June 68, Alexander published a lengthy edict reassuring the populace of his good intentions and hopes for the future under Galba (*OGIS* 669; ET Sherk 1988: no. 80); he seems to have recognized both Otho and Vitellius with similar alacrity (Turner 1954: 61).

But his enduring fame arose from his persuasion of the Alexandrian legions to switch allegiance to Vespasian—on July 1, 69 (*War* 4.616-18, though reversing the otherwise accepted order of Judea and then Alexandria: Suetonius, *Vesp.* 6; Tacitus, *Hist.* 2.79; cf. *P. Fouad* 8 and Sherk 1988: no. 81)—a move that precipitated the other eastern and northern legions' declarations of allegiance. Those in turn made possible the Flavian bid for power and the eventual senatorial recognition of Vespasian's claim on Dec. 22. Within a year of his legions' declaration, Alexander was in Judea—now an experienced man in his 50s, reportedly Titus' “most esteemed friend for loyalty and wisdom” (*War* 5.45)—advising the 30-year-old as prefect of all Roman forces for the campaign of 70 CE (5.45; *OGIS* 586). There he participated in Titus' council deliberating the fate of the temple (6.237, 242). Soon after the Flavian triumph, Alexander was granted another equestrian “plum” in Rome—one of the two prefectures of the Praetorian Guard, perhaps alongside his young friend Titus (*P. Hibeh* 215). It may indeed have been his career path that established this post as a step up from governing Egypt (Turner 1954: 62-64).

¹³⁷⁹ In *Ant.* 20.2-14 Josephus is similarly pleased with

Fadus' tenure, crediting him with foresight and wisdom (20.5). Fadus immediately and fairly dealt with a border dispute between Judeans and Philadelphians in Perea, effectively checked banditry, and with the Syrian legate permitted a delegation to appeal before Claudius his directive that the high priest's vestments should be kept under Roman control—an appeal that was effective because of Agrippa II's mediation. Note: this supposedly “immature” young man (2.220 above) has suddenly become Claudius' “friend” and the cause of his favorable decision (*Ant.* 20.10).

As for Alexander: the parallel (*Ant.* 20.100-103) connects two noteworthy occurrences with his governorship. (a) During “the great famine” in Judea, the proselyte Queen Helena of Adiabene (the story of her family's conversion having dominated the preceding narrative, 20.17-96) bought up supplies of Egyptian grain for distribution; on this famine, cf. Acts 11:28-30, which however dates it within the first 3 years of Claudius' reign, before the death of Agrippa (cf. Levick 2001: 179). (b) After they were arraigned (or simply “brought in”) on unspecified crimes, Alexander ordered the crucifixion of Iacob (James) and Simon, sons of Judas the Galilean (cf. 2.118 above).

¹³⁸⁰ See the previous note for details. This is an interesting choice of words (οἱ μηδὲν παρακινούντες τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἔθων ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὸ ἔθνος διεφύλαξαν), given Josephus' famous remark at *Ant.* 20.100 that Tiberius Alexander's father surpassed his son in piety toward God, “for he [the Judean procurator] did not continue with the ancestral customs” (τοῖς γὰρ πατρίοις οὐκ ἐπέμεινεν οὕτως ἔθεσιν). Although scholars routinely take this as if it were a factual statement of Alexander's “apostasy from Judaism,” sometimes reasoning that his Roman career must have required fundamental compromises, it is difficult to see how he differed in that respect from the Herodians with whom he was closely associated, many of whom were educated in imperial houses. Given our lack of information, the range of possibilities for explaining Josephus' remark is considerable: Was it an announced program of defection (cf. the apostle Paul in Phil 3:2-11; Gal 1:13-14; 3:28)? Or the reverse of what Tacitus complains about, concerning Roman defectors, at *Hist.* 5.4? The conspicuous adoption of Greek or Roman customs? An observed laxity in certain aspects of diet (cf. *Life* 13-14) or other customs (perhaps much as immigrant families often regret their children's departure from “traditional ways”)? Or was it perhaps only a single incident that Josephus interpreted as insufficiently supportive of Judean tradition? These are only a few options. Josephus' language does not seem as strong as his verdict on the descendants of Herod's son Alexander,

221 After these events the Herod ruling Chalcis as king¹³⁸¹ also expired*,¹³⁸² having left behind two children from his niece Bernice¹³⁸³—Bernicianus as well as Hyrcanus¹³⁸⁴—and from his previous [wife] Mariamme,¹³⁸⁵ Aristobulus.¹³⁸⁶ A different brother of his [Agrippa's] also died, a private citizen [named] Aristobulus, having left behind a daughter, Iotape.¹³⁸⁷ **222** So these men were, as I said before,¹³⁸⁸ children of Aristobulus, the son of Herod: Aristobulus as well as Alexander had been sons born to Herod by Mariamme;¹³⁸⁹ their father did away with them.¹³⁹⁰ The family line of Alexander reigned as kings of Greater Armenia.¹³⁹¹

(12.1) 223 After the end of Herod who had been ruling Chalcis,¹³⁹² Claudius appointed* Agrippa son of Agrippa¹³⁹³ to his uncle's kingdom.¹³⁹⁴ As for the rest of the province:¹³⁹⁵

Claudius appoints Agrippa II over Chalcis; Cumanus procurator. Ant. 20.103

who “immediately at birth abandoned concern for the local [traditions] of the Judeans, exchanging them for the ancestral customs of the Greeks” (*Ant.* 18.141). It would be most interesting to know how Alexander would have understood Josephus' charge. See Étienne 2000.

¹³⁸¹ See 2.217 and notes.

¹³⁸² *Ant.* 20.104 dates Herod of Chalcis' death to the 8th year of Claudius. Since Claudius' reign began on January 24 or 25, 41 CE (and note Josephus' precise knowledge of Claudius' dates—2.248), his 8th year was from January 24/25, 48, to January 24, 49 CE.

¹³⁸³ Sister of Agrippa II: see 2.217 and notes.

¹³⁸⁴ These 3 persons appear in Josephus only here and in the parallel (*Ant.* 20.104).

¹³⁸⁵ See *Ant.* 18.134: this Mariamme was Herod the Great's grand-daughter: daughter of his daughter Olympias and Joseph, the son of Herod's brother Joseph.

¹³⁸⁶ At 2.252 this Aristobulus will be given the kingdom of Lesser Armenia by Nero (cf. *Ant.* 20.158); at 7.226 he may be the “king” of Chalcidice who assists the legate of Syria in confronting Antiochus of Commagene (on charges of rebellion in alliance with Parthia). According to *Ant.* 18.136-37, when Philip the tetrarch died childless (see 2.181-82) Aristobulus married his widow, Salome, and this pair produced 3 children: Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus.

¹³⁸⁷ *Ant.* 18.135 identifies this Iotape, daughter of Aristobulus and Iotape (herself daughter of Sampsigeramus, king of Emesa), as a deaf-mute.

¹³⁸⁸ Not in so many words. Agrippa was introduced as Aristobulus' son at 2.178. At 2.217 we met Herod (king of Chalcis), as Agrippa's brother. The 3rd brother has appeared only here.

¹³⁸⁹ Cf. 1.435, 452, 467. These two sons were named after her grandfather and father, respectively (1.432).

¹³⁹⁰ *War* 1.451-52, 550-51. Josephus' refrain that Herod did away with these sons (2.101, 114, 178) does more than simply identify them; it is a poignant reminder of Herod's succession problem (his cruelty itself not being a significant feature of *War*, in contrast to *Antiquities*).

¹³⁹¹ As distinct from “Lesser Armenia” (see 2.252). The language of *Armenia Maior* and *Minor* was well known to Josephus' audience (Augustus, *RG* 5; Pliny,

Nat. 1.6a; 2.226; 5.83, 102; 6.24-25 Frontinus, *Strat.* 2.1.14, 2.4; Tacitus, *Ann.* 13.7). Armenia proper was well known as the historic flashpoint of the conflict between Rome and Parthia. In the decade before Josephus was writing, the situation had been provisionally resolved with the agreement of the Persians that Tiridates the Armenian king would come to Rome to receive his royal emblems from Nero (66 CE). See Introduction and Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.29.

The Alexander in question is the son of Herod and Mariamme, brother of the Aristobulus whose heirs have just been featured here. (That Josephus mentions his family here without elaboration suggests again that he may be abridging an account like *Ant.* 18.139-40). Although executed by Herod (1.550-51), he has reappeared in bk. 2 as the object of imitation by Pseudalexander (2.101-110) and been recalled as the first husband of Glaphyra (daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia), chastising his widow for subsequent marriages (2.114-16). Although this is the last appearance of his family in *War*, *Ant.* 18.139-40 (cf. 17.12-14) clarifies that he had two sons: Alexander and Tigranes (a historic name for Armenian kings). The latter became king of Armenia but was brought to Rome on charges (Tacitus, *Ann.* 6.40); the son of the former, also named Tigranes, was sent by Nero in 60 CE (Tacitus, *Ann.* 14.20) to assume the Armenian throne with the assistance of Corbulo (14.25-26). Tacitus describes him as having become weak and servile through long years in Rome, in spite of his Cappadocian ancestry (through Glaphyra). Perhaps for the same sort of reasons that faced the royal family of Adiabene in Josephus' story (*Ant.* 20.75-77), this branch of the family now based in Armenia “immediately at birth abandoned concern for the local [traditions] of the Judeans, exchanging them for the ancestral customs of the Greeks” (*Ant.* 18.141).

¹³⁹² Apparently in 48 CE: see 2.221 and notes.

¹³⁹³ Marcus Iulius Agrippa II, great-grandson of Herod the Great. See the note to “Agrippa” at 2.220.

¹³⁹⁴ Thus, Agrippa became king of Chalcis in or soon after 48/49 CE, the year of his uncle Herod's death. Schürer-Vermes (1.472 n. 6) cite *m. RH* 1.1 to argue that Agrippa, as a Jewish king, began his regnal years

Cumanus¹³⁹⁶ succeeded* to the procuratorship¹³⁹⁷ after [Tiberius] Alexander.

in Nisan (April-May); they count backwards from the later notice (2.284) that war broke out in his 17th year and Nero's 12th (Oct. 13, 65, to Oct. 12, 66) to argue that Agrippa's 1st year—his accession as king of Chalcis—must have begun with Nisan, 50 CE. Kokkinos (1998: 391), observing that *Ant.* 20.138 gives Agrippa 4 years as king before receiving Philip's former territories in 53 CE (cf. 2.247 below), concludes that he must have received Chalcis by 49 to allow 4 completed years. Schürer-Vermes (1.472 n. 7) do not insist on the completion of 4 years, arguing that if he received the new territory near the end of 53, having begun to rule in the year starting Nisan 50, that would suffice. If Kokkinos were correct in his argument that Josephus' indication of the "12th year of Nero" for the outbreak of the war was a mistake for "11th year," so that the war broke out in 65, then 49 would be Agrippa's first year.

The dating eras of Agrippa II's relatively abundant extant coinage, which begins to appear only in the mid-60s (cf. Lönnqvist 1997: 432), have become a topic of vigorous scholarly debate. The standard theory since the late 19th century was that Agrippa dated his era from two points: 56 and—mainly—61 CE (Luther 1910: 64; Meshorer 1982: 2.65-73). But Kokkinos (1998: 398) has, with apparent success (cf. Kushnir-Stein 2002: 124; C. P. Jones 2002: 115), redated the later era to 60 and Agrippa's renaming of Caesarea Philippi as Neronias. Although scholars have occasionally argued for 49 CE as the starting-point of the earlier era (recently Kushnir-Stein 2002: 127-31)—to Agrippa's accession over Chalcis, described here—Kokkinos has recently brought compelling arguments against that case. He proposes (2003: 172-79) that, although 5 accession dates appear in the narratives concerning Agrippa II, as his territories shifted over time, only those of Tiberias (55 CE) and Neronias (60 CE) were employed retrospectively from the mid-60s for his coinage eras—and Chalcis did not count for this purpose. See now Burnett 2007: 318-22.

¹³⁹⁵ If "province" here meant territory, this (τῆς δ' ἄλλης ἐπαρχίας) would be a curious phrase, for (in Josephus' account) Cumanus succeeded to the same territory that had been governed by Fadus and Alexander (2.221). Intriguingly, Tacitus claims that Cumanus received only part of the province (*Ann.* 12.54: *cui pars provinciae habebatur*), Galilee, whereas Felix had control of Samaria. This raises the possibility that Josephus is here following a source like that used by Tacitus, which he, however, rewrites except for this phrase. (See further the next note.) But ἐπαρχία has much the same range of meaning as Latin *provincia* (cf. βασιλεία): in the first instance the government of the ruler in question,

secondarily the territory itself. Although he is not being perfectly clear, Josephus may have in mind the portfolio of Aristobulus' descendants Agrippa I and Herod of Chalcis; having mentioned what Agrippa II received from this, he now returns to the Roman governor's share.

¹³⁹⁶ Ventidius Cumanus (his *cognomen* means "man of Cumae," the city in Campania—a *cognomen* attested only a few times [Kajanto 1982: 191]) governed Judea from 48 until 52 CE, when the Syrian legate C. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus ordered him to Rome, to give an account before Claudius (2.244-45). Tacitus, who gives the *nomen gentilicium* (*Ann.* 12.54), thinks that Pallas' brother Felix (on whom his narrative centers at this point), whom Josephus will introduce as the *replacement* for Cumanus (2.247), was already governing Samaria while Cumanus was in charge of "the nation of Galileans." The climactic episode of Cumanus' career in Josephus' account, the conflict between Judeans and Samaritans following the murder of a Galilean pilgrim, which resulted in his recall and banishment (2.232-46), can be explained by Tacitus as a deep-rooted national conflict exacerbated by these competitive governors, each championing his own subject populace and receiving plunder from them. That account is so completely different from Josephus', in which Cumanus takes the side of the Samaritans against the Judeans (below), and it seems so implausible that Cumanus should ever have played champion of the Galileans, that most scholars take Tacitus to be mistaken—and sometimes try to explain how the error arose (Smallwood 1959).

Aberbach (1949-50), reluctant to dismiss Tacitus out of hand (finding it inconceivable that at least two of his principal claims did not come from authentic sources), saves his evidence by turning it on his head: he has Cumanus first arriving in Judea as cavalry commander (on the basis of Suetonius, *Claud.* 28: Claudius gave Felix command of cohorts and cavalry as well as Judea), then being appointed governor of *Galilee* (explaining Josephus' failure to mention the "condominium" arrangement by his lack of interest in Galilee's politics before 66), then succeeding him for the whole province. Although this theory and the reconstruction that Aberbach builds on it have their appealing points, the number of suppositions involved renders it no more than an interesting possibility. Cf. also Saddington 1992. Another (mere) possibility is that Felix arrived in Samaria, as a partly distinct jurisdiction, when Quadratus first began his investigation of the strife in 51, such that he was in place there for only a short time before Cumanus' removal (so Barrett 1996: 125).

¹³⁹⁷ This formula of succession to the procuratorship

Under him disorders¹³⁹⁸ began, and again there was a [great] loss¹³⁹⁹ of Judeans. **224** When a mob had come together into Hierosolyma for the Festival of the Unleavened¹⁴⁰⁰ and the Roman cohort¹⁴⁰¹ had positioned itself above the colonnade of the temple¹⁴⁰² (armed men always guard the festivals closely, so that the mob that has assembled will not attempt anything subversive),¹⁴⁰³ one of the soldiers pulled up his clothing, stooped over disgracefully, turned his rear end away towards the Judeans, and emitted a sound in keeping with his posture.¹⁴⁰⁴

Auxiliary soldier exposes himself at Passover. Ant. 20.106

225 At this the whole mob became indignant¹⁴⁰⁵ and kept yelling at¹⁴⁰⁶ Cumanus to punish the soldier;¹⁴⁰⁷ but those who were less sober¹⁴⁰⁸ among the youths¹⁴⁰⁹ and those

(διαδέχομαι + ἐπιτροπή; cf. Latin *succedo in imperium*, etc.) appears only in Josephus among extant Greek authors: cf. also *War* 2.271, 354; *Ant.* 18.170. The parallel (*Ant.* 20.102-3) has a double succession: first, Ananias succeeds Joseph as high priest; in the next sentence (linked by δέ), Cumanus succeeds Tiberius Alexander. Since the high-priestly succession is a major theme in Josephus (e.g., Horsley 1986; Thoma 1989), it is possible that he adopts this language here from a larger canvass of the sort that underlies *Ant.* 18-20.

¹³⁹⁸ See the note to this key term at 1.4. The point there about the close correlation of θόρυβοι with *War*'s Leitmotif, στάσις (civil strife), is illustrated by the fact that the parallel to this passage (*Ant.* 20.105) describes the situation under Cumanus as στάσις.

¹³⁹⁹ This (φθορά) is becoming a significant word in *War*'s lexicon of disaster; see the note at 2.51.

¹⁴⁰⁰ That is, Passover. See the note to this phrase at 2.10.

¹⁴⁰¹ See the notes to "cohort" at 2.11, "Sebastenes" at 2.52, and "standards" at 2.169. This is the auxiliary cohort permanently based in the Antonia fortress (5.244), recruited chiefly from Samaria and Caesarea. Given the regular appearance of a tribune or "commander of 1,000" (χιλίαρχος, 2.11, 244; Acts 23:31-38; 22:23-23:30) among the governor's auxiliary forces, this unit may sometimes have been a double cohort (*cohors milliaria*) of 1,000 soldiers, though the language at 2.332 below implies that all Judea's cohorts were interchangeable and of the same size. The dating of 1,000-strong cohorts in Judea has been a matter of scholarly contention, however; see the discussion in Roth 1991: 128-40.

¹⁴⁰² Josephus will explain at 5.243-45 that the cohort stationed in the Antonia, which soared above the temple mount at its NW corner, was provided with steps leading down to both the northern and western colonnades, giving the soldiers exclusive domination (in principle) of this wide observation tier, more than 40 ft. (12.5 m.)—allowing for the cedar panelling atop the columns—above the crowds; see the note to "colonnades" at 2.48.

¹⁴⁰³ This notice anticipates the balance of the work, where indeed the festivals (especially Passover) appear as times of great political upheaval and danger, and

where celebrants often end up slaughtered with their animal sacrifices (cf. 2.30 and note to "festival"). At 2.254-55, the political assassins known as *sicarii* appear, and Josephus claims that the festivals were their métier. See also 2.42 ("indignation"), 73, 280 (under Florus), 425, 514-17; 4.401-2; Colautti 2002.

According to *Ant.* 20.106-7, Cumanus followed the custom of previous procurators of stationing a unit (τάξις) of soldiers on the colonnades. Exactly how large this unit was is unclear. In classical Greece the term had denoted the large unit contributed by a tribe. The 1st-century BCE writer Asclepiodotus first remarks on the differences among τάξεις according to number, leadership, training, etc. (*Tact.* 1.4), but then specifies a technical meaning (viz., a company of 128) in a series of increasing possibilities (2.8-10). Here in *War*, at any rate, an entire cohort is indicated in the text.

¹⁴⁰⁴ A remarkably elaborate description: the parallel (*Ant.* 20.108) says that on the 4th day of the festival the soldier uncovered and exhibited his genitals (no sounds are mentioned).

¹⁴⁰⁵ See the note to "indignation" at 2.29. Judean indignation (ἀγανάκτησις) at the hands of Roman governors is a significant theme of *War*.

¹⁴⁰⁶ This language recalls the outrages under Pilate (also τὸ πλήθος, ἀγανάκτησις [here the cognate verb], καταβοάω) and more generally the growing sense of Judean indignation (ἀγανάκτησις): cf. 2.29, 42, 170, 175, 293. The collocation described here is not common in other authors, even the seemingly natural pair of indignation and yelling (cf. Plutarch, *Cic.* 16.3).

¹⁴⁰⁷ The parallel (*Ant.* 20.108) has the whole crowd express rage, insisting that it was not they, but God, who had been insulted.

¹⁴⁰⁸ The imagery of drunkenness for portraying political opponents, perceived as behaving with dangerous, uninhibited carelessness of consequences for the body politic, was well worn (cf. Cicero, *Phil.* 2.27; 5.24 on Marc Antony; *Cat.* 2.10 on the followers of Catiline [*vino languidi*]). Josephus uses such language fairly often, sometimes as a literal comment on lack of self-control, sometimes metaphorically: *War* 4.242, 651 [of the Roman Aulus Vitellius]; 5.565-66; 6.196; *Ant.* 4.144;

of the nation who were factious¹⁴¹⁰ by nature were advancing into a fight: they grabbed rocks and kept throwing them at the soldiers.¹⁴¹¹ **226** Cumanus, becoming alarmed that there might be a rush against himself¹⁴¹² by the entire citizenry,¹⁴¹³ summoned* more armed troops.¹⁴¹⁴ While they were pouring onto the colonnades, an uncontrollable fear attacked* the Judeans; they turned away from the temple and kept trying to escape into the city.¹⁴¹⁵ **227** But such was the violence that occurred as they were being pressed together¹⁴¹⁶ around the exits¹⁴¹⁷ that, having been trampled and battered by one another,¹⁴¹⁸

5.149, 345; 6.266; 13.426; 17.130, 254, 309; 19.230, 236; *Apion* 1.46.

¹⁴⁰⁹ The parallel (*Ant.* 20.108) does not single out the youths for rock-throwing. Anticipated by the young men who pulled down the golden eagle from Herod's temple (1.649, 651)—on whom Josephus' judgment remains notably ambiguous—these less than sober νέοι establish a prominent theme in *War*: the youthful “hotheads” (οἱ θερμότεροι) who rush into conflict with unchecked emotion, still lacking sufficient cultivation to train them in moderation. Such figures, who also play important roles in Josephus' models Thucydides and Polybius, contribute greatly to the build-up to war (cf. 1.117; 2.286, 290, 303, 346, 409); they also play a prominent role in the *Antiquities* (e.g., as unworthy successors of estimable fathers: *Ant.* 1.53; 4.131-44; 6.33-34; 8.209; *Life* 12, 36, 80, 126-29). See Rajak 1983: 93; Mader 2000: 69-72, who notes e.g. Thucydides 1.42.1, 72.1, 80.1; 2.8.1, 11.1, 20.2, 21.2; 6.18.6; on Polybius, Eckstein 1990: 192-94; also Aristotle, *Rhet.* 2.12.3-16 (1389a-b); Eyben 1993: 1-66.

¹⁴¹⁰ Or “agents of sedition/civil strife”; see note at 2.91.

¹⁴¹¹ As Cumanus' response makes clear, rock-throwing was no trivial matter. In this part of the world, stoning was a traditional form of murder or execution (cf. *Ant.* 4.202 with Feldman's notes in BJP 3; John 8:1-11). At 5.541 Josephus himself will be hit by a rock thrown from the city wall and fall unconscious; some will think him dead.

¹⁴¹² The fuller parallel (*Ant.* 20.108-10) significantly modifies this image of Cumanus. Whereas here he seems concerned only with his personal safety, in the later version the Judean mob first raises the tension by suggesting that he had instructed the rude soldier. He takes offense at the insult, but still calls for moderation. It is only when the unyielding mob increases its abuse that he summons the larger force. Even then, there is no actual violence: it is the mob's perception that they are under attack that leads to the rush and many deaths. Josephus is careful there to blame the single soldier who created the problem (*Ant.* 20.112). Whatever the historical facts may have been, these different accounts by the same author show how the same basic events can be presented quite differently with respect to actors' motives and aims.

¹⁴¹³ This (ὁ λαός) is a much more dignified term for the populace, or the people in political assembly, than Josephus' more customary τὸ πλῆθος (the mob, rabble): see the note at 2.1. The former occurs only 39 times in *War*, against some 448 occurrences of πλῆθος. Our Judean narrator extracts a modicum of respect from the Roman governor for the Judean populace.

¹⁴¹⁴ There is an air of unreality about this notice. Cumanus has a cohort stationed in Jerusalem, and “the Roman cohort” is already positioned on the colonnades (2.224). These new armed soldiers arrive quickly, it seems. Where have they come from? The slightly different account in *Ant.* 20.106, 110 may be intended as a correction to careless writing here. There Josephus emphasizes that Cumanus first ordered “one company” (or unit) onto the colonnades, so that after seeing the developing unrest he may now direct “the whole army” (presumably, the Jerusalem cohort) to assemble in arms at the Antonia.

¹⁴¹⁵ Since the Antonia fortress and the soldier-filled colonnade stood to the N, the vast mob trying to move quickly would leave the temple complex for the city by one of 3 main exits: (a) the large western walkway over “Wilson's arch,” which led to the Upper City, or all the way to Herod's palace; (b) the two sets of steps leading from the Court of Gentiles in the southern part of the temple platform via the underground vaults to the monumental staircase in the S (by which most pilgrims entered); or (c) by the Royal Stoa on the SW corner, over “Robinson's Arch,” down the monumental staircase to street level and the Lower City. Other possibilities were what we now call Warren's and Barclay's Gates, much smaller doors leading from the underground vaults to street level along the W side of the temple retaining wall.

¹⁴¹⁶ Of the 17 occurrences of συνωθέω in Josephus, 15 are in *War* (1-6), often used of the situation envisaged here: victims being crowded or herded together and facing death (1.90, 352, 383; 2.496; 4.312, 429; 6.161).

¹⁴¹⁷ See the note to “city” in 2.226. The first two exits in particular were much narrower on the temple side than in their outside exits; in all 3 cases, heights and long staircases were involved, which would render an urgent movement of a massive crowd extremely hazardous.

upwards of 30,000¹⁴¹⁹ died: the festival turned into mourning for the nation as a whole, lamentation in each household.¹⁴²⁰

(12.2) 228 Another disorder,¹⁴²¹ of the bandit type,¹⁴²² compounded¹⁴²³ this calamity.¹⁴²⁴ For on the public highway near Bethoro¹⁴²⁵ bandits¹⁴²⁶ struck at Stephan, a certain

*Imperial
slave robbed;
Cumanus' pu-
nishment. Ant.
20.113*

¹⁴¹⁸ Judeans trampling one another in flight recalls the second episode involving Pilate (2.177).

¹⁴¹⁹ So MSS PAM and Latin, also Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 2.19). MSS LVRC, perhaps finding the high number difficult, say “more than 10,000.” The larger number is massive relative to the estimated population of the city, even at festival times (perhaps 60-150,000)—based on the physical constraints of space within and around the ancient walls; cf. Jeremias 1969: 27, 77-84 [30,000 normally, 180,000 with pilgrims]; Broshi 1978 [80,000 for normal pre-revolt Jerusalem], 1979 [up to 1,000,000 for all of ancient Palestine]. Although Josephus claims that the population during Passover approached 3 million (given vast numbers of pilgrims; *War* 6.422-28), that figure is impossible. Further, Josephus often changes his numbers in the retelling, undermining whatever confidence we might otherwise have: *Ant.* 20.112 says that the number of dead from this incident was reckoned at 20,000. See also 2.261 below and the note to “30,000” there. For salient cautions about casualty figures in even the most scrupulous ancient historian, Thucydides, see Rubincam 1991.

¹⁴²⁰ Greek γενέσθαι δὲ τὴν ἑορτὴν πένθος μὲν ὄλω τῷ ἔθνει θρήνον δὲ καθ' ἑκάστην οἰκίαν. This poetic turn of phrase exploits a natural and common pairing of πένθος (mourning) and θρήνος (dirge, lament): Euripides, *Hel.* 166; *Rhes.* 977; Isocrates, *Plat.* 47; Plato, *Resp.* 395e; Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1370b; 1 Macc. 1:27; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 2.19.2 (with reference to festivals); Plutarch, *Aem. Paul.* 35.3; *Mor.* 110e, 112b, 114c-d; in poetry these are sometimes used in synonymous parallelism (LXX Amos 8:10; Tob. 2:6). Particularly relevant are LXX Amos 8:10 (cf. Tob. 2:6): [the Lord says] “I will transform all *your festivals* into mourning and all your songs into lamentation” (καὶ μεταστρέψω τὰς ἑορτὰς ὑμῶν εἰς πένθος καὶ πάσας τὰς ᾠδὰς ὑμῶν εἰς θρήνον). Josephus uses the pair 3 times in the *War* (also 2.6; 5.31-32): along with many other terms in the semantic range of “mourning, lament,” this contributes much to an atmosphere that blends the tragic and the biblical-prophetic, especially Jeremianic (see Introduction).

¹⁴²¹ See the note to this word at 2.223. The position of the word translated “another” (ἄλλος) is a problem. MSS PAM place it first in the phrase, meaning “another bandit-related disorder”; but the previous disorder did not feature bandits. Perhaps for this reason, MS M and Latin omit the word. MSS LVRC place it between the adjective and noun, permitting the translation here: this next disorder involved bandits. Even if the “more dif-

ficult reading” were preferred as Josephus’ more likely original, we would need to conclude that he meant something like what is translated.

¹⁴²² See the note at 2.56.

¹⁴²³ Greek μεταλαμβάνω. MSS LVRC have the present tense; Niese follows the imperfect of MSS PAM, translated here. The verb has 3 main possibilities, according to the varying senses of the preposition in conjunction with the root (“take, receive”), thus: “participate, partake, share in” (usually with genitive), “receive something after [someone else had it]”—especially the rule, government (thus: “succeed to . . .”), or “substitute, change.” None of these fits perfectly, though the parallel (*Ant.* 20.113) indicates a succession of disorders and modern translators agree with that sense. The meaning “succession” makes more sense with an aorist verb (Polybius 5.40.6; 10.40.11; 18.2.2) than with the imperfect (or present) here, and it should apply to something positive “received” after another owner—hard to say of “calamity.” My translation highlights the sense of succeeding disorders, one exchanged for another, which have a share in the growing sense of calamity under Cumanus.

¹⁴²⁴ Greek συμφορά. See the note to this key theme-word at *War* 1.9 (there plural) and 2.86.

¹⁴²⁵ Josephus has Βαιθωρό here, Βαιθώρων at 2.516, Βεθώρα at 2.521, Βεθώρων at 2.546, and Βητχώρα at *Ant.* 8.152, where he credits King Solomon with building the site (cf. 1 Kgs 9:17; 2 Chron 8:5; but 1 Chron 7:24). This variety reflects in part the difficulty of representing the vowels of the Hebrew construct לְבֵית. Beit-Horon comprised two settlements, Upper (Beit Ur ‘el-foqa/fauqa) and Lower (Beit Ur ‘el-tachta, e-tahta), the former hilltop town lying roughly 10 miles (16 km) NW of Jerusalem, as the crow flies (about 19 km by road) on the main road (via Lydda and Antipatris) to the coastal plain.

Beit-Horon was a natural transition point between the Judean hill country and the plain to the W (also 2 Chr 25:13; Judith 4.4). Of the 8 possible routes from Joppa to Jerusalem, this was the shortest (at 60 km) and a natural option for armies on the march. It offered other advantages: this pass was the only steep defile on the route, whereas others had difficult terrain at several points. Between Upper Beit-Horon and Jerusalem the road traversed a fairly flat plateau, and the upper town offered excellent visibility in all directions (Har-El 1981: 14, 16; Gichon 1981: 51).

Yet the pass itself was a notoriously vulnerable bottleneck for armies on the march. Joining the upper and

Soldier destroys law scroll, is punished. Ant. 20.115

slave of Caesar,¹⁴²⁷ and plundered the baggage in his care.¹⁴²⁸ **229** Cumanus sent around [soldiers?] and directed that the detainees¹⁴²⁹ from the nearby villages be brought back to him; [he was] complaining that they had not pursued the bandits¹⁴³⁰ and arrested them.¹⁴³¹ Then one of the soldiers, having found the sacred law in a certain village, ripped up the volume and tossed it into a fire.¹⁴³² **230** And the Judeans, as if their entire countryside had been incinerated,¹⁴³³ were devastated: as if being drawn together by some instrument (their reverence for the divine),¹⁴³⁴ by one proclamation,¹⁴³⁵ they all¹⁴³⁶ ran together¹⁴³⁷ to

lower settlements was a 3.3 km road, quite narrow in places, that dropped about about 225 m. (740 ft; Har-El 1981: 16; cf. Bar-Kochva 1976: topographical map on p. 14). Exposed sections show that it was cut into bedrock, with steps in places for traction against the peril of the ridges on either side. A rabbinic story vividly conveys the narrowness of the route: “if two camels met each other while on the ascent to Beit-Horon: if they both ascend [at the same time] both may tumble down [into the valley]; but if [they ascend] after each other, both can go up [safely]” (*b. Sanh.* 32b). The first mention of the site in the Bible (Josh 10:10-11) is the scene of Joshua’s defeat of the Amorites “while they were descending the slope at Beit-Horon.” Centuries later, Judah the Hasmonean is credited with an early victory over Antiochus IV’s general Seron at the same place, as the Judeans pursued the Syrians “down the descent of Beit-Horon to the plain,” a victory that put fear into the non-Judeans of the region (1 Macc 3:16-25). The upper and lower towns were natural places for military rendezvous or even fortification (cf. 2 Chr 8:5; 1 Macc 7:39; 9:50).

In mentioning the site here, Josephus anticipates his dramatic story (perhaps already known in general to his audience) of the defeat of the Syrian legate Cestius Gallus’ retreating forces, a watershed in the Judeans’ move to war (2.542-56), at this location. By contrast, the parallel (*Ant.* 20.113), which lacks the sequel about Cestius, simply says that the present robbery occurred about 100 *stadia* (12.5 miles, 20 km) from Jerusalem—a roughly accurate distance for Lower Beit-Horon, though the site is not named.

¹⁴²⁶ In confirmation of the points made in the note to this word at 2.56, the parallel identifies these “bandits” as “some of the seditious people bent on revolution.”

¹⁴²⁷ I.e., of Claudius, the current Caesar. For the title, see the note at 2.181. Although there was nothing approaching a modern civil service in the early empire, Claudius’ slaves (like his freedmen) had remarkably large responsibilities and authority for men of their social status, looking after his financial interests throughout the provinces. Many Greeks (as this man’s name indicates he was) were highly educated people who had the misfortune of finding themselves in Roman slavery.

¹⁴²⁸ This episode anticipates a later one (*War* 2.595-609), when some young men from Dabaritta in S Galilee plunder the baggage (as here ἀποσκευή) of a Greek-

named official in the service of Agrippa II; since Josephus will then be “general” of the northern theater, the incident will be a test of his leadership.

¹⁴²⁹ Greek τοὺς δεσμώτας means literally “the bound ones” and is commonly rendered “prisoners.” That translation may, however, suggest inmates of a prison in the modern sense, a category without parallel in the Roman world. See note at 2.4.

¹⁴³⁰ Ridding the province of bandits, or keeping them in check, was one of the chief responsibilities of all governors (as it had been Herod’s first task: *Ant.* 14.159)—an essential component of maintaining the peace (Ulpian, *Dig.* 1.18.13.pr.). Isaac (1984: 180) points out that the establishment of a veterans’ colony at Ptolemais between 52 and 54 CE, and the construction of a military-grade road between there and Antioch (though not mentioned by Josephus), clearly indicate the Roman concern with controlling unrest and banditry in the province. He argues in general that the placement of Roman installations in Judea had more to do with banditry than with frontier defense.

¹⁴³¹ The awkwardness of this sentence, which seems to assume the prior existence of detainees, whose origin has not been described, may suggest again that Josephus is quickly condensing the longer account that will be given more space in *Ant.* 20. There (20.114) it is elaborated that Cumanus ordered soldiers to plunder the surrounding villages and *bring him their most eminent men, bound*, so that he could exact vengeance.

¹⁴³² The parallel (20.115) has the soldier find “the laws of Moses” and rip the volume in two, out where everyone can see, while he screams blasphemies and profanities. There is no fire there. Josephus thus appears to indulge his authorial freedom.

¹⁴³³ See the note at 2.58.

¹⁴³⁴ Or “superstition.” Greek δεισιδαιμονία has various possible connotations. Josephus often seems to exploit this ambiguity (see 1.113 and the note to “superstition” at 2.174).

¹⁴³⁵ This strong emphasis on the spontaneous unity and concerted action of the Judeans is characteristic of *War*: see note to “close order” at 2.12. These observations are absent from the *Antiquities* parallel (20.116).

¹⁴³⁶ *Ant.* 20.116: “many.”

¹⁴³⁷ See the note at 2.43: a formulaic reponse to Roman outrages in *War* 2.

Cumanus in Caesarea,¹⁴³⁸ begging¹⁴³⁹ that he not leave unpunished the one who had thus committed outrage against God and their law.¹⁴⁴⁰ **231** He [Cumanus] deemed it best,¹⁴⁴¹ since the mob was not resting¹⁴⁴² unless it found satisfaction, to bring forward the soldier. He directed* that he be led off to his death¹⁴⁴³ through the middle of those who were laying the charges. And the Judeans withdrew.¹⁴⁴⁴

(12.3) 232 And now came* an engagement¹⁴⁴⁵ between Galileans and Samaritans.¹⁴⁴⁶ For at a village called Gema,¹⁴⁴⁷ which lies in the Great Plain of Samaria,¹⁴⁴⁸ while many Judeans were going up¹⁴⁴⁹ for the festival¹⁴⁵⁰ a certain Galilean was taken [and killed]*.¹⁴⁵¹

Samaritans murder Galilean en route to Jerusalem. Ant. 20.118

¹⁴³⁸ Coastal Caesarea was the governor's capital and headquarters; see the note to "Caesarea" at 2.16 and to "residence" at 2.171.

¹⁴³⁹ All the language here (rushing to the governor in Caesarea, the stress on unity, the Judeans' "superstition," begging him) recalls the first Pilate episode (2.170-74).

¹⁴⁴⁰ Greek εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὸν νόμον αὐτῶν ἐξυβρίσαντα. This is characteristically Josephan language, not much attested elsewhere. For committing outrage against God, see *Ant.* 8.265, 299; 9.196; against fortune, *War* 2.184 (see note to "abused fortune"), 250; 5.120.

¹⁴⁴¹ *Ant.* 20.117 has the governor consult his friends (presumably the few closer colleagues in his administration, not the Judean élite) for advice, which persuades him that the soldier must be dealt with.

¹⁴⁴² Greek οὐ γὰρ ἡρέμει τὸ πλῆθος. For similar phrases, which are characteristic of Josephus (hardly attested in other writers), see 1.227; 2.9, 40; 3.211; *Ant.* 8.265. One would expect the future infinitive ἡρεμήσειν here, and that is found in MSS LVRC and Latin. Niese follows PAM here, a reading that is also preferable as the one more difficult to explain by scribal emendation.

¹⁴⁴³ *Ant.* 20.117 specifies that the soldier was beheaded.

¹⁴⁴⁴ The parallel explicitly credits Cumanus with having thus prevented a second *stasis*. In *War*, too, he has not yet been blamed for these unfortunate events under his governorship. Josephus observes with noteworthy detachment the inevitable abuses of individual soldiers in occupying armies, no matter what the governor's intentions or attempts at remedy.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Or "combat, conflict, encounter, fight" (γίνεται συμβολή). The construction is somewhat formulaic in *War*: 1.172, 250, 369; 2.263, 290, 489; 4.547; 6.251.

¹⁴⁴⁶ *Ant.* 20.118: "hostility of Samaritans against Judeans." It has become common in scholarship to distinguish "Samaritans" (inhabitants of Samaria) from "Samaritans" (members of the religious group who followed the Samaritan Pentateuch and worshiped at Mt. Gerizim); cf. Coggins 1975: 9; Egger 1986; Meier 2000: 204-5. Although the distinction is artificial in the sense that both words translate the same Greek terms (Σαμαρείς, Σαμαρεῖται), and the ancients did not isolate

a branch of life called "religion," precisely for the latter reason it may be useful to remember that the conflict here is more ethnic-tribal, political, and/or social than "religious"; at any rate Josephus does not mention any cultic or "religious" issues in what follows. On the long-standing animosity between Judeans and Samaritans, see *Ant.* 9.290-91; 1 Macc 3:10; Luke 10:29-37; John 4:9; 8:48.

This particular incident, which will occupy several paragraphs, seems to have been more widely known as the defining event in the career of Claudius' procurator Cumanus. Even Tacitus knows about it (*Ann.* 12.54), though he seems wrongly to have inferred from the depth of the conflict and the separate embassies sent to Rome as a result that two Roman procurators, Felix and Cumanus, were championing the causes of Samaria and Galilee, respectively. That is highly implausible (see note to "Cumanus" at 2.223).

¹⁴⁴⁷ The MSS are completely confused here, each giving a different version of the name with gibberish letters forming word fragments. Niese, having to print something, gives the reading of MS L, roughly supported by C. But a site with a name resembling Γῆμα is otherwise unknown, and the MSS of the parallel (*Ant.* 20.118) are united in giving instead Γινάῃ, which is readily identifiable with Γινάῃα (*War* 3.48)—a town at the N edge of Samaria near the Great Plain (as also here): modern Jenin.

¹⁴⁴⁸ At 3.48 Josephus likewise locates Γινάῃα, the northern-most site in Samaria, "in the Great Plain." In fact, the site overlooks that plain (the Jezreel Valley), from the hills that rise to the S of it. *Ant.* 20.118 is clearer in placing it "on the frontier between Samaria and the Great Plain."

¹⁴⁴⁹ This clause may be read either as a genitive absolute, as translated here, or as partitive: "of many Judeans . . . a certain Galilean." In this context it makes little practical difference, for in either case the Galilean should be understood as one of the Judeans: since it is a pilgrimage festival, many Judeans are going to Jerusalem; this incident happened to a Galilean. As Josephus' *Life* shows clearly (e.g., 26-27, 63-66, 188-98), Galilean culture of the time was Judean and, at least in time of war, Galileans looked to Jerusalem for leadership. One

233 In response to this, whereas most of those in the Galilee ran together¹⁴⁵² to make war on the Samaritans,¹⁴⁵³ their eminent men¹⁴⁵⁴ went to Cumanus:¹⁴⁵⁵ they implored him that

spoke of going *up* to Jerusalem from Judean locations partly because it was in the hills, partly because of the unique sanctity of city, temple, and festivals (see note to “up” at 2.16).

Once again, *War* reads like a compression of the *Antiquities* parallel. There (*Ant.* 20.118) Josephus explains that Galileans customarily traveled to festivals via Samaria. In *Life* 269 (see BJP 9 with notes) he elaborates that anyone who wished to reach Jerusalem *quickly* had no choice but to go via Samaria: that journey could be completed in 3 days. But he also implies that this route was considered dangerous, and before sending his friends on that trip, he wrote to other friends in Samaria to request safe passage for them. The gospel of Luke has a striking parallel: headed S to Jerusalem, Jesus sends messengers ahead to arrange his safe passage, but they are rebuffed by one Samaritan village *because* he is headed to Jerusalem (Luke 9:51-6). Dignitaries and embassies making the trip seem normally to have taken a substantial armed escort (*Life* 190, 200-201, 268, 316).

Given that most pilgrims would need to take as little time as possible from their work (especially in agriculture) to attend Jerusalem’s festivals, they might often have needed to travel through Samaria. The gospels indicate, however, that there was an alternative, longer route: E to the area of Scythopolis, S along the Jordan Valley, then W to Jerusalem through the Judean hills from about Jericho. This was the trip, requiring perhaps a week, taken by Jesus according to Mark (10:46; 11:1; cf. Luke 17:11; but John 4:4). Since the Jordan River alternative was not without its own dangers, especially from banditry in the hills ascending from Jericho (Luke 10:29-37), and given its much greater length, the fact that Galileans were still willing to take it suggests that the Samaritan route was considered dangerous indeed.

¹⁴⁵⁰ Neither here nor in *Ant.* 20.118 does Josephus explain which festival is in view, and identifying it is not easy. The outcome of the following narrative will see the Syrian legate Ummidius Quadratus visiting Jerusalem at Passover (2.244—in spring of 52) to determine the mood of the populace. But that visit will come only after much travel, several embassies (e.g., to Tyre, 2.239), investigations and trials, executions, and the dispatch of Cumanus and the tribune Celer to Rome (2.244). Since it is not possible that these could have happened during the single Passover in 52 CE, whereas a year seems too much time for the investigation of a single incident, the festival in question here was perhaps the autumn Festival of Sukkot (Booths, Tabernacles) in 51 CE. So also Colautti (2002: 113).

¹⁴⁵¹ Or “done away with.” Since Josephus often uses more explicit words for “kill” (κτείνω and compounds), I usually render the euphemistic verb used here (ἀναίρειω), even when the context obviously involves killing: “dispose of, do away with, get rid of, eliminate.” This is more difficult in the passive voice without resorting to colloquialisms (“taken out, wiped out, wasted”).

In the parallel (*Ant.* 20.118) the MSS agree that certain inhabitants of Samaritan Ginea joined in a fight and killed *many Galileans* who were en route to Jerusalem. That account, and possibly the switch in our passage from “Judeans” to “Galilean,” led some copyists of the *War* to write that many of the Judeans headed to Jerusalem were killed (MSS PAM). The Latin, however, supports the reading here (*quidam galileus de numero iudaeorum ad festiuitatem ascendens interficitur*), except that it has the single Galilean “going up” to Jerusalem. Feldman (LCL *Ant.* 20.118 n. e) offers the explanation of M. Aberbach (1949-1950), that Josephus was dependent on Roman sources while writing *War*, and they (being anti-Judean) portrayed this as a massive Judean over-reaction to the killing of just one person. Fatal problems for that theory are: (a) it would explain only this feature of the accounts, which differ in numerous ways (e.g., the problem of one or many statues ordered by Gaius, *War* 2.184-93//*Ant.* 18.256-309); (b) in fact the Roman governors often appear in a better (more rounded, human, intelligible) light in the *Antiquities*; and (c) this is one of the few episodes of Judean history under the procurators for which we have a parallel in a Roman author (Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.54), which tells a different story entirely, blaming the struggle largely on competitive Roman governors inciting their native populations. There is little reason to think that a “Roman source” was reflexively anti-Judean in the way proposed.

¹⁴⁵² See the note at 2.43 (also 2.230 above).

¹⁴⁵³ As often in Josephus, and as the sequel (e.g., 2.234) indicates here, the impulses of the mob are a constant threat to order and stability; they must always be managed by cultivated aristocrats of his own kind. This outlook was widespread among Josephus’ contemporaries, as in his models Thucydides and Polybius; see Introduction.

¹⁴⁵⁴ It is characteristic of Josephus to distinguish the behavior of his own class (here, οἱ γνῶριμοί) from that of the masses (cf. 2.185, 199). See further 2.234 and especially 2.243-44, where the Syrian legate properly treats the groups differently. It would have been well understood by Josephus’ Roman audience that a governor’s first responsibility was to work with the local

before [there was] irremediable suffering,¹⁴⁵⁶ after going over into Galilee¹⁴⁵⁷ he should punish those responsible for the murder; for only in this way would the mob be reconciled¹⁴⁵⁸ short of war. Cumanus, however, put the pleas of these men in second place to the affairs at hand¹⁴⁵⁹ and sent off the pleaders, unsuccessful.¹⁴⁶⁰

(12.4) 234 When the unfortunate incident¹⁴⁶¹ of the murdered person was reported in Hierosolyma, the masses¹⁴⁶² stirred things up:¹⁴⁶³ they abandoned the festival and rushed out towards Samaria, ungenerated¹⁴⁶⁴ and complying with no one who, among the lead-

*Judeans
retaliate against
Samaritans. Ant.
20.120*

élites to ensure stability (cf. Meyer-Zwiffelhofer 2002), and that is the assumption of the Judean leadership as portrayed here. In Josephus' narratives, however, it is usually only the men of senatorial rank (the Syrian legates), such as Petronius and Quadratus, who are capable of making this distinction effectively—Quadratus even treating the equestrian procurators rather like the local élites, in sending all of them to Rome to render account (2.243-46).

¹⁴⁵⁵ Cumanus is (cf. 2.236) at the governor's normal base in coastal Caesarea.

¹⁴⁵⁶ This phrase (πρὶν ἀνηκέστου πάθους) is part of Josephus' tragic lexicon (also 1.121; 2.320; 6.123), along with the closely related "irremediable calamities" (2.411, 532; 5.372). Although other authors occasionally have the need of such language (e.g., Aeschylus, *Choeph.* 516; Thucydides 3.39.8; Herodotus 1.137; Isocrates, *Big.* 45; Andocides, *Myst.* 142; Lysias, *Traum.* 20; Demosthenes, *Con.* 5; Aeschines, *Ctes.* 226; Polybius 4.53.3; 15.1.8; Diodorus 14.69.1; 31.3.2; 34/35.3.1; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 3.34.4; 8.14.2, 54.5, 61.3; 9.26.9; *Thuc.* 41), they do not use it nearly as often or as programmatically as Josephus. Only Philo comes close (*Det.* 176; *Post. Cain.* 81; *Plant.* 157; *Conf. ling.* 13, 155; *Spec.* 3.104, 166; 4.173; *Legat.* 293), over the range of his works. Of 13 occurrences of the adjective in Josephus' *War*, 6 are in bk. 2, as he charts first the threat and then the tragic reality of "incurable" conditions created by the later procurators and those who react to them (also 2.316, 320, 411, 455, 532).

¹⁴⁵⁷ That is: from coastal Caesarea, Cumanus is asked to proceed first to Galilee (presumably on the NE route via Legio or even N to Ptolemais and then E), to reassure the deeply disaffected populace that he is about to take action, before moving to the northern edge of Samaria to find the culprits. Even if Cumanus were inclined to go after the culprits, it would have been easier from Caesarea to enter Samaria (to the E) without first visiting Galilee; so presumably we should assume some such motive, given the volatile mood of the Galileans and the urgency of the crisis.

¹⁴⁵⁸ Or, more literally, "be disbanded" (διαλυθῆναι).

¹⁴⁵⁹ *Ant.* 20.119 adds the significant detail that Cumanus had been "persuaded with stuff" (i.e., bribed), by the Samaritans, to ignore the Judean demands for

retribution. This infuriates the Galilean masses, who immediately push for political freedom, from a "slavery" that is so demeaning and arbitrary, whereas the more sophisticated élites propose a counter-offer to "persuade" Cumanus to take their side. The absence of the bribery motif from this account might seem to suggest that it is a later embellishment, not something Josephus knew about here and omitted. Given his general propensity in *War* 1-2 to abbreviate what must (on any account) have been a much fuller narrative, and given the frequency with which *Antiquities*' version matches what seems to have been in that longer account, it may simply be that in composing a more concise version here, the bribery question seemed a distraction. It is impossible to know. Josephus' clear blaming of Jerusalem's masses in the next sentence for exacerbating the situation might suggest that he knew of an alternative plan among the élites, which he opts not to explore in the space available here.

¹⁴⁶⁰ This is another example of characteristic Josephan phrasing (ἀπράκτους ἀπέπεμψεν). Recall the similar condition of suppliants before Petronius (2.198); cf. *Ant.* 15.349; 16.293; 20.129.

¹⁴⁶¹ Though difficult to translate here, this is the same word (πάθος) rendered "suffering" in 2.233 above: with many possible translations connected with tragic themes, it is a key word in *War* (1.9); see Introduction.

¹⁴⁶² The parallel, perhaps more coherently, omits any (clear) separate reference to Jerusalem and its masses, keeping the focus throughout on the upset Galileans and the interplay between Galilean masses and leaders (20.119-22).

¹⁴⁶³ Greek συνταράσσω, without explicit object.

¹⁴⁶⁴ Or (more to the point) "lacking the qualities a good general would supply." This unusual word (ἀστρατήγητος), part of *War*'s distinctive lexicon (also 3.477; 4.136; 5.122), is attested in Greek literature before Josephus only in Ps-Plato, *Alc.* 2.142a and Josephus' older contemporary Onasander 33.5. I can find no examples in inscriptions, though my search cannot be exhaustive. Cicero uses the Greek word in his Latin letters, complaining about the *dux* who "lacks generalship" in the face of Caesar's juggernaut (*Att.* 7.13.1; 8.16.1—in superlative). This suggests that it seemed a particularly apt Greek term, known already to him in spite of its lack of literary attestation. Or he was merely showing off.

ers,¹⁴⁶⁵ was trying to restrain [them].¹⁴⁶⁶ **235** Now a certain Eleazar son of Deineus¹⁴⁶⁷ and an Alexander¹⁴⁶⁸ took charge of their bandit-like and factious¹⁴⁶⁹ element,¹⁴⁷⁰ who fell upon¹⁴⁷¹ those sharing a border with the toparchy of Acrabatene¹⁴⁷² and, giving no quarter whatsoever for age,¹⁴⁷³ did away with them and set their villages ablaze. **(12.5) 236** Now Cumanus took from Caesarea one wing of cavalry,¹⁴⁷⁴ which was called

*Cumanus
intervenens. Ant.
20.12*

¹⁴⁶⁵ Possibly “magistrates” (οἱ ἄρχοντες); see the note at 2.216 (there set in Rome). For its equivalence to other terms for the ruling élite, see the note to “powerful [men]” at 2.239 below.

¹⁴⁶⁶ This pair of missing attributes—generalship and willingness to listen to those who would restrain them—is the reverse of the situation that Josephus claims for the Judeans later in the campaign, at least while the chief priests Ananus and Jesus lived (4.314-25). Had Ananus survived, Josephus claims, he would either have brought the people to terms through his compelling oratory or he would have made things much more difficult for the Romans—through good generalship (3.321-23). That this pair of virtues could be found in one man, as also in Josephus, shows that for him the conduct of the war was not a matter of ideology, of being pro- or anti-Roman (as absolute principles). It was rather a question of aristocratic leadership and values; see Introduction. His critique here (as also following the deaths of Ananus and Jesus: 4.326; 5.2) is that the always-impulsive mob went off under its own steam, without men of breeding and culture who could honorably manage the conflict, and so with disastrous results.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Eleazar the bandit turns up again at 2.253 (sent to Rome by Felix), though *War* does not make it perfectly clear that it is the same person (cf. *Ant.* 20.121, 161). Notwithstanding the “bandit” connection (see note at 2.56), this may have been a man of social standing. At 2:253 Josephus will claim that he and his associates were sent by Felix to Rome for trial, whereas many other bandits were executed in Judea. This could mean simply that he was the ringleader of a large insurrectionist movement, significant enough for that reason to be sent to Nero, or that he was a Roman citizen who enjoyed the right of trial in Rome. Feldman (LCL n. *d* to *Ant.* 20.121) identifies him with “ben Denai” in *Midrash Rabbah* to the Song of Songs 2.18, who prematurely tried to free the Judeans, and Eliezer b. Dinai in *m. Sotah* 9.9 (*b. Sotah* 47a): a prodigious murderer.

¹⁴⁶⁸ This otherwise unknown figure does not appear in the *Antiquities* parallel. If Josephus used the same source for both accounts, he opted to pass over him there.

¹⁴⁶⁹ See the note at 2.91. The collocation of “factious and bandit-like” (στασιώδες καὶ ληστρικόν) is standard in *War*, appearing also at 2.511; 5.53; 6.417. It seems unattested in other surviving Greek literature.

¹⁴⁷⁰ This again looks like the compression of a narrative like that of *Ant.* 20.119-22. There, it is in response

to the alleged bribing of Cumanus by the Samaritans, and the futility of the Judean leaders’ attempt, that the masses turn for assistance to the bandit Eleazar (“this man was a bandit who for many years had been making his home in the mountains”). We should perhaps assume a financial transaction here, given other stories in Josephus of bandit groups for hire (*Life* 105, 200—troops of 600- to 800-men strong).

¹⁴⁷¹ Josephus leaves unclear what became of the assaults undertaken by the masses themselves (2.234) or where in Samaria those might have taken place, since he mentions only the bandits attacking Acrabatene (but see further 2.237, seeming to confirm that the mobs had gone off on their own). *Antiquities* is more coherent in having the riled masses work under the leadership of the (hired?) bandits (20.121).

¹⁴⁷² Acrabatene was, Josephus reports (3.55), one of 11 toparchies in Judea (also among Pliny’s 10 in *Nat.* 5.70), the one that marked the southern extremity of Samaria—note the narrower and broader uses of “Judea.” Centered in Kh. Ormah (Acrabbim), according to Eusebius (*Onom.* Ἀκραββεῖν), it lay 9 miles SE of Neapolis (Shechem)—on the road down to the Jordan valley. “Those who bordered” Acrabatene, then, constituted one of the closest Samaritan enclaves to Judea (3.48), and were most easily attacked from Judean soil. This is the first occurrence of the place name in *War*, where it will become significant as an assigned region in the defense of greater Judea (2.568) and the original base of Simon son of Giora (2.652; 4.504, 511, 551).

Ant. 20.121 says more generally that the aggrieved Judeans attacked “certain villages of the Samaritans.” Although Josephus’ audience might not understand “Acrabatene” without explanation, this more precise location in *War* is clarified by the contextual cue in the previous sentence (“rushed out towards Samaria”).

¹⁴⁷³ This charge of barbarity against the bandits is missing from the parallel (*Ant.* 20.121). The phrasing, however ([μηδεμιᾶς ἡλικίας] φειδῶ ποιοῦμενοι), is common in Josephus: *War* 1.319; 6.130; *Ant.* 1.96; 4.261; 11.218; 12.402; 17.202.

¹⁴⁷⁴ Although Greek ἄλη, used here of the cavalry unit, can indicate troops of quite different sizes (Polybius 6.25.1; cf. note to “wing” at *Life* 121 in BJP 9), we should apparently understand this one to be a full wing, equivalent to the Latin *ala*, of about 500 (16 *turmae* of 30 to 32 each), commanded by the senior equestrian prefect of the auxiliaries. In addition to their practical

“Sebastene,”¹⁴⁷⁵ and marched out to provide assistance to those who were being ravaged;¹⁴⁷⁶ of Eleazar’s group¹⁴⁷⁷ he arrested many,¹⁴⁷⁸ but killed most.¹⁴⁷⁹ **237** As to the remaining mob of those who had rushed to make war on the Samaritans,¹⁴⁸⁰ the leaders of Hierosolyma,¹⁴⁸¹ running out covered in sackcloth and having poured ash on their heads,¹⁴⁸² kept begging them to withdraw¹⁴⁸³ and not, for the sake of revenge against the Samaritans, provoke¹⁴⁸⁴ the Romans against Hierosolyma; to take pity on¹⁴⁸⁵ the homeland, the shrine,¹⁴⁸⁶ their own

advantages for rapid response, the cavalry were the élite, and best paid, force among the auxiliary units (Watson 1969: 15). The parallel (*Ant.* 20.122) has Cumanus take 5 units: 4 infantry and 1 cavalry. “Sebastene” (including Caesarean) forces apparently comprised 3,000 to 3,500 men: 5 infantry cohorts (2,500-3,500) plus a cavalry wing of cohort size (500): *War* 2.52 and note to “Sebastenes” there; *Ant.* 19.365. That Cumanus would take the cavalry and 4 infantry cohorts in this case (so *Antiquities*) would make sense if he had left the remaining cohort in Jerusalem for the ongoing festival (2.234).

¹⁴⁷⁵ See 2.52, 58, 63, 74 and notes: the auxiliary units of Roman Judea, numbering 3,000-3,500 in total and drawn from Sebaste in Samaria and Caesarea, were a legacy to the Roman governors of the allied royal forces of Herod and Archelaus. They were reportedly at constant odds with the Judean population, as is illustrated by their reported indulgence of the exuberant celebrations of their populations at the death of Agrippa I (*Ant.* 19.355-61); Josephus claims that Claudius at one point planned to remove all of these units to Pontus, replacing them with legionaries (19.365). In the present narrative, the governor’s dependence upon these troops drawn from Sebaste, in a conflict between Judea/Galilee and Samaria, obviously prejudices the issue.

¹⁴⁷⁶ Thus, Cumanus has completely ignored the request of the Judean leadership that he first visit Galilee to calm the populace and then proceed to find the murderers in Samaria: he is exclusively focused now on punishing those who have taken vengeance themselves. Notice Josephus’ detached narrative perspective: each party acts out a role without incurring his explicit moral judgment. The masses behave impulsively and violently, assisted as ever by opportunistic bandits, while the élite attempt to fulfill their difficult role of restrained intercession. The governor ignores one murder as uninteresting, but reacts immediately and with overwhelming force to reports of widespread unrest.

¹⁴⁷⁷ Josephus does not say that Eleazar himself was caught in this action, and it appears that he was apprehended only by Felix, in Nero’s time (2.253; *Ant.* 20.161).

¹⁴⁷⁸ The fate of these men is reported at 2.241.

¹⁴⁷⁹ That this (πολλοὺς μὲν συνέλαβεν πλείστους δ’ ἀπέκτεινεν) is the precise opposite of Josephus’ assessment at *Ant.* 20.122 (πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν πλείους δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν; he killed many, but took

more alive) illustrates well what seems to be his relish in changing even basic elements of the stories he retells.

¹⁴⁸⁰ See the note to “fell upon” at 2.235. Only in *War*’s version does Josephus distinguish between the masses, who go off and attack unspecified places in Samaria, and the bandits and insurgents, led by Eleazar, who attack the region near Acrabatene.

¹⁴⁸¹ Every element of this paragraph is more fully developed in *Ant.* 20.122-24. E.g., whereas the text here has οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, there the meaning is elaborated: “those who were first among the Hierosolymites in honor and birth” (οἱ δὲ πρότοι κατὰ τιμὴν καὶ γένος τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν). Although οἱ ἄρχοντες might have the specific sense of “the magistrates” (see note at 2.216), many of the word’s 136 occurrences in Josephus—e.g., in the case of ancient Israel (*Ant.* 3.70-71, 222)—must indicate simply “the leaders” or “the rulers/ruling class,” who would of course include various magistrates and officials.

¹⁴⁸² Although (black) sackcloth, torn clothes, and ashes were standard symbols of mourning in the biblical and classical worlds (e.g., 2 Sam 3:31; Neh 9:1; Esth 4:1-4; Job 16:15; Jer 6:26; Lam 2:10; Jon 3:5-8; 1 Macc 2:14; 3:47; 2 Macc 10:25; Josephus, *Ant.* 7.1), the particular combination here of σάκκος and τέφρα (rather than biblical σποδός, as in the parallel to this story at *Ant.* 20.123) appears otherwise only after Josephus’ time, and in a few texts: *Joseph and Aseneth* (10.16; 13.3; 14.12); *Acts of Thomas* 135; also John Chrysostom. For the dramatic cluster of tearing clothes, pouring ashes/dust, and wearing sackcloth see also 2.322, 601.

¹⁴⁸³ These leaders play a typical role as intermediaries between the masses and the Roman governors: on the one hand representing the people’s grievances to the governor (2.233), on the other hand (here) pleading with the people not to exacerbate the situation (cf. Plutarch’s essay on *Political Advice* [*Mor.*] 814c-815f, 823-24).

¹⁴⁸⁴ See the note at 2.8.

¹⁴⁸⁵ See the note to “compassion” at 1.12. This verb (ἐλεέω) and its cognate noun, which appear about 39 times in *War*, are key components of the tragic lexicon (cf. Aristotle, *Poet.* 1449b.27; 1452.38; 1453a.3, 5, 1453b.12) in this work.

¹⁴⁸⁶ That is, the innermost sacred house or sanctuary (ναός), localizing the divine presence in the Holy of Holies. See the note at 1.10.

children and women¹⁴⁸⁷—all of which they risked destroying collaterally for the sake of revenge for one Galilean.¹⁴⁸⁸ **238** Persuaded by these [men], the Judeans broke up. But many turned to banditry because of the absence of fear:¹⁴⁸⁹ throughout the whole countryside there were raids¹⁴⁹⁰ and indeed, from bolder ones,¹⁴⁹¹ uprisings.¹⁴⁹²

*Samarians
appeal to
Quadratus,
Syrian legate.
Ant. 20.125*

239 And the powerful [men]¹⁴⁹³ of the Samarians came to Ummidius Quadratus,¹⁴⁹⁴

¹⁴⁸⁷ Invoking the suffering of women and children was a ready rhetorical device for enhancing the tragic ethos of a narrative (see the note to “women and children” at 2.192), and Josephus exploits it more than 100 times, e.g.: *War* 2.396; 7.321, 362, 380-93 (repeatedly in the ultimate tragedy of Masada); *Ant.* 1.74, 2.302; *Life* 25, 84, 99, 207, 230, 328, 419. The 3-way appeal to women, children, and *homeland* turns up again in Agrippa’s speech (2.395), in Josephus’ narrative of the defense of Iotapata (3.112), and in the parallel to this story at *Ant.* 20.123; cf. 10.230. All the terms of this appeal foreshadow that of Agrippa II (2.400)—“So let *pity* reach into you, even if not for *children and wives*, then for *this very metropolis* and the sacred precincts. *Spare the temple* and keep for yourselves *the shrine* with the holy [things]”—and from there the entire unfolding of the story with the burning of the shrine, the destruction of the city, and the massive slaughter and enslavement.

¹⁴⁸⁸ It seems that the Jerusalem leaders (as Josephus’ characters) intend a pejorative tone by identifying the victim as a *Galilean*, rather than speaking simply of “one person.” The argument from *one* victim would be impossible, of course, if *many* Galileans had been killed, as in the parallel (*Ant.* 20.118); this part of the appeal is therefore absent from the later version. But here it anticipates Agrippa’s great speech (2.353): “It is perverse, because of one person [in that case, Florus], to make war on many.”

¹⁴⁸⁹ The nuances of this ἄδεια (“absence of fear”; often therefore “safe passage, free hand, impunity, amnesty, license”) is unclear. Later in bk. 2 Josephus will use this word when he accuses the procurators Albinus and Florus of creating an “impunity, safe passage, license” for bandits, by colluding with them through bribery (2.274, 288). Yet at 2.427 the rebel leaders achieve *de facto* impunity for a popular uprising against the wealthy by defeating the royal forces who would have contained them. The parallel (*Ant.* 20.124) also dates the massive rise in banditry to this moment, though without any explanation.

In the context here, since Cumanus has acted decisively against the bandits, with maximum force, and reportedly killed “most” (2.236), there seems to be no question of an “amnesty” from his side (contrast later procurators), unless something important has dropped from the narrative. Josephus may mean simply that whereas the Judeans, especially Galileans, have until

now felt vulnerable to the Samarians and the auxiliary soldiers under Rome’s control, having now tasted strength with the assistance of Eleazar’s professional bandits many are opting for the pride and security (i.e., “freedom from fear”) that membership in bandit gangs produces.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Banditry (ληστεία) and raids or plunderings (ἄρπαγαί) form a natural pair (Thucydides 7.26.2; Polybius 4.9.10; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 4.50.2; Philo, *Flac.* 5), but they recur more characteristically in *War* than among Josephus’ predecessors (2.57, 581, 593; 3.177; 4.134, 409; 6.363; cf. *Ant.* 1.61).

¹⁴⁹¹ Or “more spirited ones.” Like much of Josephus’ language related to issues of character, this adjective (θρασύς) is restrained in its moral implications. The quality in view is typical of the young (cf. 2.267, 303, 409). Although Josephus joins Thucydides and Polybius (with many contemporaries) in seeing youthful impulsiveness as a threat to the state, if it is allowed to go unchecked by the aristocratic leadership, he does not rail against the condition itself but simply describes it with characteristic detachment: this is what the young are like, as everyone knows. Of the 8 occurrences of the adjective in *War*, 6 are in this comparative plural form (and 1 in the superlative), indicating a *type* that should be familiar to the audience, rather than defined individuals. Josephus uses θερμός and its comparative οἱ θερμότεροι in much the same way (2.286; 4.292; 5.491).

¹⁴⁹² One of many *stasis*- compounds in *War* (see 1.10): ἐπανάστασις.

¹⁴⁹³ Josephus continues to draw from his repertoire of equivalent terms for the elite class (of any nation): οἱ δυνατοί (as here), οἱ γνώριμοι (the notables), οἱ πρότοι (the principal or first men), οἱ ἐπίσημοι (the distinguished), οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι (the most illustrious, eminent), οἱ ἄρχοντες (the leaders, magistrates), etc. See 2.243 and notes for another constellation of such terms. His audience would know immediately the groups he was intending: society’s leaders by virtue of ancestry or family, education, wealth, political achievements, and consequent status.

¹⁴⁹⁴ Tacitus (*Ann.* 12.54) likewise credits the Syrian legate with resolving this dispute, which he however casts as between competing procurators in Galilee and Samaria. C. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus (*cos. suff.* 40-48 CE?) was a well known figure in Roman circles, partly because he was the Syrian legate when in 54/55

who was governor of Syria, at Tyre;¹⁴⁹⁵ they were asking¹⁴⁹⁶ to exact justice from those who had ravaged their countryside.¹⁴⁹⁷ **240** The notables¹⁴⁹⁸ of the Judeans and the high priest Ionathes¹⁴⁹⁹ son of Ananus¹⁵⁰⁰ also being present, they were saying that the Samar-

CE the 17-year-old Nero sent Domitius Corbulo on his first Parthian campaign (Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.45, 48): Tacitus relates a serious rivalry between the men, which Nero wisely resolved by crediting the early victory in Parthia (i.e., receiving fresh hostages from Vologeses) to both of them equally (*Ann.* 13.8-9). Some high points of his career are recoverable through inscriptions (esp. *ILS* 972; cf. 190), coins of Antioch, and literary sources (summary in *PIR* 3.468-69). Before serving as Claudius' and then Nero's legate to Syria (50-57/60 CE), in which office apparently he died, he had been *quaestor* in 14 CE, *praetor aerarii* in 18, proconsul of Cyprus under Tiberius, Tiberius' and then Gaius' legate to Lusitania, and Claudius' legate to Illyricum. His ready intervention in the affairs of Judea continues a pattern begun with Quintilius Varus, and which continues under Quirinius (chiefly in *Antiquities*), Petronius, and finally Cestius Gallus (see the note to "province" at 2.117). Evidently, whether the local governor is a prefect or a procurator, the Syrian legate remains ultimately responsible for Judean affairs. See 2.117 and notes. Quadratus ("well developed"), well attested as a *cognomen* (Kajanto 1982: 65), was frequently used by the Ummidii.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Tyre (in mod. Lebanon) was a large and ancient Phoenician trading city on the coast, built on an island that provided, via the connecting causeway, two excellent harbors. The mother-city of the famous Phoenician colonies of Cyprus, Carthage, and Gades (Cadiz), it was renowned for having rebuffed Alexander the Great in 332 BCE, who took it only after a difficult siege (Arrian, *Anab.* 2.16-24). After long subjection to Ptolemies and then Seleucids (from 200 BCE), it received free status in 126 BCE, and its high-quality silver coins became the standard currency for use in the Jerusalem temple (see further 2.592 and note).

It was a journey of several days to Tyre from Sebaste or Neapolis, either via Caesarea and the coastal road, or via Legio to the N and then up the coast—passing through Ptolemais. See notes to "Tyrians" at 2.188 and *Life* 44 (BJP 9). Isaac (1998: 92) proposes that the refoundation of Ptolemais by Claudius as a Roman colony (see note to "Ptolemais" at 2.187) in 53 CE, the year following Cumanus' departure as result of the Judean-Samaritan conflict, was prompted by this very conflict; the adjective *stabilis* in its name might support that connection.

¹⁴⁹⁶ I.e., asking *him* on their behalf. Although Josephus leaves the object (and subject of the vengeance) implicit, perhaps because Quadratus would be working in the Samaritans' interest, he cannot mean that they ask the legate to be able to take *their own* vengeance. In

War there is nothing inappropriate in this request; it is the proper task of the élite to put major grievances to the Roman legate for resolution, and as far as *War*'s audience knows their villages have been subject to random attack. Again Josephus allows his various characters to air authentic-sounding perspectives.

¹⁴⁹⁷ The parallel (*Ant.* 20.125-26) gives a fuller and subtler plea: the Samaritans profess not so much to be injured themselves as to be indignant at the Judeans' flouting of due process, because the latter did not take *their* grievance to the Romans, and so revealed a contempt for their governors. That appeal is ironic because the Galilean leaders have in fact sought redress from governor, who declined because he had allegedly been bribed—by the Samaritans (20.119)! That complaint by the Samaritans also seems to make better narrative sense, however. Here Josephus has established Cumanus as the swift avenger of the Samaritans, at least against Judean "bandits," quick to take the Samaritan side using largely Samaritan cohorts (2.236); the ground for a Samaritan complaint about injustice—on the part of Cumanus' administration—is therefore unclear, unless it relates to ongoing actions of Judean bandits (2.237), or unless perhaps the narrative intention is to present the Samaritans, who have more privileged access to provincial security forces, posturing as victims for rhetorical purposes.

¹⁴⁹⁸ Greek οἱ γνῶριμοί. See the note to "powerful [men]" in the preceding section. The pair "notables and chief priest(s)"—here singular, but otherwise plural—occurs 7 times in Josephus, all of them in *War* 2 (also 243, 301, 318, 322, 410, 411).

¹⁴⁹⁹ This is the first mention of this important Judean leader. His Hasmonean name (יְהוֹנָתָן) is the 8th most frequently attested for males in this period (Hachlili 2005: 200). At the direction of L. Vitellius, Jonathan had both succeeded Joseph Caiaphas and then quickly yielded to his brother Theophilus as high priest in 37 CE (*Ant.* 18.95, 123). At 2.243 this former high priest will travel to Rome to represent the Judean case before Claudius; at 2.256, after returning to Jerusalem, he will become the first victim of the urban assassins called *sicarii* (at the direction of Felix according to *Ant.* 20.162-64). For Ananus I, the father, see the next note. Jonathan's brother Ananus II will play a central role in *War* (2.563, 648-53; 4.151, 162-223): his murder and Josephus' encomium provide the central panel and narrative fulcrum of the work (4.314-22); see Introduction.

¹⁵⁰⁰ This Ananus (אָנָּן—the 13th most frequently attested male name in the period; Hachlili 2005: 200), though he appears only here in *War*, was a figure of

ians had set off the disturbance¹⁵⁰¹ (on account of the murder), and Cumanus had become responsible for the consequences, given that he had not been willing to go out against the killers¹⁵⁰² of the one who had been slaughtered.¹⁵⁰³

Quadratus sends antagōnists to Rome.
Ant. 20.131

(12.6) 241 Now at that point Quadratus postponed* both [cases], claiming that whenever he came to the sites¹⁵⁰⁴ he would thoroughly examine¹⁵⁰⁵ each [case];¹⁵⁰⁶ but he went instead¹⁵⁰⁷ to Caesarea¹⁵⁰⁸ and crucified¹⁵⁰⁹ all those who had been taken alive by Cumanus.¹⁵¹⁰ 242 From there he went to Lydda¹⁵¹¹ and again heard out the Samaritans,¹⁵¹²

major historical importance in pre-70 Judea. Rabbinic literature recalls his family's vast wealth (*m. Ker.* 1.7; *t. Men.* 13.18; *b. Pes.* 57a). Appointed high priest by Quirinius (6-15 CE; *Ant.* 18.26, 34), he had 5 sons who reportedly all rose to the highest office in the following decades (*Ant.* 20.197-98): the family appears to have exerted an extraordinary influence on Judean affairs until 70 CE.

¹⁵⁰¹ It was an assumption shared by both author and literary audience, and surely by the real characters behind those in the story, that “disturbance” was the principal thing to be avoided in the provinces, and that native élites above all (cf. Plutarch's essay on *Political Advice* [*Mor.*] 823-24), in collaboration with the Roman governor if necessary, needed to make sure that it did not happen. See the note to this word at 2.170.

¹⁵⁰² Or “perpetrators.” Although old and well attested, this word (ἀυθέντης) appears only at *War* 1.582 and here in Josephus. It can refer either specifically to murderers (Herodotus 1.117; Thucydides 3.58.5) or more generally to “doers, perpetrators” (often in the context of death, murder, or suicide).

¹⁵⁰³ In the parallel (*Ant.* 20.127) the Judeans accuse Cumanus, consistently with the story there (20.119), of having accepted bribes.

¹⁵⁰⁴ Although one might have expected these sites to include Jenin (Ginaia, site of the original murder), the region abutting Acrabetene (the scene of Eleazar's raids), other Samaritan villages, and perhaps areas in Galilee as well as Jerusalem, only the last of these receives a visit from the legate. Either Quadratus means only that he will deal with cases away from Tyre, closer to the home regions of the suppliants, or he promises a close investigation on the ground that never materializes.

¹⁵⁰⁵ This verb (διερευνάω) occurs 10 times in Josephus, all in *War* 1-6. For a sense of its usage, see 2.18, 41, where the Syrian procurator makes considerable efforts to “track down” the late King Herod's assets. The language suggests that Quadratus is promising a careful examination on the ground, interviewing witnesses and gathering evidence. *Ant.* 20.128: Quadratus wanted to visit Judea and “learn the truth with precision.”

¹⁵⁰⁶ *Ant.* 20.129 begins to create a rather different tone by observing that “they [the Samaritans] left, unsuccessful.” In the present narrative, by contrast, things go

mostly the Samaritans' way.

¹⁵⁰⁷ Although most often this adverb (αὐθις) indicates a going “back” or “again,” that meaning seems unsuited to the context here, since Quadratus has not been mentioned in Caesarea before. The word can also mark the second half of a μέν . . . δέ construction, which we have here, emphasizing the other of two terms: “Although he declared X, he did Y.” That seems to fit the sense here: he *promised* a thorough investigation, but first moved to execute the bandits in Caesarea and then heard only the Samaritans at Lydda, which resulted in the execution of 18 more Judeans. He never does hear the Judean side or thoroughly investigate as promised. Quite differently, *Ant.* 20.129 has Quadratus try to fulfill his promise (see next note).

¹⁵⁰⁸ See note at 2.16. According to *Ant.* 20.129 Quadratus went to Samaria (not Caesarea), in fulfillment of his promise to investigate. While there, he concluded after a hearing that *the Samaritans* were responsible for the disturbance. He then crucified *both* the Judeans and the Samaritans who had been arrested by Cumanus. That story is awkward because one would assume that Cumanus' prisoners had been taken back to his secure base in Caesarea, as in this story (2.236, 241).

The relationship between the texts seems impossible to recover. It may be that this is a clear case in which *Antiquities* uses *War* as a base and changes the story. It is possible, however, that Josephus borrowed from a source like that used for *Ant.* 20 while writing this passage, but then when he came to write *Ant.* 20 and compared *War* 2, realized that in his compression he had made Quadratus harsher toward the Judeans than he had wished; so he spelled out the finding of Samaritan guilt along with their punishment there. Of course, we can no longer know.

¹⁵⁰⁹ See the note to this word at 2.75. This was the painful and humiliating form of execution chiefly used for those without status and for bandits, rebels, and slaves. See Hengel 1977; Cantarella 1991.

¹⁵¹⁰ These are the bandits from Eleazar's gang arrested at 2.236. Perhaps they were thought to deserve no further hearing because Quadratus recognized them as professional criminals (“bandits”).

¹⁵¹¹ See *War* 1.302 and Appendix A to BJP 1a. Lydda (Lod) was a site of major logistical and strategic importance. Seat of one of the 10 or 11 toparchies of Judea

and after summoning eighteen of the Judeans, who, he had learned,¹⁵¹³ had taken part in the fighting,¹⁵¹⁴ he dispatched¹⁵¹⁵ them with a double-ax.¹⁵¹⁶ **243** Two others of the most powerful [men]¹⁵¹⁷ he sent up to Caesar, as well as¹⁵¹⁸ the chief priests¹⁵¹⁹ Ionathes,¹⁵²⁰ Ananias,¹⁵²¹ and Ananus the son of the latter,¹⁵²² and some others of the Judean notables,¹⁵²³

(3.54-55; Pliny, *Nat.* 5.70), it lay on the major coastal highway as it veered inland (Via Maris) and was also the junction for several roads to the interior, including the two main routes to Jerusalem (via Beth Horon and via Ammaus). At the beginning of the war it will be among the areas assigned to John the *Essaeus* (2.567). Its location made Lydda the perfect choice as a temporary base for Quadratus. Cf. J. Schwartz 1991: 67-78 (for this period, though he mainly discusses literary traditions).

¹⁵¹² *Ant.* 20.130 has Quadratus hear out the Samaritans in Lydda (same verb) from a tribunal platform (*bema*).

¹⁵¹³ Given the difference of content with *Ant.* 20.130, it is striking that there Quadratus also learns (there διδάσκω, here πυνθάνομαι) about certain Judean cults. This might suggest a deliberate change of story.

¹⁵¹⁴ *Ant.* 20.130 claims that Quadratus was told by a certain Samaritan that an otherwise unknown Judean leader (πρωτος) named Doetus, with 4 other “revolutionaries,” had been inciting the mob to defection from the Romans: a charge that does not appear here and seems at odds with the logic of 2.237, which has the masses recognize that their fury is because of a single Galileans’ death. There it is these 5 revolutionaries (not the 18 here who have sacked Samaritan villages) whom Quadratus orders executed.

¹⁵¹⁵ This (διαχειρίζομαι) is one of Josephus’ rarer euphemisms for killing, used otherwise in *War* only at 1.113, 547; 2.478; cf. *Ant.* 15.173; 6.115.

¹⁵¹⁶ That is, they were beheaded, rather than being crucified like the bandits of the previous sentence. Beheading was considered the most honorable and humane form of execution, because it did not involve the prolonged suffering that crucifixion entailed.

¹⁵¹⁷ These men are curiously unnamed; see note to “latter” in this sentence. This section illustrates well the equivalence of terms (here τῶν δυνατωτάτων) for the elite in Josephus; see the note to “powerful [men]” at 2.239.

¹⁵¹⁸ This is a peculiar sentence. Josephus features the *two* important men at the outset, but fails to identify them; he then names *three* who seem to be of the highest possible rank (current high priest, a predecessor, and a son); finally he mentions others of the same class (again unnamed). *Ant.* 20.131 is clearer: Quadratus sent to Claudius the high priest Ananias and the captain Ananus (apparently, the most important Judeans of the time) “and their group.”

¹⁵¹⁹ In *War* (only) Josephus frequently pairs the chief

priests and the powerful, with significant overlap (since the chief priests are understood to be among the most powerful): 1.31; 2.301, 316, 336, 411, 422, 428, 648; 6.422. See the notes to “powerful [men]” at 2.239, and to “notables” in this section.

¹⁵²⁰ Son of Ananus I, high priest in 37 CE: see note at 2.240.

¹⁵²¹ This (הַנְּיָהוּ) is the 10th most commonly attested male name in this period (Hachlili 2005: 200). Although Josephus is not interested in clarifying such matters for *War*’s audience, Ananias son of Nebedeus is the current high priest (47/48 to 59 CE; cf. *Ant.* 20.103, 179)—apparently holding the longest term since Caiaphas in the time of Pilate’s long governorship (18-37 CE). Confusion about Ananias’ term arises from conflicting information about his successor, Ishmael son of Phabi (*Ant.* 20.179), whom the Talmud (*b. Yoma* 9a) gives 10 years in office. Although that notice was recorded about half a millennium after the events, some scholars find reason to credit it; D. R. Schwartz (1983) proposes that Ishmael took office during Ananias’ aforementioned lengthy stay in Rome, from about 49 BCE; cf. also Goodman 1987: 142 n. 5.

At least two of Ananias’ sons reportedly served as temple “captain”: Ananus (next mentioned here) and then Eleazar, who will play a crucial role in the build-up to war (2.408-18); see 2.568 for a possible 3rd. Ananias himself appears as a man of great wealth (*Ant.* 20.205-6, 213); a few years after his return from this present trip to Rome, his house will fall to arson at the hands of the rebel leaders (2.426). He and his brother Ezekias will take refuge with Agrippa’s troops in the Herodian palace (2.429), where they will eventually be caught and killed when the palace is abandoned by royal forces and stormed by Menachem’s men (2.441). Ananias’ son Eleazar will then have his revenge (2.443-46).

¹⁵²² See the previous note and that to the name (of a different man) at 2.240. According to *Ant.* 20.131 Ananus son of Ananias was temple commandant (στρατηγός), before his brother Eleazar took up that position (*War* 2.408-9). He appears, however, only in these parallel stories.

¹⁵²³ The phrase [τινας ἄλλους] Ἰουδαίων γνωρίμους is plainly equivalent to “powerful [men]” in this section. For Josephus’ wide repertoire of terms for the elite, see the note to “powerful [men]” at 2.239. Chief priests and notables are coupled here and at 2.240, 301, 318, 322, 410, 411—only in *War* 2.

and likewise the most eminent¹⁵²⁴ of the Samaritans. **244** And he instructed both Cumanus and Celer the tribune¹⁵²⁵ to sail to Rome, in order to give an account¹⁵²⁶ to Claudius concerning what had happened. After he had fully dealt with these matters, he went up from Lydda to Hierosolyma,¹⁵²⁷ and having found on his arrival¹⁵²⁸ the mob conducting the Festival of the Unleavened¹⁵²⁹ without disorder,¹⁵³⁰ he went back to Antiocheia.¹⁵³¹

(12.7) 245 Now in Rome, when Caesar¹⁵³² had given a hearing to Cumanus and the Samaritans¹⁵³³—Agrippa was also there,¹⁵³⁴ contending vehemently¹⁵³⁵ for the Judeans,¹⁵³⁶

Claudius banishes Cumanus, orders Celer punished. Ant. 20.135

¹⁵²⁴ This (τὸς ἐπιφανεστάτους) is the 3rd equivalent term in this section for the élite, used here of the Samaritans.

¹⁵²⁵ Unknown outside of Josephus, this Celer appears only here and in the denouement (2.246), as well as in the parallels (*Ant.* 20.132, 136). Celer (“swift, speedy”) was a very common Latin *cognomen* (borne by 519 men and 2 women according to Kajanto 1982: 66). It is noteworthy that, like Quadratus, the name signifies a physical virtue associated with men. The Roman name suggests a continuation of the pattern (see note to “Gratus” at 2.52) that Judea’s auxiliary forces, though raised locally from Sebaste and Caesarea, are under the command of a Roman (possibly equestrian) officer, possibly a Greek who has acquired citizenship. Given Celer’s dreadful fate below (2.246), the audience must assume that the tribune has been a major irritant in the episodes just described. He may have been responsible for the Jerusalem cohort that flooded the colonnades and caused the deaths of many thousands (2.227). His rank of “tribune” might suggest that Jerusalem hosted a *cohors milliaria*—1,000 strong rather than the customary 500 (see the note to “cohort” at 2.224). Less likely, he led a 1,000-strong Sebastene cavalry *ala* in their campaign to destroy the bandits (2.236).

In any case, the audience would presumably find nothing strange in the fact that one of Cumanus’ senior officers would be held responsible with him. The NT Acts gives a vivid impression of the role that a tribune of the Jerusalem cohort (there, a Greek with Roman citizenship: Claudius Lysias) could play in dealing with the populace—irrespective of whether the events happened as described there. Acts’ tribune convenes the Jerusalem council and tries to work with members of the local élite, as the governor’s agent, to resolve issues creating popular unrest (Acts 23:31-38; 22:23-23:30). Inevitably, the man in such a powerful and visible position (in Jerusalem) faced the constant risk of alienating the people; an incompetent or malevolent tribune could cause great damage.

¹⁵²⁶ Instead of this construction (δίδωμι [Κλαυδίω] λόγον), which usually has the sense of passing word along, we might expect the more formulaic language for submitting or rendering and account (ὑπέχω λόγον) to Caesar; see the note at *Life* 13 in BJP 9.

¹⁵²⁷ See the note to “up” at 2.16.

¹⁵²⁸ Possibly “being surprised to find” (καταλαβών); see note to “surprised” at *Life* 17 in BJP 9. According to *Ant.* 20.133, as might be implied here, Quadratus worried that he would find the Jerusalemites in a new rebellion.

¹⁵²⁹ See the note at 2.10.

¹⁵³⁰ The adverb ἀθροῦβως occurs only here and at *War* 1.150 in Josephus (there also of sacred rites conducted without perturbation).

¹⁵³¹ Although Quadratus has been introduced at Tyre (2.239), Antioch on the Orontes was his capital and base as Syrian legate. See note at 2.18.

¹⁵³² Claudius (2.244). On the title, see notes to “Romans” at 1.20; “Iulia” at 2.168; and especially “Caesar” at 2.181.

¹⁵³³ As we have come to expect, from the preceding narrative (2.233, 236, 240), Cumanus is here assumed to be in complete solidarity with the Samaritan leaders. *Ant.* 20.134-35 emphasizes this by having Claudius devote a day to hearing their side, and by having the emperor’s freedmen and friends wholeheartedly support them.

¹⁵³⁴ That is, Agrippa II. Although we last heard of him when he was granted the kingdom of his uncle Herod, in Chalcis (2.223), like many Herodians he spent a great deal of time in Rome, the city of his youth. It is unclear from Josephus’ language whether Agrippa was present *at the hearing* (Why would he be, if it were devoted to Cumanus and the Samaritans?) or simply present in Rome (more likely). *Ant.* 20.135 suggests the latter, also by having Agrippa observe the Samaritans’ initial success and then try to remedy the situation. Here again the account in *War* looks like it could be a précis of the account in *Ant.* 20.

¹⁵³⁵ Greek ἐκθύμως ὑπεραγωνιζόμενος. The collocation ἐκθύμως + ἀγωνίζομαι is well established in Polybius (2.9.5; 3.115.4; 11.14.1) and—exclusively—subsequent Hellenistic historians (Diodorus 11.8.2, 31.2, 76.2; 12.41.5; 15.55.4; 17.34.4, 59.4, 63.2; 19.65.5; 20.87.3; 22.13.5; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 2.54.4; 8.65.2-3, 86.5; 9.61.2; Plutarch, *Pyr.* 30.6; *Ages.* 18.3; Appian, *Annib.* 93). This intensification of the action with a ὑπερ- prefix is barely attested in literature before his time (Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 6.41.3), though it soon appears thereafter (Appian, *Bell. civ.* 1.11.96;

seeing that many of the powerful¹⁵³⁷ were standing in support of Cumanus¹⁵³⁸—he passed judgment against the Samaritans and ordered that the three most powerful [of them]¹⁵³⁹ be done away with, whereas he exiled Cumanus. **246** Celer¹⁵⁴⁰ he sent back¹⁵⁴¹ to Hierosolyma in chains,¹⁵⁴² and directed that he be handed over to the Judeans for torture¹⁵⁴³ and that, after he had been dragged around the city,¹⁵⁴⁴ in this way his head be hacked off.¹⁵⁴⁵

(12.8) 247 After these [events] he sent out* Felix¹⁵⁴⁶ the brother of Pallas¹⁵⁴⁷ to be

*Felix procurator
of Judea. Ant.
20.137*

3.2.19; Polyaeus, *Exc.* 40.3; often in late antiquity).

The adverb, in Josephus elsewhere only at *Ant.* 19.158, seems to be a Hellenistic formation, attested from Polybius (16 occurrences) onward (Diodorus has 15, Dionysius 5, Philo 7), often in the construction already noted. [It is in the epitome of the 2nd-cent. BCE grammarian Aristophanes, but may come from the epitomator.] The adjectival form occurs before Josephus only in 2 Maccabees (7:3, 39; 14:27), negatively: of the king's being beside himself.

¹⁵³⁶ *Ant.* 20.135 gives the crucial intermediary role to Claudius' wife, Agrippina the Younger. Agrippa contends for the Judeans by approaching Agrippina and asking her to intercede with Claudius: to persuade him to act in a manner more fitting with his commitment to law, and to punish the (Samaritan) instigators of the revolt. This she does, and it is her successful intervention that produces the conclusion described here in *War*. If Josephus is briefly summarizing that account (or one like it) here, it is probably no coincidence that he omits Agrippina's role, for he is about to render a harsh verdict on her meddling in the succession after Claudius (2.249). Although the later account is arguably even harsher on Agrippina (*Ant.* 20.148-52), that attack is separated from Cumanus' hearing by several paragraphs.

¹⁵³⁷ *Ant.* 20.135 elaborates that it was Claudius' freedmen—whom we know to have included Narcissus, Callistus, and Pallas, who held unprecedented power in his administration (cf. Levick 2001: 53-58)—and friends (*amici*) who showed the greatest partiality toward Cumanus and the Samaritans. It is a striking recognition of the new realities of the principate that Josephus should choose to represent those freedmen, if he is here summarizing the same narrative, as “many of the powerful” (πολλοὶ τῶν δυνατῶν).

¹⁵³⁸ This compact style suggests, in comparison with the much more leisurely parallel in *Ant.* 20, that Josephus is condensing a fuller account.

¹⁵³⁹ The parallel (*Ant.* 20.136) has Claudius ordering the deaths of the Samaritans who appeared before him. Harmonizing the accounts would suggest that 3 of their most important men had gone as emissaries, which would make sense given the Judean delegation's composition (former and current high priest, temple captain, and other notables). This would mean, however, that Claudius was willing, even in an abrupt change of position, to execute the highest Samaritan leadership.

¹⁵⁴⁰ The tribune; see 2.244.

¹⁵⁴¹ Possibly “sent up” (ἀναπέμπω). On going up to Jerusalem, see the note to “going up” at 2.232.

¹⁵⁴² Or “as a detainee” (Κέλερα δὲ δεσμώτην ἀναπέμψας); see the note to “detainees” at 2.4.

¹⁵⁴³ Greek παραδοθῆναι . . . πρὸς αἰκίαν. Note the similar phrase at *Ant.* 1.188 (though not attested elsewhere before or contemporary with Josephus). *Ant.* 20.136 mentions no separate torture, but being dragged about the city as a spectacle before beheading.

¹⁵⁴⁴ *Ant.* 20.136 spells out the point of this dragging around: Celer was to be “seen by all” in his pre-execution humiliation.

¹⁵⁴⁵ “In this way . . .” (οὕτω τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποκοπήναι) implies that this was not to be a proper Roman beheading—an honorable mode of execution for soldiers, citizens, and other respectable persons (see the note to “double-ax” at 2.242). This beheading, after torture and humiliation by foreigners, following the months-long journey back to Judea in anticipation, would be an extreme form of degradation for the tribune. It suggests that Claudius (like Quadratus) was indeed worried about the intensity of the Judeans' grievance as conveyed by Agrippa (and Agrippina?). Letting them see severe justice done to this Roman officer should help assuage their anger, just as Cumanus' earlier execution of an auxiliary soldier after he had been paraded past his Judean accusers led them to disperse from their demonstrations (2.231).

¹⁵⁴⁶ As Josephus' Roman audience would have realized immediately from the next phrase, Felix—brother to one of Claudius' most trusted advisers, himself a freedman whom the *princeps* had raised to equestrian status and entrusted with a province—must have gone to Judea in 52 CE with powerful support behind him. His term was unusually long for Roman governors after King Agrippa I (41-44 CE), ending in 59 or 60 CE on the standard but debated reckoning (Schürer-Vermes 1.460), in 58 according to Kokkinos (1998: 385). Further evidence of his strong backing is the failed effort of Judean leaders from Caesarea to prosecute him in Rome after his return (cf. *Ant.* 20.182). Barrett (1996: 126-27) makes a good case that Agrippina, Claudius' wife and Nero's mother, who would be honored on Judean provincial coins beginning in 54 CE (thus produced by Felix), was the main source of his support.

Whereas Tacitus gives Felix's *gentilicium* as Antonius

(matching that of his brother Pallas, whom Claudius' mother Antonia had freed: see next note), which would further suggest the *praenomen* Marcus, the MSS of *Ant.* 20.137 call him "Claudius Felix"—both names in the accusative as object of the verb πέμπει. Most editors, however, follow the Epitome in emending that text by one letter to make Claudius the subject of the verb: thus, "Claudius sends Felix" (Schürer-Vermes 1.460 n. 19), permitting the *gentilicium* Antonius. Kokkinos (1990), however, makes the case for "Tiberius Claudius" as Felix's forenames, partly on the strength of the dedicatory Bir el-Malik inscription, which mentions an official named "Tiberius Claudius" under whom the honorand (one T. Mucius) had served (*L'année épigraphique* [1967], ed. J. Gagé et al. [Paris 1969], no. 525). Brenk (2001) offers cogent critique of Kokkinos' reconstruction of the inscription's missing parts (including the crucial "Felix"), though he allows that Felix may have had, and used, both *gentilicia*.

As for the *cognomen* Felix ("fortunate, lucky, happy"), it is among the most commonly attested names of antiquity (5,115 times), and disproportionately represented among slaves and freedmen (Kajanto 1982: 72-3). Even though men of distinction (such as Sulla) could assume the name in a different context as a badge of honor after great success, its frequency in the lower orders suggests that hearing the name, for a freedman of Claudius or his mother, would reinforce a Roman audience's feeling of disdain.

Tacitus claims, with typical sarcasm and contempt for powerful freedmen, that Felix had less moderation than his brother Pallas, that he was a thoroughly incompetent governor of Judea, who pursued an ongoing conflict with a fellow-governor (*Ann.* 12.54), and that he was given to barbarian and lustful practices, exercising "the power of a king with a slave's temperament" (*Hist.* 5.9). Tacitus also claims that Felix married Drusilla, the grand-daughter of Antony and Cleopatra (*Hist.* 5.9). Josephus has him marry a different Drusilla: the daughter of Agrippa I and Cyprus; hence the sister of Agrippa II. Although it is possible that Felix married two royal Drusillas from very different families (so Barrett 1996: 127), it is easier to imagine that Tacitus is mistaken (discussion in Brenk 2001).

Josephus omits the marriage story in *War*, but the parallel (*Ant.* 20.141-44) supports Tacitus' charge of Felix's libidinous character: Drusilla is already married to King Azizus of Emesa, who has undergone circumcision for the purpose, when Felix notices her and decides that he must have her; he uses a magician to persuade her to leave her husband. Josephus condemns the union and pointedly observes that the son from their union (named Agrippa) died in the eruption of Vesuvius (79 CE). Acts features Felix as governor at the time of Paul's arrest, also noting that he was married to the Judean princess

Drusilla—and portraying him as nervous when Paul begins to talk about fairness, self-control, and pending divine judgment (Acts 23:24-26; 24:22-27).

¹⁵⁴⁷ In addition to specifying which Felix is in question, Josephus' identifier "the brother of Pallas" assumes that his audience in Flavian Rome knows the name of this powerful man from Claudius' reign. Pallas (of uncertain but apparently Greek origin) first appears as the most trustworthy slave of Claudius' mother Antonia (daughter of Marc Antony and Octavia); she reportedly entrusted to him the sensitive mission of informing Tiberius, then living at Capri, about the plot of his prefect Aelius Seianus in Rome in 31 CE (*Ant.* 20.182). At some time between 31 and Antonia's death in 37, Pallas received his freedom: although his activities during Gaius' brief reign are uncertain, he went on to become a valued aide to Claudius.

One of the 3 Greek freedmen to whom Claudius gave unprecedented influence, with Narcissus and Callistus, M. Antonius Pallas first appears in Claudius' reign in 48 CE as the powerful secretary of imperial accounts (*a rationibus*), master of the imperial treasury (*fiscus*), the holdings of which were spread around the empire (Tacitus, *Ann.* 11.29). Pallas received from later authors fuller and even more hostile attention than his colleagues (e.g., Pliny, *Ep.* 7.29). This was not only because he had become a gateway to the *princeps*, above equestrians and also leading senators, reportedly using his influence to select Claudius' 4th wife Agrippina after Narcissus had prosecuted the downfall of Messalina, but also because of the conspicuous and, to later senatorial writers, nauseating honors he received—praetorian rank (*ornamenta*, Suetonius, *Claud.* 28), conveyed in a senatorial decree engraved in bronze that praised Pallas' loyalty (Pliny, *Ep.* 8.6; Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.53) and vast accumulated wealth (Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.53; 14.65)—and because of his collusion with the hated Agrippina (Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.1-2, 25, 65; 13.2; 14.2). Although Pallas' honors were mostly voted by the Senate, Oost (1958: 131-33) argues that the tone of those who proposed them (who had little choice but to please the *princeps*) was ironic.

Pallas' influence was at its height in 52 CE, when he assisted Claudius in solving the legal problem of the status of free women who married slaves, a solution accepted by the Senate and for which Pallas was voted the honors mentioned above. But after Claudius' death and Nero's accession in 54, followed by Agrippina's rapid decline in power (after a brief period of glory), the young *princeps* followed the advice of his counselors and removed Pallas from power (January, 55 CE; Tacitus, *Ann.* 13.14-15; cf. Oost 1958: 132-35). He seems to have retained some influence, for Josephus credits him with interceding in behalf of Felix against Judean accusers (*Ant.* 20.182). Pallas died in 62 CE, suddenly and (therefore?) reportedly as the result of poison arranged

procurator¹⁵⁴⁸ of Judea, as well as¹⁵⁴⁹ of Samaria, Galilee,¹⁵⁵⁰ and Perea;¹⁵⁵¹ he shifted* Agrippa from Chalcis¹⁵⁵² to a greater kingdom,¹⁵⁵³ having given to him the province¹⁵⁵⁴ that had been Philip's—this was Trachonitis and Batanea and Gaulanitis¹⁵⁵⁵—and he added the kingdom of Lysanias¹⁵⁵⁶ and the tetrarchy that had been Varus's.¹⁵⁵⁷ **248** After administering

by Nero, though the explanation has little to commend it (Suetonius, *Nero* 35; Tacitus, *Ann.* 14.65; Dio 62.14.3).

¹⁵⁴⁸ See the note at 2.117.

¹⁵⁴⁹ In his effort to spell things out (it seems), Josephus exacerbates some inconsistencies. (a) This description assumes that Judea does not include Samaria and Galilee. Although this accords with the narrower sense of the word (Judea proper, distinct from Samaria) in some of his geographical descriptions (2.96; 3.48), even in those contexts Josephus can include at least Samaria and Idumea (3.55); see also his characterization of Herod's larger domain as Judea (1.225, 244). Often he assumes that Galilee's Judeans are part of Judea proper (e.g., 2.192-93, 202), as in the recent episode Judeans come from Galilee (2.232; cf. 3.53, 143, 409 [coastal Caesarea—N of even Samaria—is "one of the largest cities of Judea"]). The broader sense of the word was familiar to Roman audiences (Pliny, *Nat.* 5.70 [which has Galilee and Perea as *partes* of Iudaea, though also distinguishing them]; Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.6). (b) Josephus implies here that Samaria, Galilee, and Perea were new additions to Felix's territory as procurator of Judea, whereas in fact he had the same territory as the preceding governors after King Agrippa (2.220: Claudius made "the kingdoms" or royal territories into a province). The parallel (*Ant.* 20.137) has Felix dispatched simply to take charge of affairs "in Judea." Noting the peculiarity of this description, Aberbach (1949-50: 6) takes it as a vestige of the circumstance "that Felix had in fact been governor of one of these districts, namely Galilee, and was now appointed over the whole of Palestine." See the note to "Cumanus" at 2.223.

¹⁵⁵⁰ It is a famous problem (see the note to "Cumanus" at 2.223) that Tacitus confidently makes Felix and Cumanus contemporary governors, giving the former Samaria and the latter Galilee (*Ann.* 12.54). Tacitus portrays the two procurators in perpetual conflict, each collaborating with troublesome elements in his district, until the matter is resolved by the Syrian legate Quadratus, who favors Felix and unfairly condemns Cumanus. Given Josephus' better local knowledge and more detailed accounts, most scholars think that Tacitus is confused: he knows about a conflict involving Cumanus and Samaria, but puts the pieces together mistakenly. Any effort to reconcile the two accounts (e.g., Aberbach 1949) must make many assumptions to explain the range of differences. It is difficult to see how to con-

struct a probable hypothesis from available evidence.

¹⁵⁵¹ See notes at 2.43, 57.

¹⁵⁵² Formerly the territory of Agrippa's brother Herod (see 2.217, 221 and notes), subsequently given to Agrippa II (2.223).

¹⁵⁵³ *Ant.* 20.138 dates this major shift in Agrippa's territories to a time when Claudius had completed 12 years of rule: thus, in the 12 months from Jan. 25, 53 CE to January 54. The passage also indicates that Agrippa had ruled Chalcis for 4 years, which would put the the beginning of his rule there in either 49 or 50, each of which complicates other calculations, especially the events in Caesarea that precipitated the outbreak of war (2.284 below); see note to "kingdom" at 2.223.

¹⁵⁵⁴ Translated thus for consistency, since this term (*ἐπαρχία*) usually indicates a "province" (*provincia*) which a legate, proconsul, prefect, or procurator governs. Josephus evidently uses the term more broadly here. *Ant.* 20.138 speaks more precisely of the *tetrarchy* of Philip passing to Agrippa II.

¹⁵⁵⁵ So 2.95, which adds Auranitis and the estates of Zenon (Lysanias' territory) to Philip's tetrarchy. Curiously, although *Ant.* 18.106 names the same territories as Philip's tetrarchy at his death, the parallel passage to this one (*Ant.* 20.138) has Agrippa II receiving Philip's tetrarchy *as well as* Batanea and Trachonitis, as if they were distinct.

¹⁵⁵⁶ See the notes to "Zenon" at 2.95 and to "Lysanias's" at 2.215. This area, identified as "Lysanias' former tetrarchy of Abela" at *Ant.* 20.138 (cf. Luke 3:1), lay W and N of Damascus. Here (2.252 below) Josephus will separate out Abela (Abila, Abilene) as a separate gift.

¹⁵⁵⁷ This was likely a puzzling reference for Josephus' audience. Although Varus was a common Latin *cognomen* (meaning "twisted, bent, knock-kneed"), and the Roman *legatus* Q. Varus has played a prominent role in *War* 2 (2.16-18 etc.), the Varus in question here (or Noarus) is the former tetrarch (hence "tetrarchy" here) of Libanus or Mt. Lebanon (so *Life* 52). Tacitus (*Ann.* 12.23) and Dio (59.12.2) mention a Soaemus who received "Iturea" from Gaius in about 38 CE and held it until his own death in 49 CE. Although his territory passed back into the Roman province of Syria at that point, since Josephus identifies Varus as Soaemus' heir (*Life* 52) it seems likely that he was permitted to hold part of Soaemus' territory for a few years—until Claudius gave it to Agrippa II (here).

the *imperium* for thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days,¹⁵⁵⁸ he [Claudius] died*;¹⁵⁵⁹ he had left behind as successor to the rule Nero,¹⁵⁶⁰ **249** whom he adopted¹⁵⁶¹ as his son for inheritance of the rule through the tricks¹⁵⁶² of Agrippina his wife,¹⁵⁶³ though he had a genuine [son],¹⁵⁶⁴ Britannicus,¹⁵⁶⁵ from Messalina¹⁵⁶⁶ his former wife, and Octavia, a

¹⁵⁵⁸ This is exactly correct: counting from the day of Gaius' assassination (Jan. 24, 41) to Claudius' death on October 13, 54 (cf. *Ant.* 20.148; Suetonius, *Claud.* 45; Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.69; Dio 60.34.3).

¹⁵⁵⁹ Josephus' audience would know what he slightly elaborates in *Ant.* 20.148: that Claudius was widely rumored to have died by poisoned food arranged by his wife Agrippina (cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.66-67; Suetonius, *Claud.* 44; Dio 61.34.2-3), to expedite the rise of her son Nero to power. For discussion, see Barrett 1996: 138-42.

¹⁵⁶⁰ See the note to "Nero's principate" at 1.20. "Nero" had become part of his name only after his adoption by Claudius on Feb. 25, 50 CE, when he (L. Domitius Ahenobarbus) took Claudius' father's name (Nero Claudius Drusus) with supplements (Germanicus Caesar). For his adoption, see the following notes.

¹⁵⁶¹ Claudius adopted Nero on Feb. 25, 50 CE: notwithstanding any scheming on Agrippina's part, this made perfect sense in terms of the succession, since his own son Britannicus was only 9, and he may have wished to follow the Augustan model—with Gaius and Lucius—of a paired succession (Levick 2001: 70). For the language, see the note to "genuine [son]" below in this section.

¹⁵⁶² See the note to "trickery" at 2.106. The English translation (Greek ἀπάταις) carries a double-entendre suited to the case, given the widespread reports of Agrippina's many sexual liaisons. Among her "tricks" would presumably be her seductive ways in luring Claudius and her removal of rivals after her marriage.

¹⁵⁶³ Iulia Agrippina "the Younger," daughter of Claudius' brother Germanicus (so Claudius' niece and the former *princeps* Gaius' sister) and Vipsania Agrippina "the Elder" (herself daughter of Augustus' lieutenant Marcus Agrippa and Iulia), had a distinguished ancestry. The twice-widowed 33-year-old, with a 10-year-old son L. Domitius Ahenobarbus (future Nero) from her first marriage, was one of several candidates for the role of Claudius' 4th wife in the year 48, following Messalina's death (Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.1-3). Josephus displays here both his reflexive mistrust of women's wiles (cf. 2.121 and notes) and his eager participation in contemporary elite Roman assessments of Agrippina (on which see Barrett 1996: 6-12 *et passim*; Ginsburg 2006).

Josephus' implication that Claudius could have promoted Britannicus neglects the reality that the child was only 9, when in 50 CE the 60-year-old, congenitally ill *princeps* needed an assured succession and adopted

Nero. Like Augustus and Tiberius before him, Claudius was evidently trying to secure both "an heir and a spare"; even Agrippina's 12-year-old son Nero would need some years to reach manhood, and ended up assuming the principate at only 16. On Nero's succession see Griffin 1984: 18-33; Barrett 1996: 114-19, 146-67; Levick 2001: 69-72.

Although Josephus implies that Agrippina's tricks extended to thwarting not only Britannicus but also Claudius' natural *daughters*, this only shows that he is over-reaching to attack Agrippina. There was no chance that a woman could become *princeps*, of course, and if Josephus means that the husbands of these daughters might have been candidates, he contradicts himself by noting that Nero was pledged to Octavia (see note to "Nero" here)—unless the implication, for a knowing audience, is that the girl Octavia could have produced an heir (after a few years) with the husband who was waiting to marry her, L. Iunius Silanus, who was removed by intrigue to free her for Nero (Levick 2001: 70-71).

This loose and puzzling list of daughters might be most easily explained as Josephus' hasty synopsis of material that will later appear in *Ant.* 20.149-50, by his tacking on other children's names without much thought, after mentioning Britannicus. The same women are mentioned there, but only as background to Agrippina's efforts to thwart Britannicus and promote Nero (partly by murdering Claudius); there is no hint there that the women offered alternatives to the succession.

¹⁵⁶⁴ For the relationship between these terms, see also *Ant.* 1.154: lacking a genuine (γνήσιος) son, Abraham adopted (εἰσεποιήσατο) Lot; Isaeus, *Euph.* 2; [Demosthenes], *Leoch.* 6.

¹⁵⁶⁵ So all the Greek MSS (Βρεταννικός); Latin *Britannicum*. Josephus uses the standard Greek rendering (based on Βρεταννία)—also in Cassius Dio and others—for the person we know as Britannicus. This is his only appearance in *War*, but see the much fuller account in *Ant.* 20.149-53, of which this reads as a précis.

Ti. Claudius Caesar Germanicus was born to Messalina, who had married Claudius in 38 or 39, on Feb. 12, 41, not yet 3 weeks after Claudius' perilous achievement of supreme power. He was their second child (first was Octavia). The boy would receive the hereditary name "Britannicus" after Claudius' triumph in 44 CE, recognizing the successful invasion of Britain through the preceding year. This transference of honorary names was already a family tradition: Claudius' brother Germanicus was called this because of the exploits of his father (Nero

daughter who had been yoked in marriage by him to Nero;¹⁵⁶⁷ he also had Antonia, from Petine.¹⁵⁶⁸

(13.1) 250¹⁵⁶⁹ All the ways, then, in which Nero, having become deranged¹⁵⁷⁰ on ac-

*Claudius dies;
Nero; Nero's
character. Ant.
20.148, 154*

Claudius Drusus) in Germany; when the father died in 9 BCE, the name became posthumous and hereditary.

As Levick (2001: 56-67) shows, Britannicus was vulnerable from birth to rivals for power—and this seems a good part of the explanation for his teenage mother's alliances and sexual liaisons with powerful men: to protect her child's prospects. According to unanimous contemporary tradition, the teenage emperor Nero had him poisoned, at a banquet in February 55 CE—with the collusion of an expert poisoner and a Praetorian tribune, who were both later rewarded—to remove the threat (*Ant.* 20.152; Tacitus, *Ann.* 13.15-17; Suetonius, *Nero* 33.2; Dio 61.1.2; Herodian 4.5.6). For critical discussion, see Barrett 1996: 170-72, who suggests death from tetanoid epilepsy.

It was also reported that that the future *princeps* Titus, a boyhood friend of Britannicus, drank from the same cup and narrowly escaped death (Suetonius, *Tit.* 2). But since Britannicus' memory was conspicuously honored by the Flavians, with statues and coins, modern scholars tend to the view that part of the Flavian legitimization strategy was their self-presentation as reclaimers of an abortive Claudian-Britannican tradition, a view that both Suetonius' notice and Josephus here are understood to be echoing (cf. Barrett 1996: 71; Levick 2001: 190-91).

¹⁵⁶⁶ Although MSS PAM have one σ, her name was Valeria Messallina. It seems that Claudius divorced Aelia Paetina, wife of about 10 years, for Messallina chiefly because of her favorable political associations, which better suited his rising status in the late 30s. She was in her late teens, whereas Claudius was nearing 50, but she was the great-grand-daughter of Augustus' sister Octavia (via two lines), Claudius' own cousin once removed, and like him a descendant of Marc Antony (Levick 2001: 55). On the significance of her sexual affairs and moves against rivals, see previous note. It was one such affair that precipitated her downfall: she fell in love with a consul-designate (for 49 CE), Gaius Silius. Tacitus relates the story in detail (*Ann.* 11.25-38): the pair decided to marry, and even have friends witness the event, while Claudius was away in Ostia; Silius would adopt Britannicus and rise to supreme power. But the freedman Narcissus, who knew that a change of *princeps* would mean his own removal, drove Claudius onward in relentless prosecution of the couple. The disgraced Messallina was assisted in her suicide by a tribune of the Guard (over which Narcissus had managed to win command for one day). Cf. Levick 2001: 63-67.

¹⁵⁶⁷ Claudia Octavia was the first child of Claudius and Messallina, born about a year after their marriage

in 38/39. As a young girl (about 8 years of age) she was betrothed to L. Iunius Silanus, a union that would not have been possible before 53 CE (for her to be old enough). When Agrippina married Claudius in 49, however, she saw this planned marriage as a threat to her son Domitius' advancement: Tacitus claims that she had intended to marry Domitius (Nero) to Octavia from the start (*Ann.* 12.3), and now arranged matters by having Silanus convicted on fabricated charges of incest. The latter then killed himself, leaving Octavia unclaimed—and available for the lad who would soon become her brother: Nero (Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.4; cf. Levick 2001: 71).

¹⁵⁶⁸ In using such brief indicators without explanation, Josephus appears to assume audience knowledge; *Ant.* 20.149-50 gives a fuller summary. Although Niese changes to Πατίνη to match her known Latin name (Paetina), all the MSS have Πετίνη; Latin has *agrippina*, confusingly. Aelia Paetina was Claudius' 2nd wife, taken after his divorce in the mid-20s from the reportedly violent and adulterous Plautia Urgulanilla, and would later again be among the candidates for 4th wife (Levick 2001: 24-25, 70). Claudius and Paetina must have married by 28 CE, Levick notes, to allow for the marriage of their daughter Antonia to Cn. Pompeius Magnus in 41. Josephus' implication that Antonia and her husband could have provided Claudius with an alternative heir is a problem: her first husband was killed after being caught in a same-sex liaison (in 47 CE), possibly at Messallina's instigation; and Antonia's remarriage to Faustus Sulla, Messallina's half-brother, would not have helped their prospects after Messallina's death (Levick 2001: 61, 70).

¹⁵⁶⁹ The following paragraph reads like a précis of the material elaborated in *Ant.* 20.152-57, especially in the clipped reference to family members' murders and the final note about returning to Judean matters. Yet it is different in tone from the later version, which not only lacks any reference to Nero's insanity or savagery, but also attacks both his flatterers and his harsh critics ("liars," Josephus says), whereas this passage is itself hostile. Although this difference between *War* and *Antiquities* might be explained as a change in Josephus' actual perspective, or his parroting here an early Flavian line about the despicable Nero (whose monstrosities the Flavians were keen to erase), or his reassessment of sources in the later work, such changes of perspective are the norm wherever *War* material is reprised in *Antiquities-Life*, so that overarching explanations on the basis of new

count of a superabundance of prosperity¹⁵⁷¹ and indeed of wealth, abused fortune,¹⁵⁷² or in what manner he went through¹⁵⁷³ his brother, his wife, and his mother,¹⁵⁷⁴ from whom he transferred his savagery to the best born,¹⁵⁷⁵ **251** and how finally by reason of insanity¹⁵⁷⁶

allegiances or other biographically connected agendas seem arbitrary.

The portrait of Nero here is not simply that of his hostile detractors. Champlin compellingly argues (2003: 84-111) that Nero himself advertised and possibly even inflated his misdeeds as a function of his mythical self-representation (as Orestes, Oedipus, Alcmaeon, and Hercules *furens*), possibly seeking to explain and justify his “heroic” actions, including flaws, to the public.

¹⁵⁷⁰ This is the only occurrence of otherwise common παραφρονέω in Josephus. The implication of the aorist participle here and of the reference to Nero’s “final” insanity below (2.251)—viz., that his rule changed for the worse in mid-course—fits with the standard Roman portrait (e.g., Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.67): a promising start, the so-called *quinquennium Neronis*, a 5-year period of stability while the youth was willing to be guided by Seneca and Burrus, ended with Nero’s murder of his mother Agrippina in 59, after which he increasingly went off the rails, becoming insanely preoccupied with singing and acting (cf. Pliny, *Nat.* 30.5). More generally, it was a common notion that the “bad” emperors (also Gaius and Domitian) had begun well but then degenerated, a theory that fit also with the established model of monarchy’s inevitable decay into tyranny (Herodotus 3.80; Plato, *Resp.* 8.565-69; Aristotle, *Pol.* 3.5.4 [1279b]; 4.8 [1295a]; Polybius 6.4.8; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 7.55.3). For a sustained challenge to the claim that Nero was deranged, see Champlin 2003: e.g., 64-68. Nero himself partly promoted the idea of madness by casting himself as *Hercules furens* in the theater, thus obliquely explaining to the public his unintended killing of Poppea Sabina in a fit of madness (so Champlin 2003: 106-7).

¹⁵⁷¹ A paradoxical phrase (δι’ ὑπερβολὴν εὐδαιμονίας), found also in the Athenian orators (Isocrates, *Bus.* 14; *Phil.* 69; cf. Diodorus 5.19.5; Philo, *Abr.* 115), given that εὐδαιμονία was generally accepted as the goal of the philosophical life and is featured by Josephus (151 occurrences of cognates) as the promise of the Judean constitution (e.g., *War* 1.11, 68-69, 86; *Ant.* 1.14, 20, 41, 44, 46; 3.84, 99, 274; 4.27, 414). It is often best rendered “happiness, well-being, good spirits,” of which material prosperity was a part. Can one have an excess of happiness or prosperity? Perhaps if one is sole ruler of the earth (and this may entail an implicit critique of monarchy): whereas most people must strive after εὐδαιμονία, Nero had too much and it ruined him.

¹⁵⁷² See the note to this phrase at 2.184: Josephus uses

it of the “bad emperors” Gaius and Nero, as also of some Judean rebels. On fortune, see further the note at 2.373 below.

¹⁵⁷³ This is a curious euphemism, though perhaps deliberately mild (and sarcastic), for a Roman audience who knows the stories all too well, as Josephus allows.

¹⁵⁷⁴ As the later parallel (*Ant.* 20.153) spells out, Josephus has in view: Britannicus, Claudius’ son by Messallina and Nero’s brother by adoption, killed in 55; Britannicus’ older sister Octavia (still only 19), whose betrothed husband had been removed so she could marry Nero, and who was banished twice and then killed in 62, to facilitate his marriage to Poppea Sabina (Tacitus, *Ann.* 14.60-64—and Poppea too would be killed by Nero); and his mother Agrippina, reportedly beaten to death in 59, after a failed attempt to drown her (Tacitus, *Ann.* 14.2-8). Of Agrippina, Josephus elaborates that Nero murdered her openly (in contrast to his concealed poisoning of Britannicus in the text and, as the audience knew, to the failed secret attempt to drown her in a boating accident): “this was the reward he paid her, not only for birth but also for her having secured the Roman *imperium* for him through her stratagems.” See the notes to the preceding section.

¹⁵⁷⁵ *Ant.* 20.153 adds to the family murders that Nero also killed “many illustrious men, as if they had laid plots against him.” Nero’s high-born victims included Iunius Silanus at the beginning of his reign (Tacitus, *Ann.* 13.1); from Josephus’ reference to perceived plots, he no doubt has in view chiefly C. Calpurnius Piso (*Ann.* 15.48) and the others caught up in his unmasked conspiracy of 65 CE: Flavius Scaevinus, Afranius Quintianus (*Ann.* 15.49), Seneca the Younger (former praetor), M. Annaeus Lucanus (*Ann.* 15.70), the consul M. Iulius Vestinus Atticus (*Ann.* 15.52), and the consul-designate Plautius Lateranus (*Ann.* 15.61). Other notable casualties of Nero’s later reign were Cn. Domitius Corbulo, P. Clodius Thrase-a Paetus, and Borea Soranus (*Ann.* 16.21), not to mention numerous knights and soldiers.

¹⁵⁷⁶ Greek φρενοβλάβεια; see the note at 2.105. Thackeray (here and subsequently) has “infatuation.” Pliny (*Nat.* 30.5) makes a strikingly similar connection between Nero’s theatrical pursuits and a perversity brought on by his unique fortune. For a compelling argument against the assumption of Nero’s detractors that his exploits in the theater were insane, since he pursued these interests with remarkable discipline from an early

he drifted¹⁵⁷⁷ into stage and theater¹⁵⁷⁸—since this is burdensome for everyone¹⁵⁷⁹ I shall leave it aside and turn to the things that happened to the Judeans in his time.¹⁵⁸⁰

(13.2) 252 And so he gave* Lesser Armenia¹⁵⁸¹ to Aristobulus the son of Herod¹⁵⁸² to rule as king,¹⁵⁸³ and he added* to the kingdom of Agrippa four cities with their toparchies, Abela¹⁵⁸⁴ and Iulias in Perea,¹⁵⁸⁵ and Tarichea¹⁵⁸⁶ and Tiberias of Galilee,¹⁵⁸⁷ and for the remainder of Judea¹⁵⁸⁸ he established Felix as procurator.¹⁵⁸⁹

Agrippa receives four cities. Ant. 20.158

age (without any attempt to whitewash his crimes), see Champlin 2003: 53-83; cf. Griffin 1984: 119-63.

¹⁵⁷⁷ This metaphorical language evokes a ship foundering off course: perhaps the ship of state, with the person who should be its competent helmsman losing his way (Plato, *Pol.* 296e, 297e-299c, 302a; *Resp.* 341c-d; Plutarch, *Phil.* 17.3-4; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 48.14).

¹⁵⁷⁸ On Nero's infamous (but evidently serious) passion for singing, lyre playing, and chariot-racing, even rigging competitions in Naples, Rome, and Achaea, see Suetonius, *Nero* 20-25; Tacitus, *Ann.* 14.14; 15.65; 16.4; Dio 63.8.1-11.1; Griffin 1984: 119-63; Champlin 2003: 53-83.

¹⁵⁷⁹ Greek ἐπειδὴ δι' ὄχλου πᾶσιν ἐστίν. See Feldman's note to this phrase in BJP 3 at Ant. 3.197, in the same sort of context: Josephus begs off describing things that might lose his audience's attention. He will use the same phrase in a similar context at *War* 4.496, in declining to discuss the recent Roman civil war. There he explains why such a discussion would be burdensome: the story is already well known through many other accounts. The same point is made in the parallel to the present passage (Ant. 20.154): *many historians* have told the story of Nero. Tacitus occasionally interacts directly with some of those other accounts (e.g., *Ann.* 14.2). Champlin (2003: 36-52) identifies the elder Pliny (a hostile outsider), Fabius Rusticus (also hostile), and Cluvius Rufus (a close associate of Nero's, and more neutral) as the main contemporary sources, known to us though their works were lost, who were used by Tacitus, Suetonius, and Cassius Dio (the largely extant sources for Nero). In the parallel, Josephus adds the intriguing observation that those who were treated well by Nero have in their gratitude ignored the truth—a helpful reminder that much more positive assessments of Nero once circulated—while he condemns both flattery and denunciation as unworthy of the historian (cf. *War* 1.1-2; Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.1).

¹⁵⁸⁰ In the parallel Josephus makes the segue with a more extended critique of the current work on Nero (in some tension with his claim not to deal with it because so many others have): whereas all these writers are heavily biased, he has an obligation to tell both sides of the *Judean* story, including misfortunes and mistakes (Ant. 20.157).

¹⁵⁸¹ Or *Armenia Minor* (see note to “Greater Arme-

nia” at 2.222); this region and *Armenia Maior* were both well known to Josephus' Roman audience because of important events during the 60s. *Armenia Minor* was in Asia Minor, N of Cappadocia and SE of Pontus, W of the Euphrates; it was centered in the city of Nicopolis (Yeilyayla, Suehri, Sivas), in modern Turkey.

¹⁵⁸² That is, Herod of Chalcis, d. 48 CE (see 2.217, 221, 223).

¹⁵⁸³ For this new kingship see Ant. 20.158. Tacitus also mentions it (*Ann.* 13.7).

¹⁵⁸⁴ See the note to “Lysanias” at 2.247. Ant. 20.138 identifies this as Lysanias' former tetrarchy, N and W of Damascus (in the saddle between Mt. Hermon to the S and the Antilebanon range to the N), given to Agrippa already by Claudius.

¹⁵⁸⁵ A foundation of Herod Antipas in honor of Augustus' wife Livia (later Iulia). See the notes to “Betharamatha” at 2.59 and to “Iulias” at 2.168. The parallel (Ant. 20.159) claims that 14 villages went with Iulias as its hinterland. The Latin translation shows considerable confusion here in reading *in iturea—regione* (Iturea lying in the Bekaa valley far to the N).

¹⁵⁸⁶ This site, also known as Magdala (“tower-place”), about 6 km (3.75 miles) N of Tiberias along the W shore of Lake Kinneret, will become an important base for Josephus as he tries to command Galilee during the early revolt. See the note at 2.596.

¹⁵⁸⁷ Tiberias was controversially founded in 18/19 CE as a new capital by Antipas (Ant. 18.36-38), who once gave his struggling young nephew, Agrippa II's father, an administrative position there (18.149). Nero's gift of these cities with their hinterlands to Agrippa II would become a significant grievance among the Tiberians, exploited by Justus of Tiberias to fan the flames of revolt, because of the loss of prestige that resulted (*Life* 38-40). Josephus will base himself in Tiberias and Tarichea (2.568, 572, 596ff.), strategically located for access to the Great (Jezreel) Plain, Lower Galilee, the Beit Netofa valley, and Gamala in the Golan.

¹⁵⁸⁸ “The remainder of Judea” (τὴν λοιπὴν Ἰουδαίαν)—i.e., minus these Galilean, Peraan, and northern centers. This notice thus assumes a broad meaning for “Judea”; see the note to “as well as” at 2.247.

¹⁵⁸⁹ Felix had been sent out by Claudius (2.247). Nero confirms his appointment, after excising a few cities from his province for presentation to Agrippa II.

*Felix captures
brigand chief
Eleazar bar
Deineus. Ant.
20.160*

*Appearance
of sicarii in
Jerusalem. Ant.
20.165 (cf. 186)*

253 This [Felix] captured alive both the chief bandit¹⁵⁹⁰ Eleazar,¹⁵⁹¹ who had been plundering¹⁵⁹² the countryside for twenty years,¹⁵⁹³ and many of those with him,¹⁵⁹⁴ and sent [them] up to Rome.¹⁵⁹⁵ Of the bandits who were crucified by him and of the common folk¹⁵⁹⁶ discovered to be in league¹⁵⁹⁷ [with them] whom he punished, there was some countless horde.¹⁵⁹⁸

(13.3) 254 After the countryside¹⁵⁹⁹ had been purged,¹⁶⁰⁰ however, a different species¹⁶⁰¹

¹⁵⁹⁰ See the note to this phrase at 2.56.

¹⁵⁹¹ *Ant.* 20.161 elaborates, or this passage condenses: Eleazar son of Deineus (as at *War* 2.235), who had “established the company of bandits,” was tricked by Felix. After extending a pledge of security, the governor promptly arrested him. In *War*, Josephus does not clearly identify this Eleazar as son of Deineus; he does connect him with the (already existing) bandit bloc, but there are many Eleazars in the narrative, several connected with “banditry,” and since Josephus introduced an Alexander as colleague of Eleazar son of Deineus, who is not present here, the identification is far from obvious. This is one of many indications that he does not expect his audience (or readership) to follow such links through; it may be a clue that he intended oral presentation rather than careful study of the text.

¹⁵⁹² The verb (ληΐζομαι) is cognate to the nouns “bandit” (ληστής) and “chief bandit”: this is what bandits, by definition, do.

¹⁵⁹³ A detail found only here (absent also from the *Antiquities* parallel). It would help to explain Eleazar’s ability to take over the leadership of the other Judeans, or their invitation to him (*Ant.* 20.121), if he had been a well known and long-established militia leader.

¹⁵⁹⁴ On governors’ fundamental responsibilities for dealing with provincial banditry, see the note to “bandits” at 2.229. *Ant.* 20.161 says that he “had organized the [singular] company of bandits,” suggesting as this passage does a consolidation of “bandit” (and guerrilla?) activities under Eleazar’s leadership at the time.

¹⁵⁹⁵ See the note to “Deineus” at 2.235: the contrast between Eleazar’s being sent to Rome and the on-site crucifixion of a vast number of more ordinary bandits may suggest that he he was a man of social status, possibly even a Roman citizen. Felix also dispatched a number of other offenders to Rome, including some aristocratic friends of Josephus, sent—he claims—on a “minor and incidental charge,” whose release he secured through a personal embassy (*Life* 13; see notes in BJP 9). The NT book of Acts dates the apostle Paul’s Judean imprisonment to about 2 years before the end of Felix’s term (ca. 57 CE?), though it claims that Felix kept him in prison, expecting a bribe for his release. It was his successor Festus who obliged Paul’s request, on the strength of Roman citizenship, for a hearing before Nero in Rome (Acts 23:23-24:27).

¹⁵⁹⁶ This is the first of 13 occurrences of δημότης in Josephus, all in *War*. Whereas in classical Greek the term often emphasizes a class distinction (“non-élite,” cf. LSJ), Josephus’ frequent mention of the “eminent” or “notables” among this group (2.533; 4.336; 6.302, 356) indicates a different sense. He uses the term generally to distinguish the hard core of “bandits” and their leaders from the good and ordinary people (whom he consistently describes as opposed to revolt): 2.533, 624, 646; 4.336, 353; 5.21, 336, 440, 453. Here, there is obviously no opposition between bandits and common folk; see next note.

¹⁵⁹⁷ This notice lends some support to models of “social banditry” in the 1st century, according to which bandits were largely agents of revolution against the establishment, a militant wing that nonetheless enjoyed the widespread support (including shelter and supply) of the common poor; parallels have been found in modern Spain and Latin America (cf. Hobsbawm 1972; Horsley 1979; Horsley and Hanson 1988; cf. Laitin 1995). Such models have faced trenchant critique, especially from Brent Shaw (1984), for ignoring fundamental social structures of ancient society, according to which “banditry” was often vertically aligned—around powerful men (see note to “bandit” at *Life* 21 in BJP 9). In *War*, too, we frequently see bandits assembled around men of substance and standing (see note to “chief bandit” at 2.56). Although class struggle in the post-industrial Marxist sense does not work as a general explanation of the revolt (or pre-revolt banditry), *pace* Faulkner 2004, certainly Josephus indicates elements of class conflict in pre-war Judea (notably *War* 2.426-27). Cf. Brunt 1990: 282-87.

¹⁵⁹⁸ Here we have a distinctive stylistic trait of Josephus: he uses the phrase ἄπειρόν τι πλῆθος 7 times (also 2.543, 592; *Ant.* 2.300; 4.163; 5.48; 9.219), though it is unattested before his time except in a pseudo-Platonic work (Stephanus 404a). For the phrase without the pronoun, see the note at 2.43.

¹⁵⁹⁹ Josephus picks up on what he has just said, that Eleazar’s bandits were based in the countryside (χώρα); he moves now to a contrast with the major city, Jerusalem.

¹⁶⁰⁰ Or “purified” or simply “cleared, cleaned” (καθαίρω, καθαρός). This is charged language in *War*, the potential remedy for the pollution (μιάνω, μίασμα, μαρρός—cf. 6.110) created by the rebels, especially of

of bandits¹⁶⁰² was creeping up¹⁶⁰³ in Hierosolyma, those called *sicarii*:¹⁶⁰⁴ murdering people

the temple; see the notes to “pollutes” and “polluted” at 2.132, 210. This is a considerable, if incidental, compliment to Felix’s abilities as governor, since governor’s primary responsibility was to neutralize bandits and prevent other causes of disorder; see note to “bandits” at 2.229.

¹⁶⁰¹ Or “forms, kinds”; see the note to “forms” at 2.119. We translate εἶδος as “species” here because of the botanical verb that follows, suggesting a sort of Aristotelian scientific analysis.

¹⁶⁰² See the note to “chief bandit” at 2.56.

¹⁶⁰³ All 3 occurrences of ἐπιφύω in Josephus (also *Ant.* 13.2; 15.44) have a distinctly disparaging tone. The same tone is present in Josephus’ use of παραφύομαι—in connection with the Pharisees (*War* 1.110).

¹⁶⁰⁴ Lit. “knifery,” from Latin *sica* (a type of dagger). Josephus will partly explain the name here (2.255) and offer a brief reminder at their next appearance (2.425). Only *Ant.* 20.186 will describe the weapons in question (see note to “daggers” at 2.255). His use of a transliterated Latin term in this Atticizing Greek composition is revealing of his assumptions concerning audience knowledge. He expects them to know the meaning of Latin *sica* and *sicarii*, but needs to elaborate on the particular activity connecting these Judeans with daggers. (It may be that he is condensing an account such as that behind *Ant.* 20.186.)

Romans knew the law from Sulla’s time (ca. 81 BCE) concerning *sicarii* and poisoners or sorcerers (*lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficiis*): it covered a considerable range of offenses (Justinian, *Dig.* 48.1; *Inst.* 4.18.5) and was perhaps aimed initially at gangsters more than murderers (Cloud 1969; cf. Rives 2006). Cicero’s *pro Cluentio* and *pro Sestio* are largely devoted to defending clients charged under this legislation; cf. Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.1.12.

Scholarship on the *sicarii* of Judea, assuming that they were a coherent and self-conscious group, undertakes to define their place vis-à-vis other groups (Hengel 1989: 396-97; Zeitlin 1965, 1967; Smith 1971; Horsley 1979; for analysis, Brighton 2005: 1-32). Some basic problems are overlooked in this kind of search, however (cf. Firpo 1997: 709-11). First, although Josephus’ language can seem to imply that *sicarii* formed a group (e.g., by saying that “they were called *sicarii*” [cf. 2.425; 4.400, 516; 7.410], much as other groups “were called” Essenes or Pharisees [2.119]), other indicators leave room for doubt. Here, e.g., it seems that *sicarii* were establishing themselves by name under Nero, and Jonathan was the first victim of many, whereas in *Ant.* 20.162-66, 185-88 Jonathan’s murder is a unique contract-killing (not an activity of a group called *sicarii*), which sets in motion

a trend of dispatching one’s enemies with concealed daggers (see the note to “first” at 2.256 below); only under Festus does the practice or the group (?) receive a name there.

Within *War*, moreover, Josephus’ usage of the term shows a degree of slippage. Certain *sicarii*, still carrying this name that Josephus connects with a technique for urban assassination (not with an ideology), will go to Masada under Eleazar’s leadership (4.400, 516; 7.253-311); yet after the reportedly complete self-destruction of the group there, a substantial number of *sicarii* (600-1,000?) escape to Alexandria from somewhere to cause further trouble (7.410-19). Yet again, after they have been removed to a man (7.416), “the madness of the *sicarii*” reappears in Cyrene—in the odd form of a general trouble-maker (not apparently an urban dagger-assassin) named Jonathan (7.437-44; for analysis, Brighton 2005: esp. 194-201). Even in the present passage, Josephus describes former *friends* using concealed knives to eliminate each other as part of the same social problem (2.254, 255-56): this does not sound like a political or militant organization, but only a means of killing; the label *sicarii* seems to lack content.

Further, it seems odd that a group should be known exclusively for its *modus operandi*: not “swords of righteousness” or similar, but simply “wielders of the small curved dagger,” with no indications of motive or purpose. The label is thus comparable to most of Josephus’ other favored labels (“bandits, revolutionaries, rebels,” etc.). If his category “bandits” has something like the force of modern “terrorists,” *sicarii* has the vividness—and corresponding vagueness—of modern “cut-throats,” “gunmen,” or “bombers.”

Finally, it is perplexing (though seldom pondered in scholarship) that a Judean militant or “nationalist” group should have been known by, and built its identity around, a Latin name. To suggest, as is usual, that the tag was applied by Roman authorities only deepens the problem, because the sole reason given by Josephus for their name concerns their use of the *sica*-like knife (2.425; *Ant.* 20.186). What, if anything, did they call themselves? It would require an implausible sense of irony on their part to imagine that they cherished the name *sicarii*. Nor is it easy to imagine either the Hebrew- and Aramaic-speaking Judean elite or the Greek-speaking auxiliary forces in Judea bestowing the label. And one is hard pressed to conceive of a Roman procurator caring enough to define one particular group of Judean trouble-makers in distinction from others. Hengel, realizing the problem, suggests that the Romans called some Judean rebels *sicarii*, that it was taken over by the group(s) themselves as a badge

by day and in the middle of the city, **255** and during the festivals,¹⁶⁰⁵ especially, mingling with the mob and concealing small daggers¹⁶⁰⁶ under their clothes,¹⁶⁰⁷ with these they would stab their foes.¹⁶⁰⁸ Then, when the latter had fallen, those who had committed the murders would take the part of those who were indignant at¹⁶⁰⁹ [the murder], so that they would go completely undiscovered¹⁶¹⁰ by virtue of [their] credibility.¹⁶¹¹

of honor (cf. Protestant, Huguenot), and that the Judeans themselves broadened its usage (1989: 49, 396-97). But which “Romans” (in the absence of local legions) had such a motive for fine observation of specific groups? And does the Latin for “knifers” really have the sort of potential that “protestant” had (unless the groups were proud criminal gangs)? The main problem is that Josephus’ evidence (above), our nearly exclusive source in the period, remains unexplained.

It is curious that Hengel should argue from the nearly exclusive use of the term by Josephus (1989: 396) that “it was apparently introduced by the Romans.” That Josephus himself might have conjured the Latin *sicarii* for his literary purposes, as he writes in Rome, is not wholly implausible. The main problems are (a) the appearance of the name in Acts and rabbinic literature and (b) his repeated claim (here and 4.400) that “they are called [or styled] *sicarii*.” But the sole reference to *sicarii* in Acts (21:38) is either confused or ironic, in having them led by “the Egyptian” (cf. 2.261-63 below) into the desert, a confusion perhaps best explained as a faulty recollection of Josephus’ narratives (so Mason 2003c: 151-96). As for the Talmud: *m. Maksh.* 1.6 may mention סקרין, but the MS variant has סיקרין, matching the Mishnah’s other references to *sikarikon* in connection with land purchases (*m. Bik.* 1.2; 2.3; *Git.* 5.6), which appear to refer to something other than *sicarii* (cf. Hengel 1989: 51-53). The clearest reference comes only from the *Bavli*—compiled after the same half-millennium interval from Josephus that separates us from the German Reformation—which identifies one ben Batiah, nephew of Yohanan ben Zakkai, as “Abba Sikra” and head of the *biryoni* (“thugs”) in Jerusalem at the beginning of the war (*b. Git.* 56a). If the Talmud here preserves an authentic tradition from before 70, and if it is independent of Josephus’ famous narratives, and if “Sikra” derives from *sicarii*, then the label was not Josephus’ literary invention. But those conditions are far from being clearly met. As for “being called *sicarii*,” the passage in which he speaks of “the *sicarii* and those who were called bandits” (*Ant.* 20.186) seems a good index to the looseness of his language. If “bandit” was no real group label, but chiefly supplied by Josephus himself, then there is no reason to treat the *sicarii* label any differently.

Whatever the original use of *sicarii* in Judea may have been, Josephus has eagerly absorbed it into his arsenal of disparaging labels for trouble-makers, apparently with a Latin-speaking audience in view.

¹⁶⁰⁵ For festivals as times of upheaval, see the note to “subversive” at 2.224. Here Josephus will continue to develop one of *War*’s basic themes (see e.g. 2.30): that precisely at the festivals appointed for celebrating liberation and divine blessing, the Judeans had become most vulnerable to attack, enslaved, and fearful (see 4.402, linking *sicarii* activities with the Passover-liberation season). In this case, a former high priest is the first victim of slaughter (2.256).

¹⁶⁰⁶ Greek μικρὰ ξιφίδια. At 2.425 Josephus will speak less precisely of “swords” under the robes, though at *Ant.* 20.186 (describing the *sicarii* under Festus) he will pause to describe the small daggers in question: approximating the size of the Persian *acinaces* (or scimitar) but more curved and like the Roman *sica*; hence the name applied to these bandits. The *sica* was known in Rome as the “Thracian sword (or dagger),” because of its use by the “Thracian” type of gladiator. Its sharp curve made it a particularly brutal weapon. Whereas the Thracian *sica* was about the length of the straight sword (*gladius*), however, Josephus implies that the Judean weapon was smaller and more easily concealed, though with a similarly radical curve.

¹⁶⁰⁷ At *Ant.* 15.282 Josephus will describe a plot against King Herod, in which his would-be assassins concealed daggers (ξιφίδια) under their clothes. Ironically, Josephus will direct his own bodyguards to adopt the same practice, to protect him in close quarters from his enemies; he did the same, except that he used an armored vest and full sword beneath his cloak (*Life* 293, 303).

¹⁶⁰⁸ Greek τὸς διαφόρους. Were it not for the repetition of the phrase in 2.257, one might translate this absolute phrase as “the distinguished”: these assassins were destroying sections of the élite (as in 2.425-26). But in 2.257 it is the potential victims who watch these “differing ones” as threats to themselves.

¹⁶⁰⁹ This compound verb (ἐπαγανακτέω), only here in Josephus, is exceedingly rare. It is unattested in literature before his time, but is used by his younger contemporary Plutarch (*Alc.* 14.12; *Ages.* 19.6) and very rarely thereafter (Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 3.11 [73.5]; then Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 2.20 quoting Josephus).

¹⁶¹⁰ This is the only occurrence of ἀνέυρετος in Josephus; it is a word with slight attestation before his time—mainly in philosophical contexts (e.g., Xenophanes, *Test.* frag. 1; Plato, *Crat.* 421d; *Pol.* 294d; *Leg.* 874a; Chryssippus, *SVF Frag.* 657; Philo, *Somm.* 1.8, 17; *Fug.* 153).

256 First, then, Ionathes the high priest¹⁶¹² was butchered*¹⁶¹³ by them, but after him many were being done away with every day,¹⁶¹⁴ and even more difficult than these calamities was the fear of them,¹⁶¹⁵ with each [person] expecting death every hour,¹⁶¹⁶ just as in war. **257** They would scrutinize their foes¹⁶¹⁷ from a distance; there was no trust¹⁶¹⁸ even among approaching friends,¹⁶¹⁹ but in the midst of their suspicions and efforts at security¹⁶²⁰ they would be done away with.¹⁶²¹ Such was the alacrity of those who were plotting and their skill at concealing themselves.

Murder of former high priest Jonathan. Ant. 20.162

(13.4) 258 A different band of worthless [fellows]¹⁶²² united with these—purer in

In the phrase ὑπὸ ἀξιοπιστίας ἦσαν ἀνεύρετοι, then, Josephus has connected two very rare words (see next note), after an extremely rare compound verb (previous note), for effect.

¹⁶¹¹ Greek ἀξιοπιστία. See the note at 2.103.

¹⁶¹² “First” (πρῶτος) may be ironic in keeping with the image of slaughter: the former high priest, who should have been first in status and honor, who had indeed been first in administering the entire cultic system, is now instead the first sacrificial victim of this new disease. The word is especially significant if Josephus has before him the source of *Ant.* 20.162. There he will claim that Jonathan had been responsible for Felix’s presence in Judea, having asked Claudius to send him—presumably when the high priest had been part of the successful Judean delegation to Claudius, appealing against Cumanus and the Samaritans (2.243). If this happened, Jonathan may have made the proposal as a diplomatic gesture, to help win the favor of Claudius’ influential freedman Pallas (Felix’s brother), who was reportedly hostile to the Judean cause (20.135). But once back in Judea, where Felix was proving unpopular, Jonathan felt the need to criticize the procurator publicly, which reportedly irritated (and no doubt puzzled) him. Felix allegedly arranged his murder by bribing Jonathan’s best friend, Doras, who in turn hired bandits (20.160-64). Josephus claims there that this execution by means of the bandits’ concealed daggers, because it went unpunished, initiated a trend. Only gradually (by Festus’ time?), it seems, did such bandits come to be known as *sicarii* (20.185-86).

¹⁶¹³ See the note to “butchered” at 2.30. The former high priest thus becomes another instance of Josephus’ deep thematic link between human and animal slaughter, especially during festivals (as the previous sentence indicates).

¹⁶¹⁴ Although this phrase (καθ’ ἡμέραν) last appeared in bk. 1 (1.587), it will appear 4 times in the next few paragraphs (here and 2.265, 267, 283); this repetition helps to escalate the narrative tension as it moves to a crisis.

¹⁶¹⁵ Greek τῶν συμφορῶν ὁ φόβος ἦν χαλεπώτερος. There is a rough parallel at 7.104: as the Judeans of Antioch anxiously await Titus’ response to the other residents’ appeal for their expulsion: καὶ χαλεπὸς τοῖς

Ἰουδαίοις ὁ φόβος ἦν. “Calamities” (sing. συμφορά) is part of a fundamental tragic theme in *War*; see the notes at 1.9; 2.186.

¹⁶¹⁶ “Every hour” contrasts with “every day” to provide (rhetorical) justification for the claim that the fear was harsher than the murders themselves. If taken earnestly this would be an absurd proposition, since of course a person’s fear of death, even if constant or hourly, does not bear comparison with real and brutal death; the (merely) daily deaths are of different people! Josephus appears to get carried away with his rhetoric as he climbs the tragic scale: first an individual, *Jonathan*, but then *many*; and yet worse was the fear, which affected *all*; and whereas the deaths were *daily*, the fear was *hourly*, which must be worse! Josephus employs a similar sort of escalation—listing terrible atrocities in a rising scale, but declaring the resulting tension the worst thing of all (depending upon the MS reading)—at 2.461-65 below.

¹⁶¹⁷ See the note at 2.255.

¹⁶¹⁸ Or “loyalty, fidelity” (πίστις).

¹⁶¹⁹ According to the parallel (*Ant.* 20.163) it is Jonathan’s “most trustworthy friend” (Doras) who arranges for his murder. Trust and friendship are a common collocation in Josephus (1.470; 2.21, 104; 7.26; *Ant.* 6.285; 7.5, 24, 211-12; 10.2; 12.402; 13.51; 16.180, 256; *Life* 79, 163, 234, 378; *Apion* 2.134), as in other authors, whether ritualized or personal friendship is in view (formulaic in Homer, *Il.* 3.73 etc.; Theognis, *Eleg.* 209; Thucydides 4.74.2).

¹⁶²⁰ Or “guarding, protection.” For the Josephan collocation of ὑπόνοια and φυλακή (the word here) see also *Ant.* 13.289.

¹⁶²¹ See the note to *sicarii* at 2.254: the murders in view here seem to constitute a rash of activity even among former friends, not the program of a coherent group known as *sicarii*.

¹⁶²² See the note at 2.156. Here is another clue (see note to *sicarii* at 2.254) that the dagger-men may not be a coherent group, even though Josephus first presents them as a species (εἶδος) of bandit. The present group also appears as a “band” (στίφος: a close-pressed unit, column, mass), though it quickly becomes clear that they are *not* a unified group; the Egyptian and his followers (2.261) are but one instance of this analytical category

hand¹⁶²³ to be sure, but more impious¹⁶²⁴ in their opinions—who themselves, no less than the butchers,¹⁶²⁵ spoiled¹⁶²⁶ the city’s prosperity.¹⁶²⁷ **259** For deceitful¹⁶²⁸ people and rogues,¹⁶²⁹ in a show¹⁶³⁰ of divine inspiration¹⁶³¹ busying themselves¹⁶³² with revolutionary matters¹⁶³³ and upheavals,¹⁶³⁴ were persuading the mob to be possessed,¹⁶³⁵ and leading

constructed by Josephus. Cf. 4.135: various chief bandits with their own organizations will eventually join, Josephus says, into one band (στῖφος) in Jerusalem—except for all the *stasis* that follows (e.g., 4.353, 362-63, 371-76, 388-97; 5.20-27).

¹⁶²³ I.e., not being polluted with blood. For “pure hands” as a Josephan phrase, see 5.403; *Ant.* 4.222; cf. *War* 2.141. The association is ancient, both classical (Aeschylus, *Eum.* 313; Herodotus 1.35; Antiphon, *Caed. Herod.* 11, 82; Plato, *Leg.* 831a, 864e [esp. in relation to murder]; Demosthenes, *Tim.* 60; Aeschines, *Fals. leg.* 148) and biblical (LXX Lev 11:27; 14:4, 28; 2 Kgs 22:21; Pss 17:21; Isa 1:15-16; Job 17:9).

¹⁶²⁴ This (ἀσεβής) is a common evaluative adjective in Josephus, appearing 60 times (148 including cognates), the opposite of virtuous εὐσεβής (32 times, 145 all cognates).

¹⁶²⁵ That is, the *sicarii* just described: the noun is cognate to the verb rendered “butchered” at 2.256. Of this vivid noun’s (σφαγέυς) 10 occurrences in Josephus, 7 are in *Ant.* 19, mostly referring to “Gaius’ butchers.” The other occurrence in *War* (7.395), significantly, has to do with the knife-men (*sicarii*) of Masada.

¹⁶²⁶ In *War* the verb λυμαίνω occurs 6 times. Of these, 3 follow in quick succession here (also 2.271, 278), in connection with the various governors, who change roles in relation to “spoiling.” Whereas Felix and Festus move against the despoilers, Albinus and Gessius Florus themselves become the chief despoilers. The culmination of this development comes with the noun at 2.280 (used of Florus).

¹⁶²⁷ Or “well-being, happiness” (Greek εὐδαιμονία), a key term in Josephus. See the note to “prosperity” at 2.86.

¹⁶²⁸ This is the only occurrence of the adjective πλάνος in Josephus. The collocation of πλάνος and ἀπατεών, though seemingly natural, is found chiefly in Judean and early Christian literature (*Test. XII* 6.9.7; Philo, *Prov.* fr. 1.1; Ignatius, *Trall.* 6.2-3; *Acta Ioann.* 85; *Acta Paul. Thec.* 11; *Ep. Diogn.* 10.7).

¹⁶²⁹ Or “cheats, tricksters”; see the note to “trickery” at 2.106. The only other occurrence of ἀπατεών in *War* is at 6.288, which forms a roughly symmetrical parallel to this passage. There too the burdened populace is imposed upon by rogues, who are paired in that case with false messengers of God (καταψευδόμενοι τοῦ θεοῦ)—likewise in the context of omens. Josephus typically pairs ἀπατεών with some other disparaging term

(6.288; *Ant.* 8.232; 20.167; *Apion* 2.145, 236). In the parallel (*Ant.* 20.167) he has “*enchanters* and rogues” (οἱ δὲ γόητες καὶ ἀπατεῶνες ἄνθρωποι). All such terms are more or less interchangeable, balancing his repertoire of labels for the élite. Note incidentally the displacement of “people” (ἄνθρωποι) to accompany “rogues” in the parallel passage, which suggests a deliberate reworking of the same material or its source.

¹⁶³⁰ Or “cover, screen, pretext” (πρόσχημα). The word is used only here and at 4.154 in *War*, predicated (as *Ant.* 4.146; 14.302; 18.27) of the machinations of tyrants and would-be tyrants.

¹⁶³¹ Or “divination, omen, supersitition, divine event” (θειασμός). This rare noun (before Josephus: Thucydides 7.50.4; Nymphis, fr. 11; Polybius 12.12b.1; Dionysius Thrax, *Ars gramm.* 1.1.86; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 7.68.1; cf. Plutarch, *Nic.* 4.1; *Her. malign.* [*Mor.*] 855b) occurs in Josephus again at *War* 2.650, of omens misconstrued by the rebels in their favor. The word has the same resulting-state form as the one rendered “revolutionary matters” (see note below), which stands next to it in the Greek; this creates a certain euphony.

¹⁶³² *War* uses this verb (πραγματεύομαι) 8 times, but only in bks. 1-2, 5 times in bk. 2 (also 2.283, 318, 560, 594). In all cases it seems to have a pejorative connotation of busying oneself with some nefarious purpose.

¹⁶³³ This is the first occurrence in *War* of a noun, νεωτερισμός, that will become important in Josephus’ lexicon, especially in his later works (18 times in *Antiquities-Life*; cf. *War* 5.152; 6.343; 7.447). For usage, see the note to “revolutions” at *Life* 17 in BJP 9. It is the resulting-state noun from the verb νεωτερίζω. Although the verb is well attested early and programmatically used by Thucydides (1.58.1, 97.1, 102.3, 115.3; 2.73.3; 3.11.1, 66.2, 72.1, 75.5, 79.1, 82.1; 4.41.3, 51.1, 76.5, 80.3, 108.3; 5.14.3, 34.2; Polybius 5.29.9; cf. the note to “revolutionary bloc” at 1.4, to “revolution” at 2.5), this noun is another example of fashionable diction on Josephus’ part. Unattested in early Greek, including Thucydides and even Polybius, it begins to appear in Plato (4 times) and Demosthenes (1); Diodorus, Dionysius, Strabo, and Philo use it a few times (7, 3, 4, and 7, respectively). Only Josephus’ contemporary and fellow-statesman Plutarch matches his own interest in the word (with 36 occurrences).

¹⁶³⁴ This is again programmatic language in Josephus; see the note to “upheaval” (μεταβολή) at 1.5, and to “reversal of circumstances” at 2.113. This collocation

them out into the desert¹⁶³⁶ so that God would there show them signs of freedom.¹⁶³⁷ **260** Felix, since he reckoned this to be a foundation for rebellion,¹⁶³⁸ sent cavalry and heavy infantry against them and destroyed a vast mob.¹⁶³⁹

(13.5) 261 Yet it was with a worse blow than this that the Egyptian¹⁶⁴⁰ pseudoprophet¹⁶⁴¹

The Egyptian leads crowd to Mount of Olives. Ant. 20.169

(μεταβολή, νεωτερισμός) is not attested in literature before Josephus, though he has it also at *Ant.* 15.30. That his contemporary, Plutarch, uses it several times (*Lys.* 24.2; *Galb.* 18.3; *Mor.* [Reg. imp.] 204a; [Is. Or.] 380) seems to confirm that Josephus is using language that is in the air among his contemporary Greek statesmen-authors.

¹⁶³⁵ A rare and, in Josephus' hands, strongly pejorative verb (δαμονιάω); he will use it again only at *War* 7.389: of the Masada rebels, who proceed to their mass murder-suicide like *people possessed*. Note his understanding of possession at 7.185: the spirits of bad men inhabit and kill the living (unless the infected can be treated in time); cf. *Ant.* 8.44-49. For the important and more neutral category of the "daimonic," see the note to "other-worldly" at 2.455.

¹⁶³⁶ The Judean desert (E, NE, and SE of Jerusalem) was a constant presence, for residents of the city no more than a couple of hours' walk. It was a customary place for encountering God (e.g., Exod 3:18; 4:27; 5:1; 7:16; Ps. 55:7; 68:7; 78:52; Isa 35:1, 6; 40:3; *IQS* 8.13-14; *IQM* 1.2-3; Mark 1:3-4, 12), but also a haven for refugees from the city and/or the authorities (1 Sam 25:1; 26:2-3; 1 Macc 2.29-31; 9.33; 2 Macc 5.27).

¹⁶³⁷ Greek σημεῖα ἐλευθερίας; in sense, "signs of liberation"—messianic or apocalyptic signs. The paradigmatic signs (ΤΙΤΗΛΑ) of deliverance/freedom were those of the Exodus from Egypt (Exod 4:9, 17, 28-30; 7:3; 10:1-2; Deut 4:34; 6:22; 11:3; 29:3; Ps 78:43; Jer 32:20; Bar 2:11). Note Josephus' similar language at *Ant.* 2.327: the masses who opposed Moses after the exodus had forgotten "the signs from God that had occurred for their freedom" (τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς σημείων γεγονότων). The freedom from slavery achieved in the Exodus became the paradigm for all later hopes of liberation (hence the significance of Passover in *War*; cf. Colautti 2002 and notes to *Pascha* at 2.10, to "throats cut" at 2.30); cf. 2 Esdr. 5:1, 13; 6:20; 7:26; 8:63; *13:44*; 1 Cor 1:22; Mark 8:11-12; 13:22; Luke 11:16; John 2:18, 23; 3:2; 4:48; 7:31; 11:47-48; Acts 2:28; 7:36. From a perspective quite different from Josephus', the gospel writers attribute to Jesus a remarkably similar observation (also 2.261 below): "Pseudo-messiahs and pseudo-prophets (ψευδοπροφήται) will appear and produce signs and omens (σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα), with the aim of deceiving (πρὸς τὸ ἀποπλανᾶν) if possible the chosen" (Mark 13:22).

In Josephus the phrase "signs of freedom" appears in the singular (σημεῖον ἐλευθερίας) at *Ant.* 19.54 (cf. 186)

in connection with Gaius' assassination: there, Romans are seeking liberation from their own ruler just as other nations hope for liberation from Rome. A symmetrical counterpart to this passage within *War* (see note to "pseudoprophet" at 2.261), at 6.285, describes those who have been duped to follow another pseudo-prophet in hopes of "the signs of deliverance" (τὰ σημεῖα τῆς σωτηρίας). The phrase here has older Greek roots: Isocrates, *Arch.* 7; Ps-Lysias, *Epitaph.* 14; Aristotle, *Pol.* 1317b; *Rhet.* 1383b. There, however, it tends to mean "evidence of freedom" rather than *divine* signs or wonders.

On "freedom" as a Leitmotif of *War*, see the notes to "self-government" at 2.22 and "slavery" at 2.185, 209, as well as 2.264 with notes below. Josephus' use of the term here is sarcastic: all such attempts to secure "freedom" by military means or through direct appeals to God are doomed to failure. True freedom is not incompatible with foreign rule, if the Judeans will allow their own priestly aristocracy to manage internal affairs.

¹⁶³⁸ Greek ἀποστάσεως . . . καταβολή. The latter noun occurs in *War* only in bk. 2, where its other appearances (2.409, 417) both refer to the foundation for war (πολέμου καταβολή), created by the refusal of the young temple captain and his associates to continue the customary sacrifice for foreigners. This passage is in the same semantic domain. On ἀπόστασις, see the note at 2.39.

¹⁶³⁹ Whereas this account implies that units dispatched by Felix killed these people as they found them, the parallel (*Ant.* 20.168) suggests that the dupes were first rounded up and then punished by Felix himself (or at his order).

¹⁶⁴⁰ On this figure see also *Ant.* 20.169-72; Acts 21:38. It is striking that the man should be known by this ethnic label—rather than by his name, and not by his Judean identity: for Josephus he was an *Egyptian* who harmed the *Judeans*. But was he not also a *Ioudaios*? (If not, how did he attract such a following, and why did he have such an interest in Jerusalem?) In Alexandrian politics the label "Egyptian" was a slur: Egyptians of native ancestry were sharply distinguished from Alexandrians, whose ancestry (though thoroughly mixed by the 1st cent. CE) and culture derived from Greco-Macedonian roots, as also from the Judeans, who continually angled for equality with the Alexandrians. In the *Apion* Josephus is keen to disassociate Judeans from their widely presumed Egyptian ancestry (e.g., 2.8); most revealing is his attack on Apion for asserting the Egyptian ancestry of the Judeans while *denying his own* Egyptian identity ("he

damaged the Judeans. This enchanter¹⁶⁴² fellow appeared in the countryside¹⁶⁴³ and, hav-

falsely claimed to be an Alexandrian"; *Apion* 2.28-30; see Barclay *ad loc.* in BJP 10).

That Josephus identifies this man only as "the Egyptian" could mean either that this was the only way the man was known (odd, given that there must have been many Judeans from Egypt and Alexandria passing through Jerusalem; it is hard to imagine someone being known as "the American" in London), that he does not know his name (curious, given that he claims to know the names of even obscure troublemakers), or that he intends disparagement by this label. Most remarkable is Acts' use of the same epithet in place of a name—and apparent misuse of it, by having the Egyptian leading *sicarii* into the desert (Acts 21:38). That might suggest the author's dependence upon Josephus.

¹⁶⁴¹ Pseudoprophets will populate the later part of of Josephus' biblical paraphrase (*Ant.* 8.236, 241-42, 318, 402, 406, 409; 9.133-37; 10.66, 104, 111), but in *War* the term appears only once again (6.285), in a symmetrically parallel location: a certain charlatan and many others like him deceived the populace and cost the lives of some 6,000 with their false promises of imminent divine deliverance. (Josephus claims that these "prophets" were cynically sponsored by the tyrants, to slow the tide of desertion from a hopeless cause.)

What Josephus' Roman and Greek audiences would have understood by this term (ψευδοπροφήτης)—or "prophet" in the next sentence—is not clear. The compound noun has no attestation in classical sources, though it appears regularly in LXX Jeremiah (6:13; 33:7, 8, 11, 16; 35:1; 36:1, 8; also Zech 13:2—often where the Hebrew has simply "prophets" [נְבִיאִים] in a pejorative context) and in early Christian texts (e.g., Mark 13:22; Matt 7:15; 24:11; Acts 13:6; 2 Pet 2:1; 1 John 4:1; Rev 16:13; Ignatius, Philad. 5). In Greco-Roman usage, a "prophet" is normally one who maintains and interprets the oracles at certain sanctuaries; at Delphi was the famous prophetess, the Pythia. This is not Josephus' meaning in connection with the Egyptian, evidently. His term does, however, map closely to the semantic range of ψευδόμαντις, which *is* amply attested in classical texts—though absent from Josephus (e.g., Euripides, *Orest.* 1667; Sophocles, *Oed. col.* 1097; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 3.71.2; Lucian, *Dial. mort.* 12.5; *Dial. deor.* 18.2; *Alexander*; Artemidorus, 2.69); ψευδομάντις ("false/fake seers") can also appear in tandem with γόητες or "enchanters, wizards" (Plutarch, *Cic.* 17.5; *Pyth. or.* [Mor.] 407c), as do Josephus' false prophets (here and *War* 2.261; cf. *Ant.* 20.97).

Perhaps Josephus chooses ψευδοπροφήτης because (a) for him, ψευδόμαντις would be redundant, given that

all *manteis* in his narrative (foreign seers) are suspect; (b) prophecy is a category in which he has a large stake, as a unique Judean gift and the guarantor of truth in the Judean constitution; (c) he is adding local color that will nevertheless be understood by his audience (given that his chosen word is Greek and not a barbarian transliteration); and (d) he perhaps unconsciously reflects his great conceptual debt to Jeremiah and Daniel. See Feldman 1990; Gray 1993; Mason 1994.

¹⁶⁴² This is the first occurrence in *War* of γόης, which Josephus adds to his stock of abusive labels for troublemakers (also 2.264 below; 4.85; 5.317; *Ant.* 20.97, 160, 167, 188; *Apion* 2.145, 161). In origin the word indicates someone who wails or howls out enchantments (γοῶω): hence a wizard or sorcerer. Using the word in this literal sense, it seems, Josephus defends Moses from such an image (*Apion* 2.145, 161; cf. *Ant.* 2.320). He mainly uses the word, however, in a well-established metaphorical sense, for those who used clever speech to deceive the masses. Thus, Justus of Tiberias was, he says, able to make the worse case appear better through this verbal wizardry and deceit (γοητεία καὶ ἀπάτη, *Life* 40). In a similar way, Plato often accuses the sophists of being "enchanters" (*Soph.* 234c, 235a, 241b; *Euthyd.* 288b; *Pol.* 291c, 303c; *Gorg.* 483e). The Athenian orators and later authors use the word in the same way, and it is often paired with other terms for deceit and trickery, especially ἀπάτη, πλάνη, and cognates—as here ["those who had been tricked," also 2.259]: Demosthenes, *Cor.* 276; Polybius 4.20.5; esp. Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 11.25.4; *Is.* 4; *Thuc.* 6-7; Strabo 7.3.11. Among Josephus' contemporaries, whereas Plutarch often uses the word in its literal sense (in contexts of prophecy and magic), Dio Chrysostom favors the political application: his imaginative Alexander observes that Philip II must often speak against the orator Demosthenes, "an extremely forceful orator and enchanter" (μάλα δεινῶ ῥήτορι καὶ γόητι; *Or.* 2.19; cf. 32.11, 39 [paired with "sophist"], 77/78.34).

Josephus' language here gathers special force from the particular context: these men generated a following by pretending to be *prophets*, to speak for God. Philo reinterprets Deut 13:1-6 to say that anyone who claims to be a prophet, but uses ostensibly inspired speech to lead his followers to worship other Gods, "is an *enchanter*, but not a prophet, because he fabricated false pronouncements and oracles" (*Spec.* 1.315). Josephus will, however, use the same label for military faction-leaders and fighters (*War* 2.565; 4.85; 5.317).

¹⁶⁴³ We move back to the countryside, after the shift to the city, the *sicarii*, and the visionaries claiming inspira-

ing attracted to himself a prophet's trust,¹⁶⁴⁴ assembled around 30,000¹⁶⁴⁵ of those who had been tricked.¹⁶⁴⁶ **262** he led them around, out from the desert¹⁶⁴⁷ up to the mountain called "of Olives."¹⁶⁴⁸ From there he was [in a position] to enter Hierosolyma forcibly¹⁶⁴⁹ and, after overcoming the Roman garrison¹⁶⁵⁰ and the populace,¹⁶⁵¹ to exercise tyranny,¹⁶⁵² using those who had shared in the assault as his "spear-bearers."¹⁶⁵³ **263** But Felix an-

tion (2.253, 254). By contrast, *Ant.* 20.169 reports that "someone" came from Egypt to Jerusalem, where he stirred up the masses, claiming to be a prophet.

¹⁶⁴⁴ On trustworthy prophets, see *Apion* 1.37-38, 41; Deut 18:15-22; Philo, *Mos.* 2.280.

¹⁶⁴⁵ *Ant.* 20.169 says that the Egyptian advised the rabble to accompany him to the Mount of Olives; 20.171 adds that when Felix's troop fell upon the prophet's followers they killed 400 and took 200 prisoners. This suggests a rather smaller following. Acts 21:38 gives him 4,000 followers. Josephus' numbers are notoriously inconsistent and often inflated. See 2.227 and note to "30,000" there.

¹⁶⁴⁶ Greek τῶν ἠπατημένων, a phrase used again at 2.610. See the note to "trickery" at 2.106.

¹⁶⁴⁷ See the note to "desert" at 2.259. According to the parallel (*Ant.* 20.169), the Egyptian led the masses out from Jerusalem to the Mount of Olives. Acts 21:38 compounds the confusion by having him lead *sicarii* (cf. *War* 2.254-55) into the desert (cf. *War* 2.259; Mason 2003c: 280-82).

¹⁶⁴⁸ This is the first of 5 references in *War* to the hill overlooking Jerusalem to the E (cf. 5.70: 6 *stadia* [about 1.2 km.] from Jerusalem, separated by the Kidron Valley). The Mt. of Olives (or Mt. of Anointing) is not a single hill, but the olive tree-covered ridge extending from the "Hill of Evil Counsel" in the S to Mt. Scopus (in Josephus ὁ Σκοπός; modern הַר הַצִּוּפִּים, in the N.) The Mt. of Olives is mentioned in 2 Sam 15:30, as part of David's escape route from the city. Josephus' descriptions throughout *War* assume that his audience does not know the geography.

The "messianic" significance of the site in the 1st century CE was guaranteed by a passage in the prophet Zechariah (14:1-9), which promised that, following a terrible war and suffering, the Lord would deliver his people by standing on the Mt. of Olives and splitting it, creating a valley of escape to the E. Partly under the influence of this prophetic tradition, the site was taken over by NT accounts of Jesus' life (Mark 11:1; 13:3; 14:25 and parallels; Acts 1:8-12); his "triumphal entry," though reportedly peaceful in intention, was strikingly similar in some respects with the Egyptian's planned assault. Cf. also *T. Naph.* 5.1; *4 Bar.* 9.20. This story of the Egyptian Prophet may be a kind of ironic foreshadow, since the Mt. of Olives will become the base of the famed *Legio X Fretensis* as they prepare to capture the city (5.70, 135, 504; 6.157); the other 3 legions will

first camp on Scopus, part of the same ridge (5.67-68, 106-8; cf. Cestius Gallus' force at 2.542).

¹⁶⁴⁹ See previous note. Although Jerusalem was usually attacked from the N, as also by the Romans, the NE-E ridge from Scopus along the Mt. of Olives, sitting about 40 m. higher than Jerusalem's hills, afforded potential attackers a clear view of activities in the city; hence the legionary bases in those positions. It also promised relatively direct access to the temple mount, though attacking forces would need first to emerge from the Kidron Valley. In the Six-Day War of 1967 Israeli forces captured E Jerusalem by approaching from Scopus via the Mt. of Olives (i.e., from the enemy side).

¹⁶⁵⁰ See the note to "cohort" at 2.11, 224, and to "standards" at 2.169.

¹⁶⁵¹ In this passage, tellingly, Josephus twice uses one of his more honorific designations for the common people of the Judeans: ὁ δῆμος. Although it occurs 145 times in *War* (273 times in the corpus), he has used it sparingly in bk. 2 (2.3, 28, 42, 197), preferring the condescending τὸ πλῆθος, which has occurred dozens of times already (of 918 occurrences in the corpus), most recently at 2.260 of the mob misled by fake teachers and killed as a result. Here he reserves that term for the Egyptian's mob. It cannot be coincidental that his use of ὁ δῆμος goes along with his presentation of the populace as determinedly resistant to the Egyptian and his 30,000 duped followers. "The populace" would need to be defeated, the Egyptian realizes (i.e., he cannot win them over); indeed the narrator tells us that the whole populace joined Felix's forces in defending the city against this trouble-maker.

¹⁶⁵² Tyranny is a major theme in *War* (see the note to "tyrants" at 1.10): this is Josephus' characteristic designation of those who stirred up a popular following for, he says, their own aggrandizement.

¹⁶⁵³ These δορυφόροι could be understood more neutrally as "bodyguards" or as the "armed thugs, henchmen" of a tyrant—as here. Notwithstanding the etymology reflected in my translation, the word had an established usage for the intimidating guards that a king and especially a tyrant gathered around himself. For the more neutral usage: Augustus presented Herod with 400 Gauls, formerly in Cleopatra's service, as a spear-carrying bodyguard (*War* 1.397, 664, 672). In the Roman context, the term was sometimes used of the Praetorian Guard (Plutarch, *Galb.* 13); it overlaps extensively with Latin *satellites*. But the conjunction with

anticipated* his attack, having gone out to meet him with Roman heavy infantry, and all the populace¹⁶⁵⁴ took part in the defense, so that after the engagement¹⁶⁵⁵ had occurred, whereas the Egyptian fled¹⁶⁵⁶ with a few men, most of those with him being destroyed¹⁶⁵⁷ or taken alive,¹⁶⁵⁸ the rest of the mob¹⁶⁵⁹ escaped notice, each having been scattered to his own place.

(13.6) 264 And even when these [parts] had been put in order, just as in a body that is diseased a different part again was becoming inflamed.¹⁶⁶⁰ For the enchanters¹⁶⁶¹ and bandit-types¹⁶⁶² got together¹⁶⁶³ and were inciting many to rebellion¹⁶⁶⁴ and cajoling¹⁶⁶⁵ them

tyranny is common: Isocrates, *Hel. enc.* 37; Plato, *Resp.* 575b, 587c; Polybius 21.32c.4; Diodorus 9.4.2; 11.86.4; 17.50.3; 17.50.4; 4 Macc 6.1, 23; 8.13; 11.27; Plutarch, *Pelop.* 6.2; 26.4; *Sert.* 5.7; 14.3; *Dion* 14.3. According to Diogenes Laertius (1.98), Ephorus and Aristotle claimed that Periander of Corinth (ca. 600 BCE) “was the first to have *spear-bearers*—and he transformed his office into a *tyranny* and would not allow anyone who wanted to live in his city.” Especially telling for the context here is 2.275: each of the wretches made himself a chief bandit or tyrant, and provided himself with spear-bearers to plunder the moderates. It is conceivable that Josephus also intends a sharp allusion: Nero, the greatest Roman tyrant of the period in Josephus’ description (2.250-51), reportedly had a freedman named Doryphorus, whom he compelled to marry him as the *princeps*’ “husband” (Suetonius, *Nero* 29; Tacitus, *Ann.* 14.65). Elsewhere in Josephus, see 2.275, 434, 564, 645 [of Josephus himself, but modest]; 4.392; 5.531, 439.

¹⁶⁵⁴ See the note to this word in the previous section.

¹⁶⁵⁵ See the note at 2.232.

¹⁶⁵⁶ *Ant.* 20.172 says that the Egyptian fled from the fight and became invisible.

¹⁶⁵⁷ See the note at 2.11.

¹⁶⁵⁸ Again, *Ant.* 20.171 counts 400 killed and 200 prisoners; if these were “most” of the Egyptian’s following, then the 30,000 mentioned here is a wild exaggeration (as seems inherently probable given the likely population of ancient Jerusalem—no more than about 200,000).

¹⁶⁵⁹ See the note to “populace” at 2.262.

¹⁶⁶⁰ The verb φλεγμᾶίνω occurs only 4 times in Josephus, all in *War*. In the previous occurrence (1.507) the same general point is made: Archelaus compares human bodies and states, with their festering parts—calling for a mild cure if possible; the final occurrence (4.406) makes roughly the same comparison, and the third attributes the inflammation to hot-headed Judean youths in Caesarea. The image of the body politic subject to disease in its various parts has a rich history in Greek and Roman political discussion (Plato, *Resp.* 372e; Livy 2.32; see the note to “diseased” at *War* 1.4). Particularly relevant is Plutarch, *Mor. [Praec.]* 824a: the diseased parts of a body must be repaired by the strong ones; if the whole

becomes diseased it cannot repair itself, but requires outside (i.e., Roman) medicine. MS P omits the explicit reference to the body, but the others have it. The verb is rarely attested before Josephus; it appears chiefly in the Hippocratic corpus and medical writers from the 2nd cent. CE. The metaphorical use for political inflammation is Platonic (elaborated in detail at *Tim.* 84-87b; *Resp.* 372e; *Leg.* 691e; cf. Polybius 3; Plutarch, *Lyc.* 5.6; *Num.* 8.1; *Mor. [Fort. rom.]* 321c). From his time onward, it appears relatively often in this metaphorical-political sense.

¹⁶⁶¹ See the note at 2.261.

¹⁶⁶² See the note to “bandit-style” at 2.65. Josephus almost always uses this word either adjectivally or as a neuter singular substantive with article (1.11; 3.450; 4.406; *Life* 21), but here and at 4.402, possibly at 2.417, it is a masculine plural substantive.

¹⁶⁶³ With the coming together of these groups Josephus appears to be describing the union of the two kinds of trouble-maker he has just distinguished: militant “bandits” (2.253-54) and charismatic visionaries, the latter having cleaner hands for their non-involvement in violence (2.258). If so, it seems odd that the “enchanters” now proceed to join fully in the guerrillas’ violent activities (below). To be sure, Josephus has indicated that the purer-hands group also really desired revolution (2.259) and has implied that the Egyptian enchanter was planning to use violence (2.262). Then again, the parallel (*Ant.* 20.172), omitting most of this paragraph, more logically says that *the bandits* (with the collapse of the Egyptian’s effort) once again began inciting the populace to war against the Romans, and burning and pillaging the villages of those who did not comply.

One must ask whether the oddity here in *War* is better explained by a complex historical reality that Josephus attempts to describe accurately, or by his desire to systematize with simple categories and thereby to continue raising the rhetorical stakes in the narrative (from 2.253): bandits in the countryside; then knife-wielding assassins in the city who killed daily; worse than this, hourly fear of murder; just as bad, charismatic visionaries; worse yet, the Egyptian enchanter; still worse, bandits and enchanters joining hands!

toward “freedom,”¹⁶⁶⁶ threatening death to those who submitted to the Roman *imperium*¹⁶⁶⁷ and saying that they would remove by force those “who willingly chose slavery.”¹⁶⁶⁸ **265** Dividing themselves by companies¹⁶⁶⁹ into the countryside, they both plundered the homes of the powerful¹⁶⁷⁰—and did away with them—and set the villages ablaze,¹⁶⁷¹ so that all Judea was being filled up with their madness.¹⁶⁷² And this war was being fanned¹⁶⁷³ every day.¹⁶⁷⁴

(13.7) 266¹⁶⁷⁵ But a different kind of disturbance¹⁶⁷⁶ involving Caesarea¹⁶⁷⁷ compounded

*Civil strife in
Caesarea. Ant.
20.173*

¹⁶⁶⁴ The same phrase (εις ἀπόστασιν ἐνάγω) is used of Judas the Galilean at 2.118. MSS PAM have ἀποστασία rather than ἀπόστασις, which is possible, since these words have such similar meanings in Josephus (cf. 7.82, 164), though ἀπόστασις is much more common (62 occurrences in contrast to 3). They also have the simple verb ἄγω (“lead” rather than “incite, induce”). Latin reads *afflictionem inducebant*, which is puzzling if translating the same Greek noun, except that it seems to confirm the form of the verb here.

¹⁶⁶⁵ Or “poking, prodding.” Here is a striking instance of Josephus’ fashionable diction. The verb παρακροτέω is attested in literature before his time only in Dionysius (*Ant. rom.* 7.46.5). Josephus uses it a remarkable 14 times, however: 13 in the 6 books of *War* (1.380, 617; 3.153, 239, 484; 4.19, 159, 193, 601; 5.75, 306; 6.285)—qualifying it as a distinctive term of this work. After Josephus it becomes visible, but not popular (Lucian, *Anach.* 1; Philostratus, *Gymn.* 46). The novelty lies in the prefix, for the root κροτέω (strike, knock, clap, applaud, pat) is amply attested, as is the form συγκροτέω (“knock together”)—a favorite of Philo’s (41 times), which Josephus also has 17 times, 8 in *War*. Prefixed as here, the verb in Josephus usually has the metaphorical sense of encouragement or prodding onward.

¹⁶⁶⁶ See the note to “freedom,” a bedrock theme in *War*, at 2.259.

¹⁶⁶⁷ See the note to this phrase at 1.3. Compare again Judas the Galilean at 2.118: he abuses as cowards those who put up with rendering tribute to Rome and who tolerate mortal masters besides God.

¹⁶⁶⁸ See the notes to “slavery” at 2.209 (in the context of the Roman Senate’s reluctance to endorse Claudius) and to “freedom” at 2.259.

¹⁶⁶⁹ See the note to “century” at 2.61.

¹⁶⁷⁰ See the note at 2.239.

¹⁶⁷¹ Villages were recently set ablaze by Eleazar son of Deineus’ bandits (2.235): the repetition contributes to the sense of escalating chaos.

¹⁶⁷² This is the first occurrence of an important term in *War* (ἀπόνοια), which occurs 24 times from here to the end of bk. 7 (“The madness of the *sicarii*, just like a disease, also struck the cities around Cyrene”: 7.437), 42 times in Josephus’ corpus. Meaning literally “departure from one’s [normal] mind,” it can have many nuances, from “recklessness” to “desperation” to “madness.” In

War Josephus tends to use it as a pejorative catch-all term for the behavior of all those who reject elite leadership and seek political change, especially in revolt against Rome. Launched as a term of political diagnosis by Thucydides (1.82.4; 7.67.14) and the Athenian orators (Demosthenes, *Cor.* 249; cf. Hyperides, *Dem. frag.* 3.7; Dinarchus, *Dem.* 82, 104—both accusing Demosthenes of the ailment), and developed in this sense by Polybius (1.70.5, 82.1; 2.35.2, 47.4; 9.39.1; 13.4.4; 16.32.1; 21.34.12; 30.3.2; 33.10.6), the term remained serviceable for the Hellenistic historians (11 times each in Dionysius and Diodorus; cf. 6 times in Posidonius’ fragments). Josephus exploits it significantly more than any of his extant predecessors or contemporaries.

¹⁶⁷³ This “fanning” picks up, with a deft turn to metaphor, the literal burning of the villages just mentioned. It will come up again at 2.293, 343, when Florus energetically fans the flames of war (ἐκτριπίζω τὸν πόλεμον); the imagery anticipates the final conflagration involving the temple. It is not clear whether Josephus used (the passive imperfect of) ῥιπίζω, as the usually superior MSS PAML indicate (cf. Latin *gravius augebatur*), or ἀναρριπίζω (possibly “rekindled” or simply an intensified “fanned”) as MS C has it—surprisingly preferred in this case by Niese, LCL, M-B, Vitucci, Pelletier. Both words are exotic, the simple form appearing in Aristophanes (*Ran.* 360; *Eccl.* 842), a fragment of Aristotle, and hardly again before Strabo (15.3.14), the NT (James 1:6), and Philo (*Jos.* 124; *Aet. mund.* 125). It would be the only occurrence in Josephus, but that is also true of the compound form. Nevertheless, the compound form has much fuller attestation generally (in addition to scattered classical occurrences: 5 times in Dionysius, 8 in Philo, 12 in Plutarch).

¹⁶⁷⁴ See the note to this phrase at 2.256.

¹⁶⁷⁵ The date of the following important episode is uncertain, though Josephus implies that it came near the end of Felix’s tenure, and thus perhaps between 57 and 59/60 CE; see the range of opinions canvassed in Levine 1974: 382 n. 6.

¹⁶⁷⁶ This phrase (Ἐτέρα δὲ ταραχή) recalls the introduction to the second of the Pilate episodes (2.175) and so contributes to the sense of steadily mounting unrest that characterizes bk. 2. Niese (followed by LCL, M-B, Pelletier) makes this phrase the beginning of a new sentence and section, no doubt because the “and”

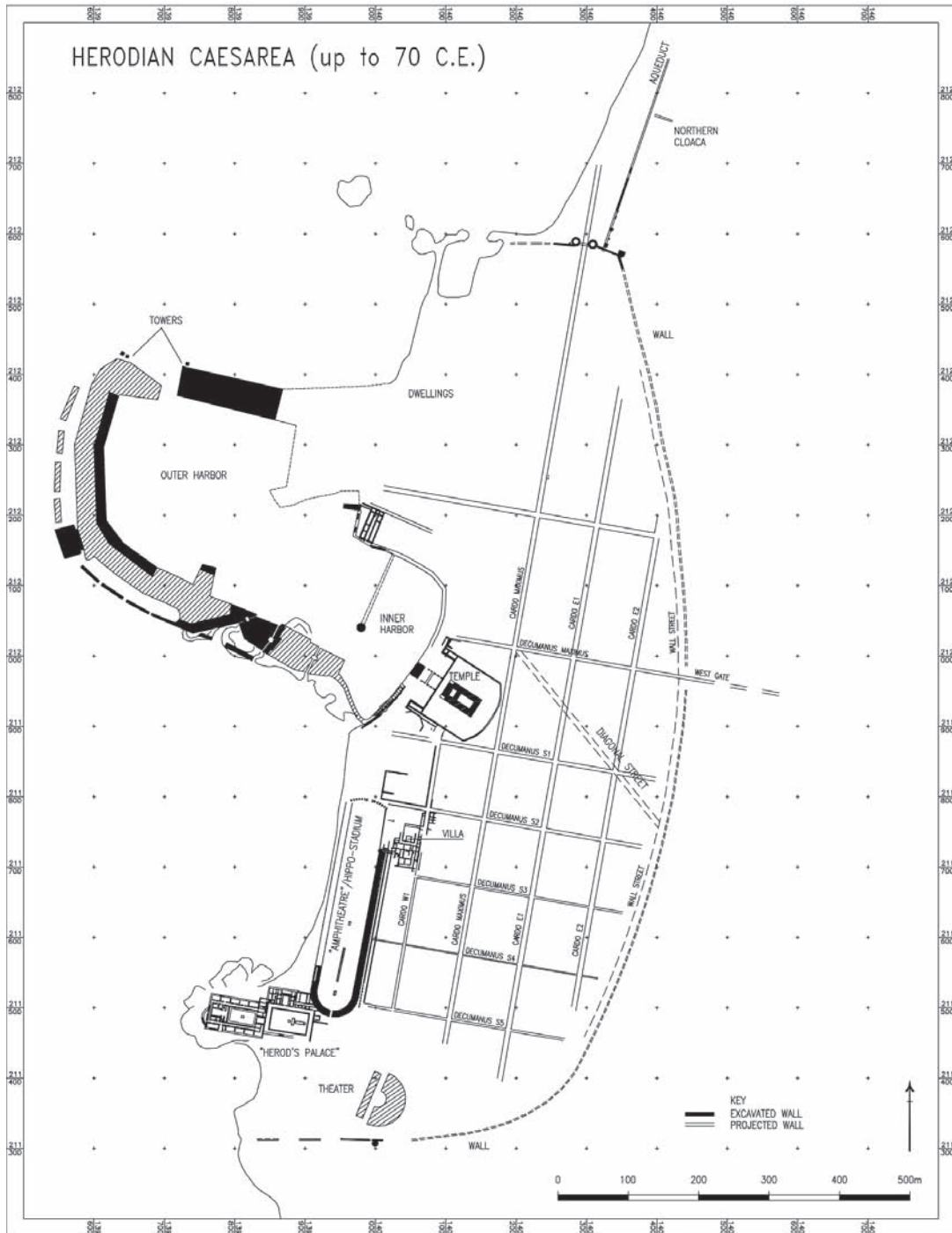


Figure 1 Map of Caesarea. Courtesy of Joseph Patrich, from "Herodian Caesarea: the Urban Space," pp. 93-130 in N. Kokkinos, ed., *The World of the Herods* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2007).

[matters],^{*1678} when the Judeans who had been mixed in [with the population]¹⁶⁷⁹ formed a faction¹⁶⁸⁰ against the Syrians there.¹⁶⁸¹ For whereas the former reckoned the city to be theirs,¹⁶⁸² saying that its founder¹⁶⁸³ had been a Judean (this was Herod the king),¹⁶⁸⁴ the

at its beginning seems to make the war's being fanned into flame (ἀνεργιζέτο) a continuation of the consequences of the previous actions. Although that connection is clear, and I have followed it here, the μέν . . . δέ construction from the previous clause links the 2 paragraphs closely.

¹⁶⁷⁷ Coastal Caesarea, already much discussed in the *War* (see notes at 2.16 and 2.171-72.). The headquarters of the Roman governor and base of his auxiliary forces, it will remain a flashpoint for growing tensions, which Josephus will identify as a primary cause of the revolt against Rome (2.284-92, 457).

¹⁶⁷⁸ This is the same verb (συνίστημι) as in 2.258. Although in the middle rather than active voice, in context it seems to have the same function of adding to existing problems. If taken absolutely, it would mean that this disturbance “came together” (i.e., “arose, took shape, emerged”).

¹⁶⁷⁹ On the ethnic history of Caesarea, see Levine 1975a: 5-25; Kasher 1990: *passim*; Kloppenborg 2000; Murray 2000; and Pummer 2000. Josephus' language here, that the Judeans were mixed in, fits with his consistent portrayal of Caesarea as a Greek city in which a substantial Judean population had grown (see the following notes). There is evidence of a Judean presence even in the earlier settlement of Strato's Tower, especially after the Hasmonean Alexander Janneus took it in 103 BCE (*Ant.* 13.334-335), but the Judean community appears to have become negligible again after Pompey established the city with a Greek charter (1.156; cf. Levine 1975a: 1-10; Murray 2000: 128-30; Kloppenborg 2000: 231-37; note the exaggerated claim of the Syrians in *Ant.* 20.173). We do not know how many Judeans were settled in the Caesarea of Herod and the Roman governors: Josephus will soon claim that some 20,000 were slaughtered in an hour, while the rest fled and were captured, leaving no remainder (2.457). The city's theater held 3,500 to 4,000, and the multi-function stadium, which should have been able to seat a large segment of the population, accommodated 7-13,000 (see the note to “stadium” at 2.172). Kloppenborg (2000: 231-37) plausibly argues for a *total* population of 15-18,000 within the city walls, 26,000 including those outside, of which the Judeans constituted a minority.

¹⁶⁸⁰ Or “started a quarrel (*stasis*) with” (τῶν ἀναμειγμένων Ἰουδαίων πρὸς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ Σύρουσταςιασάντων). This formulation and the following story put the onus for *stasis*-creation on the Judeans of Caesarea—an impressive example of the even-handed-

ness that Josephus promises in the prologue (1.9). Again in 2.267-68 he presents the problem as arising from the Greeks' determination not to be shown up by the stronger and wealthier Judeans, some of whom could not be restrained from pursuing the conflict. The parallel (*Ant.* 20.173-78) makes the same claim emphatically: after the prefects calmed initial outbreaks, the Judeans—emboldened by their wealth—began abusing the Syrians, expecting to start trouble (20.175-76); after Felix ordered the Judeans to desist, and they refused, he sent in his soldiers, who killed and imprisoned many (20.177). At this, the Judean leaders begged Felix to give them a chance for repentance (μετάνοια), which he obliged.

In his speech at Masada, Eleazar ben Ya'ir will cite a long-standing quarrel between Judeans and Caesareans that culminated in the massacre of 66 CE (7.362-63; cf. 2.457).

¹⁶⁸¹ Josephus often describes the non-Judeans of Caesarea as Syrians (also *Ant.* 20.173, 183-84; *Life* 52-53, 59), using a broad term for the peoples of the region. There is support for this in his observation at 1.156-57: Strato's Tower (and proleptically Caesarea) is included among the cities designated part of the province of Syria by Pompey. The Syrians' appeal to their city's *Greek*—not Judean—identity in this story is evidently a cultural claim, and Josephus accordingly calls them “Greeks” a number of times (2.265, 267-68, 284-85). In the parallel account, which configures the issue as one of primacy based on greater antiquity, he calls the non-Judeans “Syrians” throughout (*Ant.* 20.173-84).

¹⁶⁸² Greek οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἠξίουσιν σφετέραν εἶναι τὴν πόλιν. This is a remarkable claim: the Judeans are not demanding equality, or protection from harassment, but, from their position of superior wealth and strength, asserting their intention to reconfigure the city's identity (cf. 2.284) such that it would be governed by Judean rather than Greek traditions, laws, and calendar—like Jerusalem. Given that Herod founded Caesarea as a Greek city and counterweight to Judean Jerusalem (cf. Beebe 1983), indeed as the main center in the region for the cult of Rome and Augustus (quite possibly the source of profound aggravation to its Judeans), this would have meant a radical change indeed, entailing *inter alia* the removal of the city's distinctive architecture, harbor statues, massive temple to Augustus, sacrifices, entertainment facilities, and civic offices. Levine observes (1974: 387): “Thus we find a Jewish community daring to seek control of a Greco-Roman city, an attempt without parallel in antiquity.”

others, though they conceded that the *colonizer*¹⁶⁸⁵ was a Judean, nevertheless insisted that the city was indeed one of Greeks,¹⁶⁸⁶ for in dedicating it¹⁶⁸⁷ to Judeans he would not have

According to *War*, when this Judean initiative creates instability and violence, Felix will refer the matter to Nero (2.270), who eventually replies by reaffirming the city's Syrian-Greek character (2.284). The narrative function is clear, if slightly awkward in its execution: the audience must wait several paragraphs, until the year of the war's outbreak in 66 CE (2.284), to hear Nero's decision. Josephus does not make that decision a direct cause of the war, but uses it as a reason to return the story to Caesarea, now under Gessius Florus as governor, to report another Caesarean episode: the continuing efforts of the Judeans to dominate the city (by land purchase), which *were* a primary cause of the war. This conflict led to serious violence and tragically disproportionate consequences, drawing in the governor, and his efforts to divert attention from his misdeeds there stoked the flames of war (2.285).

Ant. 20.173 frames the story differently. Josephus begins by citing a problem concerning *equal* civic rights in Caesarea: ἰσοπολιτεία—a term that he uses only in that story. That topic sentence anticipates the outcome of a second Caesarea-related episode (the first does not concern *isopoliteia*). Namely: after the arrival of the procurator Festus (20.182), the Greco-Syrians will maneuver, apparently as a result of humiliations experienced in the present incident, to have the existing Judean ἰσοπολιτεία in Caesarea *annulled* (παρὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος αὐτοῖς ἐπιστολὴν ἀκυροῦσαν τὴν Ἰουδαίων πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἰσοπολιτείαν; 20.183). *That decision* by Nero will be a major cause of the war: their loss of civic standing will prompt the Judeans of Caesarea to ever greater aggression against their neighbors (20.184): they “prosecuted their civil strife against the Syrians until they [the Judeans] ignited the war” (πυθόμενοι γὰρ οἱ κατὰ τὴν Καισάρειαν Ἰουδαῖοι τὰ γραφέντα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Σύρους στάσεως μᾶλλον εἶχοντο μέχρι δὴ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξῆψαν).

The story he tells immediately after that topic sentence (*Ant.* 20.173) has nothing to do with equal rights; like this account in *War*, it concerns a Judean bid for control or *primacy* (20.173: πρωτεύειν), which leads to violence. From their position of greater wealth, he claims, the Judeans held the poorer Syrian population in contempt and kept reviling them (τῷ πλούτῳ θαρροῦντες καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καταφρονοῦντες τῶν Σύρων ἐβλασφήμουσιν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐρεθίσαι προσδοκῶντες, 20.175). When this behavior provoked violence, Felix intervened with troops to stop the Judean instigators (20.177). Judean leaders admitted their error, begging for an opportunity to change course, which the procurator granted them (20.178: καὶ φείσασθαι τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτῶν δοῦναι τε

μετάνοιαν, 20.178). In *Antiquities*, that marks the end of the Judeans' quest for primacy in Caesarea. There is the sequel mentioned above, however, not found in *War*: by means of a bribe, a Syrian-Caesarean delegation to Rome prevails upon Nero's secretary *ab epistulis Graecis* and former *paedagogus*, Beryllus (cf. Griffin 1984: 32, 46, 55), to secure from the *princeps* a cancellation (ἀκυρόω) of existing Judean equality (*Ant.* 20.183-84). Since the Judeans had recently aimed at control of the city, this humiliating revocation of their current political standing inflamed them all the more, and this led to war (20.183-84). For scholarly analyses, which do not generally consider the fundamental differences between the narratives, see Levine 1974; 1975a; Kasher 1977; 1990; Kloppenborg 2000; Sly 2000.

¹⁶⁸³ Greek κτίστης. See the note to “colonizer” below in the same section.

¹⁶⁸⁴ Cf. 1.408-16, for Herod's establishment of Caesarea. More recently, Herod's grandson Agrippa I had also ruled the city as part of his territory (41-44 CE), and had died there—to the unseemly joy of the gentile inhabitants (*War* 2.219; *Ant.* 19.343-52).

¹⁶⁸⁵ Greek οἰκιστής; see the note to “founder” above. The switch in terminology may be simply for the sake of *variatio*, since the two words overlap considerably in meaning. But Josephus appears to be making a subtler point, and this would be especially true if he already has in mind the fuller version that will appear in the parallel (*Ant.* 20.173-78). There the Judeans make a similar claim to primacy because its founder was a Judean, whereas the Syrian inhabitants of Caesarea point out that before Herod established Caesarea the site was the non-Judean Strato's Tower (20.173)—and so primacy goes to them. Given that *War* has also repeatedly mentioned and described Herod's refoundation of the much older Strato's Tower as Caesarea (1.77-80, 156, 396, esp. 408-16), it seems that the difference of label is significant: the gentiles recognize Herod as the one who *resettled* the city and established its present condition, but not as its original *founder*. NB: at 7.376 God will be designated the οἰκιστής of Jerusalem, and Josephus has emphasized that the city had a much older Canaanite *foundation* (πρῶτος κτίσας; 6.438). On the other hand, at 1.414 Josephus has spoken of Caesarea itself as a foundation (τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ κτίσματος Καισάρειαν).

¹⁶⁸⁶ See the notes to “Syrians there” and “theirs” in 2.266.

¹⁶⁸⁷ Greek ἀνατίθημι. At 1.415 Josephus has already stated that Herod dedicated (same verb) Caesarea to the province (ἀνέθηκεν δὲ τῇ μὲν ἐπαρχίᾳ), which must mean Syria.

set up¹⁶⁸⁸ statues and shrines.¹⁶⁸⁹ **267** Because of these [matters] both sides kept contending:¹⁶⁹⁰ their rivalry progressed to weapons,¹⁶⁹¹ and every day¹⁶⁹² the bolder ones¹⁶⁹³ from both sides were plunging ahead¹⁶⁹⁴ into battle. For the senior¹⁶⁹⁵ Judeans were not able to restrain their own insurgents,¹⁶⁹⁶ and to the Greeks it seemed a disgrace to be in a weaker position than the Judeans.¹⁶⁹⁷ **268** These [the Judeans] had the advantage in wealth¹⁶⁹⁸ and

¹⁶⁸⁸ See the note to this rare verb (ἐγκαθιδρύω), which Josephus uses 4 times in *War* (3 in bk. 2), at 2.185.

¹⁶⁸⁹ In *Ant.* 20.173, by contrast, the Syrians appeal to the ancient foundation of Strato's Tower as proof of the city's non-Judean character. If that is hinted at in the distinction between κτίστης and οἰκιστής here (see the note to "colonizer" here), then it would seem again that Josephus had something like the later account in view as he composed *War*, but freely chose to emphasize different arguments in the 2 works. The argument here is decisive, for in spite of Herod's Judean identity, the archaeology of Caesarea amply confirms that the king built Caesarea as a Greco-Roman city. The statues and temples mentioned here were not incidental to the city's image, but defined it (1.413-16): "At the mouth [of the harbor] colossal statues were supported by columns, three on each side. . . . On a mound right opposite the mouth [of the harbor] was Caesar's temple, remarkable for its beauty and size. In it was a colossal statue of Caesar, not inferior to the Olympian Zeus, after which it was modeled, and [a statue] of Rome, matching that of Hera at Argos." Cf. *Ant.* 15.268-76. The massive Herodian platform (90 m by 100 m [295 x 330 ft]) for the central temple described by Josephus, dedicated to Rome (or Livia?) and Augustus, was identified in 1995 and systematically excavated from 1997; cf. Holum 1999; Bennett 2007: 102-21.

¹⁶⁹⁰ Josephus used this verb (ἀμφισβητέω) often for the rivalry among Herod's sons for succession (2.20, 26; cf. *Ant.* 17.318).

¹⁶⁹¹ Josephus more often uses the phrase εἰς (or ἐπὶ) ὄπλα χωρεῖν (2.517; 4.71; *Ant.* 5.150; 17.242; 20.3; *Life* 31, 391); here the verb is προέρχομαι. In pre-industrial societies, weapons (ὄπλα) could be almost anything, from purpose-built, tempered, or sharpened implements to rocks and sticks. *Ant.* 20.176 has the 2 sides throwing stones at each other, causing serious injury.

¹⁶⁹² See the note to this phrase at 2.256.

¹⁶⁹³ Or "the more spirited, brasher ones" (οἱ θρασύτεροι). Boldness is a trait that Josephus, in Aristotelian and Polybian fashion (cf. Eckstein 1995: 145), typically associates with the young. Contrast the "seniors" of the next sentence, and see the note to "youths" at 2.225. Bold youth are particularly thick on the ground in *War* 2, *Ant.* 20, and *Life*—in the build-up to war (2.238, 303, 320, 409, 478; *Ant.* 20.57, 108, 180, 199, 206, 213; *Life* 126, 147, 179, 185, 220; cf. *Ant.* 4.103). See the note to "bolder ones" at 2.238.

¹⁶⁹⁴ This rare and vivid verb (προπηδάω), connoting an incautious or unusually courageous or desperate leap, is characteristic language in *War* (21 of its 22 occurrences in Josephus). See the note at 2.47.

¹⁶⁹⁵ This is the only occurrence in Josephus of the substantive phrase, οἱ γεραιοί, and the adjective appears elsewhere only at 4.151; *Ant.* 18.72. Significantly, this term for older men is also absent from Josephus' model Polybius and it hardly occurs in Thucydides (6.18.6), whereas οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ("the elders") is standard in all 3 authors.

¹⁶⁹⁶ Greek στασιασταί, a key term in *War*; see the note at 1.10. Again (see the note to "spirited ones" in this section), it is clear from the inability of the seniors to restrain them that the brash agitators tend to be young. Cf. 2.290 below (also concerning Caesarea): "but the factious element (τὸ στασιῶδες), which by virtue of its youth had become inflamed, was burning up for battle."

¹⁶⁹⁷ This is one of Josephus' characteristic observations on human nature (cf. 1.31), rather than any special indictment of the Greeks.

¹⁶⁹⁸ This relative wealth has an important function in the later story: the Judeans will attempt to buy land next to their synagogue at many times its value (2.285); when that fails, they will unsuccessfully bribe the governor with a massive sum to halt construction on the land (2.287). Josephus will specifically mention a leading Judean with lucrative public contracts, named Ioannes (2.287). Feldman (1993: 119) uses the present passage in support of his larger argument about the enviable prosperity of many Judean communities around the ancient Mediterranean, against the "lachrymose" tradition of Jewish historiography. He compares (119-20) the notice in *Ant.* 20.177, that Felix allowed his soldiers to plunder Judeans' homes, some of which contained vast sums of money. This is also suggested in 2.270 below (some Judeans' homes are plundered by Felix's soldiers in retaliation for their failure to desist). Although Feldman may well be right (in historical terms) that such wealth would have created jealousy, Josephus' point here (and explicitly at *Ant.* 20.175) seems to be that it emboldened the Judeans to claim the city as theirs (and that this is mainly what provoked the hostile reaction). Kloppenborg (2000: 239) argues, from late rabbinic passages requiring tithes on produce sold in Caesarea (y. *Dem.* 2.1.22c), that much of this produce must have come from Judea,

strength¹⁶⁹⁹ of [their] bodies,¹⁷⁰⁰ the Greek [side] in protection by the soldiers—for the bulk of the military force there¹⁷⁰¹ had been enlisted by the Romans from Syria¹⁷⁰² and, just like relatives,¹⁷⁰³ they were ready for acts of assistance.¹⁷⁰⁴

269 It certainly was a concern of the prefects¹⁷⁰⁵ to check the disturbance:¹⁷⁰⁶ constantly

with the result that Judean merchants in the city had the economic advantage of their large hinterland (but cf. p. 236, where he seems to say that the Judeans' wealth was "probably acquired" earlier than the Herodian period). Although the reminiscences of the Jerusalem Talmud come centuries later, Josephus' claim about wealthy Judeans in this major port city seems inherently plausible, with the Judean hinterland and Jezreel (Esdraelon) Plain nearby; we simply lack outside evidence to test or clarify the claim.

¹⁶⁹⁹ Cf. *Or. sib.* 2.125: "Do not exult in wisdom, or in strength, or in wealth!"—the latter two Greek terms matching Josephus' language here.

¹⁷⁰⁰ "Strength of body" (ἀλκὴ σώματος) is characteristic of *War's* lexicon: 2.376, 476, 580; 4.503; 6.55, 81, 331; 7.232; note also 2.60; *Ant.* 6.21; 17.278. At 2.580 Josephus will claim that strength of body (and exaltation of soul) have allowed the Romans to master most of the inhabited earth. Though attested, this collocation is not common before Josephus: Euripides (*Rhes.* 382); Diodorus (2.39.2; 4.26.3; 17.100.5; 18.70.3), and Philo (*Ebr.* 174; *Mos.* 1.259; *Virt.* 46). The plural here (σωμάτων ἀλκή) could be construed either as a claim of greater physical vigor among the Judeans—"the strength of [their individual] bodies," as in the similar constructions at 2.376; 6.331; *Ant.* 6.21—or in the sense that the Judeans' strength consisted in their numerical superiority: they had the advantage of "the strength that comes from having many *bodies*." The parallel account does not help because it mentions only greater wealth (*Ant.* 20.175). Although Levine (1974: 382-83; 1975a: 22) and Feldman (1993: 120) understand the issue as numerical, the translation here reflects the formulaic sense of similar phrases elsewhere in Josephus: the Judeans of Caesarea thus compare favorably to the Germans, renowned for the strength and size of *their* bodies (2.376: πλῆθος ἀλκὴν μὲν γὰρ καὶ μεγέθη σωμάτων). Indeed, the physical strength on the Judean side is assumed in the later story (2.286), where their youth undertake to prevent construction by a Greek resident near the synagogue—and can only be restrained by the governor's military forces.

Having a numerical advantage would mean enjoying a majority, whereas Josephus' language ("mixed in" at 2.266) and the massacre at 2.475 suggest that Judeans were a minority, no matter how successful and wealthy, in keeping with the generally Greek character of the city.

¹⁷⁰¹ See the note to "Sebastenes" at 2.52. The Roman governors had taken over from King Herod, and developed, an auxiliary force of 3,000 or more men (5 infantry and one cavalry cohort). The strong connections with the people of Caesarea and Sebaste, from whom the auxiliaries were mainly drawn, came to a head with the death of the Judean King Agrippa I in 44 CE, when their raucous celebrations almost convinced Claudius to move them abroad and replace them with Roman legionaries (*Ant.* 19.364-66).

¹⁷⁰² This is apparently meant in the sense that non-Judean territory is associated with the larger province of Syria (even though Caesarea had become the seat of the Judean governor). The parallel (*Ant.* 20.176) reminds the audience of Josephus' repeated indications that these soldiers were drawn from Caesarea and Sebaste (cf. previous note and *Ant.* 19.365; 20.122).

¹⁷⁰³ I.e., just like the relatives they were, since the auxiliary cohorts recruited principally from Caesarea and Sebaste (see previous and following notes).

¹⁷⁰⁴ See the note to "Sebastenes" at 2.52; also the notes to "cohort" at 2.224 and "Sebastene" at 2.236. The ongoing tendency of the auxiliary cohorts under the Judean governor's command to side with the non-Judean population, in *War* personified in the egregious tribune Celer (2.244-46), is a significant factor in rising pre-war tensions according to Josephus (2.224, 229, 236). He will juxtapose the slaughter of Caesarea's Judeans (2.457) with the slaughter of the Roman-auxiliary garrison in Jerusalem, asserting that Providence arranged it for the same day and hour. Even if he does not mean that the Caesareans immediately took revenge (for they could not have learned of the event in Jerusalem at the same hour), his strong literary connection between the episodes may be partly explained by this bond—understood by his audience and felt by the Caesareans themselves—between the Caesareans and the auxiliary cohorts of Judea.

¹⁷⁰⁵ In Josephus' narratives of the Roman period, Greek ἑπαρχος ("commander") is almost invariably singular (*War* 2.450, 544; 3.310; 6.303, 305; *Ant.* 18.33; 19.363; 20.152, 193, 197; *Life* 33, 121), normally serving as the standard equivalent of Latin *praefectus* in the many senses of that position: cf. H. J. Mason 1974: 45, 138-39. In the few other cases of the plural (*War* 3.122; 5.48), the term is clearly explained as "prefects of a cohort." This passage and its parallel in *Ant.* 20.174 provide the only

arresting the more belligerent, they would punish them with lashes and chains.¹⁷⁰⁷ But the sufferings of those who were arrested did not produce a turnaround¹⁷⁰⁸ or anxiety in those left behind; rather, they were provoked¹⁷⁰⁹ even more toward civil strife.¹⁷¹⁰

270 On one occasion, when the Judeans had been victorious,¹⁷¹¹ Felix went into the marketplace¹⁷¹² and directed them, with a threat, to withdraw.¹⁷¹³ When they did not comply, he sent his soldiers against [them] and did away with^{*1714} a great number,¹⁷¹⁵ whose property was then also plundered.¹⁷¹⁶ But since the civil strife¹⁷¹⁷ was continuing,¹⁷¹⁸ he selected the notables¹⁷¹⁹ from both [groups] and sent them as emissaries to Nero¹⁷²⁰ so that they could negotiate concerning their rights.¹⁷²¹

cases in which the plural is used without clarification. The LCL renders “magistrates” in both places, M-B “den Behörden,” and Pelletier “les hommes qui détenaient l’autorité.” Given the context, however, involving the use of force to keep order in Caesarea, there seems no reason to depart from Josephus’ consistent usage and render anything but “prefects”—whether those of the auxiliary cohorts in Caesarea or the governor himself and his associates. At 2.291 below, the prefect of the cavalry wing is made responsible for preventing civil strife.

¹⁷⁰⁶ See the note to this characteristic Josephan term at the opening of this passage, 2.266. Curiously, much of what Josephus has already said in this account comes after his notice about the prefects’ nearly immediate efforts to stop the violence in the parallel (*Ant.* 20.174).

¹⁷⁰⁷ Greek μόστιξι καὶ δεσμοῖς. Not in the sense that they were whipped with lashes and with chains: the second term indicates “that which binds [someone],” though English “bonds” (in this sense) and “fetters” are becoming archaic. Apparently, the men are confined chiefly for the purpose of occasional beatings; see the note to “detainees” at 2.4.

¹⁷⁰⁸ Josephus uses a rare and colorful word (ἀνακοπή), attested before his time only in Posidonius, Strabo, and Philo, though his contemporary Plutarch uses it a number of times. The word was often used of breakwaters or devices to “turn back” the tide (*War* 1.412; *Ant.* 5.20; cf. Strabo 3.5.9).

¹⁷⁰⁹ Repeated “provocations” indicated by the verb παροξύνω are part of Josephus’ narrative technique for building tension. See the note at 2.8.

¹⁷¹⁰ Greek στάσις. See the note to this key term at 1.10.

¹⁷¹¹ This sentence provides further support for understanding physical vigor at 2.268. The parallel (*Ant.* 20.176-77) describes mutual hostility at this point, with the Syrians engaging in verbal slanders, which lead to stone-throwing and injuries on both sides, though again with the Judeans winning skirmishes (20.176). The truncated form of this sentence (there seems to be something missing between perpetuating civil strife and being victorious) again suggests that Josephus is working with a base narrative close to the version that survives in the *Antiquities*.

¹⁷¹² Presumably we are to understand that the fights between Judeans and Syrian-Greek Caesareans often occurred in the *agora*.

¹⁷¹³ *Ant.* 20.177: When he saw that this rivalry was taking the form of war, Felix personally appealed to the Judeans to stop (παύεσθαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους παρεκάλει).

¹⁷¹⁴ By using the 3rd-person singular verb, Josephus holds Felix to be the killer, even though his soldiers carried out the orders.

¹⁷¹⁵ See the note to “large numbers” at 2.55.

¹⁷¹⁶ The collocation οὐσίας διαρπάζω turns up once or twice in several authors, but Josephus uses it more often than others, especially in *War* 2 (2.270, 273, 464, 624; otherwise only *Ant.* 10.112). Similarly *Ant.* 20.177: when the Judeans refused, Felix armed his soldiers and sent them in; they killed many *but captured more*. Felix allowed them to plunder certain homes of the Judeans in the city that contained much wealth. Again, it is easier to imagine that *War* truncates the version in *Antiquities* than that the detail of *Antiquities* expands *War*.

¹⁷¹⁷ Again στάσις. See the note at 1.10.

¹⁷¹⁸ At this point, the accounts here and in *Antiquities* crucially diverge; see the note to “theirs” at 2.266 above. *Ant.* 20.178 has the Judean leaders beg for pardon, and repent of this dangerous campaign; Felix accepts their plea, which ends the crisis.

¹⁷¹⁹ See the note at 2.193, to “powerful men” at 2.239, and the notes to 2.243.

¹⁷²⁰ See the note at 2.248.

¹⁷²¹ Here is a clear example of Josephus’ A-B-A or “sandwich” technique in writing. He creates anticipation here, as we await the results of the hearing before Nero, which will come only at 2.284—some 6 to 8 years after the delegates were sent, with the procuratorships of Festus, Albinus, and Florus intervening. As the preceding notes have indicated, this double delegation hardly squares with the pair mentioned in *Ant.* 20.182: they leave Judea only after Festus’ arrival in 60 CE (or 58?), get more or less immediate hearings before Nero (the Judeans being thwarted by Pallas, who died in 62 [or 59/60]: 20.182), and return while Festus is still in office—by 62 CE (20.183-97). On several points *War*’s version is difficult to credit: the Judeans’ taking a claim

Festus
procurator. Ant.
20.182

(14.1) 271¹⁷²² After Festus¹⁷²³ succeeded Felix in the procuratorship,¹⁷²⁴ he went out against that which was especially despoiling¹⁷²⁵ the countryside:¹⁷²⁶ he actually arrested the majority of the bandits¹⁷²⁷ and also destroyed¹⁷²⁸ quite a few.¹⁷²⁹

Albinus
procuator;
release of
prisoners. Ant.
20.197, 204

272 But the one after Festus, Albinus,¹⁷³⁰ did not govern affairs in the same manner,¹⁷³¹

based on their superior wealth, for a refoundation of this profoundly Greek city as Judean, to the flamboyant Hellenophile Nero; a ca. 7-year absence of the city's "notables," both Syrian and Judean, from their normal duties; the vague process and results (contrast *Antiquities*' detail concerning Beryllus' involvement in getting Judean citizenship overturned); and the seemingly artificial link here with the later Caesarean episode (2.284-85).

¹⁷²² The following sentence, *War*'s only description of Festus, is remarkably spare, symmetrical, and positively disposed. The *Antiquities* parallel (20.182-97) is much longer and more diffuse, connecting Festus with other matters (*sicarii* and a controversy related to King Agrippa II). There Josephus awkwardly, and with admitted repetition (20.187; cf. 20.165-66?), reintroduces the *sicarii* as a species of bandit who used their special methods at festivals, though he also has them burning the villages of their enemies just as the bandits do in the same paragraph (20.185, 187).

Whereas *War* here credits Festus for dealing effectively with bandits, the parallel makes no such claim, but only that his forces eliminated a certain unnamed "enchanter" who had persuaded people to follow him into the desert to await salvation (20.188; again, suspiciously repeating earlier language). Josephus adds a story there about Agrippa II's conspicuous addition to his palace, which allowed him to observe the temple sacrifices and so caused the outraged priestly elite to erect a wall that blocked his view (and that of Roman soldiers observing from the roof of the western colonnade). This reportedly incensed Festus (20.193), who nevertheless indulged their request to send a delegation to Nero on the matter (20.194).

The NT Acts mentions nothing about bandits, but features Festus in connection with the preliminary trials of Paul in Caesarea. It includes the interesting notes that Festus made a trip to Jerusalem only 3 days after arriving in his post (25:1), and after staying no more than 10 days he returned to Caesarea (25:6). There he hits upon using Paul's case as a means of currying favor with his new subjects, by trying to move his trial to Jerusalem as they want (25:9). Shortly thereafter, Agrippa II and Berenice arrive in Caesarea to greet the new governor, and Paul's case becomes the occasion for the beginning of their working relationship (25.13-14).

¹⁷²³ Porcius Festus (*Ant.* 20.182; Acts 24:47) is unknown outside Josephus and the NT (Acts 24:27-26:32). His dates are usually given as 59 or 60 to 62

CE (reasons in Schürer-Vermes, 1.465-66 n. 42), though Kokkinos (1998: 385) offers reasons for revising this to the brief period from 58 to 59/60 CE. Most importantly, Josephus puts Agrippa II's refoundation of Caesarea Philippi as Neronias under the next governor, Albinus (*Ant.* 20.211), and Agrippa's coinage dates the completion of that event to 60/61, which (if Josephus is correct) means that Festus must have died in office in 59 or 60.

His *cognomen* Festus is widely attested (617 occurrences, so Kajanto 1982: 221) across social ranks. Although many scholars have assumed a connection of the name with festivals, Kajanto finds that surprisingly few *cognomina* derive from festivals; he suspects that it means something more general: "merry, festive."

¹⁷²⁴ See the note to "procurator" at 2.117. The parallel account calls him a prefect (ἑπαρχος: 20.193, 197).

¹⁷²⁵ See the note to "spoiled" at 2.258. The governors are still dealing with the bandits as they should; but see the same language in 2.278, 280 below, where they change roles.

¹⁷²⁶ Josephus has recently established the countryside, as distinct from the city, as the base of Judean banditry (2.253-54)—something his audience would likely assume anyway, since bandits were typically imagined as living in caves and remote areas, away from concentrations of security forces and in terrain that favored invisibility. *Ant.* 20.185 reports more vividly that Judea was being devastated by bandits, who were burning down villages. Josephus then elaborates that the *sicarii*, who were bandits (he notes), would appear in the villages of their enemies and burn them down. This leaves open the question whether there was a coherent and objectively identifiable group known as *sicarii* (see note at 2.254).

¹⁷²⁷ See the note to "chief bandit" at 2.56. This is a large compliment to Festus' abilities, since the successful management of bandits was among a governor's primary responsibilities; see the note to "bandits" at 2.229.

¹⁷²⁸ See the note at 2.11. The collocation "arrested and destroyed" (συλλαμβάνω, διαφθείρω) is also at *War* 4.327, 541; *Ant.* 12.390; 13.4, 228. Still more common is the pair συλλαμβάνω + ἀναίρειω—"arrested and did away with" (*War* 1.245, 577, 655; 2.457; 4.145, 330; 5.540; 6.380; *Ant.* 5.242; 8.210; 9.131; *Life* 25; *Apion* 2.266).

¹⁷²⁹ Josephus uses *litotes*—literally: "not a few."

¹⁷³⁰ The narrative of Albinus' term in Judea is much fuller in *Ant.* 20.197-202, following immediately on the death of James the brother of Jesus (of Nazareth), which

and there was no conceivable form of sordid behavior¹⁷³² that he neglected.¹⁷³³ **273** At any rate, not only in connection with political affairs¹⁷³⁴ was he stealing and plundering the property of each person,¹⁷³⁵ or burdening the entire nation with tax levies,¹⁷³⁶ but he also released on ransom, to their relatives, those who had been detained for banditry¹⁷³⁷ by the

occurred in the interval between governors. Albinus' term in office is usually given as 62-64 CE, with the execution of James occurring just before his arrival in 62 (Schürer-Vermes 1.468 and n. 50). Kokkinos (1998: 385-86) redates his arrival to 59/60 (see note to "Festus" at 2.271), giving him a rather longer term (to 63/64). Albinus is often (though not on clear evidence) identified with the Lucceius Albinus whom Nero would send as procurator to Mauretania Caesariensis: after Nero's death that Albinus favored Otho, until he made his own claim to (at least local) power, throwing off the title of procurator and adopting the name of Mauretanian royalty, Iuba (see 2.115 above); he was killed in the civil war of 69 (Tacitus, *Hist.* 2.58-59). The *cognomen*, in any case, well attested across social ranks (Kajanto 1982: 227), means "Whitey."

¹⁷³¹ Indeed, the following portrait, crucially with respect to the freeing of bandits in return for bribes, makes *War*'s Albinus a sort of "anti-governor," who does not merely fail in his mandate but ostentatiously inverts it. See the following notes.

¹⁷³² Cognates of *κακουργία* (the noun here) appear only 5 times in *War* (contrast 61 occurrences in his later writings, 5 in *Life* alone—a third shorter than *War* 2). Of the 5 occurrences in *War*, 2 are here and at 2.277 below—used of Albinus' successor Gessius Florus. This illustrates Josephus' tendency to use words in proximity and then drop them: he uses the same strong language to characterize Judea's final two governors before the revolt.

¹⁷³³ This phrasing (οὐκ ἔστιν δὲ ἧντινα κακουργίας ἰδέαν παρέλειπεν) recalls Josephus' description of Herod's son Antipater's attacks on his brother Alexander (1.495: οὐκ ἔστιν ἧντινα διαβολὴν παρέλειπεν) and anticipates the description of Albinus' successor Florus at 2.277 (οὔτε ἀρπαγῆς τινα τρόπον οὔτε αἰκίας παρέλειπεν) and 306 (τρόπος τε ἀρπαγῆς οὐδεὶς παρελείπετο). Cf. similar constructions at 5.35; *Ant.* 1.17; 3.159; 14.1; 16.24, 64; 18.24; 19.293; *Apion* 1.5, 213; 2.171. A brief notice later in *War* (6.305), however, indicates a more responsible side to Albinus' tenure: he hears the case of the Jeremianic seer Jesus son of Ananias, but releases him on the assumption that Jesus is mad (implying that, had the accused been considered dangerous, Albinus would certainly have punished him as a governor should; 6.305).

¹⁷³⁴ Given what follows, it seems that Josephus wishes to make Albinus appear here as a mini-Caligula (see 2.184

with notes), who was infamous for having prosecuted the nobility of Rome in order to seize their assets.

¹⁷³⁵ The fuller account in *Ant.* 20 does not raise this charge and thus gives no content to this highly rhetorical, stock description of Albinus' alleged behavior (ἐκλεπτεν καὶ διήρπαζεν τὰς ἐκάστων οὐσίας; cf., e.g., Isocrates, *Antid.* 124; *Panath.* 141; Lysias, *Phil.* 14; Aristophanes, *Thesm.* 205-6; Xenophon, *Mem.* 2.7.14; 4.2.15; *Oec.* 20.15; *Cyr.* 1.2.2; 5.1.13). Perhaps, then, this is another way of referring to the bribes he reportedly accepted (see the note at "banditry" in this section).

¹⁷³⁶ See the note to "tax levies" at 2.4: the language of "lightening" and "deepening" or "burdening" them is characteristically Josephan. The content of Albinus' special levies is puzzling, since he was not in a position to set tribute (one standard meaning of the noun εἰσφορὰ used here in plural). Josephus does not elaborate in the fuller account of *Ant.* 20. This raises the possibility that the phrase has no real content: that Josephus' vague rhetoric here covers what were really personal bribes, mentioned in both accounts. Albinus may have tried to raise levies for public works projects or the like, which could also cause massive opposition (cf. 2.175).

¹⁷³⁷ The portrait in *Ant.* 20 is completely different. There, the new procurator immediately sets about ridding the city of *sicarii*, destroying "many" of them: "he introduced every technique and provision for bringing peace to the land" (20.204). When some of *sicarii* kidnap the staff of the powerful chief priest Ananias and his son Eleazar, however, Ananias pressures Albinus to capitulate to *sicarii* demands for the release of their detainees in return for those kidnapped (20.209-10). As a result, the numbers of *sicarii* begin to swell again. Finally, when Albinus knows that his term is ending, he wants to leave a favorable legacy with the Judeans and so decides the fate of all those waiting in detention: the serious criminals he executes, while those detained "on minor and incidental charges" he frees for a fee—filling the land with bandits, Josephus claims (20.215). That Josephus was capable of presenting Albinus as such a normal-seeming governor later in *War* (see note to "neglected" in preceding section) and as such an intelligible figure, bent on peace but facing pressures from all sides, in *Antiquities*, highlights (especially if he knew the *Antiquities* material while writing *War*) his manipulation of his material here to sustain his characterization of a malicious Roman administration.

local council in each [region]¹⁷³⁸ or by former procurators.¹⁷³⁹ Only the one who had not paid was left in the lurch in the jails¹⁷⁴⁰ as a sorry [individual].¹⁷⁴¹

Banditry grows in Judea. Ant. 20.215

274 At this time, too, the audacious actions¹⁷⁴² of those wanting to foment revolution¹⁷⁴³ in Hierosolyma became more confident:¹⁷⁴⁴ the powerful [men]¹⁷⁴⁵ were cultivating Albinus with funds¹⁷⁴⁶ to procure impunity¹⁷⁴⁷ for their agitating,¹⁷⁴⁸ whereas, of the populace, the [element] that was not happy with tranquillity¹⁷⁴⁹ was turning away to Albinus' associates.¹⁷⁵⁰ **275** And each of the worthless [fellows],¹⁷⁵¹ undergirding¹⁷⁵² himself with his own brigade,¹⁷⁵³ just like a chief bandit¹⁷⁵⁴ or a tyrant,¹⁷⁵⁵ rose up over his company and

¹⁷³⁸ This is a rare if still oblique insight into the role of regional councils in combatting banditry. Cf. Ando 2006: 191: "Without a doubt, the vast majority of policing [in the provinces generally] was performed by local authorities." We do not know how they achieved this, or with what practical support, in this period.

¹⁷³⁹ Cumanus, Felix, and Festus have all been credited with aggressive action against bandits. Cuspius Fadius and Tiberius Iulius Alexander were also credited with keeping the nation at peace (2.220), which implies similar efforts. So Albinus is becoming an anti-governor of the type that Florus will define; cf. the note to "bandits" at 2.229.

¹⁷⁴⁰ Greek τοῖς δεσμωτηρίοις; see the notes to "detainees" at 2.4 and to "jail" at 2.180. The parallel (*Ant.* 20.215) omits this additional jab, having Albinus completely empty the detention centers by executions or by acquittals following bribes. That line has its own rhetoric, however: it shockingly contrasts the countryside, which should be free of bandits, as now full of them, with the detention centers, which should be full of bandits, but are now empty.

¹⁷⁴¹ See the note to "worthless" at 2.156, though the nuance here is not as clear. Although πονηρός is often rendered "wicked, evil" (used of the Devil at Matt 13:19), it more basically indicates a person weighed down with πόνοι (toils, labors, stresses). Thus: "in a bad or sorry condition, wretched"; by extension (on ancient status criteria) a "low-life," or "worthless, good-for-nothing, useless" person; and from there, with moral assessment, "a wicked, evil, malicious, criminal person." Although this passage could mean that only those who could not pay were actually treated as "malefactors" (Thackeray in LCL; *Verbrecher* in M-B; cf. 2.275 below), the verb (ἐγκαταλείπω) might also suggest that only those with no one to buy their freedom were left in such a *sorry state*.

¹⁷⁴² See the note to "brazenness" at 2.108.

¹⁷⁴³ Greek is a key term in *War*; see the note to "the revolutionary bloc" at 1.4.

¹⁷⁴⁴ Or "more spirited, courageous" (ἐθάρρησαν αἰ τόλμαι). The θαρσ/θρασ word-groups are extremely common (nearly 250 occurrences) in Josephus' works, in positive, negative, and ambiguous contexts.

¹⁷⁴⁵ See the note at 2.239. Josephus thus divides the rebellion-inclined part of the population just as he divides the whole nation: between the small élite and the masses.

¹⁷⁴⁶ Just as in the Petronius episodes (2.199), the upper class have privileged access to the governor himself for discussion (here allegedly for nefarious purposes); he can deal with the common masses only in outdoor speeches.

¹⁷⁴⁷ On the different nuances of ἄδεια, see the notes to "amnesty" at 2.51 and "absence of fear" at 2.238. Josephus will soon re-use the term in the sense of "license" at 2.288.

¹⁷⁴⁸ Greek τοῦ στασιάζειν, part of a crucial thematic vein in *War* (see note to "civil strife" at 1.10).

¹⁷⁴⁹ Greek ἤσυχία, the opposite of "tumult, yelling, disorder" (cf. Essene meals at 2.130, 132), is an indirect opposite also to στάσις, though ὁμόνοια is a more exact and more common antonym. For contemporary political applications of the term, see Plutarch, *Mor. [Praec.]* 798f, 799a-c, 823f, 824e (paired here with ὁμόνοια).

¹⁷⁵⁰ See the note to "Albinus" in this section: only the upper class have a claim on the governor's time.

¹⁷⁵¹ See the note to "sorry [individual]" at 2.273. If that context suggests the passive sense of "unfortunate, miserable," this one clearly implies malfeasance: "scoundrels." It is typical of Josephus to re-use words in close proximity, sometimes in different senses.

¹⁷⁵² This is sarcastic language, as also (of the tyrant John of Gischala and his followers) at 4.213.

¹⁷⁵³ Greek στῆφος: a tight or close-knit group. Josephus commonly speaks of bandits and other undesirables with this term (*War* 1.204, 347; 2.258, 275, 643; 3.450; 4.135; *Ant.* 8.204; 14.259; 20.180; *Life* 21), connoting something pejorative such as "swarm," though he can also use it neutrally of a military formation (*War* 1.42, 149, 210, 251, 292, 295, 670). In a sense, these are not two different uses, since chief bandits or tyrants try to replicate the machinery of state in their own para-states, including militias.

¹⁷⁵⁴ See the note to this term at 2.56.

¹⁷⁵⁵ See the note to "bandit bloc" (including discussion of the pair "bandit and tyrant") at 1.11.

made full use of his “spear-bearers”¹⁷⁵⁶ for plundering the reasonable [folk].¹⁷⁵⁷ **276** So it happened that those from whom [property] had been taken were maintaining silence about things concerning which they ought to have been indignant, whereas the unscathed,¹⁷⁵⁸ in their anxiety not to suffer the same way,¹⁷⁵⁹ even flattered¹⁷⁶⁰ the person who deserved a flogging.¹⁷⁶¹ In general, everyone’s frankness of speech¹⁷⁶² was being circumscribed,¹⁷⁶³ whereas tyranny was ubiquitous¹⁷⁶⁴ and the seeds of the imminent capture¹⁷⁶⁵ were being scattered in the city from then onward.

¹⁷⁵⁶ See the note at 2.262.

¹⁷⁵⁷ This is the first occurrence of a phrase (οἱ μέτριοι) that is often rendered “the moderates” and understood to be a distinctive peace party in contrast to the rebels who wanted war, and that he (misleadingly) insinuates his own affiliation to the former. Having read this construction into Josephus, some recent scholars then reject its historical existence, claiming that such a group is Josephus’ tendentious creation (Cohen 1979: 183, 195; Price 1992: 37-40). It seems unlikely, however, that Josephus means to indicate by this phrase a movement or party, much less a political ideology. The phrase appears only 4 times in *War* (all in bk. 2: 2.306, 455, 649) and once in *Ant.* 11.142. In that last passage, unrelated to the war, it has the standard Greek meaning (cf. Demosthenes, *Or. Cor.* 10; *Mid.* 185; cf. Thucydides 6.89; Plato, *Leg.* 816b): the restrained (i.e., not lustful, impulsive, reckless, self-aggrandizing), honest, decent, respectable, fair-minded people. Similarly, in the present passage, the reasonable folk are the victims of these new tyrants; their homes are being plundered to support the bullies. When we next meet them (2.306), however, they are victims of the tyrannical governor Florus’ soldiers—plundered, then arbitrarily whipped and crucified. There is no political ideology here.

The third passage (2.455) is revealing: following the reprehensible sabbath slaughter of the Roman garrison, to whose soldiers safe passage had been given, the whole population was aware that this pollution would require a divine punishment, and “each of the reasonable folk was anxious that he would be suffering punishment for the sake of the agitators.” Again, οἱ μέτριοι are simply the good people, who are appalled by such abominable behavior. In the final passage (2.649), the reasonable people are disconsolate because they see war preparations under way. They appear to the same as those (in the next sentence, 6.250) who “loved peace,” in contrast to those fanning the flames of war, but this does not mean that Josephus has falsely constructed a “peace party.” His narrative is much more complex than that.

The only consistent features of the people described by this term, therefore, are mildness, decent instincts, respectability, and therefore a tendency to be victims of tyrants and others with power. Indeed, the following narrative of the last two governors uses μετρι-words in

various contexts and nuances: see notes to “restrained” or “respectable” at 2.281, 283, 306.

¹⁷⁵⁸ The Greek noun ἀπλήξ (here plural) is exceedingly rare: Josephus is its first attested user (only here and at 6.90, with a certain symmetry), and the word appears again only with Gregory Nazianzenus in the 4th cent. CE. More common was the equivalent adjective ἄπληκτος, which Josephus will use in his alternative version of this material, but for a different purpose (*Ant.* 20.255).

¹⁷⁵⁹ The pattern is familiar: some are actually harmed by a given action and many others live in fear of the same thing happening to them (cf. 2.256).

¹⁷⁶⁰ Flattery (here κολακεύω) is the standard antithesis of candid speech (to the powerful). Plutarch found it helpful to write an essay exploring the differences between a flatterer and a true friend, which often contrasts flattery and candor. See the note to “frankness of speech” in this section.

¹⁷⁶¹ Because the Greek has a play on words, κολακεύειν τὸν ἄξιον κολάσεως, we have translated the last term to preserve the alliteration at least; it is normally rendered as “punishment” in this volume.

¹⁷⁶² Honest, straightforward speech or candor (παρρησία), in contrast to obsequious flattery of those in power (cf. 1.2-3), was a basic value of ancient moral and political philosophy, identified with the free, fearless, and noble mind, and most clearly exemplified in the Cynics (Plato, *Lys.* 178a, 179c; *Gorg.* 492d, 521a; *Resp.* 567b; Polybius 4.31.4; 18.14.9; 6.9.5; 22.12.2-3; 30.31.16 [for absence]; Dio, *Or.* 3.3; Plutarch, *Mor.* [*Lib. educ.*] 1b; [*Quom. adul.*] 51c, 59c-d, 66d-e—this essay is an ongoing discussion of frankness in contrast to flattery; [*Apoph. Lac.*] 229c, 240b; cf. Acts 2:29; 4:29, 31; 28:31). It was also the bane of the powerful, and early emperors occasionally punished senators and philosophers for such bold speech (Dio 65.12.2, 13.1-2). The curtailing of free speech under Albinus prepares for examples under Gessius Florus: after some of the people speak very frankly about his abuses, he will pointedly mock their pretended freedom and nobility of soul (2.299).

¹⁷⁶³ Or “pruned,” a metaphor that leads directly to the next, involving the sowing of seeds.

¹⁷⁶⁴ Tyranny is a prominent theme of the *War*; see the note to “tyrants” at 1.9. But it is almost always local

Gessius Florus
procurator; his
blatant crimes.
Ant. 20.252

(14.2) 277¹⁷⁶⁶ Such a man was Albinus, but Gessius Florus,¹⁷⁶⁷ the one who came after him, showed him to be a most excellent man in comparison.¹⁷⁶⁸ Whereas he [Albinus] at least practiced much of his sordid behavior¹⁷⁶⁹ covertly¹⁷⁷⁰ and with evasion,¹⁷⁷¹ Gessius¹⁷⁷² paraded¹⁷⁷³ his crimes to the nation:¹⁷⁷⁴ as if he had been sent for vengeance against the

Judean tyrants who are in view. Here, Albinus and Gessius Florus complement and catalyze the Judean tyrants with their own tyrannical behavior.

¹⁷⁶⁵ The capture (ἄλωσις) of the city is not only *War*'s main subject; it also served as the work's title for many readers in late antiquity. See the note at 1.10.

¹⁷⁶⁶ This paragraph is closely parallel to the final substantive paragraph of the *Antiquities* (20.252-58), before Josephus' closing remarks and introduction of the *Life* in that work (20.259-68). Both paragraphs are conspicuously short on content, long on rhetorical characterization. Florus appears (also in the following narrative) as a kind of miniature Antiochus Epiphanes, the first tyrannical plunderer of the temple and torturer of eminent citizens (1.32-36). The nature of the *War-Antiquities* parallels again raises the question whether Josephus already had a fuller, *Antiquities*-like narrative at his disposal while writing *War*, or whether Josephus elaborated *War* in the later work. See the following notes.

¹⁷⁶⁷ Procurator of Judea from 64 or possibly 65 CE through the beginning of the war; Tacitus (*Hist.* 5.10) also dates the outbreak of war to his administration. Josephus has extremely harsh words for him in both narratives, at *Ant.* 20.257 averring that Florus *compelled* the Judeans to resort to war. It is uncertain how or when his tenure ended: he is last mentioned in 2.558, after which it is difficult to imagine a governor having a presence in Jerusalem. At 6.238, M. Antonius Iulianus will be mentioned as "the procurator of Judea," in about mid-70 CE: he may have been Florus' immediate replacement, though we do not know when. Arguing that the war broke out in 65 CE, rather than 66 as the *communis opinio* has it, Kokkinos (1998: 386) would end Florus' term then.

According to the parallel (*Ant.* 20.252-53), Gessius was a native of Clazomenae (famed as birthplace of the pre-Socratic philosopher Anaxagoras), about 32 km (20 miles) W of modern Izmir (Smyrna) on the W coast of Turkey. He or his family must have received Roman citizenship at some point, given his name. He reportedly had a wicked wife named Cleopatra (possibly Alexandrian?), who used her friendship with Nero's wife Poppea to secure this post for her husband.

The *cognomen* Florus is widely attested (559 examples according to Kajanto 1982: 233-34). Although it has been traced to the mythological fertility Goddess Flora (and the Floralia festival), Kajanto argues that the masculine form of the name more likely comes from the simple, happy adjective *florus* ("blooming").

¹⁷⁶⁸ In *Ant.* 20.253 Josephus uses a different but parallel form of sarcasm: Florus "was so sordid and violent in his use of authority that the Judeans . . . praised Albinus as benefactor."

¹⁷⁶⁹ The verb *κακουργέω* occurs only here in *War*, though 29 times in *Antiquities*. The cognate noun was used of Albinus at 2.272, and this repetition helps to build a sense of building evil at the hands of Nero's agents.

¹⁷⁷⁰ This notice comes as a surprise in *War*. Nothing in the preceding two paragraphs has indicated that Albinus' crimes were covert. Indeed, 2.273 declares them to be comprehensive and obvious, in the political sphere: the raising of taxes and the emptying of detention sites. The *Antiquities* parallel (20.254) is more cautious: Albinus "used to conceal his wretchedness and would take precautions so as *not to be completely obvious* (ἐπεκρύπτετο τὴν πονηρίαν καὶ τοῦ μὴ παντάπασιν κατάφωρος εἶναι προυνόει)." Moreover, in the earlier account of Albinus' career there, Josephus does indeed mention a number of private negotiations with Ananias the high priest, to free detained *sicarii* in return for the freedom of kidnapped staff of the chief priests (20.208-10). These negotiations, which Josephus claims wrought havoc in Judea (20.210), do not appear in *War*'s crisp and generalizing account of Albinus' very public crimes. It seems easier to imagine Josephus here condensing a longer account (similar to what would appear in *Antiquities*), and preserving disharmonious elements from it, than the reverse.

¹⁷⁷¹ Greek μεθ' ὑποστολής. The noun ὑποστολή is barely attested before Josephus (Epicurus, *Ep. frag.* 92 [reconstructed]; Aristoxenus, fr. 42b-c; Asclepiodotus 10.21). He has it twice (also *Ant.* 16.112), however, and it comes to be used much more frequently by his contemporaries and later authors (Heb 10:39; Plutarch, *Mor.* 129c; 501d; Arrian, *Tact.* 26.4; Aelian, *Tact.* 30.3; Galen, *Comp. med.* 12.504, 521; Apollonius Dyscolus, *Pron.* 2.1.1.92; *Adv.* 2.1.1.187).

¹⁷⁷² When abbreviating the *tria nomina*, Romans usually referred to their peers by the *nomen gentilicium*, the middle of the 3 principal names—as Josephus does here, and he will similarly call Cestius Gallus "Cestius." Normally, however, he uses the governor's *cognomen*, Florus (e.g., 32 times from 2.280 to 343).

¹⁷⁷³ Paraded, as in a Roman triumphal procession (πομπεύω): 2 of the other 3 occurrences in *War* have to do with the Flavian triumph (7.137, 154), and the remaining case (5.414) involves Judean tyrants parading

condemned,¹⁷⁷⁵ a public executioner,¹⁷⁷⁶ he neglected no form of either plunder or torture.¹⁷⁷⁷ **278** Whereas with those who deserved pity¹⁷⁷⁸ he was most savage,¹⁷⁷⁹ among the shameful he was most shameless;¹⁷⁸⁰ nor did anyone pour out more distrust of the truth, or contrive craftier ways¹⁷⁸¹ of acting the villain. To him it seemed trivial to make his gains one man at a time;¹⁷⁸² instead, he was stripping¹⁷⁸³ entire cities¹⁷⁸⁴ and despoiling¹⁷⁸⁵ populations en masse. He all but declared up and down the countryside that everyone had leave to practice banditry,¹⁷⁸⁶ on condition that he himself took a share of the war-spoils.¹⁷⁸⁷

their crimes. Presumably, Josephus has chosen terminology that would resonate well with his Roman audience. It is ironic language on several levels: that a governor would boast about what should have shamed him if he did it at all; that a low-level equestrian should enjoy this kind of “triumph” when real triumphs were now denied even to men of the highest dignity and achievement; and that this governor should seek a personal victory over this nation, which is in fact part of the empire—though the *princeps* has sent him to manage the province in peaceful cultivation of the local élite.

¹⁷⁷⁴ *Ant.* 20.254 shifts around some of the vocabulary here (or vice versa): “Gessius Florus *paraded his crimes to our nation*, just as if *he had been sent* for a demonstration of wretchedness, *having neglected no form* whatsoever of *either plunder* or unjust punishment.”

¹⁷⁷⁵ Josephus uses the adjective κατάκριτος only in *War*, otherwise 3 times in bk. 1 and at 6.109. Of the 8 attestations before Josephus, 6 are in Philo (and 1 in Diodorus 33.2.1). Josephus is again using “Philonic” language.

¹⁷⁷⁶ Or “inquisitor.” Although δήμιος means basically “belonging to the public” and so “public agent” when used of a person, it had also acquired the sense given in this translation (LSJ *s.v.*; cf. Vitucci: *un boia*; Pelletier: *un bourreau*; M-B: *Henker*), which seems to be suggested by the context here—as also in the only other occurrence in Josephus (*Ant.* 19.42).

¹⁷⁷⁷ See the note to “neglected” at 2.272. This (“neglected” + negative) is formulaic language in Josephus’ descriptions of Albinus and Florus. At 2.306 he will use the formula again in connection with Florus (citing plunder and murder, rather than torture).

¹⁷⁷⁸ See the note to “compassion” at 1.12.

¹⁷⁷⁹ *Ant.* 20.255: “Whereas he was not softenable in the face of pity. . . .”

¹⁷⁸⁰ Greek ἐν δὲ τοῖς αἰσχροῖς ἀναιδέστατος. Since the roots of the two adjectives are different, one could translate the latter as either “ruthless” (though the point seems to be that he was not ruthless with the shameful, but joined them) or “unabashed, unashamed, brazen, flagrant” (though none seems quite right). *Ant.* 20.255 continues the sentence (see previous note): “. . . he was insatiable with any [amount of] gain.” It is striking that both versions use the same quasi-poetic sentence struc-

ture (initial ἦν governing two μὲν . . . δέ clauses) and include Florus’ pitiless character in the first clause, and yet they make a different issue of the second clause. Further, while *War*’s parallelism hangs on the two superlative adjectives (“most . . .”), in *Ant.* 20 it is built on matching privative adjectives (ἄτεγτος, ἀπληκτος [see note to “unscathed” at 2.276 above]). Whether Josephus looked at *War* while writing *Antiquities* or he consulted the longer version that would be used for *Antiquities* while writing *War*, the comparison demonstrates well his freedom in rewriting the same basic story.

¹⁷⁸¹ The same language (πανουργεῖν δολιωτέρας) will appear again in Josephus’ description of John of Gischala (2.585); that re-use highlights the stock nature of the charges here.

¹⁷⁸² By contrast, *Ant.* 20.255 stresses that Florus could *not* distinguish between great gains and few, but even made common cause with bandits. Since *War* will also connect him with banditry (below), however, the difference is evidently rhetorical only.

¹⁷⁸³ This verb (ἐκδιδύσκω) has an unusual history. Before Josephus it is attested only in the LXX, 4 times (1 Kgs 31:8; 2 Kgs 23:10; 2 Esdr 14.17; Hos 7:1); after Josephus it does not appear again until 4th-cent. Athanasius and Ps-Athanasius. Although Josephus uses this verb only here, he continues with different language the same theme of Florus’ making a desert of, or stripping, Judean cities (2.279, 286).

¹⁷⁸⁴ The cities in question seem to be coastal Caesarea and Jerusalem (2.284-308), from each of which he will extract vast sums of money (2.287-88, 293).

¹⁷⁸⁵ See the notes at 2.258 and 2.271. The governors have changed roles, for Felix and Festus were destroying those who were ruining the land—the bandits—as a governor should. See further 2.280.

¹⁷⁸⁶ At greater length, *Ant.* 20.255 claims that, in his *failure* to distinguish great gains from small, “Florus made common cause with the bandits, and *most* people [or the masses] practiced this (banditry) fearlessly, having become convinced that their safety was secure with him, on the strength of his share [in the proceeds].”

¹⁷⁸⁷ Josephus’ choice of words (λήψεται τῶν λαφύρων) is telling: “war-spoils” implies that war is already in some sense underway.

279 Because of that [man]’s greed,¹⁷⁸⁸ at any rate, it happened that all the toparchies¹⁷⁸⁹ were made into desert,¹⁷⁹⁰ and many [people] rose up from their familiar ancestral [haunts] and fled to foreign provinces.¹⁷⁹¹

(14.3) 280 As long as Cestius Gallus¹⁷⁹² was in Syria, managing¹⁷⁹³ the province, no one dared to send a delegation to him against Florus. But when he [Cestius] came to Hierosolyma, at the onset¹⁷⁹⁴ of the Festival of the Unleavened,¹⁷⁹⁵ the populace—not less than 3,000,000¹⁷⁹⁶—stood around him, and they kept begging him to take pity¹⁷⁹⁷ on the

¹⁷⁸⁸ Florus’ greed (πλεονεξία), focused upon the temple’s wealth, will become the dominant theme of his term in office: at 2.293 he extracts 17 talents from the temple; at 2.328 he is intent on plundering the temple; 2.331 is a summary statement on the thwarting of his greed.

¹⁷⁸⁹ Or “cities,” as printed by Niese (τὰς πόλεις) following MSS PAM, accepted by LCL, Vitucci, Pelletier, and M-B. Niese allows, however, that the reading τὰς τοπαρχίας in LVRCEX and Latin (*regionem*) may well be correct, and Naber follows this reading. I favor it slightly on the basis of context (the whole countryside) and the relatively early Latin.

¹⁷⁹⁰ See the note at 2.213: the irony of turning subject territories (conquered precisely for their productivity and revenue) into deserts is a recurring theme in Josephus. Here it is particularly pointed because a Roman governor is (Josephus claims) directly responsible for the depredations.

¹⁷⁹¹ *Ant.* 20.256 uses very similar language while (a) clarifying that the Judeans “were forced to flee, rising up from *their own* haunts” by the depredations of the bandits (so, a more indirect link to Florus), (b) making the remarkable claim that they all fled, and (c) adding their thought “that it would be better to settle among foreigners, no matter where”—highlighting the point that their compatriot bandits, encouraged by Florus, were the main problem.

¹⁷⁹² C. Cestius Gallus (*cos.* 42 CE: suffect for Claudius in March–April [Degrassi 1952: 12]) appears to have been the son of a respected senator—a debauched old man, according to Suetonius (*Tib.* 42.2)—of the same name (*cos.* 32 CE), mentioned by the elder Pliny (*Nat.* 10.124; 34.48) and Tacitus (*Ann.* 3.36; 6.7, 31; cf. Dio 58.25.2); cf. *PIR*² 2.152–53. He was presumably well into his 60s by the story time here. Cestius’ importance in *War* is indicated by his appearance in the prologue to the work (1.20–21).

Nero’s legate to Syria from 65 CE at the latest until his death in early 67, it fell to him to try to stamp out the Judean revolt in late 66 (late 65 according to Kokkinos 1998; see Introduction), when he may have been nearing 70 years of age. His complete failure there (cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.10), with massive loss and humiliation for the *Legio XII Fulminata* (*War* 2.555) and the reported loss

of the legionary eagle (Suetonius, *Vesp.* 4.5), would be remembered among Josephus’ elite colleagues as “the blunder(s) of Cestius” (1.21; *Life* 24): the end of the last serious hope for averting war (2.499–55, esp. 2.531–34, 539–40; *Life* 23–28). For the consequences of Cestius’ defeat—for the Romans, the Judean rebels, and the peace-seeking elite—see the note to “Cestius” at 1.20; also 2.562–64; 3.1–4, 9; 5.41, 267; 6.338, 422; 7.18.

The *cognomen* Gallus (“Gaul”), like many other ethnic-geographical names, had lost any direct connection with the place of origin. It is attested from the mid-3rd cent. BCE in Rome; 130 of its 370 attestations in inscriptions are from Africa and Spain (Kajanto 1982: 45, 51). The same name will be borne by one of Cestius’ legionary legates (2.510).

¹⁷⁹³ The verb διέπω occurs 8 times in *War*, always of a Roman official’s government of a province or the empire, except 1.584, where the subject is God (governing heaven and earth).

¹⁷⁹⁴ See the note at 2.10.

¹⁷⁹⁵ See the note at 2.10. This Passover would be in April 66 CE, on the standard chronology, or 65 CE on Kokkinos’ (see Introduction).

¹⁷⁹⁶ This is an impossible figure: 3 times the plausible population of the world capital, Rome. At the end of bk. 6 Josephus will refer to a census of the people taken by Cestius Gallus at Passover (Feast of the Unleavened), in an effort to prove to a disbelieving Nero the strength of the city. Josephus claims that Cestius determined that Passover created 275,600 sacrificial victims (6.424). He must have used local priestly knowledge to extrapolate as Josephus does: each victim implies at least 10 celebrants (as many as 20), and that includes only the fit and holy—of whom there were then, conservatively, 2.7 million. Allowing for residents disqualified from celebration and for groups of more than 10 at a sacrifice, the count easily exceeds 3 million. Even if one could accept those numbers, however, the prospect of 3 million persons (a population larger than that of the City of Toronto in the 2001 census, and at least 3 times Rome’s population at the time) surrounding Cestius and Florus, to scream at them, does not bear reflection. Scholarly estimates of a realistic population for Jerusalem at this period, including pilgrims at festival times, range from 60,000 to 150,000,

nation's calamities;¹⁷⁹⁸ they had screamed¹⁷⁹⁹ that Florus was the despoiler¹⁸⁰⁰ of the countryside.¹⁸⁰¹ **281** He [Florus] was present—standing next to Cestius—and was ridiculing¹⁸⁰² the cries.¹⁸⁰³ Cestius at any rate firmly repulsed the surge of the rabble and, after giving the impression¹⁸⁰⁴ that he would see to it that Florus was more restrained¹⁸⁰⁵ in the future, began returning to Antiocheia. **282** Florus escorted him as far as Caesarea,¹⁸⁰⁶ deceiving [him]¹⁸⁰⁷ and contemplating war against the nation,¹⁸⁰⁸ by which [means] alone he supposed that he could conceal his own crimes.¹⁸⁰⁹ **283** For if peace obtained, he expected that the Judeans would have accusers before Caesar,¹⁸¹⁰ whereas if he busied himself¹⁸¹¹

with all of greater Judea/Palestine hosting no more than 1,000,000. See the note to “30,000” at 2.227.

¹⁷⁹⁷ Or “take pity.” The collocation (ἵκετεύω + ἐλεέω) is found otherwise in pleas for mercy directed toward God (*Ant.* 6.42; 7.294; cf. Castor’s ruse at *War* 5.318). Cf. 2.90 (a plea to Caesar in Rome concerning Judea), with a different verb of begging. Together with “calamities” these words intensify the tragic tone.

¹⁷⁹⁸ “Calamities” (sing. συμφορά) is part of a fundamental tragic theme in *War*; see the notes at 1.9; 2.186. It appears now 3 times in rapid succession (also 2.283, 285).

¹⁷⁹⁹ See the notes to this verb at 2.176 and 2.190: Josephus’ re-use of the same colorful verb in contexts of protest against the Roman governor (only, in the first half of bk. 2) helps to give these episodes a similar atmosphere.

¹⁸⁰⁰ Although the noun λυμεών occurs only 3 times in Josephus (also 1.530; 4.159), its cognate verb λυμαίνω has been used in the preceding episodes to build a picture: whereas Felix (2.258-60) and Festus (2.271) moved against those “despoiling” the land (bandits), Albinus (2.278) and now especially Florus have themselves become the chief despoilers, inverting the most important responsibility of their office.

¹⁸⁰¹ MS P omits everything from “they had screamed” in this sentence to “the cries” in 2.281.

¹⁸⁰² The verb διαχλευάζω occurs again in *War* only at 4.338, also in a charged context of denouncing accusations.

¹⁸⁰³ Or “voices” (φωναί). Although it is conceivable that Florus ridicules other aspects of their voices (accents, tone, way of speaking), in context it seems to be the content of the cries that he dismisses.

¹⁸⁰⁴ Greek ἔμφρασις meant something quite different from its English descendant: this emphasis was a mere surface image, a reflection, appearance, or impression. In rhetoric it also had the special meaning of a hint or suggestion left for an audience to decode (Mason 2005a). Josephus uses the word only here and at 4.211, and he seems to choose it quite deliberately for Cestius’ creating a skillful rhetorical impression—of something that will not in fact happen. In the narrative, Florus will be left to his own devices and will immediately proceed to

aggravate and provoke the Judeans to war.

¹⁸⁰⁵ Greek μετριώτερον. Josephus plays with the μετρι- root throughout this passage on the later governors: 2.275, 283, 306. See the note to “respectable” at 2.275.

¹⁸⁰⁶ Caesarea was the headquarters of the Roman prefect/procurator in Judea; Cestius would continue N on the coastal road, which was now (since the establishment of Ptolemais as a *colonia* in 54 CE) of particularly good quality from Ptolemais to Antioch.

¹⁸⁰⁷ Presumably, pretending that he is amenable to restraint and a change of course, when in fact he is bent on war.

¹⁸⁰⁸ At 2.333 Josephus will present Florus undertaking a new offensive toward the initiation of war by writing to Cestius to blame the Judeans for the unrest that he has been working to foment (2.283-332).

¹⁸⁰⁹ Conceal them, that is, from the *princeps* and his Syrian legate, Cestius. Josephus has claimed that, in contrast to Albinus, he made no effort to conceal them in the province (2.277).

¹⁸¹⁰ Notwithstanding the rapid escalation to war that Josephus attributes largely to governors’ provocations, he also makes it clear that the Judean élite had regular recourse to the *princeps* in Rome, to appeal against corrupt or pernicious governors. We saw this already with the delegation that visited Augustus to plead for freedom from Herod’s heirs (2.80-81). At 2.239-40 the Judean leaders accuse Cumanus before the Syrian legate and then, successfully, before Claudius in Rome. Finally, Agrippa’s fateful speech will be triggered by the demand for an embassy to Nero (2.342); it is Agrippa who tries to sidestep this because he sees the diplomatic complications. Cf. *Ant.* 20.182, on the delegations from Caesarea that went to Rome to accuse Felix. This all tends to confirm Ando’s argument (2000) concerning the basic *consensus* that Rome sought to create with local élites. These leaders evidently considered themselves part of the empire, with established and promising channels for redress (cf. McKechnie 2005).

¹⁸¹¹ A verb (πραγματεύομαι) that Josephus uses repeatedly in *War* 2 with pejorative connotations; see the note at 2.259; also 2.318 below (also of Florus).

with [provoking] their rebellion,¹⁸¹² by this greater evil¹⁸¹³ he would divert scrutiny away from the more modest ones.¹⁸¹⁴ Therefore, in order that the nation might be torn off,¹⁸¹⁵ he intensified¹⁸¹⁶ their calamities¹⁸¹⁷ every day.¹⁸¹⁸

*Nero decides:
Caesarea to
remain Greek*

(14.4) 284¹⁸¹⁹ Now at this point¹⁸²⁰ the Greeks of Caesarea, having won from Nero [the right] to keep control of the city,¹⁸²¹ brought back the documentation of the verdict,¹⁸²² and the war took its beginning¹⁸²³ in the twelfth year of Nero's *imperium*,¹⁸²⁴ in the seven-

¹⁸¹² See the note to the key word “rebellion” at 2.39. This phrase (πραγματευσάμενος δὲ ἀπόστασιν) is similar to the one used of the Judean visionaries who busy themselves with inciting revolutionary activities and upheavals at 2.259 (νεωτερισμοὺς καὶ μεταβολὰς πραγματευόμενοι). So Florus has become a full partner in the regional volatility.

¹⁸¹³ Namely, rebellion leading to war with Rome.

¹⁸¹⁴ Josephus continues to play with various applications of the μετρι-word group. In 2.275, the restrained (modest) citizens fall victim to Judean extremists; then the extremist Florus will allegedly be brought to moderation by Cestius Gallus; now Florus reasons that his more restrained *misdeeds* will be forgotten in the face of all-out war.

¹⁸¹⁵ Possibly from the empire, through the anticipated rebellion to be generated by Florus' harsh provocations; possibly “lopped off” in the sense of losing its head (2.59; 2.331; cf. Gaius' actions at 2.184: ἀκροτομέω). The verb is an aorist optative passive (of ἀπορρήγνυμι), which creates an unusual and somewhat poetic syntax, indicating potential purpose with the preceding ὡς ἄν (Smyth §§ 2201-2202).

¹⁸¹⁶ The metaphor (ἐπιτείνω) is of straining or tightening up strings (as in a musical instrument) or ropes.

¹⁸¹⁷ “Calamities” (sing. συμφορά) constitute a fundamental tragic theme in *War*; see the notes at 1.9; 2.186. This is the second of three proximate occurrences in this passage (cf. 2.280, 285).

¹⁸¹⁸ See the note at 2.256.

¹⁸¹⁹ This bridging sentence implies that the cause of the war—in minor events at Caesarea that first involved the procurator and then led to his escalation of the conflict as he tried to cover up his misdeeds, in the 12th year of Nero's reign—was directly connected with Nero's rejection of the Judeans' bid to control Caesarea (2.285ff.). At least, the Judeans' unsuccessful attempt to buy up land owned by their Greek neighbors, in the following episode, fits with Josephus' notice about their greater wealth (2.268), possibly with their effort to reshape the city with Judean institutions.

¹⁸²⁰ Josephus returns to the story left at 2.270: the emissaries from the Syrian and Judean communities in Caesarea were sent by Felix to Nero in Rome, to settle the dispute over the Judeans' appeal for control of the city. Since the story time is now 66 CE, and the delegations had left Judea before Felix's recall in 60 or even

58 (Kokkinos 1998: 385-86), their absence has lasted a remarkable 6 to 8 years. Levine (1974: 384) doubts the timing implied here, on the ground that such embassies were usually handled efficiently in Rome. Kasher (1977: 255) accepts Josephus' dates, proposing that the case was delayed as long as Poppea Sabina, who reportedly supported Judean causes and would therefore have intervened on behalf of the Judeans, remained alive; after he killed her in 65 CE, Nero was free to render an abrupt negative verdict. Kasher sidesteps the chronological problems created by this hypothesis: he identifies this embassy to Nero with the one mentioned in *Ant.* 20.182-84, which left Judea after Festus arrived as governor and involved the intervention of Pallas (d. 62 CE); the results were announced while Festus (d. 62 CE? Kokkinos: 59/60) was still governor. But the two stories resist easy identification, or the building of historical inferences upon them. See note to “theirs” at 2.266.

¹⁸²¹ Cf. 2.266 and note to “theirs.” Since the city had always been Greek, this is another way of saying that the Judean bid for control had failed. The verb rendered “to keep control” (ἄρχειν) usually has the stronger sense: “to lead, govern, rule.” Josephus may have chosen this verb to create a play with the cognate noun later in the sentence (ἀρχή), translated “beginning”: Nero's decision for Greek *control* in Caesarea was also the *beginning* of the war.

¹⁸²² Greek τὰ τῆς κρίσεως . . . γράμματα. The different reply from Nero in *Ant.* 20.183-84 (to Beryllus' request for an annulment of Judean civil equality in Caesarea) is described as a letter (ἐπιστολή). But Josephus often uses the two terms interchangeably (1.261, 641, 644; *Life* 50 53, 181, 241, 245, 255; *Apion* 2.37), and the vague language here suits an imperial rescript.

¹⁸²³ How did the war arise from events in Caesarea? (1) Florus was reportedly determined to cover his incompetence there by fomenting ever larger problems in Jerusalem (2.263, 293). (2) Anti-Judean sentiment in Caesarea, seriously aggravated by these episodes, will soon explode, resulting in the massacre of 20,000 Judeans and the flight of the remainder (2.457-60)—Josephus' Eleazar will later concede that this was attributable to the long-standing antagonism combined with an opportune moment for revenge (7.361-62). (3) That slaughter in Caesarea will in turn drive the Judeans to a “savage anger,” producing violent raids on several Decapolis cities as well as Caesarea, Sebaste, Ptolemais, Ashkelon,

teenth of Agrippa's kingship,¹⁸²⁵ the month of Artemisius.¹⁸²⁶

Gaza, and Anthedon, which provoke further Syrian reprisals—partly from fear, Josephus remarks (2.458-60). (4) These many local conflicts across Palestine will compel Cestius Gallus to bring the 12th legion from Antioch (2.499-500), but (5) their remarkable defeat (2.546-55) will give the Judean rebels hope, clarity of purpose, and energy for the sequel (2.562).

Josephus' phrasing, προσελάμβανεν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ πόλεμος, implies an additional beginning, though no other beginning-points of the war have yet been identified. He may be anticipating later incidents (2.409, 4.318). This language is conspicuously close to two passages in *Ant.* 20, in which he says that the war "took its beginning" when Theophilus was high priest (20.223: ὁ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμος Ἰουδαίοις ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν) and in the 12th year of Nero, the 2nd year of Florus' governorship (20.257: καὶ δὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν ὁ πόλεμος δευτέρῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς Φλώρου δωδεκάτῳ δὲ τῆς Νέρωνος ἀρχῆς)—referring the audience to *War* for details. The similarity of language suggests either that in writing the *Antiquities* passages Josephus has *War* open or that, while writing *War*, he has available much of the material that will go into *Antiquities*—a plausible situation given earlier examples.

¹⁸²⁴ Nero's 12th year, reckoned from the day of his accession (October 13, 54 CE), the customary way in Rome and a system with which Josephus has shown himself familiar (2.168, 181, 204, 248), ran from October 13, 65, to October 12, 66 CE. See note to "Nero's principate" at 1.20. Kokkinos (1998: 386-95) points out, however, that *War* 2.555 dates later events connected with Cestius Gallus' assault to the month of Dios (October-November) also in "Nero's 12th year," which would not be possible if that year ended early in October of 66. Whereas most scholars take that notice to be Josephus' mistake (for very early in Nero's 13th year), Kokkinos argues that there are more and better reasons to judge that reference correct and this one a slip for Nero's 11th year. That would put the outbreak of the war described here in May of 65 CE, and draw the entire narrative a year earlier than the standard scheme has it. This fundamental revision would explain a great deal, though it leaves significant problems unresolved; see critiques in Kushnir-Stein 1999: 196-98; Sievers 2001.

¹⁸²⁵ Since calculations of Agrippa's 1st year—apparently his appointment as king of Chalcis in 48/49 or 49/50 (see 2.223 and notes)—invariably call upon the cross-reference to Nero's reign in this very passage and count backwards, it would be a circular argument to cite those dates to calculate the 17th year. If indeed Agrippa's 17th year overlaps extensively with Nero's 12th (Octo-

ber 65 to October 66), then his first year would have overlapped with October 50 to October 51 CE; but that would sit awkwardly with *Ant.* 20.138 (Agrippa ruled Chalcis for 4 years before receiving Philip's regions), and Kokkinos argues (1998: 387-95) that Josephus' reference to Nero's 12th year at 2.284 is a mistake (for his 11th), so that Agrippa's first year was in 49-50 CE. See the note to "kingdom" at 2.223.

¹⁸²⁶ May-June, 66 CE. This is the first of a series of dates that Josephus will give for events during the revolt, using the months of the Macedonian calendar, sometimes cross-referenced with regnal years as here. On the Tyrian system of aligning Macedonian and Roman months, which many scholars have thought that Josephus followed, Artemisius was May 19–June 18, in 66; the corresponding Judean month was Iyyar, from May 15 to June 12 that year (Levick 1999a: 40-42). Cf. 2.315 for another date in the same month.

Although Josephus had good reason to use familiar Macedonian month names for his Greek-speaking audience, to modern scholars interested in the precise chronology of events he has bequeathed confusion. Macedonian months (as all "months") were calculated on the lunar cycle, and so could be readily equated with lunar Babylonian and Judean equivalents. But by the 1st century BCE they had been adjusted to match the Roman solar year of 365 days, whereas the Judean-Jewish calendar remained (as today) lunar. This resulted in the constant shifting of true date equivalents from year to year: whereas the date of Passover, e.g., remained stable in the lunar calendar, it moved on the solar calendar.

In *Antiquities*, however, Josephus will frequently equate—without considering the displacement—Macedonian months and their Judean counterparts (*Ant.* 1.80-81; 2.311; 3.201, 239, 248; 4.84, 327; 8.61, 100; 9.109; 11.148; 12.248, 412; cf. *War* 5.99, 567; 6.94, 250). Throughout his writings he usually gives the Macedonian name, and in *War* exclusively the Macedonian month, as here. Since the Macedonian months could be aligned with the Roman solar calendar in different ways (e.g., in Asia, Syria, and Tyre), the possible date range in the Julian or (now) Gregorian calendars is considerable, and this is reflected in the scholarship.

After much scholarly debate over the system that Josephus might have used, it is increasingly accepted that (with rare exceptions, driven by sources) when he gives Macedonian dates he simply has in mind Judean lunar months, and pretends that the Macedonian months are still equivalent. This was merely to make things simpler for his Greek-speaking audience (and perhaps to minimize use of Hebrew terms in the Atticizing *War*),

285 Given the magnitude of the calamities [that arose] from it,¹⁸²⁷ it did not have a worthy justification.¹⁸²⁸ Namely: the Judeans in Caesarea, having a meeting [place]¹⁸²⁹ be-

but *not* because he knew the actual *solar*-Macedonian date of the event in question, which we could then map to our own calendar. We are usually justified, therefore, in reckoning by the Judean lunar month, following the scheme of simple equivalents that Josephus provides in *Antiquities* (cf. Schürer-Vermes 1.587-99; Bickerman 1980; J. Price 1992: 210-30; S. Stern 2001: 34-38; Hannah 2005: 71-97, 135-88).

Realizing this, however, removes any hope of recovering precise dates matching our Gregorian calendar. Although such tables of correspondence exist for the Jewish calendar in the 1st century, they are calculated on the basis of mathematical formulas, whereas lunar months were subject to the vagaries of physical sighting and announcement (cf. *m. RH* 1.3-7; 2.1-8). I am grateful to Jonathan Price for private discussion of this last point.

¹⁸²⁷ The antecedent must be “the war.” Calamities (συμφοραί) generated by the war constitute a programmatic theme of the work (*War* 1.9; see note there); this is the last of 3 occurrences in close proximity (also 2.280, 283). The phrase “magnitude of calamities” (μέγεθος συμφορῶν) is something of a cliché in Josephus: cf. 1.90, 372; 3.432; *Ant.* 16.77. Attested in the classical orators (Isocrates, *Trap.* 46; *Evag.* 14; Andocides, *Myst.* 107; Lysias, *Diog.* 19; cf. Aristotle, *Met.* 1022b), it becomes formulaic among extant authors with Diodorus (4.11.2, 38.3, 55.1; 5.59.4; 11.57.2, 78.4; 13.57.1; 15.15.4, 48.2, 58.4; 16.20.1, 81.3; 19.66.6, 95.7; cf. 16.3.1), though in the singular. See also Dionysius, *Lys.* 27; Plutarch, *Per.* 36.8; *Fab. Max.* 18.2; *Comp. Ag. Cleom.* 59.2; *Mor.* [*Cons. Apoll.*] 116c, 193b. For Josephus, the enormous calamities include the destruction of Jerusalem and its holy temple, suffering and loss of life on a massive scale, and the resulting injury to the image of Judeans, which *War* aims in part to correct (1.1-8).

¹⁸²⁸ Or “pretext, alleged cause, occasion” (πρόφασις). A considerable amount of discussion has attended Thucydides’ indications of causes (distinguishing αἰτίαι from προφάσεις), especially his paradoxical statement at 1.23.5-6 concerning “the truest πρόφασις” (Luce 1997: 83-84). The qualification “truest” is surprising, because a πρόφασις is most often a mere “pretext” (as Thucydides 1.126), whether the word is connected with the verb προφάινω (exhibit, adduce) or πρόφημι (state in advance). Thucydides was influenced by medical usage, however, in which αἰτία (the term often used for a real cause in history) represented a constitutional disposition toward disease, whereas the πρόφασις (construed from προφάινω) meant the externally visible indicators (cf.

Pearson 1952, 1972; Hornblower 1991: 64-65; Rood 1998: 208-10 and n. 9; Pelling 2000: 83-92; Price 2001: 345-46).

The present context, with its distinction between pretext and “beginning” in the previous sentence, suggests that Josephus owes more to Polybius’ detailed treatment of causation (3.6-9; 22.18.6-11), which Walbank (1972: note *ad* 3.6.3) understands as a deliberate criticism of Thucydides. Polybius distinguishes underlying causes (αἰτίαι), beginnings (ἀρχαί), and pretexts or justifications alleged by each side (προφάσεις), whether true or false (cf. Luce 1997: 133-35; Shahar 2004: 144-45). Polybius’ theory of causation is an essential part of his program: to write a pragmatic history for statesmen that will enable them to deal with reversals of fortune. Understanding causes (the human intentions that produce consequences) enables politicians to separate what is within their control from what is outside it (*viz.*, fortune), and so to behave honorably irrespective of outcomes. Although Josephus can use αἰτίαι and προφάσεις more or less interchangeably (*Ant.* 2.145), he typically contrasts them (pointedly at *Ant.* 7.285, 324), using πρόφασις to mean “alleged cause, pretext, pretended reason,” or even “evasion, subterfuge” (*CCFJ s.v.*). For some historiographically programmatic ἀρχαί in Josephus, outside the present sentence, see 1.18, 30; *Ant.* 1.6, 7, 27; 20.261.

“Not a worthy pretext/justification” should govern one’s understanding of the following story. Thus, although the Judeans have suffered many grievous and fundamental wrongs (e.g., under Pilate and Gaius), the present episode does not fall in the same category. Josephus continues the even-handed approach discernible in the preceding episodes, especially in the initial Caesarian conflict (2.265-70), which he claims was caused by an aggressive attempt by the Judean population there to remake the city. In what follows, a Caesarian agitator will behave despicably (2.286), as will Florus the procurator (2.287-88), but problem arises because the Judeans are frustrated in their expectation of buying up the land adjacent to their meeting place, which leaves antagonistic gentiles in control of it (2.285-86; cf. 268).

¹⁸²⁹ We do not know where in Caesarea to situate this conflict. The excavated synagogue by the coast, just S of the gate in the N fortification wall, dates from at least 100 years later. Although one can sometimes find evidence that later structures were built over earlier ones of a similar kind, Caesarea would become a major Judean center, with many meeting places, in the 2nd through 4th centuries, and Josephus’ language here implies that this was not the only synagogue even in the 60s. Since,

side a site whose owner was a certain Caesarean Greek,¹⁸³⁰ tried hard and often to acquire the spot, offering a price many times its worth;¹⁸³¹ **286** but while disdainful of their appeals, with added insult¹⁸³² he himself built across¹⁸³³ the site, constructing workshops.¹⁸³⁴ He was thus leaving them a passageway¹⁸³⁵ that was both narrow and constrained¹⁸³⁶ in every

however, the two foci of Greek-Herodian Caesarea comprised the theater-palace-hippodrome complex to the S and the inner harbor to the N (with its massive temple platform), it stands to reason that vacant land available for the development envisaged here would be to the N or E/NE of these heavily developed areas.

One may either translate συναγωγή, as we have done here, or transliterate with the familiar “synagogue,” which implies a structure of some kind (as the context suggests). Two problems attend the latter course, however. First, Josephus uses the word only 8 times, in 5 contexts, and in 2 of these (*Ant.* 1.10; 15.346) it means other kinds of “collections” (of water or books); in the other 3 cases, where Judean meeting-places are in view (Caesarea here; Antioch at *War* 7.44; Dor at *Ant.* 19. 300, 305), he always makes it clear that it is a meeting place of the Judeans, since the word by itself did not simply denote “Judean/Jewish synagogue.” He seems to use “prayer [-place]” (προσευχή) as a more established term for Judean communal and devotional centers—without needing to qualify that term with “of the Judeans” or “their” (*Ant.* 14.258; *Life* 277, 280, 293; *Apion* 2.10); in one case the word simply means “prayer” (*War* 5.388). Second, early Judean meeting places were so diverse in form and size (some adapted from private houses), that to use “synagogue” might suggest a clearer picture than is warranted. For the essential complications, see Urman and Flesher 1995; Fine 1996; Levine 2000; Runesson 2001; Rajak 2002; Richardson 2004; Levine 2004.

¹⁸³⁰ See the note to “Syrians there” at 2.266.

¹⁸³¹ “Worth” or “value” (ἄξια) perhaps plays off the “worthy” (ἄξιον from ἄξιος) cause that the war lacked (previous sentence, beginning of this section). The Judeans’ reported willingness and ability to buy up land at many times its value gives concrete meaning to Josephus’ claim at 2.268 that they had the advantage over their neighbors in wealth. See also the notice about the Judean contractor and the bribe to Florus at 2.287. Josephus does not explain what criteria he uses for land valuation. In the next section we learn that the Caesarean quickly developed the land for commercial use. That would make sense: he bought land at a good price in a growing area, where the Judeans were also building a meeting place; they hoped to buy the land from him and offered many times what he had paid for it (which may be its “worth”), but he had intended to build on it for increasing revenue. Obviously, his land would be worth much more after such development.

¹⁸³² Or “for spite” (πρὸς ἐπῆρειαν). This appears to reflect Josephus’ authoritative perspective as narrator, not merely that of the Caesarean’s Judean neighbors in the story. Yet he provides enough information to allow the audience to see different perspectives, reinforcing the sense of an even-handed portrayal of tensions growing, in both communities, in these typical life situations. That the Greek wanted to develop his land for commercial operations (see note to “its worth” at 2.285 and “workshops” in 2.286) would be an important and plausible motive, apart from mere spite, though it would not exclude spite. Further, if the Judeans are left with only a narrow passage to enter their building, because he built near the edge of his land, then they too must have built close to the edge of *their* land—perhaps on the assumption that that they would be able to buy up his land—and the “abuse” or “spite” he shows in building across his land may be his retribution for such action.

¹⁸³³ An interesting choice of words: Josephus uses the verb παροικοδομέω only here and it is rare before his time, though Thucydides has it a number of times (2.75.2; 7.6.1, 4, 11.3); cf. Plato, *Resp.* 514b; Demosthenes, *Call.* 17; Aristotle, *Hist. anim.* 623b; *Part. anim.* 672b. Its meaning is vague, but it carries the senses of building *along* or *across* [the available space], possibly with the effect of using up the space (as here).

¹⁸³⁴ Given ancient conditions, in which “retail” was not the routine category it is today (in contrast to producing, manufacturing, transporting, warehousing, and supplying), these “workshops” (ἐργαστήρια) might in large measure be simply “shops,” where goods such as food and clothing were both made and sold. Storage of some goods, whether raw ingredients or saleable products, would also be necessary; note the “container” at 2.289.

¹⁸³⁵ At 2.289, this passageway (πάροδος) will be explained as the entrance (εἴσοδος). Although one should generally translate minimally, allowing the author to specify nuances, it is possible that Josephus means his terminology in the more formal sense of a *parodos* to a theater, if the Judean meeting place had a somewhat formal entrance. Again (see note to “insult” in this section), Josephus takes an authoritative position as narrator, while also leaving enough information for the audience to understand different perspectives. At this point he emphasizes the bad behavior of the Caesarean, in building so close to Judean land. Yet perhaps the Caesarean was upset that they had built so close to the

direction. So at first, the more hot-headed of the youths¹⁸³⁷ were plunging ahead¹⁸³⁸ and trying to hinder construction.¹⁸³⁹ **287** Whereas Florus was restraining these [people] from violence,¹⁸⁴⁰ the powerful [men]¹⁸⁴¹ of the Judeans, among whom was Ioannes¹⁸⁴² the public contractor,¹⁸⁴³ being completely stumped,¹⁸⁴⁴ persuaded* Florus with eight talents of silver¹⁸⁴⁵ to prevent¹⁸⁴⁶ the project. **288** Yet he, being [interested] only in the taking,¹⁸⁴⁷ after promising to cooperate in everything, took [the money], absconded* from Caesarea

border of the two properties, limiting his options, and he was retaliating out of spite.

¹⁸³⁶ Or “forced.” Josephus’ adjective (βίαιος) has more menace in it than can be readily translated, either indicating some characteristic that exacerbated the narrowness or simply stressing the uncomfortable narrowness. It is often used of violent persons (cf. 2.443, 597) and so suggests an act of implicit violence on the part of the landowner. The Judean youth will soon respond with real violence (βία, in 2.287).

¹⁸³⁷ See the notes to “youths” at 2.225 and to “spirited ones” at 2.238. The stereotypical distinction between impulsive or reckless youth and sober seniors (also 2.290 below) is a regular component of Josephus’ dramatic scenes.

¹⁸³⁸ See the note at 2.47: this colorful verb of daring movement is characteristic of *War*.

¹⁸³⁹ That the Judean youth were able to hinder construction until restrained by the army (next sentence) suggest that—in the story world—this Greek did not yet have much physical support from his community. It may also support Josephus’ earlier claim (2.268) that the Judeans had physical strength on their side, perhaps meaning that their community was younger or had a larger number of strong young men.

¹⁸⁴⁰ No doubt, as before and after (2.268-70, 291), Florus acts by means of his auxiliary cohorts, drawn from the Syrian-Greek inhabitants of Caesarea and Sebaste. The retaliatory violence here (βία) answers the “violent, forced, constrained” (βίαιος) passageway that the Caesarean created for the Judeans, by refusing to sell his land and then building to its edge (as it appears).

¹⁸⁴¹ As is obvious from the context, there is a significant overlap between the “powerful” and the “wealthy.” This is one of Josephus’ many terms for a community’s elite members: see the note at 2.239. At 2.292 he will give Ioannes 12 associates as the “powerful”; see the note there.

¹⁸⁴² Ioannes (Ἰωάννης) is the 6th most frequently attested name for males at the time (Hachlili 2005: 200). On this Ioannes, see further 2.292.

¹⁸⁴³ In mentioning profession without explanation, Josephus apparently expects his audience to understand that this is a wealthy businessman who can help furnish the 8-talent bribe for Florus. This is the only occurrence of *τελώνης* in Josephus. The word can be a Greek equiv-

alent to Latin *publicanus*, a public contractor whose portfolio might include local tax collection or port duties, but who might also manage building and other projects under imperial contract; cf. Badian 1972. Although Iulius Caesar and then Augustus dramatically curtailed the activities of corporations of *publicani*, and basic tax collection became much more systematic and census-based in the early empire (cf. Ando 2006: 186-87), public contractors continued to operate (Brunt 1983: 46-7). That Ioannes is singled out as a publican suggests that his tax-collecting was not merely a function of his role as a civic official; the taxes in question therefore are likely to have been port or transit duties, rather than those for which local élites were ordinarily responsible as a body (personal and land taxes plus tribute). At any rate: Ioannes is evidently a wealthy person.

¹⁸⁴⁴ Or “resourceless, at a loss” (ἀμηχανοῦντες). The élite saw no hope of ending the project through previously tried channels, including physical intimidation by their younger men, and so resorted to the only route left: buying the governor’s support.

¹⁸⁴⁵ For a local community to offer as a bribe, this was an extraordinary sum: worth more than 200 years of a legionary soldier’s gross annual salary; see the note to “talents” at 2.50. The effort supports Josephus’ claim above (2.268) that the Judean community of Caesarea had an advantage over their Syrian neighbors in wealth. Cf. 2.293 below, where Florus will take another 17 talents from the temple.

¹⁸⁴⁶ One of several words that Josephus plays with in this passage: *διακωλύω* picks up and intensifies *κωλύω* in the previous sentence (the Judean youths were “hindering” the project). It occurs again at 2.291, where Lucundus has been assigned to prevent civil strife; see the note there.

¹⁸⁴⁷ Or “being only on the take” (ὁ δὲ πρὸς μόνον τὸ λαβεῖν). That Roman governors should be “on the take” would not have surprised Josephus’ Roman audience. In the Republic, Rome had established a standing court (*quaestio de repetundis*) for the prosecution of returning governors, and about 50% of those charged seem to have been condemned (Lintott 1999: 161). Notwithstanding important changes under the principate (especially the handling of many provinces by the *princeps*’ agents, who were directly responsible to him), governors continued to exploit their positions for personal financial gain. As

to Sebaste,¹⁸⁴⁸ and abandoned* the civil strife¹⁸⁴⁹ to its own devices,¹⁸⁵⁰ as though having sold the Judeans a license to fight.¹⁸⁵¹

(14.5) 289 The next day being the seventh,¹⁸⁵² when the Judeans had assembled in their meeting [place]¹⁸⁵³ a certain Caesarean agitator¹⁸⁵⁴ turned over a belly-style [container],¹⁸⁵⁵ placed it beside their entryway,¹⁸⁵⁶ and began sacrificing birds on it.¹⁸⁵⁷ This provoked¹⁸⁵⁸

*Greek sacrifice
near synagogue
causes uproar*

Josephus remarks in describing Tiberius' policy of leaving governors in their provinces as long as possible, to prevent the constant arrival of new officials eager to make their fortunes: "it was only natural that every [one involved in] governing should practise extortion" (*Ant.* 18.171-78).

¹⁸⁴⁸ In Samaria, the other major non-Judean center and Herodian re-foundation near the Judean heartland, from which the auxiliary cohorts were drawn (2.52, 58, 63, 74, 236 and notes); see *War* 1.403; 2.97 with notes.

¹⁸⁴⁹ Greek στάσις, a key term in *War* (see 1.10 and notes). This is something of a topic sentence for the next paragraph, which is thick with στάσις-language: the narrator will pit a Caesarean στασιαστής (2.289) against τὸ στασιῶδες among the Judeans (2.290), resulting in open στάσις (2.291), which the military commander will attempt to halt.

¹⁸⁵⁰ Yet in 2.281 we learn that the cavalry commander Iucundus had been assigned precisely to prevent (διακωλύσαι: same verb as used of the Judeans' expectation of Florus while offering the bribe) the civil strife—not to prevent the construction, to be sure.

¹⁸⁵¹ Or "leave to fight." This paradoxical expression (cf. ἄδειαν . . . μάχεσθαι) seems to be found only in Josephus (also 5.334; 6.346). As in the preceding narrative (2.286-87), Josephus envisages that the Judeans—the ones with the grievance over the land situation—have the main motive to initiate fighting in Caesarea.

¹⁸⁵² Josephus has explained to his Roman audience at 1.146 that Judeans refrain from all manual work on the 7th day (ἔβδομάς); there he also uses "sabbath" (σάββατον) for variation of diction (as at 2.456, 517, 634), though in *War* he prefers the explanatory "seventh [day]." See the note to "seventh days" at 2.147; further 2.392, and note his great care in mentioning the day at *Ant.* 1.33; 3.143, 237.

¹⁸⁵³ See the note at 2.285.

¹⁸⁵⁴ See the note to this characteristic term (στασιαστής) of *War* at 2.267 (also at 1.10), here picking up the στάσις theme just announced again at 2.288. This appears to be a different person from "a certain Caesarean Greek" already introduced, the landlord-developer (2.285). Josephus does not give a visual description of the scene, but below he claims that this agitator was sent by other Caesarean agitators (2.290). It seems that the shops or workshops are now in operation, and so the Caesareans in this marketplace are in close quarters with

the Judeans, who have assembled for prayer and study. This might suggest an urban scene such as we find a century or two later in the cities of Asia Minor, e.g. Sardis, where the synagogue is near a central market area. While the Judeans have assembled for their services, in the context of long-standing communal tensions a number of the younger Caesareans set out to provoke them.

¹⁸⁵⁵ Josephus appears to imply that the shops built by the Caesarean landlord (2.286) are already in operation: though we would not expect them in fields, large storage containers were basic requirements for shops. Although Greek and Roman containers are customarily called "vases" in English, sometimes "jars," they were often quite different from modern vases or storage jars. There were at least 100 standard types of clay-ceramic containers, of varying sizes (the natural limit being what a person could carry), which were often decorated with painted images (so "Greek vase painting").

Although some were simply decorative, they were mainly used for storing, preparing, and serving oil, wine, water, and foodstuffs. Only a few designs were of the "belly" type (wide near the bottom) and of sufficient size or stability for the sacrifice described here. Some of the larger πελίκη-type vessels (20 to 50 cm [8-20 in] high) might have served the purpose, as would the larger wine "coolers" (sing. ψυκτήρ), gold and silver versions of which were also used for storing fluids for temple use (*Ant.* 11.15). The unusually large amphorae (ca. 50-80 cm [20-32 in] high) made to hold the oil given to victorious athletes in the Panathenaic Games (6th cent. BCE and later), though they disappear from the material record in the 2nd century BCE, might give an idea of the sort of container used here. For images, see Oxford's Beazley Archive (www.beazley.ox.ac.uk). For an overview of Greek vases, see Boardman 1998; for a discussion of Greek and Roman pottery found in Caesarea, Berlin 1992.

Given the context, we should probably imagine standard Greco-Roman pottery rather than the distinctive Judean containers, in undecorated pottery and especially stone, that became prominent in the early 1st century CE (Berlin 2005).

¹⁸⁵⁶ See the note to "passageway" at 2.286.

¹⁸⁵⁷ Evidently, the man was not merely killing a bird, as might routinely have occurred in such a shopping area: he was killing several in series (given the plural), with some sort of overt ritual appropriate for sacrifice:

the Judeans beyond remedy,¹⁸⁵⁹ on the ground that their laws had been outraged¹⁸⁶⁰ and their site¹⁸⁶¹ polluted.¹⁸⁶² **290** Whereas the stable¹⁸⁶³ and mild [element] considered it proper to retreat¹⁸⁶⁴ to the governors,¹⁸⁶⁵ the factious [element],¹⁸⁶⁶ having become inflamed by virtue of youth,¹⁸⁶⁷ were burning for a fight. The insurgents¹⁸⁶⁸ among the Caesareans also stood ready—for by a scheme,¹⁸⁶⁹ they had sent forward the man performing the

setting up a cult image (“idol”), offering incantations, separating out various parts of the sacrificial victim, adding libations, or the like. It is striking again how little Josephus relates about the scene and the precise cause for objection.

Birds were commonly sacrificed in ancient traditions, including the Judean. For Greek sacrifice of birds, e.g., see Pausanias 2.11.7; 4.31.9; 7.18.12; 10.32.16. Each deity had a preferred menu, which had to be carefully monitored, and each locale had its own traditions. Although Pausanias often mentions birds along with other victims, to indicate the comprehensiveness of an offering, the choice of victim can also be a question of what the sacrificer can afford, as in the biblical prescriptions (Lev 12:8; Luke 2:24). Of the Tithoreans in their sacrifices to Isis, Pausanias observes: “The more wealthy sacrifice oxen and deer, the poorer people geese and guinea fowl” (10.32.16). Perhaps we should imagine here some kind of fowl being offered up in a ritual way. Bernet’s claim (2007: 347-48) that the Caesarean’s sacrifices were “offenbar” a play on Lev 14:4, designed to make the Judeans appear as outcast lepers, seems to expect too much of the gentile (or of Josephus’ audiences)—and it seems unnecessary.

¹⁸⁵⁸ Provocation and indignation (cf. 2.293) are recurring conditions in *War*; see the note at 2.8.

¹⁸⁵⁹ Curiously, the adverb ἀνγκέστως appears only in *War* 2, and both of the other occurrences come in the speech of Agrippa II (2.347, 352; for the characteristic adjective, appearing 6 times in bk. 2, see the note to “irremediable suffering” at 2.233)—confirming that as a thoroughly Josephan construction.

¹⁸⁶⁰ Or “violated, abused.” This collocation (ὕβριζω + νόμος) is characteristic of Josephus: 2.230; 7.357; *Ant.* 4.13, 319; 9.168; 18.348. In classical authors, the verb (“committing outrage”) is sometimes used as an equivalent of violating law or convention, but one does not normally speak of “outraging the laws.” Josephus’ use of ὡς as conjunction leaves room for doubt as to whether he affirms that Judean laws *were* being violated. Since Caesarea was a Greek city, with a massive temple to Augustus and Rome at the center, in which sacrifices were frequent, it might have been more a question of propriety and proximity: the Judeans do not want to witness (and thus feel implicated in) acts that are fundamentally rejected as “idolatry” by their law and tradition. For

other cases of alleged violation of the laws, where the precise cause is not clear, see the notes to “trampled” at 2.170 and “pure olive oil” at *Life* 74 in BJP 9.

¹⁸⁶¹ Note the repetition of the word used of the Caesarean site (2.285-86). This re-use and Josephus’ choice of ὡς as conjunction introduces an element of doubt as to whether the narrator affirms the Judean perspective (since nothing has actually happened on their own site) or merely reports it with narrative distance.

¹⁸⁶² Pollution is a prominent theme in *War*, the verb μαιίνω and cognates occurring 36 times; see the notes to “pollutes” at 2.132 and “polluted” at 2.210.

¹⁸⁶³ Or “well grounded, well placed, positioned.” This is the only occurrence of εὐσταθής in Josephus. The more common metaphorical sense of “(well built and therefore) stable” is implied by the correlative “mild” and the contrast with hot-heads.

¹⁸⁶⁴ Or “resort, flee up [to]”; see next note. Josephus uses this verb (ἀναφεύγω) often in *War* (22 times; only 5 in *Antiquities*).

¹⁸⁶⁵ The plural here might indicate either the general category—i.e., as a rule, the Judean leaders would appeal to the (successive) Roman governors to settle disputes with other ethnic groups—or possibly the Roman hierarchy of governors: grievances should go to the Judean procurator and then the Syrian *legatus*, and ultimately if necessary the *princeps* in Rome. This appeal to governors for the remedy of injustices is already an established theme in the narrative (2.171, 175, 192, 225, 230, esp. 233 [the mobs ran headlong into battle with Samaritans, while the leaders approached the governor], 239-40 [after failing with the procurator, they went to the Syrian legate], 243-44 [the legate sent the ethnic delegations to the emperor]). It was indeed an absolute requirement of local élites to avoid civil strife at all costs: if their struggles with another group were beyond their control, they would appeal to Rome’s emissary as arbiter. Ando (2000: 73-74) cites recently published papyri from the Euphrates area showing examples of individuals appealing to Roman magistrates to settle serious local land disputes. On moving up the ladder of appeals, see Ando 2000: 381.

¹⁸⁶⁶ See the note at 2.91.

¹⁸⁶⁷ See the notes to “youths” at 2.225, 286.

¹⁸⁶⁸ See the note at 2.289.

¹⁸⁶⁹ See the note to this word at 2.107.

sacrifices¹⁸⁷⁰—and so an engagement¹⁸⁷¹ soon came about. **291** Iucundus,¹⁸⁷² the cavalry commander¹⁸⁷³ assigned to prevent [this],¹⁸⁷⁴ came forward and took away* the belly-style [container]; he kept trying to end the civil strife.¹⁸⁷⁵ But as he was proving unequal to the violence¹⁸⁷⁶ of the Caesareans, the Judeans seized their laws¹⁸⁷⁷ and withdrew to Narbata; a district of theirs¹⁸⁷⁸ is called thus,¹⁸⁷⁹ lying¹⁸⁸⁰ sixty *stadia*¹⁸⁸¹ from Caesarea. **292** The twelve powerful [men]¹⁸⁸² with Ioannes,¹⁸⁸³ after going to Florus at Sebaste,¹⁸⁸⁴ began

*Judeans
withdraw with
law to Narbata*

¹⁸⁷⁰ Josephus has delayed important information for understanding the story: one might otherwise have assumed that a lone troublemaker or bored shopkeeper had set out to provoke the Judeans (2.289). This delay might represent deliberate artistry (like delayed information in a novel or film) or it might reflect his use of a fuller narrative that he has abbreviated too much, belatedly realizing that he needed to disclose more to make the story intelligible.

¹⁸⁷¹ Or “encounter, combat, fight” (συμβολή)—a formulaic construction in *War*; see the note at 2.232.

¹⁸⁷² In keeping with the pattern, we again meet a Roman citizen in command of auxiliary forces; see the note to “Gratus” at 2.52. His *cognomen*, meaning “agreeable, pleasant,” is widely attested across social classes (729 times with derivatives; Kajanto 1982: 72). He may well be the Aemilius Iucundus, also identified as a cavalry prefect, who falls victim to the Judeans in Cestius Gallus’ abortive campaign (2.544).

¹⁸⁷³ This is a descriptive term (ἰππάρχη; cf. *Ant.* 8.307; 14.210; 18.237), not necessarily Iucundus’ rank or title. As we have seen (2.52, 236 and notes to “Sebastene[s]”), one of the 6 auxiliary cohorts based in Judea (so Caesarea) comprised cavalry. The commander of such a cohort, if at the standard strength of 500, had the title of prefect (ἑπαρχος, *praefectus*); cf. Watson 1969: 25. In this case, Iucundus and his unit may have been selected not only because of the advantages of mounted troops for crowd control, but also because the cavalry were the elite force among the auxiliaries, and their commander was the highest-ranking, presumably the most experienced and trustworthy, of the cohort prefects; cf. 2.236, 298.

¹⁸⁷⁴ This is the same verb (διακωλύειν) that was used of Florus’ obligation under the Judeans’ bribe: he was to prevent construction. Although Josephus claims that he left the civil strife to its own devices, clearly the governor had assigned this prefect to manage the situation. The present infinitive here indicates an ongoing activity, rather than the (aorist) single action that Florus was bribed to undertake.

¹⁸⁷⁵ This, then, is the culmination Florus’ decision to abandon Caesarea, and Josephus’ narrative expectation is realized (2.288).

¹⁸⁷⁶ This is another term that Josephus repeats throughout this passage: the Caesarean leaves only a

forced passageway (see note to “constrained” at 2.286); the Judean youth respond with violence (2.287); now the Caesareans have the upper hand for the first time. Until now, the Judeans have appeared as the physically stronger (2.268) and more aggressive side (2.268-70, 287). It is puzzling that the auxiliary forces have been able to keep the Judeans in check, but (in spite of what seems a good-faith effort by the cavalry commander) they cannot control the Caesareans.

¹⁸⁷⁷ In the narrative, this notice makes good sense in light of what happened at 2.229-31: a soldier sent to round up Judeans (for having apparently colluded with bandits) found a copy of the law, ripped it up, and tossed it on a fire; Cumanus was forced to execute him. If these Judeans feel they must leave Caesarea, knowing the temperament of the Caesarean-Sebastene cohorts in particular, it stands to reason that they would take the laws with them. This notice also prepares for Florus’ outrageous charge at 2.292 below.

¹⁸⁷⁸ At 2.507-9, the only other reference to this area in Josephus, he will report that Cestius dispatched forces to Joppa and “the toparchy [or province in some MSS] of Narbatene.” This confirms that it was a chiefly Judean district (here χώρα), comprising many villages (2.509: “they plundered their property and burned down their villages”), rather than a single town. As a Judean enclave in Samaria, it was a northern parallel to Acrabetene in the S (cf. 2.235). The location of Narbatene has, however, proven elusive. This may be the region called Arbatta in 1 Macc 5:21-23, from which the Hasmonean Simon rescued Judeans; it is most often identified with an area near Kefar ‘Arraba in N Samaria. See further Appendix A in BJP 1a. That location would explain the continuing movement of Ioannes’ group, to Florus in Sebaste.

¹⁸⁷⁹ As usual, Josephus takes conspicuous care to explain Judean realia to his Roman audience.

¹⁸⁸⁰ Whereas in his later writings Josephus uses ἀπέχω to indicate distances between sites in *stadia*, in *War* he divides the cases evenly: 7 with ἀπέχω and 7 with διέχω—as here.

¹⁸⁸¹ Roughly 12 km (7.5 miles); see the note at 2.175. If this distance is correct, as most of Josephus’ distances for this part of the country are, the W edge of Narbatene must have been in the gently rising coastal plain, not yet in Samaria proper.

¹⁸⁸² See the note at 2.287.

lamenting bitterly¹⁸⁸⁵ about what had been done and begging him to help, discreetly¹⁸⁸⁶ reminding him of the eight talents.¹⁸⁸⁷ He, however, arrested and confined¹⁸⁸⁸ the men—charging them with removing the laws from Caesarea!¹⁸⁸⁹

*Florus takes
17 talents from
temple*

(14.6) 293 At this¹⁸⁹⁰ there was indignation¹⁸⁹¹ among those in Hierosolyma, though they checked their tempers. But Florus, as if he had signed a contract¹⁸⁹² to fan the flames of¹⁸⁹³ war, sent to the temple treasury¹⁸⁹⁴ and extracted* seventeen talents;¹⁸⁹⁵ he had dis-

¹⁸⁸³ The formulaic phrase (οἱ περὶ τὸν X) is usually inclusive of X (1.287, 296, 609; 2.53, 236, 443-50, 453; 3.60, 336, 245; 4.203, 216, 301; 5.423; 6.15; 112), as apparently here. This suggests a community board of 12.

¹⁸⁸⁴ Florus' destination when he absconded from Caesarea with the Judeans' 8 talents (2.288).

¹⁸⁸⁵ This verb is part of the rich lexicon of lamentation in the *War* (see note to "mourn over" at 1.9): this form alone (ἀποδύρομαι) appears 9 times (of 16 in Josephus). Of these, 6 are in the programmatically tragic bk. 1. Among the tragedians this form was not much used (Aeschylus, *Prom. vinct.* 637; Sophocles, *Elect.* 1122; cf. Herodotus 2.141). It appears slightly more often in the Athenian orators and later Menander, but usage picks up with the Hellenistic historians (Diodorus 12.17.5; 38/39.8.1; Dionysius 4.71.2; 7.33.3; 9.60.3; 11.30.7, 39.6; 15.5.1). Most telling is Dionysius' *Comp. verb.* 26.150, where he has Danae *bitterly lamenting* her fate although he quotes from Simonides to make his point, the characterization ("bitterly lamenting") is his own language. But Josephus' *War* uses this form of the verb more often than any predecessor.

¹⁸⁸⁶ Or "with embarrassment, shame." Josephus uses αἰδήμων only here and at *War* 1.452, though he has the cognate verb often.

¹⁸⁸⁷ See 2.287.

¹⁸⁸⁸ Greek ὁ δὲ . . . ἔδησεν τοὺς ἄνδρας. See the note to "detainees" at 2.4.

¹⁸⁸⁹ If this is neither a sarcastic flourish of Josephus' invention nor a bizarre joke on the part of Florus, but an actual charge with some legal principles involved, the simplest explanation may be that the Judeans in Caesarea had some sort of recognized standing (perhaps what *Ant.* 20.183-84 means by ἰσοπολιτεία, though that was reportedly rescinded before Festus' death in 59 or 62 CE; see note to "theirs" at 2.268), and that removing perhaps the main (?) copy of the laws from Caesarea, required for the Judeans' internal administration of justice, was therefore culpable. The incident raises a host of questions (e.g.: What precisely was the political situation of the Judeans in Caesarea at this point, in 66? Did a master copy of their laws exist somewhere as exemplar for internal administration? In what language were these laws written? How many copies of the laws were in the

city? Was the removal of any and all laws a crime, or only these ones?) Once again, there is much that Josephus does not report. He leaves the impression that Florus has done something scandalous or preposterous, which opens the possibilities that (a) Florus indeed did something bizarre (and inexplicable) or (b) Josephus has either invented this accusation on Florus' part—it has no significant afterlife in the story—or reshaped the original charge beyond recognition. A sarcastic action on Florus' part might have had this form: the Judeans had failed in their bid to Nero, to have the city governed by Judean law; Florus revels in their defeat, mocking them now by "charging" them (though not on any legal grounds) with having removed what they had intended to be the laws of the entire city. It is impossible to reconstruct the history from Josephus' narrative alone.

¹⁸⁹⁰ It is far from clear how much of what precedes is covered by the demonstrative pronoun: Were the Jerusalemites upset only because of the charge brought or (more likely) because of Florus' ill treatment of the community leaders from Caesarea (accepting their bribe, absconding, and then punishing them), or in general because of his failure to show any fairness in dealing with Caesarean problems?

¹⁸⁹¹ This is the standard complement to "provocation" (see 2.289) in *War*; see note at 2.29.

¹⁸⁹² Possibly, given the theme of financial corruption running through this passage, the verb (ἐργολαβέω, only elsewhere in Josephus at 1.520; *Ant.* 14.201) has the secondary sense here of resolving to *make money* from generating war—more than the simpler absurdity that he behaved as though it were his business to create unrest.

¹⁸⁹³ The 5 occurrences of this verb (ἐκρίπιζω) in Josephus are all in *War* 1-3. Note the cognate he has used recently (of uncertain form because of MS variants) at 2.265.

¹⁸⁹⁴ Sent *whom* to the treasury? Evidently Florus himself remains in Sebaste (2.288, 292). See the note to "treasury of God" at 2.50 and especially the story of Pilate's draining of the treasury for the aqueduct at 2.175-77 (with notes). The following story has many verbal and structural parallels with the Pilate episode. In both cases, crucially, the governor appears to have had the assistance of leading Jerusalemites in getting access to this money: there, because the public-works

sembled¹⁸⁹⁶ that [it was] for Caesar's needs.¹⁸⁹⁷ **294** Confusion immediately began to grip the populace: they ran together¹⁸⁹⁸ into the temple and with piercing¹⁸⁹⁹ shouts kept calling upon the name of Caesar,¹⁹⁰⁰ begging him also to free them from the tyranny¹⁹⁰¹ of Florus. **295** Some of the insurgents¹⁹⁰² had screamed¹⁹⁰³ the most shameful insults¹⁹⁰⁴ and, carrying around a reed basket,¹⁹⁰⁵ were demanding bits of change¹⁹⁰⁶ for him as though he were destitute¹⁹⁰⁷ and needy. He was not put off from his love of money¹⁹⁰⁸ by these [insults],¹⁹⁰⁹ but was all the more driven by rage¹⁹¹⁰ to pursue wealth.

project required many months, and there is no mention of Pilate's having stormed the treasury; here, because of the pretext that Florus apparently gave; in both cases, because an assault on the temple would surely have found mention by Josephus. If this story has a historical base, therefore, the governor must have requested and been granted temple funds for imperial needs: perhaps to fund further public works in the province, perhaps to defray military costs or tribute arrears (see the note to "Caesar's needs" at 2.293). If the balance of the story reflects reality, we must then assume that the people somehow became convinced that Florus was guilty of fraud. Josephus does not explain any of these matters, though a historian would need to know them in order to make use of the story.

¹⁸⁹⁵ Again, this is an enormous sum (see the notes to "talents" at 2.50 and to "eight talents of silver" at 2.287), more than 430 years of a legionary soldier's gross annual salary. Florus' total take, with the earlier 8 talents, is a round 25 talents or nearly 650 years of legionary salary. This is equal to 600,000 HS—1.5 times the property qualification for an equestrian. Robbing temples was understood to be archetypal behavior for tyrants, whose overweening pride created "needs" far above those of ordinary people (cf. Xenophon, *Hier.* 4.11).

¹⁸⁹⁶ This verb (σκήπτωμαι) is particularly common in *Life* (5 of 13 occurrences in Josephus: 107, 213, 248, 380, 388), where almost the entire narrative is a mirage of deliberate misdirection. Cf. also *War* 2.614; 6.195.

¹⁸⁹⁷ A telling pretext, for it assumes that the imperial administration's right to temple funds was recognized by the populace: Florus was given the money on this basis. In fact, it is alleged, he took it for himself; cf. 2.295. It fits with the Judeans' willingness to give money for imperial causes that, when they learn of the fraud (next sentence), they still trustingly cry out to Caesar for redress.

¹⁸⁹⁸ See the note at 2.43: running together spontaneously, as one, is a formulaic popular response to perceived injury at the hands of Roman governors and soldiers in *War* 2.

¹⁸⁹⁹ See the note at 2.6.

¹⁹⁰⁰ This is a remarkable observation, showing the people and their leaders trusting the Roman *princeps*

to get rid of his unworthy emissary. This reflects the sort of basic consensus between governors and governed that Ando (2000) has charted in compelling detail. We do not yet have, then, the sharp division between most of the people, led astray by demagogue tyrants, and the Romans along with some upper-class loyalists, that will dominate the latter half of the work, following the murder of Ananus and Jesus (see Introduction). The need to distinguish between the *princeps* in Rome and his procurators in Judea is one of the first points made in the speech of Agrippa II, below (2.348-52).

¹⁹⁰¹ The prospect of local tyranny and the hope for freedom from it—this under the overarching aegis of Rome—is a fundamental theme of *War*: see Introduction and 1.10, 23; 2.22, 80, 91 with relevant notes. The twist here is that, whereas most potential tyrants in the story are Judeans (monarchs and heirs, pretenders, demagogues, and militant rebels), the tyrant here is an unworthy Roman procurator (see the note to "procurator" at 1.117).

¹⁹⁰² See the notes at 2.289 and 1.10.

¹⁹⁰³ The repetition of the unusual verb κράζω (12 occurrences in *War*) helps to unite 3 passages in bk. 2 involving protest against Roman governors (also 2.176 [see note], 280).

¹⁹⁰⁴ Greek λοιδορίας αἰσχίστους. Although a seemingly natural pair, this collocation does not appear elsewhere in Josephus, except at 2.298 below (where Florus is offended by precisely this [Josephan!] language). Outside of Josephus the pair is not attested, though Polybius 31.6.4 comes close; later, see Dio 27.91.4.

¹⁹⁰⁵ There may be an added joke in the kind of basket being used: of many possible kinds, the reed basket (κανοῦν) was associated—though not exclusively—with sacred offerings and processions (LSJ s.v.); so, perhaps this is also mockery for stealing temple funds.

¹⁹⁰⁶ This is the only occurrence of κέρμα in Josephus.

¹⁹⁰⁷ This is the only occurrence of ἄκληρος in Josephus.

¹⁹⁰⁸ The only other occurrence of φιλαργυρία in Josephus comes at 2.483, in connection with Noarus.

¹⁹⁰⁹ This implies that Florus heard the insults; if so, it can only have been via the emissaries returning to him at Sebaste (2.288, 292) with the 17 talents.

296 At the very least he should have gone to Caesarea and extinguished the fire¹⁹¹¹ of the war beginning from there¹⁹¹² and disposed of¹⁹¹³ the causes of the disturbance¹⁹¹⁴—for which [task] he had indeed taken compensation.¹⁹¹⁵ Instead, he rushed against Hierosolyma with an army of both cavalry and infantry,¹⁹¹⁶ so that he might do his deeds¹⁹¹⁷ with Roman weaponry,¹⁹¹⁸ and strip the city¹⁹¹⁹ through [the use of] anxiety and threats.¹⁹²⁰

(14.7) 297 But the populace, wishing to shame him pre-emptively¹⁹²¹ from his rush [against the city], came out to meet* the soldiers¹⁹²² with adulation,¹⁹²³ and prepared

Judeans try to appease Florus, rebuffed

¹⁹¹⁰ Rage at the mockery, it seems (2.298-99). This is the only occurrence of *παροργίζω* (here passive) in Josephus.

¹⁹¹¹ This verb-noun pair (*σβέννυμι* + *πῶρ*) is formulaic in *War* (5.472; 6.233, 243, 251, 256, 262; 7.405), though not elsewhere in Josephus. It occurs chiefly in bk. 6, where it is often literal rather than metaphorical as here. In the present context, it complements the earlier reference to Florus' "fanning (the flames of) war" (2.294; cf. 265).

¹⁹¹² This notice reminds that audience that, in Josephus' view, the originally minor incidents in Caesarea were generating consequences that would result in full-scale war (2.285).

¹⁹¹³ Perhaps "dealt with." Although this common verb (*ἀνατρίβω*) in Josephus (451 occurrences), which literally means "take away, do away with, remove, wipe out," is most often a euphemism for "kill," here it is used literally: it is not that Florus should kill those responsible for the disturbance (since "causes" is feminine, not indicating specific persons), but that he should put a halt to the conditions the Judeans saw as creating the problem—the Caesareans' building alongside their meeting places and offering sacrifices in such proximity.

¹⁹¹⁴ Greek *ταραχή* is a characteristic term in *War* 2, charting the build-up to war. Especially relevant are occurrences in the Pilate and Samaritan episodes (2.170, 175-76, 240) and at the beginning of the Caesarea story (2.266); see the notes to these passages.

¹⁹¹⁵ That is, the 8-talent bribe described at 2.287 and recalled at 2.292. Again, Josephus drives home that Florus failed not only in his clear duties as Roman governor, but even by the *demimonde* criterion of honoring a hefty bribe.

¹⁹¹⁶ If this force comprised complete units, it was an extraordinarily large force for a governor to bring. Of his 6 units (cohorts and wings), 1 was already stationed in Jerusalem at the Antonia fortress (see the notes to "Sebastenes" at 2.52 and to "cohort" at 2.224.). Florus appears to be bringing at least 2 more with him (the cavalry wing and at least 1 infantry cohort), with the stated purpose of intimidating the population. Another 2 cohorts will arrive soon (2.318), meaning that at least

5 of his 6 units (each of roughly American battalion strength), and possibly all of them, would be in Jerusalem rather than Caesarea.

¹⁹¹⁷ The MS tradition reveals either a lacuna in the text or the suspicion of one. Although the middle verb *ἐργάζομαι* can be intransitive, as rendered here by "do his deeds" (or "work, act")—and regarded by LCL, Pelletier, and M-B—it is often used transitively with another term expressing *the aim or object* of the work. Thus MS C adds "[do] what he wanted," and already the 4th-cent. Latin has *ad quod volebat uteretur*. Destinon conjectured a different verb: "so that he might furnish (or produce, *χρησῆται*) Roman arms and fleece the city."

¹⁹¹⁸ That is: Florus grossly abuses his power as governor, cloaking his efforts to extort funds in the apparatus of the Roman state. This formulation seems incidentally to give a positive value to Roman arms, as something otherwise respectable; cf. 2.294 and notes.

¹⁹¹⁹ Most often Josephus uses this verb in its literal sense, "remove [someone's] clothing" (*Ant.* 6.223; 7.4; 9.111; 12.213), but the 2 occurrences in *War* both have the metaphorical sense of stripping personified cities (also 1.531).

¹⁹²⁰ This is akin to such language of more modern military planning as "shock and awe"—the latter a possible translation of the first term, *δέος*.

¹⁹²¹ This doubly compound verb (*προδυσωπέω*) appears to be a Josephan coinage: it is the only example, not counting a 10th-century quotation of Josephus, attested in ancient Greek literature, though the verb without the first prefix is found often—and several times in Josephus.

¹⁹²² This is a typical scene in the face of a threatening army: the citizens come out to show their intentions beforehand (whether bellicose or peaceful) and to spare the city itself from attack in either case; cf. 2.213; *Ant.* 16.14. This incident has an important sequel in 2.318-25 below.

¹⁹²³ See the note at 2.1. The very word *εὐφημία* (at its root: "speech of good omen") invites the expectation of provisionality or conditionality. Here it is a valiant attempt to overwhelm the governor's ill will.

themselves to welcome Florus attentively.¹⁹²⁴ **298** Yet that [fellow], having sent ahead the centurion Capito¹⁹²⁵ with fifty cavalrymen,¹⁹²⁶ directed them [the Judeans] to withdraw, and not to dissemble¹⁹²⁷ with courtesies¹⁹²⁸ now, towards one whom they had shamefully insulted.¹⁹²⁹ **299** For it was necessary for them, [he continued], if they truly were* noble¹⁹³⁰ and frank-speaking people,¹⁹³¹ both to mock him also when he was present¹⁹³² and to show themselves “freedom-lovers”¹⁹³³ not only in their words,¹⁹³⁴ but also with

¹⁹²⁴ Or “considerately, in a kind and caring way.” Greek θεραπευτικῶς (cf. Latin *cura*) has connotations of attentiveness, care, cure, and restoration; see the note to “attentiveness” at 2.2. Josephus thus emphasizes the determination of the Judean leadership to overlook the governor’s bad behavior thus far, offering him the customary attentiveness (cf. Agrippa’s advice at 2.350) in the interests of peace.

¹⁹²⁵ This is another familiar Latin *cognomen*, meaning “big-head,” commonly linked with the *gens* Ateia. Although it is a pattern in *War* that tribunes and prefects of the auxiliary cohorts in Judea bear names indicating Roman citizenship (see the note to “Rufus and Gratus” at 2.52), it is curious that this pattern should extend to an auxiliary centurion, for such men were normally appointed from the ranks as in the legions (Watson 1969: 86-88), and so recruited locally in Caesarea and Sebaste. The trend at this time seems to be going in the other direction: at 2.63 we met a figure who was apparently a legionary centurion, with a Greek name (Areius).

¹⁹²⁶ Mounted forces (*alae*), even in mixed cohorts, were formed in *turmae* (squadrons) of 30 to 32, each commanded by a decurion. It seems odd that Florus would (a) send a detachment of 50, and (b) under the command of a centurion (i.e., an infantry officer) rather than a decurion. But Florus’ choice seems to highlight the ad hoc nature of the task: a more experienced (apparently Roman) officer is put in charge of a substantial cavalry detachment, which is quicker and more intimidating than a troop of foot soldiers; they are also the élite unit among the auxiliaries and so perhaps more trustworthy in dealing with such actions (cf. 2.236; cf. 2.291).

¹⁹²⁷ Greek εἰρωνεύεσθαι. See the note to “dissembling” at 2.26—a prominent theme in all of Josephus’ writings, especially *War* and *Life*.

¹⁹²⁸ Greek φιλοφρόνησις appears relatively often in Josephus (11 times, 5 of these in *War*—bks. 1-2 only), though hardly attested before his time (Aristotle, frag. 9.56.670 [Rose]; Memnon, frag. 26 [Müller]; *Ep. Aristeeas* 246; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 10.46.8, 57.5; Ps.-Demetrius, *Eloc.* 232). From his time onward, it is used more often (Plutarch, *Mor.* [*Apoph. Lac.*] 212f; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 7.89; Chariton, *Chaer.* 4.3.8; 5.1.8; Herodian, *Peri orth.* 3.2.441; Apollonius Dyscolus, *Pronom.* 2.1.1.53).

¹⁹²⁹ Greek [πρὸς ὃν οὕτως] ἐλοιδόρησαν αἰσχροῶς can only refer to Josephus’ language at 2.295 above. But that is the author’s characterization, not something that Florus could have heard. Similarly, in the next sentence Florus will reveal a knowledge of Josephus’ narrative in the people’s demand for freedom from his tyranny (cf. 2.294). Josephus continues to spin out his narrative as a creative work: whatever Florus may actually have said, the chances that it matched what Josephus presents here are slim.

¹⁹³⁰ The connection between nobility of character (here, being γενναῖοι) and frank, fearless, or candid speech was basic to ancient moral philosophy: cf. also Plutarch, *Mor.* [*Adulat. amic.*] 68d; Lucian, *Calumn.* 23; *Dial. mort.* 20.9. Lucian links nobility and frankness also with freedom, which comes next in Florus’ sarcastic message.

¹⁹³¹ This may be an oblique reference to 2.276, where our narrator has declared that under Florus’ predecessor Albinus (hence: all the more, Florus), frank speech was curtailed. The *nomen agentis* παρρησιαστής appears only here in Josephus, and rarely before his time (Aristotle, *Eth. nic.* 1124b; Diodorus 14.5.7; Philo, *Flacc.* 178). Indeed, Josephus’ Florus here seems to have taken a leaf (sarcastically) from the first of these passages, Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics* (1124b): “It is also necessary that he [*sc.* the great-souled man, μεγαλόψυχος] be both open in his hatred (φανερομισῆ) and open in his affection (φανερόφιλον)—because concealment is born of fear (τὸ γὰρ λαυθάνειν φοβουμένου) . . . —and that he both *speak* and *act* openly (καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν φανερώς); for a frank speaker (παρρησιαστής) is thus on account of his being disdainful [of others’ opinions] and his being truthful, excepting whatever [he says] by way of dissembling to the masses (πλὴν ὅσα μὴ δι’ εἰρωνείαν πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς).”

¹⁹³² Florus has been in Sebaste until this march on Jerusalem (2.288, 292), having sent others to extract the 17 talents from the temple (2.293). We should presumably infer that he heard of the insults and mockery (2.295) from these agents on their return.

¹⁹³³ In the narrative this refers in the first instance to the people’s earlier cries to (an absent) Caesar, in the temple precincts, “to free them from the tyranny of Florus” (2.294). The tyrant either has been anticipat-

weapons.¹⁹³⁵ **300** The rabble were taken aback by these [words], while at the same time Capito and his horsemen were being borne¹⁹³⁶ into their midst: they were dispersed before [having had the chance] either to greet Florus or to make their submissiveness¹⁹³⁷ clear to the soldiers. After withdrawing to their residences, they passed the night¹⁹³⁸ in anxiety and humiliation.¹⁹³⁹

Florus holds hearing in Jerusalem

(14.8) 301 Now at that time Florus set up camp^{*1940} in the royal grounds,¹⁹⁴¹ and on the next day, after setting a tribunal-platform¹⁹⁴² before them, he seated himself;^{*1943}

ing Josephus' narrative or he is presumed to have heard reports of these popular demands; now comes his reply. Both tyranny (see the note to "tyrants" at 1.10) and freedom (see the note at 2.259) are basic themes in *War*.

¹⁹³⁴ Perhaps the most fundamental and oft-repeated demand of moral philosophers was that actions match words: Seneca, *Ep.* 20.2; 108.9-12; Epictetus in Arrian, *Diatr.* 3.26.8-23, 37-39; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 70.3; Luke 4.31-32; 5.23-24; 7.18-23; 24.19; Lucian, *Hermet.* 9-19.

¹⁹³⁵ Florus' emissary now reaches the shocking conclusion of his ironic little speech. The martial and heroic application of the principle that actions match words goes back to Homer: Phoenix's commission from Peleus to teach Achilles to be "a speaker of words and a doer of deeds" (*Iliad* 9.443). On the surface Florus is issuing a moral-philosophical challenge: "Make your deeds match your words; behave as you really feel, without fear of death; take up arms against Rome!" In a twisted way, this anticipates points made by both (Josephus') Agrippa II (2.355-57) and Eleazar son of Ya'ir at Masada (7.323-29). But for a Roman governor to press this logic, in the face of a community that has come desperately seeking to overlook his previous behavior and prevent an escalation of conflict, is diabolically inappropriate to the occasion—as Josephus' Roman audience would well know.

¹⁹³⁶ By their horses, since they are a mounted unit (2.298). By this choice of verb, Josephus appears to stress the intimidating presence of the cavalry: it is not merely that the soldiers are pressing into the Judean crowd, but they do so on horseback, towering above the crowd. The Judeans' immediate dispersal, with horses bearing down on them, is no sign of weakness.

¹⁹³⁷ The adjective *πειθήνιος* is not attested before Philo and Josephus, but it is used with increasing frequency thereafter—another case (see Introduction) in which Josephus rides the crest of new trends in language. Moreover, the neuter substantive (*τὸ πειθήνιον*) as here, which he uses also at 2.498 and 5.121, is unattested in other writers before the late 2nd century, after which it becomes common.

¹⁹³⁸ This is the only occurrence of the verb *νυκτερεύω* in Josephus, though he uses *διανυκτερεύω* 7 times, as already at 2.312 below. Both are found in most Helle-

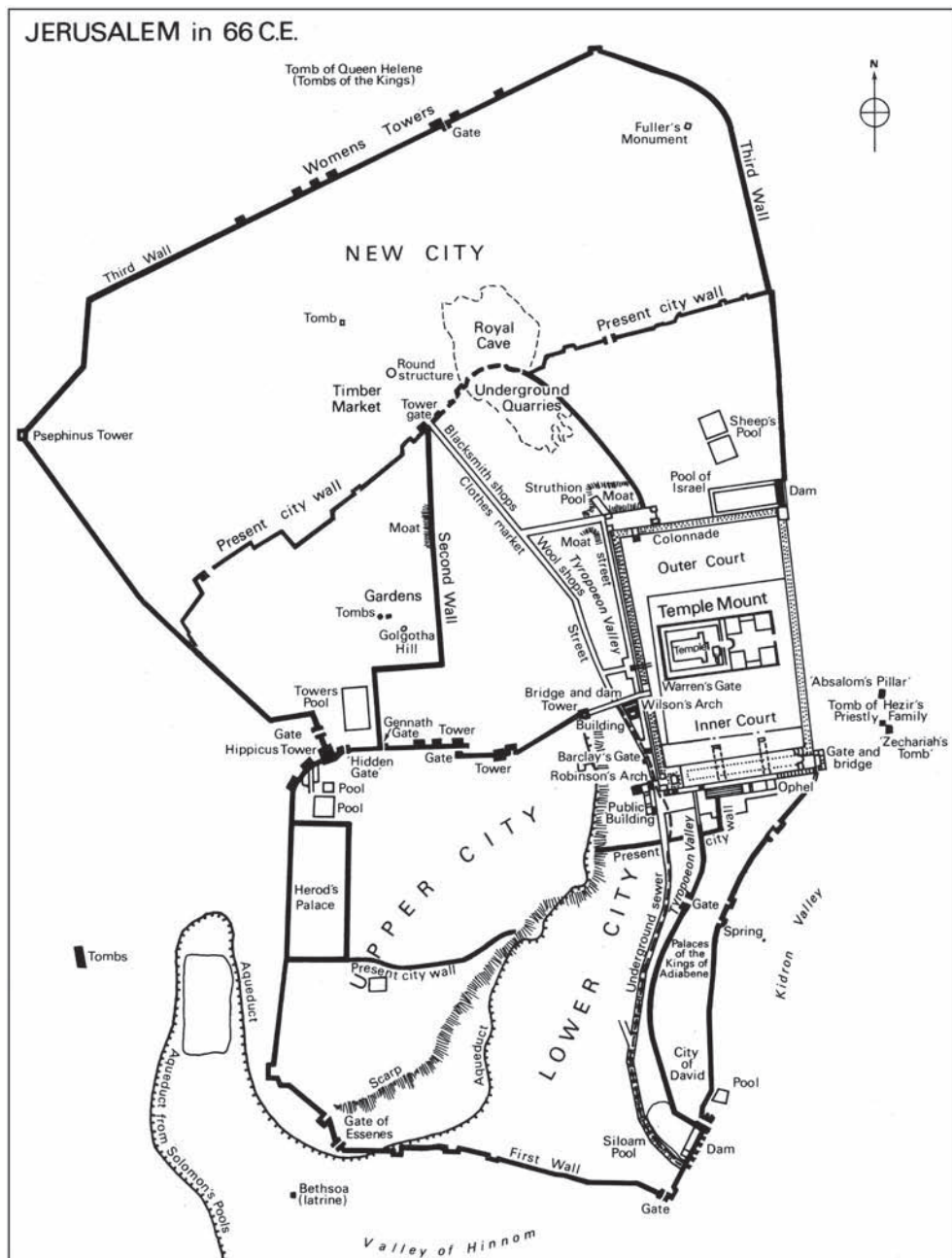
nistic authors, though Xenophon prefers the former (13 times), and Polybius (4 times) and Strabo (5 times) use it only. So there seems to be no good reason to follow MSS VRC in adopting the prefixed form here.

¹⁹³⁹ Or "dejection, lowness [of spirits]" (*ταπεινότης*). The same pair appears at 4.147 in reverse order.

¹⁹⁴⁰ Or "came to lodge, took up residence." The verb *ἀνλίζομαι* (lit. "[occupy the] courtyard") is possibly meant as a pun. On the one hand, it is used of establishing a temporary base, as in a military bivouac (see 2.69 and note); on the other hand, its cognate *ἀνλή* is commonly used (as at 2.312 below, of this very site) to mean "palace [grounds]." Here, the bivouac of this conspicuously unworthy governor and his auxiliaries happens to be in a real palace courtyard, where he will confront a real queen of Herodian descent (2.312).

¹⁹⁴¹ Herod's palace on the W side of Jerusalem, near the modern Jaffa Gate, from which only some foundation stones survive. Like Herod's royal properties in Caesarea and Sebaste, as well as his desert fortresses, the Jerusalem installations (including the fortress Antonia) became imperial bases after Archelaus' removal. Given the procurator's residence there when visiting Jerusalem, the Jerusalem palace was also the temporary camp of auxiliary units travelling with him (2.329). Josephus has briefly described this palace's construction at 1.402 (it comprised two massive and beautiful buildings named after Augustus and M. Vipsanius Agrippa, surpassing even the temple in magnificence); at 5.176-82 (cf. *Ant.* 15.318) he will elaborate on the unimaginably impressive structure and its enclosures. At 7.1 he will claim that, in ordering the complete demolition of all remaining buildings after the capture of Jerusalem, Titus exempted the 3 towers of Herod's palace and its western wall, as the base for a garrison.

¹⁹⁴² The setting of this scene around the governor's tribunal-platform (*βῆμα*), set up specially for the purpose (cf. 2.308), recalls the episodes of protest against Pilate (2.172, 175-76). The repeated vocabulary makes it hard to avoid the conclusion that Josephus has shaped all of these protest episodes to deepen certain themes: manifest injustice and arrogance from the governor confronted firmly but patiently by the Judean leadership; impetuous youth become increasingly visible and less susceptible of management by the leaders.



Courtesy of Jonathan J. Price, from his *Jerusalem Under Siege: the Collapse of the Jewish State, 66–70 C.E.* (Brill, 1992).

the chief priests, the powerful men, and the most notable [element]¹⁹⁴⁴ of the city then arrived and stood by the tribunal-platform. **302** These [men] Florus directed to give up those who had insulted him, asserting that they would enjoy¹⁹⁴⁵ his vengeance¹⁹⁴⁶ if they did not bring the culprits forward. But the [Judean leaders] made it clear that the people were peacefully minded,¹⁹⁴⁷ and they sought pardon for those who had muttered careless things:¹⁹⁴⁸ **303** in such a large mob, on the one hand, it was hardly surprising that there were men who were rather bold¹⁹⁴⁹ and foolish on account of their age;¹⁹⁵⁰ on the other hand, the isolation¹⁹⁵¹ of those who had been at fault was infeasible, with each one repenting and disowning what¹⁹⁵² he had done.*¹⁹⁵³ **304** Yet nev-

¹⁹⁴³ Compare the language here (τῆ δ' ὑστεραία βῆμα πρὸ αὐτῶν θέμενος [ὁ Φλώρος] καθέζεται) with that at 2.172 (τῆ δ' ἑξῆς ὁ Πιλάτος καθίσας ἐπὶ βήματος), and see the previous note.

¹⁹⁴⁴ On the 3 preceding terms, see the notes to “powerful [men]” at 2.239 and to “chief priests” and “notables” at 2.243. They are all part of an assortment of terms for the nation’s elite, as a Greek-speaking audience would immediately understand.

¹⁹⁴⁵ Although the better MSS (PAML) have an aorist infinitive (ἀπολάσαι) here, the sense apparently requires the future (ἀπολάσειν) suggested by the Latin (*esse*. . . *vindicandum*) and adopted by Niese, LCL, Vitucci, Pelletier, and M-B.

¹⁹⁴⁶ A paradoxical combination of verb and object (contrast *Ant.* 2.48), suited to the perverse and bullying character of Josephus’ Florus, who appears in ever sharper relief against the determined political efforts of Jerusalem’s elite.

¹⁹⁴⁷ This is the first occurrence of a formulaic phrase (εἰρηνικός φρονέω) in *War*; cf. 3.30, 458; 4.84, 120; 5.30, 110; 6.344.

¹⁹⁴⁸ Josephus uses the verb παραφθέγγομαι again only at 5.336. Goodman (1987: 154-60), observing that the leaders’ disingenuous claim represents a failure to fulfill the obligation of the ruling class (to maintain law and order), argues that the real cause of their reluctance must have been their desire to protect someone. Given the youth of the offenders, he proposes, those being protected must (historically) have been younger members of the ruling class, in particular those gathered around the temple captain Eleazar son of Ananias (see below 2.408-9). Eleazar’s father and his father’s friends would naturally have been concerned to shield them. Thus, it is not so much the elders in the story, but Josephus as author who conceals the involvement of aristocrats in revolutionary actions (allegedly one of Josephus’ chief motives). Yet to reject Josephus’ context while extracting one element of his story—Florus’ search for his mockers—and seeking an independent historical explanation of that element, seems arbitrary.

The story humiliates Florus before the audience by displaying the cruel governor’s weakness, vanity, and ineffectiveness, and contrasting the wisdom of the Judean elite. Rather than capitulating to the governor’s impulsive demand for satisfaction, these distinguished Judean leaders appeal (unsuccessfully) to his better nature, affording him every opportunity to scale down the rising tensions he has provoked. Cleverly invoking the commonplace of hot-headed youth, these literary characters wisely pretend ignorance of the perpetrators’ identities. In due course, Josephus will not hesitate to name the bad seed Eleazar (2.408-9) and continue to chart this man’s tragic course of rebellion, which will result in the murder of his own father and uncle by the lower-class interloper Menahem (4.225-45). Since Josephus is determined to use Eleazar as a clear example of youthful folly, it is hard to see why he would have tried to cover up his earlier involvement in the foolish humiliation of Florus.

¹⁹⁴⁹ Or “more spirited, brasher.” This is the same comparative that is discussed in the notes to “bolder ones” at 2.238, 267.

¹⁹⁵⁰ That is, their youth: it was a well-established trope, at least since Thucydides, Aristotle, and Polybius, not to mention Homer, that young men were victims of their untrained passions, which frequently landed them in trouble; see the notes to “youths” at 2.225, 286. Josephus’ elders here present this as a normal part of the human condition, not as something peculiar to Jerusalem, and seek a statesmanlike mutual understanding from Florus, who does not oblige them.

¹⁹⁵¹ No doubt because the noun τὴν διάκρισιν (as subject of the earlier infinitive εἶναι) alone sounds too cryptic, the MSS MLVRC have added various verbs and phrases (Lat. *discrimen agitari*) to fill out the sense, which remains the same: to make a judgment, distinction, identification.

¹⁹⁵² The Greek reads oddly: καὶ δι’ ἃ δέδρακεν ἀρνούμενου. MS L has a partial erasure suggesting καὶ δέ, and the dangling δι’ has invited conjectural emendations. Pelletier omits it. Thackeray in LCL, Vitucci and

ertheless it was necessary for *him*, if he was concerned for* peace throughout the nation¹⁹⁵⁴ and if he wished* to preserve the city for Romans,¹⁹⁵⁵ to pardon the few who had caused offense on account of the many who were blameless,¹⁹⁵⁶ rather than trouble¹⁹⁵⁷ such a large population of decent [folk]¹⁹⁵⁸ on account of a few worthless [fellows].¹⁹⁵⁹

(14.9) 305 At this he [Florus] became yet more provoked¹⁹⁶⁰ and began shouting* at the soldiers to plunder thoroughly what was called the Upper Market,¹⁹⁶¹ and to kill those they encountered. They drew strength from [such] an authoritative exhortation,¹⁹⁶² in their lust for gain,¹⁹⁶³ and not only plundered the place against which they had been sent¹⁹⁶⁴ but, bursting into all the residences,¹⁹⁶⁵ they began slaughtering the residents.¹⁹⁶⁶

*Florus' troops
plunder
Upper Market,
kills even
equestrians*

M-B adopt Destinon's proposal δέει: "with (or because of) anxiety, fear."

¹⁹⁵³ Of course, if an interrogator knew that a particular person was indeed repenting of *what he had done*, it would be easy to identify him as a culprit. The elliptical expression seems to mean rather that, given a horde of people in which *everyone* denies having done anything wrong (*some* because they have done nothing, others because they have disowned and denied their real actions), it is now impossible to identify the culprits.

¹⁹⁵⁴ Although this is indeed the first and most important task of a Roman governor (cf. Ulpian, *Dig.* 1.18.13. *pr.*: the wise governor "takes care that the province he rules be peaceful and orderly")—working with the local élite to create and maintain *consensus* (cf. Ando 2000: 71-205)—by framing it as a merely hypothetical condition, Josephus emphasizes Florus' reckless abandonment of this basic responsibility.

¹⁹⁵⁵ This is a surprisingly direct appeal to Roman self-interest, perhaps reflecting a Thucydidean sort of recognition (as in Agrippa's speech from 2.345) that Rome's power will prevail in any case. Cf. 5.334, where Titus at first tries to storm Jerusalem without sacking it on the ground that "his chief objective was to save the city for himself"; cf. 1.27; 5.360-61. At 5.371 Josephus' own character will make a Thucydidean appeal to Roman advantage (τὸ συμφέρον): "this did not consist in having a city devoid of men, or a deserted countryside."

¹⁹⁵⁶ Greek ἀκαταιτίατος, a remarkable example of *War's* distinctive and characteristic language, possibly Josephus' coinage. This adjective occurs 6 times in *War* (also 1.494; 4.169, 2259, 266, 280), but nowhere else in Josephus, and it is unattested in Greek literature before his time. It will not appear again until the 4th century.

¹⁹⁵⁷ See the note to "disturbance," a key term in *War*, at 2.170, and to "disturbance of the rabble" at 2.29.

¹⁹⁵⁸ Translating with MS L the plural genitive ἀγαθῶν rather than singular accusative to match the noun (in other MSS), because of the Latin support: *multitudinem tantam bonorum*.

¹⁹⁵⁹ See the notes at 2.156, 273.

¹⁹⁶⁰ On provocation and indignation in *War*, see the note at 2.8 and the parallel constructions mentioned there.

¹⁹⁶¹ At 5.137 Josephus will explain that his contemporaries call "the Upper Market" what David had called the "Fortress." He is using the already traditional (but perhaps erroneous, since the historical City of David was based on the eastern hill) designation for the area around Herod's Palace, near the modern Jaffa Gate, which is where Florus is hearing the Judean leaders. According to that passage in bk. 5, the area that went by this name included not only a market proper (*agora*), but the entire summit of the upper W hill. Nevertheless, in the present context Florus' instruction seems to focus on the real *agora* (cf. also 2.315), perhaps corresponding roughly to the space where the present E-W alleyway of the *souk/shuq* opens to the square by Jaffa Gate.

¹⁹⁶² Or "gubernatorial exhortation" (ἡγεμονική παρακέλυσσις). This is one of only two appearances of the adjective in *War*. On its various possibilities, see the note to "imperial call" at the other occurrence, 2.207.

¹⁹⁶³ Greek ἐπιθυμία κέρδους. At 2.581 Josephus will require of his own recruits that they abstain from all forms of theft, plunder, and banditry, as he also will forswear opportunities for personal gain while in military service (*Life* 80). At 5.558 he will comment, in relation to Titus' strictures against Arab auxiliaries' cutting open Judean refugees to find internally secreted coins: "But avarice, as it seems, disdains all punishment, and a terrible desire for gain (δεινὸς . . . τοῦ κερδαίνειν ἔρωσ) is ingrained in human nature." Although the phrase ἐπιθυμία κέρδους occurs only here in Josephus, he may have been influenced by Theophrastus' *On Characters*, which has the only attested occurrence before his time. The section devoted to "sordid love of gain" (αἰσχροκέρδεια, 30.1) begins illuminatingly: "Sordid love of gain is the lust for sordid gain" (Ἡ δὲ αἰσχροκέρδεια ἐστὶν ἐπιθυμία κέρδους αἰσχροῦ). The phrase will appear again in Casius Dio 69.13.2.

¹⁹⁶⁴ That is, the Upper Market.

¹⁹⁶⁵ The houses of the Upper City, to the E of Herod's palace, were owned by the wealthier citizens and upper

306 There was a rush out of the alleyways¹⁹⁶⁷ and murder¹⁹⁶⁸ for those who were caught, and no manner of plundering was neglected.¹⁹⁶⁹ They arrested many of the respectable [folk]¹⁹⁷⁰ and brought them up to Florus; these, after first torturing them with lashes,¹⁹⁷¹ he crucified.¹⁹⁷² **307** The number of those killed during that day, in total with women and children included¹⁹⁷³—for they did not hold back even from the infants—was about 630.¹⁹⁷⁴ **308** The novelty of the Roman savagery¹⁹⁷⁵ made the calamity¹⁹⁷⁶ more burdensome, for

priests, as the excavations around the “Herodian Quarter” (the “palatial mansion” and the “burnt house” [possibly belonging to the priestly house of Kathros]) in the modern Jewish Quarter confirm (cf. Avigad 1983).

¹⁹⁶⁶ The independent animus of the auxiliary soldiers (see the note to “Sebastenes” at 2.52), which is at least tolerated by Florus, helps to explain why Berenice will come to fear them even as she takes refuge in the palace with Florus (2.312 below).

¹⁹⁶⁷ Josephus uses στενωπός (“narrow place, alley”) 18 times in *War*, but only 6 times in his other works. It adds vividness to his narratives of conflict and violence (cf. esp. 5.336; 6.404, 406), by calling to mind the narrow streets of any city, a type known to his urban audience in Rome even if they do not know Jerusalem. Thus he sometimes glosses the word with “of the city” (τοῦ ἄστεως—1.414; 5.188).

¹⁹⁶⁸ The collocation of plunder (ἀρπαγή) and murder (φόνος) is characteristic of *War*: 1.34; 2.70, 654; 4.139, 165, 560; 5.265, 402; 6.271; cf. *Ant.* 5.25. It is not attested with such frequency in other authors (Diodorus 14.53.2; 17.104.7; Plutarch, *Sull.* 14.3; *Brut.* 18.9; *Galb.* 6.2).

¹⁹⁶⁹ This is formulaic phrasing: see the note to “neglected” at 2.272, where the governor Albinus fails to neglect any form of sordid behavior.

¹⁹⁷⁰ See the note at 2.275.

¹⁹⁷¹ The compound verb προαικίζομαι seems unattested outside of Josephus before Eusebius. For Josephus’ interest in the word group, see the note to “torture” at 2.179. Cf. also 4.259, where the high priest Ananus accuses the Judean rebel “tyrants” of precisely the same activity: arresting prominent Judeans in the marketplace, first torturing them, and then killing them. At 5.429, the Romans besieging Jerusalem, when they capture fleeing Jerusalemites, will subject them to whippings in addition to “all manner of torture” before crucifying them. The most famous story of severe beating before crucifixion is that of Jesus in the gospels (e.g., Mark 15:15; John 19:1-16).

¹⁹⁷² Crucifixion, perhaps adopted from Carthage, was an infamously brutal method of execution. There was no single form, but many variations on the theme of hanging from a stake or cross until dead. It will take

on especially gruesome forms in 5.449-51 (under Titus: first described in its savagery and then diplomatically explained), as the siege of Jerusalem reportedly produces hundreds of new prisoners each day; see also the note to “crucified” at *Life* 420 in BJP 9; Hengel 1977; Zias and Sekeles 1985; Cantarella 1991.

¹⁹⁷³ Including women and children as casualties not only adds an air of precision to the numbers; it also heightens the sense of tragic pathos. See the note to “women and children” at 2.192.

¹⁹⁷⁴ Niese follows the normally superior MSS PAML Lat in reading τριάκοντα καὶ ἑξακοσίους. Perhaps in part because this puts the multiple of 10 before the multiple of 100 (cf. 6.425), MSS VRC offer τρισηλίους καὶ ἑξακοσίους (3,600). LCL and Pelletier prefer the latter, M-B the former. That Josephus’ large numbers would have been obvious to his medieval copyists, who may have therefore had a stronger inclination to inflate than to shrink them, is an argument for the smaller number here (as *lectio difficilior*); taken with the better MS evidence (including Latin), it has the decided advantage.

¹⁹⁷⁵ This is a remarkable phrase—the Romans are not only savage, but here reach a *new level* of savagery—in a work ostensibly claiming that the savagery of the Judean tyrants toward compatriots was the worse evil (1.27; but 4.134: no difference in savagery between compatriots and Romans). It seems that Josephus is not describing a separate incident, but returning to draw out from what he has just described—in an already complete paragraph—details that will arouse the indignation of his Roman audience. Language such as this is enough to show that the *War* cannot have been Roman propaganda, as it has often been described in scholarship (programmatically, Laqueur 1920: 126-27; Thackeray 1929: 27-28), even if Josephus works consistently—and wisely, if not always convincingly (5.289-90, 449-51)—to remind Titus that he had been appalled by such cruelty (*War* 5.556). At 2.340 he will clarify that the Judeans respected all other Roman leaders except Florus, because of his savagery. We do not seem to find similar language in Greek authors before Appian (*Num.* 2.1).

¹⁹⁷⁶ A programmatic term (συμφορά), enhancing the tragic tone, in *War* and in bk. 2; see the notes at 1.9; 2.286.

at that time Florus dared what no one before [had done]:¹⁹⁷⁷ to put to the lash men of the equestrian order¹⁹⁷⁸—although their ancestry was Judean,¹⁹⁷⁹ their status¹⁹⁸⁰ was certainly Roman—in front of his tribunal-platform and then nail them to a cross.¹⁹⁸¹

(15.1) 309 At about this time, King Agrippa¹⁹⁸² had by chance gone to Alexandria,¹⁹⁸³

*Berenice
appeals to
Florus*

¹⁹⁷⁷ No Roman governor, at least. In 1.35, near the opening of the narrative, Josephus described Antiochus Epiphanes' daily torturing of the distinguished men, one at a time (κατ' ἄνδρα τοὺς ἀξιολόγους αἰκίζόμενος), and publicly exhibiting his humiliation of the city. Although the Roman provincial governors usually held trials on their own authority (*extra ordinem*), with nearly absolute discretion over proceedings and penalties, there were limits—especially in respecting the legal privileges enjoyed by those among the provincial population who held Roman and/or elite local status. Garnsey (1968) presents a vivid picture of ingrained Roman assumptions about the *distinctions of social status* before the law; such considerations evoke the sense of scandal that Josephus might have hoped to create in describing Florus' behavior.

¹⁹⁷⁸ See the note (“equestrian order among the Romans”) at 2.117. Quite apart from the summary punishments (below), this is a unique and important notice, the more valuable for being incidental and unelaborated: the Judean upper class included equestrians. Even in Rome, equestrian status was held by relatively few; its property qualification could be a conspicuous reward by the *princeps* to personal favorites. Although we have evidence in Herodian connections and Latin names for other Roman citizens in Judea, it is surprising to hear of equestrians residing in Jerusalem, since Josephus' narratives assume a basic division between the “mob” or masses and the elite (powerful, principal, notable men)—who seem generally to be influential men gathered around chief-priestly circles. It is all the more shocking that these equestrians should be beaten and crucified on the spot (see note to “cross” below): under the principate, the emperor increasingly selected his own agents from this class, and charges against those in his service were usually heard by himself or by the Senate (Garnsey 1968: 12). This anomalous appearance of equestrians in Jerusalem raises the possibility that Josephus has invented or exaggerated it; even one such person might explain Josephus' rhetorical use of the plural, and such an isolated case (or two) is perhaps more likely than wholesale invention here.

¹⁹⁷⁹ Greek γένος is notoriously multivalent and difficult to translate: “birth (place), ancestry, origin, family-line, race, class” are all possibilities; Josephus might mean that these people were born in Judea (cf. Cohen 1994), but still achieved Roman honors, though this is not clear. See the note at *Life* 1.

¹⁹⁸⁰ Or “rank, dignity” (ἄξιωμα).

¹⁹⁸¹ Cf. Cicero's castigation of Verres, more than a century earlier, for having crucified a Roman citizen in Sicily (*Verr.* 5.62; cf. M-B n. 161 *ad loc.*). Several factors contribute to the outrageous nature of this action: first, that a provincial governor would presume to punish Roman citizens without trial, let alone without allowing their right of appeal to Rome (granted that the right of *provocatio* was not always honored [Garnsey 1968: 23 n. 85]); second, that flogging and crucifixion, which were the punishments of slaves and foreigners, should be meted out to members of the upper orders (who, if convicted, usually faced fines, banishment, beheading, or forced suicide); third, that Florus—himself an equestrian—should dare to treat his peers with such contempt, as if they were mere slaves. The dual system of punishment (for *honestiores* and *humiliores*) would be codified at the beginning of the 3rd century, with the formalization of values that had long before been assumed (cf. Cicero, *De re pub.* 1.43)—and the legal principle seems to have been effectively in place by Hadrian's time in the mid-2nd century CE (Garnsey 1968: 13-18).

Florus is here the antithesis of the model governor envisaged by Pliny the Younger, and his enlightened senatorial circle in Rome. He writes to his friend Tiro (*Ep.* 10.5), new governor of Baetica: “You have done splendidly . . . in commending your administration of justice to the provincials by your exercise of tact. This you have shown particularly in maintaining respect for the best men, but, in doing so, winning the respect of the lower classes while holding the affection of their superiors” (trans. Garnsey 1968: 6).

¹⁹⁸² Agrippa II, introduced at 2.220 and last mentioned at 2.247, 252 (with the expansion of his kingdom to the N and E of Judea).

¹⁹⁸³ Agrippa will return from this trip at 2.335, to given an important speech (2.345ff.). The second-largest city in the Roman empire after the capital (already mentioned at 1.278, 598), was well known to Roman audiences as the once foreign capital from which Antony and Cleopatra had challenged Octavian, and since then as a major grain supplier for the world capital. For the city in general, see Delia 1991 and Harris and Ruffini 2004. The most comprehensive literary sources for 1st-cent. CE Alexandria, pertaining to the generation before Josephus' time of writing, are Philo's *Against Flaccus* and *Embassy to Gaius* (also e.g. *Mos.* 2.35; *Prob.* 125; *Contempl.* 21). The city is mentioned often by other Greek and Latin

so that he could celebrate with Alexander,¹⁹⁸⁴ who had been entrusted by Nero with Egypt and sent to manage it. **310** Terrible suffering,¹⁹⁸⁵ however, overcame his sister Bernice,¹⁹⁸⁶ who was present in Hierosolyma and observing the criminality of the soldiers. Often, sending her own cavalry commanders¹⁹⁸⁷ and bodyguards¹⁹⁸⁸ to Florus, she would plead with

authors, and we possess a number of relevant papyri and coins. Archaeological excavation, especially of the harbor (which contains many valuable remains of the royal and Roman periods), is ongoing. See further the detailed notes at 2.385, 487-98 below.

Alexandria will remain an important center throughout Josephus' works, in different contexts: 2.385 (an example in Agrippa's major speech); 2.487-99 (riots connected with the Judean rebellion against Rome); 2.605-21 (site of Vespasian's acclamation by legions there, and a strategic focus for his imperial challenge); 4.658-662; *Life* 415-16 (staging ground for Titus' second campaign in Judea); 7.409-47 (site of further troubles for Judeans after the war); *Ant.* 1.12; 12.50-86 (the place where the Bible was translated into Greek); *Ant.* 13.284; 14.117-88; 18.257; 19.278-92 (home to a large Judean community, in frequent conflict with Greek citizens); and *Apion, passim* (home of much anti-Judean literature).

¹⁹⁸⁴ Tiberius Iulius Alexander, prefect of Egypt from 66-70 CE (the highest governorship open to someone of equestrian rank), must have been around 50 by this time. Two decades earlier (46-48 CE) he had served as a young prefect of Judea, and he will play a prominent role as Titus' experienced adviser in the later Roman campaign. See the note to "Tiberius Alexander" at 2.220. Although Alexandria was named by Alexander the Great centuries earlier, no audience could miss Josephus' collocation of names: Alexandria is now *this* Alexander's city.

¹⁹⁸⁵ Greek δεινὸν πάθος is a standard phrase in Josephus: 4.31; 6.89; *Ant.* 2.293; 4.222; 7.79; 8.221; 10.258; 14.134. It was common enough in general usage (e.g., Pindar, *Nem.* 10.65; Thucydides 3.13.6, 59.2, 67.3; 5.93.1; Euripides, *Suppl.* 11; *Electr.* 1226; *Bacch.* 971; Sophocles, *Ant.* 96; Plato, *Pol.* 308a; Demosthenes, *Lept.* 48; *Call.* 25; Menander, *Asp.* 423; Polybius 1.32.8; 2.59.1; Diodorus 32.26.2) that there was even a compound verb δεινοπαθεῖω (Polybius 12.16.9; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.312; 11.306). It is unclear whether this suffering was the antecedent cause of Bernice's coming to Jerusalem to complete her vow (2.313), or whether, aside from whatever led to the vow, it consisted chiefly in witnessing the soldiers' outrages—or whether Josephus means both.

¹⁹⁸⁶ See the note to "Bernice" at 2.217. The queen was now about 38, the survivor of at least 3 brief marriages (2 while still in her teens). With this μὲν . . . δέ construction, Josephus seems to highlight the unusual situation that the royal brother and sister were separated, and that

while he celebrated, she suffered. See the note to "her own cavalry commanders" in this section.

¹⁹⁸⁷ On cavalry commanders, see the note at 2.291. The allied forces based in royal territories, controlled by Herod's heirs, apparently followed the same century-cohort structure as their Roman exemplars; see the notes to "tribune" at 2.11 and "Sebastenes" at 2.52.

This is an intriguing notice, however, in its implication that Bernice herself had more than one cavalry wing (hence their commanders) at her disposal. As in the present story, Bernice is normally seen in the company of her brother, Agrippa II (2.344, 405; *Life* 48-49; cf. Acts 25:13, 23)—so much so that rumors of incestuous relations were in wide circulation (*Ant.* 20.145; cf. Juvenal 6.156-60)—and they evidently share property and staff (2.426, 595; *Life* 343, 355). Because Agrippa's territory includes—still, while Josephus is writing *War*—Philip's former tetrarchy (including Auranitis, Trachonitis, and Batanea), and Batanea had been settled by Herod with "Babylonian Judeans" from the Parthian empire (*Ant.* 17.23-30), the Herodian allied forces had always disproportionately featured cavalry and archers, the renowned strength of Babylonian and Parthian armies. Thus, at 2.421 Agrippa II will send 2,000 cavalry (from just these areas, Josephus notes), under the aptly named Darius—4 times the size of the cohort available to the prefect of Judea (3.66)—to assist the chief priests in Jerusalem against factional leaders; at 3.68, Agrippa and other regional kings will each contribute 2,000 infantry archers plus 1,000 cavalry to Vespasian's army. Although Bernice, like other Herodian women (2.98), was apparently given particular cities with their hinterlands for revenue (*Life* 118-19), she does not seem to have controlled armies; the cavalry commanders would presumably have accompanied her and Agrippa to Jerusalem.

This prompts the question: With how large a cavalry force would Agrippa and Bernice have come to Jerusalem, if she had two or more commanders with her? Given that her own bodyguard is a separate matter (next phrase), that Jerusalem was under the Roman procurator's control, and that no actual cavalry forces appear (e.g., to defend Bernice), it may be that the commanders are something of a distinguished "general staff" who accompany the royal pair on such diplomatic trips, without accompanying forces.

¹⁹⁸⁸ See previous note. *Life* 398, describing a period just a few months later, will name a certain Sulla (a Roman name) as commander of Agrippa's bodyguard.

[him] to end the murder. **311** Yet he wanted to hear nothing about¹⁹⁸⁹ either the quantity of those being done away with or the nobility of the [woman] making the appeal, but was distracted solely by the profits from the plundering [raids]. **312** Now the soldiers' charge¹⁹⁹⁰ was rabid¹⁹⁹¹ even against the queen.¹⁹⁹² Not only, in fact, were they torturing and dispatching¹⁹⁹³ before her eyes those who had been captured, but they would also have done away with her, had she not first managed to take refuge in the royal palace;¹⁹⁹⁴ there she passed the night¹⁹⁹⁵—with a guard unit, having become alarmed about the soldiers' assault.

313 She was staying in¹⁹⁹⁶ Hierosolyma while fulfilling a vow to God,¹⁹⁹⁷ for it is a

According to *Ant.* 17.29-30, that role had been filled for Herod and his descendants by Zamaris, the Babylonian Judean of Batanea (with his mounted archers) and Zamaris' descendants, Iacimus and Philip; apparently, Philip had risen to become "general" of Agrippa's entire army (2.421; cf. *Life* 46 with notes in BJP 9). Ancient rulers typically had impressive bodyguards: Herod's reportedly comprised German, Thracian, and Gallic units (1.672); and even Josephus claims, if implausibly, a 600-strong personal guard when he was Galilean general (2.583).

¹⁹⁸⁹ The verb παρακούω occurs in *War* only here and at 6.288. The sense is of hearing something only secondarily or incidentally: Florus simply did not hear Berenice's appeals, even incidentally, because of his obsession with greed.

¹⁹⁹⁰ Although ὄρη here might refer metaphorically to the soldiers' emotions ("rage, fury"—so Thackeray in LCL; "die schäumende Wut" in M-B; similarly Vitucci and Pelletier), in the context of military units it normally indicates their assault or charge (cf. 2.18, 2.211-14, 296 above), a reading that seems confirmed in this case by the interchangeable ἔφοδος ("assault") at the end of this section.

¹⁹⁹¹ See the note to this word at 2.213.

¹⁹⁹² Berenice apparently had much to fear from the auxiliary units drawn from Caesarea and Sebaste. Although they had been established as an allied force by her great-grandfather Herod, their subsequent attachment to Rome appears to have soured them on Herod's royal descendants (see the note to "Sebastenes" at 2.52). In *Ant.* 19.355-66 Josephus will describe at length the ecstatic celebrations by the populations of Caesarea and Sebaste when Berenice's father Agrippa I died in 44 CE. The festivities included the auxiliary forces' seizure of images, apparently from Herodian property, of Berenice and her sisters; these were erected on brothel roofs and publicly dishonored. *War*'s Roman audience may have known about these incidents, which had reportedly disposed Claudius to relocate the Sebastene-Caesarean auxiliaries out of province; even if they did not know, *War*'s narrative has shown enough anti-Judean feeling on the part of the auxiliaries to make Berenice's fear understandable.

¹⁹⁹³ This is the same word I normally translate "destroy"; see the note at 2.11.

¹⁹⁹⁴ See the note at 2.301. At 5.17-77 Josephus will claim that the wall around Herod's palace was 30 cubits (about 14 m/45 ft) high and built of massive ashlar, punctuated by the 3 monumental towers of immense proportions. The site was an obvious place of refuge, and it will be used that way repeatedly. Since the palace built by Berenice's great-grandfather, King Herod, is also where Florus is staying (2.301), and the place where he has set up his tribunal-platform (*bema*) to hear the people, we should presumably infer that the governor himself has given Berenice asylum, beyond the reach of his undisciplined soldiers. Her continued anxiety about these soldiers, even within the palace grounds, implies that the Sebastene-Caesarean units are not entirely under the procurator's control: it is *their* rampage (not on Florus' orders) that endangers her life. At 2.305, 310, and here in 312, the soldiers appear to be acting independently, emboldened in their opportunity to cause havoc in the Judeans' home city by the governor's lack of concern, and willing to exceed orders by a considerable step.

It is just conceivable that Josephus has in mind the Hasmonean palace as Berenice's refuge (2.344 below), where her brother the king lived while in the city, and where he had recently built a controversial extra story (*Ant.* 20.189-90); this would provide a different rationale for her expectation of escaping the governor's auxiliaries. If that is what Josephus has in mind, however, he has not explained the point, but implies that it is the same royal property just mentioned as Florus' base (2.301); he will introduce the Hasmonean palace later (2.344).

¹⁹⁹⁵ See the note to "passed the night" at 2.300.

¹⁹⁹⁶ See the note to "staying nearby" at 2.206.

¹⁹⁹⁷ The vow in question is the *neder nazir* (נדר נזיר) or nazirite vow described in Num 6:2-21 and briefly mentioned by Josephus in his summary of laws at *Ant.* 4.72 (see Feldman *ad loc.*, BJP 3). The Mishnah devotes a tractate to the subject; cf. also Amos 2:11-12; 1 Macc 3:49. According to biblical prescription, the nazirite avoids 3 things: *cutting* the hair (as Josephus, *Ant.* 4.72), drinking wine and all grape products, and contact with corpses (Num 6:2-7). The last item is omitted by Jose-

custom¹⁹⁹⁸ for those who are being worn out¹⁹⁹⁹ by disease or by some other stresses²⁰⁰⁰ to make a vow: before the [day] on which they were going to offer sacrifices,²⁰⁰¹ after thirty days,²⁰⁰² to abstain from wine and also to shave²⁰⁰³ their hair.²⁰⁰⁴ **314** It was while she was fulfilling these very things²⁰⁰⁵ that Bernice, bare-footed²⁰⁰⁶ and in front of his tribunal-platform, kept begging Florus: in addition to her not meeting with respect,²⁰⁰⁷ she put at risk her very existence.²⁰⁰⁸

Popular
indignation
quelled

(15.2) **315** These things transpired,²⁰⁰⁹ then, on the sixteenth of the month of Artemi-

phus in both places, though his emphasis on abstention from wine and leaving hair uncut matches the biblical examples of life-long nazirites—Samson (Judg 13:4-18) and Samuel (1 Sam 1:10-23). Unless one accidentally contracts corpse-uncleanness in the interim (and so must shave the head after 7 days of purification, Num 6:9), shaving the head occurs only at the end of the vow, on the day of sacrifice (Num 6:18). The prescribed sacrifice is expensive (cf. *m. Naz.* 4:7): a male lamb, a ewe, and a ram, in addition to the grain, oil, and wine offering (6:14-15); we thus hear of individuals paying the costs of others' vows (*Ant.* 19.293-94 with Feldman n. *c ad loc.* in LCL; Acts 21:23-26).

¹⁹⁹⁸ Although Josephus tends to fuse law with custom as an undifferentiated body (as did most ancient authors), in this case he may be making an accurate distinction, since the following condition is not in biblical law. At any rate, he continues his standard practice (see Introduction) of pausing to explain even well known aspects of Judean culture for his Roman audience.

¹⁹⁹⁹ See the note at 2.49; also 2.329 below.

²⁰⁰⁰ See the note to "terrible suffering" at 2.310. Does that refer in part to a pre-existing condition, leading to the vow? The Bible (see previous note) does not indicate such a motivation for the nazirite vow. By mentioning it, Josephus implies that Berenice was already suffering, and it was in this vulnerable condition—also without her powerful brother's usual protection—that she courageously tried to deal with Florus and his soldiers (cf. 2.314).

²⁰⁰¹ This (ἀποδίδομι θυσίας) is a standard phrase in Josephus: also 2.416; 6.101; *Ant.* 7.196; 11.9, 77, 137; 14.27, as in other authors.

²⁰⁰² The Bible does not specify the term of nazirite vows. *M. Naz.* 1.3 indicates that one can specify the length of the vow (units no smaller than a day), and 30 days is the default length for vows of undeclared term. According to 3.6, the House of Shammai also make 30 days the period for someone coming to "the land" after completing a nazirite vow abroad, which is Berenice's situation here.

²⁰⁰³ The verb ξυρέω occurs only here in *War*, though several times elsewhere in Josephus. Niese prints Dindorf's emendation to the future middle infinitive, to match the preceding infinitive ("to abstain from wine"),

rather than the aorist infinitive found in the MSS, which would sensibly have the abstention come after the shaving, except that the "and . . . also" construction would make that awkward.

²⁰⁰⁴ As we have seen, the prescription actually requires *not* shaving the head until the day of sacrifice that completes the vow. M-B rescue Josephus by rendering "daß alle . . . die 30 Tage, bevor sie die eigentlichen Gelübdeopfer darbringen, sich des Weines zu enthalten und sich dann erst die Haare schneiden zu lassen," though the Greek (with the emendation of the previous note, followed by M-B) seems clearly to parallel the future infinitives for wine-avoidance and shaving—during the 30 days before the sacrifice. A similar problem faces Pelletier's reading (cf. Vitucci), that the nazirite abstains from wine *and from* shaving the hair, as though the first infinitive governed the second—"fassent le voeu de s'abstenir de vin et de se raser la tête pendant les trente jours"—attractive though the option might otherwise be. It is possible that a negative has dropped out of the text, or more likely that Josephus is compressing to the point of inaccuracy: thinking that for a woman, the (eventual) shaving of the head is the remarkable point worth mentioning, he does not consider it worth the space to spell out the intervening process, and so inaccurately pairs abstinence from wine and shaving.

²⁰⁰⁵ Josephus appears to be emphasizing that Berenice was not well when she had to confront Florus and his auxiliaries, facing either illness or other serious problems.

²⁰⁰⁶ Why Berenice's feet are bare is unclear, though it is possibly her deliberate act of humiliation and vulnerability, appropriate to a supplicant. Although a seemingly obvious compound, γυμνόπους is attested in literature before Josephus only in Strabo (7.2.3), and in Josephus only here.

²⁰⁰⁷ Josephus uses this word (αἰδώς) 3 times in rapid succession, with different nuances—also 2.317, 325.

²⁰⁰⁸ Especially in view of Josephus' characteristic view of women (see the notes to "women" and "man" at 2.121), this is a laudatory portrait of the courageous queen.

²⁰⁰⁹ Josephus uses a portentous expression (συνήνεχθη), the aorist passive of συμφέρω, in a way that could simply mean "happened" or "came about". But

sus.²⁰¹⁰ On the next day the rabble, being extremely upset,²⁰¹¹ streamed together²⁰¹² into the Upper Market²⁰¹³ and, with terrific²⁰¹⁴ shouts concerning those who had been destroyed, broke into wailing;²⁰¹⁵ the preponderance of the cries was also hostile to Florus. **316** Alarmed at this, the powerful [men]²⁰¹⁶ along with the chief priests²⁰¹⁷ tore apart their clothes²⁰¹⁸ and, each one falling down at the feet [of the protesters], pleaded with them to stop, and not goad²⁰¹⁹ Florus—considering what they had already suffered—into some irremediable [action].²⁰²⁰ **317** The rabble quickly complied, both out of respect for²⁰²¹ those making the appeal and in the hope that Florus would no longer act illegally²⁰²² against them.

(15.3) 318 He, however, was troubled that disturbance had been quelled and, busying himself²⁰²³ with igniting it again, he summoned* the chief priests with the notables²⁰²⁴ and declared that the only sure proof that the people were not still going to foment revolution would be [this]: if they would go out and meet the soldiers coming up from Caesarea. (Two cohorts were approaching.)²⁰²⁵ **319** Now, while they were calling the mob together,

*Florus plans
further
provocation*

since the verb is cognate to his keyword συμφορά (“calamity”), and especially given that at its only other occurrence (2.499) it is predicated of the related keyword “suffering” (πάθος), he seems to use it with a pregnant sense: “were brought to fulfillment,” “were brought to a result”; perhaps even “transpired calamitously.”

²⁰¹⁰ See the note at 2.284: Josephus equates this Macedonian month with Iyyar (May-June).

²⁰¹¹ Diodorus (25.19.1) uses the cognate superlative adjective in a tragic passage of his history, but Josephus appears to be the first to use the compound verb ὑπερπαθέω. It contributes to the tragic tone of his work (see Introduction, 1.9-12, and the notes to “feelings,” “mourn over,” and “calamities” at 1.9); he has it 3 times (also 6.124; *Ant.* 7.46).

²⁰¹² See the note to this phrase at 2.170. This is formulaic language in *War* 2 for the spontaneous popular reaction to Roman malfeasance.

²⁰¹³ See the note at 2.305.

²⁰¹⁴ Literally, “outside the norm” (ἔξαισιτος); so “enormous, weird, extraordinary, gigantic, inauspicious, monstrous, grotesque.” All 5 occurrences of this dramatic adjective in Josephus are in *War* 2-6; cf. 5.75 for a “terrific yell,” 6.60 for an “enormous boulder.”

²⁰¹⁵ Although this is the only occurrence of ἀνοδύρομαι in Josephus, it is part of the extensive tragic lexicon in *War* connected with lamentation, mourning, wailing, and dirge. See the note to “mourn over” at 1.9.

²⁰¹⁶ See the note at 2.239.

²⁰¹⁷ See the note at 2.243—a standard companion term, among others, to “powerful [men].”

²⁰¹⁸ This tearing of clothes (τὰς ἐσθῆτας περιρρήγνυμι) was a traditional gesture of extreme grief, in many Mediterranean and Near-Eastern cultures (Gen 37:29; 41:14; Josh 7:6; 11:35; 2 Sam 1:2; 3:31; *Ant.* 6.357; 7.1, 40; 9.67; 10.59; 11.221; 18.78; Suetonius, *Nero* 42), though high priests were forbidden to rip their clothes (Lev

10:6). It often goes with wearing black sack-cloth and/or heaping dust or ash on the head, as in several of the *Antiquities* references above. Although the dust on the head is absent at this point, it soon turns up—at 2.322, where Josephus reminds the audience that the leaders’ clothes were already torn. The only other place in *War* where all of these things come together (with striking similarities in language) is at 2.601, where Josephus describes his own stratagem of feigning repentance. See notes there.

²⁰¹⁹ One fifth of the 25 occurrences of this verb (ἐρεθίζω) in Josephus are in the latter half of *War* 2 (also 2.321, 350, 414, 493), helping to build the sense of aggravation, provocation, and indignation leading up to war.

²⁰²⁰ This phrase recalls the appeal that the élite have just made, successfully, in their efforts to calm the mob (2.316). Josephus’ repetition of it a few sentences later, after Florus has altered the conditions, highlights the extraordinary lengths to which the élite are going to adapt as needed. For the language, see the note to “irremediable suffering,” a prominent theme in bk. 2, at 2.233.

²⁰²¹ Or “shame before” (as at 2.325). See the note at 2.317.

²⁰²² See the note to this phrase at 2.15, and note its recurrence at 2.333.

²⁰²³ A characteristic verb in *War* 2; see the note at 2.259 and also 2.283 (of Florus).

²⁰²⁴ Chief priests and notables form a standard pair in *War* 2 (only: 2.240, 243, 301, 322, 410, 411), along with other similar and overlapping pairs. See the note to “powerful [men]” at 2.239, and in general to 2.243.

²⁰²⁵ This is a remarkable notice. In addition to the cohort routinely stationed in Jerusalem (see the notes to “Sebastenes” at 2.52 and to “cohort” at 2.224), Florus has brought with him a sizeable force of both cavalry and

he [Florus] sent ahead and made it clear to the centurions of the cohorts²⁰²⁶ to pass the word to those under them that they were not to greet the Judeans in return, and if the latter should so much as utter [a syllable] against him, they were to make use of their weapons. **320** And the chief priests, after gathering the rabble into the temple, began making the appeal that they go out to meet the Romans and welcome the cohorts, before irremediable suffering²⁰²⁷ [should occur]. The factious [element]²⁰²⁸ would not comply with these [men], and on account of those who had been destroyed the mob were inclining towards the bolder ones.²⁰²⁹

(15.4) **321** Then indeed every priest and every servant of God,²⁰³⁰ after bringing out the holy vessels and donning the regalia²⁰³¹ in which it was their custom to perform the services,²⁰³² and also the cithara-players²⁰³³ and the [choral] singers with their instruments,²⁰³⁴ fell prostrate and began supplicating²⁰³⁵ [them] to protect the sacred regalia²⁰³⁶ for them, and not to goad²⁰³⁷ the Romans into plunder of the divine treasures.²⁰³⁸ **322** One could then

infantry—plausibly, then, a cohort plus Judea’s one auxiliary cavalry wing (2.296). With the arrival of 2 more cohorts in Jerusalem, the usual situation of 5 units based around Caesarea (and Sebaste) and 1 in Jerusalem will be reversed. Eventually (2.332), Florus will return to the norm by leaving 1 cohort and taking the rest back to Caesarea.

²⁰²⁶ Cf. 3.86-88, on the chain of command for orders (there in the legion). As that passage shows, the centurion (normally in charge of 80 men) was the officer to whom the private soldier looked for direction. With 2 cohorts approaching (2.318), the orders would go to perhaps 12 centurions.

²⁰²⁷ See the note to this phrase, which contributes the tragic environment of *War* 2, at 2.233 (and note recent use of the same adjective at 2.316).

²⁰²⁸ See the note at 2.91.

²⁰²⁹ See the notes at 2.238, 267.

²⁰³⁰ From the context it is clear that Levites are meant. That Josephus does not name them perhaps reflects his typical sensitivity to his Roman audience’s understanding (see Introduction). He does not mention the group in *War*, and when he does name them in *Antiquities* he explains immediately who they are (3.258, 287-90; 4.15, 19, 67; 20.216). That the 4th-century Latin translator of Josephus opts to replace this phrase with *leuitae* reflects his very different, Christian audience. On the Levites in Josephus’ time, see *Ant.* 3.287-90; 4.67, 205, 214 [note use of the same term as here: ὑπηρέτης]; 9.155 along with notes *ad loc.* by Feldman and Begg in BJP 3 and 5.

²⁰³¹ For this use of κόσμος as the “adornment, finery” of the priests, see also 6.391; *Ant.* 3.178; 18.90. But Josephus will characteristically use the word soon (2.325) in a different and more standard sense (“decorum”).

²⁰³² Although the verb λειτουργέω can be used of performing any public services, Josephus almost always uses it (except *War* 1.488) of the priests’ temple duties

(*War* 2.321; 5.228, 231; *Ant.* 13.55; 20.218), as also the more frequent cognate noun.

²⁰³³ The cithara was a precursor of the zither (from which the latter as well as “guitar” take their names), an instrument using 8 to 11 taut strings. From representations on Greek vases and literary descriptions, it seems to have been partly open (like a lyre) and partly backed with a box for resonance (like a zither) at the lower end, from which two decorative arms emerged to support the head or yoke at the top. The strings were fastened to this yoke and at the bottom end of the instrument.

²⁰³⁴ These musicians are also Levites (see note to “servant of God” in this section): see *Ant.* 8.94, 176; 9.11, 269. For ancient music and instruments in general, see West 1992; for those kept and used in the temple, see the passages above and *Ant.* 7.305-6. That Josephus distinguishes the musicians from the “servants of God” who accompany the priests (also Levites) indicates a class distinction within the tribe of Levi, the singers constituting a lower order from the temple attendants. See Ezra 2:41-42; 7:7; 10:24; Neh 10:28 and Feldman, n. *b* to *Ant.* 20.218 in LCL.

²⁰³⁵ The doubly compounded Greek καταντιβολέω, which occurs a remarkable 8 times in *War* 1-5 (though nowhere else in Josephus), may be Josephus’ coinage. It is unattested in literature before him and appears after him only in the recherché list of words by Iulius Pollux (*Onom.* 1.26; 3.70) in the 2nd cent. CE, before Eusebius in the 4th century and a number of Byzantine appearances. It may be spun from the adjective καταντιβολεῖτον, attested in a fragment of Aristophanes (625-26 [Kock]).

²⁰³⁶ In context, τὸν ἱερὸν κόσμον appears to mean what has just been mentioned (clothes, instruments, etc.), metonymically for the whole temple service, which will be destroyed if the nation rebels.

²⁰³⁷ See the note at 2.316.

see the chief priests themselves heaping dust on their head[s],²⁰³⁹ their chests bare—their clothes having been ripped.²⁰⁴⁰ They were begging each of the notables by name,²⁰⁴¹ and the rabble in common, that they not, by [the] slightest error of judgment,²⁰⁴² hand over their homeland to those who were yearning to destroy it.²⁰⁴³ **323** For, [they asked], what benefit would this greeting from the Judeans bring to the soldiers,²⁰⁴⁴ on the one hand, or, on the other hand, how would not going out there now [bring] them some redress²⁰⁴⁵

²⁰³⁸ This is strong foreshadowing. The sacred treasures of the temple (κεμηλία) are not to be confused with the *treasury* (θησαυρός), with its largely cash holdings—even though it also contained objects of value deposited by individuals and families (6.282). These are rather the distinctive sacred objects of Jerusalem’s temple itself (famously: the golden table and lampstand [menorah], along with other exotic and very costly items). By Josephus’ time of writing, as his Roman audience well knows, these have been exhibited in the Flavian triumph as spoils of war; many of them now reside in Vespasian’s Temple of Peace (7.161-62). In Josephus’ Rome, then, these treasures were the visible symbol of Judea’s capture, also depicted in brilliant detail on the arch honoring Titus’ life or apotheosis (the restored “Arch of Titus” visible today), and he reveals a keen sensitivity to their fate.

After anticipating their capture already in the prologue (1.28), he observes Pompey’s refusal to touch them when he captured the city in 63 BCE (1.153). Describing the final days before Jerusalem’s fall in 70 CE, however, he will detail a number of these objects (large, solid-gold tables, bowls, platters, and candelabra; the high priest’s finery; costly purple, scarlet, and spices) as items handed over by some of the last of Jerusalem’s deserters—a priest and the temple treasurer (6.387-91) and will describe the temple’s main treasures being paraded in the triumph (7.148-52).

²⁰³⁹ Greek καταμωμένους . . . τὴν κεφαλὴν κόνει. Although sprinkling ashes or dust on the head is part of the biblical symbolism of grief (see the note to “clothes” at 2.316; also LXX Job 2:12; Esther 4:1; Jer 6:26; 2 Macc 10:25), the verb καταμάω (“heap”) is extremely rare. Its only attestation before Josephus, outside of obscure fragments, is in Homer (*Il.* 24.163-5), where it describes Priam’s condition when Iris arrives in Troy to deliver a message: “And much dung was around both head and neck of the old man; thus he, wallowing in it, *heaped it on* with his own hands.” It is possible that Josephus alludes to this Greek-canonical scene, which would be known to his literate audience.

²⁰⁴⁰ That is, in 2.316: the tearing of clothes and the sprinkling of dust on the head go together as symbols of grief (see note there).

²⁰⁴¹ This differential treatment of the élite and the general mob, which adds vividness to the story, was also shown by Petronius (2.199). For bk. 2’s pairing of chief priests and notables (here unusually distinguished) see 2.240, 243, 301, 318, 410, 411 and notes.

²⁰⁴² This is the common metaphorical sense of [δι’ ἐλαχίστης] πλημμελείας; the rarely used literal meaning is a “false note” in music (cf. LSJ, *s.v.*)—perhaps a clever choice of words in the context of musicians. The error of judgment in this case would presumably involve acting from emotion or impulse rather than from a consideration of what was beneficial for the nation. By casting the various options as matters of judgment separated by small increments, as on a musical scale (albeit with widely varying consequences), Josephus again holds back from simple moral verdicts.

²⁰⁴³ The rhetorical questions posed by the leaders reveal their (and so the author’s) sensitivity to the people’s concerns for honor, right, and self-respect. Their brief address must be a *tour de force*, since they as statesmen are driven by consequences: they know that confronting the Romans, or not cooperating with them, will result in the destruction of the city, which must not be permitted to happen. They must now try to reach their audience, however, on grounds of right and justice.

²⁰⁴⁴ Natural objections of the people to greeting the soldiers would be: (a) that it would be obsequious to give honor to (in effect) enemy soldiers, and (b) that they have been severely injured and wronged by these people, and so it would be wrong to offer them salutations. The statesmen try to reassure the people first that greeting the soldiers in the customary way will not help their enemies—so, there is nothing to lose. (Of course, one could imagine a retort that it would indeed give the soldiers an unmerited sense of power.) This pre-emptive analysis and separation of possible objections and motives among the audience by statesmen anticipates Agrippa’s great speech below (e.g., 2.345-58, esp. 350). As often, Josephus writes with ironic detachment: he makes the statesmen’s goals sound worthy, though he knows that they are mistaken about the outcome of this affair (2.325-26).

²⁰⁴⁵ Or “repair.” Josephus uses διόρθωσις only 5 times in *War*, 3 of these in the latter half of bk. 2 (also 2.354, 449).

for the things that had happened?²⁰⁴⁶ **324** But if indeed they should welcome those who had approached, as was the custom,²⁰⁴⁷ the occasion²⁰⁴⁸ for war would be cut away from Florus: they would gain their homeland and [the advantage of] suffering nothing more.²⁰⁴⁹ And besides, it would show a dreadful lack of control²⁰⁵⁰ to comply with the few seditious ones, when they, being a populace of such strength, ought to be compelling those [men] also to share in their own good sense.²⁰⁵¹

*Auxiliary
soldiers attack
welcoming mob*

(15.5) 325 Soothing²⁰⁵² the mob with these [words], at the same time they also repulsed some of the insurgents²⁰⁵³ with threats, others with shame.²⁰⁵⁴ Then, leading [them] out with silence and also decorum²⁰⁵⁵ they went to meet the soldiers, and when they had come nearby they offered greetings; but when [the soldiers] did not respond at all, the insurgents began shouting against Florus. **326** This was the agreed signal²⁰⁵⁶ that had been given against them.²⁰⁵⁷ So immediately the soldiers surrounded them and began beating them with sticks;²⁰⁵⁸ the cavalry chased after any who had fled and trampled them. Many fell as a result of being struck by the Romans, but more as a result of suffering violence from one another.²⁰⁵⁹

327 Now there was a dreadful pushing around the gates.²⁰⁶⁰ With each one eager to go first, the rush became slower for all, and the destruction of those who had been thrown down was dreadful. Being choked and broken by a mob of those stepping on top of them,

²⁰⁴⁶ That is: granted the injuries endured by the people, it will not help them to make things right by refusing to greet the soldiers. Again, a reasonable objection might be that refusing to give the soldiers what they expect would be a significant assertion of the national dignity, a small but clear statement. Josephus leaves open the possibility that the leaders fully realize this, but must try to overcome such reasoning in order to repair relations with the governor.

²⁰⁴⁷ In this case it was not internal Judean custom, but the custom of all nations under Roman rule, that subject populations would leave the city walls to welcome imperial soldiers.

²⁰⁴⁸ The noun ἀφορμή is usefully multivalent: it can mean simply “impulse, stimulus” or “occasion,” in the sense of what actually initiated something, or it can take the secondary sense of what a sought-for point of departure, thus a pretext. The ambiguity is exploited by Josephus at 1.30, for example. See also the note at 2.41.

²⁰⁴⁹ A tragically ironic hope, since author and audience well know that the leaders’ hope was vain (though not for that reason necessarily wrong-headed in the circumstances).

²⁰⁵⁰ In Josephus ἀκρασία usually implies a lack of self-control; hence “excess, wantonness, surfeit.” The context here, however, makes possible the more general sense of “weakness, inability to exert one’s power”—over the few trouble-makers.

²⁰⁵¹ According to MS M (and a marginal note in L), which is the reading printed by Niese and followed by Thackeray in LCL, M-B, Vitucci and Pelletier, Josephus uses the infinitive of an extremely rare verb:

συνευγνωμονέω. If that is the correct reading, he uses it only here and it is unattested otherwise except in (4th-cent.) ps.-Athanasius—so rare that it lacks an entry in LSJ. Still, it is the verb I translate here as “the more difficult reading.” MSS PAL have συνευδοκιμονεῖν (“share in their own well-being”), MSS VR μὴ συγγνωμονεῖν (“not agree with them”).

²⁰⁵² Josephus uses the verb μειλίσσω 4 times, but only in *War* 1-3 (1.168, 508; 3.7).

²⁰⁵³ See the note to this key term at 1.10.

²⁰⁵⁴ See the note to “respect” at 2.314. Josephus re-uses the same word, characteristically, with different nuances.

²⁰⁵⁵ Josephus re-uses a term from 2.321 (κόσμος) in a different sense; see the note to “regalia” there.

²⁰⁵⁶ See the note at 2.174 (and note re-use at 2.176). This word (σύνθημα) is one of the many links between this passage and the programmatic Pilate episodes.

²⁰⁵⁷ So 2.319.

²⁰⁵⁸ Auxiliary soldiers surrounding the Judeans and beating them with sticks is another item that recalls the second Pilate episode (2.176). It also anticipates the factional fighting at 5.102.

²⁰⁵⁹ This construction recalls, in both diction and syntax, the outcome of the second Pilate episode (2.177). Josephus evidently uses such literary resonances to unify these vignettes.

²⁰⁶⁰ Presumably the gates of the city, given that the people had left the city to greet the arriving soldiers (2.320, 324-25). Nevertheless, the scene recalls an episode set at the crammed temple exits, involving Cumanus’ troops (2.227).

they disappeared; no one was even left recognizable to their own [family] for burial. **328** Soldiers fell upon those they caught up with, beating them without restraint,²⁰⁶¹ and they kept pushing the mob back through what was called *Betheza*,²⁰⁶² using force to pass through and take control of the temple as well as the Antonia.²⁰⁶³ Florus, also being intent on²⁰⁶⁴ [these places], led those [soldiers] who were with him out of the royal palace,²⁰⁶⁵ and was struggling to get to the fortress.²⁰⁶⁶

329 At any rate, he certainly failed in his offensive,²⁰⁶⁷ for the populace, having been turned around opposite²⁰⁶⁸ [him], blocked his charge, and standing at intervals on the roofs²⁰⁶⁹ they kept throwing [things]²⁰⁷⁰ at the Romans. Being worn out²⁰⁷¹ after a long struggle by the projectiles²⁰⁷² from above, and having become too weak to cut through²⁰⁷³

²⁰⁶¹ This (ἀνέδην) is another characteristic term in *War*, which hosts 12 of its 13 occurrences in Josephus (also *Apion* 2.273). Before Josephus the word has slight classical attestation: the heaviest users are Plato (4), Polybius (5), Diodorus (8), Strabo, and Philo (4 each). His contemporary, Plutarch, also uses it relatively frequently (16 times) and it remains popular in the 2nd cent. CE. Perhaps it was becoming newly fashionable.

²⁰⁶² Thus, the auxiliaries approach the city from its N gate, first pushing through the extended suburb just inside the outer wall, N of the fortress Antonia. When Josephus later describes the city in detail (5.149-51, 246), to set the stage for the Flavian siege, he will carefully explain that *Bezetha* (see below for the form), also called New City, was the name of a hill around which a new suburb of the city had developed, outside the original walls and opposite the fortress Antonia, and which Agrippa I began to enclose in a sturdy new wall (already mentioned at 2.218-19 above); he aborted the project (or died leaving it unfinished), though it was completed with less impressive solidity when war broke out.

With the qualifier “what was called,” Josephus acknowledges that he does not expect his audience to know this foreign name, but also that he will not take time to explain it. Similarly, in recounting Cestius Gallus’ campaign at 2.530 he will say only that the legate, once inside the city, set fire to *Betheza*, “also styled the New City, and the place called the Timber Market.” In both places Niese prints the form indicated here, in this passage following MS P (similar to MS A: *Bethaza*), presumably as the “more difficult reading,” since MSS MVRC have a form of *Bezetha* (followed by Thackeray in LCL, M-B, and Pelletier), L *Bethzetha* (likely influenced by John 5:2: *Bethzatha*, traditionally *Bethesda*) and Latin *Bezeta*. The confusion is easy enough to explain in principle: the word began with Hebrew תִּבְּתָא (“house of”). The final *th* could be dropped in Greek to highlight the second part of the name, or it could be retained as here. The second part of the Semitic name remains uncertain: one proposal (drawn from MS variants at

John 5:2, explaining Greek –σδ-) is (כ)דסן (“grace, mercy”); another, favoring Josephus’ later –ζεθα, is (כ)תִּת (“olives/olive oil”). Whereas Josephus describes the area as a hill with suburbs around, John gives this name to a large pool with 5 colonnades.

²⁰⁶³ As the sequel clarifies (2.330-31), the emphasis is here on the temple, which the soldiers will dominate once they reach the fortress Antonia on its NW corner. From its towering position, steps led down from the Antonia to the broad roofs of the N and W temple colonnades, from which the auxiliary cohort could dominate all movement on the temple mount some 4 stories below them; see note to “colonnade” at 2.224 and the description at 5.243-45.

²⁰⁶⁴ This is one of a number of terms (ἐπίημι) that Josephus re-uses in brief space here (2.331).

²⁰⁶⁵ See 2.301: Florus has made the Herodian palace his base while in Jerusalem.

²⁰⁶⁶ See “Antonia” in the previous sentence.

²⁰⁶⁷ Or “campaign.” Although this is the first occurrence of ἐπιβολή in bk. 2, it reappears quickly at 2.333, 361. Such rapid re-use is characteristic of Josephus (see Introduction).

²⁰⁶⁸ The same phrase (ἀντικρυς ἐπιστραφεῖς) appears at 5.83.

²⁰⁶⁹ Josephus does not explain whether these are the roofs of houses or public buildings, of which there were a number in the area around Antonia. In the E Mediterranean, rooftops were usually accessible flat surfaces, fully part of the accommodation: they might be used for cooler sleeping areas or for meals.

²⁰⁷⁰ Latin supplies *saxis* (stones, rocks) here. Although that is not an unreasonable guess, since the Jerusalem area yields plenty of rock, especially perhaps with recent construction in the New City area, the noun that Josephus will use (“projectiles” below) is more general.

²⁰⁷¹ See the note to this phrase at 2.49.

²⁰⁷² Greek βέλη might suggest first of all “arrows, darts, or javelins,” though it can refer to any sort of throwable object.

the mob that had blocked up the alleyways, they began withdrawing into their camp at the royal palace.²⁰⁷⁴

Florus
checked, leaves
Jerusalem

(15.6) 330 The insurgents,²⁰⁷⁵ worried that Florus might attack again and take control of the temple²⁰⁷⁶ through the Antonia,²⁰⁷⁷ immediately climbed up on the colonnades²⁰⁷⁸ of the temple that connected with the Antonia and cut through [them].²⁰⁷⁹ 331 This chilled Florus' greed;²⁰⁸⁰ for since he was intent on²⁰⁸¹ the treasuries of God²⁰⁸² and for that reason was longing to enter the Antonia,²⁰⁸³ when the colonnades were torn off²⁰⁸⁴ his charge was thwarted. So he summoned both the chief priests and the council,²⁰⁸⁵ and told them

²⁰⁷³ Josephus makes a play on διακόπτω in this sentence and the next (its only 2 appearances in *War* 2): Whereas the soldiers were *unable* to cut through the citizens opposing them, the Judeans were easily able to cut through the rock of the monumental colonnades (2.330)—and prevent the auxiliaries' use of their customary observation platform.

²⁰⁷⁴ See 2.301 and the note to "palace" at 2.328.

²⁰⁷⁵ See the note to this key term at 1.10.

²⁰⁷⁶ "Attack again": the explicit antecedent was briefly mentioned at 2.328, where Florus attempted in vain to get his hands on temple funds but was blocked by the mob. The fear that he would try it again is justified in the narrative by characterizations of Florus' all-consuming greed, and his earlier (remote) extraction of 17 talents (2.278-79, 293).

²⁰⁷⁷ See 2.328 and the note to "Antonia" there: the governor's soldiers dominated the temple precincts by exiting the fortress on to the roof of the N and W colonnades.

²⁰⁷⁸ See the note at 2.48.

²⁰⁷⁹ Whatever this action involved (below), it was a daring move and highly consequential in the narrative: getting on top of the 12.5 m. (40-ft.) columns and somehow breaking them. Agrippa will cite it (along with the withholding of tribute) as an act of war, which must be undone immediately if the Judeans are to avoid open conflict with Rome (2.403). The people will briefly be persuaded and *begin rebuilding* the colonnades (κατήρξαντο τῆς τῶν στοῶν δομήσεως, 2.405)—evidently a major task.

What exactly did they do to the colonnades? The verb "cut through" seems to be chosen first for the contrast with its use in the preceding sentence. The most likely meanings are cutting through a horizontal structure (i.e., the cedar-panel roof on which the auxiliaries walked: 5.190-92, 243-45) or a vertical one (i.e., somehow cutting off sections of the massive columns themselves). In spite of the incredible amount of labor that this would presumably have involved, the narrative evidence appears to support the latter: (a) normally, and much more easily, the cedar roof would be burned (2.49; 6.165-66, 177-81, 191; cf. *Ant.* 17.261); (b) in both 2.331 imme-

diately below and Agrippa's speech at 2.403, describing the same incident Josephus will use verbs meaning "lop off, sever, break off" (ἀπορρήγνυμι, ἀποκόπτω); (c) Florus is immediately convinced by this action that he has no chance of using the colonnades to reach the temple, which might suggest more extensive damage than merely cutting up pieces of the roof (2.49; 6.232-35); and (d) in Agrippa's speech, the remedy is described as "re-attaching" (συνάπτω πάλιν), and "rebuilding, reconstruction" (δομησις, 2.403, 404, 405). Although the columns were apparently not marble, as Josephus claims (5.190), they might have given that appearance; in any case, they must have been massive. At *Ant.* 15.413 he will say of the Royal Colonnade (along the S edge of the temple mount) that it would take 3 men to reach around a column and join hands: so perhaps 15 ft. (4.6 m) in circumference, a little less than 5 ft. in diameter. Although the columns near the Antonia were perhaps not as thick, the rebellious action of breaking them off was clearly no trivial matter.

²⁰⁸⁰ Florus' greed has dominated his term in office; it was grandly introduced at 2.279. Note here its association with "heat"—therefore, with ungoverned passions (like Antiochus in 1.32-36, the first temple-plunderer in the narrative).

²⁰⁸¹ See the note at 2.328.

²⁰⁸² See the note to this phrase in the singular at 2.50; the temple treasuries of Jerusalem are in view. Greco-Roman temples housed treasuries as well, and these were often eyed by tyrants. See the note to "plundered" at 2.50.

²⁰⁸³ See the note in the previous sentence.

²⁰⁸⁴ See "cut through [them]" and its note in the previous sentence. Here Josephus re-uses the verb from 3.283 (ἀπορρήγνυμι), now in a literal sense.

²⁰⁸⁵ Josephus uses βουλή for the council of any Greek city and even as an alternative term for the Roman Senate (see the note at 2.211). Although Jerusalem did not at this time have all the institutions of a Greek *polis* (gymnasium, ephebate, games, statues, dramatic contexts with sacrifices; contrast coastal Caesarea), the basic structure of internal governance was close enough that its aristocratic deliberative body could be called by the standard term. Plainly Josephus intends the group of councilors,

that whereas he himself was departing from the city, he would leave behind for them as much of a garrison²⁰⁸⁶ as they thought suitable. **332** And they promised everything, about security and not fomenting revolution in the future,²⁰⁸⁷ if he would leave one cohort²⁰⁸⁸ for them—but not the one that had fought,²⁰⁸⁹ for the mob harbored animosity²⁰⁹⁰ toward this one because of what they had suffered. So, having exchanged the cohort²⁰⁹¹

though he can also use βουλή to mean the *place* where the council met, near the *xystus* (5.145; cf. note at 2.344). Since the chief priests and powerful men were themselves the core of the council's membership (see 2.239 [note to "powerful"] and 243), the "and" is more epexegetical than additional, as also at 2.336. Cf. the NT—Mark 14:55; 15:1; Matt 26:59; Luke 22:66—though the council is there called τὸ συνέδριον.

It is curious that *War* consistently uses the latter term, without article, to indicate an ad hoc meeting (called by a king or other ruling figure): see the note to "council" at 2.25. The council must have been widely known as τὸ συνέδριον, however, to account for NT usage and the Aramaic loan-word ܣܢܗܕܪܝܢ ("Sanhedrin") in rabbinic literature. Because *synedrion* does not normally refer to a standing council in Josephus, some scholars have doubted the existence of a standing body. Although they have rightly challenged the old notion of a kind of representative parliament comprising different parties (Goodman 1987: 113-18; Sanders 1992: 472-81), it is clear throughout Josephus that Jerusalem had something recognizable as a standing council with regular meetings and a meeting place. In *Antiquities* (4.186, 218, 220, 222, 255-56; 4.324-25; 5.15, 23, etc.) Josephus will frequently call the governing body of in Judea, led by the high priest, ἡ γερουσία; in *Life* (65, 72, 190, 254, 267, 309, 341, 393; cf. *Ant.* 6.17), the war-time governing coalition of the entire nation, still led by chief priests, is called τὸ κοινὸν [τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν], like provincial councils elsewhere. Cf. McLaren 1991: 211-25; Mason 1995: 160, 165-77; BJP 9, note to "general assembly" at § 65.

²⁰⁸⁶ Greek ὅσην ἂν ἀξιῶσθωσιν implies that the size of the garrison, which had always been a cohort (perhaps of double strength; see the note to "cohort" at 2.224), was now the choice of the Judean leaders—given the severe strain between the auxiliaries and the populace. Florus is, for the moment, chastened and reverting (ostensibly) to his proper role of facilitating collaboration with the local élite.

²⁰⁸⁷ This is another example of Josephus' ironic detachment. Notwithstanding his respect for his own élite class, he presents them as promising what they cannot in fact deliver ("everything" that a reasonable governor should want to hear—about peace and security) as they speed him on his way.

²⁰⁸⁸ "One cohort" (μίαν . . . σπεῖραν) is the leaders' response to Florus' offer (2.331): he would leave whatever size of garrison political class chose; they request a return to the *status quo ante* of one cohort (cf. 2.224; 5.444), excluding only the most hated unit from garrison duty. This language implies, however, that the cohorts were interchangeable in terms of size (they want any one except *that* one), which militates against the inference from the existence of a tribune that the Jerusalem cohort was of double strength (see note to "cohort" at 2.224).

²⁰⁸⁹ This sentence and the next will make it clear that a single cohort was held responsible for the fighting, though it is unclear which one. Josephus has described two scenes of horrific fighting. The first (2.305-10), apparently more severe, involved the soldiers that Florus brought with him from Sebaste (2.296)—both infantry and cavalry. The more recent conflict (3.326-8), and the more natural antecedent for this demand, seems to have involved the two supplementary cohorts recently arrived (2.318). See also the note to "exchanged the cohort" at 2.332.

²⁰⁹⁰ Although this phrase comprising verb and adverb (ἀπεχθῶς + ἔχω) is idiomatic Greek, it is slightly attested in other literature (Aesop, *Fab.* 97.3; Demosthenes, *Pac.* 18; 3 *Macc.* 5.3; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 11.59.3; Chion, *Ep.* 16.2); Josephus uses it more routinely (8 times): also 7.56; *Ant.* 2.12; 13.35, 85; 20.162; *Life* 375, 384.

²⁰⁹¹ Josephus' language seems to imply that Florus already has a cohort in place, but because it is considered unacceptable by the Judeans in view of its role in the conflicts (see the note to "fought" in this section), he *exchanges* it (ἀλλάσσω). Yet in the preceding narrative, he has just offered to leave a cohort of *the Judean leaders'* choosing; now that they have expressed their preference, it is puzzling that he should need to exchange units.

The best solution may be that Josephus misleads by narrative compression. If there was a cohort already based in Jerusalem, which would normally be rotated out after Passover anyway (cf. 2.169-74 and note to "standards" at 2.169 and 2.224 with note to "cohort"), perhaps the exchange of cohorts is not directly related to the conflict just concluded. That is: knowing that he needs to change the cohort anyway, but recognizing the extreme hostility of the populace to the auxiliaries after recent events, Florus invites them to choose the size and

as they thought suitable, with the balance of the force²⁰⁹² he returned to Caesarea.²⁰⁹³

*Florus' false
allegation to
Cestius*

(16.1) 333 Contriving a different kind of offensive²⁰⁹⁴ for war, he [Florus] sent a letter to Cestius²⁰⁹⁵ falsely alleging a rebellion of Judeans;²⁰⁹⁶ he fastened on²⁰⁹⁷ them the beginning²⁰⁹⁸ of the fighting, saying that they themselves had committed what they had suffered.²⁰⁹⁹ To be sure, the leaders of Hierosolyma²¹⁰⁰ were not silent: they and also Bernice²¹⁰¹ wrote to Cestius about what Florus had done illegally²¹⁰² against the city. **334** After

type of unit—from among the cohorts that have recently entered the city (apparently at least 3 cohorts and one cavalry wing). The leaders gratefully specify 1 cohort as optimal, as long as it is not the one held most responsible by the mob. So Florus makes the *scheduled exchange* and leaves with the rest.

²⁰⁹² At least 4 units (3 auxiliary cohorts and a cavalry wing), equivalent to the number that recently entered Jerusalem (2.296, 318), but with the replaced Jerusalem cohort. Although some units came with Florus from Sebaste (2.196), they will all return to Roman headquarters in Caesarea for now.

²⁰⁹³ The governor's headquarters; see the note at 2.16.

²⁰⁹⁴ This is the 2nd of 3 occurrences of the noun ἐπιβολή in bk. 2, all coming in close proximity; see note at 2.329.

²⁰⁹⁵ The governor (*legatus Augusti pro praetore*) of Syria, C. Cestius Gallus. See the note at 2.280, also to “Cestius” at 1.20. We last saw him (at 2.282) returning to Antioch after a Passover visit to Jerusalem, having promised to restrain Gessius Florus. During that visit, Florus ridiculed the Judeans' accusations before his distinguished senatorial guest and, after escorting him out of the province, began to plot the beginnings of a war that would cover up his enormities. This letter is presumably the beginning of that campaign.

²⁰⁹⁶ The same phrase (Ἰουδαίων ἀπόστασις) has occurred at 2.39. See note to “rebellion” there.

²⁰⁹⁷ Or “pinned on them.” Josephus uses metaphorically a verb that he normally employs in a literal sense, especially in relation to the fitting of a diadem on one's head: 1.70, 393; 2.27, 57, 62; *Ant.* 11.54, 203; 12.389; 13.113; 144, 367; 17.202, 273, 280; 18.237; 20.32, 65, 241.

²⁰⁹⁸ It may be significant that Florus blames the Judeans not for the causes (αἰτίαι) of the conflict, but only for its beginning (ἀρχή): they started it! For this crucial Polybian distinction, see the note to “justification” at 2.285. This fits with the narrator's perspective that it was Florus' deliberate intention to provoke trouble (as in the opening of this section; cf. 2.277-83); *he* was the real cause. Still, it is odd that Josephus should not have this character *claim* that the causes were on the Judean side. Perhaps he wishes to present Florus as an

ignorant fellow who mistakes beginnings for true causes, like those criticized by Polybius (22.18.6-11), an oversight that allows him to ignore his own role; more likely he has Florus posturing as a governor keen to punish perceived trouble-makers, irrespective of true causes.

²⁰⁹⁹ This is the first appearance in Josephus of this clever contrast (δράω + πάσχω), which he uses often in the sequel: 3.106, 207, 346; 4.185, 221; 5.256, 316; 7.273, 396; *Ant.* 2.107; 3.22; 12.433; 13.199; 14.142; 15.283; 16.37, 99, 234, 390; 20.258; *Life* 357; *Apion* 2.131. The collocation has wide attestation in classical authors, particularly the tragedians, since a common element of *drama* (δρᾶμα derives from δράω) is the reciprocity or “poetic justice” connected with “doing” and “suffering” ([Seven Sages], *Sent.* 216; [Aesop], *Fab.* 246; Aeschylus, *Agam.* 533; *Choeph.* 313, 1010; Thucydides 1.78.3; 3.38.1; 4.15.2; 6.35.1; 7.71.7, 77.4; Euripides, *Med.* 289, 693; *Heracl.* 176; *Hipp.* 598; *Andr.* 438; *Hec.* 253; *Suppl.* 1179; *Troi.* 792-93; *Ion.* 342-43, 1248; *Phoen.* 480; *Or.* 1455-56; *Rhes.* 483, 742-43; Sophocles, *Elec.* 389-90; *Ant.* 235-36; *Phil.* 315-16; *Oed. col.* 267, 953; Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 385, 1256-57; *Thesm.* 519; *Plut.* 87-88; Xenophon, *Hell.* 4.5.7; *Anab.* 5.1.15; Isocrates, *Loch.* 2; Plato, *Leg.* 642e, 834a, 865e, 872e, 953b). The phrase highlights the tragic element of *War*, reinforced in the following passages by repeated use of lamentation language. The short-hand nature of the expression is obvious from the fact that the Judeans could not actually have done most of what Josephus has described Florus as doing: plunder, torture, despoiling cities, accepting bribes (2.277-78).

²¹⁰⁰ Possibly “magistrates of Hierosolyma.” This is the second occurrence of the phrase οἱ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἄρχοντες in Josephus, after 2.237 a few sentences earlier, and it will not appear again—illustrating his tendency to re-use terms in a short space and then drop them (see Introduction). On the possible range of meanings, see the note to “magistrates” at 2.216, and to “leaders [of Hierosolyma]” at 2.234, 237.

²¹⁰¹ The sister of Agrippa II (cf. 2.217 and note) has consistently acted, even at the peril of her own life, to protect the Judeans from Florus' depredations (2.310-14).

²¹⁰² This phrase recalls its last occurrence (2.317), where it was used to summarize the grievances of the people against Florus for his many misdeeds to that point. See also the note at 2.15.

reading the [reports] from both,²¹⁰³ he [Cestius] took counsel with his commanders.²¹⁰⁴ Whereas to them it seemed best that Cestius himself should go back²¹⁰⁵ with an army, either to exact retribution for the rebellion,²¹⁰⁶ if it had happened, or to support any Judeans who were more steadfast and persevering,²¹⁰⁷ to him [it seemed best] to send out from²¹⁰⁸ his companions²¹⁰⁹ the one who would investigate the circumstances and credibly²¹¹⁰ report back the intentions of the Judeans.²¹¹¹

335 So indeed²¹¹² he sent* one of the tribunes,²¹¹³ Neapolitanus:²¹¹⁴ at Iamneia he fell

*Neapolitanus
sent to
Jerusalem, joins
Agrippa II*

²¹⁰³ Although this could refer to the letters from the Judean leaders and Berenice, the emphatic position of “both” in the sentence implies that Cestius was honorable enough to hear both Florus and his distinguished Judean accusers. He has already, according to Josephus, heard the complaints of some 3 million Judeans against this procurator and given the impression that he would provide relief (2.280-81).

²¹⁰⁴ As the sequel shows, this term includes at least the legates, camp prefects, and tribunes of his 4 legions. After the major redistributions of the eastern legions necessitated by Corbulo’s campaigns, Syria was left with legions *III Gallica*, *IV Scythica*, *VI Ferrata*, and *XII Fulminata* (Parker 1992: 138). The available legates, camp prefects, and tribunes (32 in total), along with other senior members of the entourage, might have amounted to between 20 and 30.

²¹⁰⁵ “Go back,” given Cestius’ previous visit (2.280-82); or possibly “go up” (ἀναβαίνω) in keeping with standard language for the trip to Jerusalem (see the note to “going up” at 2.232).

²¹⁰⁶ See the note to this word at 2.39.

²¹⁰⁷ I.e., remaining loyal to Rome, according to the scenario portrayed in Florus’ letter of substantial anti-Roman activity by the Judeans. The absence of a definite article with the participle may serve to highlight the uncertainty whether there were indeed any such Judeans.

²¹⁰⁸ Most MSS (AMLVRC) have τινᾶ at this point, matching the next sentence (“one of his tribunes”). Most modern editors follow Niese in omitting the word from the Greek, but they translate as if it were present: “to send out one of his companions, who would investigate . . .” But its absence from P, one of the best MSS, prompts us to consider seriously the “more difficult reading” that remains without it. The standard reading suggests that Cestius’ companions were all competent; he simply chose one for reasons unknown. The reading chosen here, however, implies that Cestius particularly trusted Neapolitanus to give a fair report based on independent investigation. That implication fits better with the context: whereas his commanders have assumed Judean culpability (or they would not have advocated taking the field with an army), in a pointed rejection of this advice

Cestius passes over even his legionary legates to choose the one person he thinks will give him a trustworthy assessment. Tellingly, the sequel shows Neapolitanus to be considerate and solicitous: going out of his way to meet up with King Agrippa, presenting himself without intimidation so as to elicit frank speech, and praying respectfully before departing Jerusalem (2.340-41). Josephus implicitly honors the distinguished legate for his care to learn the real situation and his refusal to indulge his senior officers’ anti-Judean reflexes.

²¹⁰⁹ Like “friends” (see note at 2.4), ἑταῖροι could be simply “comrades, colleagues” on a truly personal level or quasi-official figures in the retinue of a ruler (most famously in the early Macedonian court: an élite cavalry unit who served also as military advisers). Josephus almost always uses the term of kings, governors, and generals, suggesting the more formal sense: a member of the senior advisory group or council. This is confirmed by the identity of the person in question here, a military tribune.

²¹¹⁰ The adverb πιστῶς can mean both “in a faithful, loyal way” and “in a credible, trustworthy, believable way.” Both meanings are operative here, though the emphasis on prior investigation tends to emphasize the latter.

²¹¹¹ The commanders assume that the Judeans are in revolt, or some of them are; in response, either the entire rebellion needs to be put down or those remaining loyal to Rome need military support against rebel factions. They have thus been more strongly influenced than Cestius by Florus’ letter. He will send a trusted emissary to find out the facts, and that emissary will report on the willingness of the populace to accommodate all Romans but Florus (2.340-41).

²¹¹² MSS PAML have only δέ; VRC have οὖν δέ, Latin *ergo*. This translation assumes the consequential connective.

²¹¹³ For “tribune” see the notes at 2.11 and 244, which however concern officers of allied and auxiliary forces. In the early empire the governor of a province, here Cestius, commanded all of its legions (currently 4 in Syria; see the note to “commanders” at 2.334). Each legion’s most senior commanders, alongside the senatorial (praetorian) *legatus legionis* and the *praefec-*

in with King Agrippa,²¹¹⁵ who was returning from Alexandria,²¹¹⁶ and explained who had sent [him] and the reasons.²¹¹⁷ **(16.2) 336** There, the chief priests of the Judeans presented themselves, along with the powerful [men]²¹¹⁸ and the council,²¹¹⁹ welcoming the king. After [showing] their attentiveness²¹²⁰ to him, they turned to bitterly lamenting²¹²¹ their own calamities²¹²² and the savage treatment they were undergoing from Florus.²¹²³

337 At this, although Agrippa became indignant, he strategically transferred his anger²¹²⁴ to those whom he really pitied,²¹²⁵ the Judeans,²¹²⁶ wanting to bring down their high thoughts and, by not supposing that they had suffered unjustly, to turn them away from revenge.²¹²⁷ **338** They, being distinguished men and in view of their holdings of

tus castrorum (camp commander), were its 6 tribunes: the highest ranked was usually a man of about 20-24, headed for a senatorial career after his 1-year tour (*tribunus laticlavus*); the other 5 were typically equestrians (*tribuni angusticlavii*). For the equestrians, the legionary tribunate typically came after command of an auxiliary infantry cohort, as prefect, and before command of a prestigious auxiliary cavalry wing (*ala*), again as prefect: Parker 1992: 188-90; Webster 1979: 112-13. While he served the legion, a tribune's work was largely advisory, administrative, and legal (cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.37, 44), though in combat he had at least nominal responsibility for two cohorts (Le Bohec 1994: 39).

²¹¹⁴ According to *Life* 120-21, Josephus will later face a cavalry prefect named Neapolitanus in Galilee. Given that these Roman officers bear the same unusual *cognomen* ("man of Naples/Neapolis," scarcely attested otherwise; cf. Kajanto 1982: 191), in the same region and at the same period (66-67 CE), and given the typical career progression reflected in a move from tribune to cavalry prefect (previous note), it is likely that the same person is in view (revising my note *ad loc.* in BJP 9). Putting together generally known conditions with clues from Josephus' narratives: when he was sent on this fact-finding mission to Jerusalem, Neapolitanus appears to have been a young equestrian with significant military experience already. He has won the much older governor's respect for his fairness and good judgment.

²¹¹⁵ As M-B point out (2.446 n. 170), the tribune went out of his way to meet up with the Judean king, for otherwise he would have left the coastal road further N than Yavneh/Iamnia (likely at Caesarea, to travel via Antipatris and Lod; cf. Cestius' later route at 2.515). This suggests a determined effort at diplomacy, working with the local elite as much as possible; see the note to "Judeans" at 2.334. It is not clear whether the Iamnia in question is the port or the inland town on the road from Ashkelon. If the former, then it seems that Agrippa also went out of his way, remaining on the coastal road from the S much further than he would normally have done *en route* to Jerusalem. If the latter, Agrippa probably left the coast at Ashkelon to follow the road inland via Iamnia.

Either way Neapolitanus has made the major detour.

²¹¹⁶ Cf. 2.309: King Agrippa II made a trip to Alexandria to celebrate with (Ti. Iulius) Alexander on the latter's appointment to the prestigious post of Egyptian prefect [66 CE]. See the notes there and at 2.385 below.

²¹¹⁷ Given the foregoing narrative, the audience might be expected to understand not only the reasons why Cestius dispatched an emissary but also the reasons why Neapolitanus was chosen: that is, perhaps this briefing includes a presentation of the whole situation, with Florus' letter and the hostile mood of Cestius' commanders.

²¹¹⁸ Chief priests and powerful men are a regular pair in *War*; see the note to "chief priests" at 2.243.

²¹¹⁹ See the note at 2.331.

²¹²⁰ See the note at 2.2: these are the expected, formalized niceties toward the powerful.

²¹²¹ See the note to this tragic language (*ἀποδύρομαι*) at 2.292.

²¹²² This is a key word (*συμφορά*) in *War*'s tragic vocabulary; see 1.9, 11; 2.86 and notes.

²¹²³ I.e., in particular the suffering of the elite. Josephus has explored this (2.301-8): when members of the upper class, being summoned before his tribunal, refused to give up the youths who had insulted him, Florus became enraged. He allowed his soldiers to plunder their residences, had them whipped, and even crucified those of equestrian status (like himself).

²¹²⁴ Or "in the manner of a general, he transferred. . ." (*στρατηγικῶς δὲ τὴν ὀργὴν εἰς οὓς ἤλεει Ἰουδαίους μετέφερεν*). See the note to "revenge" in this section.

²¹²⁵ This is part of *War*'s tragic lexicon; see the note at 2.280 (also in the prologue 1.10 and "compassion" at 1.12).

²¹²⁶ See further 2.421 below.

²¹²⁷ King Agrippa thus acts as a leader should, according to common wisdom at the time: he stands as a mediator between the ruling power and the people, trying to influence the Roman governors for better treatment of the people and protect them against unscrupulous governors (cf. Berenice at 2.333), while dousing the flames of grievance and rebellion among the people (cf.

property longing for peace,²¹²⁸ shared the understanding that the king's reprimand was well intentioned.²¹²⁹

The populace, however, went out sixty *stadia*²¹³⁰ from Hierosolyma and greeted Agrippa and Neapolitanus,²¹³¹ **339** and the wives of those who had been butchered²¹³² also poured out, and began shrieking.²¹³³ In response to the wail²¹³⁴ of these [women], the populace turned to lamentations²¹³⁵ and kept begging Agrippa to provide assistance. They were also shouting at²¹³⁶ Neapolitanus all the things they had suffered from Florus and, after passing into the city, pointed out both the ransacked market²¹³⁷ and the residences that had been ravaged.²¹³⁸ **340** Then they persuaded* Neapolitanus, through Agrippa,²¹³⁹ to go around the city²¹⁴⁰ with one attendant²¹⁴¹ as far as Siloam,²¹⁴² so he would realize that, whereas

*Neapolitanus
tours Jerusalem,
gives positive
report*

Momigliano 1971: 29-30). See 2.421 below, which spells out his predicament as a statesman between people and overlord. He tries to deal with potential unrest internally, so that “outside physicians and medicines” will not be necessary; even though he did not create the storms himself, he must remain to deal with them, using his frank speech like an anchor in the storm (Plutarch, *Mor.* [*Praec.*] 814b-c).

²¹²⁸ Cf. Salmeri (2000: 74, discussing Dio Chrysostom's world): “In the Greek cities when the have-nots found themselves in dire straits they had nothing to lose if they raided the notables' houses and attracted the attention of the Roman authorities. . . . It was, by contrast, in the interests of the upper classes for harmony and order to reign in the cities; indeed, it was an indispensable condition for them to be able to enjoy their economic well-being.” We need not take Josephus' observation, which seems geared mainly to contrasting the clamor of the poor masses, as absolute—as though the élite were motivated solely by material considerations. Holding property was one ingredient of a larger social system, making possible also an education that tended to value peaceful relations.

²¹²⁹ Greek συνίεσαν εὐνοϊκὴν τὴν ἐπίπληξιν τοῦ βασιλέως. Both adjective and noun occur only here in Josephus, and the adjective is rarely attested before his time, though the adverbial form εὐνοϊκῶς (as at *Ant.* 7.259; 13.167) was common.

²¹³⁰ About 7.5 miles or 12 km. Although the masses' welcoming of the powerful outside the city is a typical scene (see the note to “meet the soldiers” at 2.297), Josephus' notice about the considerable distance here, for the populace to walk (there and back), highlights their feelings of outrage and urgency. It is unclear which route Agrippa and Neapolitanus would have followed from Iamnia (via Ammaus or via the Sorek Valley and Beit-Shemesh).

²¹³¹ See the note at 2.335.

²¹³² See the note at 2.30.

²¹³³ This verb (κωκύω) occurs only here in Josephus. It would have resonated with educated audiences as the

typical activity of mourning women in Greek tragedy (LSJ, s.v.: Homer, *Il.* 18.37; *Od.* 2.361; Aeschylus, *Agam.* 1313; Sophocles, *Ant.* 28). On tragic vocabulary in *War*, see the note to “mourn over” at 1.9.

²¹³⁴ See the note to this tragic-pathetic word (οἰμωγή) at 2.6.

²¹³⁵ Josephus continues the tragic vocabulary with ὄλοφουρμός, on which see the note to “mourn over” at 1.9.

²¹³⁶ See the note to “yelling at” (same verb) at 2.175.

²¹³⁷ At 2.305, Florus in anger had ordered his auxiliaries to plunder the Upper Market near the Herodian palace.

²¹³⁸ According to 2.305, Florus' soldiers far exceeded his orders and plundered also the residences of the wealthy.

²¹³⁹ Agrippa's agency was no doubt both a practical necessity, given that the masses (not members of a Greek-speaking élite) are clamoring, and a political one. Agrippa continues to play the proper role of a statesman, as intermediary between his people and ultimate Roman authorities.

²¹⁴⁰ Although the verb περιελθεῖν might suggest that Neapolitanus, who has already been shown the Upper City on the W side, goes around the city perimeter (to the N, E, and S), this would be a formidable walk, negotiating the outer walls and steep ravines, and a seemingly pointless route if he wished to see large numbers of people. More likely, given that he aims to assess the popular mood, he moves from the Upper City in the W to the Siloam Pool area in the S through the densely populated Lower City. This route seems confirmed by the complementary verb διοδεύω (“strolled through”) in this section. The verb might mean “go around within” or it might refer to his passing by the eastern curve of the Upper City hill.

²¹⁴¹ As one would assume, at 3.61 Josephus will note that the attendants (or servants) of the allied kings were themselves trained fighters, hardly different from soldiers. Josephus' notice here suggests that Neapolitanus

Judeans were accommodating in the case of all the other Romans, they were being roused to hostility in the case of Florus alone, because of the excess of savagery²¹⁴³ towards them. And he [Neapolitanus], when he had strolled through²¹⁴⁴ and made a sufficient test of their mildness, went up* into the temple.²¹⁴⁵ **341** After summoning the people there and vigorously commending them for their faithfulness toward the Romans,²¹⁴⁶ while also vigorously urging them on to maintain the peace, and after making obeisance²¹⁴⁷ before God, from where the sacred [acts] were permitted,²¹⁴⁸ he returned to Cestius.²¹⁴⁹

*Judeans demand
embassy to Nero*

(16.3) 342 Now the rabble of the Judeans rounded on both the king and the chief priests and kept clamoring that they send emissaries to Nero against Florus,²¹⁵⁰ and that they not, by holding their silence about such great slaughter,²¹⁵¹ leave a suspicion of rebellion²¹⁵² on

was asked (and agreed) to forego his normal entourage and security detail, apparently to encourage a more direct access to the people he encountered. Perhaps this one attendant was also an interpreter, to assist in any conversations that arose.

²¹⁴² Josephus uncharacteristically mentions without explanation a place that is likely unfamiliar to his Roman audience; he will introduce it properly at 5.140; cf. 5.145, 252, 410, 505; 6.363, 401. This slip may have occurred because the phrase “as far as Siloam” was something of a formula for him (also 5.140; 6.363), to describe the S extremity of the city. The site, made famous by the Gospel of John (9:7, 11), was a fresh-water pool on the SW side of the hill that comprised the old City of David. It was a reservoir for water originating in the Gihon Spring on the E of the hill, from where it was conducted safely within the city by King Hezekiah’s 8th-cent. BCE tunnel (1750 ft./0.33 miles/0.53 km). The traditional site of the pool, rebuilt and marked with a Byzantine church in the 5th cent. CE by Empress Eudocia, has been superseded by the discovery in 2004 of a large pool (ca. 50 m long) with several tiers of steps on at least 3 sides, less than 200 m. S of the traditional site. See Shanks 2005.

²¹⁴³ This hyperbolic phrase (ὑπερβολή ὀμότητος)—for “savagery” is excessive by definition—is characteristically Josephan. It reoccurs at 4.16; 6.373; cf. 1.97; *Ant.* 9.231; 13.383; 18.44. Before his time, it is attested most often in Diodorus (20.72.5; 33.14.4, 15.1; 34/35.29.1), occasionally in Demosthenes (*Mid.* 109), Polybius (24.3.1), and Philo (*Agr.* 155; *Spec.* 4.202).

²¹⁴⁴ See the note to “go around the city” in this section.

²¹⁴⁵ I.e., in the temple precincts, which included the Court of Gentiles; see the note to “permitted” at 2.341.

²¹⁴⁶ Or “loyalty toward the Romans” (ἡ πρὸς Ῥωμαίων πῖστις). This is a stock phrase in Josephus, normally used of cities that maintain this political stance (4.418; *Ant.* 19.289; *Life* 39, 46, 71, 104, 349). The phrase apparently comes either from Polybius, the only writer attested using it before Josephus (7.1.3; 10.37.10; 21.46.2; 24.10.9; 27.16.2), or directly from Latin usage.

Greek πίστις represents Latin *fides*, a central political-social value in Roman discourse, connoting also honesty, constancy, and trustworthiness (Cicero, *Off.* 1.7.23: “truth and fidelity to promises and agreements”).

²¹⁴⁷ By using this charged verb (προσκυνέω) here Josephus foreshadows the coming speech of Agrippa, which will employ the same verb several times—ironically, of those nations that now make obeisance to Rome (2.360, 366, 380). Even more important, Neapolitanus’ action anticipates the pivotal narrative at 2.408–416, where the younger priests decide to prohibit both sacrifices and gifts from foreigners. At 2.414 the elders severely castigate their younger colleagues for this, which will make the Judeans the only nation to prevent foreigners from making obeisance to God at their temple.

²¹⁴⁸ Apparently a reference to the outer court of the temple, where a gentile such as Neapolitanus could make such a gesture; cf. 5.193–94 on the balustrade inscription barring gentiles from access to the inner compound. Such expressions of piety from foreigners were welcome but not surprising: it was expected that one would acknowledge local deities wherever one traveled. Herod’s temple had made ample provision for gentile visitors, with its massive outer court. The platform was an irregular quadrilateral, whose outer walls measured as follows: 278 m (912 ft) on the S, 485 m (1590 ft) on the W, 315 m (1035 ft) on the N, and 468 m (1536 ft) on the E; cf. Ritmeyer and Ritmeyer 2006. A large part of this space, much of what was added by Herod, was available to non-Judean visitors.

²¹⁴⁹ See 2.335 above.

²¹⁵⁰ Josephus portrays a realistic sense of the political dynamics. Having persuaded the powerful Syrian legate’s military emissary that they are committed to peace with Rome, a posture they emphasize in this sentence, the people freely convey their true feelings of grievance to their national representatives, whose task it is to intercede for them with higher authorities.

²¹⁵¹ The phrase (τοσοῦτος φόβος) appears also at 1.34; 2.472; cf. 1.355; 3.535; 6.89; *Ant.* 12.347 14.484. Although it seems a natural phrase, before his time it

themselves; for if they did not take the lead and identify the one who had begun [this], they would appear to have begun with the weapons themselves.²¹⁵³ **343** And they were clear that they were not about to acquiesce if anyone should block the embassy.²¹⁵⁴

For Agrippa, whereas the [prospect of] hand-selecting²¹⁵⁵ Florus' accusers was invidious,²¹⁵⁶ the [prospect of] standing by and watching the Judeans inflamed²¹⁵⁷ for war did not appear in his interest either.²¹⁵⁸ **344** After summoning the rabble into the *xystus*²¹⁵⁹ and placing his sister Bernice alongside,²¹⁶⁰ in plain view²¹⁶¹ atop the Hasmonean resi-

is attested only in the Hellenistic historians Diodorus (13.23.4; 15.17.4, 57.3; cf. 2.26.7) and Dionysius (*Ant. rom.* 3.35.6; 8.25.1; 9.21.2).

²¹⁵² See the note at 2.39.

²¹⁵³ The proposed embassy would thus have two purposes: the fairly standard activity of accusing a governor and, more urgently, the removal of any impression that the large number of Judeans killed under Florus revealed that the people were in rebellion against Rome—that if so many Judeans were dying, they must have been doing something to deserve it (necessitating Roman intervention).

²¹⁵⁴ Josephus builds tension by anticipating Agrippa's response and thus pinning him on the horns of a dilemma, from which only a brilliant speech might rescue him.

²¹⁵⁵ The alternative was election by lot: see the note to the cognate adjective at 2.123.

²¹⁵⁶ That is (ἐπίφθορος), something that would generate a grudge against him. Who would bear the grudge? Florus, at least, though a successful prosecution might nullify his significance. More importantly, Agrippa may be concerned not to offend Cestius Gallus, the Syrian *legatus* who is responsible for Judea, as he has shown by sending Neapolitanus and will show again by personal intervention with the Twelfth Legion (2.499-555; see the note to "province" at 2.117). Agrippa could not authorize an embassy without Cestius' decision, and he may have felt that it was not *his* business (as king of a neighboring territory) to inform Cestius of his own subordinate's misgovernment in Judea, the more so after the legate's own tribune has completed an independent investigation, conducted with Agrippa's support, which should have reported the popular hatred of Florus. It is now up to Cestius to deal with the situation, without further pleading from the king. Note 2.351 below: "it is to your own detriment that you expose the objects of scandal." Although the context is different, Pliny's correspondence (*Ep.* 7.6) preserves an example (in the Bithynians' dropping of their case against Varenus Rufus) of the political complications in which provincial élites might find themselves; see Swain 1996: 222-23.

²¹⁵⁷ See the note to "fan the flames of [war]" at 2.293. This is the same verb, here the aorist passive participle.

Florus is the agent who has fanned the people into flame for war.

²¹⁵⁸ Josephus uses a disarmingly vivid adjective, albeit metaphorically, indicating literally "tax relief" and so "profit": οὐδὲ ἀντὶ λυσιτελεῆς. It lacks the ambiguity of "advantageous" at 2.346: amongst his other considerations, the king makes a cold calculation of personal interest. At 2.421 below he will use a cognate verb, again to expose Agrippa's personal calculations—along with a genuine concern to keep both the people and the Romans happy. The shift from this claim by the narrator, concerning Agrippa's internal motives, to Agrippa's claim at 2.346 (cf. 2.401) that he is concerned *solely* with the people's benefit may explain the apparent mismatch between the speech's occasion (i.e., the demand for an embassy) and its content (i.e., dissuasion from war against Rome). Agrippa simply does not want to address the embassy issue and so decides to focus instead on the anger of the rabble, artificially exploring the ultimate consequences in war as a means of winning their agreement (2.402-5).

²¹⁵⁹ Josephus will mention the *xystus* several times again in *War*. Most important: at 5.144 he will cite it as one terminus of the W-E wall that extended from the Hippicus Tower of Herod's palace (at the W of the Upper City near present Jaffa Gate) to the *xystus* and the council house, from where it proceeded (now as a bridge across the Tyropean Valley, above the present Wilson's Arch) to meet the western colonnade of the temple platform. Cf. also 6.191 ("the [temple] gates that led to the *xystus*") and 6.377 (auxiliary troops build up earthworks from the *xystus* to the level of the bridge above). At 6.325, Titus will address the rebels in the city by taking up a position to the W of the temple, where there were gates "above the *xystus*" and a bridge connecting the temple to the Upper City. So we have a fairly clear picture of the *xystus*' location, on the slope leading to the Upper City. But what sort of facility was it?

The word ξυστός (literally "polished, scraped") would have been familiar to a Roman audience. It originated as a Greek architectural term for the covered colonnade of a gymnasium (Pausanias 6.23.1—an enclosed gymnasium structure at Elis, named in that case for the thistles

dence²¹⁶²—this was above the *xystus* at the transition to the Upper City,²¹⁶³ and a bridge connected the temple to the *xystus*—,²¹⁶⁴ Agrippa spoke as follows:

having been “scraped up” by Heracles in the area); in Roman usage it more often indicated an open courtyard with gardens, adjoining either a gymnasium or a stately residence (cf. Vitruvius 5.11.5). Given Agrippa’s gathering of the people in the *xystus*, from where they could however see Berenice in full view on the roof of the Hasmonean palace above, we should conclude that this was a *xystus* in the Roman sense: a large open terrace beneath the walls of the Hasmonean palace to the W and the bridge emerging from the first wall to the N.

A *xystus* does not require a gymnasium, and it is not clear that a gymnasium existed in Jerusalem at this time (66 CE). Such a facility, whose name reflected the naked exercise that occurred there, was a central emblem of Greco-Roman culture and citizenship, on a par with athletic games, dramatic festivals, and their attendant sacrifices. The building of such a Greek facility in Jerusalem had been a major factor in precipitating the Hasmonean revolt (1 Macc. 1.14-15; 2 Macc. 4.9-10; *Ant.* 12.241). Whereas *War* generally emphasizes Herod’s building of Greek facilities and sponsoring the related festivals in *foreign* centers (1.422-28), *War* 2.44 has mentioned a hippodrome in the vicinity of Jerusalem. At *Ant.* 15.267-76, Josephus will support his more antagonistic portrait of Herod there with a review of foreign institutions and customs that he brought *into Jerusalem*: soon after the confirmation of his rule by Octavian (Augustus), Herod built a decorated theater and amphitheater, instituted quinquennial games, and invited athletes from around the world to compete for generous prizes. The related activities Josephus describes under Herod’s rule—naked exercise and chariot-racing (*Ant.* 15.270-71)—presuppose the existence of a gymnasium and hippodrome. The theater was “in Jerusalem” (*Ant.* 15.268, 277-78, though a theater *cavea* has been identified S of the Hinnom Valley, facing Jerusalem from that direction; Richardson 1996: 186-87), the amphitheater “in the plain” (*Ant.* 15.268, presumably SW of the city). The hippodrome was likely the same structure as the amphitheater (compare 1.659 with 1.666 and see note to “stadium” at 2.172)—also to the S (*War* 2.44; *Ant.* 17.255). Given that Josephus limits his attack on these violations of Judean law to King Herod’s actions at a specific time, and given his portrait of widespread popular hostility to such practices, comparable to the outbreaks of protest under Pilate and Petronius for perceived violations of law in relation to pagan symbols, it is difficult to imagine that these institutions remained unchanged, especially under the high-priestly administration of Jerusalem after 6 CE—with Roman governors

based in Caesarea. Indeed, one or both facilities might have been built only of wood, as temporary structures (see the full discussion in Bennett 2007: 52-66). It is possible, however, that the structures themselves endured to the time of Agrippa’s speech (with modified functions).

²¹⁶⁰ Josephus’ verb *παρίστημι* is ambiguous: it may suggest “placing alongside” (himself) or “placing before, to be present with” (the crowd)—Agrippa has positioned Berenice in full view as a kind of prop. In favor of the latter (followed by Whiston and Thackeray) are the absence of any explicit reference to the king’s position and the apparent restriction of “in plain view” to the queen. In favor of the former is the common-sense assumption that the roof would have been the best place from which to give his speech and the notice at 2.402 that king and sister together burst into tears on its completion.

²¹⁶¹ Since the adjective *περίοπτος* already means “in full view, able to be seen all around” (cf. the use at 2.476), Josephus’ phrase *ἐν περιόπτῳ* is redundant; he uses it only here, perhaps for emphasis; before his time it seems attested only in Philo (*Dec.* 125; later Appian, *Bell. civ.* 2.18.131; 4.1.2), which may mean that it was simply a phrasal variation in some circles (note the frequent parallels to Philo in *War*’s language).

²¹⁶² Josephus explains the site here because he has not mentioned it before, and he will not do so again in *War*. At *Ant.* 20.189-90, however, he will offer a further brief description: the Hasmoneans had erected a palace near the Xystus (see the note in this section), and Agrippa II added to this a large extra story (*οἴκημα*), from which he had a commanding view of the priests going about their business in the temple.

It is uncertain here whether Agrippa and Berenice are positioned on this recently built story (in which case the “in full view” notice would have special meaning for Josephus) or along an eastern wall of the compound.

²¹⁶³ Or “towards the junction [or “crossing”] of the Upper City” (*πρὸς τὸ πέραν τῆς ἄνω πόλεως*). Josephus’ phrasing is not perfectly clear, but perhaps clear enough—for a Roman audience lacking a picture of the area—to place the palace on the Upper-City side opposite the temple, as he will later explain. See the note to “residence” in this section, also 5.144; *Ant.* 20.189-90.

²¹⁶⁴ This is apparently the bridge whose base is preserved in Wilson’s Arch. After crossing the Tyropean Valley, where the bridge met the *xystus*, the council house, and the Hasmonean palace, pedestrians continued along the broad wall leading to Herod’s palace in the W of the city; see the preceding notes.

EXCURSUS II: THE DELIBERATIVE SPEECH OF AGRIPPA II

What follows (2.346-401) is the first of *War*'s seven main deliberative speeches (the others: 3.362-82; 4.163-92, 238-69; 5.376-419; 6.99-110; 7.341-88), and undoubtedly the most important one by virtue of its placement, at the eleventh hour before unstoppable revolt. As we saw also with Josephus' Essenes, this passage has often been mined for purposes extraneous to its literary function and shape. In contrast to the Essene passage, however, there have been a number of beginning efforts to engage the speech in its narrative context.^a This excursus aims to build on those efforts by raising some basic problems and complicating too-simple readings of Josephus', or Agrippa's, ideology.

Speeches and History-Writing

The use of speeches had been an integral part of Greek writing about the past ever since Homer's epics. Although Herodotus also used them, scholarly attention has focused on a passage in Thucydides' prologue (1.22.1), which seems to explain how that most careful of ancient historians handled such discursive breaks in the narrative. Yet still in the twenty-first century that passage continues to attract debate and new analysis.^b It is generally agreed that while the speeches as they stand are Thucydides' productions, they preserve something (but how much?) of what was said on the occasion. Analysis reveals that he gave them their shape, diction (for the most part), and emphasis; what he preserved of the original might be only a general thesis, stance, or tone—if that.

With the inevitable elaboration of, and experimentation with, literary-rhetorical elements in historiography (cf. Woodman 1988), speeches became ever more abundant and useful to historians. They

were generally seen as zones of free creation, where authors could display their own rhetorical skill by crafting set pieces for their characters. Polybius (12.25a.4-5, 25i-26b) criticizes Timaeus for padding his speeches with unnecessary and improbable material: like someone in a rhetorical school who accepts the challenge of speaking on any topic, he charges, Timaeus constructs a speech that bears no relation to what anyone actually said. Indeed, Polybius claims that *most* historians embellish speeches considerably beyond "what was truly said," and that speech-writing is essentially an opportunity to display talent. He will avoid including orations of any length (36.1.1-7)—and so he does. Most of his known successors felt no such constraints.

All of Josephus' major speeches, as the concordance allows the student to discover (see the following notes), are his literary creations: they develop, often in subtle ways, his themes, vocabulary, and rhetorical techniques. This does not mean, however, that Agrippa gave no speech on this occasion, or that Josephus uses the opportunity to express any simple ideology or thesis. We can see from the ongoing comparison of *War* with his later narratives in this commentary, from his ability to play off equally compelling characters against each other in the preceding narrative, and from his construction of two opposing speeches on the theme of suicide (3.362-82; 7.341-88), that these literary creations, like the rest of his narratives, defy straightforward ideological analysis. They are surely designed to impress his literary audience, but they do so with a kind of rhetorical brilliance that lends itself to many levels of interpretation, rather than the essay-like working out of a simple thesis.

An Occasion for a Statesman

Josephus will later report that he maintained a copious correspondence with Agrippa, including preliminary drafts of *War*'s volumes, as he was composing the work in Rome in the 70s (*Life* 362-67). If any such collaboration occurred, the king must have accepted, at least after the fact, the way that

^a Essential are Lindner 1972: 21-25; Rajak 1991; Runnalls 1997.

^b E.g., Garrity 1998; Pelling 2000: 112-22; already Jebb (1907: 359-445) for the main issues.

Josephus presents him here. It is inherently likely that Josephus makes him look like a better orator, in retrospect, than he was on the occasion.^c

The present speech shows a highly cultured and politically astute native king trying his best to fulfil the statesman's most essential task:^d to draw the populace back from thoughts of war, *no matter how legitimate the provocations* might seem. The occasion and the oration do not seem precisely matched, however. Although resentment against Gessius Florus has been steadily building in the preceding narrative, the people to whom the king is now appealing have just made it clear to him, as they have satisfied the tribune Neapolitanus, that *they do not seek war with Rome* (2.340). In fact, they wish to preclude any impression of rebelliousness by sending an embassy to Nero, pleading only for relief from the rapacious governor, Florus (2.342). It is not clear how Agrippa's learned speech on the futility of going to war, which dissects unsound motives and adduces cautionary tales to check a putative "longing for freedom" (2.355), confronts their demand for an embassy, for the express purpose of *removing suspicion* about hostile intentions (2.342).

Josephus seems fully aware of the problem: after patiently listening to the king's lengthy disquisition, the people remind Agrippa that this is all very well, but they *do not want to fight the Romans*, only Florus (2.402). Only then, in a brief afterthought (2.403), does Agrippa point out that some of their actions are *tantamount* to inviting war with Rome—rather undercutting the logic of his preceding assault on a drive toward radical freedom. Perhaps Josephus had crafted the speech as an independent exercise in declamation, and decided that this was the best available occasion to use his *tour de force*.

R. Laqueur (1970 [1920]: 256-57), followed by H. Lindner (1972: 21), argued that Agrippa's speech was inserted in a subsequent draft of *War 2*, the first version having included only 2.403-4 (the addendum in the current text) as Agrippa's brief response to the appeal for an embassy. At some later point, in Rome, Josephus received an empire-wide survey

of the legions' dispositions and opted to accommodate it here in a thorough revision of the speech, propagandistically. Were that the case, however, the long speech should have been inserted *after* the short one, for its opposition to choosing war must then assume what is spelled out only in the addendum (2.403-4): that non-payment of taxes and destroying the colonnade *amount to war*. And this scenario springs from Laqueur's view, which seems now untenable in the face of the evidence, that Josephus wrote the speech "in the Roman spirit" (1970 [1920]: 257).^e

An alternative explanation of the mismatch between context and content is that Josephus presents Agrippa as a politician deliberately creating a straw man, which he can then attack with full rhetorical force, as a way of winning over his audience. Still today this tactic is a staple of political speech-making: reconfigure a political opponent's view or an uncomfortable question from a journalist (e.g., on health care or conflicts abroad) in the most extreme terms, in order to rail against it fulsomely, hoping to win over observers who either do not notice the shifting target or consider it a legitimate *reductio ad absurdum* of the unwelcome challenge.

The Rhetoric of the Speech

Donna Runnalls (1997) provides a helpful analysis of the speech's rhetorical features (see also the following notes), beginning with the observation that its structure is standard (cf. Cicero, *Part.* 27-60): *exordium* (introduction: 2.345-47), *narratio* (statement of the case: 348-57), *confirmatio/argumentatio* (proof: 358-87), and *peroratio* (conclusion: 388-401). A problem, however, is that most of what Runnalls puts in the *peroratio* actually presents new issues and proofs (on possible allies, preserving Judean law, and the disastrous consequences of reprisals in other cities: 2.388-99). Lindner's proposed outline (1972: 21) rightly recognizes that this is still part of the "body" of the speech. We should perhaps restrict the conclusion, then, to 2.400-401, allowing the *argumentatio* to fill the rest. According

^c Cf. Rajak (1991: 129): "improving rather than realistically depicting the hapless Agrippa."

^d Cf. Eckstein 1995: 194-236 (on Polybius' time); Plutarch, *Mor.* [*Praec.*] 816a-824d; Swain 1996: 161-86.

^e See the perceptive observations to the contrary in Stern 1987: 76-77; Rajak 1991: 129-31.

to Cicero (*Part. 27*), the opening and closing of a speech are aimed at arousing the audience's emotion, which would clearly be the case in this revised arrangement: at 2.402, Agrippa bursts into tears, and temporarily wins over the audience (2.405).

Thus, the structure should perhaps be understood as follows:

<i>exordium</i> (introduction)	2.345-47
<i>narratio</i> (statement of the case)	2.348-57
<i>confirmatio/argumentatio</i> (proof)	2.358-99
<i>peroratio</i> (conclusion)	2.400-401

In this case, of the 57 Niese sections in the speech, 42 would be devoted to the *argumentatio*, reflecting the ancient view that this was the decisive part (Lausberg 1998: 160-61). This part also provides conspicuous parallels to Aelius Aristides' (second-century CE) review, in his encomium *To Rome*, of the "inhabited earth" and the former powers now subject to Rome, with the crucial difference that Aristides' encomiastic tone is replaced here by Agrippa's cold realism (see further below).

The Stability of the Empire?

Agrippa's speech has understandably been mined for its references to provincial administration and the disposition of the legions.^f In the latter regard, it is generally held that Josephus reflects the situation at his own time of writing (ca. 74-75 CE), rather than in the summer of 66 when Agrippa reportedly gave the speech.^g That conclusion is, however, doubtful. If in some cases his numbers of legions match conditions in 74 but not 66 CE (2.377), in others the reverse is the case (2.369, 375). If he puts eight legions in Germany, whereas there were only seven in 66 CE, he is nonetheless giving the earlier and standard configuration, temporarily put into disarray by the campaigns of Corbulo, the Roman civil war, the Judean war, and the Batavian revolt through the 60s, but then normalized again by Vespasian. The time of Agrippa's speech was

far from normal for the rest of the empire; indeed he seems to be trying to create the impression of a norm where none existed.

By specifying stable numbers of legions in each province, but without identifying them (which he could easily have done if he had used the official Roman document that scholars imagine),^h Josephus' Agrippa strengthens the illusion that the speech tries to create: that the inhabited earth now reposes in static tranquillity under Roman hegemony. The king has two ostensible motives for indicating numbers of legions: (a) to show that, since territories that are home to ferocious warriors now submit to small forces of Romans, the Judeans must do the same, and (b) to show that the Judeans in fact have much less reason to complain than provinces such as Egypt, which must deal with the onerous maintenance of legions (*and* grain supply) among their heavier provincial obligations.

The stable numbers of legions and happily accepted tax arrangements asserted by Agrippa conceal, however, the seething resentment and rebel initiatives that characterized much of the empire's first century, which was marked by rebellions in Thrace (13-10 BCE), Pannonia (6-9 CE), Germany (9 CE), Africa under Tacfarinas (17-24 CE, again in 45-46 CE), the Aedui and Treveri in Gaul under Sacrovir and Florus (21 CE), Britain under Caratacus and then Boudicca (48-61 CE), Judea (4 BCE, 6 CE, 66-73 CE), and of course Batavia (69-70 CE)—known to Josephus and his audience, even if after the story time of Agrippa's speech. Under the rubric of "unrest" one would need also to include the ongoing tensions with Parthia over Armenia before Corbulo's settlement of 63 CE, the mutinies and conspiracies of Roman generals culminating in the great civil war of 68-69 CE, and indeed the low-grade resentment of Rome across much of the Greek East, which comes through clearly—as the statesman's responsibility to manage—in Josephus' contemporaries Plutarch and Dio Chrysostom.ⁱ

If Josephus had identified the legions, that would have necessitated commenting on their constant movements in the mid- to late 60s, as a result of

^f Basic studies of legionary dispositions in general include Ritterling 1925, 1927; Parker 1992 [1958]; and Le Bohec and Wolff 2000; on the disposition described by Josephus' Agrippa in relation to historical reality, Domaszewski 1892 and Saulnier 1991.

^g Lindner 1972: 22 n. 3; Vitucci 1974: 634 n. 6; Paul 1990: 81; Saulnier 1991: 199, 220; Parker 1992: 140 n. 1.

^h Gabba (1976-77: 190) observes that Josephus' military details, though probably based on official documents, would not have been difficult for someone with his political and military connections to have known.

ⁱ E.g., Plutarch, *Mor. [Praec.]* 813d-16a, 819a, 824e-f; Dio, *Orr.* 32, 38, 46.

emergency redeployments to deal with problems. It is essential to Agrippa's point, however, that he create the illusion of stability everywhere except Judea.

Josephus' outline of the legions' disposition is also relevant for the scholarly debate concerning the Romans' "frontier" strategy.^j In this regard it is striking that he gives much more attention to the army's role as pacifier of the area in which it is based (2.367-70, 375, 377)—while at the same time insisting that the nations are indeed pacific under Roman rule—than to any frontier-defense function. One explanation of the curiosity that Josephus does not mention the legions of Judea's nearest neighbor, Syria, may be this focus on internal pacification, for in many cases (Britain, Spain, Gaul, Egypt) he stresses that legions dominated areas that were naturally cut off from the outside world—and so faced no external threat.

Ironic Possibilities

Although Josephus' Agrippa introduces thematic clusters that will reoccur in speeches by other characters,^k especially the notion that God must have allowed Roman power to arise (2.390; cf. 5.367), this one has particular features that uniquely suit its speaker and its location at this early stage, before the outbreak of war. The king will spare no effort (as he notes, 2.401) to steer the people away from war, even if (as the literary audience knows) this means building a rhetorical case that overlooks inconvenient facts. That many of his assertions are either debatable or clearly false (see the notes) creates the conditions for irony: the literary audience can see the distance between the author's voice and what author and audience know to be true. Josephus' own later speech will likewise manipulate

history, there to claim that the Judeans have never succeeded by taking up arms (5.390). This is the kind of deception that Plutarch considers necessary at times, in addressing the masses, to keep them on a peaceful course (Mor. [Praec.] 800-804, 813b-c, 818e-19b).

This ironic quality frustrates efforts to read the speech as an ideological program, much less as Flavian propaganda.^l Even the ironic elements are shaped to serve a brutally realistic rhetorical posture, which contains no hint of Rome-messianism. It is, rather, strongly reminiscent of Thucydides' Melian Dialogue (Thucydides 5.86-111; cf. also 1.42.1-2; 1.76; 3.56), in Agrippa's clear-eyed focus on what is *advantageous* for the nation. He feels great compassion for his people (2.337), and agrees that Florus is intolerable (2.348, 352); he also considers the idea of political independence a noble one (2.355). Significantly, Josephus does not have the king adopt his own sophisticated view, that the nation has always been properly and best governed by a local priestly aristocracy (rejecting kingship), well able to prosper under remote foreign rule; Agrippa does not try to finesse the meaning of "freedom" as Josephus does.^m For him it is a cold but ineluctable fact that the Judeans, like every other Mediterranean people, have now lost their freedom and indeed become "slaves" (2.357-58, 365). They must, however, make the best of it—as their equally proud and better-positioned neighbors do—if they are to survive.

This is therefore not a speech that we can imagine Josephus' character giving, and it is very different from the one he later crafts for himself as priestly counselor (5.362-419), though that will also be a *tour de force*. Josephus no doubt expected, and deserved, admiration for his ability to create such a plausible oration for a character as distinctive as Agrippa, a service he will later perform with gusto even for Eleazar ben Ya'ir of Masada (7.341-88).

^j E.g., Luttwak 1976; Mann 1979; Isaac 1992; Whitaker 1994; Mattern 1999: 81-122; overview in Whitaker 2004: 28-46.

^k See Lindner 1972: 40-48 and Rajak 1991: 124-25.

^l Pace Saulnier 1991 in particular, but also the established tendency of older scholarship.

^m Cf. 1.169; 2.22, 90-92 with Mason 2008b.

(16.4) 345 If ²¹⁶⁵ I saw²¹⁶⁶ all of you rushing to make war on the Romans,²¹⁶⁷ and not the purest²¹⁶⁸ and sincerest [element]²¹⁶⁹ of the populace preferring to make peace, I would neither have come to you here nor dared to give advice; for every speech in the service of doing what is necessary²¹⁷⁰ is pointless whenever the consensus²¹⁷¹ of all those listening is for the worse [course].²¹⁷² 346 But seeing that some are provoked²¹⁷³ by an age [in life] inexperienced²¹⁷⁴ in the evils that accompany war,²¹⁷⁵ some by an irrational hope²¹⁷⁶ for freedom,²¹⁷⁷ and a few by a certain greed and—should matters become confounded—the

Agrippa II
addresses
crowd in *xystus*

²¹⁶⁵ Josephus will give the chief priest Jesus, addressing the Idumeans, the same opening phrase (4.240): “If I saw [εἰ μὲν ἑώρων] . . . , whereas in fact. . . .” Beginning the exordium of a speech with an unreal condition introduced by εἰ as here (“If it were the case that X, then perhaps I might have agreed to Y”), was common among the Greek orators: Lysias *Orr.* 16, 32; Isocrates, *Antid.* 15, 18; *Hel. enc.* 2.1; and most famously Demosthenes, *Phil.* 1, with its crescendo of “if” clauses; *Androt.* 4.1. Cf. Xenophon, *Anab.* 5.6.30; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 3.28; 17.1; Lucian, *Merc.* 5. As always, Josephus shows himself fully aware of rhetorical convention.

²¹⁶⁶ Josephus uses the imperfect indicative (εἰ μὲν ἑώρων), followed by ἄν in the apodosis (“I would neither have come. . . .”), to stress non-fulfillment of the action in question (Smyth §: 2292).

²¹⁶⁷ Agrippa appears to have set up an artificial context so that he can deploy the full range of arguments against war with Rome. According to the immediately preceding narrative, the people have been clamoring for an embassy to Nero (2.342-44), to make clear that the current unrest was caused only by Florus, emphatically *not* by a desire for war with Rome. See Excursus.

²¹⁶⁸ Or “most guiltless.” The phrase, “the purest element of the populace” (τοῦ δήμου τὸ καθαρώτατον) is used similarly by Dionysius (*Ant. rom.* 10.8.1—contrasting the charge of a mob) and Philo (*Flac.* 141).

²¹⁶⁹ Josephus uses the adjective εἰλικρινής (here superlative) only here in *War*, elsewhere at *Ant.* 19.321. Runnalls (1997: 747) observes that the double superlative sharpens the contrast between the groups of which Agrippa approves and those (beginning in 2.346) of whom he disapproves.

²¹⁷⁰ The phrase τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν is formulaic: Aesop, *Fab.* 336; Xenophon, *Oec.* 12.13; Demosthenes, *Olynth.* 1.6; 2.3; 3.3, 11; *Chers.* 51; *Phil* 3.4; *Cor.* 246; *Epit.* 18; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 70.9.

²¹⁷¹ See the note to this important theme, the opposite of στάσις, at 2.166 (“concord”).

²¹⁷² This phrase (πρὸς τὸ χειρὸν) anticipates its opposite at the end of 2.346: Agrippa can speak about what he considers “advantageous” (τὸ συμφέρον or τὸ βέλτιον; see the note there) because not everyone has determined to opt for the worse. Cf. the use of these near opposites

in Aristotle, *Magn. mor.* 1.34.17; *Pol.* 1316b; Chrysippus, *Frag. log. phys.* 989; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 6.62.1; Philo, *Jos.* 75; Dio, *Or.* 68.5.

²¹⁷³ Or “prompted, aroused, stirred” (παροξύνω). See the note to this dramatic verb at 2.8. The translation here casts in the passive voice, for the sake of English idiom, what the Greek has in the active (“Seeing that an age [in life] inexperienced in the evils of war some, an irrational hope for freedom some, and a certain greed a few . . . provokes . . .”). As in Thucydides (5.99) and Polybius (11.32.5-7), so also here this verb often indicates behavior driven by emotion (see “irrational hope” in this section) rather than rational analysis.

²¹⁷⁴ For inexperience on account of age, cf. *Ant.* 7.336. On Josephus’ treatment of hot-headed youth in general see the note to “youths” at 2.225.

²¹⁷⁵ Greek τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ κακῶν is formulaic. Cf. κακὰ πολέμου at 1.304; 6.13.

²¹⁷⁶ Agrippa reinforces his statesman’s perspective by invoking rationality as criterion of political behavior, a legacy of Thucydides and Polybius. The former exposed the foolishness of hope based in external assistance (cf. *War* 2.389), in the Melian dialogue (5.103), and in general offered a profound psychological analysis of political action (Mader 2000: 23-54). Polybius found that “time after time, the leaders of weaker states had led them into unnecessary and disastrous wars with the Romans, acting from strategic mismanagement, and/or simple irrationality and passion” (Eckstein 1995: 234). The adjective ἀλόγιστος appears in significant contexts also at *War* 3.308; 4.123; 7.7; cognates at 1.335, 522; 2.389 (also in Agrippa’s speech), 412; 4.170, 211, 240; 5.426; 6.176, 179, 197. For Polybius as Josephus’ chief model in this respect, see Eckstein 1990: 190-92, 195-98. This theme will be completed with Agrippa’s notice about “your tempers” at 2.401.

²¹⁷⁷ See the note to “freedom” at 2.259. The entire *War* is in some respects a meditation on the meaning of political freedom, and Agrippa’s speech deals with the issue in concentrated form: ἐλευθερία and cognates appear 11 times in this relatively brief space, while the opposite semantic field, “slavery” (δουλεία), balances it with 12 appearances—mostly towards the end of the speech (2.375, 377-79). Rather than examining the true

[prospect of] profit²¹⁷⁸ from those who are weaker;²¹⁷⁹ in order that these very ones might be recalled to their senses²¹⁸⁰ and reverse course, and that the good might not share the harvest²¹⁸¹ of the bad counsel²¹⁸² of a few, I reckoned that I ought to gather you all together in the same place, to say what I consider to be advantageous.²¹⁸³

347 Now, let no one create disorder for me if what he hears is not to his liking!²¹⁸⁴ For those who have begun rushing irremediably²¹⁸⁵ into the rebellion,²¹⁸⁶ it remains possible also after my exhortation to hold the same views, whereas on my side the speech falls through—also for those who wish to hear [it]—if there is not silence from everyone.²¹⁸⁷

meaning of freedom, as other members of the élite have implicitly done in conversation with each other (2.25, 90), and as Josephus does implicitly with War's literary audience, for the purposes of this speech Agrippa accepts the rebel premise that Judean lot *is* indeed one of political "slavery" to Rome. He does not disguise the fact, but presents compelling reasons for accepting this humble situation as the most advantageous, and indeed the only safe course for the people.

²¹⁷⁸ Runnalls (1997: 748) points out that these 3 (by her count, 4) items are listed in such a way as to emphasize the last and most ignoble: profit.

²¹⁷⁹ Although the prospect of profiting from upheaval recalls a line in the prologue (1.5), that had specifically to do with military profits (presumably including donatives; see the note there). The reference here is more general, anticipating the frequently described rebel leaders' exploitation by brute force of weaker fellow-Judeans, once the central government is removed (e.g., 4.335, 357, 379; 6.202-3; cf. 4.587 of the Roman civil war).

²¹⁸⁰ See the note to "irrational hope" in this section. This verb (σωφρονίζω) stressing rational behavior reoccurs at 2.493; 3.308 (connected, as here, with ἀλόγιστος), 445. The cognate σωφρονέω is at 2.419, 128 in the near context below (also 5.419; 6.219, 234; 7.83).

²¹⁸¹ This verb (παρπολαύω) occurs only here in Josephus and is rarely attested before him (Aesop, *Fab.* 29; Chrysippus, *Frag. log. phys.* 1157; Philo, *Abr.* 249; *Ios.* 21). It fits a pattern (see Introduction) of Josephus' using words that are becoming popular in the Greek revival (cf. Plutarch, *Frag.* [Sandbach] 36; Galen, *Us. part.* [Kühn] 3.719; Lucian, *Alex.* 45; Aristides, *Lept.* [Dindorf] 166); in this he is often heralded by Philo, though there is no question of dependence in content.

²¹⁸² This (κακοβουλία) is distinctive Josephan vocabulary; see the note at 2.210 above and 2.399 below.

²¹⁸³ Or "beneficial, productive, expedient, in your interest." See the note to "interest either" at 2.343, on the disparity between Agrippa's interests and those of the people; also the note to "safety" at 2.401—the end of the speech, creating an *inclusio*. Josephus' phrasing here (εἰπεῖν ἃ νομίζω συμφέρειν) recalls a distinctive construction in Demosthenes' deliberative speeches,

e.g.: Σχεδὸν εἴρηχ' ἃ νομίζω συμφέρειν (*Or.* 3.36); [πειράσομαι περὶ αὐτῶν] εἰπεῖν ἃ νομίζω συμφέρειν (*Phil.* 4.1; cf. *Meg.* 32; *Exord.* 4.1; 52.1).

Josephus' use of the verb συμφέρω in this deliberative context—where grand themes of national freedom (vs. slavery), justice, and honor are at stake—places his Agrippa firmly in the tradition of the Greek statesman. Thucydides had brought home the brutal truth that only states with equivalent power may discuss what is *just*; weaker states are obliged to do what is necessary for their own safety (5.89). The conflicting claims of "the just" (τὸ δίκαιον) over against "the expedient, advantageous" (τὸ συμφέρον) provide the main theme of his Melian Dialogue (5.86-111; cf. also 1.42.1-2; 1.76; 3.56). Polybius, another of Josephus' models, prefers to contrast "what is honorable" (τὸ καλόν: 8.11.7; 15.24.4-5; 21.32c.1-3; 24.12.2; 38.1.9) to what is expedient; cf. also Plutarch, *Mor.* [*Praec.*] 805c, 808b, 817e. Polybius often presents these options as polar opposites, between which statesmen must try to steer. Thus, his Philopoemen uniquely managed to combine both (21.32c). Aristaenus, in criticizing Philopoemen's policy of both resisting and complying with Rome, as the situation required, takes a position rather like Agrippa's here: "There were, he said, two objectives in all governance, the honorable and the advantageous (τὸ τε καλόν καὶ τὸ συμφέρον). Whereas the achievement of honor is certainly what those in government should aim at, *when it lies in their power to do so*, for those who are powerless it is necessary to resort to the attainment of their advantage." Agrippa will argue, similarly, that the Judeans have long since lost all possibility of an honorable independence and must now deal with the reality of submission. See also Josephus' description of Ananus' policy below (2.651).

²¹⁸⁴ Lit. "if he should not hear to his liking/pleasure." The phrase πρὸς ἡδονήν is amply attested, but Josephus is its biggest extant user (23 occurrences) before his contemporary Plutarch (about 40).

²¹⁸⁵ Josephus' hand is evident in this characteristic adverb; see the note to "irremediable suffering" at 2.233.

²¹⁸⁶ See note at 2.39.

²¹⁸⁷ Cf. Socrates' famous demand for quiet in *Apol.* 27b, 30c, and Demosthenes (*Exord.* 4.1): "For it often

348 Although, then,²¹⁸⁸ I know that many are waxing tragic²¹⁸⁹ on the abuses by the procurators, and with encomia²¹⁹⁰ on freedom,²¹⁹¹ before scrutinizing who you are, and against whom you take it upon yourselves²¹⁹² to make war,²¹⁹³ I shall first unravel²¹⁹⁴ this entanglement²¹⁹⁵ of justifications.²¹⁹⁶ **349** For if, on the one hand, you are avenging yourselves on those causing injury,²¹⁹⁷ why do you treat *freedom* as sacred?²¹⁹⁸ If, on the other hand, you consider it intolerable to be a slave,²¹⁹⁹ then [leveling] blame at the governors is superfluous; being a slave would be equally shameful even if they were showing restraint!²²⁰⁰

happens that the same person is wrong on one point and right on another; and so by shouting him down when displeased you may perhaps deprive yourselves of many useful ideas, whereas by attending with decorum and in silence, you will act on every sound proposal, and if you think someone is making a foolish suggestion, you will ignore it.” Dio Chrysostom repeatedly appeals for a fair hearing, especially in addressing rambunctious Alexandrians (*Or.* 32.1-2, 24, 33) but even before a hostile audience in his home city of Prusa (*Or.* 46.1); he too gives reasons why a patient hearing is in the audience’s interest (cf. 36.24-5; 38.4-5).

²¹⁸⁸ Josephus’ Agrippa moves from the *exordium* to the *narratio* of his speech: the brief statement of his case (2.348-57). Runnalls (1997: 748) observes that this section comprises “controlled periodic sentences,” which follow the accepted standard (Demetrius, *Eloc.* 16) by not exceeding 4 clauses.

²¹⁸⁹ As in Josephus’ only other use of the verb *τραγωδῶ* (*Ant.* 16.346), the sense is both sarcastic and ironic: sarcastic because the speaker implies colorful and mournful exaggerations on the part of others, for the sake of creating a gripping drama; ironic because Josephus as author has in fact presented the whole story, especially the abuses of the procurators thus far, precisely *as* a tragic spectacle (see Introduction and 1.9-12). This is one of many hints to the audience that Agrippa’s speech is offered as a *tour de force*, challenging or denying even what the character himself knows to be true for the sake of steering the people to safety. Cf. Plutarch’s criticism of Theopompus (*Dem.* 21.2).

²¹⁹⁰ See the note to “encomium” at 1.2. Like “waxing tragic,” this language suggests pointless rhetorical show instead of the practical political wisdom that the statesman Agrippa is about to offer.

²¹⁹¹ See the notes to “freedom,” a bedrock theme of the *War*, at 2.259 and 2.346 above.

²¹⁹² This nuance of *ἐπιχειρῶ* is suggested by the context, though the sense might simply be the more common “undertake, make an attempt at [war-making].”

²¹⁹³ These basic questions, which underlie the entire speech from 2.355, are brought into focus at 2.355-57, 361-65.

²¹⁹⁴ Or “decouple, separate” (*διαζεύγνυμι*); see the note to “split up” at 2.108.

²¹⁹⁵ See the note at 2.55: this is the exception to Josephus’ normal use of *συμπλοκή* for military engagements.

²¹⁹⁶ Or “pretexts.” This (plural of *πρόφασις*) is characteristic Josephan language concerning causation; see the note to “justification” at 2.285. The clever untangling of opponents’—or the recalcitrant masses’—claims, in order to treat each one separately and also expose contradictions among them, was a common rhetorical technique: cf. 2.323 above; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 38.21-32 (scrutinizing alleged reasons for Nicomedia’s hostility toward Nicea). Josephus will use this kind of argument with great frequency in the apologetic middle section of the *Apion*, on which see Barclay in BJP 10.

²¹⁹⁷ That is, on the procurators, especially Florus. The phrase *ἄμύνω* + accusative participle of *ἀδικέω* is classical (Thucydides 1.43.4; 4.98.2; Xenophon, *Mem.* 2.1.14; Plato, *Leg.* 737d; Polybius 4.26.4; Philo, *Abr.* 213; *Mos.* 1.40, 111), and paralleled elsewhere in Josephus (*Ant.* 11.281; 13.381; 16.298).

²¹⁹⁸ Although Agrippa’s challenge does not seem to suit his immediate audience, it does confront an ideology of freedom that Josephus introduced at 2.118 (see note to “God” there), which Agrippa may assume his present audience also rejects, given their request for an embassy to prove that they have no intention of rebelling (2.342).

²¹⁹⁹ See the note to “freedom” at 2.345. Understanding submission to Rome as either slavery or potential slavery (if local ancestral constitutions could not be sufficiently asserted and cherished) lies close to the surface of a number of passages in Josephus’ Greek contemporaries, Plutarch and Dio (*Or.* 31.113-14, 125); cf. Swain 1996: 209. Dio (*Or.* 34.51) remarks that simmering disputes over primacy among cities of Asia Minor are nothing but a competition among fellow-slaves for pre-eminence.

²²⁰⁰ Of course, this compelling logic overlooks the standard interweaving of these two motives by resistance groups under foreign occupation (e.g., America, India, and Africa under Britain): a principled desire for liberty (from anyone) may well remain nearly dormant under

*Bad governors
are not the
ruling power*

350 But examine closely how slight the case is—even according to each of these [arguments]—for making war. First, as for the accusations against the procurators:²²⁰¹ it is necessary to cultivate,²²⁰² and not goad,²²⁰³ the authorities. **351** Whenever you fashion great echoes of scandal²²⁰⁴ from these minor shortcomings,²²⁰⁵ it is to your own detriment that you prosecute²²⁰⁶ the objects of scandal,²²⁰⁷ after leaving off harming you covertly, and with shame, they ruin you openly.²²⁰⁸ Nothing repels the blows as well as tolerating them,²²⁰⁹ and to those who cause injury the quiet [disposition] of those being injured becomes a distraction.²²¹⁰

benevolent rule, as long as things are obviously improving for the native population; the situation will be quickly aggravated by corrupt or brutal governors or harsh policies, and the call for national *liberation* triggered by such perceived oppression will not be as self-contradictory as Agrippa implies. But the speech that Josephus crafts for him is meant to dazzle the literary audience.

²²⁰¹ Discontent with Rome's governors was widespread in the provinces. Dio's second Tarsian oration (*Or.* 34) deals directly with the problem of handling an arrogant and abusive governor. The Tarsians were famous for their prosecutions of governors (34.9), but in this case Dio advises them to come to terms with the man or face even worse prospects (34.40-41); cf. Swain 1996: 216-19. If at all possible, one should figure out a way to bear the injustices of foreign rule.

²²⁰² Greek θεραπεύειν γάρ . . . χρῆ τὰς ἐξουσίας. Cf. Plutarch (*Mor.* [*Princ. philos.*] 776a-b): one should speak to those in power earnestly and attentively, or with a view to their well-being (λιπαρῆς τῶν ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ καὶ θεραπευτικός). Agrippa's [Josephus'] verb is well chosen for its many nuances (see the note to "attentiveness" at 2.2); he does not say that rulers should be *flattered* or indulged or pardoned, though he leaves open such possibilities.

²²⁰³ See the note at 2.316.

²²⁰⁴ This is the only attested example of this word (ἐξονειδισμός) in all ancient Greek literature, quite possibly of Josephus' coinage. We propose "echoes" [of scandal] to represent the prefix: a drawing out or enlargement. Although the unprefixated form is amply attested elsewhere, Josephus has it only once (*Ant.* 19.319). Although unique, the noun is a natural formation of a result-noun from the verb ἐξονειδίξω, which is found in the tragedians (Sophocles, *Philoc.* 382; *Oed. col.* 990; *El.* 288; Euripides, *Phoen.* 1676; *Iph. aul.* 305) and occasionally in the Hellenistic historians, but noticeably favored by Josephus (6.124; *Ant.* 5.65; 15.81) and his contemporary, Plutarch (9 times).

²²⁰⁵ Or "slightest mistakes" (τῶν μικρῶν ἀμαρτημάτων). Cf. Pythagoras (*Carm. aur.* 7): "Do not hate your friend for the sake of some minor shortcoming (ἀμαρτάδος εἴνεκα μικρῆς)"; cf. Isocrates, *Call.* 43; Xenophon, *Mem.* 3.9.7; *Anab.* 5.8.20; Plato, *Lach.* 184b;

Aristotle, *Pol.* 1303b, 1320b. Agrippa's audience might have responded with Lysias (*Alc.* 1.2): "His failings are neither trivial nor worthy of pardon (οὐ γὰρ μικρὰ τὰ ἀμαρτήματα οὐδὲ συγγνώμης ἄξια); nor do they furnish hope that he will be better in the sequel." Agrippa's special pleading is obvious, for the misdeeds of Florus related by Josephus have been anything but trivial.

²²⁰⁶ The verb ἀπελέγχω is characteristic of Josephus, as it is of Philo, who accounts for 8 of the 27 attestations before Josephus. Josephus has it 8 times, but in *War* only here and at 2.621.

²²⁰⁷ Or "you vindicate" or "expose/denounce/convict" "those who are the subjects of reproach/scandal against yourselves." The Greek syntax (καθ' ἑαυτῶν τοὺς ὀνειδιζομένους ἀπελέγγετε) allows a number of possibilities. The finite verb most often means "refute thoroughly" (as in the other occurrence in *War*—2.620; cf. *Ant.* 11.56), but it can mean the opposite ("vindicate") or something close ("prove to be [something good]"), as at *Ant.* 4.89; 10.133; 12.20. The verb can also be absolute ("procure a conviction") or transitive; although the latter is indicated by the accusative object, that option leaves the precise relationship with the opening genitive clause unclear. If the translation here is valid, the reference would be to the Judeans' intention to send an embassy to Rome to accuse Florus—an intention that prompts Agrippa's speech (2.342-43).

²²⁰⁸ The verb is in the present tense, presumably because Agrippa is dispensing gnomic wisdom about the way of the world, rather than a prescription specific to the Roman governors.

²²⁰⁹ Josephus' Agrippa rhetorically adopts the approach of Prov 15:1 ("A soft answer turns away wrath"; cf. 25:21-22) and of Jesus in the gospels: "Do not resist the worthless fellow: If someone strikes you on the right cheek, turn the other one to him also" (Matt 5.39). Josephus presents this, however, not as universally valid advice, but as Agrippa's clever effort to calm the masses while quietly rejecting their demand for an embassy to Rome (2.342-43), which is the standard recourse for dealing with oppressive governors. From the opening episode of *War* (1.35-38) Josephus illustrates and emphasizes Judean military valor, aroused by a foreign ruler's oppression. Even in the case of Rome, he has thus far

352 Stipulate that the underlings²²¹¹ of the Romans are incorrigibly²²¹² harsh. In no way do *all* Romans injure you—certainly not Caesar, against whom you are choosing war. For it is not [the case] that any worthless [fellow]²²¹³ has come as a result of instruction from them;²²¹⁴ nor, at any rate, are those from the west looking closely upon those in the east.²²¹⁵ It is by no means easy there to hear quickly from here.²²¹⁶ **353** Indeed, it is perverse to make war against many because of one person; because of trivial causes against those who are so great—and when they do not even know what we are blaming them for!²²¹⁷

354 There might indeed be a swift redress²²¹⁸ of our complaints, for the same procurator does not remain in perpetuity, and it is likely that the successors to come will be more restrained.²²¹⁹ Once the war has been set in motion,²²²⁰ however, it is not easy either to put it aside or to sustain it²²²¹ without calamities.²²²²

355 Certainly, the longing for freedom²²²³ now is untimely; it *was* necessary to struggle in the past for the sake of not throwing it away.²²²⁴ The experience of slavery²²²⁵ is indeed

recounted the procurators' outrages with deep feeling, describing with evident sympathy the efforts of Judean leaders to indict bad procurators (2.240-46, 280, 333). Agrippa, however, is caught between his refusal to support an embassy and his knowledge that this will likely increase anger (2.343); hence his extraordinary advice (on the mass political level) to turn the other cheek.

²²¹⁰ This is the only occurrence of διατροπή in Josephus. It is a Polybian term, attested before Josephus *only* in Polybius (1.16.4, 42.11, 53.7; 3.53.5, 85.8; 5.57.7, 60.10; 8.5.3; 10.14.4; 11.6.9; 16.8.10, 33.4) and Diodorus (17.41.7; 19.81.2; 32.6.3); cf. also Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 38.4.

²²¹¹ See the note at 2.41. This word (ὕπηρέτης) for those normally called procurators or governors, who indeed hold complete power over non-citizen local populations, is not merely descriptive but pejorative, in keeping with the tone of the sentence.

²²¹² The adverb (ἀνηκέστως) is Josephan language. See the note to "irremediable suffering" at 2.233.

²²¹³ See the notes at 2.156, 273.

²²¹⁴ That is, their wretched behavior was certainly not part of their instruction from Rome.

²²¹⁵ Lit., "Nor at any rate are those from the evening-land (οἱ ἄφ' ἑσπέρας) looking closely upon those under the rising sun (τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν ἀνατολήν)."

²²¹⁶ Information would normally travel between Rome and Judea by sea, which was much faster than overland routes. For the uncertainties of such communication routes, especially outside the sailing season, see 2.203: news of Gaius' own death, on one ship, allegedly reached Judea 27 days before the same emperor's death warrant for his Syrian legate.

²²¹⁷ Swain (1996: 200) points out that Dio's harsh criticisms of Roman governors do not implicate the *princeps* in Rome.

²²¹⁸ See the note at 2.323.

²²¹⁹ This reflection anticipates Agrippa's later advice to wait patiently for a new governor (2.406). Those later appeals, however, will immediately undo the good will he has won with his long speech, and will result in his expulsion from Jerusalem. In light of Josephus' narrative to this point it does not seem an unreasonable hope—governors as recent as Festus, in the early 60s, having performed ably (2.271)—, though the general run from Cumanus onward have offered little promise of better governance. Agrippa is evidently trying urgently to calm popular sentiment by any available means.

²²²⁰ The collocation κινέω . . . πόλεμον is common in *War* (7 of its 10 occurrences in Josephus); see also 2.362 (still within Agrippa's speech) and 2.408 (Josephus' editorial comment shortly afterward). It counts as distinctive Josephan phrasing because, although it is found in earlier authors (Thucydides 6.34.4; Plato, *Resp.* 566e; Demosthenes, *Phil.* 3.47; Posidonius in Athenaeus 12.542b; Diodorus 29.7.1; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 8.2.2, 4.4; Memnon, *Frag.* 18, 31, 36 [Müller]), they do not use it nearly as often.

²²²¹ Although Josephus uses βασιτάζω 32 times, 30 of these are in *Ant.* 1-15; this is the only occurrence in *War*.

²²²² A programmatic term (συμφορά), enhancing the tragic tone, in *War* and in bk. 2; see the notes at 1.9; 2.286. The remarkable trait of the most respected aristocratic leaders, who will all be out of the picture by the middle of *War*, is that they (alone) would have been able to pursue either outcome—a forceful campaign or terms of surrender—with honor and dignity (cf. 4.320).

²²²³ Josephus turns to the second of the preliminary themes introduced at 2.349. See the note to "freedom," a bedrock theme of the *War* and of Agrippa's speech, at 2.259.

²²²⁴ Josephus' Agrippa accepts the general ancient premise that it is noble to defend one's people to the

Too late for freedom

harsh, and the struggle not to initiate this is just.²²²⁶ **356** Yet the one who has once been subdued and then resists is not a freedom-lover but an obstinate slave.²²²⁷ At that time, accordingly, when Pompey was setting foot in the region,²²²⁸ it was necessary to do everything for the sake of not admitting the Romans.²²²⁹ **357** But our²²³⁰ forebears and their

extent of one's ability; some of the following examples mention other nations that did oppose the Romans for some time (notably Gaul [373], Spain [374], Germany [377]). But the Judeans did not even do that at the appropriate time (63 BCE). Cf. his character's speech at 5.365: "If indeed it was noble to fight for the sake of freedom, it was necessary to do this at the first."

²²²⁵ See the note to "slave" at 2.349.

²²²⁶ Given Josephus' [Agrippa's] dependence upon Herodotus for much of what follows, the audience might imagine a tacit critique here in relation to Herodotus' theme of the (prevented) "enslavement of Hellas" (5.49; 7.168, 235; 8.22, 100, 142, 144; 9.45, 60): even the Judeans' ancestors were *not* like the Spartans, but accepted foreign enslavement. As the Persian Xerxes contemplates the invasion of Greece, he consults his exiled Spartan advisor Demaratus, who in a moment of frank speech advises him (Herodotus 7.102.2-3) that, whereas the reactions of other Greeks may be unpredictable, the Spartans "first, will never accept terms from you that bring slavery to Hellas; second, they will confront you in battle even if all the other Greeks should side with you. As for the number of men there are who can do this, do not ask. They will fight you whether they field [merely] a thousand, or less than this, or indeed more." The battle of Thermopylae (below) would certify Demaratus' assessment: the Spartiates fight to the death against overwhelming numbers to prevent the enslavement of their homeland. Similarly, the speech of Hermocrates the Syracusan, when he realizes that Athens plans to invade his homeland: "It is entirely excusable for the Athenians to seek to expand and to look out for their interests. I fault not those who want to rule, but those are ready to knuckle under. For it has always been as much a part of man's nature to protect himself against aggression as it is to rule those who give in to him" (Thucydides 4.61).

²²²⁷ See the note to "slave" at 2.349 and the similar expression (given to Titus) at 4.96. This recalls the advice of Mago the Bruttian to the Carthaginians (Polybius 36.5.2-3): although it would have been right for them to consider whether they wished to obey Rome's demands *before* they submitted, to do so after submitting was ignoble. Josephus' character will make the same point, in much the same language (5.365).

This word (φιλελεύθερος), which Josephus uses only in *War*, is as highly charged—and contested among the

main actors—as the larger freedom motif. Florus has used it sarcastically (2.299). In bk. 4 it will be used 3 times in rapid succession: by Ananus' colleague Jesus, praising the virtue but rejecting its applicability to the Idumeans, who claim it as they arrive to assist the rebels (4.246); by the narrator Josephus in his eulogy of Ananus and Jesus, though he makes it clear that the freedom-lover Ananus preferred to end the revolt peacefully (4.319); and by the narrator in relation to another upper-class victim of the rebels (4.335). The appearance of the term here drives home how free of such nuance or reinterpretation is Agrippa's use of "freedom." For the purpose of this speech to the masses, he simply accepts that "freedom" in the obvious sense *is* long lost, that Judeans *are* now slaves to Rome, and that this situation must be accepted. Agrippa thus recalls the harsh realities of Thucydides' Melian Dialogue (5.84-113) and perhaps also reformulates the values articulated by Virgil (*Aen.* 6.853): the art of Roman government consists in keeping the world in a state of peace by sparing the defeated and crushing the proud (*parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*).

²²²⁸ In 63 BCE, while settling the eastern Mediterranean after ending the pirate scourge and chasing Mithradates VI into hiding (where he would soon die), Pompey the Great inserted himself into the ongoing squabble between Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II, sons of Alexander Janneus and Queen Alexandra, who had appealed to his general Scaurus. Although Scaurus had initially favored Aristobulus, Pompey reportedly became exasperated at his behavior and endorsed Hyrcanus (ultimately as high priest, not king). The latter's followers admitted Pompey's forces to Jerusalem, but he then had to storm the temple compound, where Archelaus' partisans had barricaded themselves. It was Pompey who thus put Jerusalem and its land under tribute to Rome. Curiously, Plutarch's contemporary *Life of Pompey* does not mention the general's involvement in Judea (except incidentally, after the fact: 45.2, 4), but has him go straight from Syria to Nabatea (41-42). If Josephus' Roman audience did not know the story independently (cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.9: "The first Roman who subdued the Judeans . . . was Gnaeus Pompeius"), they would know it from *War*'s prologue (1.19) and the detailed account in his earlier narrative (1.125-58).

²²²⁹ Josephus elsewhere considers it a sign of weakness that the Judean leaders could not sort out their own

kings²²³¹—much better positioned than you, in finances, in bodies, and in souls²²³²—did not hold out against a small fraction of the Roman force.²²³³ And you, who have inherited the [art of] submitting as a tradition, who are so inferior in your affairs to those who first submitted,²²³⁴ *you* are setting yourselves against the entire *imperium Romanum*?²²³⁵

dynastic affairs, with Hyrcanus II turning to the Arabs while Aristobulus II appealed to Rome. *War*'s prologue remarks that “the descendants of [the Hasmoneans], by generating factions in pursuit of the kingship, drew the Romans and Pompey into their affairs” (1.19). The narrative likewise blames internal strife (στάσις) for the ease of Pompey's assault (1.142), and in a later speech Josephus' character will deplore the madness (μωρία) of this strife (5.396): “*God* subjected to the Romans those who were not worthy of freedom!”

Josephus' assumption that a state's leaders must sort out their internal tensions without involving greater powers matches the general perspective of Greek writers from Polybius (e.g., 24.11.6-8, 13.1-8) to Plutarch (*Mor.* [*Praec.*] 814f-815e): states must try to retain as much autonomy and constitutional freedom as possible. Polybius' Philopoemen addresses a situation similar to the one at issue here: the Romans are in the region and their domination is inevitable. But, he demands, “Should we not rather, as far as it is in our power, wrestle with them, and hold out until we are completely exhausted? . . . I know too well that the time will come when the Greeks will be forced to yield complete obedience to Rome; but do we wish this time to be as near as possible or as distant as possible? Surely as distant as possible.”

²²³⁰ MSS AL and Latin have “your,” in keeping with Agrippa's general 2nd-person rhetorical stance in this speech, over against his allegedly war-crazed audience. But here the 1st-person plural, favored by MSS PMVRC, also fits the subtler logic of his argument: he is indeed speaking now of “our forebears” with a certain respect. See the similar MS problems below (and the note to “our [people]” at 2.362).

²²³¹ Taken precisely, the plural is ironic: the simultaneous claim by Hyrcanus (designated king by his mother 1.120) and his younger brother Aristobulus (who declared himself king, 1.117) to be “kings” was what facilitated Roman domination of Judea (see preceding notes). But perhaps Josephus' Agrippa refers less carefully to “the time of our kings”—i.e., the period of independence.

²²³² Although the “bodies and souls” comparison may be dismissed as the rhetoric of the “good old days,” the general point remains that the Hasmonean state, having flourished independently (albeit with alliances) for decades, was better placed to resist foreign occupation than those who have been subject to Roman taxation and occupation for generations.

²²³³ In 67 BCE the Senate had given Pompey, along with greater *imperium*, a massive army and navy for combating piracy: 120,000 infantry, 5,000 cavalry, 500 ships, with 24 legates as commanders (Seager 2002: 45; Plutarch, *Pomp.* 26; slightly smaller forces in Appian, *Mithr.* 94). Although it is unclear how many legions and Syrian auxiliaries he brought with him into Judea, it is reported as a large force (1.133; *Ant.* 14.48); after taking Jerusalem, however, he reportedly left the entire region (Syria to the Euphrates and Palestine to the Egyptian border) under two legions, with Scaurus as governor, as he returned to Rome (1.157). However large Pompey's force in Judea was, the rhetorical claim here that it was only a fraction of the Roman army, whereas the rebels are ostensibly courting a conflict with Rome's entire army (next sentence), is somewhat misleading: the 4 legions that would fight the Judeans in 67-70 were a smaller proportion of the total at the time of Nero's death (viz., a 7th of 28 legions) than the proportion of the total that Pompey's forces represented in 63 BCE.

²²³⁴ This paragraph is closely paralleled in Josephus' later speech (5.395-97): “From what point did our slavery begin? . . . *God* subjected to the Romans those who were not worthy of freedom. They gave themselves up after being besieged for 3 months, though innocent of such offenses as yours . . . and possessing much better resources for the war.”

²²³⁵ See the note to this phrase, which reappears at 2.362 and 385 (in the same speech) at 1.3. Runnalls (1997: 748) notes that Josephus' ending of the *narratio* with a question is an effective way of leading into the next major part of the speech: the citation of proofs (*confirmatio*)—mainly showing the foolishness of opposing Rome by means of examples drawn from peoples who, though more powerful than the Judeans (so, much better positioned for revolt), often tolerate an even greater burden. This section, which she sees as continuing to 2.387, is marked by an effectively mixed style: strung-along descriptions of the nations that now submit to Rome, punctuated by short periods addressing the audience (Runnalls 1997: 749).

The same list of nations will be briefly reprised by Titus, in similar language (6.329-33), illustrating Josephus' creative control over both speeches. The survey of nations also anticipates Aristides' 2nd-cent. CE *To Rome*, though without the adulation of Rome found there.

*Tour of nations
enslaved to
Rome*

358 Even the Athenians²²³⁶—those who at one time handed over their city even to fire²²³⁷ for the freedom²²³⁸ of the Greeks;²²³⁹ those who pursued like a runaway on a single ship²²⁴⁰ the arrogant Xerxes,²²⁴¹ who had sailed across land and made a footpath across the sea,²²⁴² not yielding to the depths but leading the army that was broader than Europe;

²²³⁶ Josephus' Agrippa turns to a question he has anticipated at 2.348, after his distinction of complaints against offensive procurators and the struggle for freedom, and raised again in the preceding sentences (2.355-57), viz.: Who are *you* to make war on Rome? Lindner (1972: 22) regards this initial, brief list of nations (2.358-61a) as comparable in form to the longer survey below (2.365-87), which similarly illustrates the point just made (there, 2.361-64).

It would make sense to begin a survey of better-positioned peoples who accept Roman supremacy with the Athenians: the most important and influential former imperial power in the Mediterranean (after their leading role in the Greek defeat of the Persians), whose culture remains pervasive in Josephus' day, yet who are now fully integrated into the Roman empire. Under the principate Athens remained a free city, exempt from tribute and other imperial burdens and subject to its own council; it was allowed to keep vast amounts of its hinterland (Attica). Yet this freedom was clearly given at the pleasure of the emperor, and as so often, native rule brought its own grievances and even street riots (cf. Mommsen 1887: 1.300-303).

²²³⁷ Herodotus (8.40-41, 50-54) tells of the Athenians' abandoning their city (as did other local populations) in the face of Xerxes' advance, fleeing to Troezen, Aegina, and Salamis; then, of the Persians' sack and burning of Athens.

²²³⁸ See the note to "freedom," a basic theme of the *War* and of Agrippa's speech, at 2.259. For freedom as the ultimate Athenian motivation in the wars with Persia, see Herodotus 8.143.

²²³⁹ Athens was a prominent part of the alliance of Hellenes who had not "Medized" in the wake of Xerxes' advance, braced against his attempted invasions in 480 BCE. Although the fleet that faced Xerxes at Salamis was led by the Spartan Eurybiades son of Euryclides (Herodotus 8.42), the Athenians contributed by far the largest number of ships (Herodotus 8.40-47), and their generals Themistocles and Aristides reportedly exercised effective leadership, after Eurybiades wavered and contemplated abandoning the scene to defend the Peloponnese (Herodotus 8.55-63, 124).

²²⁴⁰ Josephus chooses the unflattering alternative account briefly mentioned by Herodotus. Herodotus' main story (8.107-17, esp. 110-17) relates that the Greeks opted *not* to pursue Xerxes, and that he (having left Mardonius with selections from the army to

make an attempt on the Peloponnese) marched away overland; they all crossed the Hellespont on ships when they found their bridges badly damaged. The alternative version (8.118) claims that Xerxes left his army behind, and with a small Persian escort boarded a Phoenician ship (hence "runaway"?) for Asia. Then, in a Jonah-like episode, in order to lighten the vessel during a terrible storm he ordered his countrymen to leap overboard; on landing, he presented the captain with a gold crown (for having saved his life) and then had him beheaded (for having lost so many Persian lives).

²²⁴¹ Xerxes, son of Darius Hystaspis and Atossa, became king of Persia (485-465 BCE) when Egypt was in revolt from Persian hegemony. His first main action was to subdue Egypt (284), after which—largely at the urging of "medizing" Greek élites and members of his court—he began 4 years of preparations for a renewal of his father's campaigns in Greece, with an army reported to number over 5 million (Herodotus 7.103). His extraordinary pride is portrayed by Herodotus in several places: see examples in the previous note, as also at Herodotus 7.101-104, where the king bursts into laughter at the suggestion that Greek armies comprising free citizens could possibly stand up to his massive forces of men fighting in fear of their master.

²²⁴² This is an artful, almost poetic and provisionally encomiastic, summary of Xerxes' feats in cutting the Athos canal, on the one hand, and bridging the Hellespont with pontoons for his armies to cross from Asia to Europe, on the other. The 2 km canal, which has left no visible remains (though archaeologists believe they have located it underground: Isserlin, Jones et al. 1994), was reportedly cut in 483-480 BCE across the narrowest part of the Athos peninsula in N Greece (Herodotus 7.22-24, 37, 117, 122). Herodotus (7.24) considered it an unnecessary act of pride, for ships could have been hauled overland for this distance. The footpath across the sea refers to Xerxes' famous pair of pontoon bridges across the Dardanelles strait in 480 BCE—replaced after destruction by a storm (Herodotus 7.33-36). Herodotus marvels at his pride here too, in punishing the sea with 300 lashes, branding, and various curses (7.35). This convenient pair illustrating the ostensible pinnacle of human power realized by Xerxes—to make men sail across land or walk across the sea, at will—is adduced by Dio Chrysostom with the moral qualifier that the Persian king could hardly be called most powerful if he was unable to control even his own anger (*Or.* 3.29-34).

having broken Asia so mighty²²⁴³ near tiny²²⁴⁴ Salamis²²⁴⁵—they are now slaves to the Romans,²²⁴⁶ and the orders from Italy administer the governess of Greece.²²⁴⁷

359 And the Lacedemonians,²²⁴⁸ after Thermopylae, Plataea,²²⁴⁹ and Agesilaus²²⁵⁰ having explored Asia,²²⁵¹ are fond of the same masters; **360** and the Macedonians, though still conjuring up²²⁵² Philip²²⁵³ and envisioning their domination of the world²²⁵⁴ being

²²⁴³ Among many others the Phoenicians and the Ionians, from Asia's W coast, had joined Xerxes' Persian armies as they marched W.

²²⁴⁴ Josephus normally uses the more common μικρός, which Niese prints also here (favoring MS P); but the principle of the "more difficult reading" suggests σμικρός (in MSS AMVR), which Josephus appears to use otherwise only at *Ant.* 14.71. The difference is significant because Josephus' Agrippa is rehearsing a story from Herodotus, who probably (depending upon text-critical judgments) uses the latter form exclusively—a neat flourish on Josephus' part, for a knowing audience.

²²⁴⁵ The island off the coast of Attica to which many of the Athenians had fled in abandoning their city before the Persian onslaught (480 BCE), where the Hellenic fleets put in, and where Xerxes suffered his major naval defeat, as he reportedly looked on from a throne on the hillside of Mt. Aegaleus on the mainland (Herodotus 8.50-96). It is noteworthy that Josephus includes this battle under *Athenian* achievements. Herodotus remarks (8.94) that whereas the Athenians *claimed* sole bragging rights, because the (Spartan-allied) Corinthians had fled before the heat of battle, the Corinthians claim (with general support) that they remained and faced the worst of it.

²²⁴⁶ See the note to "slave" at 2.349. This "slavery" to Rome on the part of the Greek cities is (within the narrative) for the benefit of Agrippa's audience in Jerusalem; he uses their language to compare other famous cities. As we see clearly in Josephus' contemporaries Plutarch and Dio, the Greek élites themselves had long since come to terms with Roman hegemony and reinterpreted this political slavery in advantageous ways.

²²⁴⁷ Athens emerged from the Persian wars with proven naval supremacy. She became the president of the new Delian League (from 478 BCE), which, although it was a real alliance at the beginning, gradually took on the dimensions of an Athenian empire; hence "governess of Greece." Athens' dominance led to the Peloponnesian wars described by Thucydides.

²²⁴⁸ It makes good sense for Josephus' Agrippa to turn next to the Spartans, who defeated Athens in the Peloponnesian wars, which followed the repulsion of Persia, and whose reputation for martial virtue and discipline was unparalleled (cf. Xenophon, *Agesilaus, Spartan Constitution*; Aristotle, *Pol.* 1263a-1275b *et passim*; Plutarch, *Sayings of the Spartans, Lycurgus, Lysander,*

Agesilaus). The Spartans turn up throughout the works of Josephus as the accepted benchmark of social, political, and martial virtues.

²²⁴⁹ That is: in spite of battles such as these, which helped create the Spartan legend. Although Thermopylae, Salamis, and Plataea were a sequence of battle sites, Josephus' Agrippa artfully distinguishes those that fall to the Spartans' credit from those claimed by the Athenians. At Thermopylae (gateway to the Greek heartland of Aetolia, Boeotia, and Attica), in 480 BCE the Spartan king Leonidas fought to the death against the advancing Persians, with 300 Spartiates and other picked men, after dismissing most of his Greek allies. Herodotus (7.224) makes much of the heroism displayed by both king and soldiers, even claiming to have learned all of their names. The following year at Plataea (in SE Boeotia, about 50 miles/80 km SSE of Thermopylae), a force led by the Spartan Pausanias finally halted the Persian incursion. Herodotus calls this "the finest victory of all those we know of" (9.64).

²²⁵⁰ Agesilaus (444-360 BCE), second son of King Zeuxidamus, came to the throne in 400 BCE upon the death of his older brother Agis, through the influence of the general Lysander (trumping the claim of Alcibiades' illegitimate son by the Spartan queen). His remarkable life, which required him to overcome a significant physical handicap, is the subject of surviving biographies by Xenophon, who fought with him, Cornelius Nepos, and most famously Plutarch.

²²⁵¹ Agesilaus' impressive campaign in Asia (398-396 BCE), reportedly urged by his general Lysander to protect the latter's clients from Persian domination, occupies a prominent place in the biographies by Xenophon (*Ages.* 1.6-35; 3.3-6) and Plutarch (*Ages.* 6-15). On Plutarch's narrative (and incidentally Xenophon's), see Shipley 1997: 116-210; on Agesilaus himself, Cartledge 1987.

²²⁵² This is the only occurrence of the verb φαντάζω (here middle) in Josephus, and we may assume that he uses it with intent. With the double sense of "bringing before one's eyes, imagining" and "seeing or dealing with ghosts (phantasms)," it is well chosen to convey a picture of Macedonians nostalgic for their glorious past while living under the reality of Roman rule.

²²⁵³ Presumably, Philip II (382-336 BCE), who made Macedon the great power in Greece by defeating regional challengers and establishing control of cities to the S,

disseminated²²⁵⁵ by Alexander,²²⁵⁶ tolerate such a great reversal²²⁵⁷ and make obeisance²²⁵⁸ before those to whom fortune has passed over.²²⁵⁹

361 But myriads of^{f2260} nations that are full of very bold talk²²⁶¹ in connection with

through a combination of military skill—using the revised Macedonian phalanx armed with the 6-meter pike (*sarisa*)—and a diplomatic network.

²²⁵⁴ Although the participle οἰκουμένη had a range of uses, it was typically supplied with an article to designate the “inhabited earth” (see Munn 2006: 178-202 for early Greek usage). In speaking of Roman hegemony, writers could either exaggeratedly identify it with the inhabited earth (cf. 2.388: “all those in the inhabited earth are Romans”) or, conceding the known regions beyond Roman control, distinguish the two (also in 2.388: “unless . . . beyond the Euphrates”). The heavy use of the term in Agrippa’s speech (9 times, only elsewhere in bk. 2 at 2.580) anticipates Aristides’ 2nd-cent. CE oration *To Rome*, which uses it 18 times to similar effect: to speak of Rome’s universal dominion. It was a singularly appropriate term for Josephus’ Agrippa to use of Alexander, whose empire had an unprecedented reach through Persia and all the way to India: οἰκουμένη was a concept closely linked with Alexander (Polybius 8.10.11; Diodorus 30.9.3; Strabo 1.3.3; [Demetrius], *Eloc.* 283; Plutarch, *Alex.* 52.5; 71.4; Arrian. *Anab.* 3.16.2). Shahar (2004: 256-67) argues that, although Josephus often follows Strabo in putting a Roman-political spin on οἰκουμένη (i.e., that Rome rules virtually all of it), his deeper personal and “Jewish” view of God’s hegemony over the inhabited earth shines through in places.

²²⁵⁵ Given the rarity of the compound verb παρασπείρω (attested only 7 times before Josephus, in obscure fragments except for Strabo 14.5.5; 17.3.9), it is remarkable that *War* has it twice (also 7.43), in both cases combining the verb with ἡ οἰκουμένη. Although a small point, this tends to reinforce the connection between *War* 1-6 and bk. 7 (see Introduction).

²²⁵⁶ Alexander III (356-323 BCE), “the Great,” son of Philip II of Macedon and Olympias, famously tutored by Aristotle, became king at the age of 20 upon his father’s death (336 BCE). He led a massive army, featuring the unstoppable Macedonian phalanx, on a campaign against Persia (under Darius III), which had retained its domination of Asia Minor. A major victory at Issus (333 BCE) put the Persian forces in flight, giving Alexander a clear run to the Euphrates, except for resistance at Tyre and Gaza, which he crushed. After taking Egypt without resistance (332-331) he moved swiftly into the Persian heartland, via Mesopotamia, occupying Persis in the winter of 331-330 and driving Darius from Ecbatana (after which the Great King was murdered by Persian attendants) in the summer of 330. After suppressing

regional revolts, Alexander moved into India in 327, where two years of vicious campaigning left him with a chest wound and exhausted troops. In 325 he began a return to bases in the Persian heartland, where he and his officers took wives from the Persian nobility. Alexander died after a brief illness on June 10, 323 BCE.

²²⁵⁷ Reversal (μεταβολή [of fortune as here, or of circumstances]) is a basic theme of Josephus’ *War*; see the notes to “circumstances” at 2.113 and to “upheaval” at 1.5.

²²⁵⁸ This verb (προσκυνέω) is singularly appropriate here. Although it occurs nearly 100 times in Josephus, sometimes with a more general sense, it refers most specifically to the practice of prostration (or possibly the blowing of reverential kisses) before Oriental kings as quasi-divine powers (cf. Herodotus 1.119.1; 2.121; 8.118); Josephus often uses it pejoratively (see Feldman’s note to “later” at *Ant.* 2.195 in BJP 3). Alexander received this honor in the East and controversially sought to persuade his Macedonian colleagues at Bactra to join in, a request that provoked indignation and may have precipitated the death of his associate Callisthenes (Arrian, *Anab.* 4.10.5-12.5; cf. Walbank 1992: 38-39, 42-43). Josephus’ Agrippa will use the term twice more in this speech, for the complete subjection to Rome now required of former powers or states once in thrall to Persia (2.366, 380).

²²⁵⁹ The Polybian (e.g., Polybius 1.1.2, 4.1-3) and thereafter common (cf. Plutarch, *On the Fortune of the Romans*) association of Rome’s hegemony with fortune—alongside her power, strength, or virtue—is characteristic of Josephus (2.373, 387, 3.354, 359, 438; 5.120; 6.399-400; 7.203, 231; *Ant.* 20.70). See the note to “fortune” at 2.373 below. The specific construction that fortune has “passed over” (μεταβαίνω) to Rome reoccurs in a prayer and a speech made by Josephus’ character (3.354; 5.367). Implicit in the verb, as in Agrippa’s speech here (explicit at 5.367), is that fortune’s gift of hegemony is *not* permanent, but visits various nations—and will continue changing its favorites in the future.

²²⁶⁰ Or “countless”; lit. 10,000 or multiples of 10,000.

²²⁶¹ See the note to “frankness of speech” at 2.276. Frank speech (παρρησία) and freedom (ἐλευθερία) were natural and frequent correlatives in Greek, especially classical Athenian political rhetoric; Plato (*Resp.* 557b; *Leg.* 649b) observes that παρρησία is the principal trait of the free person or city; cf. 4.358; *Ant.* 11.39, the latter contrasting the slave with the free person, who

“freedom”²²⁶² nevertheless yield. Do you alone scorn²²⁶³ to be slaves to²²⁶⁴ those who have subdued everything? In what sort of army, in what sort of weapons are you trusting? Where is your force that will seize the Roman seas,²²⁶⁵ and where are the treasuries that will quite suffice²²⁶⁶ for the offensives?²²⁶⁷

362 Do you believe, as it seems, that you are setting this war in motion²²⁶⁸ against Egyptians or against Arabs?²²⁶⁹ Will you not take into full view the Roman *imperium*?²²⁷⁰ Will you not take the measure of your own feebleness?²²⁷¹ Were not our [people]²²⁷² often weaker even than those of the nearby nations, whereas their [the Romans’] strength is invincible across the world?²²⁷³ **363** But indeed they sought something rather more than even this. For the whole Euphrates²²⁷⁴ in the east did not suffice at all²²⁷⁵ for them, nor the northerly Ister,²²⁷⁶ or again southerly Libya,²²⁷⁷ which had been explored all the way

alone may speak freely. See also Euripides, *Hippol.* 422; Isocrates, *Arch.* 97; *Areop.* 20; Demosthenes in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 13.17; Aeschines, *Fals. leg.* 70; Theophrastus, *Char.* 28.6; Polybius 4.31.4; 18.14.9; Diodorus 14.65.4, 66.5; 32.26.2; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 4.46.4; 6.38.1; 7.25.2, 31.2, 35.2, 48.3; 11.5.3; 14.3.2; Philo, *Praem.* 124; *Prob.* 95, 12; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 77/78.37, 45; Lucian, *Nigr.* 15.

²²⁶² See the note to “freedom,” a basic theme of the *War* and of Agrippa’s speech, at 2.259.

²²⁶³ The only other occurrence of ἀδοξέω in *War* 2 comes near the end of Agrippa’s *confirmatio*: the Egyptians do *not* scorn the Roman *imperium* (2.385). Of the verb’s 12 appearances in Josephus, 11 are in *War* (1-5). It is not a common verb before Josephus (apparently absent from Homer, tragedy, classical and Hellenistic historians except Diodorus 15.9.4, though found 3 times in Demosthenes—*Fals. leg.* 103, 115, 118), but it begins to appear frequently from Josephus’ time (e.g., about 10 times in Plutarch).

²²⁶⁴ Or “serve,” but the speech makes an ongoing and hard-headed contrast between the mirage of political freedom and the current, acknowledged but unavoidable state of slavery (see the note to “freedom” at 2.346, to “slaves” at 2.349).

²²⁶⁵ Roman domination of the sea lanes had been hard won, chiefly with Pompey’s famous removal of piracy from the Mediterranean and Black Seas. Ironically, at 3.414-27 Josephus will relate the attempt by more than 4,000 Judean rebels based in rebuilt Joppa to dominate the E coast of the Mediterranean by piracy, with ships they had built themselves, before a powerful storm sank their fleet and hurled survivors into the waiting spears of the Romans.

²²⁶⁶ Of 26 occurrences of the verbs for “suffice” (forms of ἀρκέω) in *War*, nearly a 6th are in Agrippa’s speech (also 2.363, 374, 375), which drives home the point that the Judeans *do not have what it takes* to oppose Rome.

²²⁶⁷ See the note at 2.329: this is the 3rd and final use of ἐπιβολή in *War* 2, all falling in a brief space.

²²⁶⁸ For this collocation see the note to “set in motion” at 2.354.

²²⁶⁹ Conflicts with the Nabatean kingdom E of the Jordan were part of the recent Judean past: *War* 1.89-90, 364-85; cf. *Ant.* 18.109-15. Egypt had been a Roman province for a century.

²²⁷⁰ See the note to this phrase at 1.3; Agrippa’s speech uses it 3 times (also 2.357, 385).

²²⁷¹ Runnalls (1997: 749) points out the neat balance and *homoioteleuton* (similar endings: ἡγεμονίαν, ἀσθένειαν) of these antithetical clauses.

²²⁷² MSS MLC and Latin have “your,” which would logically continue the 2nd-person address in the preceding rhetorical questions. But the 1st-person plural, attested by MSS PAVR, makes perhaps better sense, as Agrippa turns to speak of Judean (not rebel) forces in the past, in keeping with 2.357 (see note to “our” there). It is easier to understand scribes changing an original “our” to “your,” for consistency of rhetorical posture, than the reverse process.

²²⁷³ Or “inhabited [earth].” See the note to this word at 2.360.

²²⁷⁴ Possibly “the Euphrates [did not suffice] for a boundary;” if one follows Destinin’s emendation of the MSS’s ὅλος to ὅρος (followed by Thackeray, Vitucci, and Pelletier). Since the text does not require emendation, however, where indeed “the whole” of the long and mighty Euphrates makes good rhetorical sense (as not sufficing for the Romans), I follow the reading of the MSS (with M-B).

²²⁷⁵ See the note to “suffice” at 2.361. The exaggerated tone of what follows is made clear by 3.107, where in a different rhetorical context Josephus is happy to name these same boundaries as the (remarkable enough) limits of the empire.

²²⁷⁶ The Danube River, together with the Rhine, formed the empire’s northern limit (the defeat of Varus in 9 CE having caused a retrenchment to the Rhine); cf. 3.107. Rivers play an important role in the Roman conception of empire, conquest (in the remarkable achievement rep-

to the uninhabited²²⁷⁸ parts, and Gadeira to the west;²²⁷⁹ but they sought another world²²⁸⁰ beyond Oceanus,²²⁸¹ and they brought over their weapons all the way to the previously unexplored²²⁸² Brettani.²²⁸³

resented by taking territory across rivers), and limits: Livy 26.21.7-10; 37.59.2-5; Propertius 3.11.41-42; Virgil, *Georg.* 4.509, 560-61; *Aen.* 6.789-805; 8.724-28; Persius 6.43-7; Pliny *Nat.* 5.36-37; Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.41; Juvenal 10.147-87.

²²⁷⁷ I.e., N Africa from Egypt to the Straits of Gibraltar. See the note at 2.115.

²²⁷⁸ Or “uninhabitable, not to be inhabited” (ἀοίκητος); I translate thus because of the contrast with “inhabited [earth]” (“world”) in the previous sentence. The same contrast reappears in the speech at 2.388 and again at 5.218. That this adjective appears only in *War* (also 2.388; 4.199, 453; 5.218) confirms again Josephus’ authorial control over Agrippa’s speech: it shares the diction and rhetorical contrasts of the narrative as a whole. Before Josephus, these words are contrasted mainly by Aristotle (*Meteor.* 362b), Diodorus (3.38.2; 5.76.1; 40.7.2), Philo (*Mos.* 1.195), and Strabo (2.1.13, 5.5, 5.34; 17.2.1), the last of which seems most likely to have influenced Josephus, given the shared geographical interest.

²²⁷⁹ I.e., Gades (mod. Cadiz in Spain), mentioned at *Ant.* 1.122 as a place settled by Noah’s grandsons. It is a well chosen point to mark the western extremity of the empire and the inhabited earth, because it was the last significant city in the W, some way beyond the “Pillars of Hercules,” which represented the limits of the inhabited earth for most investigators (cf. 2.375, 382 below; so already Herodotus 4.8), the place or near the place where Heracles had ventured to seize the red oxen of Geryon; the island continued to celebrate some sorts of Heracleian festivals (Pausanias 10.4.6). Cades, facing the Atlantic, was an old Phoenician trading port. Strabo (3.5.3-5, 7-10) gives a detailed description at the time of Augustus: populous, with around 500 Roman equestrians, but inhabiting a relatively small island, nearby islet, and the mainland harbor opposite.

²²⁸⁰ See the note to this word at 2.360. It seems that Rome’s conquest of Britain is in view (see next note and 2.378-79).

²²⁸¹ See the notes at 2.155: Oceanus was the body of water commonly thought to encircle the inhabited earth. Crossing it had been a terrifying prospect, also for the Roman soldiers under Aulus Plautius during Claudius’ invasion of Britain in 43 CE (Dio 60.19.2). Their audacious achievement in challenging Oceanus is a point that Agrippa will hammer home; he mentions Oceanus 4 times in this speech (also 2.371, 374, 378)—more than a third of all occurrences in Josephus.

²²⁸² The adjective ἀνιστόρητος occurs only here in Josephus. Though unattested before his time except in Polybius (12.3.2—on Timaeus’ ignorance of Libya) and Philo of Byzantium (*Bel.* p. 78 [Thevenot]), it appears in his contemporaries Epictetus (Arrian, *Diatr.* 1.6.24), Plutarch (*Mor.* [*Quaest. conv.*] 731c, 733b), and Dio (*Or.* 12.59). For the meaning here, see the next note.

²²⁸³ Britons: see further 2.378-80 for Britain after Claudius (in Agrippa’s and Josephus’ time). If we take “previously unexplored” seriously, the speaker must have in view Caesar’s invasions of 55 and 54 BCE or be conflating these with Claudius’ recent invasion. Cf. Suetonius, speaking of Caesar (*Jul.* 25: “He also invaded the Britons, a people formerly unknown [*Britannos ignotos antea*]”). Caesar’s first campaign came near the end of the sailing season (August 25, 55 CE), after heavy fighting in Gaul, with two legions (VII and X) and 80 transport ships. Though intended only as a brief first encounter for gathering intelligence (Caesar claims), it was apparently something of a debacle, from the landing under heavy fire to misjudged currents and weather that prevented the landing of cavalry, to the battering of the anchored fleet by misunderstood tides, to the near loss of the 7th legion and the hasty departure with salvaged ships (Caesar, *Bell. gall.* 4.20-36). The second invasion (July 6, 54 BCE) was more carefully planned, using 800 transport ships and 4,000 Celtic cavalry in addition to 5 of Caesar’s legions; though the commander misjudged the tides, he managed to land his much larger invasion force without immediate challenge. Although he achieved some military success in combat S and just N of the Thames River, his anchored fleet was battered by inclement weather and he abandoned the island after a couple of months, without much concrete to show for it. The crucial achievements were glory for himself and Rome, along with the precedent that this island in Oceanus could indeed be invaded (Caesar, *Bell. gall.* 5.8-23; Kamm 2006: 77-83). Plutarch enthuses, in language similar to Josephus’ (*Caes.* 22.2-3): “he was the first who launched a fleet into western Oceanus, and sailed across the Atlantic Sea bringing an army for war” (*sc.* in contrast to Gallic traders). Nearly a century later Gaius Caligula planned another invasion, which occurred under Claudius in 43 CE, creating the conditions reflected in Agrippa’s speech.

MS L awkwardly adds “Germans” to “Brettanians,” but this would seem to make no sense of the rhetoric concerning another world *beyond Oceanus*.

364 What, then?²²⁸⁴ Richer than the Galatai,²²⁸⁵ are you? Tougher than the Germani?²²⁸⁶ More intelligent than the Hellenes?²²⁸⁷ More numerous than all [others] throughout the world?²²⁸⁸ What *is* that persuading something²²⁸⁹ that propels you against the Romans? **365** ‘Being a slave²²⁹⁰ is painful!’ someone will say.²²⁹¹ How much more for the Hellenes?²²⁹² They, who take first place²²⁹³ in nobility of all those under the sun, and who apportion among themselves²²⁹⁴ such a great region, give way²²⁹⁵ to six²²⁹⁶ *fasces*²²⁹⁷ of the Romans;

²²⁸⁴ Or “Why, then?” Cf. 2.366, where τί is used in both senses. Given the subsidiary questions, the tacit completion of the question might be: Why are you intent on rebelling (when others put up with more)? Why do you think you can win (when others have so much more, but do not attempt rebellion)? Usually, however, interrogative τί in this speech has the sense of “What?” Thus: “What drives you to this rebellious attitude?”

²²⁸⁵ The Gauls: see the note to “restive” at 1.5. The wealth of Gaul is explored further at 2.371-72 below.

²²⁸⁶ The size and strength of the Germans’ bodies is a point developed at 2.376 below.

²²⁸⁷ The reference is no doubt to the Greek contributions to philosophy (including science and medicine), art, architecture, historiography, and literature, which still dominated the Roman world. Josephus’ Agrippa thus assembles a convenient triad of absolute necessities for launching a war—resources, physical numbers and strength, and intelligence—and dismisses Judean claims to all of them by appealing to nations that famously excelled in each, but now serve Rome. This triad will be taken up in reverse order (see the two previous notes), with the Greeks appearing again almost immediately (2.365): a periodic or concentric structure found often in Josephus.

²²⁸⁸ See the note to this word at 2.360.

²²⁸⁹ Josephus’ authorial hand is evident. This neuter substantive of the perfect participle, τὸ πεποιθός, is unattested before Josephus (though his contemporary Plutarch has it: *Marc.* 23.4). Josephus has used it also at *War* 1.374, 567, showing unity of composition.

²²⁹⁰ See the note to “slaves” at 2.349, to “freedom” at 2.346.

²²⁹¹ The only other occurrence in Josephus of this standard device from the philosophical diatribe (ἐρεῖ τις) comes in a similar rhetorical situation. In his own character’s speech (at 3.367) he will demand to know what his audience fears in surrendering to the Romans. “Slavery!” someone will say.” Josephus’ authorial hand is again evident.

²²⁹² For the sufferings of Greece under generally benevolent Roman rule, see (e.g., on free Athens) Mommsen 1887: 1.288-303. Lindner (1972: 22) reasonably treats the following (to 2.387) as an illustrative elaboration of the points just established in 2.361-64, comparing it to the brief elaboration at 2.358-61 (see note to “Athenians” at 2.358).

²²⁹³ This is the reading of MS P, considered among the best (and followed by all modern editions). The rest of the MS tradition, beginning with the Latin translation (supplying *uidebantur*), seems to reflect the copyists’ discomfort with such unqualified praise of the Greeks—perhaps also because of Josephus’ harsh comments elsewhere (e.g., 1.13-16; *Life* 40; *Apion* 1.27): those manuscripts have the Greeks only “reputed” or “seeming” to be pre-eminent, with a δοκοῦντες construction.

²²⁹⁴ Josephus will use the verb νέμω 3 times in this speech, the only occurrences in *War* 2 (also 2.377, 382; here in the middle voice), to speak of the apportionment of famously vast and impressive lands among peoples who nonetheless submit to Rome.

²²⁹⁵ The verb ὑπέικω occurs in *War* (also *Ant.* 15.246) only here and at 2.369 below, driving home the themes of Agrippa’s speech.

²²⁹⁶ MSS PAML have simply “the” (ταῖς), but the others indicate a form of “6” (ἕξ) (followed by all modern editors). A number is almost required by the next clause.

²²⁹⁷ Lit. “rods” (also in 2.366; cf. 5.435), but immediately understandable by a Roman audience (esp. with “consular” in the next sentence) as the Greek equivalent of *fasces* (sing. *fascis*, originally a bundle of twigs or the like, but always plural in the technical sense here). These were bundles of rods, about 1.5 m. (5 ft.) long, tied together in bundles along with an axe and symbolizing the awesome power of senior Roman magistrates. The *fasces* were carried on the left shoulder by the magistrates’ lictors, attendants or bodyguards who cleared the path ahead in busy streets. Consuls were entitled to 12 lictors bearing *fasces*, praetors to 6, imperial legates (as in Syria) to 5. Achaea and Macedonia were both senatorial provinces at this point, without legions, governed by proconsuls who, in spite of their title, were ex-praetors; hence the number 6 here. As in Josephus’ Greek, Latin *fasces* could indicate, metonymically, the high office rather than the objects themselves (e.g., *Juvenal* 5.110).

Other Greek writers tended to describe the *fasces* as bundles containing both rods (ῥάβδοι) and axes (πελέκεις), rather than simply using the term “rods” for the whole as Josephus does (6 “rods” meaning 6 lictors with *fasces*). Cf. Polybius 6.53.8; 11.29.6; 38.3.12; Diodorus 36.7.4; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 2.29.1; 3.61.2, 62.1; 5.2.1, 19.3, 75.2; 8.53.3; 10.24.2; 10.59.5;

to such a number the Macedonians also [give way], whose responsibility to contend for freedom²²⁹⁸ has greater justice than yours.²²⁹⁹

366 And what about the 500 cities of Asia?²³⁰⁰ Do they not, without a garrison,²³⁰¹ make obeisance before²³⁰² one governor and the consular *fascēs*?²³⁰³

Why is it necessary to mention Heniochi as well as Colchi²³⁰⁴ and the people²³⁰⁵ of the Tauri, Bosporani,²³⁰⁶ and the nations dwelling around the Pontus²³⁰⁷ and the Maeotis?²³⁰⁸

Strabo 5.2.2. The technical term for the whole package, ῥαβδουχία (H. J. Mason 1974: 82), is hardly attested in literature, though 3 of its 4 attestations are in Josephus' contemporary, Plutarch (*Ant.* 17.1; *Cic.* 16.6; *Fab.* 4.3).

²²⁹⁸ On the face of it, the realist politician seems to imply that Macedonia really ought to seek their freedom (Μακεδόνες οἱ . . . ὀφείλοντες ἐλευθερίας ἀντιποιεῖσθαι). But in context the sense is ironic: one cannot imagine *even* the Macedonians' doing this, though they are in a far better position than the Judeans, because of their historic domination of the world (by Alexander and his successors) and fierce initial resistance to Rome. At least, the construction seems to drive home the speaker's lack of ideological commitment to Rome.

²²⁹⁹ See the note to "freedom," a basic theme of the *War* and of Agrippa's speech, at 2.259.

²³⁰⁰ Although Mommsen (1887: 2.355) accepted this number without cavil, it seems a substantial inflation. As Paul (1990: 80-81) points out, Josephus must be speaking of the province of Asia because he mentions other Anatolian provinces below (2.368). But Pliny's contemporary figure for population centers in Asia is 282 (*Nat.* 5.150), and only 73 cities in Asia seem to have minted coins under Augustus and Tiberius (Magie 1950: 1.472; 2.135 n. 16). Mitchell (1993: 1.80 n. 3) considers Josephus' figure exaggerated even for Asia Minor as a whole under Roman rule, though the area was marked by rapid urbanization.

²³⁰¹ Though he is willing to trust Josephus as to both the number of cities and the absence of a garrison at the time of Agrippa's speech in 66 CE, Sherk (1955: 404-7) adduces compelling epigraphical evidence for the presence of two auxiliary cohorts (*I Bosporana* and *I Hispana*) at the beginning of the Flavian period, 69-71 CE: Josephus might intend by δίχα φρουρᾶς the equivalent of Latin *inermus* (Tacitus, *Hist.* 2.81), meaning not "without soldiers," but "without an army"—a minimum number of soldiers being always needed for protection of the governor and of such crucial sites as mines and mints. Cf. Le Bohec (1994: 163-64) and Ritterling (1927), the latter on the presence of permanent military garrisons in pronconsular provinces—with relatively small auxiliary forces. See also "without weapons" at 2.368.

²³⁰² See the note at 2.360.

²³⁰³ Josephus makes a subtle distinction, which he expects his audience to understand, between the 6 *fas-*

ces to which the proconsuls (i.e., ex-praetors) governing Achaëa and Macedonia were entitled and the consular *fascēs* that marked the special dignity of the proconsul of Asia. Because of the province's great wealth and importance, this governor was an ex-consul, entitled to 12 lictors with *fascēs*.

²³⁰⁴ Mentioned only here in Josephus, the Heniochi (their name means "[chariot] drivers, rein-holders, guides") occupied the E shores of the Black Sea in the foothills of the Caucasus (near the Achaei and Zygi), where they had reportedly lived by piracy and ransom money (Strabo 11.2.12). They bordered the large delta of the Phasis River (mod. Rioni in W Georgia), a region known as Colchis, where tradition located the fleece that was sought by Jason and the Argonauts. The territory of the Colchi apparently extended to Trapezus on the S shore of the Black Sea (Strabo 11.2.18). About a decade before Josephus' time of writing (i.e., 63/64 CE), Nero had removed this region from the Bosporan dynasty (see note to "Bosporani" in this section), out of concern over its role in endemic piracy, and annexed it to the province of Cappadocia.

Why does Josephus' Agrippa mention these two peoples and not the dozens of other tribes around the SE shore of the Black Sea? They were typically singled out as the main groups (cf. Strabo 11.5.6). They represent the furthest extremity of Roman rule in the area, among recently conquered peoples of a famously ferocious temper. And they provide a symmetrical counterpart to the Tauri and Bosporans, next to be mentioned, across the sea on the N.

²³⁰⁵ Josephus uses τὸ φῶλον 12 times, but 5 of these—the only occurrences in *War* 2—are concentrated in Agrippa's speech, with its ethnographic survey. Although the noun can refer to a swarm or gender (*Ant.* 2.306; 13.430), Josephus most often uses it (3.354; 7.327; *Apion* 2.127) interchangeably with ἔθνος, itself a famously flexible term ("tribe, people, nation, race"). In this passage it could mean "tribe," but since elsewhere in the speech it more likely indicates a "people" or "nation" (free of modern political connotations), I render it this way for consistency.

²³⁰⁶ On the N side of the eastern half of the Black Sea, and marking the transition to the Maeotis (Sea of Azov) about to be mentioned, these peoples provide a symmetrical counterpart to the Henochi and Colchi

367 Whereas in the past no master of their own was recognized among them, now they are subject to 3,000 armed troops,²³⁰⁹ and forty long ships²³¹⁰ pacify the formerly unnavigable and wild sea.²³¹¹

just mentioned. They belong together because the Tauri, occupying the mountains across the S of the Crimean peninsula (Chersonesus Taurica, in the S extremity of mod. Ukraine), W of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, were subjects of the Bosporan dynasty. Note Strabo 11.2.10: “All those who are subject to the potentates of Bosphorus are called Bosporani.” This monarchy was based in the eastern-most of the two principal cities on the peninsula, Panticapaeum (also called Bosphorus), which had been part of the kingdom of Mithradates VI Eupator and was his final place of refuge from the Romans under Pompey (65-63 BCE).

Although the Bosporan dynasty, comprising real and alleged descendants of Mithradates VI (cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.15-31), would retain local rule until the 3rd or 4th century CE, the dynasts had come under Roman protection after Pompey, who allowed Mithradates’ son Pharnaces II to rule there (63-47 BCE), though removing Pontus from him. Bosphorus’ protection was at first the responsibility of the governors of Macedonia and Bithynia, then of Moesia and Thracia after these provinces were established in the mid-1st century CE.

Descendants of Mithradates often ruled both Bosphorus and Pontus, beginning with Pharnaces II’s seizure of Pontus, though he was defeated and killed by Julius Caesar in 47 BCE. Sometimes the same ruler would control both. Josephus elsewhere mentions an important trip made by Marcus Agrippa in 14 BCE to the Bosphorus, in which Herod ably assisted (*Ant.* 16.16-24)—though curiously he does not indicate its purpose, which was to establish the Pontic king Polemon I on the throne in place of the usurper Scribonius, who had killed the previous king, Asander (cf. Barrett 1977: 2-3). After 8 BCE, when Polemon died, his former wife Dynamis ruled Bosphorus (to 8 CE; cf. Rostovtzeff 1919), whereas his widow Pythodoris held power in Pontus (to 23 CE).

In Josephus’ time, Bosporan princes served at the pleasure of the emperors and enthusiastically displayed their friendship with Rome, through service as priests of the imperial cult and in their coinage and inscriptions honoring the reigning emperor and declaring themselves “friend of Rome.” Throughout most of Josephus’ time in Rome (68/9 to 90 CE) the king was Rhescuporis, son of Cotys (cf. Mommsen 1887: 1.300, 338-346; Braund 1994). The main city on the SW of the peninsula, Chersonesus, was free and minted its own coinage.

Rose (1990) argues that Queen Dynamis of Bosphorus (d. 8 CE)—widow of Asander (d. 17 BCE), divorcee of Polemon I (d. 8 BCE), and wife of Aspurgus (who would

himself rule from about 10 to 37/8 CE)—is depicted along with her child on the Ara Pacis. D. Roller (1998: 276-77) suggests that Herod’s son Antipater might be in the background, between Dynamis and Agrippa.

²³⁰⁷ The Pontus (lit. “the deep, the sea-wave”) was common short-hand for Pontus Euxinus: the “hospitable-to-foreigners deep,” ancient name for the Black Sea. The Pontus gave its name also to the surrounding land, especially along the S/SE shore. The kingdom of Pontus was famous to Greeks and Romans because of the exploits of its long-lived king Mithradates VI Eupator (ruled 120-63 BCE), who had dominated the Sea and faced Rome in a series of (“Mithradatic”) wars: 88-82 BCE (in which he was successful) and 75-65 BCE (which he finally lost to Pompey, fleeing then to Bosphorus; see the previous note). Although Pompey detached Pontus from Mithradates’ descendants, giving it to King Deiotarus, Pharnaces II, who had been permitted to keep Bosphorus (63-47), later overran Pontus and Colchis. Descendants of the great king would rule again: Darius (39-37 BCE), Polemon I (37-8 BCE: a contemporary of Herod the Great), Polemon’s widow Pythodoris (8 BCE-23 CE), and Polemon II (38-64 CE). In 64 CE Nero annexed what remained of Pontus to Cappadocia. See Mitchell 1993: 1.93.

²³⁰⁸ The modern Sea of Azov.

²³⁰⁹ This army has the same size as the combined auxiliary force that controlled Judea (see the note to “Sebastenes” at 2.52). We do not know much about the forces in the Pontus region, however. Were they a permanent auxiliary? Vexillations from the Cappadocian legions were only possible after 72 CE (see note to “Cappadocia” at 2.368). It seems unlikely, in a survey of *Roman* forces (in spite of his inclusion of Bosphorus and the Taurians) that Josephus includes troops under the control of the king of Bosphorus (Mommsen 1887: 1.344).

²³¹⁰ The MSS reflect a telling confusion, with the Attic nominative plural νῆες μακραί appearing in MSS ML²V²RC (and printed by Thackeray and Pelletier; cf. *Ant.* 14.375), but the (apparent) singular ναῦς in MSS PA (as Niese and M-B)—a puzzle because adjective and verb are plural. LSJ (*s.v.*) notes, however, that Hellenistic authors often use the singular also for the nominative plural (cf. *Ant.* 8.181: πολλὰ γὰρ ἦσαν ναῦς). This would explain the “more difficult reading” of MSS PA, though elsewhere Josephus uses the plural νῆες (7.148; *Ant.* 14.375) and favors the Attic—i.e., not Hellenistic—use of the nominative singular for the *accusative plural*

368 How much do Bithynia²³¹² and Cappadocia²³¹³ and the Pamphylian nation,²³¹⁴ Lycii²³¹⁵ and also Cilices,²³¹⁶ have to say in behalf of “freedom”²³¹⁷ as they are subject to tribute²³¹⁸—without weapons?²³¹⁹

(τὸς ναῶς, 3.418, 469; *Ant.* 8.163; 10.279), as do Polybius and Diodorus (passages following).

The “long ships” in question are warships, tapered for battle, in contrast to the more rounded shapes of merchant vessels and transport ships (cf. 4.499; Thucydides 8.34.1; Aristophanes, *Eq.* 1351; *Av.* 379; Polybius 1.20.13, 25.7; 3.23.2; 21.43.13; Diodorus 1.55.2; 2.5.6; 4.32.2; 5.12.4; 11.2.1; 11.3.7, 12.3, 20.2-3, 24.2, 68.2; 12.4.5; 13.54.1, 62.6, 107.3-4; 14.47.7, *et passim*). There was an established equivalent in Latin: Caesar routinely distinguishes between the *navis longa* and the *navis oneraria* (*Bell. gall.* 4.21-22, 25).

This is the only reference in Agrippa’s speech to a Roman naval force. After Nero’s annexation of Colchis in 63/64 CE (see note to “Colchi” in this section), out of a concern to halt piracy on the Black Sea, a new fleet was created there (*classis pontica*), supplementing fleets already established to protect the Italian coasts, N Africa, and Alexandria (the major grain centers). Arrian of Nicomedia mentions this fleet in his *Periplus ponti euxini* (9.3), in connection with his tour of the region as governor of Cappadocia (132 CE). See Starr 1989: 67-82, esp. 74.

²³¹¹ As the verb “pacify” makes clear, the rough and unsailable nature of the sea had been caused by piracy, not by nature. For piracy making seas “unnavigable,” see further 3.416: rebel Judean raiders temporarily set up a base at Joppa to harass shipping in the Egypt-Syria corridor.

²³¹² The Bithynians (occupying the western part of the N coast of mod. Turkey), of Thracian stock, preserved considerable autonomy under native kings, by means of shrewd alliances, through the Persian and Seleucid periods. When Nicomedes IV died in 75/4 BCE, he bequeathed his territory to Rome. From Pompey’s organization of Pontus-Bithynia in 63 BCE, it remained a public or “senatorial” province, under a proconsul, until in 110 CE Trajan sent Pliny as his imperial legate to deal with its financial and other problems (cf. Sherk 1955: 403-4). It had a military presence of at least two cohorts from the early 2nd cent. CE (Pliny, *Ep.* 10.21, 106), and these may have arrived already under the Flavians, though Josephus does not indicate such a garrison.

²³¹³ In mountainous E Anatolia (mod. Turkey), away from the S coast. The area was annexed by Tiberius after the death of its client-king Archelaus (17 CE; see the note to “Cappadocia” at 2.114), as a province under an equestrian prefect with only local auxiliary forces (cf. Mitchell 1993: 1.63). At Josephus’ time of writing *War*,

Vespasian had recently (72 CE) combined Cappadocia with Armenia Minor and Galatia to create a massive province governed by a consular legate with two legions (*XII Fulminata*, taken from Syria, and possibly *XVI Flavia felix*; cf. Suetonius, *Vesp.* 8; Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.42.6; Parker 1992: 148; Mitchell 1993: 1.63; 2. Appendix 1). Josephus reflects no awareness of this latest development, however.

²³¹⁴ In Josephus’ time (since 43 CE) they were part of the Roman province of Lycia and Pamphylia (see next note). Pamphylia proper was the coastal plain along the central bight on the S coast of Anatolia, bounded by the mountains of Lycia to the W and those of Cilicia to the E. This prosperous home to several cities (including Attaleia, Perge, Sillyum, Aspendus, and Side), fell under Persian and then Athenian domination, then was contested by the Ptolemies and Seleucids, the Pergamenes and Pisidians. When the province of Asia was created by the Romans in 133 BCE, Pamphylia was part of it, but it was then joined to Cilicia (ca. 80 BCE), Asia again (40s BCE), and Galatia (25 BCE), before joining Lycia in 43 CE.

²³¹⁵ Lycia and Pamphylia, in mod. south-central Turkey, was constituted an imperial province by Claudius in 43 CE; in Josephus’ time it was governed by an imperial legate but had no significant Roman military presence; see Sherk 1955: 401-403. The Lycians, a hardy people who occupied a rugged land, appear already in Homer on the Trojan side of the war (*Il.* 2.876-77). After living for centuries under Persian, Athenian, Ptolemaic, and Seleucid domination, their territory was given by the Romans to Rhodes, following the defeat of Antiochus III in 189 BCE. Twenty years later, however, they received their freedom, which they preserved for nearly a quarter of a millennium, developing an efficient and durable political confederation. In mentioning their direct subjection to Rome, Josephus’ Agrippa is therefore describing recent events. He does not mention the province of Lycia and Pamphylia, however, preferring to describe the peoples (of famously rugged character) who now obey Rome.

²³¹⁶ Cilicia comprised the E half of the coastal region of S Anatolia: the western, mountainous part (Tracheia; under Assyria called Hilakku—the source of “Cilicia”) and the plain from Tarsus to the E (Pedia). Like other parts of Asia Minor, it was conquered by the Persians and, after Alexander, contested by Ptolemies and Seleucids (completely under Seleucid rule from about 195 BCE). Towards the end of the 2nd century BCE, the mountain dwellers began to engage in serious piracy in

So, what?²³²⁰ The Thracians,²³²¹ who have seized a region five days in breadth and seven in length,²³²² more rugged than yours—and more secure by a long way,²³²³ driving back attacking armies with its deep frost: do they not submit to 2,000 Roman guards?²³²⁴
369 And after these the Illyrii,²³²⁵ inhabiting the [region] all the way to Dalmatia,²³²⁶ cut

the vital shipping lanes of the NE Mediterranean. This led the Romans, through the mid-70s BCE, to subdue that region and annex it as a province (though the mountain-dwellers would remain a problem for Rome through the 1st century CE; Mitchell 1993: 1.73 n. 35), leaving the eastern plains to nearby Armenia. Ongoing piracy led to Pompey's campaign against the scourge in 67 CE, which in turn led to the incorporation of the Padias plain into the Roman province (63 BCE). Cicero famously served as governor of Cilicia in 51/50 BCE.

The Roman civil wars of the 40s and 30s BCE left the region in disarray, and once Octavian had consolidated power (30 BCE) he dissolved Cilicia, attaching the E part to the province of Syria and giving other pieces to client kings. This arrangement continued for about a century, through the story time of Agrippa's speech in 66 CE, until in 72 Vespasian reunited the province. (This is the still general view, though Bickerman [1947] argued that E Cilicia was joined to Syria only under Tiberius [between 18 and 35 CE] and detached in 54 to serve as Corbulo's base.) Since Josephus mentions the people, rather than the province, and they were subject to direct or indirect Roman rule in any case, it is unclear whether the speech reflects post-72 conditions.

²³¹⁷ See the note to "freedom," a basic theme of the *War* and of Agrippa's speech, at 2.259.

²³¹⁸ Mitchell (1993: 1.68) observes the meager evidence for the various forms of provincial taxation in Asia Minor and the hazard in applying norms from elsewhere. There were presumably census-based personal and land taxes, along with a variety of indirect taxes, but the mechanisms remain unclear. He also notes the peculiarity that the equestrian procurators in charge of revenue, at least until Hadrian, had fields of authority that ran across the boundaries of the provinces.

²³¹⁹ This could mean either "without resorting to weapons," as Agrippa claims the Judeans wish to do (so Thackeray in LCL), or that they accept tribute without being compelled to do so by the presence of Roman weapons—i.e., armies (as Whiston, M-B, Vitucci, Pelletier). The latter is rather more likely, as a variation on "without a garrison" in 2.366. See the note there.

²³²⁰ See the note to "What, then?" at 2.364 above. This is the only occurrence in Josephus of the expression τί δαί, or even of δαί: a colloquial-Attic touch in Agrippa's speech.

²³²¹ Or *Thracēs*, in keeping with the other name forms used here, but "Thracians" to avoid confusion with the

place. Thrace (mod. S Bulgaria with part of NE Greece and Turkey W of Istanbul, bounded on the E by the Black Sea, Sea of Marmara, and Hellespont) had only been made a province (Thracia)—imperial, subject to an equestrian procurator—by Claudius in 46 CE. Until then it had remained a client kingdom, sometimes divided in two parts (cf. the division of Judea after Herod) and beset by dynastic rivalries. Under Augustus in 13 BCE, a serious Thracian uprising (until 10 BCE) had required the intervention of the celebrated Roman ex-consul (*cos.* 15 BCE), Lucius Calpurnius Piso. In describing his exploits, Velleius Paterculus (2.98) portrays the Thracians in stereotypical language: "by a succession of battles and sieges, he brought these fiercest of races (*gentesque ferocissimas*) to their former state of peaceful subjection."

²³²² Since Thrace was about 350 miles "long" (E-W) and 175 miles in breadth, these times must be for rapid communications by horse-drawn carriage. Couriers in the *cursus publicus* established by Augustus could cover about 50 miles per day on average, at 5 miles per hour, tripling that distance in emergencies by not stopping (cf. Casson 1994: 198). Although modern translators normally render "five days' march" (Thackeray in LCL), infantry soldiers could manage only about 15-20 miles per day in favorable circumstances. Strabo (17.3.20) is amazed that an army could maintain even that pace over difficult terrain for a month.

²³²³ Western Thrace is extremely mountainous, with elevations abruptly varying between 3,000 and 6,000 ft (900 to 1800 m). The highest ridge of the Judean hills, by contrast, is in the 2,000-2,500 ft (600 to 750 m) range, and is much more limited in scope, with broad, accessible plains along the W and N (S of Galilee).

²³²⁴ Parker (1992: 132 n. 1) cites *CIL* 2.3272, showing one Valerianus commanding detachments from 3 Moesian legions (*V Macedonica*, *VIII Augusta*, and perhaps *IV Scythica*) in Thrace, newly formed as a province in 46 CE.

²³²⁵ The Illyrians were well known for their toughness: it was their state-sponsored piracy under Queen Teuta, according to Polybius, that first prompted Rome to cross the Adriatic and involve itself in Greek affairs, from 219 BCE (see Polybius 2.4-12). They fought Rome repeatedly, and also allied with them at times, until their submission (as an ally of the Macedonian king Perseus) in 168 BCE. Whereas in Greek usage "the Illyrians" means those living on the western edge of Macedonia,

off by the Ister:²³²⁷ do they not give way to only two legions,²³²⁸ alongside which they

N of Epirus, the Romans understood “Illyricum” to extend all the way N to the Danube (cf. Suetonius, *Tib.* 16; *OCD* s.v. “Illyricum, Illyrii”). The territory of Illyricum allotted to Julius Caesar in 59 BCE covered this entire region (mod. Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Slovenia, NE Italy, and E Austria), though he did not subdue it. It was made an imperial province, subject to a legate, by 11 BCE (Dio 54.34.4; Augustus, *RG* 30) and, after the suppression of the Pannonian Revolt (6-9 CE), divided into two provinces (later, at least, called Dalmatia and Pannonia). On Josephus’ meaning, see the following notes.

²³²⁶ The Balkan region covered today by the western part of former Yugoslavia, roughly as far E from the Adriatic as the Danube, and as far N from Macedonia as Belgrade, with the northern border rising N as it moves W, to just N of Rijeka on the Croatian coast. Formerly the southern part of Illyricum, Dalmatia was constituted as an imperial province, with its capital at coastal Salonae (near Split), early in the 1st century CE. See the following notes.

²³²⁷ Josephus’ ambiguous syntax appears to mean that this place of the Illyrii (and not Dalmatia) was bounded by the Ister/Danube, which would be true of both Moesia and Pannonia. Since the Roman territory of Illyricum had been split into Dalmatia and Pannonia, and Suetonius calls the Pannonian revolt the War of Illyricum (*Tib.* 16), and Josephus will discuss the other part of Illyricum—Dalmatia—next (2.370), one might conclude that he locates these Illyrians in Pannonia, between Dalmatia to the S and the Danube to the N. Although he knows about the province of Pannonia (*War* 4.619; 7.117), he does not mention it in Agrippa’s survey, possibly because the revolt there was so long, difficult, and famous (“the most serious of all foreign wars since those with Carthage” [Suetonius, *Tib.* 16]; Velleius Paterculus, a staff officer in the conflict, gives a vivid account: 2.110-17), that it might have been counterproductive to mention Pannonia by name, in a speech on the alleged submission of the inhabited earth to Rome.

On balance, however, it seems more likely that Josephus here intends Moesia (E coast of Romania, N Bulgaria, E Serbia), which sat between just-described Thrace and Dalmatia, even though the (Thracian) Moesi do not seem to have been Illyrii (Domaszewski 1892: 213). But in that case his description would move in a more intelligible westerly direction (Thrace, Moesia, Dalmatia), making better sense of “after these”; and the Moesian legions were the ones most readily available to fight the Dacians across the Danube to the N (Filow 1906: 21-23). Thackeray (LCL *ad loc.*) assumes that Josephus has the

Moesian legions in mind—though his translation seems to favor Pannonia (“who inhabit the region extending from Dalmatia to the frontier of the Ister”). Moesia emerges as a defined province at about the same time as the creation of Thracia (46 CE), though there had been legates and legions in the lower Danube region since the turn of the era, under Augustus. Domitian would divide Moesia into Upper and Lower provinces.

²³²⁸ The legions along the Danube that were available to deal with the serious Dacian threat were, at Josephus’ time of writing in the mid-70s, those based in Moesia (4), Pannonia (2), and Dalmatia (1) (Parker 1992: 147). Josephus does not name Pannonia or Moesia in Agrippa’s survey (see 4.619; 7.117), but he appears to have the latter in mind here (previous note). Because of its important strategic position, Parker (1992: 138) observes, even in the Armenian crisis of the early 60s, which required Corbulo to gather legions from many places, “Moesia was never left without at least two legions.” But which ones?

From Filow (1906: 21-23) and Parker (1992: 132, 140, 142, 144) we gather that *V Macedonica* and *IV Scythica* were in the region from about the conclusion of the Pannonian revolt in 9 CE. *VIII Augusta* was transferred there in 46 CE, possibly to support the creation of neighboring Thrace that year (Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.15). *IV Scythica* was sent from Moesia to Syria in 56 or 57 and not replaced. In 62 CE, *V Macedonica* also went to Syria, but it was replaced with *VII Claudia* from Dalmatia (to maintain two legions in Moesia); *V Macedonica* would remain in the E, proceeding to Alexandria, from where it would march to Judea under Titus. *III Gallica*, which had also been attached to Corbulo in Syria, was sent to Moesia by Nero in about 66. At Nero’s death in 68 CE, therefore, the Moesian legions were *III Gallica*, *VII Claudia*, and *VIII Augusta*; at least the latter two were there at the time of Agrippa’s speech, and all 3 may have been. But *VIII Augusta* and *III Gallica* would leave in 69 CE with Antonius Primus to handle Vespasian’s campaigns in Italy. At about the same time, *I Italica* was moved into Moesia, as part of Vespasian’s plan to strengthen the region; *VII Claudia* was returned from Italy; and on completion of the main Judean war, *V Macedonica* returned from its long absence (*War* 7.117). At Josephus’ time of writing, therefore, the legions in Moesia were *I Italica*, *VII Claudia*, *V Macedonica*, and apparently the former Rhine legion, *V Alaudae* (Parker 1992: 148; Ritterling 1925: 1569).

If Josephus were referring to Pannonia (overlapping with mod. Slovenia, E. Austria, based at Carnuntum), the reckoning would be simpler. At the time of Agrippa’s

themselves drive back the assaults of the Dacians?²³²⁹ **370** And the Dalmatae,²³³⁰ who so often bucked the yoke²³³¹ for freedom—and for this [purpose]²³³² alone always marshaled their strength to rebel again, whenever they had been subdued in those days:²³³³ do they not now keep quiet²³³⁴ under one legion²³³⁵ of Romans?

371 But in truth, if indeed great stimuli²³³⁶ might understandably provoke²³³⁷ some people *Gauls*

speech, the two legions would have been *X Gemina* and *XIII Gemina*, with *XV Apollinaris* having earlier departed from its established base in Carnuntum for Corbulo's campaign (ca. 63 CE). Both of these would soon also be transferred, but early in Vespasian's reign *Legio XIII* returned to its base at Poetovio; it was soon joined by *XV Apollinaris*, returning after a long absence in the E—most recently for the Judean war—to its base at Carnuntum (Parker 1992: 148; *War* 7.117).

²³²⁹ This gives a vivid impression of the ongoing threat from the Dacians (in mod. Romania, N of the Danube)—and Sarmatians—felt by those living S of the river. Roman leaders had planned invasions or diplomatic measures from the time of Julius Caesar onward (Suetonius, *Jul.* 44.3; *Aug.* 63). In Josephus' time, under their king Decebalus the Dacians were making the threat clear again: a few years after he wrote this passage, in battles of 85 and 86 CE, they would kill the governor of Moesia as well as Domitian's praetorian prefect. After his victory against them in 88, Domitian would impose a peace that recognized Decebalus as a friend (client) of Rome. But in the early 2nd century Trajan, after yet further confrontations, would reduce Dacia to a province (106 CE).

²³³⁰ The Illyrians (partly Celtic) who gave their name to the province: see note to "Dalmatia" at 2.369.

²³³¹ This is a colorful verb (ἀναχατίζω), with two meanings: of a horse, "throwing back the mane" in rearing or bucking; of a rider, keeping control of the horse by seizing the mane. Josephus' only other use of the verb is strikingly similar, in his own character's speech at 5.389. Whereas here his Agrippa speaks admiringly of a people who have thrown off the yoke of foreign rule in the past, Josephus there observes that the Judeans did *not* "rear their manes for freedom" while in Babylonian captivity; God has always directed their course. The parallel thus confirms both Josephus' authorial control over Agrippa's speech and his rhetorical flexibility.

Before Josephus' time the verb was used little, mainly by playwrights (Euripides, *Hipp.* 1232; *Bacch.* 1072; *Rhes.* 786; Sophocles, *Frag.* 179 [Radt]; Demosthenes, *Olynth.* 9; Menander, *Sam.* 209; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 5.15.3; 12.5.2). It was, however, something of a favorite term for Philo, who also used it chiefly in a metaphorical (though not political) sense: *Opif.* 1.79, 88; *Leg.* 1.73; *Sacr.* 1.49; *Agric.* 1.70; *Somn.* 2.83; *Mos.* 1.25, 177, 270; *Spec.* 2.18, 147, 163; 4.99; *Virt.* 1.41. Here again we see Josephus' "Philonic" language.

²³³² Instead of using a feminine pronoun to refer to antecedent ἐλευθερία (thus "for this freedom"), Josephus opts for the neuter article, apparently understanding a missing noun such as τὸ τέλος.

²³³³ Josephus' Agrippa singles out the Dalmatians for impressive resistance to foreign domination, perhaps in part because, having abandoned their alliance with the Illyrian kingdom to the S, they did not share its defeat and submission to Rome in 168 BCE. Rather, they continued to attack Roman allies and interests for more than a century and a half. Although their territory was given to Julius Caesar, he was not able to pacify the region, though Octavian occupied most of it in 34/33 BCE. Still the conflicts continued: Tiberius led a campaign against them in 11-9 BCE, and they were only finally subdued (by Tiberius) with the end of the Pannonian Revolt (9 CE). Indeed, the Dalmatians were the only holdouts after the other rebels had surrendered (Velleius 2.94.4), and their persistence required a purely "Dalmatian" phase of the conflict (2.95). Velleius observes (2.95.4), albeit in the course of aggrandizing Tiberius' victory, that the Dalmatians were, "because of the siting of their emplacements in the mountains, their fierce temper, their amazing knowledge of fighting, and especially the narrow passes in which they lived, very nearly unbeatable."

²³³⁴ Although ἡσυχίαν ἄγω is a common expression, used also by Josephus in other works (*Ant.* 1.274; 3.76; 5.330; 7.127; 9.156, 195, 224; 11.261; 14.46; 15.116; *Apion* 2.114), this is the only occurrence in *War*.

²³³⁵ Following the unsuccessful revolt of L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus in 42 CE, Dalmatia became home to the loyalist legions, *VII Claudia pia fidelis* (*Macedonica*) and *XI Claudia pia fidelis* (*Actiaca*). *VII Claudia* was called to Syria in 58 CE, after which it went to Moesia (Parker 1992: 119, 135, 142, 144, 148). After 72-73, *XI Claudia* was shifted to Germania Superior, following service in 69-70 CE with Cerialis, and replaced with the newly formed *IV Flavia felix* (Parker 1992: 144, 148, and Dio 55.24.3). So Josephus may have in mind either *legio XI Cl.* (at Agrippa's time) or *IV Fl. f.* (in his own time)—or he may be citing the general situation that Dalmatia hosts one legion.

²³³⁶ Or simply "circumstances" (ἄφορμαί); see the notes at 2.41, 324. Here the sense is suggested by the parallel line of argument in 2.385, where "spur" (κέντρον) is used.

²³³⁷ See the note at 2.8.

towards rebellion,²³³⁸ it should obviously have been the Galatai,²³³⁹ who have been walled off²³⁴⁰ by nature thus:²³⁴¹ from the east by the Alps, to the north by the Rhenus River,²³⁴² in the south by the Pyrenean Mountains, and by Oceanus²³⁴³ to the west. **372** But even still, having been enclosed by such great defenses, and abounding with 305 nations,²³⁴⁴ and having the springs of prosperity,²³⁴⁵ as one might say,²³⁴⁶ in the country itself,²³⁴⁷ and with

²³³⁸ For the word, see note at 2.39. This must be an ironic statement, for Josephus' Roman audience could not help but know about the serious and recent unrest in Gaul, led first by the governor of Lugdunensis, C. Iulius Vindex (spring, 68 CE) with the support of local nobility, and then with the support of Iulius Classicus and other prominent Gauls for the enormous Batavian revolt, led by Iulius Civilis in 69/70 and finally suppressed by 9 legions under Cerialis. See the note to "restive" at 1.5, where Josephus has emphasizes the turmoil of the time in a different rhetorical context.

²³³⁹ I.e., Gauls: see the note at 2.364. The space that Agrippa gives the Gauls is justified by their importance to Rome. Although this speech focuses on the Roman conquest, the Gauls themselves had invaded Italy in 391 BCE and sacked Rome in 390 (Livy 5.34-37), following up with further invasions into the 3rd century BCE. These created a deep insecurity among the Romans, which affected also their internal governance (in relations among the "orders"), for many decades afterwards. A final concerted attack by the Gauls in 225 BCE, after a half-century of quiet, was disastrous for the attackers, however, and led the Romans to embark on a program of subduing Cisalpine Gaul (by 190 BCE, delayed by Hannibal's invasion in 218 BCE). Next came the subjugation of Transalpine Gaul in the Rhone valley and foothills of the Alps and Massif Central (120s BCE): Narbonese Gaul, after the foundation of coastal Narbo (mod. Narbonne), as a veterans' colony in about 118 BCE. The conquest of the remainder, N and W of the Massif Central, was the work of Julius Caesar (in 59-51 BCE).

Augustus would create 3 large provinces (Aquitania, Lugdunensis, and Belgica) from the new region and, after the collapse of his German province E of the Rhine (9 CE), remove large tracts W of the Rhine from Belgica to redefine them as Germania Inferior (N) and Superior (S). Josephus' description here, giving the Rhenus (Rhine) as Gaul's boundary, characteristically ignores political borders. See Rankin 1996: 103-37; Cunliffe 1997: 235-57.

²³⁴⁰ Ancient cities typically had built walls (classical Sparta being a notable exception) and those with the most advantageous natural situations were obviously better suited to defense. Josephus' Agrippa extends the principle to entire peoples, describing the seemingly impenetrable *natural* "walls" of the Gauls, the Britons

(2.378), and the Egyptians or Alexandrians (2.386), which the Romans have nevertheless overcome. Of what use, then, are mere city walls such as Jerusalem's, no matter how strong?

²³⁴¹ Cf. Strabo 2.5.28; 4.1.1, with much more detail. This portrait is much simplified. If we envision Gaul as a rough pentagon with a "roof", the NW and W sides face Oceanus, the NE the Rhine, the lower E the Alps, and the S is defined by the Pyrenees to the W and the Mediterranean to the E.

²³⁴² This notice confirms Josephus' ethnographical interest (cf. Strabo 2.5.28; 4.1.1), for Augustus had removed large tracts W of the Rhine to create the province of Germania Inferior and Superior. For the Gallic provinces the Rhine was no longer a meaningful border (Belgica coming closest to it near Koblenz), but it was still reasonable to speak of the Gallic *peoples* extending to the Rhine. See the note to "Gauls" in this section.

²³⁴³ See the notes at 2.155: this is the body of water commonly thought to encircle the inhabited earth. It is most accessible at the Mediterranean, where its boundary is marked by the Pillars of Hercules (at Gibraltar).

²³⁴⁴ Plutarch (*Caes.* 15) gives 300; Appian (*Celt.* 1.2) gives 400.

²³⁴⁵ Gaul produced abundant wine, oil, and wool; it was rich in iron; and it yielded plenty of grain—though it does not seem to have sent much to Rome. Cf. Frank 1927: 367-72; Rostovtzeff 1957: 1.165-67, 215-21 (with reliefs showing business activities in Gaul, from a slightly later period than Josephus' *War*). The wealth of Gaul, already mentioned by Agrippa at 2.364, was famous. Cicero had long before observed (late 70s BCE): "All Gaul is filled with traders, is full of Roman citizens" (*Font.* 5). Gallic wealth had come to Rome most obviously in the form of Julius Caesar's unstoppable resources, his exaction of tribute from the new subjects (40 million HS annually, according to Suetonius, *Jul.* 25), and his expensive projects in Rome and other cities financed by the Gallic war: the Basilica Iulia (the area of a football field, 3 stories high), a large extension to the *forum romanum*, lavish public spectacles, the doubling of legionary base pay along with increased food allotments for soldiers and the assignment of slaves (Suetonius, *Jul.* 26; cf. 28), and the beginnings of a massive marble and colonnaded structure for popular meetings—all this supplementing earlier enhancements of the forum while he was aedile (Cicero, *Att.* 4.17; Suetonius, *Jul.* 10).

their goods flooding nearly the whole world,²³⁴⁸ they tolerate being Romans' revenue²³⁴⁹ and serving as paymaster for their very own, domestic prosperity.²³⁵⁰ **373** And they put up with this not because of any softness in aspirations or lack of nobility²³⁵¹—they who for eighty years persevered²³⁵² with a war in behalf of freedom²³⁵³—but in connection with the Romans' power, and after being astonished at their fortune,²³⁵⁴ which brings them success

²³⁴⁶ Before Josephus, who uses the phrase ἄν τις εἶποι 9 times (5 in *War* 1-4), Philo has it 10 times; Josephus' contemporary Plutarch has 24 occurrences. In earlier authors, however, it is rare (5 occurrences in Aristotle's corpus, mostly in the *Magna moralia*, 3 each in Plato, Xenophon, and Demosthenes, 1 in Polybius). The phrase provides another example of Josephus' control of Agrippa's speech, also of his tendency toward "Philonic" and Second-Sophistic diction.

²³⁴⁷ That is, they do not rely on imports, as many regions (including Rome) must, but actually export their abundant natural resources and manufactured goods.

²³⁴⁸ See the note to this word at 2.360. Rostovtzeff (1957: 1.165) points out that the combination of excellent rivers and sea ports throughout Gaul made it easier for Gallic merchants than for most to collect goods from throughout the country and get them to markets along both the Rhine and the Danube.

²³⁴⁹ MSS PA have a more convenient "giving revenue" (πρόσοδον διδόντες), but ὄντες is the more difficult and preferable reading. It is a more humiliating verb for the Gauls—they *are* mere revenue—, in keeping with realist posture of the speaker.

²³⁵⁰ That is, the Gauls are not only required to pay the Romans tribute; they themselves must see to the collection and handing over of their own bounty.

²³⁵¹ Josephus' negative phrasing is noteworthy: he infers the Gauls' toughness from military conflicts more than a century earlier, featuring not their warlike nature but their natural defenses and resources. Contrast his presentation of the Germani at 2.376-77, which is all about their bellicosity. This difference accords with Tacitus, *Germ.* 28.4 (Rives trans.): "The Treveri and Nervii are quite eager to claim a Germanic origin, as though by this bloodline they might distinguish themselves from the typically spiritless Gauls." There was a general sense that the last-conquered Gauls, across the Massif Central from Narbonensis, had once been tough tribes (cf. Caesar, *Bell. gall.* 1.1; Balsdon 1979: 65; Momigliano 1971: 50-73, and the note to "restive" at 1.5), though in recent times all of Gaul was becoming softer.

²³⁵² The 80-year period in question is (roughly) from the early 120s to 51 BCE: from the Romans' first military campaigns across the Alps, and the establishment of Narbonese Gaul (*provincia*), to Julius Caesar's protracted campaigns (described in his *Gallic War*), which subjected the vast territories W and N of the Massif

Central. Caesar himself refers to the precedent of Q. Fabius Maximus' defeat of the Arverni and Ruteni in 125 BCE, in his confrontation of the German Ariovistus over claims to Gaul (*Bell. gall.* 1.45). Cicero's defense of the governor of Gallia Narbonensis, M. Fonteius, refers to the ongoing conflicts with local tribes even there in the late 70s BCE (*Font.* 5-6).

²³⁵³ See the note to "freedom," a basic theme of the *War* and of Agrippa's speech, at 2.259. Agrippa's implication that the Gauls fought for 8 decades to preserve their freedom against Rome is a simplification to the point of serious distortion. The Romans had entered the region at the urgent request of one group in Gaul (the Massilians, of mod. Marseilles), for aid against another (the Ligurians). Caesar justified his own campaigns in the 50s on the basis of prior German encroachment: the Aedui sought his help against the Sequani (backed by Ariovistus of the German Suebi, who had crossed the Rhine to stake his claim), and he checked the attempt of the Helvetii to migrate to lowland Gaul. Caesar's conflicts in Gaul were not simply, therefore, battles against those defending their freedom against Rome.

At any rate, Agrippa implies a stark contrast with the Judeans, who barely put up any resistance when they had the chance, and the Romans were still outside (63 BCE); their passion for freedom now is too late (2.355-57), especially given that even those who have mightily resisted the Romans over several decades have long since made their accommodation.

²³⁵⁴ See also the notes to "fortune" at 2.184, 373, 390. The theme of Rome's fortune (τύχη) connects Josephus (2.360, 387; 3.354, 359, 438; 5.120; 6.399-400; 7.203, 231; *Ant.* 20.70) with the many other Greek statesmen who reflected on Rome's power, from Polybius in the 2nd-cent. BCE to Plutarch in the 2nd cent. CE. The master text is Polybius' history: he brings the traditional Greek concept of fortune—something like chance, luck, and randomness, a principle opposed to human training, planning, and discipline (see next note), which makes all endeavors, no matter how well prepared, uncertain—to bear on the rise of Rome. Since fortune's nature is always to create new things and overturn the *status quo* (Polybius 1.4.5), Rome's steady rise over a half century is its most remarkable achievement (1.4.1).

Because fortune's movements are inscrutable, attributing success to fortune is also a way of denying the successful party credit for the achievement; it was a

more than their weapons.²³⁵⁵ Surely that is why they are slaves²³⁵⁶ under 1,200 soldiers,²³⁵⁷ when they very nearly²³⁵⁸ have more cities than that!²³⁵⁹

Iberians

374 Nor, with the Iberians,²³⁶⁰ did the gold that was being dug up²³⁶¹ suffice at all²³⁶² for

common question whether conspicuous achievement was attributable to virtue *or* to fortune (cf. Polybius 2.49.7; 10.2.5; 15.34.2; 29.22.2; 32.8.4; 39.8.2). In Polybius, this sharp dichotomy supports the work's Stoicizing ethic: since fortune is beyond one's control, one should devote one's energy not to its uncertain outcomes but to virtuous action, which *is* in one's power—no matter what the outcome might be. Plutarch opens his essay *On Fortune* (*Mor.* 97c) with a line from Chaeremon, “The ways of mortals are fortune, not good counsel,” but then proceeds to argue in contrast that human effort achieves much. The tension is clearest in his essays on “the fortune—or the virtue—of Alexander,” where Plutarch defends the famous king against claims that his exploits were merely the result of fortune. In his *Fortune of the Romans*, by contrast, Plutarch puts the emphasis on the fortune of the city (“Why is not the case that that fortune put the city right at the times of its greatest calamities?” *Mor.* 324d) and of its great men. In both cases, fortune is not simply impersonal luck, but a sort of charm that attends the great men, and on which they rely, though they are ever in danger of losing it (*Mor.* 319c-d); it may be equated with a guardian spirit (δαίμων, *Mor.* 324b). See, with somewhat different emphases, Swain 1996: 152-60, 354-55.

In this respect, then, Josephus (especially here in Agrippa's voice) tends to side with the Greek tradition in shifting the focus from Rome's achievements (see the note to “weapons” in this section) to her enjoyment of fortune's favor now, something that has blessed many other nations in the past (and will in the future). See further the note to “God” at 2.390.

²³⁵⁵ See the previous note. Cf. *Life* 17 (noted by Lindner 1972: 22), where Josephus will caution against war with Rome on the double ground of the Romans' martial prowess and their good fortune. Josephus' rhetorical freedom is clear from the fact that his lengthy digression on the Roman army will argue precisely the opposite point: “they hold their empire as the achievement of valor [or virtue], *not* as a gift of fortune,” and that their whole training is aimed at overcoming the vicissitudes of fortune (3.71, 101, 106-7). Again, however, the extreme claims of that digression will be almost systematically undone by the portrait of the legions in the subsequent narrative, where they are frequently at a loss in the face of both fortune's adverse turns and surprising Judean valor (cf. Introduction and Mason 2005a).

²³⁵⁶ See the note to “slaves” at 2.349.

²³⁵⁷ The number is plausible, though hard to verify or explain precisely. Under Augustus a cohort of 500 was apparently stationed at Lugdunum, increased to 1,000 by Vitellius, but reduced to 500 again by Vespasian (Saulnier 1991: 214). Archaeology has turned up remains of military camps in the interior of the 3 Gauls, from the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods (Le Bohec 1994: 165-66).

Josephus' Agrippa appears caught between two rhetorical impulses: to stress the small number of Roman soldiers that hold down vast territories of strong peoples, as here, and yet to show that the Romans are capable of fielding a massive army to control such a people as “the *Germani*” (2.377). Tacitus insists, however, that the major concentration of forces along the Rhine was “a bulwark against *Germani* and *Galli* alike” (*Ann.* 4.5). There could be little doubt that the 8 legions camped W of the Rhine, in what had initially been part of Gaul, created a powerful disincentive to would-be rebels in Gaul.

²³⁵⁸ The phrase ὀλίγου δεῖν was popular among Greek orators as a slight qualification of their statements concerning “all” or “every” or some extreme action (e.g., Isocrates, *Arch.* 65; *Areop.* 69; *Antid.* 159; Demosthenes, *Phil.* 3.1; *Cor.* 20; Aeschines, *Ctes.* 165). The only historians known to use it before Josephus were Xenophon (*Hell.* 2.4.21; *Mem.* 3.10.13) and the highly rhetorical Dionysius, who has it a remarkable 29 times. Philo employs it 3 times (*Plant.* 83; *Mos.* 1.160; *Flac.* 44). Josephus uses it several times in *War* (here and 1.625; 2.550, 580; 4.349; 6.43) and at *Life* 393, in just such contexts, showing a consistency of authorial hand. Plutarch has it more than 3 dozen times.

²³⁵⁹ Even the qualification “almost” does not save Josephus from exaggeration: a laudatory Plutarch (*Caes.* 15.5) and Appian (*Gall.* 2) agree that Julius Caesar took *more than 800* cities in Gaul (cf. Paul 1990: 80).

²³⁶⁰ The peoples of modern Portugal and Spain, originally in two provinces (Citerior and Ulterior) but since 7 BCE in three: Lusitania in the SW and W, S-central Baetica (around the Baetis River), and Tarraconensis in the long-settled E/SE plains and across the rugged N (Strabo 3.4.20). See Sutherland 1971: 132-51.

²³⁶¹ Or “farmed”: the verb γεωργέω suggests a surface-level sifting, refining, or even strip-mining of gold ore, not the deep-vein shaft mining that the Romans would undertake. Josephus' Agrippa mentions only the most valuable of the metals famously mined in Spain,

the war in behalf of freedom,²³⁶³ nor, for the Ares-mad²³⁶⁴ peoples²³⁶⁵ of the Lusitani²³⁶⁶ and Cantabri,²³⁶⁷ did such a great distance by land and sea from the Romans [suffice]; nor did

which also included silver, lead, tin, iron, zinc, mercury, and copper. The main areas were the NW, SW (including Sierra Morena), and SE extremities. Polybius (34.9.8) apparently reported that the silver mines near Carthago Nova (mod. Cartagena) employed some 40,000 miners. See Rothenberg and Freijeiro 1981; Domergue 1987, 1990. (I thank my colleague Jonathan Edmondson for consultation.) Long before the Romans arrived, gold had been mined in the southern Sierra Morena; the Romans would open up the northern veins, under constant military supervision, in the territories of the peoples Josephus will next mention.

²³⁶² This verb (ἐξαρκέω) opens an *inclusio*, which Josephus will close at the end of the Greek sentence (2.375): all the gold of Iberia did not suffice to preserve their freedom, but a single legion *does* suffice (same verb without prefix) to keep them enslaved to Rome.

²³⁶³ See the note to “freedom,” a bedrock theme of the *War* and of Agrippa’s speech, at 2.259.

²³⁶⁴ After Ares (Mars), the God of war; thus in effect: war-crazed, martially obsessed. I translate ἀρετιμάνια literally to indicate the vividness and strangeness of the term. Before Josephus it is attested as a proper noun in Diogenes Laertius’ witness (1.8) to a lost dialogue of Aristotle, which claims that the Magi distinguished between a good spirit (Zeus or Ahura Mazda/Ormazd) and an evil one (called Hades or Ares-manic [this may be simply a genuine effort to transliterate the Zoroastrian *Angra Mainyu*, or it may be deliberately interpretative]). Fragments of Eudemus, Eudoxus, and Theopompus make the same point. As a common adjective, the word is attested before Josephus only in Strabo, who describes the Gauls as war-crazed, spirited, and quick for battle—though not otherwise unpleasant (4.4.2)—as also the war-crazed Celtic Iapodes, now worn out by battling Augustus (7.5.4), and in Philo, who characterizes war-mania as the vulgar misconception of courage (*Virt.* 1; cf. *Ebr.* 115). Particularly significant is Strabo’s claim (3.3.7) that these people sacrifice hecatombs to Ares before battle. For his remarks on their unique savagery and insensibility to pain, see 3.3.7, 4.17-18. Josephus’ contemporary Plutarch uses the word 9 times, suggesting a rise in popularity.

Josephus’ usage here is evidently closest to Strabo’s ethnographic use of the word to characterize a people. His authorial control of Agrippa’s speech is indicated by his use of this rare adjective again at 6.46, in a speech attributed to Titus (where the sense is positive, of soldiers “pumped up” for battle).

²³⁶⁵ See the note to “peoples” at 2.366.

²³⁶⁶ Josephus names here two of the three famous Celtiberian tribes (the other being the Asturians). Strabo (3.3.3) identifies Lusitania with the entire NW region of Spain, from the Tagus River, which runs E-W roughly across the middle, to Oceanus on the W and N; he acknowledges that these people are now usually called Callaicans, with Lusitania having become the name of a province bounded by the Durus (Duris) River (3.4.20)—largely overlapping with modern Portugal, though it extends only half as far W, somewhat further N, than Lusitania.

Josephus’ coupling of Lusitani with Cantabri, as particularly war-like peoples, seems to indicate that he has Strabo’s definition (or one like it) in mind: This NW sector was the last part of Spain to be conquered by Rome: “Lusitania is the greatest of the Iberian nations and the nation against which the Romans waged war for the longest times” (Strabo 3.3.3). Augustus’ conquest of this region in 27-26 BCE was exceedingly difficult and hard to sustain (Mattern 1999: 100). Strabo’s examples of the northern people’s martial character, courage, and insensibility to pain (e.g., their singing from their crosses while being crucified), traits attributed to both men and women, are drawn from the Cantabrian wars (3.4.17-18; cf. 3.3.7).

In Strabo’s time there were still three legions in the northern regions of the province Hispania Tarraconensis, two of these in the W-central area of his Lusitani and Cantabri, the other along the Pyrenees. Already then the southern-most province of Baetica was a senatorial province without a legion, and also the internal part of Tarraconensis could be described as “toga-clad” because of its cooperation with Rome (3.4.20). By Josephus’ time, more than a half-century later, the region had produced or nurtured literary Romans such as Seneca and Lucan, and soldiers and statesmen from whose families emperors would soon emerge (in Trajan and Hadrian).

²³⁶⁷ In the north-central mountains of the Iberian peninsula, within the large NW area covered by Strabo’s Lusitania (3.3.3). Mattern (1999: 100) points out that the Cantabri revolted at least 4 times between 24 and 16 BCE, in spite of being dealt with harshly each time (Cassius Dio 53.29; 54.5.1; 54.11, 20.3). After the 3rd revolt they were reportedly disarmed, their survivors forced to come down from the Cantabrian mountains and settle in the plains (Florus 2.33.59-60), though this did not prevent a further revolt. For Strabo’s account of their courage and toughness, see the previous note.

neighboring Oceanus,²³⁶⁸ though inflicting a surging tide²³⁶⁹ that is frightening even to²³⁷⁰ the locals. **375** Rather, after extending their weapons beyond the Pillars of Heracles²³⁷¹ and traversing the Pyrenean Mountains through the clouds,²³⁷² the Romans enslaved²³⁷³ these people also. As a garrison—of those who were thus hard to fight and living so far away—one legion sufficed.²³⁷⁴

Germani

376 Who among you has not learned, by hearsay, about the horde of Germani?²³⁷⁵ No

²³⁶⁸ See the notes at 2.155 and 2.363: the body of water commonly thought to encircle the inhabited earth. The Romans' recent conquest of long-dreaded Oceanus (by invading Britain in 43 CE) was a monumental achievement. Here the reference is to NW Spain, which is bordered by Oceanus to the W and N (Strabo 3.3.3).

²³⁶⁹ The noun ἄμπωτις occurs only here in Josephus. Strabo, however, uses the term 28 times, about a third of these in the same context as Josephus concerning the Spanish coast: of the vigorous "ebb-tide," which he contrasts with the flood-tide in the region (3.2.4, 7, 11; 3.3.3, 5.7, 8). He supports Posidonius against Aristotle, who had mistakenly imagined that these famous tides were caused by rocky cliffs along the coast, whereas Posidonius correctly describes the coastal land as low and sandy (3.3.3). Strabo does not dispute the impressiveness of the tides, though, and he (or Posidonius) may be Josephus' source here. For impressively surging tides in another part of Oceanus, in the E, see Diodorus 17.106.6.

²³⁷⁰ See the similar construction at 2.381 (used of the treacherous shoals of the Syrtes off N Africa).

²³⁷¹ I.e., the land masses or possibly (originally) man-made structures built thereon (Strabo is unsure: 3.5.5-6) that mark the entrance to the Straits of Gibraltar, closing the Mediterranean ("Our Sea") in a passage 36 miles (58 km) long and as narrow as 8 miles across (Herodotus 1.203; 2.33; 4.8, 42-43, 152, 181, 185, 96; 8.132). The Pillars are so called because Heracles was said to have erected them during the Labor that required him to bring back the oxen of Geryon, who lived on an island in Oceanus by Cadiz (Hesiod, *Theog.* 979; Pausanias 1.35.7-8; cf. "Gadeira" at 2.363). The Pillars marked the transition to terrifying, unexplored Oceanus, thought by Josephus and most contemporaries to encircle the inhabited earth (cf. 2.155 with notes; Romm 1992: 9-45; see further 2.382). Phoenician explorers a millennium or more before Josephus' time had established the significance of the Pillars, perhaps connecting them with a shrine to Melkart in Tyre. Strabo mentions as but one possibility (3.5.5) what was later generally accepted: the Pillars were the Rock of Gibraltar on the N and Mt. Abilyx on the S (Jebel Musa or possibly Mt. Acha in Spanish N Africa, at the Ceuta isthmus at the NE tip of Morocco). See the note at 2.382 below; these are the

only two references to the Pillars of Hercules in Josephus.

²³⁷² A reference to the height of the chain, whose peaks in the central section reach about 3,350 m/11,000 ft.

²³⁷³ See the note to "slaves" at 2.349, and to "freedom" at 2.346.

²³⁷⁴ This completes the *inclusio* begun with what did *not* suffice (the Iberians' gold), at 2.374; dropping the prefix from the verb (see the earlier note) emphasizes that 1 legion *easily* suffices.

Legio VI Victrix ("victorious"), one of the 3 legions that had been in Spain under Augustus and Tiberius (Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.5; down from the 4 or 5 required to pacify the region; cf. Mattern 1999: 100), was the only one left at the putative time of Agrippa's speech in 66 CE. It would become the base of S. Sulpicius Galba's support, acclaiming him emperor after Nero's suicide in June of 68 CE; at that time Galba raised another Spanish legion to support his bid (*VII Galbiana* or *Hispana*, later *Gemina*), which he soon moved to Pannonia; he brought *legio X Gemina* back to its traditional home in Spain. In 69 CE the short-lived emperor Vitellius sent the new legion *I Adiutrix* also to Spain, where it would, however, lead the support for Vespasian in the latter part of that year (Tacitus, *Hist.* 3.44); it would soon leave to join the Flavian general Cerialis against the Batavians, along with the other 2 Spanish legions, *VI Victrix* and *X Hispana/Gemina* (Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.68; 5.19. See Parker 1992: 99-100, 140-44).

Through the middle of the 70s, when Josephus was writing *War*, Spain was apparently empty of legions. This may explain his surprising use of the past (aorist) tense (ἤρκεσεν), betraying his own authorial perspective, though the imperfect might have suited that purpose better; the Latin translation has the more expected present (*satis est*), as do other modern translators (M-B: "jetzt genügt"). Spain would only receive a legion again when *Legio VII* (now *Gemina*) returned—after supporting Otho and then Vespasian in Rome, under Antonius Primus—at some point in the later 70s, to remain there for centuries (Parker 1992: 147).

²³⁷⁵ As Rives (1999: 1-41, 65) clearly shows, *Germani* was a convenient unifying term applied by Roman authors to a number of tribes who evidently saw no such

doubt²³⁷⁶ you have often seen the strength and size of their bodies,²³⁷⁷ since Romans have their captives everywhere.²³⁷⁸ **377** But these men, although they apportion among themselves²³⁷⁹ a boundless land, and have aspirations bigger than their bodies, as well as the soul that holds death in contempt²³⁸⁰ and tempers that are more violent than those of the wildest beasts,²³⁸¹ have the Rhene as a boundary to their impulse.²³⁸² Being dominated by eight legions²³⁸³ of Romans, those who have been conquered are slaves,²³⁸⁴ while their nation as a whole is preserving itself by fleeing.²³⁸⁵

unity among themselves: Suebi (itself an umbrella term), Batavi, Chatti, Cherusci, Tencteri, Chauci, Cimbri, Peucini, Veneti, Fenni, and many others. Rives' rich commentary to Tacitus' *Germania* seems the best place to begin a study of the region and its various peoples in Josephus' period.

²³⁷⁶ This is the only occurrence in *War* of the adverb δῆπου, though it appears (more properly) as two words at 2.36; see note there to "I presume."

²³⁷⁷ This is a point of comparison with the Judeans themselves: on the characteristic phrase see 2.268 (in the context of the Caesarean conflict). Josephus' authorial control of Agrippa's speech is clear from a very similar line in his Titus' speech to the rebel leaders (*War* 6.331): Are they relying upon the "strength of [their] bodies" (same phrase as here)? "But you know that the *Germans* are our slaves!" Tacitus (*Germ.* 4) describes a remarkably uniform appearance: "fierce blue eyes, tawny hair, bodies that are big, but strong only in attack." He later attempts to explain their remarkable size and strength (*Germ.* 20): "In every home they grow up, naked and filthy, into those long limbs and large bodies that amaze us so. . . . Love comes late to the young men, and their virility is not drained thereby. Nor are maidens hurried along: of identical age and similar height, they match their mates in strength, and the children reflect their parents' vigour" (trans. Rives 1999; see his commentary *ad loc.* for parallels). Rives notes (p. 129) archaeological research suggesting that average Germans were 5 ft. 6 in./1.67 m (male) and 5 ft. 2 in./1.57 (female).

²³⁷⁸ The combination of "no doubt" and this explanation actually feeds doubts about the claim that Agrippa's audience would know what Germans were like. Certainly in Josephus' Rome it would not be difficult to see them (since Batavians traditionally formed part of the imperial bodyguard, and others might well be seen as captives). But since the Romans had no permanent presence in Jerusalem, and the auxiliaries in Judea were drawn from Caesarea and Sebaste, it is not clear how Agrippa's audience in 66 CE should "often" have seen Germans. In Josephus' narratives, Germans appear in Judea only as part of Herod's exotic bodyguard, at his funeral parade alongside units from Gaul and Thrace (*War* 1.672; *Ant.* 17.198). Otherwise, they appear only in Roman contexts: Gaius' German bodyguard, which went on a rampage

when their master was killed (*Ant.* 19.119, 125-26, 138, 148-49, 152-53, 215); the connection of Germany and its legions with contenders in the civil wars (*War* 4.546, 586, 595, 648); and the Batavian revolt of 69-70 (*War* 7.76-89). Conceivably, Josephus' Agrippa is ironically signaling to his Roman literary audience the artificiality of the speech.

²³⁷⁹ See the note at 2.365; also 2.382 below.

²³⁸⁰ This phrase is characteristic of Josephus in *War* (see the note at 2.60); its use here highlights his control over the speech of Agrippa.

²³⁸¹ Tacitus also dwells on the martial quality of their lives, emphasizing that it is the only real criterion for male virtue (*Germ.* 3, 6-9, 13-16, 30-31, 35). But Tacitus, who admires the nobility of their primitive ways, especially as reflected in marital fidelity and child-rearing (18-19), does not compare them to wild beasts in general—though he mentions drunken brawling that ends in death, as well as serious gambling (22, 24.2). Josephus too seems to make only their anger animal-like in its ferocity (to highlight the Roman achievement).

²³⁸² This is an ironic claim. As Josephus' Roman audience would know, it was at least as correct to say that the Rhine marked the limit to *Roman* ambitions. From about 12 BCE Augustus, dispatching Drusus as commander, had established a unified province of Germania between the Rhine and the Elbe (roughly the western half of modern Germany), but that project was shattered when Quinctilius Varus, the governor in 9 CE, perished with his 3 legions (the "Varian disaster") in an ambush in the Teutoburg Forest; see the note to "Varus" at 1.21. That was the battle that stopped *Rome* (Wells 2003), not the Germani, forcing Rome to abandon the German project and accept the Rhine as the limit of its expansion for the time being. Although minor explorations continued across the river, Claudius, at the time of his preparations to invade Britain in 43 CE, withdrew Roman forces to the Rhine as a fixed border: see Mommsen 1887: 1.127-38. As Josephus was writing, Vespasian was beginning to venture further again: he established a *limes* in the Neckar-Black Forest region, in the SW "elbow" of the Rhine.

²³⁸³ Although there were normally 8 legions in the area, at the time of Agrippa's speech (66 CE) there were apparently only 7: in Germania Inferior (the region W

Brettani

378 Now, you who rely on the walls of Hierosolyma, consider also the ‘wall’ of the Brettani,²³⁸⁶ for the Romans sailed [there]²³⁸⁷ and enslaved²³⁸⁸ even those people who are surrounded by Oceanus²³⁸⁹ and inhabit an island no smaller than the world²³⁹⁰ of our

of the Rhine: mod. Netherlands, northern Belgium, Westfalia W of the Rhine and Rheinland) *I Germanica*, *V Alaudae*, *XV Primigenia*, and *XVI Gallica*; in Germania Superior (S of Belgica: eastern France, northern Switzerland, and the Black Forest area of Germany), *IV Macedonica*, *XXI Rapax*, and *XXII Primigenia* (Parker 1992: 140). After the Batavian rebellion, which required 9 legions, and the operations of T. Flavius Clemens in 72-73 CE—so at Josephus’ time of writing—there were 8 legions again: *VI Victrix*, *X Gemina*, *XXI Rapax*, and *XXII Primigenia* in Germania Inferior; in Germania Superior, *I Adiutrix*, *VIII Augusta*, *XI Claudia*, and *XIV Gemina* (Parker 1992: 146-47).

Whether Josephus is anachronistically reflecting the situation at his time of writing or simply citing the standard configuration (Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.5), we cannot know. See the Excursus above. See also 2.373: Josephus obscures the fact that the Rhine legions guarded not only the *Germani* but, as importantly, Gaul.

²³⁸⁴ See the note to “slaves” at 2.349, to “freedom” at 2.346.

²³⁸⁵ This is peculiar phrasing, no doubt influenced by events between the story time of Agrippa’s speech (66 CE) and Josephus’ writing it in the 70s. In keeping with the rhetoric of the whole speech, Agrippa should be saying that the Germans, though enjoying every natural advantage, submit to Rome. But he cannot say that. Just 3 years after the ostensible time of the speech, parts of Germany and Gaul exploded in the Batavian-Gallic Revolt, in which native aristocrats who had become Roman citizens led auxiliary armies and even defecting legionaries (during the Roman civil war) in a bid for “freedom” from Rome. In contrast to Agrippa’s main point, Tacitus’ report of the speech by the leader Iulius Civilis, as he tries to rally his followers, declares (*Hist.* 4.17): “Let Syria, Asia Minor, and the East be slaves, since they are habituated to kings. Many now living in Gaul were born before the days of tribute. Only recently in fact [60 years earlier] was Quintilius Varus killed, and slavery driven out of Germany.”

²³⁸⁶ I.e., Britons. See 2.363 with note. There the immediate reference is to Caesar’s abortive invasions of the S in 55-54 BCE, whereas this paragraph elaborates on the situation created by Claudius’ more enduring conquest of 43 CE and following; for the intervening period, which was marked by the growth of communities under Belgic invaders, see Collingwood and Myres 1990: 54-75. Much of our literary source material for Britain

in this period is in Tacitus’ *Agricola* (10-17, on which see Birley 1999) and *Annals* (14.29-37; bks. 7-10, which included Claudius’ conquest, are lost). Current scholarship on Roman Britain depends heavily on archaeology to fill in the gaps. See Collingwood and Myres 1990; Webster 1993, 1999; Shotter 2004.

On nature’s “walls” see 2.371 above (Gaul) and 386 below (Alexandria and Egypt). As the context shows, the natural wall here is Oceanus, beyond (or in) which Britain lies. Although no constructed wall could surpass it for defensive purposes (a point still important in Hitler’s calculations), Agrippa declares, even the English Channel was not sufficient to keep the Romans from conquering the island.

²³⁸⁷ Claudius’ invasion force, under the senator Aulus Plautius, was nearly the same size as Caesar’s in the second invasion (54 BCE): 4 legions instead of Caesar’s 5, but with more auxiliary cavalry. It seems that Claudius’ generals used Caesar’s account as a guide (Collingwood and Myres 1990: 78-80). Claudius himself visited Britain for a couple of weeks following the invasion, enough to associate himself with victory and justify the military glory reflected in his triumph.

²³⁸⁸ See the note to “freedom” (a prominent theme of *War*) at 2.346, to “slaves” at 2.349. Agrippa’s language is not that of diplomatic nuance but of *Realpolitik*, designed to engage interlocutors who resent their “enslavement” to a foreign master. Tacitus, writing two to three decades later, can express both sides of the semantic coin. On the one hand (*Agric.* 13): “The Britons themselves submit readily to conscription and taxes and the obligations imposed by the empire, so long as there are no abuses. *They have now been broken in to obedience, but not yet to slavery.*” On the other hand, he allows Iulius Civilis, leader of the Batavian revolt, to claim that “slavery was driven from Germany” by the defeat of Varus in 9 CE, and to hope for the same W of the Rhine now (*Hist.* 4.17); so, being subject to Rome is viewed by the subjects as slavery indeed.

²³⁸⁹ See the notes at 2.155 and 2.363: this is the forbidding body of water commonly thought to encircle the inhabited earth; what we know as the English Channel was part of it. The observation is germane here because the Roman commander Plautius reportedly faced a mutiny when he announced his plan to cross to England: “they were indignant at the prospect of conducting military campaigns outside of the world (ἔξω τῆς οἰκουμένης)” (Dio 60.19.2).

parts,²³⁹¹ and four legions²³⁹² closely guard such a big island.²³⁹³

379 And why is it necessary to say much when even the Parthians,²³⁹⁴ that most bellicose people,²³⁹⁵ ruling so many nations²³⁹⁶ and having equipped themselves with so large

²³⁹⁰ See the note to this word at 2.360.

²³⁹¹ Britain is indeed several times larger than Judea, even including Galilee (the biblical “Dan to Beersheva” is about 144 miles [232 km] N-S, not counting the deeper Negev). The classic statement of Britain’s dimensions, which Caesar claims he did not know before his campaign there and so he sent an agent to sit off the coast and report (*Bell. gall.* 4.20-21), is in the descripton that accompanies the narrative of his second invasion (5.13). Strangely, that comprehensive account could not have come from his scout or from his own brief expeditions in the S: he must have relied on earlier sources. Caesar gives the perimeter as about 2,000 Roman miles, envisioning the island as a triangle (with angles at the SE [Kent], S, and NE [facing Germany]), with sides of 800 miles on the N (facing open water), 500 on the S side (facing Gaul), and 700 on the side facing Ireland (and Spain!). Since the Roman mile was shorter than ours (1,618 yards, 1.48 km), these distances are close to reality, though the mental image that Caesar offers (similarly Tacitus, *Agric.* 10) has proven elusive—confirming that the Romans were more concerned, and much more familiar, with linear distance and itineraries than with scale maps (Mattern 1999: 24-80, esp. 52-53; Adams and Laurence 2001: 7-66).

²³⁹² The 4 legions assembled by Claudius for the invasion of Britain in 43 CE—*II Augusta* (commanded by Vespasian, *princeps* at Josephus’ time of writing), *IX Hispania*, *XIV Gemina*, and *XX Valeria*—were matched by auxiliary forces and supplemented by cavalry for a total of about 45,000 troops (Tacitus, *Ann.* 14.32.6; Parker 1992: 129, 133; Shotter 2004: 20-23; Bishop and Coulston 1993: 209; Pollard 2006: 212). *Legio XIV* was moved by Nero in 66 CE for a campaign in the Bosphorus (Tacitus, *Hist.* 1.6; Parker 1992: 139; Webster 1993: 40-60 on the movements and fortresses of the 50s), so that shortly before the time of Agrippa’s speech only 3 legions remained in Britain; this was the case until the Flavian general P. Petilius Cerialis went to Britain as governor after suppressing the Batavian revolt in 70 CE, taking *Legio II Adiutrix* with him (Parker 1992: 146). It is again unclear whether Josephus means to have Agrippa cite the reasonably stable arrangement, outside the turmoil of the late 60s, or whether this is a simple anachronism reflecting his own time of writing (as Parker 1992: 140 n. 1).

²³⁹³ Agrippa’s rhetoric obscures the fact that most of Britain remained unconquered at the time of his speech, and that resistance and rebellion had hardly abated since Claudius’ invasion (cf. Webster 1993 for the decade after

48 CE). Tacitus (*Agric.* 8) claims that the legate Vettius Bolanus (69-71 CE) governed “with a gentler hand than was appropriate for an untamed province.” That is why the 4 legions were necessary, there being no plausible threat from outside Britain. The initial conquests had settled the already friendly Atrabates, S of the Thames, and the Catuvelauni N of the river, as well as the area W to Exeter. But Caratacus, king of the Belgae, continued to offer resistance until his capture in 51 CE. The Romans had allied by treaty the Regni in the SW (under Cogidubnus), the Iceni in East Anglia (under Prasutagus), and the Brigantes, who occupied much of N England (Yorkshire, Durham, Northumberland).

Of these, the Iceni would famously revolt under the royal widow Boudica in 59/60-61, generating a major conflict with massive loss of life. A few years later (69 CE), the Brigantian queen Cartamandua was attacked by her ex-husband Venutius, drawing Rome into another fierce contest. She was extracted, but Venutius temporarily won the kingdom. Only under Vespasian’s legates Vettius Bolanus (69-71 CE), Q. Petillius Cerialis (71-74), Sex. Iulius Frontinus (74-77), and Cn. Iulius Agricola (77-83) were the N and W pacified—though Scotland (to the extent conquered) was apparently abandoned in 87 CE. Cf. Collingwood and Myres 1990: 76-119; Shotter 2004: 20-38.

²³⁹⁴ The vast Parthian empire is an important background feature of the Judean war against Rome and of Josephus’ account; see 1.5 with notes and Introduction. Although Agrippa seems here to treat that empire as part of the Roman world, at 2.388-39 he will mention the Parthians again as an alien world beyond the Euphrates, in order to dismiss them as possible allies. This dual use illustrates the two-sided conception of the world as both more or less Roman and yet including large foreign territories, as well as the two-sided conception of the Parthians as both an independent empire and yet in some way subject to the Romans (see the note to “Romans” in this section).

²³⁹⁵ See the note to “people” at 2.366. Parthians suffered from the same sort of bifurcated image as other foreigners (such as Gauls): they were both ridiculed for luxurious effeminacy and respected for ferocious fighting skills (especially in connection with horsemanship and archery). Cf. Schneider 1998: 98-109, 117.

²³⁹⁶ The Parthian empire was indeed a vast collection of tribes, some represented by the 72 Seleucid administrative districts (Appian, *Syr.* 62), which seem to have continued through Josephus’ time, and some in the 18

a force, send hostages to the Romans,²³⁹⁷ and in Italy it is possible to see—with ‘peace’ as justification²³⁹⁸—the nobility from the east serving in slavery?²³⁹⁹

*Tougher nations
enslaved*

380 While nearly everyone under the sun²⁴⁰⁰ is making obeisance before²⁴⁰¹ the Romans’ weapons,²⁴⁰² will you alone go to war, not considering the end of the Carchedoni,²⁴⁰³ who, though boasting the great Annibas²⁴⁰⁴ and their nobility from the Phoenices,²⁴⁰⁵ fell

client kingdoms (Pliny, *Nat.* 6.112-14), such as Adiabene. See Introduction.

²³⁹⁷ From the time of Augustus (*RG* 32), the Parthians routinely sent young members of the royal family to grow up in Rome, and also asked the Senate to recognize their new monarchs (Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.1-4, 56, 58, 68; 6.31-7; 11.8; 12.10-14). In 6 CE a Parthian delegation came to Rome (diverted to Tiberius in Greece) asking that one of their young men who had grown up there, Vonones, be returned to serve as Parthian king. He went, and ruled from 7/8 to 11/12 CE; but his foreign ways, Tacitus wryly narrates, quickly led to his overthrow (*Ann.* 2.2). In 40 CE, L. Vitellius exacted a peace treaty from the troublesome Parthian king Artabanus, which required him to send his sons to Rome (Tacitus, *Ann.* 6.32, 36-7; Dio 59.27.3-4). On ancient political “hostages” in general, see Walker 2005.

²³⁹⁸ See the note at 2.285.

²³⁹⁹ In the context of Agrippa’s speech, this “slavery” is political and metaphorical (the kind to which provinces are also subject: 2.349, 355, 365); the Parthian royals were not literal slaves. But the view of many Parthians about accepting their king from the Roman *princeps* is well captured by Tacitus, as he describes the reception of the Roman-educated Vonones I, in 7/8 CE: “And now the throne of the Arsacids was held—and dispensed—as one of the Roman provinces! Where was that glory of those who had killed Crassus, who had ejected Antony, if a chattel of the Caesar, after tolerating slavery all these years (*si mancipium Caesaris, tot per annos servitutem perpressum*), should govern Parthians?”

²⁴⁰⁰ This kind of exaggeration was common in Josephus’ time, even though everyone knew that India and the massive Parthian empire, not to mention the vaguely conceived “silk people” of the remote E, were not occupied by Rome. Strabo, concluding his survey of the inhabited earth, observes that “the Romans occupy the best and most famous [part] of it, having surpassed all former rulers” (17.3.24).

²⁴⁰¹ See the note at 2.360.

²⁴⁰² The tone of Thucydidean-Polybian *Realpolitik* continues: it is not Roman moral virtue or even manifest destiny, but their raw military power that must be accommodated.

²⁴⁰³ Standard Greek form of the Latin-based “Carthaginians.” At 6.332 Titus will cite the Carthaginians while

chastising the rebel leaders before his final assault. Did the rebels place confidence in superior generalship? “But you knew that even the Carthaginians were taken” (an allusion to their Barcene leaders, especially Hannibal).

The Carthaginians were an enormously successful trading people based in the fortified city of Carthage, established in the late 8th century BCE on a peninsula N of modern Tunis (Tunisia). Masters of ship construction and naval warfare, they offered the most consistent and effective challenge to Rome’s increasing power from the mid-3rd to the mid-2nd centuries BCE. Accordingly, they play a prominent role in Polybius’ history of Rome’s rise, from the first book (proto-history), which their early conflicts with Rome dominate, to the fall of their city at the end of bk. 38. Other important sources are Livy’s *Roman History* and Appian’s *Hannibalic* and *Punic Wars*.

Although Josephus’ rhetorical point about Carthage’s fall in 146 BCE is clear, the destruction of the city was not the end of the Carthaginian people (there were, e.g., many deserters and then captive slaves), any more than the fall of Corinth in the same year meant the end of the Corinthians or Achaeans, or the recent fall of Jerusalem meant the end of the Judeans—this last an important point for Josephus. In his time Carthage had been rebuilt (starting under Augustus) into a prosperous Roman city, which would reach a new height of success in the 2nd century and then become famous as a cultural center and home to important Christian teachers.

²⁴⁰⁴ This is the only reference to Hannibal (247- ca. 182 BCE) in Josephus. From age 9 (237 BCE) he was in Spain with his father, Hamilcar Barca, as Carthage rapidly expanded its influence there, with Hannibal’s brother-in-law Hasdrubal establishing Carthago Nova (mod. Cartagena) in 228. In 219 BCE Hannibal besieged and captured the Spanish city of Saguntum, a Roman ally, and so precipitated war with Rome. The aim seems to have been to draw away many of Rome’s allies, humbling the great city so that Carthage could retake its former holdings of Sicily and Sardinia and pursue its economic interests in the W without interference. To that end, Hannibal boldly crossed the Alps in autumn of 218—losing many soldiers in the process—and entered Italy itself, crossing the Apennines in 217 and enjoying spectacular success in central and S Italy, famously in the defeat of a massive Roman army led by both consuls at Cannae in Apulia (216 BCE).

beneath the right hand of Scipio?²⁴⁰⁶ **381** Neither Cyreneans²⁴⁰⁷—Lacones by ancestry,²⁴⁰⁸ nor Marmaridae—the people²⁴⁰⁹ extending all the way to the parched [land],²⁴¹⁰ nor the Syrtes—frightening even to²⁴¹¹ those hearing [about them],²⁴¹² nor Nasamones,²⁴¹³ or yet

Although many of Rome's Italian allies did defect, the next few years, including a failed march on Rome in 211, brought only temporary victories and mixed results, as the Romans generally avoided open warfare and began to exhaust Hannibal. He was recalled to Carthage in 203 BCE and, after defeat at the Battle of Zama (202) reached terms with the Romans. In 196/95, however, he fled to the Seleucid Antiochus III, ahead of charges that he had been conspiring with that king against Rome. From there he was a refugee from Roman pursuit until his death in Bithynia.

²⁴⁰⁵ See the note to “Carchedonians” above.

²⁴⁰⁶ P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus (185/4-129 BCE), born to L. Aemilius Paullus and adopted as a child by P. Cornelius Scipio, was distinguished by ancestry, by adoption, and by his personal achievements (*cos.* 147, 129 BCE; *ensor* 142 BCE). During his first consulship he returned to Africa, where he had been fighting as a tribune with great distinction, to besiege and punish Carthage with destruction (in early 146 BCE). While still a teenager he had begun a life-long friendship and mentor-relationship with Polybius, Josephus' principal model for *War* (see Introduction): Polybius 31.23-30. Although Scipio is named only here in Josephus' works, it is not difficult to see echoes of his character in Josephus' portrait of the young general Titus.

Josephus' Agrippa artfully conflates the 3 Punic wars, which covered more than a century (cf. Appian, *Hannibalic War; Punic Wars*), into a compressed sentence. The first (264-241 BCE) was led by Hannibal's father Hamilcar Barca, and involved the Romans in their first forays into naval warfare in and around Sicily. The second (218-201), led by Hannibal, took place largely on Italian soil, where the early defeat of the Romans at Cannae was only gradually reversed. The third (149-146 BCE) resulted from the eventual refusal of the Carthaginian senate, after surrendering many leading men and military equipment (as punishment for having unsuccessfully attacked the Roman client king Masinissa in neighboring Numidia), to abandon Carthage as the Roman Senate demanded; rather than see their city destroyed, they opted to fight (Polybius 36.3-8; 38.7-8). After a difficult campaign, the Romans under Scipio besieged, captured, looted, and burned the city.

²⁴⁰⁷ Inhabitants of the Mediterranean headlands of modern NE Libya. Their capital was Cyrene (by the modern village of Shahhat), about 12 km from the coast on the heights of Jebel el Akdar. Successive colonization

of the local Libyans by Greek Dorians resulted in the creation of 5 main cities (Cyrene, its port Apollonia, Barca, Arsinoe, and Berenice), which along with other towns comprised Cyrenaica. Although accepted by Rome in 96 BCE as a bequest and annexed by the Senate in 75/4 BCE, Cyrenaica was temporarily returned to Ptolemaic control by Marc Antony. Under Augustus it became a senatorial province together with Crete, governed from Cyrene by a praetorian proconsul. Although small, it remained prosperous, becoming a famous center of both trade and the arts.

²⁴⁰⁸ A *recherché* allusion meant to highlight a warlike heritage from the territory of Sparta: Laconia. Herodotus tells the story of Cyrene's (7th-cent. BCE) founding as the result of colonization from Thera (mod. Santorini), the southernmost of the Cycladic Islands in the Aegean (4.150-67), after noting that the Theraeans themselves had been colonized by Spartans (in the 9th cent. BCE; Herodotus 4.147-48). Strabo, possibly Josephus' source, simply states that Cyrene was colonized by Thera, “a Laconian island” (17.3.21). Significantly for Agrippa's point here, Strabo remarks that Cyrenaica produced many men who were able to defend its freedom.

²⁴⁰⁹ See the note at 2.366.

²⁴¹⁰ One of the main things that Strabo says about the Marmaridae, whom he locates along the S border of Cyrenaica, reaching as far as Ammon, the sacred city to the W of Egypt in deepest E Libya (17.3.23), is that they occupy a “barren and arid region” (cf. 17.3.1: “lacking water”). In his only other use of the adjective *διψᾶς* (*War* 3.49), Josephus will stress that Galilee and Samaria are utterly free of such desert areas, a condition reflected in their robust populations.

²⁴¹¹ See the similar construction at 2.374 (of the oceanic tides on the Spanish coast).

²⁴¹² In Greek the feminine definite article warns us that Josephus momentarily shifts from listing peoples who have submitted to Rome to a pair of naturally occurring defenses against Roman domination: Syrtis Minor and Syrtis Maior. The former, Little Syrtis, was a large bay to the S of Carthage with a reported circuit of 1,600 *stadia* (200 miles, 320 km) and enclosing two islands, the one on the SE extremity (Meninx) being the traditional place of Homer's Lotus-eaters (Strabo 17.3.17). The latter was the very deep bay (mod. Gulf of Sidra) between Lepcis Magna to the W and the Cyrenean promontory to the E. Strabo (17.3.20) gives the circuit of this gulf as 3,920 *stadia* (about 500 miles, 800 km)—and notes with awe

Mauri²⁴¹⁴ or the countless mass of Nomades,²⁴¹⁵ have checked the Romans' exploits.²⁴¹⁶
382 They have subdued this entire third portion of the world,²⁴¹⁷ the nations of which are

that M. Cato's army covered it in 30 days. Most relevant is Strabo's description of the gulf's treacherous waters: ships sailing within sight of the coastline, as the standard practice was, often ran aground in unexpectedly shallow waters and had no hope of escape. Similarly, Polybius recounts how two consuls leading armies against the Carthaginians in Sicily ran into trouble with shoals around the Lesser Syrtis (on account of inexperience with these waters: 1.39.2-3). Again, however, rhetoric trumps facts. It is not as though the Romans needed to enter the Greater Syrtis at all: there were excellent harbors in Alexandria, Cyrenaica, and points W to Carthage and beyond.

²⁴¹³ Herodotus describes the Nasamones shortly after his account of Cyrene's foundation (4.172): they are the 5th Libyan people W of the Egyptians. Distinctive customs there concern mainly their polygamy and promiscuity, on the one hand, their divination and oaths on the other. Strabo has to explain to his audience that this is a Libyan tribe (17.3.20, 23). Why Josephus singles out the obscure Nasamones for mention here, while omitting dozens of more famous tribes in the area (e.g., Gaetuli, Libyphoenicians, Garamantes) is not clear. Perhaps he wanted to display his (Agrippa's) learning. Ironically, however, Domitian's governor Flaccus would soon annihilate this people (85-86 CE) for the very reason that they *revolted*, in response to a forcible exaction of tribute (Dio 67.4.6)—not unlike the Judeans.

²⁴¹⁴ Here is another indication of Josephus' Roman setting and expected audiences. Strabo (17.3.2) notes that Greeks (as he himself) call this people Μαυροῦσοι, whereas the Romans and the natives use *Mauri* (Μαῦροι)—as Josephus does, though writing in Greek. These are the Mauretians, who occupied what is now Morocco and N Algeria (cf. Strabo, 17.3.4, 7-8). On Mauretania under Juba I and II, see the notes to "Ioba" and "Libya" at 2.115 above. After the death of Juba II's heir (Ptolemy, d. 40 CE), in 44 Claudius created two provinces under the governorship of equestrian procurators and guarded by auxiliaries: Mauretania Tingitana to the W (roughly N Morocco) and Caesariensis to the E (roughly N/NW Algeria).

²⁴¹⁵ The proper noun occurs only here in Josephus. Although in its adjectival sense ("pastoral" tribes) the word was applied by ancient writers to various nomadic peoples, the context here indicates "Numidians." They were famous from Polybius as highly effective cavalry soldiers, first as a crucial component of the Carthaginian mercenary forces combating Rome (1.19.3; 78.1; 3.45.1, 65.1, 68.1, 116.5; 11.21.1), later as Roman allies against

Carthage (14.1.7, 2.8, 4.2, 9.2).

Numidian territory had been vast, to the W and S of Carthaginian holdings, centered in Cirta (modern Constantine, Algeria) to the E of Mauretania; the region had long been involved in trade with the Greek world. Note the use of the term to include various tribes at Polybius 3.33.1. By Josephus' time, most of this territory had been joined to new provinces (Africa, then Africa Nova, then Africa Proconsularis), and Cirta had been removed, as a Roman colony federated with 3 other cities, leaving Numidia as a rump province N of Cirta (mod. NE Algeria). Cirta and its territory would be restored to Numidia by Hadrian; Diocletian would make it the capital of an enlarged Numidia Cirtensis; Constantine, renaming Cirta after himself, would make it the capital of all Numidia again. Given Josephus' reference to a "countless" population, he appears to be using the term to indicate the traditional region of the Numidians, in keeping with his tendency throughout this speech to indicate ethnic territories rather than political jurisdictions (cf. "Lusitani" at 2.374).

²⁴¹⁶ Greek ἀρεταί. Although Josephus uses the noun nearly 300 times, often in the sense of moral virtue in contrast to bad behavior, he uses the plural form (as here) only 15 times, and this is the first occurrence in *War*. It is particularly clear in *War* that he uses the plural in contexts having to do with the older and root meaning of the word: manly, martial qualities and the resulting exploits (*War* 3.2, 380; 5.127; 6.39 [Titus tells despondent legionaries that Judean setbacks are due to their valiant exploits (*aretai*)], 63 [synonymous with "great achievements"], 134 [courageous or valiant actions]; 7.12 [valiant actions]; *Ant.* 2.7; 3.87; 4.140, 184; esp. 7.307 [linking these *aretai* with subjection of lands and conquest of great peoples], 317). So Agrippa is not speaking here of the moral virtues of the Romans, but of their potent exploits.

²⁴¹⁷ See the note to this term at 2.360. Josephus' Agrippa appears to mean the 3rd continent, after Europe and Asia—the pair traditionally held to comprise the inhabited earth (Herodotus 4.36; Munn 2006: 178-220). Strabo observes that many writers divide the world into 3 continents: Europe, Asia, and Libya (17.3.1, 24): lacking any understanding of Africa's ("Libya's") size, he scoffs at the notion that the 3 might be equivalent, suggesting that Libya might even be smaller than Europe. Less likely: the allusion might conceivably have to do with Ephorus' reported division of the earth (in his lost *On Europe*) into 4 parts, with Indians, Ethiopians, Celts, and Scythians holding the positions clos-

not easily enumerated, marked off by the Atlantic Sea and also the Pillars of Heracles²⁴¹⁸ and distributing²⁴¹⁹ the countless Ethiopes²⁴²⁰ all the way to the Red Sea.²⁴²¹ **383** But quite apart from their annual harvests, which feed the masses in Rome²⁴²² for eight months,²⁴²³

est to the 4 winds on the outer edges (Strabo 1.2.28).

²⁴¹⁸ I.e., the land points creating the Straits of Gibraltar, traditionally held to mark the limits of the inhabited earth to the W and the beginning of Oceanus (as 2.375 above). This is the only mention of the Atlantic in Josephus. It recalls a note in Polybius, who had been part of an exploratory journey down the W coast of Africa (16.29.6): “it is impossible to sail from the sea called by some Oceanus and by others the Atlantic [i.e., “of Atlas”]; cf. Herodotus 1.203—a detractor from the Oceanus concept] into our own sea [sc. the Mediterranean, *mare nostrum*], except by passing through the mouth of it at the Pillars of Heracles.”

²⁴¹⁹ Or “allotting, sustaining, supporting, hosting” (νέμω). See the note to “apportion among themselves” at 2.365. Agrippa’s point seems to be that this land is so vast that it distributes tribal centers to the famously countless Ethiopians, who live along the entire length of Oceanus (see next note).

²⁴²⁰ Josephus has a significant interest in the feared and romanticized Ethiopians (cf. Ferguson 1975: 12-19), as we see in the traditional story he relates of Moses’ military campaign against them, which resulted in the lawgiver’s marriage to the defeated king’s daughter (*Ant.* 2.239-82; cf. Feldman’s notes in BJP 3)—a feat all the more remarkable, his audience would know, because the Persian Cambyses had faced overwhelming defeat in the region (Herodotus 3.25). The Ethiopians were generally understood to be the southernmost of all peoples, whose vaguely defined territory ran the entire length of the inhabited earth (perhaps bisected by the Arabian peninsula), bordered by Oceanus on the S and mirroring the Hyperboreans or possibly Scythians in the N (Strabo 1.2.28; 2.5.33; 17.2.1-3, 3.23 end—acknowledging that the limits of Ethiopia are unexplored). In Roman times their center was considered to be S of Egypt, near the sources of the Nile, roughly in modern Sudan and Ethiopia (Strabo 17.1.4), specifically in the kingdom of Meroe, with which Rome had ongoing relations. Cf. Romm 1992: 45-66, with bibliography; further “Ethiopia” in 2.384.

²⁴²¹ Although Josephus’ term (Ἐρυθρὴ θάλασσα) often referred to the Indian Ocean in earlier authors (Herodotus 1.180; 2.11, 158; 4.42; LSJ s.v.), he uses it consistently to mean the Red Sea (*Ant.* 1.39, 221, 239; 2.257, 315; 6.140; 8.163; 9.217, 245; 15.317).

²⁴²² A reference to the grain dole (*frumentatio*), free since 58 BCE and intended chiefly for the mass of poorer free male citizens, though even poor families would have

needed supplementation from other sources. Augustus (*RG* 15) mentions handouts to the masses reaching 320,000, 250,000, and 200,000 citizens, in a progressive restriction of the entitlement; each allotment was intended for two persons. Garnsey and Saller (1987: 83-84) estimate that 670,000 free Romans (a substantial majority of the 1 million population) were affected by the grain dole, not counting the 300,000 or so slaves in the city; that the dole required 80-100,000 tonnes (12-15,000,000 Roman *modii*) of wheat per year; that Rome’s total consumption of wheat was 200,000 tonnes per year; and that considerably more must have been shipped each year to allow for loss and spoilage *en route*.

²⁴²³ Josephus paints a simple scenario according to which Africa (and Mauretania?) provide Rome’s grain supply for 8 months, with Egypt covering the other 4 (2.386). In reality, Rome’s enormous demand for grain (estimated at 2-300,000 tonnes annually) was met by merchants from around the Mediterranean (e.g., Italy, Sardinia, Spain, Gaul, and the eastern provinces); Sicily was particularly important (cf. Paul 1990; Erdkamp 2005: 206-58). Cf. Aristides, *Rom.* 12: “Your farms are Egypt, Sicily, and the civilized part of Africa.” T. Mommsen (1887: 2.367) argued that in Cicero’s time Rome depended heavily on African grain, and after Egypt was annexed (30 BCE) there was an approximately equal 3-way share from Africa, Egypt, and the combined resources of Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, and Baetica. He thus seems to include Egypt’s share in Africa’s 8-month provision. Although that may well have approximated the historical reality, it does not seem to be Agrippa’s meaning here, since he introduces Egypt as a new and different subject (2.384) and does not mention grain from other sources.

Augustus had established an important equestrian post (*praefectus annonae*) for the administration of grain storage and distribution in the city. There were different arrangements for the masses and for the few rich folks (who could make their own arrangements to import food of all kinds). The general grain shipment was encouraged by incentives for the shippers: under Claudius, citizenship and exemption from penalties for singleness or childlessness (Garnsey and Saller 1987: 88). Only gradually, over the 1st and 2nd centuries CE, did the merchants’ private contracts involving Roman *collegia* develop into the equivalent of a state-run enterprise.

On the various kinds of grain (chiefly wheat varieties) and basic dietary issues, see Garnsey 1999: 12-21. For questions of shipping (ship size, routes, frequency)

they are in addition subject to tribute of every kind,²⁴²⁴ and they hand over their prepared tax levies²⁴²⁵ for the uses of the imperial power, considering none of the orders to be an outrage as you do,²⁴²⁶ even though one legion remains with them.²⁴²⁷

Egypt

384 And why is it necessary to show you examples of the Romans' power from afar, when it is easy with neighboring Egypt?²⁴²⁸ **385** Although extending all the way to Ethiopia²⁴²⁹ and Arabia Felix,²⁴³⁰ and being a harbor for the Indic [region],²⁴³¹ and having

see Casson 1959: 233-39. On the grain supply see Rickman 1980; Garnsey and Saller 1987: 83-103; Aldrete and Mattingly 1999; Erdkamp 2005; Kessler and Temin 2007. For Josephus' remarks on the grain supply in Agrippa's speech, see Paul 1990.

²⁴²⁴ African and Egyptian grain was itself a principal form of Roman taxation (in kind); Agrippa's point is that Africa faced many other taxes besides. On the various possible kinds (e.g., head, salt, grain), see Lintott 1993: 70-96. General—not inviolable—Roman principles appear to have included: (a) the assessment of a fixed sum for a province, to be collected by the local leadership however they wished to do so (e.g., by using tax collectors or by paying the whole sum on credit and waiting for their local taxes to come in), and (b) allowing local tradition to determine varieties of taxation.

²⁴²⁵ See the notes at 2.4, 273.

²⁴²⁶ This is the first *hint* that the Judeans have been withholding their annual tribute payment from Rome; the suggestion is reinforced by another contrast at 2.385 and made explicit in the conclusion at 2.403-4. Agrippa's rhetorical claim about Africa's quiescence under heavy impositions may be ironic. At least it is at odds with the region's past: the presence of *legio III Augusta* (see next note) was necessary in part because Rome had faced a serious revolt under Tacfarinas, in 17-24 CE (Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.52; 3.20ff., 32, 73; 4.13.23-26), which required the assistance of *IX Hispana*, and the legions were again active under S. Sulpicius Galba (future emperor) in 45-46 CE, against native rebels. Vespasian would move the legionary headquarters closer to the Numidian heartland, from Ammaedara to Thevestis, possibly to improve response times.

²⁴²⁷ *Legio III Augusta* was stationed in Africa throughout this period (Parker 1992: 119, 140, 145, 182-84, 224-25). Garnsey and Saller (1987: 95-97) hypothesize a general principle that, since the billeting (including grain supply) of a Roman legion was itself an enormous burden for a province, "No major grain exporter to Rome had to put up with a large garrison as well" (p. 96); the vast bulk of the legions were in the northern provinces, which did not supply grain. Against this background, Josephus' Agrippa may be emphasizing that Africa is imposed upon in both ways—and much more so than Judea, which has *neither* to supply significant grain *nor* to support a legion. Even still, the Africans

accept their harsher lot (but see previous note). Given the larger context (2.375, 377, 378), a subsidiary point may be that *merely* 1 legion is enough to pacify populous tribes living in vast and difficult terrain; so feared are the Romans.

²⁴²⁸ Agrippa has, in the narrative, just returned from Alexandria (2.309, 335).

²⁴²⁹ See the note to "Ethiopians" at 2.382. Like Strabo (8.7, 19, 49, 127), Josephus understands Ethiopia to be separated from Egypt by the desert city of Syene—modern Aswan, at the S extremity of Upper Egypt (*War* 4.608).

²⁴³⁰ See the note to "Arabs" at 1.6. According to Strabo (citing Eratosthenes and Artemidorus), Arabia Felix is bounded by the Arabian desert on the N, the Red Sea ("Arabian Gulf") on the W, the Persian Gulf on the E, and the open sea on the S (16.3.1); hence, the areas of modern Yemen and Oman. But he also cites Eratosthenes to the effect that it extends 12,000 *stadia* (1,500 miles—roughly the length of the Arabian peninsula N to S) beyond the Nabatean and neighboring tribes, "to the south" (16.4.2). He describes the first inhabitants of Arabia Felix, "after the Syrians and Judeans" as farmers; after them is a large area of sandy and barren soil, occupied by tent-dwellers and camel-herds (evidently, the Hejaz). Then come "the *extreme parts* [of Arabia Felix] to the south," across the Red Sea from Ethiopia, which are well watered and fertile. And the *remotest part of this region* is dominated by 4 prosperous monarchies: the Minaeans, Sabaeans, Cattabianians, and Chatramotitae (16.4.2). Similarly Pliny: the desert of Palmyra "extends all the way to the city of Petra and the region called Arabia Felix" (*Nat.* 5.87; cf. 5.65: beyond the Nile, Arabia extends to the Red Sea and Arabia Felix). On this understanding of Arabia Felix it is not difficult to accept Josephus' claim that Egypt reaches (almost) that far, and this matches his claim at *Ant.* 1.239 that Abraham's descendants colonized Troglodytis (in E Africa) and Arabia Felix "as far as it touches the Red Sea." In these contexts it seems impossible to identify Arabia Felix with the kingdom of Saba (Yemen, as Bowersock 1983: 2, 46-49), well over 1,000 miles away from Egypt.

²⁴³¹ Cf. Strabo (17.1.13), who mentions the greatly increased Indian traffic at Alexandria in recent times via the Red Sea. There was a marked shift in trade patterns through the 1st century CE: whereas the kingdom of Saba

7,500,000 people²⁴³²—aside from those inhabiting Alexandria²⁴³³—as may be clearly proven from the tax levy²⁴³⁴ on each head,²⁴³⁵ it does not scorn²⁴³⁶ the Roman *imperium*.²⁴³⁷ And yet what a great spur²⁴³⁸ for rebellion²⁴³⁹ it has in Alexandria,²⁴⁴⁰ on account of both

(mod. Yemen) had traditionally moved Indian imports overland through outposts of the S Nabatean kingdom and eventually to Egypt (Leuce Come to Petra to Phoenician Rhinocolura, from where they were exported: Strabo 16.4.24), shippers increasingly by-passed the Arabian peninsula by sailing directly up the Red Sea to Egypt, where their goods could be taken overland to Alexandria (cf. Bowersock 1983: 46-47, 73). In this way the harbors of Alexandria indeed became India's port to the Roman world.

²⁴³² Diodorus (1.31.6-8) says that ancient (Pharaonic) Egypt had upwards of 18,000 cities and estimable villages, more than 30,000 from Ptolemy I (ca. 305 BCE) to the present. He then claims that the ancient population was around 7,000,000. What comes next is unclear. All MSS except M say that the population has remained at no less than 3,000,000 (τριακοσίων—300 [myriads]) until the present—so, a decline of more than 50% from Pharaonic times, which is odd given the 75% increase in cities and villages. Some scholars, taking note also of Josephus' figure, have preferred M's omission of this second number, such that the (“not less than”) 7,000,000 remains valid until Diodorus' time; others (see the LCL note *ad loc.*) supply τούτων (“not less than these”), for the same result. Since, however, the “more difficult reading” of 3,000,000 happens also to have the strongest MS support, we should probably support it over conjectural emendations that accommodate Josephus (for how else did the troublesome number arise?). It remains a problem. One might also reason that Josephus would need to give a roughly plausible figure to his educated Roman audience (in keeping with the rest of the speech).

Paul (1990: 81), favoring the 3 million figure in Diodorus, speculates that Josephus may have borrowed (and raised) the figure of 7 million from Hecataeus of Abdera—one of his known sources (*Apion* 1.183-204) and possibly Diodorus' source for ancient Egypt—and mischievously attributed it to poll-tax records of his own day. If Josephus also used Diodorus in *War*, however, as some passages suggest (see Index), that solution would be less plausible.

²⁴³³ See the note to the city at 2.309. In a study marked by exemplary caution, Delia (1988) estimates the city's population as 5-600,000. Several decades earlier Diodorus (17.52.6) mentions more than 300,000 “free residents,” which would support such an estimate. Josephus implies that he has access to the poll-tax returns, either an account of the income itself (divided to arrive at a population number) or the registration records for the

tax; that would explain his exclusion of the citizens of Alexandria, who were exempt from this tax (Delia 1991: 30-32). But see the note to “head” in this section.

²⁴³⁴ See the notes to this term (εἰσφορά) at 2.4, 273. For the specific tax measures adopted by Roman rulers in Egypt, see A. H. M. Jones 1937: 296-350; Rostovtzeff 1957: 1.273-99; Delia 1991: 31-34. The Romans mainly preserved the Ptolemaic administrative arrangement, according to which all the land belonged to the state (though it could be granted as tax-free gift), which was leased and worked for government revenue. Augustus apparently continued a policy of Cleopatra VII in exempting Alexandrian citizens from the poll-tax (see following note). Two of the Roman prefect's half-dozen or so officials were ministers of revenue, and another managed imperial lands (Rostovtzeff 1957: 1.316).

²⁴³⁵ This is the *tributum capitis* or poll tax, the personal dues—exacted in addition to the block amount assessed for Egypt as a province (*tributum soli*)—known in Egypt from Ptolemaic times as the λαογραφία. Augustus had confirmed the exemption of Alexandrian citizens from this tax (Delia 1991: 30), as Josephus also implies here, and the papyri (e.g., *CPJ* 150, possibly 153 III.53-59) reveal an atmosphere of concern over efforts to fraudulently claim citizenship, often by association with the ephbate (though Delia [1991: 73-75] argues that the two institutions were entirely distinct), in part so as to avoid the tax. A papyrus from 5-4 BCE (*CPJ* 151) preserves a desperate petition to the prefect from a Judean named Helenos son of Tryphon for exemption from the tax, on the basis that his father was a citizen (and he had completed at least part of the suitable education); but evidently his citizenship was not established and he was subject to payment.

If Josephus had seen the actual Egyptian poll-tax revenue figures, it would presumably have served his purpose to mention them, here or especially at 2.386, to show their overwhelming size in contrast to Judean exactions.

²⁴³⁶ See the note to this verb at 2.361.

²⁴³⁷ See the note to this phrase at 1.3. This is its 3rd and final occurrence in Agrippa's speech (cf. 2.357, 362).

²⁴³⁸ On the equestrian imagery, see the note to “bridle” at 2.387.

²⁴³⁹ See note at 2.39.

²⁴⁴⁰ In spite of the implication in what follows that Alexandria has happily accepted its lot under Roman rule, Dio's roughly contemporary speech to the Alexandrians gives the clear impression of a people notorious

mass of men and wealth,²⁴⁴¹ and given its size;²⁴⁴² **386** yet although its length is a good thirty *stadia* and its breadth not less than ten,²⁴⁴³ it hands over²⁴⁴⁴ to the Romans more in one month than the yearly tax from you²⁴⁴⁵—and, besides the money,²⁴⁴⁶ grain for Rome for four months.²⁴⁴⁷ And it is walled off on every side:²⁴⁴⁸ by impassable deserts,²⁴⁴⁹ har-

for trouble, though normally frivolous in origin, who constantly threaten to attract the attention of Roman soldiers (*Or.* 32.1, 4, 7, 17-18).

²⁴⁴¹ On Egypt's economic role in the empire, see Frank 1927: 379-408.

²⁴⁴² See the note to "Alexandria" in this section: the city's population was greater than half a million and all the literary sources discuss its enviable prosperity (Strabo 17.1.5-7; Philo, *Flac.* 163; *Legat.* 150, 338; Pliny, *Nat.* 5.62; Josephus, *War* 6.415; Dio, *Or.* 32.36).

²⁴⁴³ Roughly 6 km (3.73 miles) by 2 km (1.24 miles). Josephus' figures are close to Strabo's (17.1.8): the latter compares the shape to a military cloak, giving the same length as Josephus but the width as 8 or 9 *stadia*, with one side truncated by the two bodies of water; cf. the map in LCL Strabo, vol. 8. By way of comparison, Rome was about 4.5 km deep (N-S) and 4 km at the longest (E-W) point within its walls, though the walls created a completely irregular shape. Agrippa's point here is that Alexandria was well suited, if any city was, for independence from Rome. Indeed it was the 2nd-largest in the empire, with some 5-600,000 inhabitants (Delia 1988: esp. 287-88).

²⁴⁴⁴ Although Agrippa is still speaking of Alexandria, which was clearly distinguished from Egypt as a whole, he seems now to be speaking about Egypt when he mentions taxes, grain, and the naturally "walled" borders.

²⁴⁴⁵ Josephus' vagueness about the provincial tax (*tributum soli*) may result from dependence on Strabo, who is also vague about Egypt's revenue—noting that in Cicero's time (the 50s BCE) the amount exacted from his subjects by King (Ptolemy XII) Auletes was the enormous sum of 12,500 talents annually (17.1.13), but that Egypt's revenues *must be much more than this* at Strabo's time of writing—under Tiberius (half a century before Josephus).

²⁴⁴⁶ Josephus' Agrippa, though without precise language, paints a picture of much greater oppression in Egypt than in Judea: individual poll tax *plus* provincial tax in money *plus* the enormous grain contribution. He does not dwell on the obvious fact that Egypt also had to host two legions (cf. 2.383 for Africa). Judea contributes only the standard taxes.

²⁴⁴⁷ See the notes to "Rome" and "eight months" at 2.383. In Josephus' simplified scheme, this 4-month supply from Egypt should complement the 8-month supply from North Africa. According to the *Epitome de Caesaribus* (1.6), based on the 4th-cent. CE work of Aurelius Victor, under Augustus Egypt contributed 20,000,000

measures (*modii*)—133,000 tonnes of grain to Rome annually (using the weight-to-volume ratios in Garnsey and Saller 1987: 84-85). Although Oates (1934) combines both figures to reach a total volume of grain (60 million measures), and thence a new population total for Rome of 1.25 million, contemporary scholarship inclines to reject both the *Epitome*'s figure (suggesting perhaps half of that as accurate) and Josephus' implication that Egypt and Africa together supplied Rome's total grain imports. See Garnsey and Saller 1987: 85; Paul 1990.

²⁴⁴⁸ Greek τετείχισται δὲ πάντοθεν; cf. 2.371 (of the Gauls) and 2.378 (of the Britons). Josephus' control of Agrippa's speech is indicated again by the close verbal parallel at 4.607-10 (τετείχισται μὲν οὕτως ἡ Αἴγυπτος πάντοθεν), where he is speaking in the narrator's voice about Vespasian's concern, in challenging Vitellius, to seize Egypt. But there Josephus is speaking of Egypt, as was A. H. M. Jones when he wrote in apparent independence (1937: 296): "Egypt is very inaccessible. On the east, west, and south it is surrounded by deserts . . . ; invasion by land is therefore very difficult Invasion by sea is almost as difficult; for the coast of the Delta is fringed by lagoons and marshes, and possesses no good natural harbours." Although Josephus' Agrippa must here be speaking of Alexandria, given the syntax, this may be a slip or a case of metonymy.

Alexandria sat on a strip of land nearly 60 km long and between 2 and 5 km wide, W of the vast Nile river delta. Before it to the N lay the Mediterranean Sea, behind it the large Lake Mareotis. If the issue is defense against Roman attack, however (as it is here), all this appears largely irrelevant because of Alexandria's famous *man-made harbors*, in constant use for grain and military purposes (though see the note to "seas" following). In the Hellenistic period, diplomatic travel between Alexandria and Greece was frequent; the Ptolemies had regularly led their armies NE into Judea during the 3rd cent. BCE; the Seleucid Antiochus IV (168 BCE) had seemed well positioned to invade Egypt before being prevented by C. Popilius Laenas (Polybius 29.27.1-6); and the Romans apparently had little trouble entering and leaving Alexandria by sea. Agrippa himself has just returned, with apparent ease, from a social trip to Alexandria (2.309, 338). The land march was evidently difficult for a large army, but by no means impossible: cf. Titus' route to Judea (4.658-62).

²⁴⁴⁹ Egypt, essentially the country of the Nile River, valley, and delta, is indeed surrounded by deserts: the Arabian (E), Nubian (S), and Libyan (W). At 4.608 Jose-

borless seas,²⁴⁵⁰ rivers, or marshes.²⁴⁵¹ **387** But none of these has been found stronger than Romans' fortune,²⁴⁵² and two legions²⁴⁵³ stationed²⁴⁵⁴ in the city bridle²⁴⁵⁵ deeper Egypt²⁴⁵⁶ together with the nobility of the Macedonians.²⁴⁵⁷

phus will specify the dry deserts of Libya to the W and the Syene (by Aswan) to the S. Although these deserts, along with the Sahara further E and SW, and the Sinai desert further E, were largely impassable, they did not inhibit Roman approaches via the Mediterranean or from Judaea.

²⁴⁵⁰ At 4.607 Josephus will repeat the same phrase (θάλασσα ἀλίμενος, here plural) in arguing for Egypt's security, should Vespasian seize it against Vitellius. The scope of Josephus' rhetoric is clear from the fact that at *Apion* 2.33 he will use the phrase yet again of Apion's description of the Judeans' residence in Alexandria—only to reject it as an absurd slur on this great city. Alexandria, a major trade center, had two large and famous harbors, marked by the outer island of Pharos with its world-famous lighthouse tower, which were also the means of Roman access to the city (for Caesar, Antony, and Octavian). Ships routinely traveled between Alexandria and Rome carrying grain, as the speaker has just noted. So Strabo, in calling Alexandria “the greatest emporium in the inhabited earth,” comments on its uniquely favorable situation for commerce by sea, precisely “on account of the good harbors” (17.1.13). Or Dio (*Or.* 32.36): “you control the entire sea by virtue of the excellence of your harbors, the size of your fleet . . .” Josephus will claim that, although the harbors themselves are fine, the approaches are treacherous, and the purpose of the Pharos tower, visible some 60 km (37.5 miles) offshore, is to warn sailors to stay away—to anchor beyond the shoals (*War* 4.613). By contrast Strabo, while conceding that the harbor entrances require caution, claims more plausibly that the Pharos tower serves to signal the location of Alexandria's harbors along the otherwise harborless and dangerous coast of N Egypt (17.1.6). NB: Philo (*Flac.* 109-110) describes a ship's anchoring outside the harbor as part of a deception, by the guard sent from Rome to arrest Flaccus, who would enter the harbor under cover of darkness. The implication is that ships would normally enter the harbor (and if entry could be achieved in the dark, it cannot have been prohibitively difficult).

²⁴⁵¹ Cf. 4.608: “the unnavigable cataracts of the river [Nile].” The massive Nile delta to the E was filled with rivers and marshes, but these posed no problem of access to Alexandria from the Mediterranean; nor were they a serious impediment for travel from Judea, via the straight E-W road through Rhinoculura (El Arish, S of Raphia), Pelusium, Tanis, Thmus, Busiris, and Sais, which bridged

the major rivers at optimal points, S of the marshiest land along the N coast. This is apparently the route that King Agrippa himself had recently taken (2.309, 338). Nevertheless, Strabo (17.1.21) does observe that this route is difficult, especially for armies.

²⁴⁵² See the note at 2.373.

²⁴⁵³ So also Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.5 (for the year 23 CE): the Alexandrian legions at the time of Agrippa's speech were still, as earlier, *III Cyrenaica* and *XXII Deiotariana* (Parker 1992: 119, 140, 145); they would remain stationed there until Trajan's reign.

²⁴⁵⁴ The verb ἐγκόθημαι appears in Josephus only here and at *War* 5.8.

²⁴⁵⁵ Since the verb χαλινώω occurs only here in Josephus, and is extremely rare in metaphorical use (not of actually bridling horses) before his time, we must assume that he uses it deliberately. Since Josephus' Agrippa also uses the image of the spur in this section (2.385), we might suppose that he is alluding to the Macedonians' reputation for horsemanship: the “companions” of the king were initially that elite equestrian corps. A parallel literary technique, then, would be his use of *proskynesis* when speaking of Alexander (see note to “making obeisance” at 2.360): the very qualities of domination for which these parties were once famous have now been turned against them by the Romans.

²⁴⁵⁶ This language (βαθειαν Ἀίγυπτον) for distinguishing Lower, Middle, and Upper Egypt from the Macedonian foundation of Alexandria (next note) seems unattested before Josephus, though he will use it again at *Apion* 2.41. This agreement incidentally illustrates the pervasiveness of Josephus' hand in Agrippa's speech.

²⁴⁵⁷ Josephus' Agrippa reflects here the well known distinction between Egypt and Alexandria, the latter founded by Alexander and led thereafter by a Macedonian elite that sharply distinguished itself from others, especially the Egyptians. Josephus will deploy this distinction rhetorically against Apion, a born Egyptian who acquired citizenship (*Apion* 2.41). Alexandrian citizens enjoyed considerable benefits, especially exemption from the head tax and from compulsory public service elsewhere. The prestige of citizenship was carefully guarded, however: naturalization was a relatively rare and complicated process; see Delia 1991: 7-47. These social tensions had caused the Ptolemaic regime serious trouble from about 246 BCE onward, famously in the 20-year-long revolt in Upper and Middle Egypt (207/6-186 BCE).

Lack of mortal
allies

388²⁴⁵⁸ Which allies, then, will you take in? From the uninhabited [region]? Certainly all those in the inhabited earth²⁴⁵⁹ are Romans, unless someone extends his hopes beyond the Euphrates and supposes that his compatriots from Adiabene²⁴⁶⁰ are joining the defense.²⁴⁶¹ **389** But they will not embroil themselves in so serious a war²⁴⁶² for an irrational cause;²⁴⁶³ nor would the Parthian²⁴⁶⁴ grant permission to any who had decided so badly, for he shows concern for the armistice²⁴⁶⁵ with the Romans,²⁴⁶⁶ and he will re-

²⁴⁵⁸ Josephus' Agrippa turns from the long list of proofs by example (the *confirmatio*), of the necessity of accommodation with Rome, to an increasingly emotional appeal, challenging his audience with the consequences of what he has said (2.388-401). Runnalls (1997: 749-50) observes that Josephus continues the mix of periodic and paratactic styles from the proof. Whether the *peroratio* begins here, or only at 2.400, is not clear; see Excursus.

²⁴⁵⁹ See the note to "world" at 2.360. Here I spell out "inhabited [world]" to capture the play against "uninhabited."

²⁴⁶⁰ Key members of the Adiabenean royal family had adopted Judean law in the 30s and 40s: the current king Monobazus' predecessor Izates and the latter's mother Helena (*Ant.* 20.17-96). This was no merely "religious" change: they identified so closely with Jerusalem that Queen Helena moved there and provided crucial assistance during the famine of the 40s (20.49-53). The family's monuments, palaces, and tombs remained prominent features of the city (*War* 5.147, 523). Five young sons of Izates came to be educated in Jerusalem in the 40s (*Ant.* 20.71), when Josephus was also a teenager; it is antecedently probable that, given the small circle of the city's élite, he knew them personally. For the involvement of Adiabenean royalty (in Jerusalem) in the war, Agrippa's claim notwithstanding, see the note to "war" at 2.389.

²⁴⁶¹ The present tense suggests that those itching to rebel are hoping that an Adiabenean contingency is already on its way. Although *προσαμύνω* occurs 7 times in *War* 2-6 (not elsewhere in Josephus), it is a Homeric verb (*Il.* 2.238; 5.139; 16.509) otherwise rarely attested before Josephus (Aristotle, *Frag. var.* [Rose] 8.47.615; Aristonicus [on Homer], *Sign. Il.*, schol. 4.h137-41; Onasander 42.12-13). Josephus' contemporary Plutarch uses it 12 times and Cassius Dio 5; so it is another example of Josephus' riding the wave of fashionable diction in *War*.

²⁴⁶² Agrippa's rhetorical certainty is about to be pointedly undermined, providing another example of the speech's ironic character. In the first major victory of the Judean rebels—their successful charge against Cestius' legion before his attack on Jerusalem—two of the prominent fighters are identified as relatives of the Adiabenean King Monobazus (2.520). Indeed, Adiabeneans will continue to turn up in *War*'s narrative (4.567; 5.474),

and they will be among the last holdouts when the city is taken. Titus will mercifully take them (including sons and brothers of Izates) to Rome as hostages for Adiabene's quiescence in the future (6.356-57). If Josephus' Roman audience knew of such high-profile hostages from the Parthian empire now living in Rome, which seems antecedently likely, Agrippa's irony would be both literary and extra-textual. Agrippa appears, again, as the statesman in crisis bending every effort, using deception or disingenuousness as necessary, to stifle dangerous rebellious impulses among his people (Plutarch, *Mor. [Praec.]* 818e-f). See Excursus.

²⁴⁶³ On rationality as the statesman's criterion, see the note to "irrational hope" at 2.346.

²⁴⁶⁴ The king of Parthia: Vologeses (ruled ca. 51-78 CE).

²⁴⁶⁵ Or "truce" (ἐκεχειρία). This term was used for, among other things, the truce that accompanied such pan-Hellenic festivals as the Olympic Games (Aristotle, *Frag. var.* 8.44.533; Demetrius, fr. 89; Polybius 12.26.2; Plutarch, *Lyc.* 1.1; 23.2; Pausanias 5.4.5, 20.1; Bederman 2001: 252-53). See further 2.456 below, for a deft, partly metaphorical application.

²⁴⁶⁶ The agreement in question was fresh at the time of Agrippa's speech. Because of events in the long-contested Armenia (invaded by an Iberian usurper in 52 CE, taken by Tiridates, brother of the Parthian king Vologeses, in 54), Nero planned a massive invasion of Parthia. After carefully preparing his legions, in 58-59 CE Corbulo advanced into Armenia and installed Nero's appointee Tigranes V. Vologeses planned a campaign to reinstall his brother, but at the same time sent an embassy to seek Roman agreement that Armenia should remain under Parthian control. Although the Romans balked, their recent lack of success E of the Euphrates motivated them to compromise: the Parthian appointee could govern Armenia, but only after receiving his diadem in Rome. That agreement was made in 63 CE, but only sealed in 66 when Tiridates finally reached Rome after a grand overland tour and received the diadem from Nero. It seems that this hard-won agreement, elaborately celebrated in Rome, was indeed stable: we hear almost nothing of Roman-Parthian conflicts again until Trajan, and much about Parthian attempts at consolidating *entente* during the 70s. See Introduction and Debevoise 1938: 179-200; Dio 63.1.2-6.1.

gard it as violating²⁴⁶⁷ that treaty if one of those under him moves against the Romans.

390 Finally, then, one must resort²⁴⁶⁸ to the alliance of God.²⁴⁶⁹ But this too has been formed up²⁴⁷⁰ on the side of the Romans²⁴⁷¹—for without God²⁴⁷² it is impossible to put together such a formidable empire.²⁴⁷³

Lack of divine alliance

391 And consider how the purity of your cultic practice²⁴⁷⁴ [will be] hard to manage,²⁴⁷⁵

Inevitable violations of law in war

²⁴⁶⁷ One third of the 12 occurrences of *παρὰβίω* in *War* come in this part of Agrippa's speech (also 2.391, 393, 394), driving home that the imminent revolt will require violations of all kinds of laws.

²⁴⁶⁸ This artful adjective (*καταφρευκτέον*) is rare: only here in Josephus, it is attested before him only in Anaximenes (7.14), after him only in Lucian (*Rev. pisc.* 3) before 3 attestations in Byzantine texts.

²⁴⁶⁹ This distinctive phrase (*θεοῦ συμμαχία*) illustrates Josephus' authorial hand. He uses it elsewhere at 7.319 (editorially, speaking of Roman enjoyment of this at Masada) and *Ant.* 3.45; 8.283; 9.15; 10.24 (all concerning the army of Moses, Israel, or Judah enjoying divine alliance). God as ally (*σύμμαχος*) is even more common: 4.366; *Ant.* 2.241; 4.177; 5.98; 9.16. Before Josephus the *σύμμαχία* phrase is attested only in Philo, in similar biblical contexts (*Abr.* 95; *Migr.* 56; *Virt.* 46)—showing again the remarkable similarity between their lexicons even where there is no question of Philonic sources—although the notion of the Gods as allies has occasional older precedents (Euripides, *Troi.* 469; Xenophon, *Anab.* 3.2.10; *Ages.* 1.13; Aristotle, *Pol.* 1315a; Menander, *Sent.* 1.126; 2 *Macc.* 11.13; Diodorus 16.91.4; 28.3.1; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 6.6.3).

²⁴⁷⁰ Josephus' Agrippa continues with military metaphors following from "alliance": here *τέτακται*.

²⁴⁷¹ That Rome enjoys divine support against the Judean insurgents—not, however, *carte blanche* or in the mistreatments described throughout book 2—is a standard position of both narrator and speakers in *War* (3.293, 351; 4.366, 370; 5.19, 39, 278, 343, 367–68, 378, 396; 6.38, 101, 110, 371, 399, 433; 7.34, 319); see also the following note.

²⁴⁷² See the note to this distinctive phrase at 2.135. Cf. 6.409–13, where Titus recognizes that God's assistance was indispensable in the Roman victory, especially in view of the Herodian defenses and towers, since human hands could never have achieved it (also 6.399, 401). The conception that God alone makes nations rise and fall is deeply ingrained in Judean history, most fully articulated in the book of Daniel (cf. Mason 1994). Josephus frequently brings this conception into uneasy connection with the Greek concept of *fortune* as the explanation of Rome's rise, as he does in Agrippa's speech (see note at 2.373). Because he sometimes mentions God and fortune together (also 5.367) it may seem that he intends

to make them interchangeable, but this is unlikely. Both are inscrutable to mortals and both bring about results that cannot be achieved by human will and effort; so their effects may look the same. But fortune is fickle and changeable, and one can only speak "as if" it had designs or purposes (Polybius 11.5.8; 15.6.8; 23.10.2, 16; 29.19.2), whereas God is the rational spirit and mind behind the operations of the universe. Indeed, God will rescue the virtuous *from* fortune's turns (*Ant.* 18.267; 19.16, 233, 294). Although one might feel compelled by logic to choose between a theist metaphysics and one based on chance or fortune, Josephus does not usually make that choice explicit (except tellingly at *War* 3.391, asking whether it was fortune or God's providence that explained his survival at Iotapata). It does not seem to be mere synonymous parallelism, therefore, when he remarks that "fortune has passed over to the Romans from all sides, and God, as he brings the rule around nation by nation, is now over Italy" (5.367). At 6.399 he will speak of the rebels' final descent and surrender from the strong Herodian towers as unusually good material for studying "the power of God exercised against the impious as well as (*τε . . . καί*) the fortune of the Romans."

²⁴⁷³ Or "dominance, command, influence." Elsewhere in this translation, Greek *ἡγεμονία* is normally rendered by Latin *imperium*—a term difficult to translate, but which would have been recognized by Josephus' Roman audience by this standard Greek counterpart. Here, however, the Greek word has its generic sense of dominance, which other nations have also exercised, even though Roman success is in view.

²⁴⁷⁴ Or "worship." This (*τὸ τῆς θρησκείας ἄκρατον*) is an unambiguously positive formulation of what had struck Pilate, Josephus claims, as purity of superstition (*τὸ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας ἄκρατον*; see note at 2.174).

²⁴⁷⁵ This elegant adjective (*δυσδίοικητος*) appears only here in Josephus; it is unattested in literature before his time and afterwards turns up chiefly in medical writers of the 2nd century and later (Soranus, *Gyn.* 2.20.1, 24.2, 25.1, 46.4; Oribasius, *Coll. med.* 2.58.7, 32, 37, 58.28). Since it often has the sense of "indigestible" (i.e., managing the intake of food), Josephus may intend a double meaning, with one eye on the violation of dietary laws in times of war.

even if you were to make war on easy victims;²⁴⁷⁶ and how, as you are compelled to violate²⁴⁷⁷ those things for the sake of which you more fervently put your hope in God as an ally, you will actually turn him away.²⁴⁷⁸ **392** Certainly, by observing the customs of the seventh [days]²⁴⁷⁹ and initiating no activities whatsoever,²⁴⁸⁰ you will easily be conquered, just as your ancestors were by Pompey,²⁴⁸¹ who made these days, on which those who were under siege were inactive,²⁴⁸² especially active for the siege.²⁴⁸³ **393** If you are violating²⁴⁸⁴ the ancestral law in the [context of] war, on the other hand, I do not know on what basis you will press the contest further, when your one keen desire is not to relinquish any of the ancestral [laws]. **394** How will you call upon the Deity for defense when you have wilfully violated²⁴⁸⁵ your attentiveness²⁴⁸⁶ toward him?²⁴⁸⁷

All those who take war upon themselves²⁴⁸⁸ have come to trust in either divine or human help.²⁴⁸⁹ But whenever probability cuts it off on both [sides], those who make war are choosing evident capture.²⁴⁹⁰ **395** What in fact prevents you from executing your children

²⁴⁷⁶ MSS PA use the optative verb, which seems correct in view of the apparently corrupted alternatives. Josephus here shifts from his main argument, based upon an amply illustrated and realistic appraisal of Rome's power, to the point that even if Rome were not such a power—the optative stressing the distance from reality of this supposition—the Judeans could not properly maintain cultic practice while at war.

²⁴⁷⁷ See the note at 2.389.

²⁴⁷⁸ Agrippa economically asserts a paradox, which he will illustrate below: the Judeans are contemplating war for the sake of their ancestral laws, and so expect God as ally; but war (against anyone) will require compromises in observing the laws, which will offend the Deity and discount him as ally.

²⁴⁷⁹ See the note to “seventh” at 2.289. That Josephus rarely uses “sabbath” on its own in *War* (2.634), preferring “seventh” [day], seems a concession to his Roman audience and Atticizing style. Soon after this speech (2.456) the militants will indeed violate the sabbath, he claims, in the most egregious way: combining oath-breaking, wanton bloodshed, and sacrilege. The respectable element of the population then understands immediately that catastrophe awaits. Sabbath violation may be implied already at 2.424; see further 2.517-18.

²⁴⁸⁰ It reinforces Josephus' awareness of his audience that he routinely adds to any mention of the seventh day a gloss about the Judeans' abstention from work then: 1.146; 2.456, 517.

²⁴⁸¹ See the note to “Pompey” at 1.19. This anticipates the speech of Josephus' character at 5.395-97.

²⁴⁸² In *Apion* 1.209-12 Josephus will reject the criticism of the Judeans on precisely this score: that they have lost military conflicts because of sabbath superstition. There Josephus takes it as a mark of virtue that a nation should care more about its laws than about preserving life.

²⁴⁸³ Josephus has recounted this episode at 1.145-46 (cf. *Ant.* 14.63). While besieging the recalcitrant party

in Jerusalem (63 BCE), Pompey takes advantage of their sabbath rest to build up the earthworks on the N side of the temple without interference. Josephus insists that Pompey did not engage in combat on that day, perhaps in the knowledge that (he explains) the Judeans *would indeed fight* in direct self-defense, but would not otherwise work (so 1 Macc 2:38-41). At *War* 1.60 Josephus tells of John Hyrcanus' raising of a siege against his bad son-in-law Ptolemy, at Dagon above Jericho, in the sabbatical *year*—an entire year of inactivity for Judeans, he explains, just like the 7th day of each week.

²⁴⁸⁴ See the note at 2.389—the 3rd of 4 occurrences of this verb within a short space.

²⁴⁸⁵ The final and most potent deployment of παραβαίνω in this small section of the speech; see the note at 2.389.

²⁴⁸⁶ See the note at 2.2.

²⁴⁸⁷ That is: they fight in order to be free to observe the laws, but will only be able to fight by breaking the laws. The examples of possible law-breaking here are restrained, for the narrative has not yet shown the formation of a movement for war, with various rebel factions engaging in atrocities against each other. Still, Agrippa here anticipates the speech of Josephus himself, after the “tyrants” have demonstrated their behavior. At 5.399-403 he will excoriate their actions—thefts, treacheries, adulteries, plunder, and murder, polluting the very temple precincts—and consequently ridicule their expectation of divine help (or “alliance”).

²⁴⁸⁸ The doubly prefixed verb ἐπαναιρέομαι occurs only here in *War*.

²⁴⁸⁹ Agrippa here echoes the fateful Melian dialogue in Thucydides (5.104-105): the Melians looked in futility to improbable human aid (from the Spartans), divine intervention (on the basis of their just cause), or fortune.

²⁴⁹⁰ See the notes to this key term, which may have been the work's original title, at 1.10; 2.276.

and women²⁴⁹¹ with your own hands,²⁴⁹² and from incinerating²⁴⁹³ this most exceptionally beautiful homeland?²⁴⁹⁴ For in behaving madly in this way,²⁴⁹⁵ at least you will spare yourselves the scandal of defeat.²⁴⁹⁶

396 Friends, as long as the boat is still at the dock, it is noble—noble!²⁴⁹⁷—to consider beforehand²⁴⁹⁸ the approaching winter storm²⁴⁹⁹ and not to be led back²⁵⁰⁰ into the middle of squalls, to perish:²⁵⁰¹ whereas those who fall into terrible [circumstances] from *unseen* [causes] are at least to be pitied,²⁵⁰² the one who has rushed into *foreseen* destruction attracts only scandal.²⁵⁰³ **397** But in case perhaps²⁵⁰⁴ anyone supposes that you will

*Reconsider
before disaster*

²⁴⁹¹ See the note to the tragic invocation of “women and children,” common in Josephus and especially prominent in the Masada story (see next note), at 2.192.

²⁴⁹² *War*’s first major deliberative speech thus anticipates the mass suicide at Masada (7.389-401) as the inevitable outcome of war against Rome—making the point that the rebels might as well have killed themselves at the outset. The anticipatory note highlights the compositional unity of *War* (see Introduction) and the presence throughout of Josephus’ hand. This exhortation (like the Masada story) also echoes earlier ancient contexts in which mass murder-suicide was a natural prospect in the face of overwhelming military opposition; cf. the siege of Abydos in Polybius (16.30-34) and Cohen 1982b for a survey of cases.

²⁴⁹³ See the note at 2.58.

²⁴⁹⁴ Agrippa’s emphasis on the imminent reversal of Jerusalem’s status, from most beautiful and blessed to most desolate, reprises a key theme of the prologue (1.11). One can make the adjective *καλλής* emphatic either by the addition of a prefix (such as *περί* here) or by using the superlative form. It was rare for writers before Josephus to use both (*περικαλλέστατος*), the form he prefers in 4 of his 7 uses of the compound (also 1.402, 412; *Ant.* 15.363). Before him, Philo uses the superlative compound 11 times, though before Philo it seems attested only once (Aristotle, *Mund.* 397a).

²⁴⁹⁵ The two remaining occurrences of this verb (*μαίνομαι*) in *War* are also in programmatic speeches concerning potential suicide in the face of war: Josephus denouncing the prospect at 3.375, Eleazar son of Ya’ir commending it (ironically recognizing it as the consequence of madness on his part) at 7.338. Agrippa’s evocation of crazed behavior, madness, or folly, continues Josephus’ development of the Thucydidean-Polybian diagnosis of irrational political behavior.

²⁴⁹⁶ Eleazar son of Ya’ir will give precisely this rationale at 7.333-35.

²⁴⁹⁷ This emphasis (repeating *καλός*), also in view of the rest of Agrippa’s speech, suggests that those calling for rebellion were appealing to the predictable criteria of valor and manly courage, and deriding those who failed to stand up to the continuing humiliations dealt by

Rome’s representatives. Agrippa takes the high ground by insisting that his proposed course is *not* cowardly—any more than keeping one’s boat away from life-threatening squalls would be. With this analogy he continues to fuse the historically conflicting categories of moral right and expediency. (Is it really *noble*, or only expedient, not to head into sea storms? Would it not be noble to do so, deliberately risking one’s life, if the moral stakes were high enough?)

²⁴⁹⁸ See the note to “first considered” at 2.25. This is the 3rd occurrence of a verb that appears only in *War* 2.

²⁴⁹⁹ This extended metaphor of the ship, harbor, storm, hurricane, and (here implied) helmsman is not an ad hoc creation, but shows Josephus’ participation in long-established Greco-Roman dialogue about governing states. In his own character’s speech at 3.368-69, he will use the same set of images (and vocabulary) to compare mass suicide in the face of imminent trouble to the cowardly helmsman who, for fear of a storm, pre-emptively sinks his ship before the hurricane arrives. At 2.556 he will claim that many distinguished Judeans, following the Cestian calamity, “swam away from the city as though from a sinking ship”—abandoning their responsibilities. The image of the ship of state was famously conjured by Plato’s Socrates (*Resp.* 488c-e) to illustrate the futility of allowing anyone but a skilled helmsman (i.e., a philosopher-king) to steer it (= the *polis*). Cf. Polybius 6.44.4, 6. This imagery is featured by Josephus’ contemporary, Plutarch, both in his essay of *Political Advice* (*Mor.* 801c, 803a, 807b, 812c) and in his biographies of political figures, especially of the expert “helmsman” Philopoemen (*Phil.* 17.3-4). See the note to “city” at 2.556.

²⁵⁰⁰ This passive verb highlights the problem of trustworthy leadership, appropriately for a statesman such as (Josephus’) Agrippa.

²⁵⁰¹ So MSS PA (*ἀπολουμένου*), though MSS MV¹RC read “from a harbor” (*ἀπὸ λιμένος*).

²⁵⁰² See the note at 2.337.

²⁵⁰³ See the note at 2.29.

²⁵⁰⁴ Or “But and if.” Although this phrase (*πλὴν εἰ μή*) has reasonable attestation (8 times in Aristotle; Theophrastus, *Caus. plant.* 1.10.6; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.*

be making war according to articles of agreement,²⁵⁰⁵ and that the Romans will show restraint²⁵⁰⁶ after taking control of you, and will not, as an example to the other nations, both incinerate²⁵⁰⁷ the holy city and do away with your entire people:²⁵⁰⁸ well, you will find no place of refuge, if you have survived, with everyone having—or afraid to have—Romans as masters.²⁵⁰⁹

398 And the danger is not only for those who are here, but also for those residing in the other cities; for there is no population across the world²⁵¹⁰ that does not have a share of ours.²⁵¹¹ **399** Upon your going to war, their foes will massacre all of them,²⁵¹² and because of the bad counsel of a few men²⁵¹³ every city²⁵¹⁴ will be filled with Judean slaughter.²⁵¹⁵ To be sure, pardon will come to those who have done this;²⁵¹⁶ but if it should

4.74.1; Strabo, *Geog.* 1.2.22; Philo, *Ebr.* 135; *Flac.* 50; [Demetrius], *Eloc.* 83; Plutarch, *Sol.* 23.2; *Comp. Alc. Cor.* 1.2; *Marc.* 3.4; *Mor.* 243d, 265e; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 31.94; 32.88; 36.22; 71.2), Josephus is a heavy user, with 9 occurrences (3 in *War*, 6 in *Antiquities*). Galen has it dozens of times, though apparently some Atticizing police (as it were) considered it a solecism. Lucian also uses the phrase (*Vit. auct.* 7; *Merc. cond.* 9, 23; *Prom. verb.* 1), but his Atticizing purist mocks the usage as redundant (*Sol.* 7).

²⁵⁰⁵ Of the 39 occurrences of συνθήκη in Josephus, mostly plural as here, a disproportionate 5 are concentrated in *War* 2.397-2.640 (also 2.452, 453, 602, 640). The plural is often used as a singular (“treaty, pact”), though I translate it where possible with an English plural.

²⁵⁰⁶ Of 4 occurrences of μετριάζω in Josephus, 2 are in Agrippa’s speech (also 2.349); both deny the attribute of restraint to the Romans—as procurators or victors.

²⁵⁰⁷ See the note at 2.58.

²⁵⁰⁸ See the note to “people” at 2.366.

²⁵⁰⁹ The universality of Roman rule over the inhabited earth has been driven home at 2.380, 388, 390.

²⁵¹⁰ See the note this word at 2.360.

²⁵¹¹ Lit. “our share” (ὁ [μὴ] μοῖραν ἡμετέραν ἔχων): an understandable exaggeration, and probably not far off in relation to the cities of the E and N Mediterranean (leaving aside northern Europe, much of the W Mediterranean, Africa, and regions E of the Parthian world). Judean communities are indeed well attested throughout the eastern Mediterranean and in Parthian territories (Neusner 1969; Barclay 1996; Gruen 2002). Cf. 7.43: “The Judean race, densely dispersed among the natives throughout the entire world (οἰκουμένη). . .”

At *Apion* 2.280-86 Josephus will make a different but related claim: the laws and customs of the Judeans are emulated (by non-Judeans) everywhere. That parallel is relevant because in the sequel (2.463, 560; cf. 7.45) Josephus will report that the cities of Syria, after killing their Judean populations, were still apprehensive about the large number of *Judaizers* in each city.

²⁵¹² Shortly after Agrippa’s speech, this prediction will be validated in the narrative. The slaughter of more than 20,000 Judeans in Caesarea (2.457) brings Judean retaliations against numerous villages and cities throughout Syria and the Decapolis (Caesarea, Philadelphia, Heshbon, Gerasa, Pella, Scythopolis, Hippos, Gaulanitis, Tyrian Kedasa, Ptolemais, Gaba, Sebaste, Ashkelon, Anthedon, Gaza): “the slaughter of the men who were captured was innumerable” (2.458-60). This in turn provokes massacres of Judeans throughout Syria (2.461-78) and riots in Alexandria; massive Judean casualties result (2.487-98). Later we learn that the Damascenes had sequestered their Judean population of 10,500 in the gymnasium, out of suspicion. On hearing of Cestius Gallus’ defeat, they massacre them (2.559-61).

²⁵¹³ This phrase completes an *inclusio* with Agrippa’s opening remarks (2.346): “that the good might not share the harvest of a few people’s bad counsel” (as also Runnalls 1997: 750). On the distinctive noun κακοβουλία, see the note to “bad counsel” at 2.210.

²⁵¹⁴ But see the note to “all of them” in this sentence. Josephus provides no evidence that Judean communities more remote than Syria and Alexandria (e.g., in Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, or N Africa) suffered reprisals, though it is possible that this occurred; it is unlikely that the large Parthian diaspora suffered thus.

²⁵¹⁵ The evocative phrase Ἰουδαϊκός φόνος appears only here in Josephus (and is unattested elsewhere); it is similar in form, however, to the equally heinous συγγενικός φόμος at Scythopolis (2.471), in the related context of reprisals. At 3.17 Josephus will present τῶν Ἰουδαίων φόμος as an early consequence of Judean-Roman conflict in Judea.

²⁵¹⁶ I.e., those who kill Judeans will not fear Roman punishment, given Roman hatred of the rebel nation. Cf. 2.464, where Syrian citizens plunder with impunity the homes of Judeans who have been killed. Josephus provides a partial counter-example in 7.41-62, 100-115: Titus refuses to grant the Antiochenes’ request to expel their large Judean community, a request they assumed he would grant in view of the recent hostilities in Jerusalem.

not be done,²⁵¹⁷ ponder how impious [it would be] to turn weapons²⁵¹⁸ against those who are so humane.²⁵¹⁹ **400** So let compassion reach into²⁵²⁰ you, if not for the children and women,²⁵²¹ at least for this mother-city²⁵²² and the sacred precincts.²⁵²³ Spare the temple and keep for yourselves the shrine²⁵²⁴ along with the holy [things].²⁵²⁵ For the Romans will no longer hold back after taking control over these, when they have been shown ingratitude after sparing them before.²⁵²⁶

401 For my part, I call to witness²⁵²⁷ your holy [places], the sacred messengers of God,²⁵²⁸ and our common homeland, that I betrayed²⁵²⁹ nothing of what conduces to your

Agrippa's final appeal

But that account also begins with the observation that Vespasian's arrival in Syria to prosecute the Judean war had brought the hatred of Judeans to a head (7.46-47); combined with suspicions about their plans to harm the locals, this resulted in many Judean deaths—with apparent impunity (7.48-53).

²⁵¹⁷ I.e., if some cities do not turn against their Judean populations. At 2.479-80, Josephus will single out Antioch (but 7.43-53), Sidon, and Syrian Apamea, with Gerasa in the Decapolis, as the only cities of the region that did *not* harm their Judean inhabitants.

²⁵¹⁸ Lit. “activate, mobilize weapons,” which translation might however suggest modern weapon systems. The artistic phrase ὄπλα κινεῖν is used by Josephus also at 4.99, 231; perhaps he takes it from Thucydides 1.82.1; cf. Heron, *Dioptr.* 37; Plutarch, *Num.* 12.5.

²⁵¹⁹ Josephus' Agrippa assumes that the Judeans in revolt would themselves undertake hostilities against the neighboring cities. This is confirmed by 2.457-98: the killing of Judeans begins with the Caesarean massacre (2.457), followed by the widespread retaliation of Judean raiding parties against the cities and villages of Samaria and the Decapolis (2.458-60). These cities turn against their Judean populations because traditional apprehension, Josephus claims, is now compounded by anger and fear (2.461). Agrippa's point seems to be that a move against cities that have not harmed their own Judean inhabitants (e.g. Gerasa, 2.458, 480) would be impious.

²⁵²⁰ The same collocation (εἰσέρχομαι + οἶκος) appears at *Ant.* 1.176; 14.381; a similar phrase uses εἴσειμι instead (see the note to “went into Petronius” at 2.198). For “compassion” (οἶκος), a central theme of *War*, see the note at 1.12.

²⁵²¹ See the notes at 2.192 and (already in Agrippa's speech) 395.

²⁵²² This is the first of 25 occurrences of μητρόπολις in *War* (against only 12 in *Ant.* 1-12; cf. esp. *Ant.* 3.245). Unlike its English descendant, which suggests a large and sophisticated city, the Greek term indicates the capital of a region or the source-city to which nationals living elsewhere looked as their home. Other nations likewise have their own “mother-cities.” The term is particularly appropriate here as Agrippa—himself king of territories

well to the N of Judea—describes the many Judeans elsewhere whose fate is tied to events in Jerusalem. Most (17) of *War*'s occurrences come in bk. 4, where Jerusalem is the contested property (“mother”) of very different offspring: chief priests, zealots, and Idumeans. Most other occurrences are here in the latter half of bk. 2 (also 2.421, 517, 554, 626).

²⁵²³ Or “the sacred walls” (τῶν ἱερῶν περιβόλων). Greek περιβόλος (“going around”) can mean either a protective wall or the area thus protected. Josephus uses the word often (about 35 times) in *War*, in both senses. At 4.182 a similar phrase appears to indicate the walls themselves (τοὺς τῶν ἁγίων περιβόλους).

²⁵²⁴ The small building housing the Holy Place and Holy of Holies, distinguished from the “temple” as the whole sacred precinct; see the note to “shrine” at 1.10.

²⁵²⁵ Presumably, the sacred objects that furnish the shrine, especially the great menorah and the table of the bread. This appeal on behalf of the shrine has been foreshadowed in the one made by Jerusalem's leaders, under Cumanus' governorship, to a mob seeking revenge on the Samaritans for the murder of a Galilean (2.237). It also anticipates the final spectacle of the sacred vessels being paraded through Rome in the Flavian triumph (7.148-52). See Chapman 2005.

²⁵²⁶ This notice anticipates the speech of Titus, responding to the request of John of Gischala and Simon bar Giora for negotiations, after the temple has burned (6.323-27). In spite of his asserted right to have destroyed the rebellious city long before, Titus nevertheless offers a pledge of safety (6.347-50). When they scorn even this magnanimous pledge (2.351), Titus declares that he will spare no one and allows his enraged troops to sack and burn the city (6.352-55).

²⁵²⁷ All 4 occurrences of this verb in *War* come at momentous occasions: also Josephus' surrender to the Romans (3.354) and Titus' declaration of innocence at the temple's defilement (6.127, twice).

²⁵²⁸ Josephus often speaks of “messengers of God” (ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ), especially in *Antiquities*: 1.73, 198, 333; 5.280; 9.21; 15.36; cf. *War* 5.388. Although the first noun is often transliterated “angels,” that rendering imports a long Judeo-Christian tradition about “angels”

safety.²⁵³⁰ You, if you have resolved on what is necessary,²⁵³¹ will hold the peace in common with me, whereas if you have been led on by your tempers²⁵³² you will face the peril without me.”²⁵³³

(16.5) 402 When he had said such things as these he cried over [them], along with his sister, and he halted much of the rush with the tears.²⁵³⁴ Yet they kept shouting out that they were at war not with the Romans but with Florus,²⁵³⁵ because of what they had suffered.²⁵³⁶ 403 At this King Agrippa declared:

“But these actions are of people already at war with the Romans: you have not given your tribute to Caesar²⁵³⁷ and you severed²⁵³⁸ the colonnades of the Antonia!²⁵³⁹ 404 You

that is not needed here. Divine messengers were well understood in the Greco-Roman world, not least in tragedy (cf. Chapman 1998: 19-20); at the next occurrence of the word, *Josephus* is God’s messenger (*War* 3.400).

²⁵²⁹ This doubly compounded verb (καθούφιμι)—“give up underhandedly, by treachery”—though a favorite of Demosthenes (13 of the 19 attestations before *Josephus*), is otherwise rare: Polybius (3.60.4) and Plutarch (*Cic.* 8.1) have it once each, Philo twice (*Spec.* 1.54; 3.61). *Josephus* will use it again at 6.200; *Ant.* 6.34, an observation that tends to confirm his control over Agrippa’s speech. Whereas we might have expected the perfect tense if Agrippa was referring to the arguments he has been making, the aorist is perhaps meant to indicate his manner of governing before this crisis, viewed as a whole: there was no point at which he sacrificed the nation’s well being to nefarious purposes.

²⁵³⁰ This notice creates an *inclusio* with Agrippa’s opening declaration (2.346) that his speech would be about what was “advantageous” (or expedient, beneficial); see the note there. Whereas the abstract noun σωτηρία (“rescue, safety, deliverance”) occurs 247 times in *Josephus*, the cognate adjective here (“that which saves, rescues, is salutary”) appears only 12 times, 5 in *War*. The same combination of terms as in this paragraph—what brings safety vs. peril, reason vs. non-reason, deliberation or resolve, and the clear choice between courses of action—appears in Herodotus’ account (8.60) of Themistocles’ brief speech at Salamis, though that is for the opposite purpose: to persuade soldiers to *fight now*. The ethos here seems to owe more to Thucydidean and Polybian *Realpolitik* (see the Excursus and notes to “necessary” and “tempers” here).

²⁵³¹ Greek τὰ δέοντα here forms an *inclusio* with the same phrase at 2.345 (see the note there), the opening words of the speech (outside of Agrippa’s speech it occurs in *War* only at 4.225): what circumstances *require* (there as here) is to make peace. The phrase itself is particularly common in Xenophon (20 times) and Demosthenes (29 times). In Agrippa’s speech it has the sense of what is dictated by circumstances, apart from considerations of honor or justice (see the note to “irrational hope” at 2.346).

²⁵³² Agrippa’s entire speech has been about the contrast between what is advantageous (see note at 2.346) and what is just (e.g., retribution for mistreatment by Roman governors). This recalls the Thucydidean-Polybian themes of eternal struggle between, on the one hand, honor and necessity; on the other hand, between reason and emotion, outrage, or temper (here pl. of θυμός). See the note to “irrational hope” at 2.346. This contrast between political necessity and what “temper” would dictate is a fitting close to the oration.

²⁵³³ *Josephus*’ Agrippa concludes his remarks with a neatly balanced antithesis. The matching future second-person verbs representing the audience’s options (ἔξετε, κινδυνεύσετε) create a forceful effect with *homoioteleuton*; cf. Runnalls 1997: 750; Demetrius, *Eloc.* 27, 29.

²⁵³⁴ According to Cicero (*Part.* 27), the first and the last parts of a speech are chiefly aimed at arousing the audience’s emotion (*ad motum animi valet*). Cf. the similar conclusion of *Josephus*’ own speech at 5.419-20; Eleazar, by contrast, is all sound and fury as his audience is in tears (7.339-40).

²⁵³⁵ Indeed, the speech was introduced with the narrator’s observation that the people insisted on sending an embassy to Nero to complain about Florus’ behavior, in order to *clear themselves of any suspicion* that they were interested in rebellion (2.342-43). This mismatch between the content of Agrippa’s speech and its occasion (see the note to “follows” at 2.345) now seems slightly comical, as the people remind him that they were not seeking the war he has so eloquently rejected. His rather lame and belated connection between their actions and the appearance of rebellion, in what follows, may be understood either as clumsy construction (from a badly assimilated source or an independent rhetorical exercise) or as deliberate: showing the statesman’s decision to tackle the easier target of war with Rome because he did not want to confront their desire for an embassy (2.343)—rhetorical misdirection (see Excursus).

²⁵³⁶ Cf. 2.277-332: the narrator fully endorses the claim that Florus’ behavior is intolerable.

²⁵³⁷ Although it is not clear precisely where the tribute went (into the provincial *fiscus* for imperial expenses, the public *aerarium* at Rome, or the emperor’s own *fiscus*

will off-load the responsibility for the rebellion²⁵⁴⁰ if you re-attach these [colonnades] and also pay your tax-levies.²⁵⁴¹ For the fortress is certainly not Florus's; nor will you be giving the goods²⁵⁴² to Florus."

(17.1) 405 The populace was persuaded by these [words] and, with the king and Bernice, went up into the temple and began the rebuilding of the colonnades.²⁵⁴³ The leaders and the council-members,²⁵⁴⁴ having been assigned to the villages,²⁵⁴⁵ collected the

[construed either as his personal estate or as a separate imperial-public treasury of growing importance]), there is no doubt that the emperor controlled it; see the note to "Caesar's treasuries" at 2.111. The first option seems most likely: the value would be recorded as income in the central treasury (*aerarium*) in Rome, but mainly kept and used within the province; cf. A. H. M. Jones 1950.

According to 2.405 (see note there), 40 talents' worth was the outstanding amount, which suggests that the rest had been collected. Although Agrippa has implied resistance to tribute by contrasting other nations that pay their tribute without complaint (2.383, 385), this is the first clear indication that many (rural?) Judeans have withheld taxes in protest against the governor. The question whether they ought to submit to census-based property taxes for tribute had been controversial since the beginning of direct Roman rule in 6 CE. At 2.118 (see the note to "Romans" there; cf. *Ant.* 18.1-4, 26) *War*'s audience has learned of a significant rebellion at that time, led by Judas the Galilean—a reaction familiar from other provinces. *Antiquities* elaborates that the people were at first persuaded by a former high priest to accept the imposition, but dissent continued; there Josephus makes the responses to this issue in 6 CE a remote cause of the war 60 years later (*Ant.* 18.3-10).

It appears that the irritant never went away, except perhaps during the reign of King Agrippa I (37-41 CE). The gospels present the matter as highly controversial in the decades following 6 CE (Mark 12:14; Matt 22:17; Luke 20:22; 23:2). Perhaps, then, Josephus has not mentioned a deliberate cessation of tax payment in this instance because it did not happen: perhaps it had always been a matter of partial or grudging compliance, only now exacerbated by the protest against Florus.

It is also not clear from Josephus' account whether the tribute, which presumably would be paid by the Jerusalem authorities in any case (see note to "Romans" at 2.118), was itself going unpaid because of this partial default among the populace. Popular compliance would certainly make payment easier for the Jerusalem authorities, and perhaps Agrippa is pushing for it also as a symbolic action, to encourage popular support for harmony with Rome. It may be that the authorities could have made up the 40-talent shortfall without this revenue. But the Fasting Scroll, *Megillat Ta'anit* (II: Iyyar), usu-

ally considered to have been composed largely by 70 CE, mentions a date in April (Iyyar 27 [Artemision]) on which "the payment of the tribute was discontinued" (אתנתילו כלילאי).

Finally, it is unclear what if any official role Agrippa II, as Judean king of a neighboring territory, had in relation to tribute. He did have responsibilities in the mother-city, notably the appointment of the high priest (*Ant.* 20.179, 203, 213), and it was he who persuaded Claudius to allow Judeans to keep the high priest's robes (*Ant.* 15.407; 20.9-12); he also intervened in important Judean political matters (*War* 2.245; *Ant.* 20.135) and maintained building projects there, including a city wall and his own palace (*Ant.* 20.189-93). It stands to reason that he would be expected, even if informally, to ensure that the Judean populace met its responsibility in this most basic duty. At 2.407, the king will send the Judean notables to Florus, in a fit of pique at his own maltreatment, so that the procurator would have to choose tax gatherers "from among them." This might suggest that the responsibility had been his, if only in the extreme case of massive non-compliance at this point; or perhaps he had volunteered, partly to preserve his own standing, to shoulder the burden that normally fell on Jerusalem's leaders.

²⁵³⁸ See the note to "cut through [them]" at 2.330.

²⁵³⁹ The incident was recounted in 2.330-31 above.

²⁵⁴⁰ See the note to "rebellion" at 2.39 and to the distinctively Josephan phrase—again demonstrating his authorial hand in the speech (echoed again at 2.418)—at 2.73.

²⁵⁴¹ Notice the chiasmic treatment of these two issues.

²⁵⁴² Possibly "money." Greek τὰ χρήματα can indicate either cash or property, possessions, holdings, or goods. It is likely that the tribute-tax was paid largely in produce, as in earlier times (see the note to "Romans" at 2.118); hence the dispatch of officials to the villages for its collection (2.405). For an overview of scholarship on the Judean agrarian economy, see Harland 2002.

²⁵⁴³ See the notes at 2.330-31.

²⁵⁴⁴ I.e., members of the aristocratic leadership in Jerusalem, anchored in the priesthood but including prominent laymen; see the note to "council" at 2.331.

²⁵⁴⁵ Although the urban creature Josephus focuses almost exclusively on Jerusalem, in keeping with a

taxes. And quickly the forty talents—for that is how much remained [owing]²⁵⁴⁶—were gathered.

*Agrippa II
expelled, flees to
kingdom*

406 Although Agrippa suppressed the threat of war at that time, he then kept trying again to persuade the mob to submit to Florus²⁵⁴⁷ until Caesar should send a successor in place of him.²⁵⁴⁸ At this they became provoked²⁵⁴⁹ and slandered the king, and proclaimed his banishment²⁵⁵⁰ from the city. Some of the insurgents²⁵⁵¹ dared even to throw rocks at him. **407** The king, seeing that the rush of the revolutionaries²⁵⁵² was uncontrollable, and showing his anger²⁵⁵³ that he had been treated insolently²⁵⁵⁴ by them, sent their leaders along with the powerful [men]²⁵⁵⁵ to Caesarea²⁵⁵⁶ so that the latter might appoint from them those who would levy tribute on the countryside,²⁵⁵⁷ while he withdrew to his kingdom.²⁵⁵⁸

general political mindset that thought in terms of cities (though he will deal with Galilean towns and villages to some extent), this notice agrees with other incidental evidence in his narratives (2.170, 229-30, 233-38, 253) that the Judean hinterland harbored more “conservative” or even militant elements of the population than Jerusalem itself, which seems to have paid its share of the tribute without difficulty.

²⁵⁴⁶ I.e., 40 talents’ worth: how much of this was in cash and how much in kind is unclear. At any rate, since this was only the shortfall between the amount of tribute exacted by Rome and revenues collected to date, the tribute itself was much higher. In the 40s BCE Cassius had required 700 talents’ tribute from Judea, of which Herod quickly produced the 100 owing from Galilee (1.220-221). Archelaus as Judean ethnarch had received 400 talents in annual revenue (2.50, 97 with notes), and this may have been close to the Judean annual tribute. Tacitus (*Ann.* 2.42.5) remarks that in 17 CE delegates from both Syria and Judea, “exhausted by their burdens, begged [Tiberius for] a diminution of taxation.” It is unclear, however, whether the tribute payment to Rome would have been in jeopardy without this unpaid internal revenue: see the note to “Caesar” at 2.403.

²⁵⁴⁷ The narrative assumes what one would expect in the circumstances: ongoing antipathy to the governor, with the constant potential for outbreaks of militant resistance. Whether Agrippa overplayed his hand by saying more than was necessary, or only responded to further dangerous incidents that Josephus does not mention, we cannot tell. By omitting the latter, Josephus implies the former.

²⁵⁴⁸ Agrippa thus returns to an opening argument from his speech (2.352-54): no matter how bad he is, Florus will not last long, “and it is likely that the successors to come will be more restrained.”

²⁵⁴⁹ See the note at 2.8, with the similar constructions there and at 2.11, 305.

²⁵⁵⁰ The only other occurrence of ἐκκηρύσσω in Josephus comes later in the same book (2.633), when Josephus himself, as Galilean commander, suffers ban-

ishment from a Tiberias that is in revolt against him.

²⁵⁵¹ See the note to this key word at 1.10.

²⁵⁵² This is the first of occurrence of Josephus’ distinctive thematic term οἱ νεωτερίζοντες, for those fomenting revolt against Rome. It was introduced as a neuter participle in the prologue (1.4) and then anticipated in the story of Archelaus’ accession (2.8); see the notes there. The phrase will reappear in quick succession at 2.410, 417 (also 494, 652). Like “insurgents” and other such terms for trouble-makers, it completely obscures the actual motives and outlooks of the people in question.

²⁵⁵³ This verb χαλεπαίνω will appear again in bk. 2 only at 2.412, a few sentences below. This illustrates Josephus’ habit of re-using a word in a short space and then dropping it.

²⁵⁵⁴ The colorful verb προπηλακίζω occurs only here and at *Apion* 1.191 in Josephus. Although it literally means “trample in [or spatter with] mud or earth,” it is attested only in the metaphorical sense of dealing humiliating treatment. Nevertheless, since people have been throwing rocks at Agrippa, Josephus may have chosen the verb carefully, with also literal overtones.

²⁵⁵⁵ See the note to these stock labels at 2.239.

²⁵⁵⁶ Coastal Caesarea was the headquarters of the Roman governor (see the note at 2.16). Florus had returned there from his mischief in Judea at 2.332.

²⁵⁵⁷ Since the tribute has just been collected from the countryside (2.405), this must involve appointing officials for the next collection. That may already be imminent, given the delay in the previous round, though in context the point seems more symbolic. In pique at his recent treatment, Agrippa hands the responsibility for choosing officials to Florus, the very one who had aroused the hatred that led to the problem with tribute in the first place. See the note to “Caesar” at 2.403: it appears that Agrippa had (voluntarily or on request) been organizing the collection of tribute arrears, at least from the villages.

²⁵⁵⁸ Agrippa’s kingdom had begun with his being granted Chalcis (see the note to “kingdom” at 2.223) in 48/49 CE and then shifted S to encompass Philip’s

(17.2) 408 At this point, some of those who were especially [keen on] setting the war in motion²⁵⁵⁹ got together and rushed against a certain fortress, called Masada.²⁵⁶⁰ They seized it by stealth,²⁵⁶¹ butchered²⁵⁶² the Roman guards,²⁵⁶³ and put in place others of their own.²⁵⁶⁴

Rebels take Masada

409 Meanwhile, in the temple, Eleazar²⁵⁶⁵ son of the high priest Ananias,²⁵⁶⁶ a very bold young man²⁵⁶⁷ serving as commandant²⁵⁶⁸ at the time, induced*²⁵⁶⁹ those performing

Eleazar son of Ananias ends foreign sacrifice

former tetrarchy (Trachonitis, Batanea, Auranitis, and the Golan) plus Mt. Lebanon (53 CE), finally acquiring Abela and Iulias in Perea along with Tiberias and Tarichea in Galilee (see 2.247, 252 with notes) in 55 CE.

²⁵⁵⁹ The narrator adopts the phrasing he has recently crafted for Agrippa's speech (2.354 [see the note to "set in motion"], 362). Although he does not explain it here, the nameless warmongers apparently belong to the faction of Manaem, a "son" (possibly descendant) of Judas the Galilean, for that group will soon extract weapons from the armory at Masada, without apparent resistance, in order to take over the siege of royal and Roman forces in Jerusalem (2.433-34). At 7.297 Josephus will claim that it was Eleazar b. Ya'ir and his *sicarii* who took Masada by stealth, which must (assuming consistency) relate to the event described here. Since Josephus will describe Eleazar as a relative of Manaem's (2.447), that scenario makes sense. Perhaps he omits Eleazar's name to avoid audience confusion with the Eleazar introduced in the next sentence, who is more important at this point.

²⁵⁶⁰ Josephus has introduced the desert fortress Masada, on the southern stretch of the W coast of the Dead Sea, and referred to it several times in bk. 1 (e.g., 237-38, 264-66, 293-94). This economical notice serves to recall the site in preparation for further brief mention in bk. 2: 433, 447 (which looks ahead to the main Masada narrative of bk. 7), 653.

²⁵⁶¹ Given Josephus' later description of the near impenetrability of the fortress (7.280-303), in preparation for his description of the famous Roman siege, this offhand report is surprising. Compare λάθρα here with δόλω ("craft, treachery, bait"), used of the taking of Masada by Eleazar's *sicarii*, at 7.297. Both terms imply something other than a direct assault; cf. the slaughter of the Roman garrison in Jerusalem by a trick (2.450-53).

²⁵⁶² Or "cut the throats of" (see the note at 2.30).

²⁵⁶³ Presumably an outpost of the Judean (Sebastene and Caesarean) auxiliary forces under the procurator's control, albeit with Roman officers; see the note to "Sebastenes" at 2.52. It is possible that the outpost fortresses were manned by small legionary detachments (from Syria).

²⁵⁶⁴ See the note to "motion": *sicarii* led by Eleazar and Menachem.

²⁵⁶⁵ Although this is the first appearance of this Eleazar in *War*, we may infer (as Josephus' audience could not)

from 2.243 and *Ant.* 20.131 that his older brother Ananus had served as temple commandant while his father Ananias was the serving high priest. *Ant.* 20.208 reports that some years earlier, Eleazar's secretary had been kidnapped, in the expectation of ransom from his wealthy father—among the first of such kidnappings.

²⁵⁶⁶ Son of Nedebeus according to *Ant.* 20.103, appointed high priest by Herod of Chalcis in about 47/48 CE, just before Cumanus' appointment as procurator, Ananias apparently served a remarkably long time (until 59 CE; *Ant.* 20.179). His period in office was eventful: it included a trip to Rome to defend, before Claudius, the behavior of the Judeans in their conflict with Samaritans. After his term he remained a wealthy and influential figure, also a target of *sicarii* kidnapping-ransom maneuvers in the early 60s (see previous note, 2.243 with note, and *Ant.* 20.204-10).

²⁵⁶⁷ See the notes to "bolder ones" at 2.238, 267, and to "youths" at 2.225. This combination of spirit and youth is typical of Josephus and other ancient writers. But according to *Ant.* 20.208, Eleazar was temple commandant already near the beginning of Albinus' procuratorship (20.204), which may have begun in 59/60 CE (see note to *War* 2.272), or 62 CE on the standard dating: 4 to 6 years or more before the current episode. Granted that such a responsible position required considerable maturity, and that his older brother had held it in the early 50s, it is hard to imagine that Eleazar was particularly young. Josephus may well have assimilated him to the stereotype of the hot-headed youth (see notes mentioned above) in order to help explain away his behavior.

²⁵⁶⁸ Or "supervisor, overseer, administrator, controller." Note the characteristic *inclusio*, with the same verb (στρατηγέω) at the end of this paragraph (2.410). This verb had a wide range of possible meanings, from the standard "be a general" to "serve as consul, praetor" in Rome, or in one of the many non-military senses of στρατηγός in the Greek East. In this case, Eleazar held the position of responsibility for the proper running and security of the temple precincts (often called the "captaincy" in English): cf. 6.294; *Ant.* 20.131; Luke 22: 4, 52; Acts 4:1; 5:24, 26. The position is usually equated with that of *sagan* (סגן) in rabbinic literature (Schürer-Vermes 2.277-78), an official second in rank after the high priest, though the general gulf between Greek and rabbinic sources for groups and institutions in 1st-century Judea suggests caution in making the link.

the services of worship²⁵⁷⁰ to accept no gift²⁵⁷¹ or sacrifice from any outsider.²⁵⁷² This was a foundation of war²⁵⁷³ against the Romans, for they cast aside²⁵⁷⁴ the sacrifice on behalf of these [the Romans] and Caesar.²⁵⁷⁵ **410** With both the chief priests and the notables²⁵⁷⁶

²⁵⁶⁹ See the notes to this verb at 1.5; 2.55.

²⁵⁷⁰ Representing τοὺς κατὰ τὴν λατρείαν λειτουργούντας. For the verb, see the note at 2.321. The noun λατρεία occurs only here in Josephus, and infrequently before his time, most often in the sense of a slave's or hired worker's service (Aeschylus, *Prom.* 966; Sophocles, *Trach.* 830; *Ajax* 503; Euripides, *Phoin.* 225; cf. Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 2.9.2; 4.44.3). Plato, however, uses it of service to the Gods (*Phaedr.* 244e; *Apol.* 23c), as do the LXX (Exod 12:26; 1 Chron 28:13), 1 Maccabees (1:43), Philo (*Spec.* 2.167), and the NT writers (John 16:2; Rom 12:1). Its religious use becomes very common among Christian authors, with thousands of occurrences.

²⁵⁷¹ This was an extremely bold position to take. The temple in Jerusalem had always been the recipient of foreigners' gifts (see the note to "treasury of God" at 2.50), famously those of King Hiram of Tyre (1 Kgs 7:13-45; 9:11-14) and the Queen of Sheba (2 Kgs 10:1-10). Josephus' Solomon, in dedicating his temple to God, emphasizes the biblical point that supplicants from the ends of the earth are welcome (*Ant.* 8.116-17; 1 Kgs 8:41-43). Ps-Aristeas (42, 51-82) describes lavish gifts purportedly given by Ptolemy II Philadelphus, and various prominent Romans contributed generously (Philo, *Legat.* 297; Josephus, *War* 4.181; *Ant.* 14.488). Josephus will claim that John of Gischala melted down costly temple vessels, some of which had been presented by Augustus, his family, and his successors: "Indeed, the kings of the Romans always honored and added furnishings to the temple" (5.562-63). Cf. Schürer-Vermes 2.312-13.

Herod must have expected large numbers of gentile visitors, for he left much of his massive temple platform accessible to them (see note to "permitted" at 2.341), though admittedly he was not free to expand some of the central holy spaces beyond biblical prescriptions. There is abundant evidence for the regular presence of such visitors (cf. Jeremias 1969: 58-77). This episode raises many practical questions, e.g.: How to distinguish among different kinds of foreigners and their gifts? Was it only politically connected gifts from *rulers* that were excluded? What about those from the many "Judaizers" (e.g., of the sort about which Tacitus complains in *Hist.* 5.5), which seemed to have joined the world-wide contributions for the temple from diaspora Judeans? What reason could there be for rejecting such contributions? What if those contributors went so far as to identify become Judeans (through male circumcision or the initiation rites for women)?

²⁵⁷² The choice of word (ἀλλότριος rather than ἀλλόφυλος, which often functions positively in Josephus) perhaps enhances the sense of strangeness or hostility from the perspective of the priests involved. As Schürer-Vermes (2.309-12) observe with many examples, gentile sacrifice was a longstanding tradition, recognized in the earliest biblical texts (Lev 22:25), analyzed in later rabbinic literature (*m. Shek.* 1:5; 7:6; *Zeb.* 4:5; *Men.* 5:3, 5, 6; 6:1; 9:8), and widely attested for the intervening centuries (Josephus, *Ant.* 11.329-30; 13.242-43; 16.14; 18.122; *Apion* 2.48). At the end of the 2nd century CE Tertullian (*Apol.* 26) also recalls that the Romans used to honor the temple with sacrifices and offerings. See further the note to "Caesar" in this section.

²⁵⁷³ See the similar phrase at 2.260 with note and the repetition of this phrase (with articles) at 2.417. At 2.284 Josephus has claimed that the Caesarean conflict marked the *beginning* of the war—with good reason (see the notes there). At 4.318 he will say that the overthrow of the city began with the death of Ananus. Given the absence of a definite article here, the choice of language (not beginning-point but "a foundation"), and the internal coherence of thought—this action laid down a marker for coming war—there is no need to see these claims as contradictory.

²⁵⁷⁴ This verb (ἀπορρίπτω), which will reappear in the voice of the Judean elders at 2.416, is well chosen for its connotation of contempt.

²⁵⁷⁵ On this important twice-daily sacrifice, contributed by (or at least offered for the sake of) the Roman rulers, see the note to "Roman people" at 2.197. It was a fundamental expression of loyalty to the empire and, at the same time, of the Judeans' acceptance of imperial reverence for their deity. Daily sacrifice on the emperor's behalf was a suitably Judean way of associating with the imperial cult of the E Mediterranean, which understood the emperor and his family as chief sacrificers (seeking divine protection for their subjects) as well as being—in other cities—themselves objects of sacrifice. Just as Pliny reported to Trajan that his province of Pontus-Bithynia had renewed its oath of loyalty by offering sacrifice for Trajan's well being (*Ep.* 10.100), to which Trajan replied with complete satisfaction, so the daily Jerusalem sacrifice in this vein was an important symbol of loyalty. For an entirely different analysis, see Bennett 2007 (and the note at 2.197).

Unilaterally abolishing this sacrifice, even if it was not a formal requirement of participation in the empire, would have implied much the same sense of insult as

constantly appealing to them not to jettison this custom on behalf of the rulers, they would not give in: having come to rely much on their own throng, for the most vigorous [element] of the revolutionaries²⁵⁷⁷ were working with them,²⁵⁷⁸ they were also looking intently to Eleazar as their commandant.²⁵⁷⁹

(17.3) 411 At any rate, when the powerful [men]²⁵⁸⁰ had come together with the chief priests,²⁵⁸¹ into the same [place]²⁵⁸² also with the notables among the Pharisees,²⁵⁸³ given what seemed already irremediable calamities,²⁵⁸⁴ they began deliberating about the whole situation. [With the] notion²⁵⁸⁵ of subjecting the insurgents²⁵⁸⁶ to a trial with words,²⁵⁸⁷ they

Leaders convene in temple, demand reinstatement of sacrifices. Life 21

desecrating temples to Rome and Augustus in other cities. The emperors since Augustus had reportedly offered worship to the Judean God and supported his cult without expecting a reciprocal recognition of Greco-Roman deities; cutting off even this avenue of generosity (as Josephus presents it) could only be understood by Rome as offensive behavior on the part of the Judean élite.

²⁵⁷⁶ This pair is another variation on Josephus' standard descriptions of the highest élite echelon (see the notes to "powerful [men]" at 2.239 and to "chief priests" and "notables" at 2.243). In the next sentence (2.411) these highest aristocrats will meet again, but unusually, with the most eminent Pharisees. See notes there.

²⁵⁷⁷ See the note at 2.407.

²⁵⁷⁸ In 2.451 it will emerge that these prominent supporters of Eleazar included Gorion son of Nicomedes, Ananias son of Sadok, and Ioudas son of Ionathes; the last two will form half of the delegation that will try to oust Josephus from his Galilean command (2.628).

²⁵⁷⁹ Since the verb *στρατηγέω* occurs outside of this passage only at 2.567 in *War* 2, its appearance at the beginning and end of this paragraph seems to constitute a deliberate word-play: the temple commandant, a high official in the priestly tradition, has suddenly become "commandant" of a distinctly non-traditional cabal.

²⁵⁸⁰ See the note at 2.239 and the terms at 2.243.

²⁵⁸¹ Josephus almost formulaically pairs chief priests and powerful men or notables, in designating the highest level of Jerusalem's élite (cf. 2.243, 301, 316, 318, 322, 336, 422, 428, 648). Different here is the presence of the Pharisees (see next notes).

²⁵⁸² This phrase (*εἰς ταῦτό*) might go either with what precedes (powerful men and chief priests) or with what follows (those two and Pharisees). In favor of the latter is that chief priests and powerful men frequently appear together without need for elaboration (previous note). The Pharisees, here meeting in the same place with them, are the unusual element (see next note)—apparently as a result of the recognized emergency.

²⁵⁸³ The Pharisees have been introduced to the audience at 1.110-114, 571; 2.119, 162-66 (on which Mason 1991, 2007a). The present passage is the only one in *War*

that combines leading Pharisees with the more standard Judean leadership groups (see note to "chief priests" in this sentence). It anticipates what *Antiquities* will spell out (13.297-98; 18.15, 17): that Pharisees had avenues of access to the masses that were unavailable to the priestly aristocracy. Although the most prominent Pharisees (as here) were wealthy and well connected (cf. *Life* 189-98), as a group they lacked the hereditary claims and social status of the chief priests. Inclusion of the Pharisees' leading representatives in this emergency council, mentioned also at *Life* 21 as a special event, appears to be a diplomatic necessity, part of the élite's effort to reach and calm the masses by every available means.

²⁵⁸⁴ See the note to this charged adjective ("irremediable suffering") at 2.233. The noun is also programmatic (*συμφορά*), enhancing the tragic tone of *War* and bk. 2; see the notes at 1.9; 2.286. This clause might be intended to explain the unusual collaboration of chief priests and other leading men with prominent Pharisees.

²⁵⁸⁵ As punctuated by Niese and other modern editors, this construction is more elliptical than usual for Josephus: after a high stop (semi-colon), *καὶ δόξαν [ἀποπειραθῆναι τῶν στασιαστῶν λόγοις . . . ἀθροίζουσι τὸν δῆμον]*. The Greek MSS reveal no demurral, though the Latin seems to treat *δόξαν* as an object of the earlier finite verb "began deliberating" as it recasts the whole (*et uidentes quam grauibus malis pergerent subigere ciuitatem, decreuerunt seditiosorum animos experiri et ante. . .*). Other modern translations appear to render *δόξαν* as if it were a participle (*δοξάντες, δοκοῦντες*), which is reasonable but hard to read from the text. As a last resort, I treat it as an accusative absolute.

²⁵⁸⁶ See the note to this key word at 1.10.

²⁵⁸⁷ The same construction (*ἀποπειραθῆναι τῶν [X] λόγοις*) appears at 2.523, where King Agrippa puts the Judeans to the test with words, and a similar one at *Ant.* 5.103. In all cases the phrase anticipates the use of oratory to prevent fighting—precisely the statesman should do (Plutarch, *Mor.* [*Praec.*] 801c-804c). Since the construction, though unattested in other writers, appears in both *War* and *Antiquities*, it seems to reflect Josephus' characteristic language.

assembled* the populace in front of the bronze gate,²⁵⁸⁸ which was the one belonging to the inner temple²⁵⁸⁹ directed toward the sunrise.²⁵⁹⁰

412 First they gave full vent to their anger²⁵⁹¹ at the audacity²⁵⁹² of the rebellion²⁵⁹³ and at their inciting²⁵⁹⁴ such a great war in the ancestral homeland; then they turned to refuting utterly the irrationality²⁵⁹⁵ of the justification,²⁵⁹⁶ stating that their ancestors²⁵⁹⁷ had furnished²⁵⁹⁸ the shrine mostly from the foreigners, always welcoming the gifts from outside nations.²⁵⁹⁹ **413** And not only had they not prohibited the sacrifices of certain people, for this is most impious,²⁶⁰⁰ but they also [did not prohibit] them from dedicat-

²⁵⁸⁸ Josephus features this massive gate of Corinthian bronze—of much greater value than those overlaid with gold and silver—in his two main descriptions of the temple (*War* 5.201; *Ant.* 15.418). This was the gate, according to the latter passage, through which ritually pure priests entered the inner temple compound *with their wives*. That awkward detail should perhaps not upset the consensus view, based on *m. Mid.* 2:3, that this was Nicanor’s Gate, which stood atop 15 rounded 23 cm (9-in) steps rising up from the 61 m (200 ft) square Court of Women (diminished by large chambers on each corner), leading to the Court of Israelites, through which one reached the Court of the Priests and the central shrine: hence it was “the one outside the shrine” (*War* 5.201)—visible from and directly E of the Holy of Holies.

This also appears to be the gate, requiring 20 men to open and shut, that is said by Josephus to have opened of its own accord one night as an omen of the temple’s destruction (6.293); it may also be the Beautiful Gate of Acts 3:2, 10. The Mishnah (*Mid.* 2:5) claims that the Levites used to sing from the steps before this gate. The Babylonian Gemara has many stories about the gate and its donor, at least some of them fanciful (e.g., *b. Pes.* 85b, 92a; *Yom.* 11a, 19a, 30b, 31a, 37a, 38a; *Naz.* 45a). At any rate, the podium created by the staircase leading to this bronze gate, sitting about 11 ft (3.35 m) above the Women’s Court, would be the logical site for a speech in the temple area for the Judean public only: within a large enclosed space beyond the access of gentiles.

²⁵⁸⁹ I.e., the relatively small walled compound in the centre-west of the vast temple mount constructed by Herod, presumably within the boundaries of the Court of Israelites, possibly including the Court of Women beyond the balustrade prohibiting gentile access (see the note to “permitted” at 2.341 and previous note in this section).

²⁵⁹⁰ Josephus could simply have said that the gate was on the E side (as does *m. Mid.* 1:4; 2:6), but he has an abiding interest in the sun as divine symbol—or possibly as a deity. See the note to “prayers to him” at 2.128. He has Moses position the tabernacle and the altar so as to catch the sun’s first rays (*Ant.* 3.115; 4.305) and describes the high priest’s upper garment as representing

the sun’s rays (*Ant.* 3.184). *Ant.* 15.418 also puts this gate “on the side where the sun rises.” Such orientations to the sun were entirely familiar to Greco-Roman audiences, e.g. in the temples of Zeus at Olympia or Athena at Athens.

²⁵⁹¹ See the note to “showed his anger” at 2.407 above—the verb’s only other occurrence in *War* 2.

²⁵⁹² See the note to “brazeness” at 2.108.

²⁵⁹³ See the note at 2.39.

²⁵⁹⁴ The verb ἐπισειώ means literally to shake something at someone, to scare them, or to provoke a reaction. It occurs in Josephus only here and at *War* 1.215; 4.302. It matches well the “goading” and “courting” of 2.414 below.

²⁵⁹⁵ On rationality as the statesman’s criterion, see the note to “irrational hope” at 2.346.

²⁵⁹⁶ This (πρόφοσις) is a significant term in Josephus’ lexicon of causation; see the note at 2.285.

²⁵⁹⁷ The appeal to ancestral tradition had great rhetorical force in many ancient cultures, not least the Roman, in which the *mos maiorum* had axiomatic validity. Josephus presents himself as sharing the same assumptions, most obviously in the projects of *Antiquities* and *Apion* on the antiquity of his people (cf. *War* 1.17) and in the speech of his character at *War* 5.362-419 (esp. 376-77, 390, 399).

²⁵⁹⁸ Or “decorated, decked out.” The perfect tense of κοσμέω indicates that the results are still present (as 2.413).

²⁵⁹⁹ See the note to “gift” at 2.409.

²⁶⁰⁰ The Judeans had every reason to avoid any imputation of “impiety,” which easily attached to them, along with the “atheism” and “misanthropy” charges, because of their exclusive cult, diet, and manner of life: they could not participate in the worship of other deities (e.g., Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.3-5). Josephus is keenly aware of this, and in the *Apion* he pointedly refutes each accusation (see 2.148, 291—“the laws. . . teach not impiety but the truest piety”—see the commentary and bibliography in Barclay, BJP 10). Since the welcoming of strangers into Judean culture was the best way of demonstrating the nation’s benevolence and generosity (cf. *Apion* 2.261, 281-83), given that Judeans would not participate in for-

ing²⁶⁰¹ the votive offerings around the temple,²⁶⁰² which can be seen and remain in place for such a long time.²⁶⁰³

414 But now they were goading²⁶⁰⁴ the weapons of the Romans and, while courting²⁶⁰⁵ war from them, were also grafting in²⁶⁰⁶ a strange [form of] worship.²⁶⁰⁷ Along with the danger,²⁶⁰⁸ they had voted to condemn²⁶⁰⁹ the city for impiety²⁶¹⁰—if among the Judeans alone an outsider could neither sacrifice nor make obeisance.²⁶¹¹ **415** Whereas if someone were to introduce this law²⁶¹² for one individual, they²⁶¹³ would be indignant at the unso-ciableness of the exclusion,²⁶¹⁴ they were standing by and watching as the Romans—and

eign cults, it would be catastrophic from this élite perspective, reinforcing the worst stereotypes of non-Judean observers, to cut off even this area of shared piety.

²⁶⁰¹ The verb καθιδρύω occurs in *War* only here and at 1.404.

²⁶⁰² It is not easy, however, to picture what these gifts might have been, since Exod 20:4-6 was generally understood to exclude human or animal images, which constituted the bulk of votive gifts to other temples (see the note to “trampled” at 2.170). Philo (*Leg.* 2.199) recounts Pontius Pilate’s dedication of some gold shields, blank except for the name of donor and honoree (Tiberius), in the Herodian palace—not in the temple. Although it is difficult to see the cause of offense, Philo claims that Pilate did this in large part to cause distress among the populace. Presumably, foreign donors to the temple were careful to give blank medallions or shields, crowns, or objects bearing only geometrical patterns or scenes of plant life.

²⁶⁰³ Cf. 4.180-82, where the former high priest Ananus tragically contrasts the Romans, who have respectfully contributed votive offerings to the temple from afar, which are still visible around the courtyard, with the Judeans’ murder and plunder of each other within the sacred space (ostensibly because of their hatred of the Romans). By having the elders use vivid representation, Josephus achieves the same effect (ἐνάργεια) with his literary audience.

²⁶⁰⁴ See the note at 2.316: throughout the latter half of *War* 2 (2.316, 321, 350, 493), leaders constantly urge the Judeans not to goad the Romans.

²⁶⁰⁵ Of 13 occurrences in Josephus, μνηστεύω appears in *War* only here and at 1.570. Most often it has a literal sense (in relation to love and marriage); it is metaphorical here and at *Ant.* 17.2 (“courting danger,” much as here).

²⁶⁰⁶ Or “excavating.” Greek καινοτομέω appears only here and, in a similar metaphorical sense, in the speech of Josephus’ character at 5.402. Meaning literally “cut a new [vein, in mining, or path],” it had, along with its cognate noun, an established usage for political innovation (Plato, *Euth.* 3b, 16a; *Leg.* 709a, 797c; Aristotle, *Pol.* 1305b, 1316b; Polybius 15.30.1).

²⁶⁰⁷ The phrase (θρησκεία ξένη) is cleverly ironic, given the issue: since Judean worship has always accepted the support of strangers, by not accepting these they are innovating a strange, alien form of worship (though they do so under the guise of protecting Judean tradition from what is alien).

²⁶⁰⁸ I.e., the danger of direct confrontation with Rome, which (as 2.418 observes) would naturally face the leaders first.

²⁶⁰⁹ The verb καταψηφίζομαι occurs in *War* again only at 6.250, a rough symmetrical parallel. The sense may be that they have created the conditions in which others would “vote Jerusalem out” of the community of nations.

²⁶¹⁰ See the note to “impious” at 2.413.

²⁶¹¹ The fundamental expectation that foreigners, especially dignitaries, should normally offer worship to local Gods as they visited other cities is captured well in Suetonius’ observation (*Aug.* 93) that Augustus was grateful to his grandson Gaius for *not* stopping in Jerusalem to worship, as he hurried from Egypt to Syria—implying that the norm would be to stop. Just before Agrippa’s speech the visiting tribune Neopolitanus has done precisely this (2.341). The placement of that episode—saying in effect, “Look what happens when a fair and well-intentioned Roman official visits Jerusalem”—gives added force to the elders’ objection here.

²⁶¹² Presumably: a law banning gifts or sacrifices from some person.

²⁶¹³ Possibly “he” (as Whiston), since the subject of the infinitive is tacit, though the overall logic suggests a contrast between the rebel priests’ attitudes towards ordinary individuals and towards the Romans. The meaning is unclear, however, for it is not obvious why these priests would be upset on humanitarian grounds about the exclusion of a (foreign) individual.

²⁶¹⁴ Although the general sense of ὡς ὀριζομένης ἀπανθρωπίας is clear, the nuances of the words and the precise syntax yield several possibilities. Is the participle middle or passive? If the latter, is the aggrieved person indignant at his own exclusion, or should the rebel priests be? Or should they be indignant at the act of excluding (middle voice)? The noun ἀπανθρωπία

Caesar—became “outside the pact.”²⁶¹⁵ **416** Indeed they had become alarmed that, after casting aside²⁶¹⁶ the sacrifices on behalf of those people [Romans and Caesar], they might prevent sacrificing also on their own behalf,²⁶¹⁷ and the city would become “outside the pact” in the empire, unless they quickly came to their senses,²⁶¹⁸ restored²⁶¹⁹ the sacrifices, and put right the outrage—before the report went out to those whom they had outraged.

(17.4) **417** While they were saying these things, they brought forward the priests who were experts in the ancestral [traditions],²⁶²⁰ who explained that all their ancestors used to accept the sacrifices from strangers.²⁶²¹ No one among the revolutionaries²⁶²² was paying attention; but neither were the bandit-types²⁶²³ allowing [it]²⁶²⁴—furnishing²⁶²⁵ the foundation of the war.²⁶²⁶

(rendered adjectivally for simplicity) occurs only here and at *Ant.* 16.161 in Josephus.

²⁶¹⁵ This vivid adjective (ἔκσπονδος), meaning literally “outside the libation [signaling a treaty],” is chosen for the rhetorical contrast coming in the next sentence—its only appearances in Josephus. Well represented in its literal sense in the orators and occasionally in historians, it has little attestation in later writers (no doubt because of the pagan associations).

²⁶¹⁶ See the note at 2.409. That Josephus uses the same language in both his narrator’s voice and for his characters illustrates his complete authorial control.

²⁶¹⁷ Apparently, the prominent leaders, chief priests, and eminent Pharisees are worried that they themselves will soon be excluded from temple worship, which is indeed what happens at 2.426 below.

²⁶¹⁸ See the note to “to their senses,” an important verb of rational behavior, at 2.346.

²⁶¹⁹ This verb (ἀποδίδωμι) provides a counterbalance, with the same prefix, to that translated “casting aside” above. The prefix might indicate either “giving back,” in the sense of something owed or due, or “giving again” as before, or restoring, or both. Although the latter sense is indicated here, when Jesus answers the Pharisees’ question about tribute in the gospels, he uses the same verb (ἀποδοῦτε: Mark 12:17; Matt 22:21; Luke 20:25) for the famous “render unto Caesar.”

²⁶²⁰ It is curious that a distinguished group led by the chief priests (2.411) should now bring forth “priestly experts,” as if these were a different group (a subset?), since Josephus elsewhere insists that the priests, led by the chief priests, are the experts (3.352; *Ant.* 4.304, 324; 12.49; *Life* 1-9, 198; *Apion* 1.29-36, 54; 2.185-87). In rhetorical flight he will even claim that only other nations need to consult experts, for all Judeans know their laws intimately (*Apion* 2.177-78; cf. Barclay *ad loc.* in BJP 10). Still, he occasionally admits that a few priests are conspicuous as towering authorities, most especially his good self (*Ant.* 20.262-66; *Life* 9).

Since Josephus was apparently present in Jerusalem at this time, and part of these discussions (*Life* 21), it is entirely possible, if unprovable, that he is thinking of

himself in mentioning these experts—also adding an air of mystery for his Roman audience. For their sake he might also be suggesting a parallel with Etruscan experts in Rome. The Etruscans held the paradoxical position of being not precisely Roman, but having crucial functions in Roman public cult as *haruspices* and perhaps as interpreters of the *Sibylline Oracles* (cf. Beard, North, and Price 1998: 1.24, 101-2; 2.175-78).

²⁶²¹ This is a remarkably apt choice of diction (ἀλλογενής) for these experts in Judean tradition. It is the only appearance of this word in Josephus: although the sense would be obvious to any Greek speaker, the word is attested almost exclusively in Judean (and Christian) circles: 47 times in the LXX—where it often translates נַכַּר בֶּן or זָר (e.g., Exod 12:43; 29:33; Lev 22:10, 13)—including apocrypha; 4 times in Philo; Luke 17:18; *Jos. Asen.* 4.12; then in Justin and later Christian and Jewish authors. It is not found in Greek authors except Plutarch (*Mor.* [*Carn.* 2] 997e) and the epitome of the obscure grammarian, Diogenianus.

²⁶²² See the note at 2.407.

²⁶²³ The textual variants reveal a fascinating problem. MSS PAM, followed by Niese, have “bandit elements” (ληστρικοί), whereas L¹VRC, M’s margin, Latin, and Hegesippus all read “(priestly) ministers, attendants” (λειτουργοί), which is followed by Thackeray in LCL, Pelletier, Vitucci, and M-B. Earlier attestation (in the Latin) thus favors the latter, though it does not certainly appear elsewhere in Josephus; it is a variant at *Ant.* 13.55. The former term is doubly unexpected: first, because of the troublesome logical connection between bandits and the temple priests; second, because Josephus hardly ever uses the adjective ληστρικός as a masculine plural substantive (though see 2.264 and note). These problems mean, however, that “bandit-types” is easier to understand as the original term, modified by later copyists (as in M’s margin) because of its incomprehensibility.

Three further considerations support this view. First, the distance between revolutionary priests and bandits is not far in Josephus’ world of language (see the note to “bandit bloc” at 1.11). Second, in his later parallel to this episode (*Life* 21) Josephus will explicitly mention

418 Once they comprehended that the civil strife²⁶²⁷ was already uncontainable²⁶²⁸ by *Leading men send envoys to Florus, Agrippa II. Life 23*

Manaem (Menachem) as leader of the bandit element. So it seems likely that he was thinking of “bandits” and rebellious priests together at this point (cf. 2.433 below). Finally, the sentence structure here, with its emphatic distinction between the rebellious priests and both the identity and the situation of the group next mentioned, suggests that they were quite different.

²⁶²⁴ Reading προσίεσαν (from προσίημι) with MSS PAVR, followed by Niese and M-B, rather than “joining in, coming to [the elders’] support” (προσῆεσαν, from πρόσεμι), agreeing with the Latin *procedebant* and followed by Thackeray, Vitucci, and Pelletier. Whichever word is read, the meaning is obscure, and dependent in part on the problematic subject (see “bandit-types” and note). The sentence could mean: temple servants or bandits were not allowing access (to the temple); temple servants or bandits did not come to the aid of the elders (so Thackeray, Vitucci, Pelletier); temple servants did not attend to their duties (so Whiston); or temple servants did not appear (so M-B). But all of those explanations require a good deal of supplementation.

The route to a simpler approach may lie in the observation that this verb predicated of the second subject closely matches the one predicated of the first group—in tense, form (with προσ- prefixes), and meaning—suggesting a certain parallelism. The meaning may be, then, that just as the rebel priests would not *pay heed*, so also the “bandit-types” (i.e., militant demagogues such as Manaem) would not *agree* either. With these two influential groups rejecting the direction of the senior priests, the foundation for war was laid.

²⁶²⁵ The verb ἐνσκευάζω occurs 9 times in Josephus, but only in *War* 1-6. Before his time it appears rarely (notably Aristophanes, *Acharn.* 384, 436, 1096; Xenophon, *Cyr.* 8.5.11; Plato, *Crito* 53d), but 5 times in Philo (*Sacr.* 28; *Ebr.* 7; *Somn.* 2.182; *Flacc.* 40; *Legat.* 94), then commonly in Plutarch, Dio, Lucian, and contemporaries. Again we see Josephus using language that was in vogue at his time, with Philo as a significant precursor.

²⁶²⁶ The repetition of this programmatic phrase from 2.409, now with articles for each noun, creates an *inclusio*: it is now clearer, with the recalcitrance of the priests and of the “bandits,” why this became the foundation of the war.

²⁶²⁷ See the note to this key word at 1.10. J. Price (2003) finds in Josephus a confusion of usage reflecting a conflicted attitude to the war. He argues (2003: 11-19) that for Thucydides and subsequent Greek authors through Josephus’ time, στάσις was the condition of city or state facing internal conflict or factionalism, from the perspective of a detached outside observer, the insiders all being

partisans. Although Josephus begins *War* with this normal meaning, as he describes Hasmonean factionalism (1.31), Price contends that here and in other passages dealing with the first year of the war (especially 2.434, 437) Josephus uses the term in a new and problematic way, as the project of only one group, such that it can be said to have a *leader*: στάσις then amounts to uprising or *sedition* rather than factionalism (which must have at least two leaders). Josephus is now a fully involved reporter, pinning blame on only a few extremists (it is *their* στάσις) who stand over against the populace and the good leaders. For Price (2003: 20-21), this “instability” of usage betrays Josephus’ underlying knowledge that the war was *not* after all a matter of serious internal conflict, as he misleadingly claims, but a largely unified uprising against Rome. This analysis in turn supports Price’s earlier argument that Josephus has attempted to conceal the reality that prominent members of the aristocracy led the nation in a bid for independence (Price 1992: 32-33; cf. Goodman 1987: 167-68).

Although Price claims that the Thucydidean script followed by Josephus should not have allowed him to present στάσις as external to Jerusalem’s leaders (2003: 14-15), and that Josephus adopts this meaning only in relation to the war’s first year, the major example of στάσις in *Antiquities*—the rebellion of Korah against Moses (*Ant.* 4.12-66, 76)—closely matches *War*’s usage. That is, Korah’s actions create a civil strife needing resolution: Korah is the one who both generates and leads the στάσις (4.12-15. NB: Feldman in BJP 3 translates both “sedition” and “civil strife,” from one sentence to the next). Moses is plainly *not* a partisan in that στάσις, which cannot therefore be described as factionalism; Moses and God deliver the people from this strife by removing the instigator (4.12-13). The στάσις under Archelaus in *War* 2.10-11 seems to fall into the same category: the ethnarch-designate is not a factionalist when he tries to suppress the “civil strife.” These examples are in accord with Plutarch’s contemporary *Precepts of Statecraft*, which sees the statesman as standing above and outside στάσις, while making every effort to prevent or cure it (*Mor.* 815b, c-f): “he must *not create storms himself*, and yet he must not abandon [the state] when such storms descend; but when [the state] is reeling and endangered, he must come to its aid, his frankness of speech being just like a sacred anchor heaved over into the greatest [depths, perils].”

Acknowledging Josephus’ (or other writers’) debts to Thucydides does not require understanding *War*’s language such that shifts in usage imply “misreadings” of the master. Plato already explores various nuances of the

them and that the danger from the Romans would come to them first,²⁶²⁹ the powerful [men] tried to off-load the responsibility²⁶³⁰ and sent envoys: some, of whom Simon the son of Ananias²⁶³¹ was the leader, to Florus;²⁶³² others, among whom were the distinguished²⁶³³ Saul, Antipas, and Costobar,²⁶³⁴ who were connected to the king by ancestry,²⁶³⁵ to Agrippa.²⁶³⁶ **419** They pleaded with both [men] to come up²⁶³⁷ into the city with a force and amputate²⁶³⁸ the civil strife²⁶³⁹ before it became uncontainable.²⁶⁴⁰

term *στόσις* (see note at 1.10). For Josephus and many of his contemporaries (cf. Rowe and Schofield 2005: 18-20), this term indicates above all the opposite of concord (*ὁμόνοια*). Josephus regularly contrasts these two terms: 1.460; 4.369; 5.72, 441; 6.215 (note especially the last). It is difficult to imagine that a Greek-speaking audience would have found anything odd or conflicted in his usage.

²⁶²⁸ Here we have a stunning example of Josephus' lexical proclivities. In his entire corpus, the adjective *δυσκαθαίρετος* occurs only here and in the next sentence, illustrating his tendency to re-use a word quickly and then drop it. The meager attestation of the word outside of his corpus equally fits the pattern: before him it appears only in Philo (*Leg.* 1.86; *Mos.* 1.9), but then his contemporary Plutarch has it (*Mor.* [Garr.] 511c; cf. Pollux, *Onom.* 1.171; Zenobius, *Epit.* 6.52). After the 2nd century it disappears for nearly a millennium.

²⁶²⁹ See the note to "danger" at 2.414. Naturally, the Romans would hold the Judean leadership responsible for an act of rebellion that emanated from the temple and its public ceremonies, which should be in their control. To persuade the Romans otherwise will require embassies.

²⁶³⁰ See the note to this distinctive Josephan phrase at 2.73.

²⁶³¹ Although the Ananias in question is presumably the former high priest, just mentioned as Eleazar's father (2.409; cf. 2.243), which would explain why the son was chosen to lead this important mission, Simon—bearer of the most commonly attested name in Judea (Hachlili 2005: 200)—appears only here. If he is a brother of both Ananus and Eleazar, the former and current temple commandants, who rejects one brother's interest in challenging Rome, Josephus does not pause to explain it.

²⁶³² The last we heard of Florus (2.407) he was in Caesarea. Agrippa II had sent some Jerusalem leaders to him, to make new arrangements for the collection of tribute.

²⁶³³ This is the first occurrence of *ἐπίσημος* in *War* 2 (cf. 2.448, 585), though the word appears 53 times in Josephus (62 including cognates); it is a functional equivalent of several other terms for members of the élite (see the note to "powerful [men]" at 2.239).

²⁶³⁴ This is a fascinating collection of names from the same family: Hebrew, Greek, and Idumean. That Jose-

phus mentions their being part of (rather than leading) the delegation suggests that he has other reasons to mention them here. It fits with his common practice to anticipate, with incidental notices, more significant actions later. In this case, the audience will later learn (2.556-58) that Costobar and Saul are brothers, that all 3 men will be trapped in the Herodian palace after their return with royal troops (cf. 2.421, 430-37), and that Antipas—a member of the royal family, at some point placed in charge of the public treasury—would ultimately die at rebel hands (cf. 4.140-41), whereas after Cestius' defeat at Beit-Horon Costobar and Saul will flee Jerusalem to join his forces. *Ant.* 20.214 adds the surprising information (though characteristic of the differences between the major works) that before 66 CE, while Albinus was procurator, Costobar and Saul behaved as lawless men, in spite of the royal lineage that brought them favor in the public eye, and operated gangs of thugs who engaged in violent robbery.

²⁶³⁵ Exactly how they are related is unclear, but Kokkinos (1998: 201-5) makes plausible proposals: Costobar and Saul might be the grandsons of Herod's sister Salome and Costobar (inherently likely because of the name—and, I would add, the common practice of papponymy [Hachlili 2005: 201-2]), their parents being Antipater (III) and the older Berenice (b. ca. 31 BCE). If so, they might have been born as late as the first decade CE, which would still make them near 60 at the time of these events, somewhat older than King Agrippa II, who is only about 38. This Antipas, though of royal blood (*War* 4.140), is entirely obscure: Kokkinos (1998: 161 n. 29, 202) conjectures that he might be the son of Phasael II (b. 47/46 BCE) or of Antipas the tetrarch, or a different descendant of the brothers' father.

²⁶³⁶ The king is in his own kingdom to the N/NE, perhaps in Caesarea Philippi (2.407).

²⁶³⁷ See the note to "up" at 2.16.

²⁶³⁸ The verb *ἐπικόπτω* appears only here and at 4.168 in Josephus. It is lightly attested in literature before his time (perhaps a dozen cases), but more heavily used from Plutarch (3 occurrences) onward.

²⁶³⁹ See the notes at 1.10; 4.18.

²⁶⁴⁰ See the note in the previous sentence (2.418): a brief *inclusio*. There the situation was already uncontainable by the leaders; here it threatens absolute uncontainability.

420 To Florus, on the one hand, awful [news] was a good report:²⁶⁴¹ since he had resolved to kindle the war,²⁶⁴² he gave no answer to the emissaries. **421** Agrippa, on the other hand, being equally concerned for those who were rebelling and for those against whom the war was being stirred up,²⁶⁴³ and wanting to preserve the Judeans for the Romans and the temple and the mother-city for the Judeans,²⁶⁴⁴ but understanding that the disturbance would not be in his own interest,²⁶⁴⁵ sent 2,000 cavalry—Auranites, Bataneans, and Trachonites²⁶⁴⁶—for the defense of the populace, under Darius²⁶⁴⁷ as cavalry commander and Philip son of Iacimus²⁶⁴⁸ as general.²⁶⁴⁹

Agrippa II sends cavalry under Philip. Life 46

²⁶⁴¹ This is the only occurrence in Josephus of the famous neuter singular εὐαγγέλιον, normally rendered “gospel” in early Christian contexts, though here it lacks the article that usually accompanies it in those texts (which also renders it something of a technical term of Paul’s communities). It occurs in the plural at 4.618, 656, both times in the context of adulation for Vespasian at his rise to imperial power, reflecting earlier use in imperial propaganda. The cognate verb is more common (twice in *War*, 9 times in *Antiquities*).

²⁶⁴² Greek ἐξάπτειν τὸν πόλεμον. Florus’ resolve to promote war is an established theme: 2.282-83, 296. At 2.293, 343 Josephus has Florus “fan the flames of war” and at 2.318 the procurator “re-ignites” trouble. The phrase used here will reappear at 2.650 of the Judeans who have ignited war, and Josephus will use that phrase symmetrically in *Life* at 105 and 321. The phrase is not attested before Josephus and so (given this frequency) counts as distinctive, though it appears in his contemporary Plutarch (*Mor. [Vit. dec. orat.]* 840a, 848b) and later authors (Appian, *Bell. civ.* 5.1.10).

²⁶⁴³ I.e., the Romans. The client king’s difficult position between his people and his patrons, characteristic of the statesman under Roman rule (see Plutarch’s *Advice to the Statesman*), was spelled out before his great speech, at 2.337-38; see the notes there.

²⁶⁴⁴ See the note at 2.400, where Agrippa articulated these concerns in his speech.

²⁶⁴⁵ See the note to “interest either” at 2.343. By using the cognate verb here, Josephus again attributes to the king a cold calculation concerning his personal advantage, in amongst his more statesman-like reflections.

²⁶⁴⁶ The cavalry were thus drawn from the 3 contiguous regions E of the Golan (Gaulanitis) and Lake Kinneret, listed here from S to N (i.e., outward from Josephus’ Judean perspective). This was part of Agrippa’s territory (see note to “kingdom” at 2.407) and it had a reputation for martial valor, especially in horsemanship. Trachonitis (“rough land”) was a natural haven for bandits and had a long-standing reputation for harassing both Syria and Judea. According to *Ant.* 17.23-30, near the end of his life King Herod settled 600 Judean immigrants, expert horsemen-archers from Babylonia led by one Zamaris,

in Batanea to help keep the trouble out of Judea (see the note to “Iacimus” at *Life* 46 in BJP 9). Evidently, as these areas became politically integrated in the intervening decades the special skills were never lost, but young cavalrymen could be recruited from all 3 areas. See further the note to “Iacimus” in this section.

²⁶⁴⁷ Although this Darius appears only here, his name is not surprising for a descendant of a family that had immigrated from Babylonia: it had been the name of several Persian and later Parthian kings, in particular of the king who authorized the rebuilding of Jerusalem’s temple (*Ant.* 11.30-34, 63-67).

²⁶⁴⁸ Philip hardly appears by name in *War* (again only at 2.556), though he is in the background of the following story; *Life* (46-61, 177-80, 407-9) gives him much more space, though the new information largely contradicts *War*’s account (Drexler 1925: 306-12)—in keeping with the generally contradictory nature of the *War/Antiquities-Life* parallels. Philip is introduced in *Ant.* 17.30-31 as a grandson of Zamaris (see note to “Trachonites” in this section; cf. Laqueur 1920: 42-45) and as a man of great physical strength and moral character, whom King Agrippa II trusted to train and lead his armies. Because Philip and his forces will escape from the insurgents in Jerusalem (*War* 2.437), leaving the Roman auxiliary garrison to be slaughtered (2.250-54), accusations arose to the effect that he had betrayed the Romans to his Judean compatriots (*Life* 50, 182, 407). Although some scholars have found those accusations plausible, in keeping with their general suspicion that Josephus has minimized the depth and breadth of anti-Roman activity among Judean élites (Drexler 1925: 306-12; Cohen 1979: 160-69), the whole context of Philip’s employment, mission, and loyalty to Agrippa speak against this, and the charges themselves are easy to explain under the circumstances (with J. Price 1991: 82-90).

²⁶⁴⁹ Although the specific roles of these men are not given in their titles, we may assume that Philip as στρατηγός had higher rank and greater responsibility than Darius as ἱπάρχης, which was the case also where these titles were more political than military: in the Achaean League of Polybius’ time, these titles represented the highest and second-highest offices, respectively.

*Leaders take
upper city,
insurgents
lower city*

(17.5) 422²⁶⁵⁰ Taking courage at these [developments], the powerful [men] together with the chief priests²⁶⁵¹ and as much of the throng as loved peace²⁶⁵² seized* the Upper City,²⁶⁵³ the insurgent element had control of the Lower City²⁶⁵⁴ and the temple.²⁶⁵⁵ 423 Thus, on the one hand they were incessantly using slinging stones²⁶⁵⁶ and the far-shooters,²⁶⁵⁷ and

²⁶⁵⁰ This paragraph provides a concentrated sample of the balanced μέν . . . δέ contrasts favored by Greek narrative generally and by Josephus' *War* in particular: after establishing the two sides (422), he makes 3 such comparisons before concluding.

²⁶⁵¹ For this standard pairing in *War*, see the notes to "powerful [men]" at 2.239 and "chief priests" at 2.243.

²⁶⁵² The phrase ἀγαπάω εἰρήνην is distinctive of *War* (also at 2.650; 4.418), though it has both a Greek (Seven Sages, *Sent.* [Mullach] p. 216 l. 45: "Love peace!") and a biblical (LXX Zech 8:19; cf. Philo, *Conf.* 41) precedent.

²⁶⁵³ This area of W Jerusalem was dominated by the Herodian Palace along the W wall, the homes of wealthier priests and other élites (some uncovered by archaeologists working in the modern Jewish Quarter), and the Hasmonean Palace on its E ridge, looking across the Tyropean Valley to the temple, to which it was connected by a bridge: see the topographical notes at 2.344. Although the topography of the city will become important for Josephus' descriptions of the coming internal conflict, as different factions monopolize different sectors (e.g., 5.11, 252; cf. 6.363, 374), he mainly keeps his language generic as here: his audience will have understood that cities—including Rome—normally had upper and lower parts, with the temple of the civic deity, the main fortress, and the homes of the wealthy on the higher elevations.

Josephus later describes Jerusalem in some detail, in preparation for the final conflicts (5.136-247). There he mentions two hills, in addition to the gradually expanded temple mount: the higher one creating the Upper City, the other—i.e., the Ophel (see next note)—hosting on its slopes the congested, tiered housing of the Lower City (5.136-137). The general plan of 1st-century Jerusalem may be easily viewed courtesy of the miniature reconstruction at the Holyland Hotel in Jerusalem's Bayit ve-Gan neighborhood.

It was indeed crucial for the aristocrats to retain the Upper City, which hosted their property and records. Once they lose it to the rebels (2.426-27), the latter quickly turn to burning and looting that property.

²⁶⁵⁴ Although much Lower-City housing was apparently on the large, gentle slope rising to the E/SE of the Upper City, at 5.137-41 Josephus indicates that the narrower Ophel hill (now connected with the City of David) was the base of the Lower City, divided from

the Upper by the Tyropean valley. Given this picture, it becomes clear that in Josephus' description the rebels held Jerusalem's E hill entirely (temple, Ophel, Lower City), whereas the aristocrats and royal troops held the W hill. He does not clarify who controlled the large amount of housing on the low SE slopes of the W hill, though we should perhaps understand this too as aristocratic territory for the present.

²⁶⁵⁵ I.e., the massive temple platform built by King Herod (see 1.401-2 and the notes to "shrine" at 1.10, "permitted" at 2.341, and "inner temple" at 2.411), elaborately walled and colonnaded, with limited access points that could be controlled with relative ease: this is why it will remain as the next-to-last holdout (other than fortified parts of the Upper City) against the Roman assault: 6.149, 228, 238-40, 214-87.

That the priest-led rebel faction held the temple at this point presents famous problems because of Josephus' later claim (*Life* 20-22; see discussion *ad loc.* in BJP 9) that he himself retreated into the temple compound, and did not emerge until Menachem was dead (2.448)—to hold talks with the chief priests and leading Pharisees outside the temple and try to dissuade the rebels. Although a number of scholars have considered it possible to extract from this contradiction an inadvertent confession from Josephus that he was actually part of Eleazar's priestly-rebel faction (Cohen 1979: 187, 194; Goodman 1987: 159; Price 1992: 42-3 n. 130; Krieger 1994: 227-29; Vogel 1999: 69-70), the entire chronology is so thoroughly confused, by the comprehensive disagreements between *War* and *Antiquities-Life* (see Appendix C in BJP 9), that proposed solutions to one problem in isolation are difficult to credit. It is much simpler to attribute these ubiquitous differences to narrative compression, immediate rhetorical interests and variation, and poor memory. Further, incidental evidence (2.628 cf. 451)—i.e., not a deliberately formulated apologetic statement—indicates that members of Eleazar's group vigorously opposed Josephus in Galilee (Krieger [1994: 267], e.g., must therefore speculate about a split within Eleazar's faction).

²⁶⁵⁶ All 9 occurrences of this word in Josephus, for stones especially suited for firing, are in *War* 1-5.

²⁶⁵⁷ The word ἐκηβόλος appears not to have a precise meaning, since it sometimes refers to an instrument (*Ant.* 4.91; Aelian, *Tact.* 2.8; Arrian, *Tact.* 3.3; 15.1), sometimes to a type of soldier such as a marksman (Plutarch,

there was a continuous discharge of arrows²⁶⁵⁸ from each of the slopes;²⁶⁵⁹ on the other hand, it was* [a time] when, making sorties by companies, they would fight at close quarter. Whereas the insurgents²⁶⁶⁰ were conspicuous for their daring deeds,²⁶⁶¹ the royal troops were [conspicuous] for their expertise.²⁶⁶² **424** Whereas for the latter it was a contest to take control of the temple, in particular, and drive out those who were polluting the shrine,²⁶⁶³ for Eleazar and the insurgents²⁶⁶⁴ with him [it was a contest] to take also the Upper City²⁶⁶⁵ in addition to what they already held. And so for seven days²⁶⁶⁶ there was vast²⁶⁶⁷ slaughter on both sides, and neither would yield²⁶⁶⁸ a part that they had taken.²⁶⁶⁹

(17.6) 425 On the next day,²⁶⁷⁰ which was the Feast of Wood-carrying,²⁶⁷¹ on which it

Luc. 28; *War* 3.151?). But the general sense is clear: someone or something that shoots arrows or rocks from a distance.

Polybius (13.3.1-4), using this term, longed for more ancient times when generals forswore both treachery and battles conducted from afar, agreeing to settle matters only in close-quarter combat. By Josephus' time, however, the use of catapults and slings of all kinds, along with archers, was common (cf. Marsden 1969, 1971).

²⁶⁵⁸ Or "projectiles" (τὰ βέλη); see the note to "projectiles" at 2.48.

²⁶⁵⁹ Or simply, "the two directions, sides, quarters." Although it is conceivable that Josephus means an exchange between the temple mount and the Upper City, the high W walls of the temple platform make that unlikely. Since he understands the Ophel hill S of the temple as the base of the Lower City (see notes at 2.422), he seems to envisage a lobbing of projectiles from the two summits, against the other.

²⁶⁶⁰ See the note to this key word at 1.10.

²⁶⁶¹ See the note to "brazenness" at 2.108.

²⁶⁶² Or "experience" (though one could more easily see the expertise resulting from experience). This is a typical Josephan contrast, which he will apply to the Judeans and Romans at 5.306 using the same categories (τόλμα vs. ἐμπειρία). Earlier authors had coupled these traits rather than opposing them, since experience generates "confidence" (Thucydides 5.7.2; Polybius 1.47.1; Diodorus 1.73.9), but it was natural enough to attribute them to contending forces that proved a match for each other because each had only one of these qualities (cf. Plutarch, *Mor.* [*Alex. fort. virt.*] 343a). Josephus frequently contrasts Judean daring with Roman discipline and order, which amounts to much the same thing (3.161, 452, 479; 4.424; 5.285, 306).

²⁶⁶³ One may doubt whether the royal cavalry had formulated just this motive, since it is characteristically Josephan and this collocation (μαίνω τὸν ναόν) is not found in other writers: in Josephus it appears at 1.39; 6.95; *Ant.* 7.92; 10.37; 11.297, 300. More generally, pollution of the sacred precincts is a key theme of *War* (e.g., 4.201, 215; 5.10, 402; 6.110), where the

"pollution" word-group appears 36 times. See the notes to "pollutes" at 2.132 and "polluted" at 2.210. This is the first clear connection of the insurgents in Jerusalem with the fateful pollution of the temple.

²⁶⁶⁴ See the note to this key word at 1.10.

²⁶⁶⁵ This was not simply to acquire more territory, but chiefly in order to control the base of the royal relatives, chief priests, and other wealthy élites: see 2.426-28.

²⁶⁶⁶ This seems to imply that the parties fought through the sabbath, fulfilling Agrippa's prediction at 2.392 (see note to "seventh [days]").

²⁶⁶⁷ This is the adjective used substantively at 2.55; see the note to "large numbers" there.

²⁶⁶⁸ The use of εἶκω here and in 2.426 creates an *inclusio*.

²⁶⁶⁹ This is about to change, as balance between the sides is upset with rebel reinforcements (2.425).

²⁶⁷⁰ Josephus offers a precise timeline here (cf. also 2.430), suggesting his close personal involvement with the events, though we cannot verify the dates.

²⁶⁷¹ This was a minor but important festival, as long as the temple stood. As Josephus is about to indicate, Lev 6:12-13 required that the fire on the sacrificial altar never go out, with the priests adding wood each morning (cf. *b. Pes.* 65b, *Zeb.* 35a). Fulfilling this commandment required a periodic wood-gathering exercise. M-B (see note *ad loc.*) observe that the Gibeonites first appear in the role of wood-gatherers for the "house of God"—the tabernacle (Josh 9:21-23). Later, Neh 10:34 (MT and LXX 10:35; cf. 13:30-31) describes the post-exilic decision to divide responsibility for wood-gathering among ancestral houses of priests, Levites, and the people, at appointed times of the year. *M. Taan.* 4.5 lists 9 such times, 5 of which fall in Ab (July-August, which Josephus problematically equates with Macedonian Loos; cf. 2.430 and notes). Of the 5 wood-gathering days in Ab, the cited mishnah makes Ab 15 the most important, on which not only one family but also the priests, Levites, and many others bring wood to the temple. The *Fasting Scroll* (*Megillat Ta'anit* V: Ab) mentions Ab 15 alone as the time of wood-carrying, on which mourning is prohibited. (One must wonder whether this reflects a

was a custom for everyone²⁶⁷² to bring chopped wood to the altar²⁶⁷³ so that fuel for the fire might never fail (it continues always without being extinguished):²⁶⁷⁴ they [Eleazar's group] shut out their foes from worship,²⁶⁷⁵ whereas after adding to their number²⁶⁷⁶ many of the *sicarii*:²⁶⁷⁷—so they called²⁶⁷⁸ the bandits who kept swords²⁶⁷⁹ under their folds²⁶⁸⁰—, who had flowed in together with the feeble citizenry,²⁶⁸¹ they took the operation in hand with greater confidence.²⁶⁸² **426** The royal [troops] were inferior in both number and daring,²⁶⁸³ and yielded²⁶⁸⁴ the Upper City to those who had dislodged them.

Insurgents take and burn much of upper city

The latter attacked and then set fire to*²⁶⁸⁵ the high priest Ananias' residence and

perspective, no longer available to us, that saw the events Josephus describes here quite differently.) This approximates the date that Josephus has in view, though there is a curious gap of 1 day, since he puts this festival on Ab 14 (cf. 2.430; cf. Schürer-Vermes 2.273).

²⁶⁷² If the practice of *m. Taan.* 4.5 was already followed (see previous note), and something like it seems implied by Neh 10:34-35, then Josephus is misleading here, though perhaps for the sake of simplicity. Different groups brought wood on different days. It may be fair to say that “everyone” (or their representatives) brought wood at one of the appointed times, or to present the main day in Ab a day for everyone.

²⁶⁷³ This was the great altar that stood before the Holy Place, on which animals of various kinds were sacrificed each day (Exod 20:24; 27:1). According to *War* 5.225 it was a large square structure nearly 7 m (22.5 ft) high. The Mishnah (*Mid.* 3.1-4) gives smaller dimensions.

²⁶⁷⁴ So Lev 6:12-13; see note to “Wood-carrying.” This explanation again assumes that Josephus' (Roman) audience has no knowledge of biblical prescriptions or practices in the Jerusalem temple. This is the only occurrence of the adjective ἄσβεστος (cf. English “asbestos”) in Josephus.

²⁶⁷⁵ This exclusion begins to fulfill the prediction of the elders at 2.416.

²⁶⁷⁶ Or “taking in.” By using προσλαμβάνω here and again at 2.427 (of large numbers of debtors), Josephus draws a picture according to which a priestly coterie around Eleazar, the most determined core of the insurgency (2.409-10), makes calculating alliances with others to expand their numbers—a familiar tactic in modern war and insurgency. First they admit these generally violent men, with no known political principle (see the note to “*sicarii*” at 2.255); soon they contrive to swell their support with the ranks of debtors seeking relief. See the note to “number” at 2.427.

²⁶⁷⁷ See the note at 2.254. As there, Josephus transliterates a Latin term that he expects his audience to recognize (i.e., he does not need to explain that a *sica* is a dagger), while briefly reminding them why these people were called this.

²⁶⁷⁸ It is a puzzle, and Josephus nowhere explains, *who* called these Judean “knife-men” by this Latin name;

see the note to “*sicarii*” at 2.254.

²⁶⁷⁹ Here Josephus uses ξίφος, which should apply to a sword of normal size, though he introduced the *sicarii* by stressing that they carried “small daggers” (2.255; see notes there) and he will re-use the diminutive noun ξιφίδιον at the fuller explanation in *Ant.* 20.186. It appears, then, that this is a quick and less careful reminder to the audience of what he has already said.

²⁶⁸⁰ I.e., the lower folds of tunics or robes (cf. 2.255), where a dagger could be unobtrusively concealed.

²⁶⁸¹ Although ἀσθενής λαός could be understood as the infirm population, there is no connection between the sick and wood-collection for the altar, and the parallel at 6.259 (λαός ἀσθενής καὶ ἄνοπλος)—to which this may be a symmetrical counterpart, since the phrase appears only in these places in Josephus—settles the matter: an overwhelmed and helpless people (in the latter passage facing the invading legions) was unable to prevent the cut-throats from entering the temple along with them as the gates were opened. The phrasing seems exclusively biblical and early Christian, and given Josephus' general interest in Jeremiah (cf. Cohen 1982a) the parallel at LXX Jer 6:21 might be particularly germane. The term λαός is relatively rare in *War* (39 occurrences, against 233 in *Antiquities*) and is a term of implicit respect for the lay population; see the note to “citizenry” at 2.1.

²⁶⁸² Josephus has used precisely the same phrase (θαρραλέωτερον ἤπτοντο τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως) at 1.651, with the same Attic spelling of the adjective, as always in *War* (also 3.155; 4.10, 120; and *Ant.* 13.197; 14.442), though he uses the *koine* form at *Ant.* 2.341; 5.65; 13.407; *Apion* 1.99. Since these are the only two attested instances of the phrase in ancient literature, the consistency of the author's hand (irrespective of varying source material) seems evident.

²⁶⁸³ They had always lacked, relatively, in daring (2.423); now they are outmatched in number, which presumably neutralizes their superior discipline and expertise.

²⁶⁸⁴ Josephus completes the *inclusio* with εἶκω begun at 2.425.

²⁶⁸⁵ See the note at 2.49.

the royal properties of Agrippa and Bernice. **427** After that, they carried the fire to the archives,²⁶⁸⁶ hurrying to obliterate the contracts of those who had lent out money²⁶⁸⁷ and to cut off the collection of the debts, so that they might add to their number²⁶⁸⁸ the horde of those who had received assistance²⁶⁸⁹ and raise up with impunity the deprived against the well-heeled.²⁶⁹⁰ After those at the record-office²⁶⁹¹ had fled, they lit the fire.²⁶⁹² **428** When they had incinerated²⁶⁹³ the sinews of the city,²⁶⁹⁴ they advanced against their adversaries. At this, some of the powerful [men] and chief priests²⁶⁹⁵ tried to escape notice by dropping down into the tunnels,²⁶⁹⁶ **429** whereas others took refuge rather up in the palace,²⁶⁹⁷

²⁶⁸⁶ Although τὰ ἀρχεῖα can refer to several kinds of public buildings, the context here indicates offices of public records, which we would expect to find around the *agora* of the Upper City (see “Market” at 2.305); cf. 7.55-61 for comparable sites in Antioch, also burned down by debtors who similarly hoped to be relieved of their obligations; also *Life* 38 for Galilee. Thus, Josephus is describing ordinary human behavior in such cases, not suggesting a particular class-based motive for this war (*pace* Kreissig 1969, 1970; Faulkner 2004).

²⁶⁸⁷ Egyptian papyri preserve a number of contracts from this time, between individuals and groups. They typically specify the period of the loan (often a year or less), the rate of interest (often reaching 12% annually), the form of the loan and its repayment (type of coin and/or payment in kind), guarantees for repayment and consequences of default, and clear identification of the persons involved (e.g., *CPJ* 20, 23, 25, 26, 149, 411, 413, 414, 488). In Rome the same arrangements would be handled by a *stipulatio* (cf. Johnston 1999: 84-86; in general Andreau 1999).

²⁶⁸⁸ See the note to this verb at 2.425. Josephus presents the determined insurgent core as manipulating the populace with predictable demagogic devices to secure their support. Although economic factors might have been significant in the origin of the war (as class struggle: so Kreissig 1969, 1970; Faulkner 2004), that is not how Josephus presents matters, and this evidence does not have the straightforward historical value sometimes placed upon it—e.g., by Brunt (1990: 285): “In 66 revolutionaries at Jerusalem burned down the record office . . . Thus they did not rely solely on men’s religious sentiments.” In the same place Brunt seems to misread Josephus at 7.260, as if he were describing class struggle as a disease plaguing Judea from 6 CE. (The disease, as always [cf. 1.4], must be civil strife, of which what follows are only examples. Josephus has just emphasized [7.256-58] that the people were deceived into joining the revolt by its leaders. They did not pursue it—in *Josephus*—for economic reasons.) Rather, Josephus constructs this as a clever ploy by the younger elite rebels to involve the oppressed masses—present in every part of the empire—by burning their debt records.

²⁶⁸⁹ We should not assume that these debtors were the utterly destitute, who probably would not have qualified for loans. Loans were often taken for the purpose of beginning or expanding a small-business venture (see the papyri in the note to “money” at 2.427); these people might well have included small traders, artisans, and shop-keepers.

²⁶⁹⁰ The translation tries to capture Josephus’ contrast between ἀπόροι and εὐπόροι (cf. Aristotle *Pol.* 1279b: oligarchy functions in the interest of the well-heeled, democracy in the interest of the deprived or money-less).

²⁶⁹¹ The word γραμματοφυλακεῖον appears only here and at *Ant.* 8.55 in Josephus; it is unattested before his time, but appears in his contemporary Plutarch (*Mor.* [*Cur.*] 520b) and in the 2nd-century Soranus (*Vit. Hipp.* 3, 4).

²⁶⁹² Though occasionally attested before his time (Homer, *Il.* 12.441; Euripides, *Troi.* 1262; Herodotus 8.33; Thucydides 4.115.2; Polybius 1.48.8), the phrase ἐνίημι (τὸ) πῦρ is characteristic of Josephus: he uses it 15 times, 9 of these in *War* 1-7.

²⁶⁹³ See the note at 2.58.

²⁶⁹⁴ The phrase νεῦρα τῆς πόλεως may have been a rhetorical cliché: cf. the 4th-century BCE orator Demades (*Frag.* 124) and Josephus’ contemporary Plutarch (*Phil.* 16.9; cf. Libanius, *Decl.* 17.1.83).

²⁶⁹⁵ For this standard pairing in *War*, see the notes to “powerful [men]” at 2.239 and “chief priests” at 2.243.

²⁶⁹⁶ For a description of such multi-function underground passages (ὑπόνομοι) in coastal Caesarea, see *Ant.* 15.340. In *War* Jerusalem’s tunnels have figured in the resistance to Herod’s capture of Jerusalem (1.350) and they will become important, in a symmetrical reversal of the present passage, as final hideouts of the chief rebel leaders in the Upper City fleeing the Roman occupation (6.370, 429, 433; 7.26, 35, 215)—at 6.402 with the same verb (καταδύω) and noun. Underground passages also appear as hiding places at Iotapata (2.336) and Masada (399, 404). If we consider that Josephus’ family must have resided in the Upper City (cf. 5.533, 544), if they were present at this time it is interesting to ponder where they—and he—went, if indeed he was not among the young rebel priests.

with the royal [troops], and shut the gates; with them were the high priest Ananias,²⁶⁹⁸ his brother Ezekias,²⁶⁹⁹ and those who had undertaken the mission to Agrippa.²⁷⁰⁰

At that point, then, having satisfied themselves both with their victory and with what had been set on fire, they [the rebels] took a rest.

(17.7) **430** On the next day,²⁷⁰¹ which was the fifteenth of the month Lous,²⁷⁰² they rushed against the Antonia;²⁷⁰³ after besieging the guards within for two days, they captured and slaughtered them, and set the fortress on fire. **431** Then they changed direction for the palace, into which the royal [troops] had escaped. After dividing themselves into four units,²⁷⁰⁴ they began attempts on the walls. Although none of those inside had the courage for a breakout,²⁷⁰⁵ because of the horde of those ranged against them, by distributing themselves along the parapets and the towers they were able to hit those who were approaching,²⁷⁰⁶ and large numbers²⁷⁰⁷ of the bandits²⁷⁰⁸ were falling beneath the walls. **432** Neither by night nor by day did the engagement let up, with the insurgents²⁷⁰⁹ figuring that those inside would call it off for lack of food, whereas those inside [were figuring] that the ones who were besieging them [would call it off] for weariness.²⁷¹⁰

(17.8) **433** At this time a certain Manaem, son of Ioudas²⁷¹¹—the one called the

Lous 15, rebels attack Antonia, besiege troops in palace

Menachem son of Judas, armed, arrives in Jerusalem to direct siege

It is remarkable that the only other attestations of this phrase in literature, though both relevant, come from the 2nd cent. CE: Appian speaking of the younger Marius, who dropped into a tunnel and took his own life [*Bell. civ.* 1.10.94]; Polyaeus describing how Lachares hid in tunnels for several days after the capture of Thebes, until he could escape to Delphi.

²⁶⁹⁷ The Herodian palace, occupying the W side of the Upper City was the highest and best fortified site in that area; it had been used as a residence by the procurators when they visited Jerusalem. See the note to “royal grounds” at 2.301.

²⁶⁹⁸ See the notes at 2.243, 409.

²⁶⁹⁹ The name of the Judahite king Hezekiah (הֶזְקִיָּהּ) is the least frequently attested male name of the 18 listed by Hachlili 2005: 200. This brother of the former high priest appears in Josephus only here and at the mention of his death below (2.441).

²⁷⁰⁰ The mission was led by the brothers Costobar and Saul with their relative Antipas (2.418).

²⁷⁰¹ See the note at 2.425.

²⁷⁰² Given Josephus’ equation of Macedonian Lous with Judean Ab (*Ant.* 4.84; see the note to “Artemisius” at 2.284): July-August.

²⁷⁰³ This was the main base of the auxiliary garrison kept in Jerusalem; see the note at 2.328. It implies a considerable growth in the rebels’ strength that, whereas an outraged mob had only been able to cut off *access* to the fortress (2.330-31), they are now in a position to besiege and capture it in an astonishingly short period. Josephus’ matter-of-fact description here leaves us in the dark as to how this feat was accomplished.

²⁷⁰⁴ Presumably, for the 4 walls, though this would imply a truly large force.

²⁷⁰⁵ Or simply “for a bolt, running away.” Greek ἐκδρομή is characteristic of *War* 2-7, which host 19 of its 20 occurrences in Josephus (this is the first). The word is rarely attested before Josephus ([Hippocrates], *Sem.* 57; Thucydides 4.127.2; Xenophon, *Hell.* 3.2.4; Theophrastus, *Caus. plant.* 2.1.3; Onasander 41.1), but appears routinely from his time onward (e.g., in Plutarch [11 times], Arrian, Polyaeus, Aristides, Appian, Cassius Dio). This is another example of his apparently fashionable language.

²⁷⁰⁶ This tactical situation closely resembles that of 2.329 (the same verb is used), where the inferior force has the advantage of protected elevation to inflict serious damage.

²⁷⁰⁷ See the note to this phrase at 2.55.

²⁷⁰⁸ Here is a clear example of the rhetorical use of “bandit” (cf. 1.10). As far as the audience knows, these bandits might include nameless militants keen on war (2.408, though they have gone to Masada), the priestly core led by Eleazar (2.409-10), some violent men admitted to their ranks (2.425), and especially the large numbers of the relatively poor, recently relieved of their debts (2.427).

²⁷⁰⁹ See the note to this key term at 1.10.

²⁷¹⁰ This sentence is another classically balanced assessment, sharing a verb between μέν . . . δέ clauses, of the sort that fills 2.422-24; the motives in question are stock attributions (could those in the Herodian palace really exhaust their food supply within such a short period?) with little specific historical value.

²⁷¹¹ See the notes on Judas, who led a rebellion at the introduction of direct Roman rule in 6 CE, at 2.118. The following reminder, like that concerning the *sicarii* (2.425), shows Josephus’ constant attention to his audi-

Galilean,²⁷¹² a most formidable sophist²⁷¹³ who had berated the Judeans back in the time of Quirinius²⁷¹⁴ because they were subjecting themselves to the Romans after God²⁷¹⁵—took his acquaintances²⁷¹⁶ and withdrew to Masada.²⁷¹⁷ **434** There, after he broke open the armory of King Herod²⁷¹⁸ and fully armed the different bandits²⁷¹⁹ as well as the commoners,²⁷²⁰ making use of these spear-bearers²⁷²¹ he returned* to Hierosolyma quite like a king²⁷²² and, after becoming the supreme commander of the civil strife,²⁷²³ he began organizing the siege.

435 But there was a shortage of [suitable] implements,²⁷²⁴ and there was no point in

ence's knowledge base. If this Menachem (מנחם—the 11th most frequently attested male name in the period [Hachlili 2005: 200], though rarely found otherwise in Josephus: *Ant.* 15.373-78) was indeed Judas' son, then two other sons who lost their lives in the mid-40s to a governor's justice (*Ant.* 20.102), Jacob and Simon, must have been his brothers; and he must have been relatively old for this kind of activity 20 years hence. Indeed, a man who seems to be his nephew (Eleazar son of Ya'ir; see 2.447 and notes) is active as a vigorous leader at the same time as he. Menachem appears only briefly in *War* (until 2.441) and in *Life* (21 [also as the head of "bandits"], 46-47).

²⁷¹² "The one called" is elaborated in *Ant.* 18.4, 23 [cf. 20.102], according to which Judas was actually from Gamala in the Golan, though he was known as the "Galilean."

²⁷¹³ The pejorative label "sophist" is applied to Judas at 2.118 (see the note there), and 7.253 will remind the audience of his persuasive abilities. The superlative adjective δεινότατος might well, in the context of sophistry, refer to his ability in the "forceful" rhetorical style (Demetrius, *Eloc.* esp. 240-59; Lausberg 1998: 421-22, 475). Otherwise, the adjective occupies roughly the space of French *terrible*, moving between English "awful" and "awesome" (see the notes at *Life* 100, 101 in BJP 9).

²⁷¹⁴ P. Sulpicius Quirinius (*cos. ord.* 12 BCE, *CIL* VI 17130) was appointed *legatus Augusti pro praetore* for Syria in 6 CE. Since this passage and 7.253 (also dating Judas to Quirinius' arrival in Syria) show that Josephus knows about the legate, and *Ant.* 17.355; 18.1-2, 26, 29; 20.102 gives him a famous and critical role in Judean affairs at this time (cf. Luke 2:2), it is strange indeed that Josephus did not mention him when he described Judea's incorporation into the empire and Judas' revolt (2.117); see the notes to "province" and "procurator" there.

²⁷¹⁵ The phrase is taken over from 2.118, which Josephus may have before him: "[if they were going to] tolerate mortal masters after God."

²⁷¹⁶ Although Josephus uses the same phrase (οἱ γνώριμοι) that has appeared in bk. 2 absolutely for "the notables" (2.178, 193, 233, 240, 270, 318, 322, 410,

411)—among Judeans, Samaritans, or Pharisees—these same words (lit. "those who are known") can also mean, where the context requires it (e.g., 1.78, 649), one's own friends or acquaintances.

²⁷¹⁷ The last we heard (2.408; see note there), nameless Judean warmongers had made a rush on Masada and somehow seized it from the Roman garrison, installing their own guards. This group apparently comprised *sicarii* led by Manaem's relative Eleazar son of Ya'ir; see the note to "war in motion" there. The verb ἀναχωρέω might mean that he "went back" to Masada (if, e.g., his group had gone there at 2.408, but the audience would have no way of knowing this). The normal meaning in military contexts was simply that of withdrawal.

²⁷¹⁸ The language in this episode is suspiciously similar to that used of the bandit Ezekias in the revolt of 4 BCE (2.56): he also broke open the armory (here τοῦ βασιλέως ὄπλοθήκην ἀναρρήξας; there ἀναρρήγνυσιν τὰς βασιλικὰς ὄπλοθήκας) of King Herod (at Sepphoris), armed his followers (here καθοπλίσσας; there ὀπλίσσας), and with this strong bodyguard began to behave as a king. We must apparently assume either that Menachem's group were on friendly terms with the group that had recently taken Masada from the Romans (2.408) or that they are the same group.

²⁷¹⁹ See the note at 2.431.

²⁷²⁰ Bandits and commoners are similarly contrasted at 2.253. Since they are all fully armed, the distinction is not entirely clear; we must assume that at least to Josephus' mind the "bandits" had greater experience and/or determination.

²⁷²¹ See note to this word at 2.262. Menachem has equipped himself with such an intimidating bodyguard, typical of the tyrant-king, that he has no trouble imposing himself as leader of the rebellion in Jerusalem.

²⁷²² Cf. 2.61 for another comparison of a rebel leader with a king, on the basis of his having surrounded himself with compliant "generals" and fighters.

²⁷²³ See the notes to this key word (στάσις) at 1.10 and esp. 2.418.

²⁷²⁴ Such machines and instruments would greatly assist in filling moats, undermining walls, and applying large battering rams—all with the crucial element of

digging under the wall in the open, because they were also being hit by projectiles²⁷²⁵ from above;²⁷²⁶ so they dug out a tunnel to one of the towers from far away, and propped it up.²⁷²⁷ Then, after setting on fire the supporting woodwork, they moved away. **436** When the foundations²⁷²⁸ had burned down, the tower was suddenly shaken apart;* but then a different wall that had been rebuilt from the inside showed through.²⁷²⁹ (Having perceived their plot beforehand, and given that the tower was disturbed so quickly as it was being undermined, they [the besieged] had prepared a second barrier for themselves.) **437** At this there was panic amongst those who had unexpectedly seen [the wall]—who had been convinced that they were already in control.

*Besieged troops
appeal for truce*

Now those inside kept sending [word] to both Manaem and the main leaders of the civil strife,²⁷³⁰ asking to depart under the protection of a truce;²⁷³¹ this being granted only to the royal [troops] and the locals,²⁷³² they began coming out. **438** Disheartenment seized the Romans, being the only ones left behind. For they were unable to dislodge such a great horde and, as for the scandal of asking for a pledge²⁷³³ [of safety], they considered²⁷³⁴ that even if it were to be given they should not trust it.²⁷³⁵ **439** So they abandoned their camp, since it was easy to capture, and retreated to the royal towers: the one called the Hippicus and Phasael and Mariamme.²⁷³⁶ **440** Manaem's group burst into [the place] that

protection for the soldiers using them, in the form of shields and panels (cf. Vitruvius, *De arch.* 10.13-15); this protection near the walls is especially what Menachem lacks. The Romans had mastered the production of all such devices, and this passage in part looks ahead to 2.546, 553, when the dread prospect that their engines will fall into Judean hands is realized in the rout of Cestius.

²⁷²⁵ See the note at 2.48.

²⁷²⁶ The Romans, by contrast, had both machines to protect them (see note to “implements” in this section) and a famous protective drill called the *testudo*, for ad hoc protection from flying objects (see 2.537).

²⁷²⁷ The compound verb ἀνακρημνίζω is unattested outside this passage in ancient Greek literature. Other writers almost always use the κατα- prefix, in keeping with the root sense of throwing or hurling *down*; it is not surprising, therefore, that the form with ἀνα- does not otherwise appear. (For the unprefix form, which is also rare, see the note to “flinging themselves” at 2.49.)

²⁷²⁸ This is the only occurrence of στήριγμα in Josephus. Before his time it is rarely attested (Euripides, *Iph. aul.* 617; *Trag. adesp.*, frag. 427 [Nauck]; Apion, *Frag. Hom.* 74.237.16 [Ludwich]) outside the LXX, which has it some 18 times (including the Maccabean literature and Tobit) and Philo (*Somn.* 158). The word is found 4 times in Plutarch, dozens of times in Galen and later.

²⁷²⁹ This disheartening discovery of a second wall, when attackers had been on the verge of exuberant celebration at destroying the main one, anticipates an important episode (prompting a speech by Titus) in the later Roman assault on Jerusalem: 6.23-32.

²⁷³⁰ See the note to this key word (στάσις) at 2.418.

²⁷³¹ All 3 occurrences of the adjective ὑπόσπονδος in *War* come in this part of bk. 2; all have to do with the (ostensibly) safe departure of a Roman or royal garrison in the face of siege by Judean irregulars; the next occurrence directly recalls this one, and the last is connected by the garrison's understandable concern for their security (2.450; cf. 2.486).

²⁷³² Or natives (ἐπιχώριοι): presumably, the Judean soldiers in contrast to the Syrian and Samaritan soldiers of the Roman auxiliaries.

²⁷³³ Lit. “right hands.”

²⁷³⁴ Josephus makes a play on the verb ὑπολαμβάνω in this sentence, using it in two distinct senses (also “seized”).

²⁷³⁵ Presumably, since they have already asked and the insurgents have made clear their intention to isolate the “Romans.” The narrator's insight into the auxiliary garrison's thinking anticipates the outcome of the story (2.450-53): the Judean rebels will indeed, fatefully, break their pledge of security.

²⁷³⁶ These 3 mighty towers will be the only ones left by Titus (7.2-3), as a demonstration of what Roman manliness had overcome in capturing Jerusalem; cf. 1.418; 5.134, 144, 147, 161-69 [detailed description]; *Ant.* 17.257. Hippicus was a 12 m (37 ft) square structure that rose to about 37 m (120 ft), though only the lower 14 m (45 ft) was solid cut stone (the upper sections comprising a water reservoir, decorative vault, and turrets with parapets). Phasael was a solid cube of 18 m (60 ft) topped by high colonnades with an inner tower containing luxurious apartments; the whole reached some 41 m (135 ft). Whereas these reached the approximate height

the soldiers had evacuated, and disposed of²⁷³⁷ all those they apprehended, who had not been far enough ahead to run clear. They also plundered the baggage and set fire to the camp. These things were done on the sixth of the month Gorpiaeus.²⁷³⁸

(17.9) 441 On the following day,²⁷³⁹ the high priest Ananias,²⁷⁴⁰ trying to hide near the canal²⁷⁴¹ of the royal palace, was captured* and done away with* by the bandits,²⁷⁴² along with his brother Ezekias.²⁷⁴³ The insurgents,²⁷⁴⁴ having now surrounded²⁷⁴⁵ the towers, kept a close watch so that none of the soldiers might escape. **442** Both the reduction of the secure places and the death of the high priest Ananias deluded Manaem to the point of savagery: thinking that he had no rival in affairs, he was an unbearable tyrant.²⁷⁴⁶

443 But Eleazar's group²⁷⁴⁷ rose up against* him [Manaem]. They passed word to one another that after rebelling from the Romans out of a desire for freedom²⁷⁴⁸ they must not throw this away to a domestic populace²⁷⁴⁹ and tolerate a master who, even if he were to do nothing violent, was altogether lower than they themselves.²⁷⁵⁰ Even if it were necessary for someone to be directing all affairs, this would be suited to anyone before him. So they got themselves together* and made an attempt on him in the temple. **444** For he had gone up* to make obeisance,²⁷⁵¹ an imposing [figure]²⁷⁵² decked out in royal clothing²⁷⁵³

*High Priest
Ananias found
and executed*

*Eleazar's
faction opposes
Menachem's*

of modern 12-story buildings, Mariamme was significantly smaller, though still imposing: it had a solid cube of 9.1 m (30 ft) as its base, with its extremely luxurious apartments and parapets reaching 25.1 m (82.5 ft) in total. It is no surprise that the garrison fled to these massive towers as a last refuge.

²⁷³⁷ Otherwise often translated “destroy(ed)”; see the note at 2.11.

²⁷³⁸ See the note to “Artemisius” at 2.284: in Josephus’ scheme this equates to Elul 6, in August-September.

²⁷³⁹ Thus: Gorpiaeus (Elul) 7.

²⁷⁴⁰ See the notes at 2.243, 409; recently mentioned at 2.429.

²⁷⁴¹ At 5.180-81 Josephus will describe the lush gardens of Herod’s palace, drawing attention to the deep canals that bordered the picturesque walkways, with cloisters and groves all around.

²⁷⁴² See the note to this programmatic term at 2.56.

²⁷⁴³ See the note at 2.429, his only other appearance in Josephus.

²⁷⁴⁴ See the note to this key word at 1.10.

²⁷⁴⁵ Following Niese (with Thackeray and M-B), after Naber, in reading *περισχόντες*, as suggested by Latin *circumsidentes*, rather than *ἐπισχόντες* (“standing facing [the towers]”) with the MSS. Either is possible.

²⁷⁴⁶ The closest precedent is “unbearable tyranny” in Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 4.70.2. On “tyrants” as a key category in *War* see the note at 1.10.

²⁷⁴⁷ This is the group with a priestly core, led by the temple commandant (2.409-10), as the following narrative assumes.

²⁷⁴⁸ See the notes to “slavery” at 2.209 and “freedom” at 2.259—bedrock themes of *War*.

²⁷⁴⁹ Holwerda’s emendation to *δημίω* (“executioner”—so Niese, Thackeray, Vitucci, Pelletier), rather than the

δήμω (assembled populace, citizenry, democratic body) of all the MSS (cf. Lat. *populari suo*, with M-B: “Mann aus dem Volk”), might have to do with the usually positive sense of *δήμος* in Josephus, in contrast to his much more common and disparaging “rabble, mob, horde” (*πλήθος*). But here the reading in the MSS yields a tolerable sense: the young priests have initiated the movement to rebellion by halting the sacrifices. Now a populist tyrant figure has come along and dominated their efforts by overwhelming force. The priestly group has decided that *their* freedom (in Roman times, the call for “freedom” often came from a threatened aristocracy) would be curtailed at least as much now by Menachem and his uppity commoners as it had been by Rome. Note the distinct reference to class later in the sentence.

²⁷⁵⁰ In making the point that asserting freedom from Rome and its abusive governors makes them unwilling to tolerate domestic tyrants, the young priests around Eleazar anticipate crucial programmatic statements in the heart of the work: 4.177-78, 394. See the note to “slavery” at 2.209.

²⁷⁵¹ See the notes to this phrase at 2.341, 360.

²⁷⁵² Or “a pompous figure”; MSS PA have the adverbial form, though the adjective *σοβαρός* works well enough here and is found in the bulk of MSS and the Latin translation. The adjective also sets up the contrast with the humiliated condition (*ταπεινώς*) in which Manaem would soon be found, trying to evade capture (2.448); that contrast is also found at 6.395—the 2nd of only 4 occurrences of *σοβαρός* in Josephus. Both passages thus reflect the tragic and Polybian “reversal of fortune” ([*τυχή*] *μεταβολή*) motif, specifically mentioned at 6.395 (cf. 1.615), that runs through *War*; see the note to “upheaval” at 1.5.

and drawing after him his armed devotees.²⁷⁵⁴ **445** As Eleazar's group²⁷⁵⁵ rushed against him, the rest of the populace also, because of their fury, grabbed stones and kept hitting the sophist,²⁷⁵⁶ figuring that if this [fellow] were eliminated²⁷⁵⁷ they would divert the entire civil strife.²⁷⁵⁸ **446** Manaem's group held out for a while,²⁷⁵⁹ but when they saw that the whole populace had rushed against them, they ran in whichever direction each one could break through. Of those who had been apprehended there was a slaughter; for those who were concealing themselves, a search.²⁷⁶⁰

*Menachem
killed; followers
retreat to
Masada*

447 A few came through safely after running off by stealth to Masada;²⁷⁶¹ with them

²⁷⁵³ The connection between tyrants (2.442 on Manaem, 2.447 on his nephew Eleazar) and kings is close, in ancient thinking generally and in Josephus, especially in *War* 2: 2.60-61, 104, and 2.1-111 as a block (on Archelaus and the royal pretenders in Judea). See also the note to "tyrants" at 1.10.

²⁷⁵⁴ This is the first appearance of ζηλωτής, a word that will occur 55 times in *War*, though only 4 other times in Josephus' works combined. Ordinarily meaning "imitator, devoted disciple" (as 2.564; *Ant.* 12.71; *Life* 11), in *War* it takes on a technical meaning, especially in bk. 4, which hosts most of its occurrences, for a named group with a clear leadership: "those called Zealots" (2.651; 4.197, 216, 224; 5.3, 5, 7; 7.268) will be responsible with the Idumeans for the fateful murder of the chief priests Ananus and Jesus. Since the non-technical meaning is present in Josephus, and possibly holds also for the next occurrence (2.564), whereas Josephus will pointedly introduce the group name at 2.651, it seems best to understand this passage according to that non-technical usage. Further, it seems that the Zealots (who remained in Jerusalem) were distinct from the followers of Eleazar and Manaem (who went to Masada), and that to label the latter group Zealots (in the group sense) would introduce an unnecessary complication into the understanding of Josephus' narrative. Cf. Zeitlin 1965, 1967; Smith 1971; Black 1974; Hengel 1989: *passim* and 380-404.

²⁷⁵⁵ See the note at 2.443: those with Eleazar son of Ya'ir.

²⁷⁵⁶ This label can only remind the audience of Manaem's lineage: he has recently been introduced as the son of the sophist Judas (2.433; cf. 2.118 and note).

²⁷⁵⁷ Or "brought down, overthrown, put out of the way"; possibly "liquidated, terminated, neutralized." Although Josephus and other ancient authors normally use καταλύω with respect to the termination or dissolution of a government, power, system, law, or tradition (1.19, 34; 2.393, 449, 531; 4.258, 348; *Ant.* 2.348; 3.42; 4.310; 10.30, 74, 11.335; 12.1, 364; 13.408; 15.281; 17.246; 20.81), here and at 2.593 in *War* 2 (also 1.160, 210, 214, 232; 4.394, 493, 573) he employs it of a human being. Since all the men in question are lead-

ers, we might understand this as a metonymy for the person's regime (being brought to an end), though in several cases—e.g., here and at 2.593—the hoped-for "dissolution" is immediate and physical, at least in part a euphemism for killing.

²⁷⁵⁸ After finishing the story (with Menachem's death), Josephus will reiterate this important point at 2.449.

²⁷⁵⁹ The phrase πρὸς ὀλίγον here is a surprisingly distinctive trait of Josephus' style: he uses it 24 times, throughout *War* 1-6, *Antiquities*, and *Life*. Before his time, it appears rarely and not in the main historical authors who provide his models (Herodotus, Thucydides, Polybius, Diodorus, Strabo); Dionysius has it twice (4.62.1; 5.34.4), but both times qualifying καιρόν. Some such qualification is normal (commonly χρόνον) also in the heaviest user of the phrase before Josephus, Philo, who has it 15 times (9 qualifying one of these nouns). Josephus, by contrast, uses the phrase absolutely in 23 of his 24 cases (except *Ant.* 13.224). Plutarch has the phrase once only (*Mor.* [*Cons. Apoll.*] 116a), Dio Chrysostom 6 times. We expect either ὀλίγον alone, with an adverbial function, or ἐπ' ὀλίγον, which is more common (found in Herodotus, Polybius, Diodorus, and Strabo, and 4 times in Josephus). The parallel construction at 2.357 (πρὸς μοῖραν ὀλίγην, likewise in a martial context) raises the possibility that Josephus means "held out against a small group [but could not withstand the entire populace]." Yet the other 23 examples of the phrase show that it has to do with time.

²⁷⁶⁰ The pair "search and slaughter" (ἔρευνα, φόνος) is distinctively Josephan; it reappears at 4.560; *Ant.* 19.126 (a passage on Caligula's death, widely thought to have been borrowed from Roman sources).

²⁷⁶¹ According to 7.399-400, the refugees on Masada led by Eleazar numbered 967 (960 of whom died there), including women and children. If that number were accurate and if the males had a wife and 2 or more children (though 1 surviving woman had 5 children: 7.399), the number of fighters might have been 200 or fewer. Although Josephus does not mention their taking wives and children at this point, that was normal and necessary practice in situations of lethal civil conflict, in which vulnerable family members became targets or hostages.

was Eleazar son of Yair, connected to Manaem by ancestry,²⁷⁶² who afterwards became the tyrant²⁷⁶³ of Masada.²⁷⁶⁴ **448** After capturing alive Manaem himself—he had taken refuge in the so-called Ophlas²⁷⁶⁵ and was lying there humiliatingly²⁷⁶⁶ concealed²⁷⁶⁷—they dragged him out into the open and, after tormenting him with many tortures,²⁷⁶⁸ did away with him, likewise also the commanders under him and the tyrant's most significant underling,²⁷⁶⁹ Apsalom.²⁷⁷⁰

(17.10) 449 So the populace indeed collaborated in these [matters], as I was saying,²⁷⁷¹ hoping for some repair²⁷⁷² of the entire civil strife;²⁷⁷³ yet it was those who were keen not to terminate the war but to wage war the more fearlessly²⁷⁷⁴ who had done away with Manaem.

450 Indeed, while the populace repeatedly appealed for the raising of the siege from the soldiers,²⁷⁷⁵ they [Eleazar's group] applied themselves yet more harshly until Metilius'²⁷⁷⁶

²⁷⁶² At 7.253 Eleazar will be reintroduced as a descendant (ἀπόγονος) of the sophist Judas the Galilean (2.118), just as Manaem has been described as that Judas' son (2.433). We cannot assume that Josephus clearly understood the family relationships in question. If he did, the simplest reconstruction would have Manaem and Ya'ir as brothers, both sons of Judas (along with Jacob [James] and Simon, killed in the 40s according to *Ant.* 20.102), in which case Eleazar b. Ya'ir would be Manaem's nephew.

²⁷⁶³ See the note to "tyrants" at 1.10.

²⁷⁶⁴ Josephus clearly anticipates the Masada story of bk. 7 (7.253, 275-97, 320-88), showing again that the final volume must have been part of his original plan while writing even this part of *War* (see Introduction).

²⁷⁶⁵ The Ophel (לְפֶלֶא) was the small plateau just S of the temple compound on the E spur of Jerusalem, leading up from the City of David, where in biblical times the temple attendants had lived (Neh 3:26-27; 11:21; 2 Chron 27:3; 33:14). Josephus will mention it again in his descriptions of Jerusalem and the final Roman attack (5.145, 254; 6.354). This was for Josephus the base of the Lower City (see note to "Lower City" at 2.422).

²⁷⁶⁶ See the note to "imposing [figure]," to which this is the contrast (a reversal of fortune), at 2.444.

²⁷⁶⁷ This is the only occurrence of ὑπολανθάνω in Josephus.

²⁷⁶⁸ Greek πολλαῖς αἰκισάμενοι βασάνοις. The closely related roots of the participle and noun seldom occur together in non-Judean authors (Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 3.73.4; 5.51.3, 77.6; 6.7.3; Plutarch, *Phil.* 21.2), though they are commonly juxtaposed in the Hasmonean literature (2 Macc 7.13; 4 Macc 6.9; 7.2; 11.1; 12.13; 13.27; 14.1; 15.9), Philo (*Abr.* 104; *Spec.* 2.94; *Prob.* 25; *Flacc.* 84, 96), and Josephus (also *War* 3.321; 4.329; 5.450; *Ant.* 10.115; 12.255; 13.5; 16.389).

²⁷⁶⁹ See the note to this noun at 2.41. The adjective ἐπισημότητα might suggest that Absalom was of a distinguished family, something that Josephus can eas-

ily admit even of his enemies (cf. 2.628; *Life* 189-92), though it might mean simply that he was a conspicuous lieutenant to Manaem.

²⁷⁷⁰ This character appears only here in Josephus, who suitably introduces him.

²⁷⁷¹ Since this paragraph stresses the point already made before Josephus finished the story of Manaem's death (2.445), he must have considered it important: the ostensible participation of the entire populace at this point was not a sign of massive involvement in the civil war, but rather the attempt of the people to bring a quick end to the civil strife. Such readings of the popular mind are notoriously perilous, and the historian must ask how Josephus could know this.

²⁷⁷² See the note to "redress" at 2.449.

²⁷⁷³ See the note to this key word at 1.10.

²⁷⁷⁴ At 2.445 those who have done away with Manaem are identified as the group around Eleazar son of Ananias, who had begun the war with a determined stance by refusing to accept foreign sacrifice, against the strong admonitions of more senior leaders (2.409-10); cf. also 2.450.

²⁷⁷⁵ Greek τοῦ δήμου τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀνεῖναι τὴν πολιορκίαν παρακαλοῦντος presents a number of difficulties. Although παρακαλέω takes an accusative object, Thackeray reads the dative "soldiers" as object of the verb, in keeping with the expected logic of the sentence: "the civilians urgently entreated the [*sc.* Judean] soldiers to abandon the siege." But this would create a problem in addition to that of case, for στρατιώται appears more than 300 times in Josephus, and dozens of times in *War* 2, but otherwise indicates members of a regular, trained force. Only from 2.578 will he begin to use it of Judean forces, because they have then undergone proper training (cf. 2.620, 634, 645). At the same time, the populace plainly cannot be appealing to the trapped Roman garrison, to raise the siege. This problem no doubt explains the confusion in MS C and the correction offered in V: στασιασταῖς (which would solve the logical, but not the

Oath violated,
Roman garrison
killed

group—this man was the prefect²⁷⁷⁷ of the Romans—could hold out no longer. They sent word* to Eleazar’s group, asking only for their lives, under the protection of a truce,²⁷⁷⁸ and saying that they would surrender their weapons²⁷⁷⁹ and the rest of their stuff. **451** The others indeed seized on this plea and sent up²⁷⁸⁰ to them Gorion son of Nicomedes,²⁷⁸¹ as well as Ananias Sadouki²⁷⁸² and Ioudas son of Ionathes,²⁷⁸³ to give them the pledge²⁷⁸⁴ and also oaths.²⁷⁸⁵

grammatical, problem); cf. Drexler’s puzzlement (1925: 279).

Both problems may be (imperfectly) solved if we understand the dative to refer to the *interest* of the besieged soldiers. Pelletier offers that the populace pleaded *before [or in sight of] the soldiers (auprès des militaires)* for an end to the siege. M-B propose that the people demanded from the rebels that they raise the siege *of the soldiers (man möchte die Belagerung der römischen Soldaten aufheben)*; Whiston similarly, “that they would stop besieging the soldiers.” Although these convey the general sense, as translations they force the language. Smyth notes (§1483), however, that the dative may be used with verbs of “depriving, warding off, and the like”—as here—to indicate the party to be relieved (cf. Xenophon, *Cyr.* 7.1.44). The sense would be, then, “the raising of the siege from [though lit. *for*] the soldiers,” for their benefit. At any rate, Josephus emphasizes that the ordinary people are appalled by the rebels’ treatment of the garrison.

²⁷⁷⁶ This is a patrician Latin family name (*nomen gentilicium*)—cf. Livy 5.11.4 (for the year 401 BCE)—in contrast to the *cognomina* that Josephus normally gives for military commanders and officials (2.16, 54, 63, 169). The name has ironic possibilities: e.g., the Latin translation throughout gives *Mutilius*, “of the mutilated” (though the Latin Ps-Hegesippus keeps *Metilius*), which might be intended humorously by the Christian translator given the officer’s imminent circumcision and the common Greco-Roman view of that operation as mutilation. Or again, the Greek word μέτηλος means “one who passes from one place to another”—also apt (cf. Latin *muto*) in view of *Metilius*’ adoption of foreign ways (“proselytism”).

²⁷⁷⁷ Greek ἑπαρχος (Latin *praefectus*) was the standard rank of a cohort commander, as *Metilius* was. See the notes to “Sebastenes” at 2.52, “cohort” at 2.224, and “prefects” at 2.269.

²⁷⁷⁸ The shamefulness of this request, and the unlikelihood of its being honored in any case, have already been declared by the narrator (2.438), with the same adjective in the preceding sentence (2.437).

²⁷⁷⁹ Although this is normal procedure for a military surrender, here it serves to set up the conditions of the slaughter (2.452).

²⁷⁸⁰ Since the Romans have withdrawn to the high towers (2.439), though ἀναπέμπω might also mean “sent

back” in view of the response here.

²⁷⁸¹ The father’s name is Greek, recalling the kings of Bithynia (and the city of Nicomedia founded by Nicomedes I in the mid-3rd cent. BCE), whereas the son’s is Hebrew. Latin *War* changes the father’s Greek name to Nicodemus (possibly under the influence of John 3:1-9; 7:50; 19:39). That form creates a curious parallel with rabbinic literature, which several times mentions a wealthy man of Jerusalem in this period named Nakdimon ben Gorion (possibly the father of this Gorion): *b. Ketub.* 65a-b, 66b, 67a; *Git.* 56a; *Avod. Zar.* 25a; for other Gorions see *m. Shab.* 1.4; *Qid.* 4.14; *b. Bab. Mez.* 86b; *Shab.* 33b. The son’s name would live on, not only among these rabbis but famously with modern Israel’s first prime minister: David ben Gurion. There are only two other Gorions mentioned in Josephus, however: at 2.563 Joseph son of Gorion (brother to this man?) joins Ananus II as supreme commander of the war for a short time; at 4.159 Gorion son of Joseph (the commander’s son?) joins Simon son of Gamaliel in leading popular indignation, on the side of Ananus, against the Zealots’ choice of their own high priest.

²⁷⁸² Possibly a nickname of uncertain meaning, or “the Sadducee.” Ilan and Price (1993-94: 195) point out that the apparently indeclinable form Σαδούκι does not meet our expectation of a genitive for the patronymic “son of.” (I would add that this and the parallel at 2.628 provide the only examples of the -ούκι form in Josephus.) Behind this puzzling form they see a Hebrew צדוקי *ṣdqy*, which they understand as “probably” signifying a Sadducee. Problems: (a) since צדוקי alone would explain the Greek, it is unclear why *ṣdqy* is necessary; (b) Josephus knew Hebrew well, but did not call this man a Sadducee in Greek, and the single δ keeps the word far from his Greek Σαδδουκαῖος; and (c) this identification would prevent the identification of the same man at 2.628, in the delegation episode, with the parallel Ananias of *Life* 197 (described there as a non-priestly *Pharisee*). Ilan and Price acknowledge most of this, but propose that Josephus has accidentally carried over the names from here to 2.628, so that the real Ananias of the delegation episode was the Pharisee of *Life*. That is a difficult prospect (see notes to 2.628).

²⁷⁸³ These two men reappear at 2.628, where the latter is joined by his brother Simon in a delegation comprising 4 of Jerusalem’s “eminent men,” arranged by John of Gischala to oust Josephus from his Galilean com-

After they had come, Metilius led his soldiers down.²⁷⁸⁶ **452** As long as these were with their weapons, none of the insurgents²⁷⁸⁷ laid a hand on²⁷⁸⁸ them and none showed any hint of a plot. But when, pursuant to the pact,²⁷⁸⁹ they all put aside their shields and swords and began to withdraw, suspecting nothing more, **453** Eleazar's group rushed at them and, after surrounding them, did away with them²⁷⁹⁰—[men] who were neither defending themselves nor pleading but only shouting out: “the pact!” and “the oaths!”²⁷⁹¹

454 And so in this way they were all savagely butchered,²⁷⁹² except Metilius. Him alone they preserved,²⁷⁹³ when he had made pleas and promised to Judaize²⁷⁹⁴—to the

*Slaughter of
Judeans in
Caesarea*

mand. They and their colleagues are described there as capable speakers, indicating a high level of rhetorical education; such eminence would suit their membership here in the faction led by the distinguished priest and temple commandant, Eleazar son of Ananias (2.409-10). Ilan and Price (1993-94: 191-95), however, propose that Josephus was mistaken in carrying over the names from this episode to 2.628. On the possible historical significance of the fact that these members of Eleazar's faction should also be prominent in the war-time government of Ananus II, Josephus' own supreme commander (2.562-63), see the scholars mentioned in the note to “temple” at 2.422.

²⁷⁸⁴ Lit. “right hand.”

²⁷⁸⁵ Oaths (ὄρκoi) were extremely important in ancient life, as the divine personification of Horkos (Horcus) son of Eris (Strife), punisher of oath-breakers, attests (Hesiod, *Op.* 804). The word itself implies both the oath and the precious thing by which the oath is sworn. Josephus relates several instances of elaborate oaths being sworn (*Ant.* 1.212, 323-24; 2.3, 253, 372-73; 5.15.26 etc.) and emphasizes their absolutely binding nature even where they seem to impose untenable circumstances on the swearer (e.g., 5.169-74); they often result in a “pact” as here (*Ant.* 5.55; 6.253; 7.111; 8.388). Yet Josephus displays a marked ambivalence about oath-making, and many of his characters proceed to violate their commitments: see the note to “false oath” at 2.135.

²⁷⁸⁶ “Down” from the towers of Herod's palace to which the garrison had withdrawn for safety (2.439).

²⁷⁸⁷ See the note to this key term at 1.10.

²⁷⁸⁸ The literal sense of ἐπιχειρέω happens to work here, though the sense might be the more common metaphorical one: “none made an attempt/attack on them.”

²⁷⁸⁹ Or “compact, covenant, contract”: i.e., the terms agreed to by oath in 2.450-51. Since συνθήκας is plural, it might better be understood as “articles of agreement” (as 2.397); but at its next occurrence in the same sentence (2.452) that phrase would be too cumbersome for translation. The word is the same as that used for “treaties” sworn between states, which like oaths in general (see the note at 2.451) were taken very seriously (cf. Polybius 3.26.1-7).

²⁷⁹⁰ Some scholars (e.g., Hengel 1989: 367 n. 264) propose that the *Fasting Scroll* (*Megillat Ta'anit*) celebrates this event at *Meg. Ta'an.* 14 (i.e., the 2nd entry under group VI: Elul), dating it to Elul 17 (Julian calendar August 26, 66 CE). This is doubtful, however, since the entry says plainly that on this day “the Romans evacuated Judah and Jerusalem” (Zeitlin 1919-20: 241). This vague statement hardly fits the story of the massacre, as Zeitlin observes (1919-20: 266); nor, however, does it easily match the earlier evacuation of Agrippa's cavalry force (2.437), which is his proposal (1919-20: 267-68).

²⁷⁹¹ See the note to “oaths” at 2.451. The truce agreement (2.450) or pact (452) was that the garrison would lay down their weapons in exchange for oaths of assurance that their lives would then be spared (2.451).

²⁷⁹² For this phrase, see the note at 2.30.

²⁷⁹³ Cohen (1979: 250-51) raises the question whether Metilius was subsequently murdered, or falsely reported in Rome as murdered, to explain Suetonius' reference to a commander killed by the Jerusalem rebels (*Vesp.* 4.5). Although we cannot know, it seems that if Josephus had known of such a murder it would have enhanced his portrait of the rebels' faithlessness to report it.

²⁷⁹⁴ Ἰουδαίζω is a rare verb, occurring in Josephus only here and a few sentences later (2.463); elsewhere before about 200 CE: LXX Esth 8:17 (the only biblical case: of Persians Judaizing to avoid persecution or murder); Alexander Polyhistor, *ap.* Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9.22.5; Gal 2:14; Plutarch, *Cic.* 7.6; Ignatius, *Magn.* 10; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 7.15.89. The biblical story of Persians Judaizing to avoid death may have provided an ironic model for Josephus' choice of diction. On the form of the verb, see the note to “Romanizing” at 2.562 below; Mason 2007c. There is nothing particularly “religious” about the movement in question (*contra* e.g. Hengel 1989: 143, 198). In each case of its use outside Christian texts, this verb (like its formal parallels) has to do with adopting *foreign* ways: the laws, customs, and constitution of another people.

The story does not claim that Eleazar's group demanded Judaizing or circumcision; but whether they required it or Metilius ingeniously hit upon the idea himself, it was plainly the only way that he could be

point of circumcision.²⁷⁹⁵ Whereas for [the] Romans the suffering was light,²⁷⁹⁶ for out of

saved. Such adoption of Judean law and identity under duress is presented by our narrator as repugnant, here and elsewhere. At *Life* 113 he will claim that when his Galilean associates demanded the conversion of wealthy Trachonitans who had come to join their cause, he indignantly rejected the demand on the principle that such choices must be freely made. Similarly he applauds the conversion and circumcision of the Adiabeanian prince Izates, who had every reason not to take the step (*Ant.* 20.38, 48-9, 85), and of Azizus the husband of Drusilla, though he excoriates the lustful Felix for failing to pursue the same course in marrying a Judean princess (20.139, 143). In other contexts, to be sure, Josephus can celebrate without criticism the Hasmonean conquests of neighboring territories, with the concomitant requirement that the subjugated populace Judaize *or* depart from the land (*Ant.* 13.282, 284, 288, 299-300, 319). Given the rebels' debts to Hasmonean inspiration (Farmer 1956; Hengel 1989; cf. Introduction), it may be that they considered it consistent with Judean tradition to demand that anyone living in their territories Judaize. In *War*, however, Josephus makes a systematic attempt to reclaim the Hasmonean heritage for a more worldly approach to politics. For discussion of the issues, see Cohen 1987; Feldman 1993: 324-26. Chapman (2005: 293-96) contrasts Metilius' effort to save his life, after losing all his soldiers, with Josephus' bid to Vespasian and Titus, after losing his forces (3.393-97)—similar stories in these respects, though she notes that Josephus does not allow Metilius to become a sympathetic figure. See further the following note.

²⁷⁹⁵ This is the only mention of circumcision in *War*; see previous note. Much scholarly discussion has attended the questions: (a) whether and to what extent there was a recognizable group of Judean "sympathizers" in the Roman East, often understood as the "God-fearers" (θεοσεβεῖς, οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν) of the NT's Acts and various inscriptions (cf. Siegert 1973; Kraabel 1981; overviews in Overman 1988; Feldman 1993: 177-413; Koch 2006), and (b) whether Judeans of the time recognized something akin to conversion or Judean identity without the necessity of male circumcision—a discussion partly driven by the need to understand early Christian phenomena (e.g., McEleney 1974; Collins 1985; Cohen 1987; Segal 1990: 99-101). Both this passage and the sequel (2.463) imply that it was possible, and a well known phenomenon (even if Judean law did not recognize the category), to Judaize in significant and recognizable ways *without* going as far as circumcision.

The very word (περιτομή: "cutting off/around"), which could also apply to the severing of other items and

body parts (and so was qualified with τῶν αἰδοίων ["of the genitals"] in cases of ambiguity), implied to Greeks and Romans bodily mutilation; circumcision was one of many deformities that excluded one from participation in the Olympic Games (Balsdon 1979: 231; Dover 1989: 125-27; Feldman 1993: 153-58; e.g., Aristophanes, *Ach.* 155-61; Strabo, *Geog.* 16.4.9; Horace, *Serm.* 1.9.69-71; Catullus 47.4; Petronius 102.14; Martial 11.94; Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.5; Juvenal 5.14.96-106). These references also show that circumcision, though practiced by some others, had by the 1st century CE come to be regarded as a quintessentially Judean rite. Prior to the Maccabean revolt, élite Judean Hellenizers had famously undergone a procedure ("epispassm") to undo the appearance of circumcision, for the purpose of exercising naked in the gymnasium (1 Macc 1:11; Josephus, *Ant.* 12.241). Once again (see previous note), these rebels may have seen themselves as latter-day Hasmoneans, not merely preserving circumcision but aggressively demanding it of those who lived among them. Metilius' circumcision would be immediately visible at the baths of Sebaste or Caesarea (a daily ritual for Romans), making his shame clear to fellow-bathers.

For the story of Izates' conversion to Judaism, see *Ant.* 20.34-48.

²⁷⁹⁶ This observation, rhetorically powerful in highlighting imminent calamity for the Judeans, does not quite work as either logic or history. Logic: although the Romans lost only a few (auxiliaries), the Judeans lost *none at all*. Josephus appears to begin on mundane arithmetical track (calculating losses against total resources) and then to jump to a metaphysical track (impending doom). History: Roman leaders would assuredly not consider the loss of the Jerusalem garrison "light," even though they had vast forces remaining elsewhere. Josephus recognizes this when he has the Judeans despair at the Romans' likely vengeance (2.455). Issues of honor, prestige, and reputation were paramount (cf. Lendon 1997; Mattern 1999: 4-6, 162-210). Josephus himself will relate that this very episode threatened to become a large issue for Vespasian, when the Tyrians accused King Agrippa II of having been responsible for the garrison's slaughter, by ordering his prefect Philip to depart with his forces (2.421, 437). Vespasian dismissed the charge against Agrippa, but had him send Philip to Nero to render an account (*Life* 407-9). Clearly, the loss of this garrison to the rebels was extremely serious.

Josephus may have omitted any reference to Rome's desire for revenge here because he wanted to sublimate the discussion (and again, remove the destruction of Jerusalem from Roman credit): it will be the Judean

a boundless²⁷⁹⁷ force a few were expended,²⁷⁹⁸ for the Judeans²⁷⁹⁹ it seemed a prologue²⁸⁰⁰ to capture.²⁸⁰¹ **455** Having perceived that the causes of the war were already irremediable,²⁸⁰² and that the city had been defiled²⁸⁰³ with such a great pollution,²⁸⁰⁴ as a result of which it was reasonable to expect some other-worldly²⁸⁰⁵ wrath,²⁸⁰⁶ even if not

God who brings revenge on the rebels for their heinous behavior in breaking oaths. One can certainly understand Josephus' point in reverse and with hindsight: although it might have seemed a Judean victory, the rebels did not realize that it portended destruction for the Judeans; by comparison, it was a trivial loss for the Romans.

²⁷⁹⁷ The adjective occurs only here in Josephus. Although the phrase ἄπλετος δύναμις seems a likely cliché, it happens to be attested before Josephus only in Philo (*Prov. frag.* 2.71).

²⁷⁹⁸ Josephus' choice of the rare, doubly prefixed verb ἀπαναλίσκω highlights the strategic calculation he posits; but see the note to "light" in this section.

²⁷⁹⁹ Niese follows MSS PAL and the Latin in reading a genitive here (M-B agree): "it seemed a prologue of the Judeans' capture." Thackeray and Pelletier follow MSS MVRC in reading a dative as translated. This would match the earlier dative "To [the] Romans," as one would expect in a μέν . . . δέ construction. To be sure, the awkward genitive is the *lectio difficilior*, to be preferred under some circumstances. What seems to clinch the case here is the immediate sequel (2.455): those who later began a public mourning require an antecedent, which can only be provided here; they are the Judeans for whom the episode portended capture.

²⁸⁰⁰ Although this is the only occurrence of προύμιον with this spelling in Josephus, his use of both the cognate verb (*War* 2.89 above) and the tragic spelling of the noun (*Ant.* 18.221) are similarly metaphorical, of coming disaster or terror.

²⁸⁰¹ Josephus keeps the audience looking ahead to the work's main subject, which may also have been its original title (cf. 1.10 and note; 2.276, 394).

²⁸⁰² See the note to "irremediable suffering" at 2.233. For "irremediable" and "pollution" in proximity, see Sophocles, *Oed. tyr.* 96.

²⁸⁰³ Josephus employs the verb φύρω only in *War* and *Life* (138), though he uses the lengthened form φυράω, of general "mixing," in *Antiquities*. The shorter form has the primary senses of "wetting" (as *Life* 138) or "mixing, mingling" (as *War* 1.382; 6.75), and only by extension the meaning of soiling, contaminating, or defiling. After this passage, Josephus will confine his usage to bk. 6, where he will use the verb 4 times, 3 of these in conjunction with "blood (shed)" or "carnage" as here (6.4, 126, 372).

²⁸⁰⁴ Pollution (μίωσμα) is a major theme in Josephus' works: it is the pollution of the temple by bloodshed that

brings divine punishment in the final purging at Roman hands (see Introduction). Cognates appear some 36 times in *War* (see notes at 2.132, 210, 424), though this noun occurs in *War* only here and at 2.473; 6.48, 110. The whole semantic field, which enhances the tragic character of *War*, would have been well familiar to Josephus' Greek-speaking audience. Although some sources of pollution were unavoidable functions of life (as in Judean law)—contact with birth, death, and bodily fluids—and there was provision for routine expiation of these, sources of pollution that were difficult to expiate and likely to bring divine punishment were avoidable bloodshed and sacrilege, both of which are present here. Perhaps the most famous example is Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*, which opens with Thebes facing plague, drought, and infertility (*Oed. tyr.* 15-30) because of serious pollution (97), which turns out to have been filial murder.

²⁸⁰⁵ Or "miraculous, heaven-sent, supernatural, ghostly, spooky." Josephus uses the adjective δαιμόνιος (as here), the noun δαίμων, and the neuter substantive τὸ δαιμόνιον liberally throughout *War*: 37 times (through all 7 books), against only 18 occurrences in *Antiquities* (clustered in 6.166-214, concerning Saul's "demons," and 8.45-48 concerning Solomon's cures), 1 in *Life* (402), and 1 in *Apion* (2.263). The present phrase anticipates fulfillment a couple of sentences later, at 2.457—the only other instance in *War* 2.

Although context can give the word-group the connotation of evil or oppressive spirits, as in the *Antiquities* passages above (and *War* 1.556 concerning Herod), δαίμων refers neutrally to the ghosts or shades of the dead, or to other spiritual beings (*War* 1.521, 556, 599, 607, 628; 6.47). In a fascinating passage explaining the properties of a plant that grows near Machaerus, Josephus elaborates: "for what are called 'demons' (τὰ καλούμενα δαιμόνια)—these are spirits of worthless [or evil] persons who enter into and kill the living, if assistance is not at hand—this [root] quickly drives out, if it is merely applied to those who are ill" (7.185). This passage, ignored in most studies of afterlife in Josephus (e.g., Sievers 1998; Elledge 2006), has important implications for Josephus' and Judean "demonology" (on which see Deines 2003). But this special definition, which incidentally implies Judean expertise in exorcism (cf. *Ant.* 8.44-49), applies only to the neuter plural δαιμόνια or to singular forms governed by such a context. Normally τὸ δαιμόνιον indicates the whole category of the other-worldly or supernatural, sometimes presented in an either/

the vengeance from the Romans, they began a public mourning,²⁸⁰⁷ and whereas the city was full of despondency,²⁸⁰⁸ each of the reasonable [folk]²⁸⁰⁹ was troubled that he himself would pay the penalty²⁸¹⁰ for the sake of the insurgents.²⁸¹¹ **456** For it happened, indeed, that the slaughter was committed on a sabbath,²⁸¹² on which [day], for the sake of worship, they observe a moratorium²⁸¹³ even on holy activities.²⁸¹⁴

or contrast with “the human [sphere]” (τὸ ἀνθρώπινον): *War* 1.373, 376; 6.429 (cf. 7.158-59); Isocrates, *Panath.* 169; *Mem.* 1.1.9, 12; Aeschines, *Ctes.* 133; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 3.7.4, 23.20; 8.56.1. See especially Socrates’ discussion in Plato, *Apol.* 27c-e. Hence “other-worldly” here.

Two points related to *War*’s usage deserve special attention. First, Josephus attributes a number of important events and situations in *War* to this mysterious, numinous category: Herod’s miraculous escape from a falling building (1.331); Josephus’ ability to find safety in a cave at besieged Iotapata (3.341); Titus’ soldiers’ being overtaken by a supernatural determination before the conflict (3.485; cf. 5.502); Vespasian’s enjoyment of superhuman courage (4.34); a miraculous wind that turned against the Judeans (4.76); Titus’ direction by some uncanny impulse to return to Judea from Greece (4.501); Vespasian’s support by some other-worldly provision or foreknowledge (4.622); supernatural help for the Judeans of times long past, by contrast with those now fighting Rome (5.377); most famously, the supernatural impulse that led a Roman soldier to thrust a flaming piece of wood into the main temple shrine (6.252); omens of Jerusalem’s destruction (6.297, 303); the gift of supernatural foreknowledge to Vespasian in planning to suppress the Batavian revolt (7.82); and the divine assistance to the Romans at Masada (7.318).

Second, with remarkable frequency—as in the present passage—Josephus combines a reference to these supernatural forces with a qualifying “some, a certain” (τις): *War* 1.331, 628; 3.341; 4.217; 5.502; 6.59, 252, 296; 7.120; *Ant.* 6.166; 13.317, 415; 16.210; *Life* 402; *Apion* 2.263. Although such usage has occasional parallels in classical Greek literature (Homer, *Il.* 4.31; Herodotus 7.18.13; Xenophon, *Mem.* 1.3.5; *Equ.* 11.13; Demosthenes, *Olynth.* 2.1; *Phil.* 3.54; *Fals. leg.* 256; *Exord.* 39.2; Aeschines, *Ctes.* 117; Aristotle, *Eth. eud.* 1214a; *Mir. ausc.* 846b; *Mund.* 391a; *Rhet.* 1398a; LXX Ps 95:5; Bar 4:7), the almost formulaic frequency in Josephus appears to require an explanation other than coincidence. It might have something to do with the programmatic statement of Socrates in Plato, *Apol.* 31c-d, attributing his gadfly activity to “something divine and other-worldly that comes to me” (cf. *Phaedo* 99c), or it might reflect what seems to be a general increase in this construction among Hellenistic authors (Diodorus 1.90.3; 11.14.4, 63.2; 15.58.4; 24.12.2; 32.18.1; 38/9.19.1;

Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 1.23.1, 56.4, 79.7; 2.31.3; 6.10.1; 9.38.2; 12.10.2; Strabo, *Geog.* 5.2.9; Philo, *Mos.* 1.276; Plutarch, *Rom.* 28.3; *Num.* 4.3; 5.3; *Per.* 34.4; *Fab.* 17.5; *Aem.* 34.8; *Marcell.* 17.5; *Mar.* 21.8; *Luc.* 7.26; *Mor.* 161c; 236d; 582b/588c [on the *genius* of Socrates]; 772b; 999e). It is not improbable that Socrates’ famous claim helped suggest the later usage.

²⁸⁰⁶ In Josephus μήνιμα appears only here and at *Ant.* 16.188 (to describe God’s wrath toward Herod for opening the tomb of David). It is a serious, programmatic rage, reminiscent of Achilles’ infamous μήνις, which opens the *Iliad* (*Il.* 1.1).

²⁸⁰⁷ Here πενθέω. Mourning is part of a primary thematic cluster supporting this work’s tragic ethos; see the note to “mourn over” at 1.9.

²⁸⁰⁸ In *War* (also 2.649; 6.98; 7.145) and *Life* (212) Josephus always predicates κατήφεια of the city, the populace, or the mob.

²⁸⁰⁹ See the note at 2.275.

²⁸¹⁰ It appears from what follows that justice would be exacted, as the reasonable folk knew, by God as much as by the Romans.

²⁸¹¹ See the note to this key term at 1.10.

²⁸¹² This is one of only 4 occurrences of the σαββατ- root in *War*; in this work he prefers to speak of the “seventh [day]”; see the note at 2.147. Perhaps Josephus uses the word here to give local color, stressing the awareness of the Jerusalem population that the militants had violated their own sacred day.

²⁸¹³ Josephus has chosen the *mot juste*. On the one hand, ἐκχειρία is also the term he will use (cf. Philo, *Spec.* 2.69; *Virt.* 122) for divine rest from labor on the seventh day, which generated the sabbath practice in view here (*Ant.* 1.33). But this was a metaphorical use of the term, the primary application of which was to armistices or truces, in the brutal atmosphere of classical Greece (cf. Bederman 2001: 252-53; for an “anarchic” contextualization, Eckstein 2006), during such pan-Hellenic festivals as the Olympic Games (cf. the note to “armistice” at 2.389, with relevant passages cited; also 3.72): touring truce-bearers proclaimed the temporary cessation of hostilities (Dio, *Or.* 77/78.142). In view of the actual violence committed here, the term is no longer simply metaphorical.

²⁸¹⁴ The rebels have thus fulfilled, in an extreme way, Agrippa’s prediction (2.392-93) that sabbath violations will bring their ruin. Josephus has managed to connect in

(18.1) 457 On the same day and at the same time, as if from other-worldly foreknowledge,²⁸¹⁵ the Caesareans began to do away with the Judeans among them. Thus, more than 20,000²⁸¹⁶ were butchered²⁸¹⁷ within a single hour, and all Caesarea was emptied of Judeans:²⁸¹⁸ for Florus arrested those who were trying to escape²⁸¹⁹ and took them down into the dockyards²⁸²⁰ as prisoners.

458 At this blow from Caesarea the entire nation became brutalized*.²⁸²¹ they formed

*Judean raiders
attack Syria and
Decapolis*

one episode bloodshed, oath-breaking, and sacrilege—the most heinous forms of “pollution”; see the note to this word at 2.455.

²⁸¹⁵ Possibly “from a heaven-sent provision, providence.” Other translators (Whiston, Thackeray, Pelletier, M-B) take it as a straightforward reference to (divine) Providence, but the point seems to be that, since the Caesarean slaughter of Judeans began at precisely the hour in which the Roman garrison was slaughtered in Judea, and the Caesareans cannot have known about the latter by normal means, it was *as if* they had an uncanny foreknowledge. As for this-worldly explanations: Josephus has already given abundant evidence of Judean-Syrian (“Greek”) conflict in Caesarea (2.266-70, 284-93), explicitly blaming it for the generation of the war (2.284-85).

For the adjective “other-worldly” see the note at the only other occurrence in bk. 2 (2.455), which prepares for this one. Josephus uses the phrase δαιμόνιος πρόνοια 5 times, though only in *War* (1.82; 4.622; 7.82, 318; cf. *Ant.* 13.314 for something similar). In all cases but the first, he constructs it with preceding ὡς, ὡσπερ (as here), or καθόπερ: “as if/as though.” Before his time the phrase seems attested only in Diodorus (1.90.3; 11.14.4); Diodorus (3.5.1; cf. 16.92.2) and Dionysius (*Ant. rom.* 3.14.2; 4.26.2; 10.10.2) use the similar phrase ἡ τοῦ δαιμονίου πρόνοια. So we may consider Josephus’ phrase distinctive of *War* and, given its distribution, a marker of the unity between *War* 1-6 and bk. 7.

The noun πρόνοια is important in Josephus’ lexicon, occurring 159 times (about 118 of these in *Antiquities*; on the centrality of the theme in that work, see Attridge 1976: 67-107). Its meaning shades from “foreknowledge” and “providence” (*providentia*) to “forethought” and “watchful care”; therefore, when predicated of human leaders, “provision” (see Mason in BJP 9 *ad Life* 15, 62). For the statesman’s effort to imitate divine πρόνοια see Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 3.51.

²⁸¹⁶ This figure is generally considered a standard Josephan inflation (though not by Levine 1975b: 8-9). Kloppenborg (2000: 245) gives cogent reasons for estimating Caesarea’s entire mixed population at around 15-18,000 for the city proper, perhaps 50% more including the areas immediately beyond the walls. But the Judeans were reportedly a minority (2.266): about

10,000 might be a plausible figure for the Judean population of greater Caesarea.

²⁸¹⁷ Or “were sacrificed, slaughtered, had their throats cut.” See the note at 2.30. In these contexts of mass slaughter in confined spaces (also 2.468, 561) Josephus indicates at 2.471 that the massacre may have been accomplished by spear-throwing.

²⁸¹⁸ This notice greatly complicates efforts to reconstruct events. In this narrative, the Caesarean massacre sets off Judean reprisals (2.458-60), which lead in turn to massacres throughout the region, prompting the Batanean Judeans to request a defensive force from Noarus—but their delegation is killed by the viceroy (2.482). According to *Life*, Varus (here “Noarus”) first killed many of the Judeans to please the “Syrians” there (§ 53), then sent 12 of the leading Judeans of Caesarea on a mission to Batanea (§ 55), and was eventually removed by Agrippa II because *he was thought to be planning the massacre of Caesarea’s Judeans* on a single day (§ 61). Yet Varus’/Noarus’ plot and removal cannot have happened before the massacre mentioned here, because (in *War*) this massacre is the basis for the events that lead to Agrippa’s departure for Antioch (2.481) and Noarus’ appointment as acting governor. But if Caesarea’s Judeans are destroyed now, as *War* claims, then *Life*’s account of Varus’ efforts to destroy them would make no sense.

²⁸¹⁹ We should very much like to have Florus’ account of this episode. Josephus has already portrayed a shift from neutral peace-keeping to siding with the non-Judeans in Caesarea (2.292) and, in general, a desire to provoke Judeans at every opportunity (2.288, 293, 296, 298, 308, 318).

²⁸²⁰ This is the only occurrence of νεώριον (here plural) in Josephus.

²⁸²¹ The verb ἐξαγριόω is most often used of Herod and members of his family, then of various Romans, in the final volumes of *Antiquities*, as they are tragically turned savage by circumstances (1.473, 526; *Ant.* 15.148, 164, 216, 282; 18.226; 19.142, 160, 175). It is characteristic diction in Philo (15 occurrences) and Josephus (16), whereas it is attested only 23 times in all of Greek literature before them, the 6 occurrences in Diodorus representing the next highest count among previous authors.

themselves into units and began ravaging the Syrians' villages and the adjacent cities.²⁸²² Philadelphia²⁸²³ as well as Esebonitis,²⁸²⁴ Gerasa,²⁸²⁵ Pella,²⁸²⁶ and Scythopolis.²⁸²⁷ **459** Then,

²⁸²² This could mean adjacent to the villages, to Syria, or to the Judeans; the 3 senses overlap here. The cities are in 4 clusters: the first 5 form the E perimeter of Perea; the next 3 are further N, near the Sea of Galilee (Kinneret); then Josephus turns to 3 on the W side of Galilee; and the final group of 4 moves from inland Sebaste to the main coastal cities W of Judea. The first two groups include most cities of the Decapolis.

In 63 BCE Pompey had granted many Syrian cities their freedom, producing a symbolic group called the "Ten Cities" (Decapolis), although the identity of the places in question was uncertain even in the 70s CE, as Pliny observes while giving his list (*Nat.* 5.74): Damascus (replaced by Eusebius with Abila; *Onom.* 32.16), Philadelphia, Rephana, Scythopolis, Gadara, Hippos, Dium, Pella, Gerasa [or Galasa], and Canatha; cf. the note to "Ten Cities" at *Life* 341 in BJP 9.

Many of these cities have been named by Josephus as places conquered or destroyed by the Hasmoneans, which Pompey rebuilt as needed and freed or made subject to the Romans in Syria (*War* 1.156; *Ant.* 14.75); several were later given to Herod by Augustus (1.396-97), sometimes to the outrage of the local Greek inhabitants (e.g., *Ant.* 15.351-58); three (Galilean Gaba, Perea Esebonitis, and coastal Caesarea) are listed together in *Ant.* 15.293-94 as places built and fortified by Herod as bulwarks against his disaffected Judean population (15.292). So the potential for Greek-Judean conflict here had old roots. According to *Life* 42, 331-42, 410, raids on the Decapolis (i.e., on their dependent villages) had been conducted by some Tiberians led by Justus of Tiberias (who does not appear in *War*), among others, though it is difficult to be certain whether these are the same raids. The long list of places attacked recalls the later Hasmonean expansionist campaigns. It cannot be taken at face value as a series of spontaneous attacks on virtually all the border areas of Judea, by ordinary citizens (no matter how zealous), against large cities built on defensible sites—many of them far from the Judean heartland. It seems that in many cases Josephus must have in mind actions against the outlying interests or possessions of these cities.

This list of places attacked by Judeans opens a characteristic *inclusio*, which will be completed when most of the same cities reciprocally turn against their own Judean inhabitants (2.477-80).

²⁸²³ Mod. Amman, Jordan (bibl. Rabbah). It has appeared only sporadically in *War* as basically hostile territory belonging to Nabatean Arabs (1.60 [cf. *Ant.* 13.235], 129, 380). At 3.46-47 Josephus will identify

the city, along with Esebonitis (below), as marking the E extremity of Perea and the beginning of Arabia. The only other reference in Josephus is an important one: the opening sentences of *Ant.* 20 (1-5) describe a serious outbreak of hostilities in the mid-40s. Some Judeans of Perea, exasperated by the behavior of "belligerent men" from the Philadelphian village of Zia (emended from a puzzling *mia*) in their midst, attacked the larger city in retaliation, without consulting either their own leaders or the Roman governor Fadus. He, in anger at this independent revenge, punished their leaders, executing one named Hannibal—the curious name itself possibly suggesting ingrained serious anti-Roman sentiment among some Judeans of the region. It may be that the raids now being described were also against such Philadelphian holdings as Zia rather than against the city itself, on the analogy of Tyre's, Gadara's, and Hippos' village possessions.

²⁸²⁴ Mod. Hishban, 22 km (13.5 miles) SW of Philadelphia, a slightly shorter distance E of the NE corner of the Dead Sea; biblical Heshbon, mentioned dozens of times (Num 21:25-34; Deut 1:4; 2:24-30; 3:2-6; Josh 12:2-5) as the former stronghold of King Sihon of the Amorites; conquered by the Israelites during Moses' lifetime, before they crossed the Jordan into Canaan. Not far from the Tobiad redoubt of 'Araq el-Emir (*Ant.* 12.233), and in Judean hands after the conquests of Alexander Jannaeus (*Ant.* 13.397), it was reportedly rebuilt and garrisoned by Herod as a defense against his own population, matched in this respect by Galilean Gaba/Hippeon (*Ant.* 15.294). Although it presumably passed to Antipas in the settlement after Herod's death, we have no clear indication of that; *War* 3.47 observes that it was one of the Greek cities (with Philadelphia and Gerasa) that marked the end of Judean Perea. Thus Josephus' list goes S after Philadelphia, then to turn steadily N/NW until Scythopolis.

²⁸²⁵ Mod. Jerash, Jordan, is among the best known of the Decapolis cities as a result of extensive excavations begun in 1925. Gerasa sat in the mirror position E of the Jordan River to Samaria-Sebaste on the W side, at the same latitude and the same distance (32 km [20 miles]) from the river, straddling the Chrysorhoas River ("Golden Stream," tributary of the Jabbok/Zarka). It was built on a cluster of small hills enclosed by much larger hills to the W, N, and E, about 35 km (22 miles) N of Philadelphia. Although most of the uncovered structures date from the 2nd century CE and later, which was the period of its greatest prosperity (two Hadrianic arches, *cardo* with N and S *decumanus*, two theaters [the S the-

after attacking Gadara,²⁸²⁸ Hippos,²⁸²⁹ and Gaulanitis²⁸³⁰—first sacking and then burning

ater from Domitian's time], a small hippodrome S of the city [approximate seating 15,000], temple to Zeus with large plaza, temple to Artemis, *macellum* [food market], hundreds of inscriptions and coins), Gerasa had long been a center of Hellenistic culture.

The city's most famous son was the Pythagorean Nicomachus, author of an enormously influential *Introduction to Arithmetic* and also a *Handbook of Music*, who may have been a younger contemporary of Josephus (ca. 60-120 CE?). See e.g., A. H. M. Jones 1928; Kraeling 1938; Browning 1982; Khouri 1986; Zayadine 1986; Watts and Watts 1992; Uscatescu and Martín-Bueno 1997; Kennedy 2007. Gerasa (surprisingly called "Essa" at *Ant.* 13.393; cf. *War* 1.104) was reportedly taken by Alexander Jannaeus, and it was while besieging a Gerasene town that he died (13.398). It is of particular interest that Simon bar Giora, ultimately one of the two principal leaders of the revolt (see note at 2.521), is said by Josephus to be a native of a Gerasa (which we should understand as this one, though the preceding paragraphs [4.486-89] describe Vespasian's campaign against a Gerasa that seems to be a corruption of Gezer or the like; see Bergmeier 1998)—apparently the son of a convert there (4.503). Finally, it is possible that Gerasa or a nearby town of Essa (if that is not another name for the site) was the home of at least one figure named an *Essaeus* by Josephus; it is even possible that all *Essaei* (Essenes) had an original connection with the place. See the notes to "*Essaeus*" at 2.113, 567.

²⁸²⁶ Another Decapolis city, Pella was less than 5 km (3 miles) E of the Jordan, and so quite close (12 km, 7.5 miles) to the next-named Scythopolis to the W of the river; Josephus makes Pella the N border of Judean Perea (3.47). It was one of the Decapolis cities captured by Alexander Jannaeus, who singled it out for destruction because its inhabitants "would not accept going over to the customs of the Judeans" (*Ant.* 13.397; cf. *War* 1.104). This no doubt grounded a tradition of Greek-Judean hostility. Like other Hasmonean conquests, it was detached and freed by Pompey in 63 BCE (*War* 1.156; *Ant.* 14.75). See McNicoll 1982; Smith and Day 1989; Sheedy, Garson et al. 2001. According to a much-discussed later Christian tradition (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.5.2-3; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 29.7.7-8; 30.2.7; *Mens.* 15), at about the time of Josephus' narrative (just before the outbreak of war) Christian communities in Judea left for Pella; for critical discussion see Lüdemann 1980.

²⁸²⁷ Sitting in the center of the small plain that marks the first opening of the S-N Jordan-Valley route into the Great Plain (Jezreel Valley) to the NW, the site that would become Scythopolis was populated from very

early times. Acquiring the name "*polis* of the Scythians" (the significance is unclear) at some point soon after Alexander the Great's conquest, it remained a Greek stronghold until John Hyrcanus and his sons captured it near the end of his reign (d. 104 BCE; 1.65-66), possibly with the help of betrayal from within (*Ant.* 13.277, 280). It was among the cities liberated from Judean control by Pompey in 63 BCE (*War* 1.156), to become the only Decapolis city W of the Jordan. It reportedly needed repopulating and restoring after the brief rebellion of Aristobulus' son Alexander—or perhaps after earlier devastations (1.166).

At any rate, Josephus describes it as the greatest city of the Decapolis (3.446). It must have had a large territory, for he makes the territories of Scythopolis, Gadara, and Hippos define the SE limits of Galilee. Scythopolis' location made it, along with the western villages of Gadara and Hippos, a relatively easy target for Judean raiders, especially those based in Tiberias (cf. *Life* 42, 341, 410) about 32 km (20 miles) to the N. That proximity might help to account for both the ferocity of the Judean attacks on Scythopolis and also the presence of a large Judean population in the city—Josephus claims more than 13,000 at 2.468, many tens of thousands at *Life* 26. Even the former number seems high—to face the coming massacre (2.466-76). As Josephus repeatedly explains while narrating older history (*Ant.* 5.83; 6.374; 12.348; 13.188), the site known among Judeans as Bethesana or Bethsan (בֵּית שְׁאֵן, "house of She'an") is called Scythopolis by the Greeks; Pliny (*Nat.* 5.74) connects the site with Liber-Dionysus, claiming that the God buried his nurse-nymph Nysa there and that the city formerly carried her name.

Scythopolis was extensively excavated throughout the 20th century. Although most of the impressive structures (large theater, temples, baths, sculptures, streets) are from the 2nd century CE and later, enough remains from the 1st century to support literary evidence that it was a vibrant Greek city at Josephus' time; see Appendix A in BJP 9.

²⁸²⁸ Mod. Umm Qeis. See Appendix A in BJP 9. A famous center of Greek culture on a high plateau overlooking the Yarmuk River to the N, Gadara produced renowned figures associated with Cynic philosophy: the poet-satirists Menippus (early 2nd cent. BCE) and Meleager (1st cent. BCE), and later Oenomaus (early 2nd cent. CE). Gadara was taken and partially destroyed, it seems, by Alexander Jannaeus (*War* 1.86), then freed and rebuilt by Pompey (1.155) before being given by Augustus to Herod (1.396). The Judean king's rule brought repeated but ineffective protests from the Greek citizens

them—they advanced against Kadasa of the Tyrians²⁸³¹ as well as Ptolemais,²⁸³² Gaba,²⁸³³ and also Caesarea.²⁸³⁴ **460** Neither Sebaste²⁸³⁵ nor Ascalon²⁸³⁶ held out against their charges,

(*Ant.* 15.351, 354, 356, 358): they were not returned to Roman administration until after his death (*Ant.* 17.320; *War* 2.97). Since Gadara sat on a ridge 378 m (1,240 ft) above sea level and nearly 600 m (1,970 ft) above Lake Kinneret, attacking it was no simple prospect; Alexander Jannaeus reportedly needed a siege of 10 months (*Ant.* 13.356). If these are the same attacks as those described in *Life* 42, 341-42, 410—the only ones mentioned in that work when Decapolis residents complain to Vespasian—then they seem to have been against the vulnerable dependent villages of Gadara, not against the city itself (cf. Tyrian Kadasa, rather than Tyre itself).

²⁸²⁹ The history of Hippos (“horse,” because of its saddle-like profile, a small city overlooking Lake Kinneret from the E, N of the Yarmuk River) is similar to that of Gadara (previous note) 14 km to the SE: Hippos too was made a free city by Pompey (1.56), later given to Herod (1.396). Returned to Syria after his death (2.97), it found its villages subject to raids by the Judeans of Tiberias—possibly the incident(s) mentioned here. One such vulnerable possession might have been Hippos’ harbor on the lake below, though Josephus (*Life* 42, 341-42, 410) has Tiberians attacking villages lying in between the *chora* of Tiberias and that of Scythopolis (35 km [21.75 miles] to the S on the W side of the Jordan).

²⁸³⁰ See the note at 2.168. Of all the sites mentioned in this paragraph, this is the odd one out because: (a) it is not a city, but a vague descriptor including potentially the entire Golan, which hosted the towns of Iulias, Gamala, and Seleuceia, among others; (b) it was territory subject to the Judean King Agrippa (2.247), and lacked Greek cities like those of the Decapolis, except perhaps Iulias; (c) the whole region features extremely difficult terrain, far from the Judeans’ bases; and (d) Josephus mentions no reprisals against Judeans in this area, in contrast to most of the other cities they attacked (2.477-78). It may well be, then, that he has in mind small raids on villages at the edges of the Golan, in conjunction with attacks on the territory of Hippos. Perhaps substituting for a reprisal is the later story of Noarus’ execution of the 70 from Batanea in Agrippa’s absence (2.481-83).

²⁸³¹ This is biblical Kedesh of Naphtali, designated a city of refuge (Josh 21:32; cf. 12:22; 15:23) and later captured with other northern towns by Tiglath-Pileser of Assyria (1 Kgs 15:29). Of contemporary Tyre, the ancient Phoenician trading capital (see note at 2.239), Josephus will claim that its residents were the bitterest enemies of the Judeans in the region (*Apion* 1.70). Tyre’s dependent territories extended deep into the interior, so far as to form the northern boundary of Upper Galilee

(3.39-40). Kadasa illustrates that broad reach, as it was 35 km (22 miles) inland from coastal Tyre as the crow flies (and over difficult terrain with no direct road connecting), only 10 km (6 miles) NE of the Judean town of Gischala. At 4.105 Josephus will describe Kadasa: “It is a sturdy interior village of the Tyrians, perpetually at war (driven by hatred) with the Galileans, finding in its throng of residents and its solidity resources for its conflict with the nation.” The MSS reveal uncertainty about the spelling, offering also Kasada and Kedasa.

²⁸³² See the note at 2.67. Josephus’ description has moved to the Greek cities W of Galilee.

²⁸³³ The MSS show confusion over the name, several offering “Gabala” and one even “Gaia.” Although the site is not yet certainly identified (see Appendix A to BJP 9), Josephus is clear about its approximate location—4 km (2.5 miles) from Besara (Beit-Shearim; *Life* 118) on the SW edge of Galilee (*War* 3.35), somewhere along the meeting point of Galilee with the Plain of Acco-Ptolemais (*Life* 115-17)—and about its founding by King Herod along with Esebonitis (2.485 above) as a base for his cavalry, against the prospect of rebellion from his own people (*Ant.* 15.294), and the town’s continuing loyalty to Roman-Herodian forces (*Life* 115-18). All of these conditions help to explain its appeal as a target for these Judean raiders.

²⁸³⁴ See the note at 2.16. This casual mention is remarkable given the city’s pivotal role in these very events. According to Josephus, the effort by wealthy and numerous Judeans to remake the city as theirs (2.266) and to buy up land for their communal use (2.285) ignited a serious conflict with the “Greek” residents, which was then fanned by the unscrupulous governor Florus. Now, the massacre of more than 20,000 Judeans there has ignited these Judean raids on all the Greek cities (2.457), in which Caesarea is only one of many targets.

²⁸³⁵ See the notes to “Sebastenes” at 2.52, to “Samaria” at 2.69, and to “Sebaste” at 2.97. This city, refounded by Herod, has been a traditional source of aggravation to the Judeans, not least because of its role as a major recruiting ground for the auxiliary forces that the Romans use to control the province.

²⁸³⁶ See the note concerning this old and profitable coastal city (bibl. Ashkelon of the Philistines; Josh 13:3; Judg 1:18; 1 Sam 6:17 etc.) at 2.98, and especially Appendix A to BJP 1a. Philo, writing in the 40s CE about an advisor to Gaius Caligula named Apelles, who had ties to Ascalon, remarks that “the Ascalonites

but in addition to their having been destroyed by fire²⁸³⁷ they razed Anthedon²⁸³⁸ and Gaza.²⁸³⁹ Many villages in the region of each of these cities were also taken by storm, and the murder of the men who were being captured was endless.

(18.2) 461 The Syrians,²⁸⁴⁰ to be sure, did not make away with a lesser horde of Judeans, but they too would butcher²⁸⁴¹ those who were being taken in the cities—not solely out of a hatred that was as before,²⁸⁴² but now also anticipating the risk to themselves.²⁸⁴³ **462** A terrible disturbance²⁸⁴⁴ was gripping the whole of Syria, and every city had been divided²⁸⁴⁵ into two armed camps;²⁸⁴⁶ safety for the one side consisted in anticipating the others.²⁸⁴⁷ **463** They spent their days in bloodshed, but still more difficult were the nights [they spent] in dread.²⁸⁴⁸ For they all severally,²⁸⁴⁹ though thinking it proper²⁸⁵⁰ that the Judeans

Syrians retaliate against Judeans in their cities.
Cf. Life 25

have a truceless and irreconcilable hostility to the Judean residents of the sacred territory on whose borders they live” (*Legat.* 205). Josephus will likewise claim that the Judeans had always harbored a hatred for Ascalon (3.10). It will no doubt be in part because of the violent response of the Ascalonites to the present attack (cf. 2.477) that the Judeans who defeat Cestius will select Ascalon as their first target thereafter—an effort, however, that will end in a disastrous rout costing more than 10,000 Judean lives (3.9-28).

²⁸³⁷ This is the only occurrence of *πυρπολέω* in *War*, though it appears 7 times in Josephus’ other works.

²⁸³⁸ With the surrounding areas, this southern coastal city was conquered by the Hasmonean Alexander Jannaeus (1.87; *Ant.* 13.357), rebuilt by Gabinius (1.164), and presented to Herod by Augustus (1.396); Herod renamed it in honor of Agrippa (1.87, 416), though as we see here the original name ultimately prevailed. Although it is unclear whether this city was given to Archelaus or immediately returned to Syria after Herod’s death, it ended up as a Syrian city again. Anthedon and Gaza are also mentioned together by Pliny (*Nat.* 5.68), though he mistakenly places Anthedon inland, whereas Gaza was slightly inland from the coast and Anthedon, a little further N, lay directly on the shore.

²⁸³⁹ A very old Philistine trading port (e.g., Gen 10:19; Josh 10:41; Jer 47:5; Herodotus [Cadytis] 2.159.2; 3.5.2) at the S end of the Mediterranean coast; see the note at 2.97. The former strength of the city is shown by the difficulty faced by Alexander the Great in capturing it—after a 2-month siege (*Ant.* 11.325; Diodorus 17.48.7). More than two centuries later, Alexander Jannaeus had to besiege it for a year to take it, only then with the aid of internal betrayal (1.87; *Ant.* 13.358-61). Josephus admires the remarkable courage of the Gazans facing destruction from Alexander’s Hasmonean forces, remarking that many burned down their own houses in order to keep them from the enemy. Gaza was among the coastal cities freed from Judean rule by Pompey (1.156; *Ant.* 14.76). Rebuilt under Gabinius (*Ant.* 14.88), it passed to Herod by grant of Augustus (*War* 1.396) and returned to Roman Syria in the settlement after his death (2.97).

²⁸⁴⁰ Cf. Eleazar son of Ya‘ir at 7.367: there was not a city in Syria that did not do away with its Judean residents (though he ignores the context here of prior Judean attacks, and Josephus’ exceptions at 2.497), and Agrippa II’s recent prediction (2.398-99) that Judean rebellion would certainly mean the massacre of Judeans in many other cities.

²⁸⁴¹ Or “slaughter, cut the throats of.” See the note at 2.457.

²⁸⁴² Understanding *πρότερον* as an adjective modifying *μῦθος* (cf. Latin *vetus odium*) rather than as an adverb modifying “butcher,” since there is little evidence of earlier massacres in Syria, which would surely have led to earlier emigration, but much (in the narrative) to suggest long-standing tensions.

²⁸⁴³ Evidently, in view of the Judean raiding parties just described (2.458-60).

²⁸⁴⁴ See the note at 2.170.

²⁸⁴⁵ Possibly imperfect “was being divided” (with MSS AM and Latin); the other MSS have the pluperfect as rendered here.

²⁸⁴⁶ This (*στρατόπεδον*) is Josephus’ normal word for military or legionary camps. Although his language is cryptic in this passage, he seems to mean that within each Syrian city the Judeans and non-Judeans now separated and tried to protect themselves, each from the other. If so, the Judean minorities, as distinct from the raiding parties (2.458-60), clearly suffered the greater losses (2.463).

²⁸⁴⁷ Josephus appears to indicate, then, extreme violence from both the Syrian and the Judean sides within these cities (as also in the next clause). Given that the Judean residents suffered disproportionate losses, if he means that the Judeans’ safety consisted in preparing adequate defenses, that would not explain why the other (Syrian) side had anything to fear, or to anticipate and prevent. His meaning is not clear: he may have fallen back on balanced clauses, implying mutual harm, for the sake of art rather than clarity.

²⁸⁴⁸ The scene and the language recall the horrors described at 2.256, with the appearance of the *sicarii* in Jerusalem.

had been gotten rid of,²⁸⁵¹ continued to hold in suspicion²⁸⁵² those who were Judaizing.²⁸⁵³ while no one stood quite ready²⁸⁵⁴ to do away with this ambiguous [element] in the various [places], each feared a mixed²⁸⁵⁵ [person] as though an actual foreigner.

464 Now what kept calling forward, for the butchering of their foes,²⁸⁵⁶ even those who had long seemed altogether mild, was greed. For they would pillage with impunity the belongings of those who had been done away with and, just as if they were the spoils of those who had been done away with as a result of battle,²⁸⁵⁷ they would transfer [the goods] to their own houses. The one who had gained the most was held in honor, as having overcome the greater number.²⁸⁵⁸ **465** It was [possible] to see the cities filled with unburied bodies, old men's corpses scattered together with infants,²⁸⁵⁹ also women who had not benefited from a covering for modesty, and all the province filled with indescribable calamities,²⁸⁶⁰ yes, but still greater than what had been dared in each of these cases was the tension over what was still being threatened.²⁸⁶¹

²⁸⁴⁹ Although throughout this sentence Josephus uses masculine ἕκαστοι, and so cannot grammatically be assuming (feminine) πόλεις as subject, in repeating the idea of “each” and “several” he seems to have in view the various city populations of Syria (assuming δῆμοι or similar).

²⁸⁵⁰ Or simply “thinking,” depending on whether this contrasts mainly with what goes before (although the one camp thought they had destroyed the other, Judaizers remained) or with what comes after (although they considered it fitting in the circumstances to rid themselves of Judeans, they could not bring themselves to kill Judaizers among their own).

²⁸⁵¹ Or “bundled off.” This is the same verb (ἀποσκευάζω) that Josephus has used in the sense of “off-loading” responsibility at 2.73. Here it becomes another euphemism for killing, a sense he will employ soon again (2.478).

²⁸⁵² For suspicion of the Judeans in Damascus (that they might attack the locals after their defeat of Cestius), see 2.560.

²⁸⁵³ See the note to this verb at 2.454. It is noteworthy that Josephus manages to use it twice in such proximity, yet nowhere else in his 30 volumes, a typical feature of his style (see Introduction). In this case the re-use is purposeful, for he has elaborately connected the massacre of Judeans with the Judeans' unjust massacre of the Roman garrison in Jerusalem (2.455-57). In both cases “Judaizers” are spared: by the Judeans, because of the cynical welcome they gave to a (forced) convert; by the Syrians because the Judaizers, though deeply suspect, were not wholly alien. Perhaps, then, these Judaizers had not proceeded “all the way to circumcision” as Metilius had (2.454). On the vast number of Damascene women who had allegedly embraced Judean law in some unclear way, see 2.560.

²⁸⁵⁴ Greek οὔτε ἀνελεῖν τις προχείρως ὑπέμενεν. The adverb appears only here in Josephus (though the cog-

nate adjective appears 4 times).

²⁸⁵⁵ Possibly “tainted” (μεμυγμένον), perhaps with sexual connotations, since the verb is a common euphemism for sexual relations—suggesting a metaphorical miscegenation or contamination. For Judaizing as a mixing or confusion of incompatible traditions, producing an uncertain status, see Epictetus in Arrian, *Diatr.* 2.9.19-21.

²⁸⁵⁶ Josephus' tragic-emotive language (ἐπὶ τὰς σφαγὰς τῶν διαφόρων) could be understood as either (called out) “for the various acts of butchery of foes” (see the note to “butchery” at 2.197) or “against the throats [i.e., slaughter-points] of foes.” For the latter see “slaughter” at 2.619, with note.

²⁸⁵⁷ Although παράταξις often means “formation, forming up, marshaling, battle line,” Josephus tends to use it for the battle or engagement itself: 1.45, 95, 102, 191, 336, 341, 342; 2.464, 470 (see the note to “that engagement” at *Life* 341 in BJP 9). Of the 43 occurrences in his corpus, 32 are in *War*.

²⁸⁵⁸ Josephus' balanced chiasm has an epigrammatic quality: [ἔνδοξός τε ἦν] ὁ πλεῖστα κερδάνας ὡς κατισχύσας πλειόνων.

²⁸⁵⁹ Josephus often juxtaposes the elderly with infants, usually in combination with someone's lack of pity, mercy, or compassion for them, as a way of heightening the tragic force of the narrative (cf. 2.496; 3.201; 4.82; 5.430, 433; for a misplaced pity for elders, women, and infants, involving Saul and the Amalekites, see *Ant.* 6.133-38, 260-62).

²⁸⁶⁰ A programmatic term (sing. συμφορά), enhancing the tragic tone, in *War* and especially in bk. 2; see the notes at 1.9; 2.286. It appears again soon (2.467).

²⁸⁶¹ The text has several possibilities; the interpreter faces a number of uncertainties. MSS PAML have [τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπειλουμένοις] ἀνάστασιν (“*uprising* against the things or people being threatened, terrified” [passive] or “against those who were forbidding with threats”

(18.3) 466 Whereas until these [events], assaults by the Judeans were clearly against the foreign [element], in conducting forays against²⁸⁶² Scythopolis²⁸⁶³ they encountered²⁸⁶⁴ Judean enemies among them.²⁸⁶⁵ For, having fallen in alongside the Scythopolitans—so, having put their shared ancestry²⁸⁶⁶ in second place to their own safety—they [the Judeans of Scythopolis] joined battle²⁸⁶⁷ against their compatriots.²⁸⁶⁸ 467 But the very [quality of] extreme eagerness²⁸⁶⁹ also rendered them suspect. The Scythopolitans, namely, had become anxious that they might make an attempt on the city at night and, by means of a great calamity²⁸⁷⁰ of their [doing], furnish a defense for themselves to their own [people] concerning their “defection.”²⁸⁷¹ So they [the Scythopolitans] directed them, if they were wanting* to guarantee their unity of purpose, and demonstrate their trustworthiness²⁸⁷² to people of other nations,²⁸⁷³ to move together with their families into the grove.²⁸⁷⁴ 468

*Scythopolitan
Judeans fight
compatriots,
suffer*

[middle]). The other MSS (VRC) have μετάστασιν (“removal, upheaval, change against . . .”). All modern editors (Niese, Thackeray, Pelletier, Vitucci, M-B), however, forego both of these to follow Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 2.26.2) with ἀνάτασιν (“tension, straining” or “holding out, threat” against or over the people or things being threatened). One reason to prefer Eusebius’ reading is that it matches a pattern in Josephus: killing was bad, but *even worse* was a resulting psychological state (fear, dread, or tension; cf. 2.256; 7.104). Moreover, Josephus may use a similar collocation at 1.214 (ἀπειλή και ἀνατάσει), where ἀνατάσει has the support of MS C and the Latin, though PAMLRV and Hegesippus prefer ἀναστάσει there also. That example highlights the fact that, as the relatively unfamiliar word, ἀνάτασις has the advantage of being easiest to understand as the original—i.e., as a difficulty left by Josephus and changed by later copyists to something more familiar; it is more difficult to imagine why they would substitute something difficult for a familiar and simple term. The best option, then, seems to be something like the translation here. But since ἀνάτασις can also mean a “threat” (i.e., what is extended, held out), the sense might also be “the threat because of what was being threatened” in a redundant formulation.

²⁸⁶² Lit. “while running down into/against” (κατατρέχοντες δὲ εἰς). Possibly “while overrunning Scythopolis,” though that usage normally has the object in the genitive.

²⁸⁶³ See 2.458, where the Judeans ravage Scythopolis.

²⁸⁶⁴ Or “experienced,” assuming that the verb is πειράω, though it might conceivably be πείρω, in which case they “cleaved through” Judean enemies. That language would recall Homer (*Il.* 24.8; *Od.* 8.183).

²⁸⁶⁵ Possibly “in that place” (MSS MVRC παρ’ ἐκείνη).

²⁸⁶⁶ This word (συγγένεια) is cognate to “relative-slaughter” at 2.471 and “blood-relations” at 2.472.

²⁸⁶⁷ Of the 9 occurrences of ὁμόσε in Josephus, all occur in the classical cliché used here: ὁμόσε χωρέω (or

ἴασι at *Ant.* 18.324, with χωρέω in the same sentence).

²⁸⁶⁸ Josephus’ Eleazar son of Ya’ir will express great indignation at this alignment with “the Greeks” against the Judeans (7.364–65)—in spite of having confessed to killing compatriots himself (7.332). Josephus will express similar outrage at *Life* 26 (“sacrilegious to us”; see BJP 9 and note). Note also *War*’s repeated condemnation of killing fellow-Judeans, an activity closely connected with the *stasis* theme (1.10), at 1.659; 3.391; 6.109.

²⁸⁶⁹ As often in *War*, Josephus makes a neuter substantive from an adjective: τὸ λίαν πρόθυμον.

²⁸⁷⁰ A programmatic term (συμφορά), enhancing the tragic tone, in *War* and in bk. 2; see the notes at 1.9; 2.286. It has recently been used (2.465).

²⁸⁷¹ See the note to “rebellion” at 2.39. The fear is, then, that the Judeans inside, from feelings of guilt about their alignment with the Scythopolitans, would turn against them at night and betray the city to the Judean attackers. They would then justify themselves to the outside Judeans by claiming that they had appeared to support the Scythopolitans only in order to inflict serious damage.

²⁸⁷² Josephus substantivizes the neuter adjective with article (τὸ . . . πιστόν). See further “loyalty” and note at 2.476.

²⁸⁷³ Greek ἀλλοεθνής occurs only here in *War*, though 7 times in *Antiquities*. It is not found in Josephus’ classical models or contemporaries (Plutarch, Dio), but appears among other ethnographical or “minority” writers: fragments of Berosus, Hecataeus, Megasthenes; 2 Macc 4:6; 13 times each in Diodorus and Dionysius; Strabo (2.1.31; 11.2.2; 14.2.28); Philo (*Spec.* 3.29; *Legat.* 183).

²⁸⁷⁴ Since this is a Greek city, the sense is probably “sacred grove”: a hallowed precinct devoted to a God. This is the usual meaning of ἄλσος, also in Josephus. At 1.422–43 King Herod has donated these important features of a *polis* to several cities in the region; perhaps the one at Scythopolis was also his donation. For the offensiveness of such places to Judeans, see *Ant.* 4.192; 8.318, 336; 10.52. (For more neutral senses: 8.138; 16.142.)

When they had done what had been ordered, without suspicion,²⁸⁷⁵ although the Scythopolitans remained quiet for two days, baiting²⁸⁷⁶ their trust, on the third night—having observed closely [to be sure that] that they were both unguarded and sleeping—they butchered²⁸⁷⁷ them all. The number exceeded 13,000,²⁸⁷⁸ and they plundered everyone's possessions.²⁸⁷⁹

Simon, Judean of Scythopolis

(18.4) 469 Worthy of being narrated²⁸⁸⁰ is also the suffering²⁸⁸¹ of Simon. Although he was the son of a certain Saoul, from rather distinguished [people],²⁸⁸² and although he excelled in vigor of body²⁸⁸³ and daring,²⁸⁸⁴ he misused both to the detriment of his compatriots. 470 Namely, venturing out day after day,²⁸⁸⁵ he not only did away with many of those Judeans who were against Scythopolis, but often routing them all, he single-handedly became the deciding factor²⁸⁸⁶ in the battle.²⁸⁸⁷ 471 Yet a penalty worthy of this relative-slaughter²⁸⁸⁸ overtook* him. For when the Scythopolitans had surrounded those

If this is the meaning of the word, the Judeans' test of loyalty is not simply that they remove themselves from mingling in the city, to preclude a fifth-column revolt, but that they must be willing to stay in a place devoted to the Scythopolitans' Gods, but alien and offensive to their own law and tradition.

²⁸⁷⁵ Contrast the ongoing suspicion that Josephus attributes to the non-Judeans (2.463, 466, 560).

²⁸⁷⁶ Although the verb *δελιάζω* is found occasionally in classical authors (e.g., 1-3 times each in Herodotus, Isocrates, Xenophon, Demosthenes, Polybius, Diodorus, Dionysius, Strabo), nearly half (31) of its 68 attestations before Josephus (who has it 7 times) come in Philo. This is another example of Josephus' "Philonic" language—or, since Plutarch will use it 13 times, of Philo's marking a new trend. The situation is similar for the cognate noun, on which see the note at 2.54.

²⁸⁷⁷ Or "slaughtered, cut the throats of." See the note at 2.457.

²⁸⁷⁸ *Life* 26: "many myriads" (literally "tens of thousands," though often simply "thousands").

²⁸⁷⁹ The phrase *διαρπάζω κτήσεις* is characteristic (cf. 2.494, 509; 4.488; 6.202; *Ant.* 20.113; *Life* 77) of Josephus. Before his time it is attested only in Diodorus, who uses it a remarkable 15 times in the preserved sections. This provides strong evidence for Diodorus' influence on Josephus.

Having expressed indignation at the Scythopolitan-Judeans' initial support for their fellow-citizens, Eleazar son of Ya'ir at Masada (7.365-66) will denounce what happened to them as payment for their misplaced loyalty (or trust).

²⁸⁸⁰ The following story, told in tragic terms, concentrates many themes of the entire *War*: shedding the blood of compatriots (as the rebels will later do in Jerusalem) is the most dreadful form of pollution, which can only lead to literal (as at Masada) or virtual (as in Jerusalem) self-destruction. Such general moralizing seems detached from the particular story at hand, for Josephus

does not appear to be suggesting that the Judeans of Scythopolis should have assisted their compatriots in destroying the city, or opposed the Scythopolitans earlier and faced death. The tragic ethos, indeed, seems to preclude the simple assessment of right and wrong. Perhaps it is only Simon's particularly energetic battles against Judean compatriots that mark him for retribution on a heroic scale (below).

²⁸⁸¹ This (*πάθος*) is one of many terms introduced in Josephus' prologue (1.9, 11 ["feelings"], 27 ["sufferings" and calamities]; see notes) that create a tragic tone for the work. In this story Josephus uses it to create a characteristic *inclusio*: it is also the second-last word (in plural) at 2.476.

²⁸⁸² This is the same *litotes* (*οὐκ ἀσήμων*) that Josephus uses of his own ancestry in *Life* 1.

²⁸⁸³ This cliché (*ῥώμη σώματος*), found elsewhere in Josephus (7.232, 384; *Ant.* 4.298; 17.273), turns up occasionally in earlier authors; it is most conspicuous by far in Diodorus (33 occurrences).

²⁸⁸⁴ See the note to "brazenness" (the same Greek word) at 2.108. At *Ant.* 4.298, Josephus' Moses makes these (*πάντων τῶν ῥώμη σωμάτων καὶ ψυχῆς εὐτολμίας*) the qualifications for military service, glossing the Bible's exclusion (Deut 20:8) of the "faint-hearted"; see Feldman's note *ad loc.* in BJP 3.

²⁸⁸⁵ Given that *War* has the adverb *ὄσημέραι* only 7 times, its reappearance a few sentences below (2.489), the only other instance in bk. 2, shows again Josephus' tendency to cluster his use of certain words.

²⁸⁸⁶ See the note to "deciding factor in war" at 2.52.

²⁸⁸⁷ See the note to "battle" at 2.464. Simon appears at first as a sort of Homeric hero, like Ajax, fighting best in front of the line (*Il.* 11.569-71), but he will end up tragically slaughtering his own children, like the Heracles of Euripides' play, and then himself, like the Ajax of Sophocles' play.

²⁸⁸⁸ The artificial expression *συγγενικός φόνος* (unattested elsewhere) reflects the strangeness of the phenom-

throughout the grove²⁸⁸⁹ and were shooting them down with spears,²⁸⁹⁰ he drew his sword and, though he charged at none of the enemy, since he could see their never-ending²⁸⁹¹ horde, instead he shouted out with great emotion:²⁸⁹²

472 I am suffering what is worthy for what I have done²⁸⁹³ on your side,²⁸⁹⁴ Scythopolitans,²⁸⁹⁵ [along with all] who²⁸⁹⁶ have proven²⁸⁹⁷ our goodwill²⁸⁹⁸ towards you²⁸⁹⁹ by such a great slaughter of blood-relations.²⁹⁰⁰ So then, to those for whom the foreign [element] has been found untrustworthy, whereas the domestic [element] has been desecrated to the extreme:²⁹⁰¹ let us die²⁹⁰² as under a curse,²⁹⁰³ by our own hands, for it is not fitting [for

enon. It is a particularly heinous form of the “Judean slaughter” predicted by Agrippa II for the Greek cities at 2.391; see note there. The adjective is cognate to “shared ancestry” at 2.466 and “blood-relations” at 2.472.

²⁸⁸⁹ See 2.467.

²⁸⁹⁰ This is the only explicit notice we receive of the method by which large numbers of Judeans were “slaughtered, sacrificed, butchered” in confined spaces (2.457, 461, 561). The scene, with thousands being killed by spears at a single event, is difficult to imagine in practical terms. (How many assailants were necessary? At what range? Where were they positioned?)

²⁸⁹¹ See the note at 2.218.

²⁸⁹² The adverb ἐκπαθῶς (which picks up the headword “suffering” at 2.469 and links with the cognate verb “suffering” that follows) occurs only here in Josephus; it is scarcely attested otherwise (before him only in Teles, *Pen. plout.* 35; after him, a few times in the 2nd-3rd centuries). The main user of the cognate adjective (cf. *Ant.* 15.28; 16.208) is Polybius (1.1.6, 7.8; 4.58.1; 8.9.4; 16.23.5), who is likely Josephus’ inspiration for this, as for much else. The adjective is only significantly attested otherwise from Josephus’ time onward (Plutarch, Appian, Athenaeus).

²⁸⁹³ This is the second example (see the note to “suffered” at 2.333) of *War*’s frequent juxtaposition of doing (or committing) and suffering (δράω + πάσχω)—the same thing that one perpetrated (in tragic reversal or “poetic justice”) or its consequence.

²⁸⁹⁴ Although the Greek MSS all have καθ’ ὑμῶν, which is printed by Niese and M-B and given a possible translation here (perhaps a difficult “against you” or possibly “from your side”), its awkward sense and its omission by the Latin and Hegesippus lead Thackeray and Pelletier to omit it.

²⁸⁹⁵ What follows in this sentence is very uncertain, because of textual difficulties compounded by interpretative problems.

²⁸⁹⁶ MSS PA have οἱ, whereas MLVRC (reflected in Latin and Hegesippus) offer ὅτι (“because”), which however seems easier to explain as a later effort at improvement. One’s choice here governs what precedes and what follows. The relative pronoun should look back to “Scy-

thopolitans,” but since it cannot easily do that, something like the bracketed phrase (as in Thackeray, LCL) must be supplied.

²⁸⁹⁷ MSS PA, in keeping with the relative pronoun “who” reading (see previous note), have this verb as plural; strangely, so does L. The others, which read “because,” in which case Simon is speaking of only his behavior, accordingly have a singular verb.

²⁸⁹⁸ See the note to “loyalty” at 2.476.

²⁸⁹⁹ Although the Greek has only πρὸς αὐτούς, without identifying the person (and so it would otherwise be read as 3rd person), Latin and Hegesippus have *vos* and *vobis* (“you”), respectively; something of the sort is necessary for the sense.

²⁹⁰⁰ See “relative-slaughter” and note in the preceding section.

²⁹⁰¹ This phrase (εἰς ἔσχατα) is bracketed in Niese’s text because it is not found in two of the better MSS (PA), and M has it in the singular.

²⁹⁰² The singular form of the verb (“let me die”) has by far the better attestation (MSS PAMVRC, Hegesippus *moriar*). Only MS L gives a misspelled (as present indicative) plural. That variation apparently leads Niese and Thackeray to favor it as the more difficult reading, which would also fit best with “to/for *those*” at the beginning of the sentence. If the text should be plural, it refers to the other Scythopolitan Judeans dying all around Simon, and perhaps anticipates the deaths of his family (2.475); the rest of the sentence then also needs to be plural (as Niese and Thackeray). Although I have followed the plural reading, I do so without confidence.

²⁹⁰³ I.e., from the divine, because of pollution caused by bloodshed. This is the only occurrence of ἐναγής in *War* (cf. 4.163 for a cognate noun; the adjective is also at *Ant.* 7.208; 9.226). One of the archetypes of such pollution acquired through killing one’s kin, involving this adjective, was the Athenian Megacles’ murder of the would-be tyrant Cylon’s followers in the 7th cent. BCE, though they had claimed the sanctuary of an altar. Herodotus 1.61 relates that the Athenian aristocrat Pisistratus would not produce children with his wife, the great-granddaughter of Megacles, because of the belief that her (Alcmeonid) family remained “under a curse”;

us to die] by those of the enemy.²⁹⁰⁴ **473** This should be at the same time both a worthy penalty, in view of my pollution,²⁹⁰⁵ and praise for manly courage, in order that none of my adversaries might boast about having butchered me,²⁹⁰⁶ or brag at my having fallen.²⁹⁰⁷

474 After saying these things, with eyes that were full of pity²⁹⁰⁸ but also enraged,²⁹⁰⁹ he carefully surveyed* his own family: he had a wife, children, and elderly parents. **475** First he drew up his father by his grey hair and thrust him through* with his sword; after him, the mother—quite willingly;²⁹¹⁰ and after these, both the wife and the children,²⁹¹¹ each one almost coming out to greet the sword and hurrying to anticipate the enemy. **476** After going through all of his family, and standing in plain view²⁹¹² on their bodies, he raised up his right hand so as to conceal it from no one and completely sank²⁹¹³ his sword into his own butchery:²⁹¹⁴ although a youth worthy of pity²⁹¹⁵ on account of his strength of body²⁹¹⁶ and determination of soul,²⁹¹⁷ because of his loyalty²⁹¹⁸ toward foreigners having met the consequent suffering.²⁹¹⁹

(18.5) **477** In addition to this loss²⁹²⁰ at Scythopolis, each of the remaining cities²⁹²¹ rose

cf. Herodotus 5.70; Thucydides 1.126.

²⁹⁰⁴ This speech clearly anticipates the first part of Eleazar's speech at Masada: after confessing the wrongs madly committed against compatriots, he recommends self-destruction as the only way out (7.332-33).

²⁹⁰⁵ See "under a curse" in this section and the notes to pollution language, which is central to *War's* narrative, at 2.132, 210, 424; to this noun at 2.455.

²⁹⁰⁶ Lit. "at my butchery" (or "sacrifice, slaughter, slaying"); the language is vivid and shocking, with strong cultic-sacrificial connotations. See the notes to "butchery" at 2.197 and "butchered" at 2.30; further, 2.476.

²⁹⁰⁷ See the note to "enemy" in the preceding section: a similar logic drives Eleazar's speech at Masada, as he wishes to prevent the Romans from taking any credit for killing his comrades (7.332-36).

²⁹⁰⁸ Pity and fear were identified by Aristotle (cf. *Poet.* 1449b.27; 1452.38; 1453a.3, 5, 1453b.12) as the hallmarks of tragedy; such language here and at 2.476 enhances *War's* tragic ethos. Note the programmatic use of "pity" at *War* 1.10 and the note to "compassion" at 1.12.

²⁹⁰⁹ This jolting combination of opposite emotions (ἐλεοῦσιν ἄμα καὶ τεθυμωμένοις), evoking utter helplessness, anticipates the same construction at 2.549 below.

²⁹¹⁰ Josephus uses *litotes* ("not unwilling").

²⁹¹¹ The murder-suicide scene with one's own family members, especially women and children (see the note at 2.192), anticipates *War's* final tragic act at Masada (7.362, 380-93).

²⁹¹² See the note to this phrase at 2.344.

²⁹¹³ The Greek (εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σφαγὴν ἐβάπτισεν τὸ ξίφος) is shocking, with the vividness of the verb

βαπτίζω, which normally (cf. the next occurrence, 2.556) refers to the immersion or sinking of something in water or another liquid. This baptism in blood might be highly resonant, given the language of sacrifice around it. Perhaps it serves as a kind of atonement; for death as atonement in rabbinic thought, see Schechter 1961: 304-10.

²⁹¹⁴ See the note to this charged language at 2.197.

²⁹¹⁵ See the note just above, at 2.474.

²⁹¹⁶ See the note to this characteristic Josephan phrase at 2.268.

²⁹¹⁷ This is the first appearance of a characteristic phrase in *War*, ψυχῆς παράστημα (also 2.580, 588; 4.34, 193; 6.13, 62, 81), equivalent to ψυχῆς παράστασις (cf. the chiasm at 2.580). Before Josephus, Diodorus is the heaviest attested user of this language—likewise alternating the synonyms (1.17.2; 117.11.4, 21.2; 33.16.2; 37.21.1; cf. Dionysius, *Dem.* 22).

²⁹¹⁸ Or "faithfulness toward, trust in" (πρὸς ἄλλοφύλους πίστις). At 2.467 the Scythopolitans have demanded a proof of Judean trustworthiness, on the same root (τὸ . . . πιστόν). At 2.472 Simon has ironically protested his demonstrated good will (εὐνοία) toward these foreigners. At 7.365 Eleazar ben Ya'ir will take the same ironic tone, citing *both* qualities: "[the Judeans'] good will and loyalty towards those people certainly benefited them!" That summary statement incidentally helps to confirm the compositional unity of *War*.

²⁹¹⁹ Josephus thus completes the *inclusio* begun with this word in the introduction to Simon's story at 2.469 (see note there).

²⁹²⁰ See the note to this word at 2.51.

²⁹²¹ Apparently the remaining cities of Syria (as 2.478), though in the next paragraph Josephus will indicate important exceptions. Possibly he means "the cities,

up against its own Judeans: the Ascalonites²⁹²² did away with 2,500, the Ptolemeans²⁹²³ 2,000—and they confined²⁹²⁴ quite a few.²⁹²⁵ **478** The Tyrians²⁹²⁶ also dispatched²⁹²⁷ large numbers,²⁹²⁸ though they kept guard over most²⁹²⁹ of them as detainees.²⁹³⁰ Both Hippenes and Gadarenes²⁹³¹ likewise got rid of²⁹³² the bolder ones,²⁹³³ whereas they held the more timid²⁹³⁴ in custody, as did the remaining cities of Syria,²⁹³⁵ each according to whether it had feelings of hatred or dread²⁹³⁶ against its Judean [element].²⁹³⁷

479 Only the Antiochenes, Sidonians, and Apameans²⁹³⁸ spared those residing with them²⁹³⁹ and did not support²⁹⁴⁰ either doing away with or confining²⁹⁴¹ certain of the

*Antioch, Sidon,
Apamea,
Gerasa spare
Judeans*

other than Scythopolis (just described), that had been targets of the Judean raids.” All the cities mentioned here were named as Judean targets—the Tyrians indirectly via their possession of Kadasa—following the Caesarean massacre (2.458-60). Josephus has thus created a ring composition, around the central story of Simon in Scythopolis (also one of the cities first attacked), to tell now of the cities’ revenge against their internal Judean populations.

²⁹²² See the note to “Ascalon” at 2.98. Ascalon was one of the Greek cities attacked and burned by the Judeans; see 2.459.

²⁹²³ See the note to “Ptolemais” at 2.67. Ptolemais was attacked by the Judeans at 2.459.

²⁹²⁴ See the note to “detainees” at 2.4.

²⁹²⁵ Josephus uses *litotes* (“not a few”).

²⁹²⁶ At 2.459 the Judeans have struck at the Tyrian possession of Kadasa.

²⁹²⁷ This is one of Josephus’ rarer euphemisms for killing; see the note at 2.242.

²⁹²⁸ See the note to this phrase, which will now appear more frequently (2.490, 509, 521, 535, 541), at 2.55.

²⁹²⁹ Possibly “more, many, the majority”: the MSS give slightly different readings.

²⁹³⁰ See the note to this word at 2.4.

²⁹³¹ These two are mentioned together as Judean targets (possibly, however, it was their dependent villages that suffered) at 2.459.

²⁹³² See the note at 2.463: another euphemism for killing.

²⁹³³ See the notes at 2.238, 267.

²⁹³⁴ Or “the more fearful.”

²⁹³⁵ This is an important explanation, suggesting that the Syrian cities, after being attacked by Judean groups from outside (2.458-59), mainly acted with a degree of restraint: they executed internal Judeans who seemed hostile, but incarcerated those who seemed to be no threat. This fits a well-documented pattern of the internment of aliens during times of conflict (e.g., in Britain, Canada, the U.S., and Australia during the world wars). Josephus will have Eleazar son of Ya’ir ignore such qualifications when he declares (7.367): “For you know that, of the cities in Syria, there is not one that did not do

away with its resident Judeans, though [those Judeans] were more hostile to us than to the Romans!”

²⁹³⁶ Although here Josephus appears to align the cities in groups, somewhat artificially, according to their hatred or dread of Judeans, at 2.461 he has more artfully combined the two emotions among and within the same cities.

²⁹³⁷ This is the first of 4 occurrences of τὸ Ἰουδαϊκόν in this section (also 2.487, 492, 495). As Schwartz (2005: 76) observes, the expression refers to the Judeans as an ethnic or national group (cf. 1.88, 93), particularly as a minority community in non-Judean cities (cf. 2.105). The form is rare in *Antiquities*, occurring only in experimental “Thucydidean” passages of *Ant.* 17-19 (17.41; 18.83). Schwartz does not observe that the context of reprisals within Greek cities here invites such a usage, and that the particular form (neuter substantive formed from the adjective or participle) is typical of *War*’s style (esp. in the prologue; cf. 1.4-5), which considerations appear to work against his proposal that Josephus’ usage changes (to a more “religious” conception) in his later works.

²⁹³⁸ These 3 cities, in contrast to those mentioned in the preceding paragraph (see note to “cities” at 2.477), were very far from Judea and presumably this is a reason why they and their possessions had not been targets of the Judean raids (2.458-60). Apamea and Antioch both sat on the Orontes River in the far N of the Syrian province. Apameans do not otherwise appear in *War*, though their city has been mentioned in 1.216-19. Although the Antiochenes are said to be calm at this point, Josephus will later report at length a serious campaign against their Judean population, initiated soon after Vespasian’s arrival in the region—by a renegade Judean anxious to prove his *bona fides*—and culminating with an unsuccessful appeal to Titus after the war that the Judeans of Antioch be expelled (7.41-62, 100-111). Sidon (see note at 2.101), some 40 km (25 miles) further up the coast from Tyre (itself already beyond the reach of Judean raids), was a large city deep inside the Syrian province.

²⁹³⁹ See the note to “settle” (the same verb) at 2.124.

²⁹⁴⁰ This construction is similar, also contextually, to “stood quite ready” at 2.463.

Judeans, quite possibly because on account of their own throning they disregarded their [potential] for such commotion,²⁹⁴² but more than that, it seems to me at least,²⁹⁴³ out of compassion²⁹⁴⁴ for those who, they could see, were engaged in no revolutionary activity.²⁹⁴⁵ **480** The Gerasenes not only did nothing to offend²⁹⁴⁶ those who had decided to remain where they were, but they escorted all the way to the borders²⁹⁴⁷ those who had expressed a desire to emigrate.

(18.6) 481 A plot materialized against the Judeans also in Agrippa's kingdom.²⁹⁴⁸ He himself had gone to Cestius Gallus in Antiocheia,²⁹⁴⁹ and to administer his affairs he had left behind one of his companions²⁹⁵⁰ by the name of Noarus,²⁹⁵¹ related by ancestry to King Soaemus.²⁹⁵² **482** Now men from Batanea²⁹⁵³ arrived, seventy in number,²⁹⁵⁴ the most

²⁹⁴¹ For the two options, see 2.477. For the latter word see the note to “detainees” at 2.4.

²⁹⁴² This notice incidentally confirms what Josephus has emphasized: that the other Syrian cities acted against their Judean populations largely from a fear of internal collaboration with external Judean attackers (2.458-61, 463). The cities named here were too large and remote to have such serious worries (though see the case of Antioch at 7.41-62).

²⁹⁴³ See the note to this distinctive Josephan phrase at 2.151.

²⁹⁴⁴ See the note to this keyword at 1.12.

²⁹⁴⁵ In the case of Antioch (7.41-65) Josephus will again stress that the Judean population was entirely peaceful, though maliciously accused by a traitor and then because of a fire in the city.

²⁹⁴⁶ The Gerasenes are thus anomalous: although among the cities ravaged by the Judean raiders (2.458), they are the only ones to emphatically reject retaliation. Although one might be tempted to speculate about an ancestral connection with Essenes (see note to *Essaesus* at 2.113), we have no evidence whatsoever of either the historical Gerasenes' mindset or what Josephus might have had in mind in making this exception.

²⁹⁴⁷ MSS PMV appear confused, along with the corrections of AL, in offering the genitive plural of either “hill” (ὄρος), which is plausible, or “whey, curd” (ὄρός), which is not. Latin and ps-Hegesippian *finis* confirms MSS RC in reading ὄρων from ὄρος (“border, boundary”).

²⁹⁴⁸ Or “sovereignty, jurisdiction” (βασιλεία). For Agrippa's territories see 2.223, 247, 252 with notes. The following story, in an entirely different context—the fallout from Philip b. Iacimus' survival of his mission to Jerusalem (cf. 2.421, 556), which is passed over in *War*—and with significantly different details, will be elaborated at *Life* 48-61; see the following notes.

²⁹⁴⁹ Josephus here anticipates 2.499-502: Cestius' decision to take the field against restive Judeans, evidently after consultation with King Agrippa, who contributes units to the Roman force. Contrast *Life* 49, where the king and Berenice have gone to meet Cestius

at Berytus (Beirut), providing the occasion for Varus' (here Noarus') misdeeds.

²⁹⁵⁰ See the note at 2.334.

²⁹⁵¹ Whereas *War* (also 2.483) names him thus (Νόαρος) here, *Life* gives him the Latinized moniker “Varus” (Οὔαρος; cf. *War* 2.247); on this and other differences, see the notes at *Life* 48-52 in BJP 9. Although Josephus does not make a connection with the tetrarch “Varus” of 2.247 above, it appears that he is the same person. So: Noarus/Varus inherited the tetrarchy of Iturea, around Mt. Lebanon, that had been given by Gaius Caligula to his father “King” Soaemus in 38 CE (Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.23; Dio 59.12.2; cf. *Life* 52); he governed it from the latter's death in 49 CE, until Claudius gave it to Agrippa II in 53 CE (*War* 2.247). This background explains both Agrippa's willingness to entrust Noarus with administrative responsibilities during his absence and the man's alleged openness to contemplate treachery against Agrippa, on the basis of his own frustrated royal claims (so *Life* 48-52).

²⁹⁵² Since Josephus has not mentioned this king before, he either assumes audience knowledge or includes a detail of no value, perhaps for local color. Noarus (see previous note) was son and heir of the Soaemus who had been tetrarch of Libanus (Mt. Lebanon) in Iturea, d. 49 CE; this is the Soaemus with whom Josephus connects Varus (Noarus) in the parallel passage at *Life* 52, and he may be the figure in view here (so M-B). Although that ruler was not technically a “king,” Tacitus (*Ann.* 12.23) calls him *rex*; so this label is not decisive. It is possible, however, that Josephus has in mind here the living Soaemus, King of Emesa (so Thackeray in LCL), a territory not far N of Libanus. This king is soon to play a significant role as a war-time ally of Rome and King Agrippa (see 2.501 and note; 3.68), and so might make a better candidate for the object of Agrippa's favor in preserving Noarus (2.483)—if he too was Noarus' relative. Josephus may also have confused the names or deliberately obfuscated an insignificant point.

²⁹⁵³ Heir of biblical Bashan, E/NE of the Golan (Gaulanitis), Batanea was the region in which King Herod had settled Judeans from Babylonia as a bulwark against ban-

highly esteemed of the citizens by reason of ancestry and shrewdness,²⁹⁵⁵ requesting an army so that if there should be some commotion²⁹⁵⁶ also involving them,²⁹⁵⁷ they would have a guard strong enough to prevent the attackers.²⁹⁵⁸ **483** But Noarus dispatched some of the royal armed soldiers by night²⁹⁵⁹ and did away with* all these²⁹⁶⁰ [men]. He really was ruining²⁹⁶¹ the kingdom: he had ventured this deed without Agrippa's knowledge, but had opted to behave impiously against compatriots because of an exorbitant love of money.²⁹⁶² And he continued acting savagely against the nation,²⁹⁶³ violating the law,²⁹⁶⁴ until Agrippa found out²⁹⁶⁵ and, though ashamed to do away with him on account of Soaemus,²⁹⁶⁶ ended his procuratorship.²⁹⁶⁷

484 Now the insurgents,²⁹⁶⁸ after taking possession of a certain fortress—although it was* called Cyprus,²⁹⁶⁹ it was sitting above²⁹⁷⁰ Hierichous [Jericho]²⁹⁷¹—butchered the guards²⁹⁷² and tore down²⁹⁷³ its defenses²⁹⁷⁴ to the ground. **485** During those same days

*Treachery
of Noarus in
Agrippa's
kingdom. Life
48*

dits in the rugged territory of Trachonitis further N/NE (*Ant.* 17.23-31). These talented soldiers have been led by Philip ben Iacimus' grandfather and father, from the time of Herod to that of Agrippa II. According to the *Life* parallel (48-61), Varus' mistreatment of the Bataneans was connected with his attempt to undermine Philip, one of King Agrippa's military mainstays.

²⁹⁵⁴ *Life* 54-57 has Varus dispatch 12 Judean elders from Caesarea to Batanean Ecbatana, mischievously instructing them to send 70 of their leading men to defend themselves against charges of revolt against Agrippa.

²⁹⁵⁵ Although unattested in other ancient Greek literature, this pair of virtues appears in the language of Josephus himself at *Life* 191-92, 278.

²⁹⁵⁶ See the note to this key word (15 of 16 occurrences in Josephus are in *War*'s 7 volumes) at 1.4.

²⁹⁵⁷ I.e., given the attacks on Judean communities nearby, described in the preceding paragraphs.

²⁹⁵⁸ This is a completely different motive from that alleged at *Life* 56-57: to defend their community against charges of rebellion. That the motive given here fits this context so well illustrates Josephus' breath-taking freedom to reconfigure the narrative according to present needs.

²⁹⁵⁹ According to *Life* 57, by contrast: Varus himself led a royal force to meet the delegates as they approached Caesarea, killed both the Caesarean delegates and the Batanean principal men, and proceeded towards Batanea.

²⁹⁶⁰ Josephus' Greek employs hyperbaton to build a sense of outrage. Although *Life* 57 also has Varus' force kill all the men, *Life* 58 has one escape to Ecbatana and warn the community to flee to the fortress-town of Gamala in the Golan.

²⁹⁶¹ Or "destroying"; see the note at 2.11.

²⁹⁶² See the note at 2.295: the only other occurrence of φιλαργυρία in Josephus. Since the noun is already an obvious vice, easily attributed to enemies (e.g., Polybius 18.55.1; 29.8.10; 29.9.12), it does not normally need an adjective describing excess—and so this collocation

is unattested in other authors. In this case, the money motive may simply be a device for sparing Josephus the description of a much more complicated situation, such as the coup attempt (through the removal of Philip ben Iacimus' support group) described in *Life* 49-61.

²⁹⁶³ I.e., the Judean people (ἔθνος).

²⁹⁶⁴ See the note to this phrase at 2.15. This is the last occurrence of παρανομέω in bk. 2.

²⁹⁶⁵ *Life* 61 alleges that Agrippa discovered instead that Varus was planning to do away with the Judeans of Caesarea "in a single day"; but in this version (2.457 above) the Judean community of Caesarea has already been destroyed.

²⁹⁶⁶ Josephus thus creates an *inclusio*, neatly concluding the brief episode that began with a reference to Soaemus (2.481); see the note there. Josephus appears to mean either that Agrippa does not wish to offend his ally Soaemus, the King of Emesa, which seems inherently more likely, or possibly that he takes pity on Noarus because of his father Soaemus and his loss of the father's territory.

²⁹⁶⁷ *Life* 61 has Agrippa replace Varus with one Aequus Modius (Lit. "fair measure").

²⁹⁶⁸ See the note to this key word at 1.10.

²⁹⁶⁹ At 1.417 (cf. *Ant.* 16.143) Josephus has illustrated King Herod's filial piety by noting his construction of this walled fortress, which excelled in both strength and beauty, in honor of his mother Cyprus, of distinguished Nabatean lineage (on whom see 1.181; *Ant.* 14.121; the name was often found thereafter among Herodian women). Josephus' construction ("Although . . .") seems to acknowledge the more famous island-province.

²⁹⁷⁰ See the note to "from above" (same word) at 2.47.

²⁹⁷¹ See the note at 2.257.

²⁹⁷² Or "cut the guards' throats." See the notes at 2.30 and 2.197.

²⁹⁷³ All 15 occurrences of καταρρίπτω in Josephus are in *War* 1-6. This is a high concentration, since the compound verb has only 15 attestations in all Greek lit-

also the mob of Judeans in Machaerus²⁹⁷⁵ persuaded the Romans who were guarding it to abandon the fortress and hand it over to themselves. **486** They [the Romans], having been wary²⁹⁷⁶ of a removal by force,²⁹⁷⁷ agreed to terms* with them: they would march out under the protection of a truce.²⁹⁷⁸ After receiving the assurances, they handed over* the fortress, which very [site] the Machaerites began to hold securely, asserting their control with a guard unit.²⁹⁷⁹

The Judeans of Alexandria

(**18.7**) **487** Now in Alexandria²⁹⁸⁰ there was ongoing civil strife²⁹⁸¹ among the natives²⁹⁸² toward the Judean [element]²⁹⁸³—ever since Alexander,²⁹⁸⁴ after he had used very eager Judeans²⁹⁸⁵ against the Egyptians,²⁹⁸⁶ gave as a reward²⁹⁸⁷ for their alliance the [privilege

erature before Josephus (absent from Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Polybius, Dionysius); Diodorus accounts for a third of those earlier occurrences, and Plutarch has the word only once.

²⁹⁷⁴ For these formidable defenses, see 1.417.

²⁹⁷⁵ Cf. Appendix A to BJP 1a. Machaerus, mentioned only here in *War* 2, was a remarkable natural fortress of a mountain, only about 6.5 km (4 miles) E of the Dead Sea, inland from coastal Callirhoe to its NW, but towering some 1100 m (3600 ft) above the lake. In 7.163-209 Josephus will describe the site in some detail, including a history of its occupation and fortification (by Alexander Jannaeus and later Herod), as context for his account of its capture by Lucilius Bassus in 72 CE. After Herod's death, the site had become part of Antipas' tetrarchy—and the reported location of John the Baptist's execution (*Ant.* 18.119).

²⁹⁷⁶ The verb εὐλαβέομαι appears only here in *War*, though several times later in Josephus.

²⁹⁷⁷ This caution has been amply justified in the narrative by the events described at 2.437, 450-52; cf. the case of Cyprus in 2.484.

²⁹⁷⁸ This is the last of 3 uses of this adjective, all in close proximity, in *War*; see the note at 2.437.

²⁹⁷⁹ This is a fateful moment, creating a strong center of Judean resistance (along with Masada) until its siege and capture in 72 CE by Lucilius Bassus: 7.190-209.

²⁹⁸⁰ See the notes to this major city at 2.309 and 385. For the Judean (normally “Jewish”) community in Alexandria, see Stuart Jones 1926; Bell 1941; Wolfson 1944; Tcherikover, *CPJ* (1957) 1.1-111; Kasher 1985; Méléze-Modrzejewski 1995: 161-83; Barclay 1996: 19-216; Alston 1997; Honigman 1997; Gruen 2002: 54-83, and relevant sections of Harris and Ruffini 2004.

²⁹⁸¹ See the notes to this keyword at 1.10 and 2.418: this is another example of στάσις being led by one party only (thus, neither factionalism nor sedition). The *ongoing* nature of the civil strife in Alexandria, reiterated by Josephus at 2.489 (also *Apion* 2.32, 70) and echoed by Philo (*Legat.* 120, 170 [Gaius' advisor Helicon is said to have been reared in it from the cradle]), is doubted by Gruen (2002: 54-83), who contends that the troubles

of 38 CE and immediately following were an aberration from the “predominantly positive” experience of Judeans in Alexandria, and that this conflict in 66 “need not reflect any long-standing enmity” (2002: 83). The difference of perspective may not by its nature be susceptible of resolution: it is entirely possible for minority communities to be doing well in many respects and still feel vulnerable, or on the other hand for numerous incidents of civil strife and violence, which might seem terrifying to outsiders, to leave some urban residents unmoved and still feeling entirely secure.

²⁹⁸² Or “the people from the region, locals” (ἐπιχώριοι).

²⁹⁸³ See the note at 2.478.

²⁹⁸⁴ Alexander the Great (356-323 BCE), who founded Alexandria in 332/31 BCE before returning N to cross the Euphrates and pursue his famous eastern campaigns. At *Apion* 2.35-37, 42-43 Josephus will assert even more vigorously that Alexander settled Judeans in his city, mentioning letters from Alexander in support (2.35, 37, 42, 72). There is some tension, however, with his claim at *Ant.* 12.8 that it was Ptolemy I Soter who, in capturing Jerusalem and taking many captives, used Judeans as garrison soldiers throughout Egypt and settled others in the capital, making them “equal citizens” with the Macedonians there (see note to “equal footing” in this section). But there Josephus is closely following *Ps-Aristeas* 13, which makes the same claim for Ptolemy I and relates (§ 9) that Ptolemy II released more than 100,000 Judean slaves. Since Alexander-related legends and fictional documents apparently abounded in Josephus' time (cf. the story at *Ant.* 11.329-39), one may easily imagine that Josephus simply believed (without evidence) that the great king had settled Judeans in the city and written letters to that effect. Judeans are reliably attested in Alexandria, by epitaphs (some in Aramaic and Hebrew), from the “early Ptolemaic” period; cf. Horbury and Noy 1992: nos. 1-8. For full critical discussion see Barclay 1996: 27-34 and BJP 10 *ad Apion* 2.35-43.

²⁹⁸⁵ The superlative προθυμοτάτοις . . . Ἰουδαίοις could mean that Alexander allegedly chose the most energetic Judeans or (perhaps more likely) that he chose

of] settling²⁹⁸⁸ in the city on an equal footing²⁹⁸⁹ with the Greeks.²⁹⁹⁰ **488** This honor for

the Judeans because they were as a group the most spirited in relation to others.

²⁹⁸⁶ Such a campaign by Alexander, using Judeans against Egyptians, is unattested outside Josephus. But the traditional hostility he alleges between the two peoples—evidenced by texts from the biblical Exodus through Philo (e.g., *Legat.* 162-70) and the *Wisdom of Solomon* (12-13) in addition to his *Apion* (e.g., 1.70, 223-27; 2.137-43)—along with the stereotypical Roman prejudice against Egypt from the time of Marc Antony, would no doubt have made the scenario of Judeans eagerly assisting Alexander, if Josephus had heard of this in traditional stories, both plausible to him and worth mentioning here.

²⁹⁸⁷ The language here (τὸ γέρας ἔδωκεν) anticipates *Apion* 2.42, where Alexander rewards the Judeans for their manly virtue and loyalty; it also supports basic themes in *War* (see Introduction).

²⁹⁸⁸ See the note to “settle” at 2.124 (μετοικέω): the sense is of “living alongside”—as a foreign or alien resident.

²⁹⁸⁹ The troublesome text might conceivably reflect copyists’ awareness of conflicting evidence for Judean status in Alexandria (see following note), or perhaps their (Christian) animosity toward the notion. MSS PA have forms of a non-word, ἰσουμοῖρα. Latin has *ius urbis aequale*. MSS MLVRC, followed by Naber, offer ἰσοτιμία (“equal honor, status”). Although that reads well, it would not explain the garbled reading of MSS PA—honored by Niese’s printing of an obelized ἴσου μοίρας—which is perhaps why Destinon conjectured ἰσομοιρία (“equal share”). Although this would be that word’s only occurrence in Josephus, it is otherwise well attested (e.g., Thucydides 7.75.6; Xenophon, *Cyr.* 2.2.21, 22; Aristotle, *Mund.* 396b; *Ath. pol.* 12.3; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 7.19.2, 28.3; 8.72.3; Plutarch, *Thes.* 24.2; *Dion* 38.5; *Mor.* [*Apophth. Lac.*] 226e); it is followed by Thackeray (LCL), M-B, Vitucci, and Pelletier. By itself, however, ἰσομοιρία does not have a political, much less a technical sense (contrast the also problematic but clearer ἰσοπολιτεία, on which see the note to “theirs” at 2.266); the context must clarify a political sense (as here and Plutarch, *Dion* 38.5), though the claim remains vague.

²⁹⁹⁰ Although Josephus can distinguish Greeks from Macedonians in Alexandria (*Apion* 2.70), he seems confused about the significance of the latter term (see the note later in this section). The “Greeks” here are the normally gymnasium-educated citizens of Alexandria. Cf. 7.44, where Josephus gives the Judeans of the 3rd major city of the empire, Antioch, an equal share (ἕξ ἴσου τῆς πόλεως τοῖς Ἑλλησι μετέχειν).

The question of Judean political status in Alexandria has been the subject of careful analysis and debate (see e.g. the works cited in the note to “Alexandria” at 2.487); it is tied up with larger debates about Alexandrian citizenship generally, in connection with ambiguous terminology used by the sources (Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, ἀστοί/ἀσταί, πολῖται), the precise relationship between the gymnasium/ephebate and Alexandrian citizenship, the rhetorical tendencies of both literary sources and some papyri, and the problem of the lines between cultural and political-citizenship claims. On all these matters, see Delia 1991.

For our purposes, the main points are now clear enough. Both Greek officials and Roman authorities were exercised to define and limit the citizen body of Alexandria, not least because citizens were exempt from the poll tax. Acquisition of citizenship was normally only by inheritance from citizen parents, and one’s credentials were subject to scrutiny upon reaching the age of majority (viz. 14); enrollment in tribe (*phyla*) and *deme*, the mark and proof of citizenship, followed at 18. Citizenship grants, which would have required either imperial beneficence or a vote of the entire citizenry, were rare: *Apion* (cf. *Apion* 2.28-32, with commentary by Barclay in BJP 10) is the only known Egyptian to have received the grant (cf. Tcherikover in *CPJ* 1.59-62; Delia 1991: 30-62).

Philo insists that “we are Alexandrians” (*Legat.* 194) and his embassy to Gaius hopes to clarify Judean “citizenship” (*Legat.* 349), though both terms could be understood as distinct from citizenship in the Greek *polis*. Josephus obfuscates the matter, whether intentionally or through faulty understanding, with his insistence on Judean *equality* (as here): at *Ant.* 14.188, where a bronze stele in the city authorized by Julius Caesar is supposed to declare that Judeans are “citizens in Alexandria”; in *Apion* 2.32-42, where he implies that Judeans are “Alexandrians” with a citizenship like that of *Apion*’s own; and at *Ant.* 19.280-85, where he purports to cite Claudius referring to something like equality of citizenship (ἴσης πολιτείας). Apropos of the last, we fortunately have a papyrus copy of Claudius’ letter (*CPJ* 153), in which the *princeps* tartly declares that although the Judeans enjoy much that is their own, even “an abundance of all good things,” they reside in Alexandria as a city that is *not* theirs; they have no right to intrude into games presided over by gymnasium officials.

The general situation therefore seems clear: Judeans were not Alexandrian citizens, though citizenship might have been possible for individuals from elite families of long residence who satisfied the requirements (cf. some

them endured with the Successors,²⁹⁹¹ who also marked off for them a place of their own,²⁹⁹² so that they might maintain their regimen²⁹⁹³ more purely with less of the foreigners' intermingling,²⁹⁹⁴ and they permitted them to use the title²⁹⁹⁵ "Macedonians."²⁹⁹⁶ And after the Romans took possession of Egypt,²⁹⁹⁷ neither the first Caesar²⁹⁹⁸ nor any

members of Philo's family, and the Helenos papyrus [CPJ 151]; cf. Wolfson 1944). Judeans whose families had long lived in Alexandria, however, belonged to a prominent community that enjoyed the free exercise of its own communal laws and traditions. They were represented at first by an ethnarch and then, when one of these died in 10-12 CE, by a *gerousia* (Philo, *Flacc.* 74).

²⁹⁹¹ This is the standard term (οἱ διάδοχοι) for Alexander's successors in the various parts of his empire, who contended with each other either for the entire empire (at first) or for larger shares of it, though here the Ptolemaic dynasty based in Alexandria are the successors in view. See the note to "Alexander" for relevant actions by Ptolemy I and II.

²⁹⁹² Elaborated at 2.495 as "what is called the Delta" (cf. note there). See Barclay's note to "waves" at *Apion* 2.33 in BJP 10, where Josephus cites Apion's claim that the Judeans had settled "along a harborless shore." Philo, a life-long resident of the city, is our crucial source for the 1st century CE, and he claims (*Flacc.* 55) that the Judeans lived throughout the city's 5 sectors, but so prominently in 2 of them that these were known as "Judean." Alston (1997: 170) adduces funerary evidence for the general intermingling of Judeans with the rest of the population. See further the note to "Delta" at 2.495.

²⁹⁹³ This is a term that *War* has used only of the Essenes thus far; see the note at 2.137.

²⁹⁹⁴ Josephus uses the verb ἐπιμίσγω only here. Earlier relevant usage, concerning the spread of Egyptian customs to the Judeans (ironically there including circumcision), includes Herodotus 2.104.4 (also 1.185.7; 2.151.2). It is also ironic that the famous *Boule* papyrus from Alexandria (CPJ 150, 20-19 BCE) requests a council from Augustus precisely so that the Alexandrians might *preserve their citizen body* and the ephebate free of contamination from the uncultured and unschooled (thus un-Greek).

²⁹⁹⁵ See the note to "used the title of" at 2.27.

²⁹⁹⁶ Cf. *Apion* 2.36: the Judeans' tribe has "the title 'the Macedonians,'" and *Ant.* 12.8 (Judeans had "equal rights" with the Macedonians). This appears to be another case of Josephus' misunderstanding of Alexandrian realia—along with the rights affirmed by Julius Caesar (in this section) and possibly even the nature of the "Delta" (2.495). Although the city had been founded by Macedonians in the 4th century BCE, "Macedonian" seems to have had no currency as a political, cultural, or tribal division in Josephus' time. Since we do know

that military units in various jurisdictions were sometimes called "Macedonian" (*War* 5.460-65, where a joke is made on the difference between the Macedonian name and the sad reality of a unit; cf. also the honorary use of "Thracian" for military units), and papyri reveal Judeans in Alexandria in the late 1st century BCE identifying themselves "Macedonians" (CPJ 142-43), the best explanation of Josephus' claim appears to be that some Judeans (had) belonged to such a prestigious military unit, but Josephus misunderstood the title as a mark of distinction for all his compatriots in the city. Cf. Tcherikover in CPJ 1.14-15; Delia 1991: 31 n. 115; Barclay *ad Apion* 2.35-36 in BJP 10.

²⁹⁹⁷ In 30 BCE, under Octavian (later Augustus): following the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra at Actium in 31 and their deaths in Alexandria.

²⁹⁹⁸ This must be Julius Caesar, who lent his name via Augustus to later *principes*, among whom it became a title after Nero (cf. Suetonius' biographies, which begin with Caesar; Matyszak 2006). Josephus tends to see him, rather than (Caesar) Augustus, as the founder of the monarchical system in Rome (cf. *Ant.* 19.172-75, 184, 187-88). We can be nearly certain of Josephus' meaning here because at *Ant.* 14.188 he says explicitly that *Julius* Caesar set up a bronze stele in Alexandria declaring Judean citizenship there, and at *Apion* 2.37 he speaks of a monument in Alexandria confirming (unspecified) rights given Judeans by "Caesar the Great" (a term shown by *Ant.* 14.160 and *Apion* 2.61 [*maximus Caesar*, as distinct from *Caesar Augustus*] to indicate the dictator).

Josephus may well have in mind the story he has told at 1.190-94 of the extraordinary support rendered to the Caesarian cause in Egypt by Herod's father Antipater, with a Judean force and the support of the high priest Hyrcanus, which also persuaded the Judeans of Leontopolis to join Caesar (cf. the note to "Delta" at 2.495). Apparently Josephus thinks that during his Alexandrian stay in 47 BCE Caesar issued the decree of *Ant.* 14.188, in gratitude for this Judean support. Critics nowadays generally agree, however, that Josephus has confused Caesar with his adopted son Augustus, for whom the name Caesar was still crucial (esp. before 27 BCE), and under whom Alexandrian-Judean rights were more likely to have been established by Rome (whereas Egypt was not yet a Roman possession in Caesar's time). A survey of issues and review of scholarship are in Pucci ben Zeev 1998: 26-31; cf. Barclay *ad Apion* 2.37 in BJP 10.

of those [who came] after him undertook to diminish the honors of the Judeans from Alexander.²⁹⁹⁹ **489** Yet their engagements³⁰⁰⁰ with the Greeks were never-ending,³⁰⁰¹ and with the leaders punishing many from both sides,³⁰⁰² day after day,³⁰⁰³ the civil strife was aggravated³⁰⁰⁴ all the more.³⁰⁰⁵

490 Now at that time, since [matters] had also been stirred up among the others,³⁰⁰⁶ the [matters] among those ones³⁰⁰⁷ became all the more inflamed.³⁰⁰⁸ In fact, while the Alexandrians were holding an assembly³⁰⁰⁹ concerning the embassy that they were about to send off to Nero,³⁰¹⁰ large numbers³⁰¹¹ of Judeans streamed together³⁰¹² into the amphitheater along with the Greeks.³⁰¹³ **491** When their foes recognized them, they immediately began to shout out, saying “Enemies!” and “Spies!” Then they jumped up and laid hands on them. Whereas the remainder were disposed of while trying to escape,³⁰¹⁴ they arrested

*Violent clashes
between
Judeans and
Alexandrians*

²⁹⁹⁹ The same claim (rights granted by Alexander or “the kings,” restated when Alexandria fell under Rome, preserved by successive Roman rulers) is made in Josephus’ version of Claudius’ letter (*Ant.* 19.280-85) and at *Apion* 2.35-38.

³⁰⁰⁰ See the note to this word at 2.232.

³⁰⁰¹ See the note to “ongoing civil strife” at 2.487.

³⁰⁰² This noteworthy even-handedness of the authorities recalls the actions of the forces under Felix during the first stages of the conflict in Caesarea (2.267-70): though predisposed against the Judeans, according to Josephus they arrested and punished the ringleaders on *both* sides, though this only aggravated the strife.

³⁰⁰³ See the note to this phrase (Greek adverb) at 2.470.

³⁰⁰⁴ See the note to “provoked” at 2.8.

³⁰⁰⁵ Given that Josephus uses *μᾶλλον* only 18 times in all of *War* 2, it is striking that he re-uses it in a similar construction in the next sentence here (cf. 304-5 for a similar re-use).

³⁰⁰⁶ Apparently meaning: in neighboring Judea (as the preceding paragraphs have described), especially in the Greek cities there.

³⁰⁰⁷ Apparently: the Alexandrians.

³⁰⁰⁸ This (*μᾶλλον + ἐξῆρα*) is a collocation that Josephus will use again at *Ant.* 5.249; 13.36; 15.420; 18.67; 20.184; *Life* 298. Although often employed from Galen onward, especially from John Chrysostom, it is barely attested before Josephus’ time (Theophrastus, *Hist. plant.* 5.9.7; Nicolaus, *Frag.* 101 line 704 [Müller]). Perhaps this usage was inspired by Nicolaus, though Josephus does not use the passage in which he has the phrase.

³⁰⁰⁹ This is a full citizen assembly in the Alexandrian amphitheater (2.490, 492). This and the similar description of an anti-Judean assembly in the theater of Antioch (7.47) represent the only occurrences of *ἐκκλησιάζω* in *War*. It appears 7 times in *Antiquities*, but in post-Hasmonean times only of Greek or Roman assemblies in a theater or agora (*Ant.* 17.161; 19.158; cf. 4.302; 6.56; 8.277; 10.93; 12.316).

³⁰¹⁰ Since Josephus does not explain the purpose of this embassy we are left to infer that, like previous Alexandrian embassies in the 1st century CE (Philo, *Legat.* 349-72; *CPJ* 155-56; cf. 157 [*Acts of the Alexandrian Martyrs*]), it was planning an appeal to the emperor concerning the conflict with the Judeans just mentioned. Rather than trying to send their own counter-embassy as before, however (perhaps out of fear that it will do more harm than good, given the situation in Judea), the Judeans apparently try to interfere with the Alexandrians’ plans.

³⁰¹¹ See the note to this phrase at 2.55.

³⁰¹² See the note to this formulaic phrase in *War* 2 at 2.170.

³⁰¹³ Josephus gives no clear indication of the Judean intruders’ aims. Were they trying to assert their own “Alexandrian” identity by claiming a say in the sending of this embassy? From his language (whose relationship to historical events remains unclear), the motive seems to be disruptive. Ironically, on any reading this behavior comes close to what Claudius forbids the Judeans to do (*P. Lond.* 1912, col. V. line 92): “not to intrude themselves [*μηδὲ ἐπισπαίειν* as generally emended] into the games presided over by gymnasiarchs and *kosmetai*”—i.e., into activities open only to the gymnasium-educated and Alexandrian citizens. The action and the violent response to it both fit with the kinds of tensions we see in Philo, the papyri, and the *Acts of the Alexandrian Martyrs*.

³⁰¹⁴ All Greek MSS have a form of *διαφθείρω* (“dispose of”), which implies a contrast between those who died *in the confusion of trying to get away* and the 3 who were captured and *deliberately* burned alive—as Whiston read it in the 1730s. On the strength of the Latin *dissipati sunt*, however, Naber (followed by Niese and other modern editors) conjectured that the verb was rather the similarly formed *διασπείρω* (here passive: “were scattered”), producing instead a contrast between those who died and those who survived by fleeing (being scattered). Although this solution would yield a clearer sense, the

three men and dragged them off to incinerate³⁰¹⁵ them while alive.

492 Now all the Judean [element]³⁰¹⁶ was roused for the defense. At first they targeted the Greeks with stones, but soon they grabbed torches and rushed to the amphitheater, threatening to incinerate³⁰¹⁷ to a man³⁰¹⁸ the populace within. And this they would have gone ahead and done if Tiberius Alexander,³⁰¹⁹ the governor of the city, had not checked their tempers. **493** In trying to recall them to their senses,³⁰²⁰ this [man] certainly did not begin by a resort to weapons but, secretly sending in³⁰²¹ the notables³⁰²² to them, kept appealing to desist and not to goad³⁰²³ the Roman army against their own [interests]. But the factious,³⁰²⁴ while jeering at³⁰²⁵ this appeal, kept slandering Tiberius.³⁰²⁶

*Tiberius
Alexander
deploys two
legions against
Judeans*

(18.8) 494 And he, since he also fully understood that revolutionaries³⁰²⁷ would not desist without great calamity,³⁰²⁸ he let loose on* them the two legions of Romans in the city³⁰²⁹ and with them 2,000³⁰³⁰ soldiers from Libya,³⁰³¹ who were present by chance, for the ruin³⁰³² of the Judeans. He permitted [them] not only to do away with [the Judeans],

Latin does not seem to provide a strong enough basis for rejecting the unanimous (and *difficilior*) Greek witness; it could be explained by the desire of its author for the more natural contrast. A larger number of deaths may also provide a better explanation for the Judean community's immediate and forceful response.

³⁰¹⁵ See the note at 2.58. More than half of the 25 occurrences of the dramatic verb καταφλέγω in Josephus are in *War* 2. This is the first of 3 in rapid succession (2.492, 494), with 2 more following soon after (2.505, 509).

³⁰¹⁶ See the note at 2.478.

³⁰¹⁷ See the notes at 2.58, 491.

³⁰¹⁸ The adjective αὐτανδρος is a Hellenistic construction, which is first used with any regularity (after some fragmentary attestation) by Polybius, who has it 13 times. He or Diodorus (22 occurrences) is the most likely inspiration for Josephus, who uses it 7 times (*War* 1.368; 3.293; 4.243, 302, 604; *Ant.* 14.275—enough to show that it is not a source vestige). If only 3 Judeans had been killed (see the note to “escape” at 2.491), the word may be included to suggest that the Judean response was excessive. Even if many had been killed, it was apparently somehow extreme: Josephus makes it the response of “factious . . . revolutionaries” (2.493-94), with whom the governor tries unsuccessfully to reason.

³⁰¹⁹ The former prefect of Judea and the famous scion of a prominent Judean-Alexandrian family. See 2.220 and notes.

³⁰²⁰ See the note to this verb at 2.345, its only other occurrence in *War* 2 (where it introduces Agrippa II's great speech).

³⁰²¹ See the note at 2.8.

³⁰²² This is Josephus' standard language for the elite group of any city or nation; see the note to “powerful [men]” at 2.239. The phrase can also refer to a prominent figure's friends (see the note to “acquaintances” at 2.433).

³⁰²³ See the note at 2.316.

³⁰²⁴ See the note at 2.91.

³⁰²⁵ This is the only occurrence of the compound verb καταχλευάζω in Josephus, and it is rarely attested otherwise, before his time only in Dionysius (*Comp. verb.* 25). The simple verb is much more common.

³⁰²⁶ If not calling him Tiberius Alexander, Josephus otherwise calls the prefect by his Greek cognomen, Alexander (2.220, 223, 309, 497; 4.617; 6.242; *Ant.* 20.100-103). The shift here appears to be for the sake of variety.

³⁰²⁷ See the note at 2.407.

³⁰²⁸ A programmatic term (συμφορά) in *War* and in bk. 2, enhancing the tragic tone; see the notes at 1.9; 2.286. This entire progression of response, from sending negotiators to unleashing the military, closely resembles the situation faced by Archelaus in Jerusalem at the opening of this book (2.8-12); even the vocabulary is very similar.

³⁰²⁹ These were the *legiones III Cyrenaica* and *XXII Deiotariana*; see the note to “two legions” at 2.387. The descendants of both will be used in the suppression of the Bar Kochba revolt (132-135 CE), during or after which the latter appears to have faced destruction or disbandment (Parker 1992: 162-63).

³⁰³⁰ So MSS PAM, whereas LVRC and Latin both have 5,000—about the size of another legion. But the contrast with “legions of Romans” suggests auxiliary forces. If the figure of 2,000 is correct, this would be the equivalent of about 4 standard cohorts.

³⁰³¹ In Roman parlance this is N Africa, from Egypt to the Straits of Gibraltar; see the note at 2.115. *Legio III Augusta* was the only legion in Africa during this period, based in Ammaedara (mod. Tunisia); see notes to 2.383.

³⁰³² This (ὄλεθρος) is a late addition to Josephus' lexicon of disaster, though he will use it often in the sequel (15 times in *War* 2-7, 44 times in *Antiquities-Life*).

but also to plunder their possessions³⁰³³ and incinerate³⁰³⁴ the houses. **495** They rushed into what is called the Delta³⁰³⁵—that is where the Judean [element]³⁰³⁶ had been joined to the city—and fulfilled their instructions, not indeed without bloodshed.³⁰³⁷ For the Judeans, who had formed themselves up and positioned their own best-armed men at the front,³⁰³⁸ held out for a long time; but once they buckled,³⁰³⁹ they were destroyed³⁰⁴⁰ without restraint.³⁰⁴¹

³⁰³³ See the note to this characteristic Josephan phrase at 2.468.

³⁰³⁴ See the notes at 2.58, 491.

³⁰³⁵ For the phrase “what is called the Delta,” see also Herodotus 2.13.9; Polybius 3.49.7 (with reference to the Nile Delta), either of whom Josephus may be deliberately echoing. Since Philo explains that the city had 5 sectors, named after the first letters of the alphabet (hence there was a Delta sector), scholars have naturally accepted Josephus’ word that the Delta sector was the Judeans’ base in Alexandria. Yet there are two problems. (a) A papyrus that incidentally mentions the Delta sector (*BGU* 4.1151)—making no connection with Judeans—appears to locate it to the W of the city (Fraser 1972: 2.109-10 n. 270), whereas Josephus (or at least Apion, whom he does not challenge on this point) apparently understands the Judean base to be on the E side (*Apion* 2.33, 36 with Barclay *ad loc.* in BJP 10). (b) In the very passage where Philo mentions the 5 sectors (*Flacc.* 55), he foregoes the opportunity to highlight the Delta sector or mention any Judean associations with it, rather insisting that *two* sectors are distinctively Judean and that his compatriots are actually dispersed throughout the whole city.

I would point out further that Josephus does not speak here of a Delta *sector* or quarter, as Philo does. His language is vaguer. It may be no more than a curious coincidence that he uses the very same expression, “what is called the Delta” (τὸ καλούμενον Δέλτα), in a different but related context. At *Ant.* 14.133 (par. *War* 1.191) he has just related the shift toward Julius Caesar of many petty rulers in the E, including the high priest Hyrcanus and Herod’s father Antipater, after the death of Pompey (48 BCE). When Mithradates of Pergamum tries to join Antipater in Egypt, Antipater assists him in getting past a defiant Ascalon; and when the Judeans of Leontopolis also then attempt to halt this expedition, Antipater persuades them (with letters from the high priest) to join the Caesarian cause (14.127-32). Now, “after he [Mithradates] had gone all around *what is called the Delta* (τὸ καλούμενον Δέλτα), he engaged the enemy near *what is called the ‘Judeans’ Camp*” (περὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ἰουδαίων στρατόπεδον; 14.133).

This association between an ancient Judean settlement in Egypt and “what is called the Delta”—i.e., here the Nile Delta, which is how “Delta” is consistently used in connection with Egypt outside of Josephus (e.g., Herodotus 2.13.9, 15.2, 11; Plato, *Tim.* 21e; Theophras-

tus, *Hist. plant.* 1.9.5; Polybius 3.49.7; Strabo 1.2.23 *et passim*)—might conceivably explain the origin of his association of Judeans with “what is called the Delta.”

This episode of Antipater’s military support for Caesar appears to have occupied a fixed place in his thinking, from *War* (1.191) to *Antiquities* (14.133, 188) and *Apion* (2.32-37). It appears to be the basis for his firmly held but apparently mistaken notion that Caesar established citizen rights for Judeans in Alexandria (in return for precisely this help). Although he had spent some time in the city (*Life* 415), we have noted his apparent confusion about inscriptions from “Caesar” and about the alleged Macedonian tribe to which Judean citizens belong (see notes at 2.488). Since he is the only one to connect Alexandrian Judeans with “what is called the Delta,” and it is a problematic connection, and his language here is exactly that of *Ant.* 14.133, it seems plausible that he has also confused the second-hand story of an old Judean base in the (Nile) Delta with the Delta sector of Alexandria—if only as a momentary slip of the mind by word association, which he failed to correct.

³⁰³⁶ See the note at 2.478.

³⁰³⁷ Although I normally translate Greek *litotes* as a strong positive to avoid the ambiguity of an English double negative, here the emphatic form makes the meaning clear. The adverb ἀναίμωτί is Homeric (*Il.* 17.363, 497; *Od.* 18.149; 24.532), but rarely attested between Homer and Philo’s 6 occurrences (viz., Apollonius of Rhodes, *Arg.* 2.986; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 6.51.3), though it appears 6 times in *War* 1-6 (also *Ant.* 19.115) and plentifully from Josephus’ time onward. Once again he seems to be using language that has recently come into vogue.

³⁰³⁸ This innate military know-how of untrained men fits with Josephus’ portrait of Judeans throughout *War*; see Introduction.

³⁰³⁹ MSS PAL have the aorist participle of ἐκκλίνω, which Josephus can use in battle contexts for “giving way, yielding, falling out (of order), escape”: 1.306; 3.208. MVRC have simple κλίνω (“turn something aside, cause it to lean”). But Niese prints Bekker’s conjectural emendation based on ἐγκλίνω, which is followed by other modern editors. For a similar use of ἐγκλίνω in battle conditions, see 5.288.

³⁰⁴⁰ See the note at 2.11.

³⁰⁴¹ See the note to this characteristic adverb at 2.328.

50,000 Judean
dead in
Alexandria

496 And their ruin³⁰⁴² took various forms,³⁰⁴³ some being taken down while in the open,³⁰⁴⁴ others being pressed together³⁰⁴⁵ into the residences. The Romans also set these on fire, when they had first thoroughly plundered³⁰⁴⁶ what was inside,³⁰⁴⁷ and neither pity³⁰⁴⁸ for the infants nor respect for the elderly³⁰⁴⁹ entered their minds: they advanced through every age group, killing, **497** so that the whole place was overflowed with blood and 50,000³⁰⁵⁰ corpses were piled up.³⁰⁵¹ And the remainder would not have survived, had they not resorted to supplications.³⁰⁵² Alexander³⁰⁵³ felt compassion³⁰⁵⁴ for them and directed the Romans to withdraw. **498** Whereas they stopped the slaughtering at a mere gesture,³⁰⁵⁵ having this quality of obedience³⁰⁵⁶ as a habit, the Alexandrian populace was

³⁰⁴² See the note to this newly introduced word at 2.494.

³⁰⁴³ It is typical of Josephus' style that he will re-use this word (παντοῖος) a few sentences later in a completely different context (2.504: "of all sorts")—the only occurrences in *War* 2.

³⁰⁴⁴ Or "flat area" (ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ), as distinct from the built-up residential area.

³⁰⁴⁵ See the note at 2.227.

³⁰⁴⁶ This is the only occurrence of the doubly compound verb προδιαπράζω in Josephus. It is not attested in literature before him; after him, only in Cassius Dio (37.14.3) and occasionally in Byzantine authors. It is another example of highly compact, artful diction in this narrative.

³⁰⁴⁷ Killing, plundering (with raping), and then burning was the normal sequence—the only one that made military sense—for Roman soldiers destroying a city, and for other ancient armies: Polybius 10.15.4-16.9; Livy 29.20.6-7; Ziolkowski 1993. The same will happen on a larger scale to Jerusalem (e.g., 6.352-55; note 6.363 on the disappointment concerning plunder).

³⁰⁴⁸ For this tragic language, see the note at 2.474.

³⁰⁴⁹ Cf. 2.465: young and old, along with women, are the stock foci of pity during a siege. See the notes to "women and children" at 2.192 and to "children and women" at 2.237.

³⁰⁵⁰ In his speech at Masada, Eleazar son of Ya'ir, who further inflates the already large numbers given in bk. 2 for his rhetorical purposes, remarks that according to report the number of Judeans in Egypt who died under torture at this time "exceeded perhaps 60,000" (7.369). The city probably had more than 500,000 residents in total, with as many as 180,000 Judeans there (Delia 1988: 287-88). Still, either number of victims is difficult to conceive of (though not demonstrably wrong) on practical grounds. That there was a horrendous massacre seems likely from its impact on this narrative, which would otherwise be subject to disproof in Josephus' Rome.

³⁰⁵¹ See the note to this formulaic language at 2.30.

³⁰⁵² This is the first of 6 occurrences of ἱκετηρία in

Josephus, all in *War*. His usage is normally metaphorical, as here: the word literally indicates the palm branches, woven with white thread, that served as the symbol of supplication when held up and waved. That literal meaning will appear at 2.637 below.

³⁰⁵³ The prefect, Tiberius Iulius Alexander (2.492, 494).

³⁰⁵⁴ This is the only occurrence of κατοικτείρω in *War* (see "compassion" at 1.12 for the important semantic group), though Josephus uses the verb several times in *Antiquities*.

³⁰⁵⁵ Literally "nod" (νεῦμα), though the term is used of field signals generally, such as the lowering of an arm or even a trumpet blast (3.15, 89; 6.256; cf. 2.173). Although Josephus' audiences lacked the resources to track them, this noun and the next (see next note) afford us some insight into his tendencies. This immediate response by the soldiers anticipates 3.15 and especially 3.89, the digression on the Roman army in which Josephus asserts that the legions respond instantly to signals. But in the only remaining occurrence of the term (6.256), Titus is made to look foolish as he yells and waves his arms in futility (trying to prevent the temple's burning), while his soldiers either cannot or will not—because of their rage—listen to him. Josephus thus elaborately sets up the image of invincible Roman discipline, partly in order to undermine it and favorably compare Judean martial virtues.

³⁰⁵⁶ This (τὸ πειθήνιον) is another substantivized neuter adjective serving as a noun, typical of *War* but unattested otherwise before the early 3rd-cent. CE historian Herodian (2.20.2). Since there are only 4 occurrences in Josephus, all in *War* (2.300, 498; 3.104; 5.121), for the knowing reader this anticipates the next one, in Josephus' glowing description of the legions' allegedly unswerving obedience (3.104). But the final occurrence in *War* (5.121) undermines that portrait, showing a Titus who is furious at his legions' *disobedience* and citing *Judean* obedience to their commanders as a counter-example. See, similarly, the previous note. Here Josephus' rhetoric aims to highlight the Alexandrians' lack of self-control.

hard to call off,³⁰⁵⁷ because of their overwhelming hatred,³⁰⁵⁸ and could scarcely be dragged away from the bodies.³⁰⁵⁹

(18.9) 499 Whereas³⁰⁶⁰ such terrible suffering³⁰⁶¹ transpired³⁰⁶² in Alexandria, to Cestius it no longer seemed proper, with the Judeans having been made the enemy³⁰⁶³ on every side, to remain idle. 500 From Antiocheia³⁰⁶⁴ he took with him³⁰⁶⁵ the Twelfth Legion as a whole,³⁰⁶⁶ plus 2,000 select [soldiers] from each of the others,³⁰⁶⁷ as well as six cohorts of infantry³⁰⁶⁸ and four wings of cavalry,³⁰⁶⁹ and advanced to Ptolemais.³⁰⁷⁰ In addition

*Cestius takes
field with
Twelfth Legion
and kings.
Life24*

³⁰⁵⁷ The elegant, doubly compound adjective *δυσανάκλητος* occurs only here in Josephus. Attested before his time only in a fragment of the minor (3rd-cent. BCE) medical writer Erasistratus (frag. 253 [Garofalo]), it appears nonetheless in Josephus' contemporary, Plutarch (*Thes.* 24.1; *Mor.* [Adul. amic.] 74e), and several 2nd-century and later authors, though it remains rare. Once again his *War* appears to be at the height of lexical fashion.

³⁰⁵⁸ Alexandrian and especially Egyptian hatred of the Judeans has been clearly asserted as a premise for this episode (see the note to "ongoing civil strife" at 2.487) and it will remain a constant theme until it is fully developed in the *Apion*, which is configured as a response to Egyptian-Alexandrian slanders: 1.70, 223-27; 2.1-2.

³⁰⁵⁹ The image, sharpened by contrast to the disciplined legionaries, is of dogs or other animals governed by instinct rather than reason or self-control.

³⁰⁶⁰ Whether Josephus uses the *μὲν . . . δέ* construction to do more than create a segue back to Syria and Judea—e.g., whether he also means to compound Judean suffering everywhere by now describing Cestius' campaign—is unclear.

³⁰⁶¹ See the note to this recently emphasized keyword at 2.469.

³⁰⁶² See the note at 2.315. This is the only other occurrence of the construction in Josephus; the juxtaposition of *πάθος* ("suffering") confirms the growing sense of impending doom.

³⁰⁶³ Or "having been drawn into hostilities." The passive voice of *ἐκπολεμῶ* (active: "provoke, incite to conflict, war; make an enemy") emphasizes the suffering of the Judeans at the moment. It is not clear whether this reflection on the Judean situation should belong to the thought of Cestius (he could see that Judeans were the common ingredient in conflicts throughout Syria and intended to punish them for being drawn in, or something of the sort) or to the narrator (Josephus is summarizing for his audience that the Judeans in the Syrian cities as in Alexandria had been pushed into the position of "enemy" through no fault of their own; Cestius did *not* understand this, but only saw conflicts that needed ending).

³⁰⁶⁴ Since the legionary camps were not in Antioch itself, but distributed to the N, E, and S, Josephus is simplifying what must have been a considerable logistical

effort orchestrated by Cestius from the provincial capital. See Rey-Coquais 1978: 67-71 and the following notes.

³⁰⁶⁵ Cf. the similar list of legionary and allied soldiers gathered by the Syrian governor Varus in 4 BCE for a campaign against rebellious Judeans after Herod's death (2.67) and that collected for the war itself (3.66-69). In this case (and probably in bk. 3), the impressive list of military resources at the Romans' command serves to heighten the disaster that they faced at the hands of the Judeans, in keeping with *War's* purpose of correcting disparaging accounts of the Judean side (1.1-8).

³⁰⁶⁶ *Legio XII Fulminata* was based in Raphanea (see *War* 7.18), at least from 62 to 69 CE (Rey-Coquais 1978: 67). It was recovering from a recent and terrible disgrace in the Armenian campaign of 63 CE: under the inept supreme command of Caesennius Paetus (see further 2.510), the 4th and the 12th had to beat a disgraceful retreat from the Parthian Vologeses, earning the contempt of Corbulo (Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.7-17); they were reportedly so depleted and dispirited that Corbulo sent them back to Syria and refused to use them in the remainder of his campaign (15.26).

As the southern-most of the Syrian legions—a mere 25 miles (40 km) NW of Emesa, which contributed allied forces to the campaign (2.501)—*Legio XII* was at this point perhaps easiest to muster, 3 years after the Armenian debacle and at full strength for a Judean campaign. A legion's potential strength was approximately 5,400, and Josephus' language suggests that the 12th had been fully replenished.

³⁰⁶⁷ These *vexillationes* amounted to 4 cohorts from each legion (a total of 24 centuries). The separation of cohorts from a legion for specific duties was common practice. Aside from *XII Fulminata*, the legions based in Syria at this time (see Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.5 for the basic disposition in Tiberius' time, though Corbulo's campaigns had caused temporary shifts in the late 50s and 60s) were *III Gallica* (soon to depart for Moesia), *VI Ferrata* (possibly now at Raphanea with the 12th), and the renowned *X Fretensis* at Zeugma, in the NE of the province on the Euphrates (cf. Rey-Coquais 1978: 67-71; Dabrowa 1986, 1993, 1996).

³⁰⁶⁸ See the notes to "cohort" at 2.11 and "Sebastenes" at 2.52. These 6 cohorts matched the entire auxiliary forces of Judea (3,000 to 3,500 men), though in this case they appear to have been raised from Syria. Since

to these [he took] allied forces from the kings:³⁰⁷¹ from Antiochus³⁰⁷² 2,000 cavalry and 3,000 infantry,³⁰⁷³ all archers,³⁰⁷⁴ and from Agrippa³⁰⁷⁵ the same number of infantry, though fewer than 2,000 cavalry.³⁰⁷⁶ **501** Moreover, Soaemus³⁰⁷⁷ was following with 4,000, of which a third were cavalry and the majority archers.³⁰⁷⁸ **502** Vast numbers of auxiliaries were also recruited from the cities,³⁰⁷⁹ inferior to the soldiers in expertise,³⁰⁸⁰ certainly,

that province hosted about 21,000 legionary soldiers, we would expect close to the same number of auxiliaries. We do not have a clear picture of the number, size, and location of auxiliary forces in Syria at this time, though two diplomas from 88 CE indicate the presence of at least 19 infantry cohorts and 8 cavalry wings (Butcher 2003: 412): so at least about 14,000 troops, possibly 2-3,000 more.

³⁰⁶⁹ See the note to the same phrase at 2.67 (under Varus) and to “cavalry” at 2.235. These would probably be auxiliary units numbering about 500 each, each under the command of a Roman *praefectus alae*—a prestigious position for young equestrians who had already commanded infantry cohorts and served as legionary tribunes (Parker 1992: 188-90; Webster 1979: 112-13). The Roman auxiliary configuration of 3,000 infantry (6 x 500) plus 2,000 cavalry (4 x 500) thus matches more or less precisely the forces contributed by the next two allied kings.

³⁰⁷⁰ The Greek sentence here is long and complex, ending only at the end of § 501, with the contributions from Agrippa and Soaemus included before the conclusion that Cestius advanced to Ptolemais. Since the sentence must be divided in English, I have brought that clause forward.

For Ptolemais see the notes at 2.68 and especially 2.187-88. Since 54 CE, the city has been a Roman *colonia*; cf. Millar 1990. At 2.477 Josephus has included this city among those that massacred their Judean inhabitants—2,000 in that case.

³⁰⁷¹ The same 3 kings will also provide allied forces, though strangely fewer in number, to the major campaign of Vespasian and Titus (3.68).

³⁰⁷² This is Antiochus IV, king by Claudius’ grant of Commagene (ca. 41 CE), the mountainous region N of the province of Syria (in S Turkey, N of the Euphrates), between Cilicia to the W and Armenia to the E (*Ant.* 19.273-76), with Samosata on the Euphrates as its principal city. Like other client kings in the area, Antiochus had close relations with the Herodians; his son would marry the daughter of Agrippa I (sister of Agrippa II), Mariamme (*Ant.* 19.355). Although Antiochus remained a loyal ally of the Romans and duly contributed to the war effort (cf. 3.68; esp. 5.460-65), one of the moving “reversals of fortune” charted by Josephus in *War* involves this king’s eventual removal from his kingdom

by the Syrian governor (Caesennius Paetus), in 72-73 CE, on false charges of having entered an alliance with Parthia against Rome (7.219-243).

³⁰⁷³ The total of 5,000 from each these client kings roughly matched the 5,000+ Syrian auxiliaries and the strength of the 12th legion.

³⁰⁷⁴ Martial archery, especially on horseback, was a famous specialty of the Parthians and of peoples originating from Parthia or Mesopotamia; cf. Herod’s employment of Zamaris’ force of 500 mounted archers from Babylonia (*Ant.* 17.23-31). Since infantry soldiers or horsemen who were also accomplished archers presented a much more serious threat to their enemies, being able to strike with accuracy from a distance, Josephus often pauses to mention separately the number of archers (e.g., at 3.68).

³⁰⁷⁵ This is the Judean king Agrippa II, a prominent figure in the narrative thus far, last mentioned at 2.481-83 (as having gone to confer with Cestius in Antioch).

³⁰⁷⁶ The Latin offers 1,000 (*mille*), though with no evident basis.

³⁰⁷⁷ According to *Ant.* 20.158, Soaemus (not to be confused with the father of the Noarus recently mentioned, tetrarch of Libanus; 2.481, 483; cf. *Life* 52) was the brother of Azizus, king of Emesa. When Azizus, who had undergone circumcision in order to marry the Herodian Drusilla (sister of Agrippa II; 20.139), died in 54 CE, his kingdom went to Soaemus. Emesa (mod. Homs) was a small independent kingdom in Syria, N of Iturea on the Orontes River near its source. Soaemus will be a significant ally of Rome in the war (3.68), and will later join in the campaign of Caesennius Paetus to oust King Antiochus from Commagene (7.219-26).

³⁰⁷⁸ The simplest reading is that the “majority” represent the other two thirds: the infantry. This would also match Soaemus’ contribution to Vespasian’s force (3.68): 2,000 *infantry archers* and 1,000 cavalry. The awkwardness of dividing 4,000 in the same way no doubt explains the variant “3,000” in MS V.

³⁰⁷⁹ Presumably: from the cities of Syria, the Decapolis, and the coastal region, mentioned in the preceding paragraphs as sites of serious conflict with their Judean inhabitants. Berytians are specifically mentioned at 2.506.

³⁰⁸⁰ Or “experience” (ἐμπειρία).

but compensating³⁰⁸¹ for their lack of skill with feelings of eagerness and hatred against the Judeans.

Agrippa himself was present with Cestius, in charge of the route³⁰⁸² as well as the assistance efforts.³⁰⁸³

503 Cestius took a part of this force with him and rushed against a stalwart city³⁰⁸⁴ of Galilee, Chaboulon,³⁰⁸⁵ which is called “[the City] of Men”;³⁰⁸⁶ it separates Ptolemais from the nation.³⁰⁸⁷ **504** He seized it deserted of men,³⁰⁸⁸ because the horde had retreated into the hills,³⁰⁸⁹ but it was full of all sorts³⁰⁹⁰ of goods: these he allowed the soldiers to plunder, whereas the town, though he was amazed at its beauty (it had residences constructed like those in Tyre, Sidon, and Berytus),³⁰⁹¹ he set on fire.³⁰⁹² **505** Then, after over-running the countryside, plundering everything that presented itself,³⁰⁹³ and incinerating³⁰⁹⁴ the sur-

Cestius attacks western Galilee

³⁰⁸¹ For the rare compound verb, see the note to “refills itself” at 2.190.

³⁰⁸² As a Judean king with wide experience in the area, Agrippa would be able to advise on the most suitable approaches for military strikes and the likely tactics of the enemy given the terrain. This pointed reference to expert intelligence makes the following terrain-related catastrophes suffered by Cestius’ forces all the more shocking.

³⁰⁸³ Greek τῶν συμφερόντων [ἐξηγούμενος] could have several meanings because of ambiguity in the verbs: “in charge of, leading, interpreting, or figuring out” and “what would benefit the army, the care of the troops, what would be advantageous, what would happen (eventualities), or the assistance efforts”—as here. The last possibility might mean that Agrippa, still under 40 years of age, was in charge of all the supporting allied forces.

³⁰⁸⁴ Josephus often applies this adjective (καρτερός)—“solid, steadfast, secure, tough”, an admirable trait also of men (see the note to “endurance” at 2.138)—to cities (*War* 1.321; 2.511; 3.111, 157, 290, 302; 4.412; *Ant.* 2.250; 3.304; 4.171; 5.5, 72; 8.306, 383; 10.136; 13.16, 202; 15.297; *Life* 327). His re-use of this phrase after just a few sentences (2.511) is typical of his tendency to use words or phrases in clusters.

³⁰⁸⁵ Although the Greek MSS, Latin, and Hegesippus agree on *Zabulon*, we follow Niese’s conjecture: the description fits precisely Josephus’ descriptions elsewhere of *Chabulon* (mod. Kabul) in the foothills of W Galilee next to the Plain of Acco-Ptolemais, about 14 km SE of Ptolemais, and marking the W extremity of Lower Galilee (3.38; *Life* 213, 227, 234). The site served for some time as a base for Josephus in his defense of Galilee against Roman forces based in Ptolemais. An early scribal misreading or “correction” of serifed X for Z (to match biblical Zebulun) is easy to imagine.

³⁰⁸⁶ The phrase ἡ καλεῖται ἀνδρῶν, found in all the MSS, though not in Hegesippus, has caused commentators much difficulty. Niese printed it but suspected a corruption; Thackeray reads καλεῖται with “Chaboulon,” dropping the relative pronoun and the genitive noun on

the hypothesis that the latter was read in from the next line (which also has ἀνδρῶν), though this would not explain well the deliberate look of the whole phrase. Pelletier offers “La Salle,” following Schalit’s proposal (*Namenwörterbuch* 1968 ad Ζαβουλών) that Josephus wrote not the genitive plural but the rarely attested singular ἀνδρῶν (“men’s apartment,” by extension “banquet-hall”), noting the large Herodian ἀνδρῶνες described by Josephus at 5.177 (cf. *Ant.* 15.199; 16.164 variants). This ingenious solution may be correct, though it remains a problem whether an audience would likely have caught the meaning. On the other hand, a town nick-named “Men’s Town” or similar (even if the name were invented by Josephus) would suit the context, given its stalwart nature. On the theme of manliness in Josephus’ *War*, see the Introduction and Mason 2007d.

³⁰⁸⁷ I.e., from the Judean *ethnos*, a point made also at Josephus’ other references to Chabulon’s location (3.38; *Life* 213, 227, 234). Josephus will repeat this unusual usage at 2.510.

³⁰⁸⁸ Josephus appears to intend humorous irony: the City of Men was now deserted of men, who had fled in fear. Note the very similar language at 2.515 below, though with a different point and context.

³⁰⁸⁹ Chabulon was in the foothills of Galilee, which lay to the E.

³⁰⁹⁰ See the note to “various forms” at 2.496: a relatively rare word re-used within a few sentences.

³⁰⁹¹ These are the 3 major cities of the Phoenician coast, moving N from Judea; Tyre sits only about 45 km (28 miles) N of Ptolemais.

³⁰⁹² Capturing, plundering (at the general’s signal), and burning were the normal consequences for rebellious towns that fell into Roman hands; see the note to “carnage” at 2.70.

³⁰⁹³ This is the only occurrence of the neuter-participle construction τὸ προσπίπτον in Josephus, though he often uses the compound verb. For the construction with πᾶν, see Aristotle, *Ep.* 4.16; Polybius 10.46.2; otherwise, Isocrates, *Fil. Jas.* 10; Plato, *Tim.* 45c.

³⁰⁹⁴ See the note at 2.58.

rounding villages,³⁰⁹⁵ he returned to Ptolemais.

506 During the plundering raids by those who were Syrians (especially by the Berytians),³⁰⁹⁶ the Judeans had regained their courage,³⁰⁹⁷ for they well realized that Cestius had marched off; they unexpectedly attacked those who had been left behind and disposed of³⁰⁹⁸ some 2,000 of them.³⁰⁹⁹

*Cestius attacks
Joppa, kills
8,400*

(18.10) 507 After Cestius had decamped³¹⁰⁰ from Ptolemais, he himself reached* Caesarea,³¹⁰¹ but he sent a section of the army on ahead to Joppa:³¹⁰² he had given the order to garrison the city, if it were capable of being captured, whereas if they [those inside]³¹⁰³ were to detect the assault³¹⁰⁴ beforehand, they should wait for him and the remaining force.³¹⁰⁵ **508** Some of the latter having pressed on by sea³¹⁰⁶ and others by land, they took* the city easily, from both sides. And since the residents could not get past them to run, much less so as to prepare for a battle, they [the Romans] attacked them and did away with them all, along with their families, and after they had plundered the city they set it on fire.³¹⁰⁷ **509** The number of those slaughtered was 8,400.³¹⁰⁸

Similarly, he [Cestius] also sent to the Nabatenean³¹⁰⁹ toparchy,³¹¹⁰ which shared a border³¹¹¹ with Caesarea, large numbers³¹¹² of the cavalry:³¹¹³ they cut through the land³¹¹⁴

³⁰⁹⁵ See the note to “carnage” at 2.70. These must be only the small villages in the immediate vicinity of Chabulon, since at 2.510 Cestius will dispatch a general with an army to deal with Galilee as a whole.

³⁰⁹⁶ Although it had been more than 80 years since Marcus Agrippa’s foundation of Berytus as a Roman *colonia* (see the note to “Berytus” at 2.67), it is easy to imagine that the veterans’ ethos of the city would particularly energize feelings of auxiliaries levied there against the rebelling Judeans.

³⁰⁹⁷ Note the similar structure at 2.541 below.

³⁰⁹⁸ Or “destroyed”; see the note at 2.11.

³⁰⁹⁹ Perhaps we should understand that these vulnerable soldiers included largely inexperienced recruits levied from the cities (2.502), who were motivated chiefly by animus against the Judeans.

³¹⁰⁰ Although this is the first occurrence of ἀναζεύγνυμι in *War* 2, and only the second in *War* (cf. 1.357), Josephus will use it again in rapid succession at 2.513, 540. It seems part of his distinctive lexicon; see the note at *Life* 44 in BJP 9.

³¹⁰¹ The procurator’s headquarters (cf. 2.16 and note), where serious and programmatic conflicts have broken out, leading to the current conflict (2.266-92, 457). Caesarea would be a 2-day march from Ptolemais with an army, about 61.5 km (38 miles). On marching distances, see Gilliver 1999: 49-53.

³¹⁰² The major Judean port after it was given to Herod by Octavian; see the note at 2.97. Cestius thus sends part of the army nearly twice as far down the coast as his stop at Caesarea (another 51.5 km, 32 miles): 2 days’ further march at reasonable speed or conceivably a forced march of one day for a small tactical unit. As the context indicates, he hopes for a surprise attack to secure these two port cities (presumably, to block escape as well as

additional recruiting or resupply from abroad) before moving inland to Galilee and Judea.

³¹⁰³ Since the verb is plural, whereas the antecedent “city” is singular, and the Latin has *oppidani* as subject, Destinon conjectured that οἱ ἔνδοξ dropped out in transmission. It would be no great surprise, however, if Josephus treated “city” (representing citizens) as a plural subject here.

³¹⁰⁴ Or “the approach” (ἡ ἔφοδος).

³¹⁰⁵ Given the immediate sequel, in which they do wait for the remaining army, we should apparently assume that the advance force believed the Joppans had detected their approach. It is not clear, however, that Cestius himself goes to Joppa.

³¹⁰⁶ Cestius appears thus far as a formidable tactician, using not only surprise but an unexpected approach from the sea by part of his force to surround the people of Joppa.

³¹⁰⁷ See the note to “carnage” at 2.70; the pattern is set at 2.505 and repeated at 2.509.

³¹⁰⁸ Such a number, unusually specific (not rounded to the thousand), would presumably represent Joppa’s entire population.

³¹⁰⁹ See the note to “a district of theirs” at 2.291. Josephus portrays this elusive area of Nabata as a Judean enclave of villages in the foothills of NW Samaria, some 12 km (7.5 miles) SE of Caesarea.

³¹¹⁰ Josephus evidently uses the word loosely, since 3.54-55 describes 11 administrative toparchies (cf. Pliny, *Nat.* 5.70), not including this one. This is the reading of MSS PAL Latin; although MVRC read ἐπαρχία (“province”), that would be yet more problematic. See also the following note.

³¹¹¹ The only other occurrence of ὄμορος in *War* describes the toparchy of Acrabeta, sharing a border with

and disposed of³¹¹⁵ a vast horde of the locals, plundered their possessions,³¹¹⁶ and incinerated³¹¹⁷ the villages.³¹¹⁸

(18.11) 510 Into Galilee he [Cestius] sent Caesennius Gallus,³¹¹⁹ commander of the Twelfth Legion,³¹²⁰ after handing over as much of a force as he reckoned would suffice against the nation.³¹²¹ **511** The most stalwart city³¹²² of Galilee, Sepphoris,³¹²³ welcomed* this man with an acclamation, and the remaining cities—on the good advice of this one³¹²⁴—remained placid. But the factious and bandit-like element³¹²⁵ fled to the center-most mountain in Galilee, which lies opposite Sepphoris and is called Asamon.³¹²⁶ Gallus led his force against them. **512** Now as long as they were higher up, they easily fended off the advancing Romans, and destroyed about 200 of them; but when the latter had gone

*Caesennius
Gallus in
Galilee*

Judea (2.235). If Josephus imagined these two Judean enclaves in Samaria as a pair, that might explain his transference of the term “toparchy” from Acrabeta to Nabata; see previous note.

³¹¹² See the note to this word at 2.55.

³¹¹³ For Cestius’ considerable cavalry assets, see 2.500-1.

³¹¹⁴ I.e., with speed on horseback, they cut down trees and grain crops, laying waste to the land; for the expression cf. Thucydides 1.81.6; 2.21.2-3, 55.1, 56.4, 57.2, 73.2, 74.1; 3.88.4; 5.14.3, 31.3; Isocrates, *Big.* 13; *Pac.* 100; Plato, *Resp.* 471c.

³¹¹⁵ Or “destroyed”; see the note at 2.11.

³¹¹⁶ See the note to this characteristic Josephan phrase at 2.468.

³¹¹⁷ See the note at 2.58.

³¹¹⁸ This is the pattern of Roman military behavior in this context (2.505, 508); see the note to “carnage” at 2.70.

³¹¹⁹ Although A. Caesennius Gallus is named again in *War* only at 3.31 (a retrospective glance at this same campaign), the audience might easily make inferences about his ability as commander from the performance of his 12th Legion, which will be central to the following story. Caesennius came from a favored senatorial family in Rome: his father or perhaps uncle, L. Iunius Caesennius Paetus, had been ordinary consul in 61 CE under Nero, and married a Flavia Sabina (*ILS* 995), perhaps Vespasian’s niece, in the early 70s (Townend 1961: 59; cf. Syme 1958: 595 n. 5); another L. Iunius Caesennius Paetus, apparently another son (Carroll 1979: 198), would be suffect consul probably in 79 CE (Gallivan 1981: 189; *PIR*² C 168, 173, 174). The father had incurred Nero’s displeasure as governor of Cappadocia for reckless handling of the 4th and 12th legions (see next note); he was removed from command of the Armenian campaign in 63 CE (Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.6-28), but would find favor again as Vespasian’s relative and as *legatus* to Syria in 72-73 CE, where yet again he appears to have engaged in reckless behavior—now toward the client royals of Commagene (*War* 7.59, 219-38). Cf. Garzetti 1966.

The man in question here (*PIR*² C 170) would go on to govern Cappadocia-Galatia in 80-82 CE (Sherk 1951: 39-40; Syme 1977: 39 n. 11). This implies that he had risen to the consulship in the meantime, though if so his dates in that office are unknown. At any rate, Josephus’ mention of this younger Caesennius in connection with *Legio XII Fulminata* would certainly have caught the attention of an élite Roman audience in the 70s. For the *cognomen* Gallus, see the note at 2.280.

³¹²⁰ See the note at 2.500.

³¹²¹ Cf. 2.503, where Josephus also speaks of the Judean “nation” (ἔθνος) in Galilee.

³¹²² See the note to this phrase at 2.503 above. At 3.33-34 Josephus elaborates on the situation and strategic importance of Sepphoris.

³¹²³ See the note to this important city, the effective capital of Galilee now, at 2.56. For Sepphoris’ peaceful disposition (and the hostility this reportedly engendered among some other Galileans) see also *Life* 30, with the note to “Sepphorites” in *BJP* 9 and *Life* 39. Both the coinage of the city, which styled itself as “City of Peace” and Neronias (until Nero’s death in 68), and the archaeology from the time of the war attest to its commitment to peace with Rome. Cf. Meshorer 1982: 2.167-69 and Meyers 2002.

³¹²⁴ By contrast, a much earlier Syrian legate had attacked and burned Sepphoris, also marching from Ptolemais, as his first effort to quash the revolt that broke out on Herod’s death in 4 BCE (2.68), because a leading rebel had based himself there (2.56). In the narrative, this “good advice” is easily intelligible as a lesson learned 70 years before.

³¹²⁵ For “factious” see the note at 2.91; for the collocation with “bandit,” 2.235.

³¹²⁶ Mt. Asamon (Atzmon) sits directly across the Beit-Netofa valley from Sepphoris, 7.5 km (4.67 miles) to the N, in front of Josephus’ chosen fortress town of Iotapata (the next hill N). Asamon is indeed the highest point in the region, at about 550 m (1800 ft), and is accurately described as the most central mountain in Galilee. It was a natural choice for local rebels.

around and come to be in the higher elevations,³¹²⁷ the others were quickly worsted. They could neither, being lightly equipped, take on the armed troops in close combat³¹²⁸ nor, in the rout,³¹²⁹ escape the cavalry.³¹³⁰ Consequently, although a few escaped notice in the rough terrain, over 2,000 were destroyed.

Cestius moves inland, to Gabaon

(19.1) **513** Gallus, for his part, since he could see nothing that was still conducive to revolution in Galilee, returned with the army to Caesarea.³¹³¹ But Cestius decamped with his entire force³¹³² and put in at Antipatris,³¹³³ and when he learned that a considerable force³¹³⁴ of Judeans was gathered in a certain tower called Aphek,³¹³⁵ he sent on ahead men to engage [them]. **514** Yet before it came to blows³¹³⁶ they thoroughly scattered the Judeans in alarm,³¹³⁷ and after they came upon their camp, deserted, and the surrounding villages, they set them on fire. **515** From Antipatris, Cestius proceeded to Lydda³¹³⁸ and seized* the city empty of men,³¹³⁹ for the whole horde had gone up to Hierosolyma on account of the Feast of Tenting.³¹⁴⁰ **516** Fifty of those who did show themselves he disposed of³¹⁴¹ and, after burning down their town, continued advancing further. He went up

³¹²⁷ Cf. Gichon 1981: 49-50, for discussion of the maneuvers involved, with illustrations. It seems that the Judeans had simply seized the slopes of Mt. Atzmon facing the plain and within striking distance of the advancing Romans. Gallus, while maintaining pressure on the front, sent a detachment around the enemy's flank, to approach them from the higher elevation behind. In this scenario, Gallus bears some blame for walking into such an obviously disadvantageous battle; but the Judeans reveal a complete lack of experience in selecting a position so short-sightedly.

³¹²⁸ I.e., the infantry who have climbed up behind the Judean rebels.

³¹²⁹ Josephus uses τροπή only twice in *War* 2, and in close proximity (also 2.541). This illustrates his tendency to cluster uses of many words and phrases.

³¹³⁰ As educated audiences knew, the cavalry would remain in the flat plain, where they had the clear advantage over foot-soldiers; see the note to "plain" at 2.12.

³¹³¹ At 2.507 it seemed that both Cestius and Caesennius Gallus remained based in Caesarea, notwithstanding the following suggestion that the rest of the army joined the units that had gone ahead to Joppa.

³¹³² Although Josephus' contrastive sentence structure might suggest that Caesennius Gallus and the 12th legion were not part of Cestius' force, later passages make it clear that the 12th remained the principal component of that army and its catastrophe (5.41; 7.18).

³¹³³ This was an important site at the crossroads of the inland N-S route from Caesarea to Lydda (cf. 2.515) and S, or E to Jerusalem via Beit Horon, and the W-E route from coastal Apollonia to Gophna and on to Jerusalem from the N. It was about 45 km (28 miles) march from Caesarea, conceivable as a single day's forced march for an unencumbered unit in a hurry (which the context may suggest), but more likely 2 days' march for an army in normal conditions; see Gilliver 1999: 49-53.

Refounded by Herod, and named in honor of his father Antipater (*War* 1.417), approximately on the site of biblical Aphek (see the later note in this sentence) and Hellenistic Pegae ("springs"), the city marked the nexus of Judea, Samaria, and the coastal plain. It achieved fame primarily through its mention in the NT Acts (23:22-23) as a stop on Paul's journey from Jerusalem to Caesarea, and the transition-point from hostile Judean territory. For the archaeology, see Appendix A to BJP 1a.

³¹³⁴ Translating Greek *litotes*: "a force of not a few."

³¹³⁵ Migdal Aphek (Aphek Turrus) was a village (mod. Mejdel Yaba) a short distance E of Antipatris.

³¹³⁶ See the note to this formulaic phrase in Josephus at 2.77.

³¹³⁷ The sentence recalls, also in its diction, the Judean flight before Varus in 4 BCE (2.72).

³¹³⁸ See the note to this important site at 2.242.

³¹³⁹ Note the very similar phrasing at 2.504. Since these are the only two passages in Josephus that contain this verb with "empty" or "deserted" of "men", this is another example of his tendency to cluster phrases in proximity and not use them again.

³¹⁴⁰ I.e., Booths or Tabernacles (*Sukkot*), in September/October. This is the only reference to the festival by this name in *War* (cf. *Ant.* 4.209; 8.100, 123, 225; 11.77, 154; 13.46, 241, 372; 15.50). The name σκηνοπηγία is taken from LXX Deut 16:16 (cf. John 7:2), for Hebrew חג הסוכות. This is the week-long autumnal harvest festival beginning on Tishri 15, soon after Yom Kippur. It required Israelites to live in booths, recalling the period in the wilderness en route to the promised land (Lev 23:33-43; Deut 16:13-16; Ezra 3:4; Neh 8:14-17). It seems likely, given Agrippa's presence as adviser on local matters (2.502), that Cestius pressed his advance partly in order to catch the Judeans while they were distracted by this major festival.

³¹⁴¹ Or "destroyed"; see the note at 2.11.

through Baithoron³¹⁴² and set up camp*³¹⁴³ at a certain place called Gabao, fifty *stadia*³¹⁴⁴ away from Hierosolyma.

(19.2) 517 When the Judeans realized that the war was already coming near³¹⁴⁵ to the mother-city,³¹⁴⁶ they quit the festival and went to their weapons; taking great confidence in their mass, in disarray³¹⁴⁷ [but]³¹⁴⁸ with a yell they leapt forward into the fight, taking no cognizance of the seventh-day rest, though the sabbath³¹⁴⁹ was certainly their paramount devotional commitment.³¹⁵⁰ 518 Now the temper that had shaken them out³¹⁵¹ of their piety made them also strain for the fight: they attacked the Romans with such fury³¹⁵² that they tore through their ranks and advanced through their middle,³¹⁵³ devastating³¹⁵⁴ [them].

*Judeans leave
Feast of Booths
for successful
attack on army*

³¹⁴² See the note to this important site—comprising two towns, respectively at the upper and lower ends of a steep and difficult pass—at 2.228; for Cestius’ disastrous return via the same route, see 2.542–56 below.

³¹⁴³ This is the first of 3 occurrences of the verb στρατοπεδεύω in close proximity (also 2.528, 530), whereas it appears elsewhere in bk. 2 only at 2.44.

³¹⁴⁴ Gabaon (Gibeon, el-Jib): about 9 km or 5.6 miles from Upper Beit Horon, about over half-way along the road from there to Jerusalem. Cestius will return here in retreat from Jerusalem and Mt. Scopus (2.544). It is about 32 km (20 miles) from Lydda: a difficult day’s march for an army, given the challenge of the Beit-Horon pass just mentioned (see Gilliver 1999: 49–53 on marching distances). As Josephus’ language everywhere emphasizes, Cestius was determined to move at the greatest possible speed and deprive the enemy of time to prepare.

Gibeon was famous from the Bible: its Hivite inhabitants reportedly arranged a deceitful treaty with Joshua, who made them woodcutters and water-carriers for the Israelites (Josh 9:3–6, 16–27).

³¹⁴⁵ When this was is far from clear, though a decision on the matter affects one’s reading of the sequel (2.521). Bar-Kochva (1976: 18) imagines that the Judeans’ strike was more or less immediate upon the army’s arrival at Gabaon, while the rear was still ascending Beit-Horon (2.521), but this is difficult to square with Josephus’ narrative, which implies that a camp was established before the first contact (2.516). Gichon (1981: 53) has Cestius camping overnight at Gabao and the Judeans planning an ambush for the next day, which occurred “possibly not later than the early morning hours of the second day of Cestius’ advance into the mountains.” That makes sense of this passage, though it still leaves problems for Simon’s attack on the rearguard “ascending at Beit-Horon” (2.521: see further the notes there).

³¹⁴⁶ See the note to this word at 2.400.

³¹⁴⁷ The adjective ἄτακτος here usually implies a contrast with τεταγμένος (Xenophon, *Mem.* 3.1.7; *Cyr.* 1.4.22, 6.35; Plato, *Leg.* 780d; Hippocrates, *Humor.* 9; Demosthenes, *Aristog.* 1.15; Aristotle, *Cael.* 280a; *Probl.* 920b; Theophrastus, *Hist. plant.* 1.8.3; Polybius 38.6.4;

Plutarch, *Mor.* 5a; 416c), thus: “disordered, random, unformed, in disarray, unsettled” over against “ordered, arranged, positioned, formed up, arrayed, settled.” Josephus mainly uses the privative adjective in military contexts, to indicate a disorderly force (*War* 1.382; 2.517; 3.113; 4.231; 6.255; *Ant.* 15.150–52). The most obvious contrast is with the precisely ordered Roman legions and auxiliaries (cf. esp. 3.70–109). See also the note to “irregular exercises” at 2.649.

³¹⁴⁸ “But” is not in MSS PAL, which are often the best, though Niese regards as probable the MSS readings that have it. Even if Josephus omitted it, something like it seems necessary.

³¹⁴⁹ Josephus continues *War*’s pattern of using “seventh [day],” adding “sabbath” for local color and variation of diction. See the note to “seventh days” at 2.147.

³¹⁵⁰ This is an ominous notice, recalling Agrippa’s admonition at 2.392–93 that either sabbath observance will hinder a war or its violation will bring divine punishment. The construction is another of *War*’s articular neuter participles: τὸ [μάλιστα παρ’ αὐτοῖς] θρησκευόμενον occurs only here in Josephus, and is otherwise attested only in the undated *History of Alexander* (1.32.2), before the Byzantine chroniclers.

³¹⁵¹ This is the first of 5 occurrences of ἐκσεῖω in Josephus, all in *War* (2.544; 3.246; 4.431; 6.28). The compound is rarely attested before him (Herodotus 4.64; Aristophanes, *Ach.* 344; Polybius 6.44.6; Diodorus 18.66.5—all possible models), though it becomes popular among his younger contemporaries (Plutarch, *Timol.* 15.6; *Ant.* 14.5; 60.4; 79.6; *Mor.* [*Virt. sent.*] 78b; [*Quaest. conv.*] 713a; Epictetus in Arrian, *Diatr.* 1.26.11; 4.9.10, 13.22; Lucian, *Tim.* 43). It is another example of *War*’s use of newly fashionable diction and (in the next occurrence, 2.544) of Josephus’ tendency to re-use phrases in close proximity.

³¹⁵² Or “with such a rush, charge” (ὄρμή).

³¹⁵³ Unlike most of *War*’s later battle accounts, this one gives no clear picture of the location, terrain, or type of encounter. Were the Romans attacked in their camp at Gibeon, on the march to Jerusalem in an ambush, or in a set battle of some sort?

519 Were it not that the cavalry had supported the slackening infantry-column by coming out around,³¹⁵⁵ along with that [part] of the infantry that was not becoming desperately weary,³¹⁵⁶ Cestius with his entire force would have been at risk.³¹⁵⁷

Those who died: of the Romans 515, of which 400 were infantry and the remainder cavalry; of the Judeans 22.

520 Now they considered their most excellent³¹⁵⁸ [fighters] to be the relatives of Monobazus,³¹⁵⁹ the king of Adiabene—Monobazus and Cenedeus;³¹⁶⁰ after them, Niger the Perean³¹⁶¹ and one who had deserted to the Judeans from King Agrippa, Silas the Babylonian,³¹⁶² for he was in military service with him [Agrippa].

521³¹⁶³ Whereas, having been repelled from the front,³¹⁶⁴ the Judeans returned to the

*Simon son of
Gioras attacks
rearguard*

³¹⁵⁴ Or (as elsewhere) “getting rid of them, disposing of them” (ἀναίρειω): Josephus’ preferred euphemism for killing.

³¹⁵⁵ This was precisely the function of cavalry “wings”: support of the infantry column in trouble, or harrying and rapidly pursuing a retreating enemy (Webster 1979: 145-47; Gilliver 1999: 110-12). The double compound ἐκπεριέρχουμαι occurs in *War* only here and a few paragraphs later (2.565); see the note to “bamboozled” there.

³¹⁵⁶ At the only other occurrence of the neuter participial phrase τὸ κάμνον in his corpus, a few paragraphs below (2.579), Josephus the general will train his army in the very same principle.

³¹⁵⁷ In this early encounter Josephus is laying the ground for one of *War*’s main themes: in contrast to existing accounts that belittle the Judean effort, he will show how tough his compatriots proved to be (cf. 1.4-12 and Introduction).

³¹⁵⁸ The superlative γενναϊότατοι probably connotes here “most courageous, capable” (as at 4.51, 427), though its root meaning connected with noble origin might also come into play with these particular men, who all apparently belong to the élite.

³¹⁵⁹ Monobazus II, the current Adiabenean king (ruled ca. 58 to mid-70s CE?), was the son of Monobazus Bazeus (ruled 20-30 CE?), husband of Queen Helena; Monobazus II was thus the brother and successor of Izates (ruled ca. 34-58 CE; *Ant.* 20.18, 24-26, 93-96). Like his mother and brother, he had reportedly adopted Judean laws (*Ant.* 20.75).

³¹⁶⁰ See the notes to “Adiabene” and “war” at 2.388 and 389, respectively. The narrative thus refutes Agrippa’s confident prediction that Adiabenean royalty (now embracing Judean law and culture) would refuse participation in the war. At *Ant.* 20.71 Josephus claims that Izates had sent 5 young sons to be educated in Jerusalem, and it is antecedently probable that he, their rough contemporary (b. 37-38 CE) in the same city, knew them personally. These men, named only here, might well be Izates’ sons (nephews of the king) and also among the determined Adiabenean royals eventually captured by

Titus (6.356-57; cf. 4.567; 5.474).

³¹⁶¹ This figure bears a well attested Roman *cognomen* (cf. Suetonius, *Aug.* 11), meaning “black, dark” (probably a reference to beard color; cf. *Rufus*, *Fulvus*) and implying Roman citizenship (Kajanto 1982: 64, 228). That status would explain his inclusion with Adiabenean royalty and the apparently distinguished Silas (next note). Later chosen as a regional commander in the war against Rome (2.566) alongside Josephus, Niger will play a prominent and valiant role in the narrative (3.11, 20, 25, 27-28), before being killed by the radical wing after their murder of the chief priests Ananus and Jesus (4.359-64). For Perea, see the note at 2.57 and the fuller description at 3.44-47: it was the region across the Jordan River, W of Philadelphia (mod. Amman), that was administratively part of Judea. Agrippa II had been given the city of Perean Iulias and its related villages by Nero in 54 CE (2.252; *Ant.* 20.159).

³¹⁶² This man is apparently one of the “Babylonian Judeans” settled by Herod in Batanea (*Ant.* 17.23-31). Indeed, another Silas had been a close friend, aide, and military commander under Agrippa I (*Ant.* 18.204; 19.299, 317-25, 353), and the Babylonian connection would make good sense in this regard, given the similar careers of the family of Zamaris, especially Philip son of Iacimus (see the note at 2.421). His inclusion with Adiabenean royalty and Niger suggests that Silas was much more than an ordinary soldier; Agrippa may have felt his loss very keenly. (For other élite deserters from Agrippa’s territories, not necessarily Judeans, see *Life* 112-13.) At any rate, Silas will briefly rise to a command position in the Judean forces (3.11), but will die in an early assault on Ascalon (3.19). On the name, see the note to a different Silas at 2.616 below.

³¹⁶³ The following is a peculiarly artful sentence; the balance between “frontward” and “rearward,” matching “Judeans” and “Romans,” seems forced. There is also a curious coincidence of language with 2.90 (“maul” and “from the front”).

³¹⁶⁴ Josephus does not elaborate, but in general it is clear that the Judean guerrillas could not face Roman forces directly in open battle. Hence, having accom-

city,³¹⁶⁵ from behind³¹⁶⁶ Simon son of Gioras³¹⁶⁷ attacked the Romans as they were ascending at Bethora³¹⁶⁸ and mauled much of their rearguard:³¹⁶⁹ he dragged off large quanti-

plished what they could in guerrilla strikes, they returned to their stronghold of Jerusalem.

³¹⁶⁵ To Jerusalem, which the fighters had left in mid-festival (2.517).

³¹⁶⁶ The literary artificiality of this construction is highlighted by Josephus' deliberate use of *κατόπιν*: all 3 occurrences in *War* 2 are between here and 2.543 a few sentences below (including 2.537). Such clustering of diction is characteristic of his style.

³¹⁶⁷ This is the first mention of a major figure in *War*; he becomes from 4.353 onward. Simon was reportedly the son of a convert (so *giora*) and still a young man at this time, perhaps from the famous Decapolis city of Gerasa (4.503), though his home town may be a different site in Judea by the same name—since the “Gerasa” of 4.486-90, shortly before the mention of Simon's home, cannot be the Decapolis city (see M-B *ad loc.*; Schürer-Vermes 2.150; Schalit 1968: Γέρασα; Bergmeier 1998: 77-78). Simon and John of Gischala will ultimately lead the two main factions in Jerusalem (5.11, 21, 105, 248-55; 7.263-66), constituting themselves the principal “tyrants” envisaged by Josephus at 1.10. Simon will be ignominiously captured (7.26-35) and later executed in the Flavian triumph, as the chief culprit of the war (7.154). The two men also find mention in what remains of Tacitus' account (*Hist.* 5.12), which might have been influenced by Josephus' *War*. *War* 2 will end with a series of anticipatory notices, including a passage that looks ahead to the emergence of Simon as a tyrant (2.652-54).

³¹⁶⁸ The story is confusing for two reasons: (a) Cestius' (main?) force has already ascended through Beit-Horon (2.516) and set up camp at Gabaon (Gibeon), about 9 km further along the road (2.516), *before* the conflict just described; (b) the verb *ἄννειμι* could mean either that the Romans were going *up* to Beit-Horon (the common usage in Josephus: 1.134; 2.318; 3.268, 343; 5.22) or that they were going *back* there (cf. *Ant.* 16.86), and the preposition *ἐπί* with accusative would oblige either sense (“going up on to” or “going back in the direction of, towards”). These uncertainties suggest two ways of understanding the text.

(a) Having fought at Gabaon and forced the Judeans back to Jerusalem, this Roman force returned on the road *towards* Beit-Horon (i.e., “returning towards” rather than “ascending at”), which was also the road towards their camp at Gabaon. Josephus mentions Beit-Horon, perhaps, to keep the notorious pass in the audience's mind in preparation for the disaster at 2.546-55. This would make sense of the present sentence: although the

Judeans cannot mount a frontal attack on the Romans, once the latter turn back Simon's guerrillas can attack their rear. This would anticipate precisely what happens at 2.540-43. But it is not the most natural reading of either verb or preposition (cf. *Ant.* 17.259; 18.126); the army clearly did not return *to* Beit-Horon at this point.

(b) The attack was on the Roman rearguard as it was still ascending Beit-Horon, part of the same force that had already reached Gabaon, but perhaps 9 km (nearly 6 miles) behind it. A column on the march, if confined to a single road, 4 abreast, required several km of road (e.g., 30,000 infantry in close ranks, with 1 m from one man's back to the next, would require 7.5 km; 6 abreast [*War* 3.124] required 5 km. A force including hundreds of cavalry, separation between units, and a baggage train, such as this one, would have been much longer still; cf. Gilliver 1999: 46-48). Bar-Kochva (1976: 18) and Gichon (1981: 52-55) both propose that this column length explains the possibility of a frontal attack on the force already at Gabaon (or beyond) and an attack *from the rear* at the Beit-Horon pass.

But Josephus claims that Cestius' force had established a camp at Gabaon (2.518). Bar-Kochva downplays Josephus' narrative here to posit an attack “launched simultaneously” at the head (Gabaon) and rear (Beit-Horon) of the same column, which he estimates at 8 km in length (1976: 18). Gichon (1981: 52-53), taking the narrative more seriously, assumes that Cestius must have broken with the normal order of march, perhaps out of disdain for the enemy: in the many descriptions we have, from Polybius to Josephus (*War* 3.115-26; cf. Gilliver 1999: 38-46), the baggage is part of the continuous column, carefully protected by substantial forces. If the rearguard had still to ascend Beit-Horon when the main force was encamped at Gabaon, then these components were separated by many kilometers, with the rear dangerously exposed.

But even if Cestius and his legionary commanders indulged in such bizarre behavior, it is a further problem to imagine how Simon and his band could have learned of the proximity of the Roman force (the narrative suggests: at Gabaon) and managed to get from Jerusalem to the rear of the column as it ascended Beit-Horon without taking the main road, which was of course occupied by oncoming legionaries. By the time they had gathered a force and reached Beit-Horon (by difficult trails through the hills?), surely the force would have passed by.

Another possibility is that this is a flashback to Simon's activity before the head of the column reached Gabaon, and not a description of what happened later or

ties³¹⁷⁰ of the baggage train³¹⁷¹ and conducted it into the city.³¹⁷² **522** With Cestius keeping his position³¹⁷³ for three days,³¹⁷⁴ the Judeans had seized the heights³¹⁷⁵ and were keeping watch on the access routes,³¹⁷⁶ for clearly they were not about to remain idle when the Romans had begun to move.³¹⁷⁷

*Agrippa II's
unsuccessful
appeal to desist*

(19.3) **523** Now Agrippa,³¹⁷⁸ having fully recognized that the situation of the Romans was not free of danger, with a countless horde³¹⁷⁹ of enemy having occupied the hills,³¹⁸⁰ decided to subject the Judeans to a trial with words:³¹⁸¹ either he would persuade them all to put aside the war or he would cause the element that was not in agreement to defect from those who were arrayed in opposition.³¹⁸² **524** So he sent to those [people] the most

simultaneously, as the language implies. On any reading, Josephus has not been clear. We must remember that Josephus often compresses events to the point of distortion for purely narrative reasons. The preceding notes in this volume dealing with parallel accounts in *Antiquities* or *Life* show that he regularly changes details, and often transforms major elements in the retelling. We have no reason to assume, and good reason to doubt, that he felt more committed to the events as they happened than to pursuing a good story, for a Roman audience with no knowledge of Judean geography.

³¹⁶⁹ This word (ὀρθαγία) appears only here in Josephus, though he uses the masculine form (of rearguard soldiers) at 3.126; 5.49; classical use of that form appears limited to Xenophon, *Cyr.* 2.3.22; 3.3.40; *Anab.* 4.3.26, 29. Unattested in classical Greek, feminine ὀρθαγία was a favorite of Polybius (who has it 25 times) and of the tactical writers Onasander (6) and Polyaeus (19). It also appears occasionally in the LXX (Deut 25:18; Josh 10:19) and Philo (quoting Deuteronomy at *Ebr.* 24 and *Migr.* 144). The biblical passages refer, respectively, to the cursed Amalekites' attack on Israel from the rear, while they were exhaustedly fleeing Egypt, and to Joshua's command to attack the rear of the fleeing Midianite kings. Although it is tempting to see Josephus imagining Simon as a despicable Amalekite (for his own pleasure; most of the audience would not recognize the parallel), the passage from Joshua would make such a connection difficult.

³¹⁷⁰ See the note to "large numbers" at 2.55.

³¹⁷¹ I.e., the pack animals that accompanied a Roman army on the march (cf. 3.125). This capture cannot have been comprehensive, since later in the narrative the legions will still need to get rid of their considerable baggage and many pack animals in retreat (2.544, 546, 553). Still, it seems clear that Cestius did not come prepared for a long campaign (Goldsworthy 1996: 87-90), and any significant loss in such an early engagement would pose serious problems.

³¹⁷² Apparently Jerusalem again: the rebels are storing up the captured supplies in what is becoming their fortress city.

³¹⁷³ Although the sense is not clear, it seems that Josephus means at Gabaon (Gibeon), 10 km (ca. 6 miles) N/NW of Jerusalem, where Cestius has set up camp (2.516) and from where perhaps he will strike again to chase the rebels into Jerusalem (2.527).

³¹⁷⁴ Note the parallel with his 3-day delay at Scopus (2.528).

³¹⁷⁵ Cf. the next sentence: the hills around Jerusalem were in the hands of the rebels.

³¹⁷⁶ The Judeans will be, however, quickly chased back to Jerusalem (2.527) once Cestius brings his 30,000-strong force toward Jerusalem.

³¹⁷⁷ Thackeray (in LCL), Pelletier, and M-B all take the construction οὐκ ἠρεμήσοντες ἀρξαμένων τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὀδεύειν as conditional ("should the Romans begin to move," "falls die Römer zum Weitermarsch aufbrechen sollten"). That is possible, and allowed by my translation, though the Romans are already on the move.

³¹⁷⁸ Agrippa is presumably still in the company of Cestius at Gabaon (2.502, 516).

³¹⁷⁹ See the note to this characteristic phrase at 2.43.

³¹⁸⁰ Judean occupation (περιέχω) of the hills will be reprised at 2.550.

³¹⁸¹ Josephus has used the same construction at 2.411, as a prelude to oratory; see the note there.

³¹⁸² The logic is slightly awkward: Where, among those in determined opposition (τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων), was the unsympathetic element to be found? Either the narrator anticipates the king's success in detaching some from the rebel cause, or the text may be faulty, or it is a minor slip on the part of Josephus. The Latin (*si qui aduersarentur*), "if some were opposed," seems to read the quoted Greek phrase as a genitive absolute (rather than as partitive), and this inspired Destinon's emendation of τῶν to τινῶν: "if (only) some stood in opposition," Agrippa would lead those who did not agree with them to break away. Nor is it clear from the sequel (2.526) whether there had always been a disaffected group among the rebels or whether they only became disaffected over the maltreatment of Agrippa's emissaries.

conspicuously notable³¹⁸³ of those who were with him, Borcius³¹⁸⁴ and also Phoebus,³¹⁸⁵ promising pledges from Cestius and a trustworthy³¹⁸⁶ pardon from the Romans with respect to the offenses committed, if they would discard their weapons³¹⁸⁷ and reverse course to [join] them. **525** Becoming alarmed that the entire rabble might just reverse course for Agrippa, in the hope of amnesty,³¹⁸⁸ the insurgents³¹⁸⁹ rushed to do away with those who had been sent by him as emissaries.³¹⁹⁰ **526** They disposed of³¹⁹¹ Phoebus before he even uttered a sound, whereas Borcius was able to get ahead and escape, wounded. Those of the populace who had become indignant they herded back into town, hitting them with stones and sticks.³¹⁹²

(19.4) 527 When he saw that their disturbance in relation to one another was opportune for a strike,³¹⁹³ Cestius brought up his whole force and, after they [the rebels] had been routed,³¹⁹⁴ gave pursuit as far as Hierosolyma. **528** Having set up camp³¹⁹⁵ on what is called Scopus³¹⁹⁶ (this is seven *stadia* away from the city³¹⁹⁷), for three days he made no attempt

*Cestius at
Mount Scopus,
burns Betheza,
besieges
Jerusalem*

³¹⁸³ See the notes to “powerful [men]” at 2.239 and “notables” at 2.243.

³¹⁸⁴ Known only from this story, Borcius (variant Borcaeus) has a name that is neither Greek nor Latin. The first syllable may represent the Aramaic *bar* (as Βορζοχορίας in Horbury and Noy 1992: 216 #127), though it closely resembles a form of the Hebrew word “lightning, brilliance, or sheen” (ברק), which would be very similar to the name of his colleague Phoebus: a bright pair indeed!

³¹⁸⁵ Meaning “pure, bright, radiant” in Greek, this was a famous ancient epithet of the God Apollo (Homer, *Il.* 1.43). This figure is unknown outside the present passage, but he matches our expectation that Agrippa’s court included well-educated Greeks and some Roman citizens (cf. *Life* 32-33, 356). Phoebus and derivatives are amply attested Greek personal names (Solin 2003: 302-303), also among slaves in Rome (Solin 1996: 270-72).

³¹⁸⁶ Lit. “non-slip.” The trustworthiness of pledges is a central issue in the narrative after the bad faith of the rebels themselves at 2.437-38, 450-53.

³¹⁸⁷ The formulaic phrase ῥίπτω + τὰ ὄπλα is Polybian (4.69.7, 71.11; 18.23.4, 26.5, 26.12), used several times in later historians (Diodorus 36.4.3; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 4.51.4; 5.42.2; 6.82.3; 8.17.6; 11.8.2; 12.13.4; Strabo 5.4.11), and especially favored by Josephus (*War* 2.613; *Ant.* 12.343; 20.123; *Life* 166, 371).

³¹⁸⁸ It seems from the context, concerning pledges (2.524), that the term ἄδεια here must have its most common sense of “safe conduct, indemnity, amnesty.” See the notes to “amnesty” at 2.55 and “freedom from fear” at 2.238. Nevertheless, the text has a play on the δει- (“fear”) root: the rebels are anxious that the populace will reject them in hopes of living “without fear.” It is tempting to read this as freedom from fear of the rebel leaders, since that would match a continuing and potent strain of irony in *War* (e.g., 2.264, 443, and the note to “freedom” at 2.259). Although that may be a secondary

resonance of the word, however, the primary sense is apparently about the posited amnesty.

³¹⁸⁹ See the note to this key word at 1.10.

³¹⁹⁰ Killing ambassadors, messengers, or heralds, who were sacrosanct even in times of the harshest conflicts, was a patently heinous crime; cf. Bederman 2001: 106-110.

³¹⁹¹ Or “destroyed”; see the note at 2.11.

³¹⁹² Illustrating his tendency to re-use words and phrases in close proximity and then drop them, Josephus will use the collocation “hitting, with stones, drive” a few sentences below, at 2.534—and not otherwise. Since both stones and sticks were plentiful around the outskirts of Jerusalem, the image seems to be of weapons of opportunity used to injure and harass but not deliberately to kill.

³¹⁹³ This observation anticipates the much-elaborated theme later in *War*, that internal dissension or civil strife (a fundamental theme: 1.10) creates a God-send for an attacking enemy: 4.397; 5.18-30, 248-57. Note especially the debate that Vespasian holds with his generals about using the Judeans’ internal strife either as an opportunity to strike or as a reason to delay, while the opposition destroy themselves (4.366-77).

³¹⁹⁴ Presumably these are the Judean irregulars who have occupied the hills to protect the access routes to Jerusalem (2.522-23).

³¹⁹⁵ See the note at 2.516.

³¹⁹⁶ This is the first mention of a site that will play a significant role in Titus’ later campaign (5.67-68, 106-108; *Ant.* 11.239). As Josephus explains in these later passages, the Greek name Scopus (Heb. הר הצופים) has to do with the breath-taking view over Jerusalem that this hill provides from the NE. Modern home of the Hebrew University, Scopus forms the northern component of the Mt. of Olives ridge, which runs parallel to Jerusalem on the E across the Kidron Valley. Since the elevation of Scopus is about 825 m (2,700 ft), in con-

on the city, expecting a somewhat rapid surrender³¹⁹⁸ by those inside,³¹⁹⁹ though he did dispatch many of the soldiers into the surrounding villages for the plunder of grain.³²⁰⁰ But on the fourth [day], which was the thirtieth of the month Hyperberetaeus,³²⁰¹ he drew up his army and led it into the city. **529** Whereas the populace was kept imprisoned³²⁰² by the insurgents, the insurgents,³²⁰³ terrified at the orderliness of the Romans,³²⁰⁴ conceded the sectors outside the city while they withdrew to the interior and the temple.³²⁰⁵ **530** After Cestius passed through, he set fire* to Betheza, also styled the “New City,”³²⁰⁶ and to what is called the Timber Market;³²⁰⁷ then, when he had come to the Upper City,³²⁰⁸ he set up camp opposite the royal palace.³²⁰⁹

trast to Jerusalem’s E hill at approx. 740 m (2,430 ft)—on the level of Herod’s temple mount (now the *haram es-sharif*)—with a valley in between them, and since it could be reached with relative ease by the Roman road from the N, it and the Mt. of Olives (at 883 m [2900 ft]) provided logical bases and observation posts for invading armies.

³¹⁹⁷ About 1.4 km (0.87 miles). Josephus will give the same accurate distance at 5.67-68.

³¹⁹⁸ Given the rebels’ inability to face the Romans frontally (5.214, 521), and the sheer intimidation generated by an army of 30,000 regular soldiers with thousands more in support (2.500-501), all amassed in full view on the heights above Jerusalem (cf. Titus’ hope, when displaying his forces, at 5.348-55), and given his knowledge of deep dissension among the Jerusalemites (2.526-27), the narrative character Cestius has every reason to expect a quick capitulation.

³¹⁹⁹ Lit.: “that something would be quickly conceded, surrendered”—perhaps written thus to create a word play: τὰχα τι παρὰ τῶν ἔνδον ἐνδοθήσεσθαι προσδοκῶν

³²⁰⁰ The concern for a secure grain supply was fundamental to Roman military thinking; see the note to “legion” at 2.63. It would have been particularly important now that Cestius has lost a significant part of his baggage train.

³²⁰¹ See the note to “Artemisius” at 2.284: this is the end of Tishri (September-October), with the autumnal new year, Yom Kippur, and the Feast of Booths (2.516) recently completed. It is the time when Jerusalem, after 6 months of often cloudless skies and warmth, begins to turn wet and cold.

³²⁰² The adjective ἔμφορος is attested only about a dozen times before Josephus; he has it only here and at 2.654.

³²⁰³ See the note to this key word at 1.10.

³²⁰⁴ Roman orderliness (εὐταξία) is a consistent theme in *War*: 1.22, 143; 3.85, 467, 488; 4.635; 5.285, 353; 6.22. Josephus will try to train his Judean soldiers to emulate it (2.580); at 2.151 he also claims such orderliness as a marked Essene trait.

³²⁰⁵ The “temple” is the massive Herodian precinct, raised and lined with colonnades, not merely the sacred

buildings themselves (see note at 2.1). The “interior” appears to be the oldest part of the city, Upper and Lower, within its first and “nearly impregnable” wall (5.142).

It was precisely this vulnerability of the new areas, which had spilled out to the N and NW (the only contiguous, more or less level ground available) of the ancient city, that had led Agrippa I to begin building a “third wall” for Jerusalem; see 2.218 and note (cf. 5.147-55). Although he did not complete that project, the rebels will learn from Cestius’ easy advance here (and Florus’ earlier assaults: 2.328): in anticipation of Titus’ army they will hastily erect a high (if relatively flimsy) wall on Agrippa’s foundations (5.155).

³²⁰⁶ Josephus delays his geographical description of this area (opposite Antonia to the N of the temple) until 5.149-51, where he paints a word picture of the entire city before the final siege; cf. the note to “Betheza” at 2.328 above.

³²⁰⁷ Nothing else is known of this market, though we may surmise from its location in the New City (not in the temple compound) that it existed chiefly for the private market in building materials, rather than for sacred use; cf. Jeremias 1969: 50.

³²⁰⁸ See the note at 2.344: this was the higher, W hill of Jerusalem, on which sat the Herodian and Hasmonean palaces, as well as the homes of the wealthier citizens (including chief priests). It was enclosed along its N edge by the “first wall,” which joined the bridge over the Tyropean Valley at what we know as Wilson’s Arch to enter the temple compound (5.145; see 2.344 and notes). It seems from Josephus’ language here (“to/at the Upper City,” “opposite the palace”) and from 2.533-35 (where Cestius is offered admission to the city proper) that the Roman forces remain outside the Upper City and its wall.

³²⁰⁹ Cestius thus follows a familiar pattern for Roman commanders; cf. Florus’ route at 2.328-29, which ended at the camp inside the Herodian palace (on which, see 2.301). Here Cestius must camp “opposite” the palace, perhaps in the open Upper Market area described at 2.305 (inside mod. Jaffa Gate), immediately outside the oldest (“first”) wall of the city.

531 If only he had been willing at that very hour to get inside the walls by force,³²¹⁰ he would instantly have had the city, and it would have happened that the war was terminated.³²¹¹ But the camp prefect³²¹² Tyrannius Priscus,³²¹³ along with most of the cavalry commanders,³²¹⁴ having been enticed³²¹⁵ by money from Florus,³²¹⁶ dissuaded him from the undertaking. **532** It was indeed for this reason that the war extended to such a long duration, and that it transpired that the Judeans were filled up with irremediable calamities.³²¹⁷

Cestius fails to force attack

³²¹⁰ Being already past the second wall and outside the Upper City, Cestius' forces were effortlessly in a position that Titus' army would achieve only after a long siege and much bloodshed: the latter will be roughly in Cestius' position again only at 5.237, and then they will be contending with large and intransigent rebel forces, including Idumeans and John of Gischala's Galileans. Josephus' point (made in retrospect) thus appears to be that Cestius had only to make a focused assault against the relatively thin opposition that existed at this time, since he had easily dominated so much of the city already.

³²¹¹ This is the first of 3 such claims by Josephus: Cestius might also have gained the city by accepting open gates (2.533-34) or by pressing the siege a bit longer (2.539)—but he did not. The claim is of course impossible to prove. Unless Cestius had conducted a wholesale massacre, destroying the city and razing its walls (which he was in no position to do at this point). It is far from clear that the later Judean and Idumean reinforcements would have abandoned the contest for Jerusalem. At any rate, the wall facing Cestius was a huge obstacle (2.535; 5.142), and its capture would later tax the 10th Legion to the maximum (5.468).

³²¹² This is the standard equivalent of *praefectus castrorum* (H. J. Mason 1974: 87), the senior officer with ultimate responsibility for maintaining the camp, and for logistics when on the march, including the conduct of sieges. This was an extremely important, senior position open to men of equestrian status with long experience as soldiers and centurions; appointed by the *princeps*, they provided the highest level of professional expertise in the legion, and as 3rd in command sometimes had to assume leadership in the absence of the senatorial legionary *legatus* (cf. 6.238, though legionary command in Egypt had unique aspects). Part of their brief was to keep a watchful eye on the senatorial commanders, in loyalty to the *princeps* (Parker 1992: 192-96; Le Bohec 1994: 39). This role and his standing as most senior soldier and siege director, or perhaps as commander of the 6th legion's force in Jerusalem (cf. 2.544), would have made Priscus' advice difficult for a commander such as Cestius to ignore.

³²¹³ This is an apt name for a powerful man urging extreme caution: "despotic + old-fashioned." Kajanto

(1982: 30) includes Priscus among the 18 Latin *cognomina* that occur with extremely high frequency (in this case, 1269 attestations). This may well be the same figure as the Priscus (commander of the *legio VI* vexillation) who dies in Cestius' retreat below at 2.544.

³²¹⁴ See the note to this descriptive term (for a "prefect") at 2.291. Gichon (1981: 55) notes that cavalry officers had good reason to demur, since their troops would be of very limited use in narrow city streets.

³²¹⁵ MS L has δεκασθέντες ("having been bribed"—a verb not used elsewhere in Josephus), and is followed by Niese, Thackeray (LCL), Pelletier, and M-B. But MSS PAMVRC read δελεασθέντες, and the Latin offers a corresponding *corrupti*. The overwhelming MSS support for the latter, and the fact that Josephus uses this verb 7 other times (5 in *War*, and 1 recently: 2.468), speak strongly in its favor. Finally, δελεασθέντες enjoys the preference that should be given to the more difficult reading (*lectio difficilior*), since it is easy to imagine a scribe changing "enticed with money" to the simpler "bribed with money"; harder to imagine the reverse.

³²¹⁶ This notice comes as a surprise, since after providing the narrative focus for nearly a quarter of bk. 2 (2.177-420), Florus has disappeared from the scene. This alleged bribery is his final act; he will be mentioned again only at 2.558 (in Cestius' thoughts). We left him in his Caesarean provincial headquarters, determined to fan the flames of war (2.420) and maliciously imprisoning the Judeans of Caesarea who tried to flee the massacre there (2.457).

Is he here a *deus ex machina*, to explain Cestius' withdrawal? Bribery by enemies is a convenient narrative device (cf. *Life* 189-96). Without dismissing it out of hand, one can also imagine mundane reasons why Cestius' senior counselor, an officer with long experience and now responsible for siege logistics, might have advised the legate against an assault on the heavily fortified eastern hill, with the mighty temple compound behind, when Cestius' forces apparently did not come prepared for a siege (see below).

³²¹⁷ For the adjective, see the note to "irremediable suffering" at 2.233. The noun συμφορά is programmatic, enhancing the tragic tone, in *War* and in bk. 2; see the notes at 1.9; 2.286.

Ananus ben
Jonathan's
attempt to open
gates fails

(19.5) **533** Meanwhile many of the most notable citizens,³²¹⁸ having been persuaded by Ananus son of Ionathes,³²¹⁹ kept calling Cestius [from the walls]—that they were going to open up the gates for him. **534** But he forfeited the moment,³²²⁰ both because he ignored³²²¹ [them] in his rage and because he did not entirely trust [them],³²²² until the insurgents³²²³ perceived the betrayal and threw Ananus' group off the wall.³²²⁴ Hitting them with stones, they herded them³²²⁵ into their homes,³²²⁶ whereas they, after positioning themselves at intervals [on the ramparts], would bombard from the towers³²²⁷ those who put the wall to the test.³²²⁸

Cestius makes
headway,
terrifies
insurgents

535 So when, although the Romans kept up their efforts for five days and from every direction, the assault was proving infeasible, on the following day Cestius took with him large numbers³²²⁹ of the select [soldiers]³²³⁰ and the archers³²³¹ and began making attempts on the temple's northern side.³²³² **536** From the colonnade the Judeans kept blocking [them], and repeatedly beat away those who had reached the wall; but finally, driven back by the mass of arrows,³²³³ they withdrew. **537** Now the first of the Romans wedged³²³⁴

³²¹⁸ See the note to “common folk” at 2.253; it is the same Greek word. Josephus' emphasis cannot be on commonness as distinct from elite status, but must be on (alleged) normal citizenship in distinction from the determination to rebel. See the note to “powerful [men]” at 2.239.

³²¹⁹ This is the only appearance of this figure in Josephus. His name and his father's are so common that it is impossible to identify him beyond Josephus' remark that he belonged to the city's elite.

³²²⁰ This is the only occurrence of διαμέλλω in *War* (cf. *Ant.* 14.352; 17.86; 19.80). It means literally that Cestius “kept being about to . . . (but did not).” If the tense were imperfect we should say that he “kept dithering.” Since it is aorist, we may take it that Josephus wants to highlight the very brief moment when the shouts of those on the wall might have been effective, before they were thrown off.

³²²¹ The verb ὑπεροράω can mean either simply “overlook” or “look down upon, disdain, treat with contempt.” It is difficult to see why Cestius would look with contempt on an offer to enter the city, much easier to see him consumed by anger and not grasping the significance of what was being yelled until it was too late.

³²²² Josephus gives an entirely plausible motive (cf. 5.318-30, where Titus should have been more suspicious).

³²²³ See the note to this key word at 1.10.

³²²⁴ Although we do not know the precise height of the wall at various points, it was certainly high enough to cause serious injury to those thrown down from it, even perhaps from steps ascending to the parapet. The image is of extreme cruelty.

³²²⁵ This clause is nearly identical to that at 2.526, the similarity illustrating Josephus' tendency to re-use similar language in close proximity.

³²²⁶ That the residences of Ananus and his friends

were anywhere near the area of the wall, thus in the Upper City, confirms their status among the city's wealthy elite.

³²²⁷ I.e., with projectiles such as arrows and stones. Ancient audiences would expect city walls to have towers. Josephus claims at 5.158 that this first wall alone supported 60 massive towers.

³²²⁸ Most translators (Whiston, Thackeray, Pelletier, M-B) take ἀποπειράομαι here as a practical equivalent of ἀποπειράζω (“make an attempt on”). Although that makes sense in anticipation of the next sentence (2.535), it restricts the object of attack to Romans outside the wall. But the middle voice may also share the sense of the passive, “subject [X] to trial, put to the test,” which Josephus has used in recent paragraphs (2.411, 523; cf. 2.4). Given the actions of Ananus' group just described, to which the rebels' actions are a response, it is possible that Josephus also has in mind further attempts to use the summit of the wall from the *inside*, to offer surrender to the Romans.

³²²⁹ See the note to this phrase at 2.55.

³²³⁰ The definite article suggests that Cestius takes the soldiers chosen from the legions other than the 12th, though not necessarily the total of 6,000 (2.500).

³²³¹ These come mostly from allied forces; cf. 2.500-501.

³²³² This language about the temple's N side is almost formulaic in *War* (1.118, 145; 2.44; 5.352); see the note at 2.44. This was the side on which the fortress Antonia stood, now partly destroyed, and the scene of earlier violence (2.328-31, 430).

³²³³ See the note to “projectiles” at 2.48.

³²³⁴ The verb ἐξερπείδω occurs only here in Josephus and is otherwise extremely rare (Dioscorides, *Mat. med.* 1.69.4; Lucian, *Pod.* 55). Polybius (8.4.6; 16.11.5; the rare cognate noun at 6.23.5) is his most likely inspiration.

their shields into the wall, and likewise those who were behind³²³⁵ [put] others down onto these in a series, and so they secured what is called among themselves “the tortoise”:³²³⁶ off of this the arrows,³²³⁷ being [easily] tolerated, glanced away³²³⁸ without effect, and the soldiers, suffering no injury at all, continued undermining³²³⁹ the wall and preparing to burn the gate of the temple.³²⁴⁰

(19.6) 538 Terrible alarm seized the insurgents:³²⁴¹ already many were running away³²⁴² from the city in the belief that it was going to be captured presently. It happened that the populace was encouraged by this and, to the extent that the worthless [fellows]³²⁴³ might relent, they themselves would approach the gates³²⁴⁴ with the intention of opening [them] and welcoming Cestius as benefactor—539 who, if he had persevered a short while with the siege, would indeed have quickly taken the city.³²⁴⁵ But I think that because of the worthless [fellows],³²⁴⁶ God, having already been turned away even from the holy places, prevented the war from reaching a conclusion on that day.³²⁴⁷

(19.7) 540 Cestius, at any rate, since he comprehended neither the despair³²⁴⁸ of those being besieged nor the state of mind among the populace,³²⁴⁹ suddenly recalled his soldiers and, having thought better of his hopes, though without a single blow,³²⁵⁰ most astonsh-

*Cestius
inexplicably
raises siege,
leaves
Jerusalem. Life
24*

³²³⁵ See the note to this phrase at 2.521.

³²³⁶ Although mentioned only here by Josephus, the *κελώνη* or “overhead cover” (by joined-up shield) was a famous military maneuver (Polybius 9.41.1; 10.31.8 [Macedonian military uses]; Aeneas Tacticus 32.11; Onasander 20). It came to be associated particularly with the Roman legions (as the *testudo*) because of their perfection of the movement to afford protection on all sides. Livy (44.8) and Cassius Dio (49.30-31) give a fuller description of the Roman forms; cf. Parker 1992: 256; Gilliver 1999: 134-36. The formation is pictured on Trajan’s and Marcus Aurelius’ columns (plates in Gilliver 1999: 136; Goldsworthy 2003: 194); it was a symbol of the legions’ extraordinary discipline under direct fire.

³²³⁷ See the note to “projectiles” at 2.48.

³²³⁸ This verb (*περιολισθάνω*) is barely attested before Josephus (Hippocrates, *Prisc.* 22; *Artic.* 47; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 14.10.3; Philo, *Conf.* 38), though *War* has it 3 times (also 3.173, 386) and it becomes popular with Josephus’ contemporary Plutarch (7 occurrences) and into the 2nd century. As often, *War* seems to ride a crest of fashionable diction, anticipated by Philo.

³²³⁹ Although Niese and Thackeray (with MSS PA) read *ὑπέσυρον*, the normal sense of that verb in the active voice (“drag down”) does not suit the context nearly as well as Josephus’ standard verb for “undermining” (2.435-36; 4.63, 79; 5.153, 469; 6.27-28, 71, 222), *ὑπόρυσσον* (here 3rd pl. imperfect), which is given by MSS MLVRC and reasonably followed by M-B.

³²⁴⁰ Exactly where this gate stood, or how Cestius could have expected to break through the northern approach to the temple with its massive foundation stones, in a very short time and without any (mentioned) elaborate siege equipment, is far from clear. Contrast

the strenuous efforts required by Titus’ much larger and better-equipped army at a later stage (e.g., 5.466-72; cf. Gichon 1981: 56).

³²⁴¹ See the note to this key word at 1.10.

³²⁴² For would-be tyrants “running away” from the *polis*—a shameful picture, and not the behavior of statesmen such as Josephus (cf. 2.556-58)—see also 2.447.

³²⁴³ See the notes at 2.156, 273. Josephus characteristically re-uses the word in the next sentence.

³²⁴⁴ This construction seems to imply that courageous people never did manage to reach the walls and invite Cestius in (or the siege would have been unnecessary). It was their intention to do so, and they made some headway, but only to the extent that the frightened rebel leaders became temporarily less vigilant.

³²⁴⁵ See the note to “terminated” at 2.531.

³²⁴⁶ See the note in the previous sentence.

³²⁴⁷ That God has (been) turned away from Jerusalem and its temple, and now using the Romans to achieve his will, was clearly anticipated by Josephus’ Agrippa in his deliberative speech (2.390). This editorial observation by Josephus is the first in a long series of such judgments throughout the rest of the book: 3.293, 351; 4.366, 370; 5.19, 39, 278, 343, 367-68, 378, 396; 6.38, 101, 110, 299, 371, 399, 433; 7.34, 319.

³²⁴⁸ Although Josephus uses *ἀπόγνωσις* only twice in *War* 2, the other instance follows after a few sentences (2.549). By this typical clustering of terms, Josephus highlights in this case the abrupt reversal of fortune, for it will soon be *the legions* who are in despair.

³²⁴⁹ Presumably, their alleged eagerness to open the gates to him (2.538).

³²⁵⁰ The clause *καταγνούς ἐπ’ οὐδεμιᾶ πληγῆ τῶν ἐλπιδῶν* is rather elliptical, given the range of nuances

ingly³²⁵¹ decamped from the city. **541** At this unexpected turnabout³²⁵² of his, having regained their courage³²⁵³ the bandits ran out against³²⁵⁴ those at the rear³²⁵⁵ and destroyed³²⁵⁶ large numbers³²⁵⁷ of the cavalry and infantry.

542 And so, although for the moment Cestius bivouacked*³²⁵⁸ in the camp on Scopus,³²⁵⁹ on the following day he attracted his enemies' attention³²⁶⁰ yet more by separating himself further.³²⁶¹ Concentrating their force on those at their [the Romans'] rear,³²⁶² they were disposing of them: distributing themselves along each [side] of the road, they [the Judeans] kept hurling spears³²⁶³ at their sides. **543** Those at the back did not have the courage³²⁶⁴ to turn themselves toward those wounding them from behind,³²⁶⁵ supposing that some countless horde³²⁶⁶ was chasing [them]; nor would they stand fast to repel those who were putting pressure on³²⁶⁷ their flank—being heavily armed themselves and having become anxious about breaking ranks, whereas they had seen that the Judeans were lightly armed and ready for sudden raids.³²⁶⁸

Cestius' force suffers initial losses in withdrawal to Gabaon.

of the participial verb (he “formed an opinion of the hopes”), the lack of clarity as to who owns the hopes (the Judeans, or his?), and uncertainty as to whether the “blow” was something that had not been struck or not been received by Cestius.

³²⁵¹ Greek παράλογος, here in superlative adverbial form (as also 1.373; hardly attested before Josephus, though found several times in the 2nd cent. CE and later), means essentially “beyond calculation or rationality.” This leads to different emphases in usage: from “unexpected, surprising,” perhaps wondrously so (*Ant.* 2.339; 3.18; 4.127; 6.282; 7.157), to “strange, weird, odd, bizarre, unreasonable, irrational” (1.373; *Ant.* 1.13). In this context there seems no need to choose (as perhaps at *War* 5.114, 291; 7.195): “very strangely and surprisingly.” Unexpectedness is featured in the next sentence.

³²⁵² Appearing only 8 times in *War*, τροπή occurs twice in bk. 2 in close proximity: cf. 2.512.

³²⁵³ For an earlier recovery of Judean courage at Cestius' departure (from Galilee), with ensuing slaughter (of Syrian auxiliaries), see 2.506. Note the proximity of this, the only other occurrence of ἀναθαρσέω in *War* 2.

³²⁵⁴ The double compound ἐπεκτρέχω (only in MS P, but preferable as the more difficult reading) is hardly attested before Josephus (Xenophon, *Hell.* 4.4.17; 6.2.17; Philo, *Leg.* 2.100), though he has it 4 times (all in *War*: 1.253; 3.267; 7.197) and it becomes common in the 2nd cent. CE (Plutarch, Pausanias, Arrian, esp. Cassius Dio). This is another example of his using newly fashionable language, anticipated by Philo.

³²⁵⁵ Here is an especially clear case of Josephus' tendency to cluster vocabulary: he uses ὕστατος only 17 times in his entire 30-volume corpus, but 3 of those occurrences (all those in *War* 2) come here, in the next sentence, and a few sentences later (2.547), though the context changes.

³²⁵⁶ See the note at 2.11. The verb διαφθείρω is particularly frequent in this episode: 2.541, 542, 544, 546, 557.

³²⁵⁷ See the note to this phrase, recently used often (2.478, 490, 509, 521, 535), at 2.55.

³²⁵⁸ See the note at 2.69. This verb stresses now the provisional nature of his stay.

³²⁵⁹ See the note at 2.528.

³²⁶⁰ Lit. “called the enemy to himself, summoned the enemy.”

³²⁶¹ I.e., by abandoning not only the siege on Jerusalem's N wall, but also his forward base on Scopus, Cestius clearly signaled to the Judeans that he was in retreat.

³²⁶² See the note to this phrase in the preceding sentence.

³²⁶³ This is the only occurrence of ἀκοντίζω in *War* (but *Ant.* 10.134; 13.61; 14.401). The compound with κατά (“shoot down with a spear”) is common (12 occurrences in *War*).

³²⁶⁴ Or “did not dare.” The picture that Josephus presents here of legionary fear already undermines by anticipation his glowing (therefore partly ironic) account of the legions' perfect discipline and unflappable courage (3.74, 98-100, 105-107).

³²⁶⁵ See the note to this phrase at 2.521.

³²⁶⁶ See the notes at 2.43, 253.

³²⁶⁷ This verb (ἐγκειμαι) has the same root as the one rendered “concentrating their force on” in the previous sentence, but with a different prefix.

³²⁶⁸ This is a paradoxical picture, since Polybius (18.28-32) had famously assessed the great advantage of the Roman formation (over the Macedonian phalanx, reflecting on the Battle of Cynsecephalae in 197 BCE) to be its complete flexibility: “For every Roman [soldier], as soon as he is armed, will strike according to need; he adapts himself indifferently to every terrain and occasion, and to every sudden appearance” (18.32.10). In Josephus, however, the legions often appear as a rigid and inflexible force over against courageous and effective Judean guerrillas.

The result was that it fell to them [the Romans] to suffer considerable injury, [while] they were inflicting no harm* at all in return on their adversaries.³²⁶⁹ **544** Being hit and shaken out³²⁷⁰ of their column all along the road they kept falling down, until, with many having been disposed of—among whom were Priscus,³²⁷¹ the commander of the Sixth Legion; Longinus, a military tribune;³²⁷² and the prefect of a [cavalry] wing,³²⁷³ Aemilius Iucundus³²⁷⁴ by name—they barely made it to their former camp at Gabao,³²⁷⁵ after abandoning the bulk of their equipment.³²⁷⁶

545 There Cestius lingered for two days, completely stumped³²⁷⁷ as to what he should do, but when on the third day he observed the enemy [becoming] much more numerous, and every place in the vicinity filled with Judeans,³²⁷⁸ he realized that he had loitered against his own [interest], and if he should remain still longer he would have to deal with more adversaries.

(19.8) 546 In order that he might effect³²⁷⁹ a more compact³²⁸⁰ escape, he gave orders to cut loose whatever was dragging the army down,³²⁸¹ and after the mules, donkeys, and even

³²⁶⁹ Josephus omits a conjunction or coordinating syntax (asyndeton), perhaps for effect.

³²⁷⁰ See the note to “shaken them out” at 2.518. Since column discipline was the hallmark of the legions (Goldsworthy 1996: 176-247), this was a very ominous development.

³²⁷¹ At 2.531 we met a camp prefect, one of Cestius’ most senior advisors, named Tyrannius Priscus. *Praefecti castrorum* were 3rd in rank within a legion, though we do not know the legion to which Tyrannius belonged. Since, however, the *Legio VI Ferrata* had contributed a vexillation of 2,000 men (2.500), one of the legion’s senior officers must have been in command: a tribune or camp prefect. Given that this Priscus is described as commander of that legion’s detachment, he might well have been also camp prefect of *Legio VI*. Although Priscus is a common name (see 2.531), the long odds of finding two men with this name among the few most senior officers in Cestius’ army support the identity of the two, though we cannot be certain.

³²⁷² One of the 8 most senior officers of a 5,400-strong legion (with the legate, camp prefect, and 5 other tribunes—of either senatorial or equestrian rank) or the commander of a 1,000-strong auxiliary cohort; see notes at 2.11, 244, 335. The *cognomen* Longinus (meaning “tall”) was common, with some 200 attestations in masculine and feminine forms across social ranks (Kajanto 1982: 231). This figure, otherwise unknown, may have commanded one of the legionary vexillations, or perhaps a double-strength auxiliary cohort.

³²⁷³ See the note to “wings of cavalry” at 2.67.

³²⁷⁴ This may well be the auxiliary cavalry prefect Iucundus who had been based in Caesarea at the time of the earlier conflict, who had tried to restore order (cf. 2.291 and note).

³²⁷⁵ As narrated at 2.516; see the note to “fifty *stadia*” there.

³²⁷⁶ But see 2.521, where Cestius has already lost large parts of the baggage train to Simon’s group; 2.546, where he will deliberately jettison much more (while keeping dozens of animals for the artillery); and 2.553, where the Judeans will capture all of that. If this is not simply rhetorical exaggeration, we must imagine that Cestius came with considerable long-term food, clothing, and building supplies, to be able to lose so much.

³²⁷⁷ See the note at 2.287. Josephus will re-use *ἀμαχανέω* at 2.548, illustrating his tendency to cluster unusual diction (the verb appears only 11 times in his corpus). The (literal) “resourcelessness” of a senior Roman commander and presumably his surviving generals was the absolute antithesis of the Roman military and political ethos.

³²⁷⁸ This phrase (πάντα τὰ κύκλω [μεστὰ Ἰουδαίων]) will be reprised at 2.550.

³²⁷⁹ Or “manage, deal with”: Josephus re-uses *χράομαι* from near the end of the preceding sentence (“deal with”), but now in a different sense.

³²⁸⁰ Or “tighter, more focused, more intense.” Although Josephus uses the adjective *σύντονος* only 9 times in his corpus, the only other occurrence in *War 2* comes a few sentences below (2.553), illustrating his tendency to cluster vocabulary.

³²⁸¹ Or “holding the army back.” The compound verb *ἀνθέλω* is attested only a dozen times in all of Greek literature (Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, Chrysippus, Diodorus, Dionysius) before Philo, who uses it a remarkable 7 times; Josephus has it twice (also 1.23 in *War’s* prologue), and it becomes more common in Plutarch, Galen, Lucian, and later writers. His use of this verb thus fits a general pattern: Philonic language that is becoming increasingly popular.

pack animals had been disposed of³²⁸²—with the exception of those that transported the projectiles³²⁸³ and the engines for them³²⁸⁴ (for they carefully preserved these, on account of need and especially because they had become anxious that they might be captured by the Judeans³²⁸⁵ [for use] against them)—he led the force towards Bethoron.³²⁸⁶

*Judeans
massacre
Twelfth Legion
at Beit Horon.
Life 24*

547 Now while the Judeans applied less pressure in the open spaces,³²⁸⁷ once they [the Romans] had become crowded together into narrow spaces³²⁸⁸ and the descent,³²⁸⁹ those [Judeans] who had gone ahead were blocking them from [reaching] the exit route,³²⁹⁰ whereas others were pushing those at the rear³²⁹¹ down into the ravine,³²⁹² and the whole

³²⁸² See the note at 2.541.

³²⁸³ See the note to “projectiles” at 2.48, and next note.

³²⁸⁴ See 2.553 for a fuller description. On the varieties of Roman imperial artillery, see Marsden 1969 (esp. 174-98), 1971; Bishop and Coulston 2006, esp. 88-90. The two main kinds of engines would be torsion-driven stone- (or shot-) throwers (*ballistae*) and bolt-firers (*catapultae*), varying considerably in size. Cf. 3.166-68 below, where these machines appear in Vespasian’s arsenal, the *ballistae* throwing shot weighing a talent (26-38 kg [60-80 lbs]). Although Cestius’ artillery would likely have been more modest, given his rapid deployment and limited aims, the projectiles in question would still have been stone shot and bolts or arrows of some description. Vitruvius describes both kinds of engines (distinguishing machines from instruments) in bk. 10 of his (late 1st cent. BCE) *De architectura*. See Diodorus 20.48 for the story of their invention in the succession wars following Alexander’s death.

In the 4th century CE Vegetius (2.25) would specify that each legion carried 55 catapults and 10 stone-launchers, and this happens to fit the numbers given by Josephus for Vespasian at 3.166 (as Thackeray also notes). If Cestius had brought the 12th legion’s full artillery and some from the vexillations, there may have been 100 or so pieces with his force.

³²⁸⁵ Captured Roman artillery was valuable indeed for the Judeans, who had no means of producing such engines (cf. 2.435, where Menachem faces precisely this lack in trying to besiege Jerusalem). Their construction required technical expertise, machined materials, and specialized workshops, as a glance at Vitruvius’ chapters on these machines in *De arch.* 10 reveals (cf. Marsden 1969: 175-88). But this fear on the part of the Romans will be fully realized at 2.553, when the Judeans do indeed capture their equipment. Josephus builds suspense, or tragic irony (since the audience knows the conclusion), by mentioning the prospect here.

³²⁸⁶ About 9 km (5.6 miles) further along the road from Gabaon. This is a tiring beginning to what will be a terrible day. Going in this direction, the force will first

reach the upper town, before the 3.3-km descent to the lower town. See the note to this fateful site at 2.228.

³²⁸⁷ This is the only occurrence of εὐρυχωρία in *War* (but *Ant.* 2.220; 15.347; 19.223).

³²⁸⁸ Bar-Kochva (1976: 19) notes that this accurately describes the road as it passes between the hills of Upper Beit-Horon on the right and (mod.) Sheikh Abu Shusha on the left, perhaps even beginning from “Hill 665,” about 0.75 km (0.5 miles) before that point, where the road is confined between the hill on the right and a steep ravine on the left.

³²⁸⁹ Reading τὰ στενὰ καὶ τὴν κατάβασιν (so MSS PAL and Latin) with Niese and other editors. Bar-Kochva (1976: 19 n. 23) argues for τὴν κατὰ τὰ στενὰ κατάβασιν (with the generally inferior MSS MVRC), mistakenly attributing this to the better MSS. He points out that the steepest descent is beyond and down from the narrow pass between Upper Beit Horon and Sheikh Abu Shusha: “the descent under the narrows.” He may be quite right about the tactical dispositions in question, but in trying to explain the variant readings we must prefer the one that has both better attestation and the virtue of being *difficilior*. Even if Josephus had expert knowledge of the site, we cannot assume that he always intended to be precise for his Roman audience: he might well have lumped the narrow pass and the descent together as the problem faced by the retreating force, as indeed he seems to have done.

³²⁹⁰ This exit route would be either the foothills after Lower Beit-Horon or, at least, the more gentle and less constricted descent after the dog-leg in the road turns N/NW toward that town. Bar-Kochva (1976: 19) suggests that a blockade of trees and rocks would effectively bar the narrow road.

³²⁹¹ This is the 3rd and final occurrence of a somewhat rare adjective in Josephus within a few sentences; see the note at 2.541. Bearing in mind the considerable length of the marching column, over several kilometers (see the note to Bethora at 2.521), we must look for a site well E of Upper Beit-Horon. Bar Kochva (1981: 20) makes a plausible case for a shorter interval than the whole column would require on the premise that the Judeans let

[Judean] horde, having strung themselves out above the neck of the road,³²⁹³ kept coating the column with projectiles.³²⁹⁴ **548** And there, with the infantry being completely stumped³²⁹⁵ as to how to come to their own aid,³²⁹⁶ the predicament was yet more precarious³²⁹⁷ for the cavalrymen. For they were not able to proceed in order³²⁹⁸ down the road, while being bombarded, and the ascent up to the enemy was not horse-friendly.³²⁹⁹ **549** this way and that were crags and ravines,³³⁰⁰ into which they fell and were obliterated.

One had neither a place for escape nor a plan for defense, but in utter helplessness³³⁰¹ they were reduced to wailing and lamentation³³⁰² in their despair,³³⁰³ whereas what sang out in response from the Judean side was encouragement,³³⁰⁴ and the yell of those who were rejoicing while also having become enraged.³³⁰⁵ **550** They [the Judeans] very nearly³³⁰⁶

the lighter vanguard pass unmolested, and launched the attack at the pass only when the heavily armed legionary column had arrived. This would put the rear only about 3 km behind, between hills 665 and 726, where there are indeed a couple of steep ravines beside the road.

³²⁹² See the previous note for a plausible location (somewhat E of Beit-Horon).

³²⁹³ Bar-Kochva (1976: 19) proposes that the Judeans had taken the hill of Abu Shusha at the bend in the road that marked the beginning of the descent. They thus dominated the road both to the E (where it sat between them and the Upper Beit-Horon hill) and to the N and W as it began the steep descent, with the steep wadi to the N. The hill would be a very effective site from which to fire arrows or hurl stones on a column descending with difficulty (backs to the rebels) toward the W. And the relatively long exposure to the road from one hilltop might justify the language about the rebels' being lined up or strung out above the neck (or narrowest part) of the road.

³²⁹⁴ See the note to "projectiles" at 2.48.

³²⁹⁵ See the note at the recent occurrence of this verb (2.545).

³²⁹⁶ See the note to this unusual word at 2.388.

³²⁹⁷ Though it occurs only here in *War* (but *Ant.* 5.52, 139, 169; 6.213; 12.402), the adjective ἐπισφαλής (here comparative) is particularly well chosen. Josephus' use of it with "predicament" makes it metaphorical, but its literal sense of slipperiness or insecure footing also applies here.

³²⁹⁸ Greek οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τάξει κατὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ βαδίζειν could mean either that, unlike the infantry, the cavalry could not walk down the road in column (What to do with their horses? [But nor could they use their horses to advantage in this terrain]) or that, being higher and more conspicuous targets, they were getting hit more easily, and the reactions of their horses made it impossible to remain in order.

³²⁹⁹ On Bar-Kochva's reconstruction (1976: 19–20): they could not possibly turn around and go up the narrow descent, into the approaching column, much less

ride up the Abu Shusha hill. At 3.16, the only other occurrence of ἰππασίμος in Josephus (note again his clustering tendency), terrain that *is* horse-friendly will be described as open plain—a point he makes often (cf. 2.12 and note).

³³⁰⁰ Josephus pairs κρημοί and φόραγγες a number of times (also 3.158; 4.8; 5.141) while describing impassable terrain. Since in these pairings the two words mean distinct things—crags above the steep valleys below—, Josephus' usage supports Bar-Kochva's reading (1976: 19), based on the topography of Beit-Horon, that the Romans faced either crags *above* them or ravines *below* (into which they fell): this way crags, that way ravines.

³³⁰¹ This is the cognate noun of the verb (participle) "stumped" at 2.545, 548. Josephus continues to drive home the absence of the legions' storied resourcefulness.

³³⁰² The vocabulary of tragedy (here οἰμωγή, ὄδυρμοί) provides one of *War*'s rich thematic veins, introduced already in the prologue. See the notes to "mourn over" and "calamities" at 1.9, "misfortunes" and "feeling" at 1.11, and "unfortunate things" and "lamentations" at 1.12.

³³⁰³ See the note at 2.540: the rapid re-use of this word (its only occurrences in bk. 2; cf. the cognate verb at 2.551) draws attention to the reversal of Roman fortunes.

³³⁰⁴ This word (ἐγκέλευσμα) is attested only once in Greek literature before Josephus (Xenophon, *Cyn.* 6.25), and after him only in the 12th-century commentator on Homer, Eustathius (*Comm. Il.* 3.137, 915), though it is used by Cicero to spice one of his Latin letters to Atticus (6.1.8), and so must have been known in the most literate circles. Josephus will use it again in the Roman narrative at *Ant.* 19.110 (providing further evidence that he wrote that story).

³³⁰⁵ This arresting combination of two opposite emotions (χαϊρόντων ἅμα καὶ τεθυμωμένων) was anticipated at 2.474 (see note to "enraged" there).

³³⁰⁶ See the note to this phrase at 2.373.

carried away the entire force, Cestius included, except that night intervened, during which the Romans fled into Bethoren,³³⁰⁷ whereas the Judeans, who had occupied every place in the vicinity,³³⁰⁸ kept guard over their exit route.³³⁰⁹

*Cestius’
midnight run
from Lower Beit
Horon*

(19.9) 551 At this point Cestius, who had come to despair³³¹⁰ of the clearly visible road,³³¹¹ was contemplating a dash.³³¹² So he singled out some 400³³¹³ of the most confident³³¹⁴ soldiers and placed them on top of the houses,³³¹⁵ after giving orders to keep calling out the signals of the guards in the camps,³³¹⁶ so the Judeans would figure that the entire force was remaining in place,³³¹⁷ whereas he himself took the remainder with him and quietly proceeded*³³¹⁸ another thirty *stadia*.³³¹⁹

552 At first light, when the Judeans perceived that their [the Romans’] quarters were deserted, they ran at the 400 who had so deceived them³³²⁰ and shot them down quickly with spears, then began to pursue Cestius. 553 But he had made considerable³³²¹ gains during the night and was fleeing even more compactly by daylight, inasmuch as the soldiers had, in terror and alarm, abandoned the city-takers,³³²² the sharpened-bolt launchers,³³²³

³³⁰⁷ This is presumably Lower Beit-Horon, at least for those near the front of the Roman column; see the note at 2.228.

³³⁰⁸ Josephus’ language here (Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ πάντα τὰ κύκλῳ περισχόντες) reprises phrases from 2.523 and 2.545.

³³⁰⁹ Presumably, the main road leading further W from Lower Beit-Horon.

³³¹⁰ Or “give up on.” This is the cognate verb to the noun used at 2.540, 549: see the notes there. Apparently Cestius assumes that the Judeans will continue to confront him in the next phase, even if he does not know that they are guarding the exit routes.

³³¹¹ Since Cestius cannot change the route, with thousands of soldiers along, he will try to make his progress invisible (see next sentence).

³³¹² δρασμὸν ἐβουλεύετο. This Herodotean phrase (5.124; 8.4, 18, 75, 97, 100), attested otherwise before Josephus only once in Philo (*Fug.* 14), is characteristic of *War* (1.286, 537; 3.93 [of Josephus himself]; 4.101). Josephus appears to ride the crest of fashion again (anticipated by Philo), for the phrase appears in Plutarch (quoting Herodotus, *Mor.* [*Her. mal.*] 867b, e), Appian (*Mithr.* 328), Lucian (*Herc.* 3; *Char.* 21; *Sat.* 35), and Aristides (*Panath.* [Dindorf] p. 140).

³³¹³ Given a force of some 30,000, not counting “large numbers” of new auxiliaries, which Cestius had at the beginning (2.500-502), this would be 1 guard for every 75 men, roughly one per century (formally comprising 80). That makes sense in view of the normal transmission of signals (see the note to “camps” in this section).

³³¹⁴ This is the only occurrence of εὐψυχος in *War* (though *Ant.* has it 10 times).

³³¹⁵ These would be the flat upper stories of houses, accessible by staircases, not tiled and sloped roofs in the modern western sense; cf. 4.28; *Ant.* 6.49; 13.140.

³³¹⁶ Or “watch-words” (προστάξας ἀναβοᾶν τὰ

σημεῖα τῶν ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις φυλάκων). At 3.86-87 Josephus will describe the Roman camp at night, claiming that even then nothing is done without orders conveyed by signals: the hours for sleep and for the guards’ shifts (τούς τε ὕπνους αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰς φυλακὰς) are given by the trumpets’ signals (σάλπιγγες προσημαίνουσιν). He goes on to say that these signals are conveyed from the legionary commander down to the century level (3.87). See the note to “400” earlier in this section.

³³¹⁷ Using a relatively few men to give the enemy the impression of a vastly larger force was a familiar stratagem (Caesar in *Bell. gall.* 7.45; Josephus below at 2.635-37; cf. *Life* 163-66).

³³¹⁸ It is not entirely clear how Cestius’ large force managed this undetected, if the Judeans were closely guarding that very road (as 2.550), unless we should understand that the ruse involving the watchword-shouting should have lulled the Judeans into not watching the road after all.

³³¹⁹ I.e., 6 km (3.75 miles). This distance would bring Cestius into the much gentler edge of the coastal plain, approximately at the junction of two main roads (one leading to Ammaus to the SW, one to Lydda via Modein to the W/NW—the one he took).

³³²⁰ These are the 400 guards at 2.551.

³³²¹ Josephus uses *litotes*.

³³²² This is the first mention of the feared siege tower (ἐλέπολις), which will turn up often—albeit only in Roman hands—in the subsequent narrative (3.121, 226, 230; 5.275-81, etc.): at 3.121, mules will carry these (perhaps in sections) with Vespasian’s column as it enters Judea. For the employment of these machines, which were built partly to give attackers platforms above the city walls for more effective targeting (cf. Marsden 1969: 105-8), see 5.299; 6.23, 26, 221, 393.

The invention of this device, along with many other siege engines, was attributed to Demetrius the Besieger

and the majority of their other implements, which the Judeans then took—and immediately began using against those who had left them.³³²⁴ **554** So they advanced, pursuing the Romans as far as Antipatris.³³²⁵

At that point, since they were not catching up, they turned around and began gathering the machines, robbing the corpses, and collecting the spoils that had been abandoned, and with victory songs³³²⁶ they ran back into the mother-city.³³²⁷ **555** They suffered few losses all in all, whereas they had done away with 5,300 infantry soldiers³³²⁸ of the Romans and their allies, along with 480 cavalry.³³²⁹

This was all accomplished, then, on the eighth of the month Dios,³³³⁰ in the twelfth year of Nero's *imperium*.³³³¹

(Poliorcetes) in approx. 307 BCE, as he sought ways to take the city of Salamis on Cyprus (Diodorus 20.48.2-3). In Diodorus the structure appears as a massive 9-story affair of about 41 m (135 ft) height and 21.3 m (68 ft) length on the ground, on wheels about 7.5 m (24 ft) high, with battering rams and *ballistae* arranged on various levels. Plutarch (*Dem.* 21), however, associating it first with Demetrius' attack on *Rhodes*, trims the height by nearly a third. Clearly, the height and specific uses of such a structure could vary according to need.

³³²³ Josephus gives only ὄξυβελεῖς, which was standard shorthand for καταπέλται ὄξυβελεῖς, the main alternative to which were [καταπέλται] λιθοβόλα (Marsden 1969: 1 nn. 1-2), which launched stones. Given that καταπέλται could describe either the stone- or the bolt-throwers—whereas Latin *catapultae* generally indicated the latter (in contrast to *ballistae*)—it is curious that Josephus uses the distinctive formulaic phrase [τούς] τε ὄξυβελεῖς καὶ καταπέλτας καὶ λιθοβόλα to describe Roman artillery in general (3.80; 5.14, 263; 6.121). Since that collocation is attested beforehand only in the famous passage on Demetrius Poliorcetes in Diodorus (20.48.1), there seems to be a good chance that Josephus found it there; it occurs again only in Appian (*Ib.* 401; *Lib.* 375).

³³²⁴ This is an ironic reprise of 2.548, where Cestius had been profoundly concerned to keep the machines and instruments secure, precisely so that they did not fall into Judean hands. At 2.564 Josephus claims that the goods (or money) taken from Cestius were in the hands of Eleazar son of Simon. At 5.267 Simon son of Gioras will bring the engines that his group had taken from Cestius; this may refer mainly to the incident at 2.521.

³³²⁵ See the note at 2.513: Cestius is retracing his steps toward Antioch via Caesarea.

³³²⁶ Greek μετὰ παίωνων—the only occurrence of the noun in Josephus. The term, which takes its name from being addressed in celebration to Paean-Apollo, is absent from Judean literature—as a *Judean* activity (at 2 Macc 15:25 it is Nicanor's army that sings them; similarly Philo, *Legat.* 96, 110; *Flac.* 121). Josephus did not

need to use this word, for he could have had the Judean soldiers singing hymns or psalms. At the story level, his language drives home the remarkable reversal: it was the Greek and Roman soldiers who should have been singing paeans; the Judeans have unexpectedly taken this role. If there is any point in pressing the story for historical realism, perhaps the Judeans were singing a sarcastic paean.

³³²⁷ See the note at 2.400.

³³²⁸ This figure approximates the strength of a legion fully staffed. Clearly the 12th Legion suffered the most devastating losses (cf. 5.41), and it seems to have been the one that lost its eagle (Suetonius, *Vesp.* 4.5). But the casualty figure (if accurate) includes soldiers from a wide range of units, including allied forces, and may indeed represent the total losses on the Roman side from all phases of the campaign.

³³²⁹ So MSS PL (followed by Niese, Thackeray, Vitucci, and M-B). MSS AMVRC read “380.” The higher figure happens to reach the size of a full auxiliary cavalry wing (*ala*), comprising 16 *turmae* of 30-32 each (cf. Le Bohec 1994: 26); this could mean that an entire wing was destroyed or that a copyist raised the number for that purpose, or that Josephus did so.

³³³⁰ See the note to “Artemisius” at 2.284: this is apparently Marcheshvan 8 (October-November).

³³³¹ For *imperium*, see the note at 1.3. Nero's 12th year, counting by date of accession (*dies imperii*), was from October 13, 65 CE, to October 12, 66 CE. This should therefore be Nero's 13th year, if most scholars are correct in dating the outbreak of the revolt to spring/summer 66 CE. But Kokkinos (1998: 368-95) offers a number of arguments for redating the outbreak to 65 CE, considering the reference to May-June (Artemisius) of Nero's 12th year at 2.284 (see the note to “Nero's *imperium*” there) an error for his 11th year (spring, 65 CE), and regarding the present date as the accurate one: October-November of 65, thus near the beginning of Nero's 12th year. A significant problem with the revised chronology is that these events connect with Nero's trip to Achaëa, which is normally dated to the autumn of 66 (2.558 with notes).

*Eminent
Judeans flee
Jerusalem. Life
47*

(20.1) 556 After the calamity³³³² of Cestius,³³³³ many of the eminent³³³⁴ Judeans began, as if from a sinking ship,³³³⁵ to swim away³³³⁶ from the city.³³³⁷ At any rate, Costobar and Saul,³³³⁸ brothers, with Philip son of Iacimus³³³⁹—this was the camp prefect³³⁴⁰ of Agrippa

³³³² A programmatic term (συμφορά), enhancing the tragic tone of *War* and bk. 2; see the notes at 1.9; 2.286.

³³³³ This (ἡ Κεστίου συμφορά) or the related ἡ Κεστίου πᾶσιμα may have become a cliché in Josephus' circles, both Roman and Judean, matching the earlier *clades Variana* ("Varian disaster"); see the note to "Cestius" at 1.21.

³³³⁴ See 2.243 and the note to "powerful [men]" at 2.239 for the use of such labels.

³³³⁵ One of only 8 occurrences of βαπτίζω in *War*, this one comes not long after the other one in bk. 2 (2.476), where it has been used in a completely different context.

³³³⁶ The colorful verb ἀπονήχομαι appears only here in Josephus; it is very rare before his time (Polybius 16.3.14—exactly this context of swimming away from a sinking ship), but becomes popular in the 2nd century (Plutarch, *Publ.* 16.8; 19.2; *Caes.* 49.7; *Mor.* [*Tranq.*] 476a; [*Vit. aer.*] 831e; Arrian, *Alex.* 2.20.9, 22.5; *Hist. ind.* 23.3; Polyaeus, *Strat.* 4.7.4; Lucian, *Tox.* 6, 20, 21; Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 7.48 [Kaibel]; Aelian, *Nat. anim.* 1.5; 8.3, 19; 17.17).

³³³⁷ This description is distinctly pejorative. This is clear from the context, in which Costobar and Saul, who fled the *polis*, are immediately contrasted with their relative Antipas, who was above such self-serving flight, and then with Josephus and his colleagues, who threw in their lot with the city, the land, and its people. The language derives its force from the well-worn image of the "ship of state," with the skilled helmsman steering it (see note to "storm" at 2.396). Josephus' contemporary Plutarch makes clear the expectation that the helmsman belongs with the ship, especially in times of crisis and even when the state's problems are not of his own making (*Mor.* [*Praec.*] 815c-e): "he must not create storms himself, but he must also not abscond when they descend; he must not stir up the *polis* and make it falter, but when it is faltering and in danger he must help, just as a sacred anchor. . ." Above all, he must "not remove himself from the terrors facing the land. . . ; but, even if he had no share in the failings of the masses, he must assume the risks on their behalf." The masses are not able to handle the ship by themselves (cf. Polybius 6.44.4-6), whereas the aristocratic leader exists for this purpose.

Given Josephus' evident disdain for those who fled the city in its time of need, the vivid and disparaging image (by no means "trite" as J. Price proposes), and the

well-established context for the statesman-helmsman's primary duty to the *polis*, it is difficult to follow those scholars who imagine Josephus here giving positive value to aristocratic defection from the city as part of his putative apologetic program, to claim that aristocrats generally supported Rome and opposed the war (J. Price 1992: 38-40; McLaren 1998: 95, 102; cf. Goodman 1987: 163). That these men were called "distinguished" at their introduction (2.418) says nothing about Josephus' view of their character; it has to do with irrefragable social status. Clearly, those who stayed to lead the people (Josephus, Ananus, and others) are the ones worthy of praise in this narrative.

³³³⁸ See the note to these grandsons of King Herod at 2.418, where they were dispatched to King Agrippa to seek military assistance, which then arrived under the leadership of Philip son of Iacimus.

³³³⁹ In contrast to the *Life*, which discusses his activities at length, *War* has mentioned this commander of Agrippa's forces by name only at 2.421 above (see the note there), though he has remained present in the background; hence the need to identify him again. This reminder of Philip's mission from Agrippa also serves to distinguish him from Costobar and Saul, who are presented as abandoning their own city, whereas he was fleeing a city that had rejected his help. We do not hear what has become of his 2,000 cavalry or their commander Darius (2.421), but perhaps we should assume that they served as an escort for the 3 men back to Syria, Philip as commander standing for his army also.

³³⁴⁰ Although he was introduced at 2.421 as "general," the title here is used of Philip also at *Life* 407; see the note *ad loc.* in BJP 9. "Camp prefect" is perhaps best suited to his role after arriving in Jerusalem, where his royal cavalry were to protect the non-insurgent populace and the Roman auxiliary garrison of 500-1,000 (2.428-32). Since his troops were able to leave, whereas the Roman garrison that had taken refuge in the Herodian palace was slaughtered (2.20-54), the accusation naturally arose that Philip had sided with his Judean compatriots and betrayed the Romans (cf. *Life* 50, 182, 407 with notes in BJP 9). The predictability of such charges, especially the conspiracy theory connecting such a betrayal with an anti-Roman gambit by King Agrippa II (*Life* 407), are so readily explained by the circumstances that they cannot serve as compelling evidence of actual conspiracy (agreeing with J. Price 1991, *contra* Drexler 1925: 306-12; Cohen 1979: 160-69).

the king—fled from the city and went off to Cestius.³³⁴¹ **557** Now Antipas,³³⁴² who was besieged in the royal palace with these [men],³³⁴³ having disdained escape:³³⁴⁴ how he was disposed of³³⁴⁵ by the insurgents³³⁴⁶ we shall explain in due course.³³⁴⁷ **558** Cestius dispatched³³⁴⁸ Saul's group up to Achaea, to Nero,³³⁴⁹ so that they might explain their own constraint³³⁵⁰ and also direct responsibility for the war³³⁵¹ at Florus. For he [Cestius] hoped

³³⁴¹ *Life's* story is fundamentally different from these brief notices in *War*. There (*Life* 46-47) Philip flees the Herodian palace only to face further threats from Manaem's insurgents (who here have given him safe passage: 2.437); Philip hides out with some relatives in Jerusalem for (only) 4 days before making his escape, by wearing a disguise, to some villages near Gamala in the Golan. There is no room in the later account—which Josephus might well have learned subsequently from the history by Justus of Tiberias (*Life* 40, 336), Philip's relative by marriage (*Life* 178)—for Costobar and Saul, or their long stay in Jerusalem after the fall of the garrison (to accommodate Cestius' campaign and its failure). In that account there is also no possibility of their heading as a group from Jerusalem to Cestius. Each of these incompatible stories has its own internal logic, which Josephus has apparently generated to make sense of whatever scraps of information he possessed. Although it is tempting to look for a specific agenda in *Life's* reworking of the Philip story, virtually all of the parallel material in *War* and *Life* is similarly irreconcilable at key points, and any posited agenda leaves major problems unresolved.

³³⁴² Antipas is mentioned with Costobar and Saul at 2.418. They all visit Agrippa and apparently all return with Philip to help fight the insurgents, in spite of their advanced age (ca. 60).

³³⁴³ See 2.429: though unnamed there, these were the men who had made the embassy to Agrippa, who had recently taken refuge in the Herodian palace, though Costobar and Saul have now left. The siege: 2.431, 437-39, 450-56.

³³⁴⁴ The meaning seems to be that whereas Costobar and Saul "fled from the city" to Cestius (Philip being in a different category as Agrippa's officer, sent from elsewhere), their companion Antipas courageously refused to do so, threw in his fortunes with the city as the statesman should, and paid the ultimate price. It seems not to mean that Antipas disdained escape from the Herodian palace with the others (2.437), for the narrative insists that only the Roman garrison remained after the departure of the royal contingent (2.438), and the Romans were all killed except Metilius (2.450-53).

³³⁴⁵ See the note at 2.541.

³³⁴⁶ See the note to this key word at 1.10.

³³⁴⁷ The story is told at 4.140: according to the narrative Antipas has recovered standing and position in the

city by then, but falls victim to a purge of royals and other wealthy citizens.

³³⁴⁸ This is the last reference to Cestius Gallus' activities in *War*: he disappears suddenly after having dominated the narrative for a long period. He will be mentioned several more times, but only in the memory of this rout (3.9, 133, 414; 5.41, 267, 302; 6.338, 422; 7.18). Josephus will also report Nero's disparagement of Cestius' generalship, without naming him, at 3.1-2. Cestius apparently died at about the time of Vespasian's arrival in early 67: Tacitus wonders whether, now close to 70 perhaps, Cestius died for normal reasons or from disgust and loathing at his failure (*ubi fato aut taedio*; *Hist.* 5.10).

³³⁴⁹ Nero had departed Rome in September of 66 for a long-planned tour of Greece, during which he would play at the artistic festivals and hope to win laurels (Suetonius, *Nero* 22-25); during that tour he famously declared the freedom of Achaea—the whole province (*ILS* 8794)—an act that would soon be reversed by Vespasian. Nero returned abruptly at the end of 67, reaching Rome after delaying for some months in other Italian cities (Malitz 2005: 88-96). He is in Greece now, therefore, and he will still be there when he hears of Cestius' defeat and sends Vespasian and Titus to deal with the Judean conflict (*War* 3.1-8); this passage anticipates that one.

According to *Life* 407-9, it was months later than this episode in November/December of 66—namely, when Vespasian arrived in Tyre to prepare his invasion of Judea (early spring, 67 CE; cf. *War* 3.29, which does not however mention a stop in Tyre)—that *Vespasian* rather than Nero heard the complaint against Philip (and Agrippa), and it was Vespasian who required *the king* to dispatch Philip personally to Nero *in Rome*; once there, however, Philip was unable to see Nero because of the "civil war" and so returned to the king. That very different scenario allows for Philip's pacification of Gamala after fleeing Jerusalem (*Life* 46-61), but it creates other chronological problems: from late 66 through 67, Nero was indeed in Greece (as correctly here; cf. Bradley 1978; Malitz 2005: 88-89, 96-97; Dio 68.8.2, 68.19-20), whereas the Roman civil war did not begin until the revolt of Vindex in April 68 CE—notwithstanding earlier reports of threats.

³³⁵⁰ This political use of ἀνάγκη to describe circumstances that limit a statesman's freedom to act (cf. the note to "advantageous" at 2.346) was well established by Josephus' time (Polybius 16.20.2; 18.4.2, 11.8-9;

that his [Nero's] fury against that man would ameliorate his own risks.³³⁵²

(20.2) 559 Meanwhile the Damascenes,³³⁵³ once they learned about the loss³³⁵⁴ of the Romans, were eager to do away with the Judeans among themselves. 560 On the one hand, insofar as they were holding them in the gymnasium³³⁵⁵ (where they had been assembled a long time), having busied themselves³³⁵⁶ thus because of their suspicions,³³⁵⁷ they supposed that the project would be easy; on the other hand, they had come to be worried about their own wives, who had all—but for a few—been attracted by the Judean worship.³³⁵⁸ 561 Consequently, the biggest struggle for them was escaping their [the wives'] notice. But

*Damascenes
avenge Roman
loss, kill 10,500
Judeans among
them*

20.10.14-15; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 2.35.3; 3.12.3; 9.9.1; *Comp. verb.* 18.73; cf. Eckstein 1995: 199-201). The term may also have strong tragic overtones, relevant for *War* and possibly here, connoting the necessity by which people act even as they move inexorably toward their fated ends.

³³⁵¹ The question of who bears responsibility for the war is a preoccupation of bk. 2: Florus is consistently the chief culprit (2.296, 455, 532). At 2.404, 418 we have seen Judeans urgently trying to deflect blame (nefariously engineered by Florus) from themselves to him. Here Cestius, given his obvious failure both to prevent strife and to suppress it, joins the blame game. Within a few months of the debacle, Cestius will have died (see the note at 2.280).

³³⁵² This entire analysis of Cestius' psychology, depending on the factuality of the dispatch itself, appears to be invented from whole cloth for narrative reasons. Josephus had no evident way of knowing Cestius' thoughts, and the entirely different account in *Life* (see previous notes) puts it in serious doubt. At *Ant.* 17.154 Josephus combines the cognate noun for this verb (κουφίζω) with this noun (κίνδυνος), though the phrase seems otherwise unattested in literature.

³³⁵³ Although the city has appeared nearly a dozen times in bk. 1, this is the first reference to Damascus in bk. 2. The oldest continuously inhabited city in the world (today), its site was attractive for obvious reasons: the oasis of the Baradas (Chrysorhoas) River and the large fertile plain created by its run-off to the E of the city. All evidence indicates that the city, home of King Herod's immensely learned courtier Nicolaus a century before these events, was a bastion of Greek culture. At the time of this episode, a temple to Zeus Damascenus was being built in the heart of the city. With the dimensions of the grand *temenos* roughly 380 by 310 m (1,247 x 1,017 ft), this was comparable in size to Herod's rebuilt temple in Jerusalem, though a different shape (Millar 1993: 310-14). Damascus had occasionally fallen under Nabatean Arab control in the 1st centuries BCE and CE, but by 63 CE (before this episode) it was again under Roman administration as part of Syria (Butcher 2003: 43, 96-98, 114).

³³⁵⁴ See the note at 2.51.

³³⁵⁵ At the only other mention of gymnasia in *War* (1.422), the audience has learned that King Herod donated them, along with theaters and temples, to several Greek cities, including *Damascus*. So this very facility had been built by the famous Judean king, and this is a complete reversal of his efforts to establish friendly relations with Greek cities of the east. Every Greek city had a gymnasium: "the chief corner-stone of the educational system" (Marrou 1956: 104). Dedicated to the local Gods, it was a place of education for male teenagers (roughly 15-17 years old), their passport to civic participation, as well as a venue for exercise and a sort of club for adult citizens. Those at Priene and Pergamum are fairly well preserved. On the size of the facility, see the note to "10,500" at 2.561.

³³⁵⁶ See the note at 2.259.

³³⁵⁷ Josephus' Eleazar son of Ya'ir will charge (7.238) that the Damascenes did not even invent a reasonable pretext. In the narrative here, the massacre of Judeans at Caesarea (2.457), itself caused by long-standing conflicts there and perhaps connected with the murder of the Roman garrison in Jerusalem, has led Judean raiding parties to attack the Syrian, Decapolis, and coastal cities (2.458-60). The Syrians responded (2.461-65), often by killing their Judean populations (2.477-80), events exacerbated by the Judean attack on Scythopolis and its aftermath (2.466-77). So the logic here appears to be that the Damascenes had first interned their Judean residents, out of suspicion that they would support outside Judean raids on the city, and they now massacre this group in response to the destruction of Cestius' army.

³³⁵⁸ On interest in Judean culture and worship, see the notes to "Judaize" and "circumcision" at 2.454. At 7.45 Josephus will claim, consistently if remarkably, that the Judeans of Syria "by constantly bringing a large number of Greeks over to their devotional practices, made them in a certain sense a part of themselves." In that case, women are not singled out. In the final paragraphs of the *Apion* (2.282-86) he will insist that attraction to Judean law has spread far and wide, even among the masses. Evidence is discussed at length, from very different perspectives, in Feldman (1993: 177-446) and Goodman 1994, summarily in Mason 1996: 187-93. For the attraction of elite women to Judean law, both historically and rhetorically, see Matthews 2001.

when they struck, since the Judeans were in a confined space³³⁵⁹ and all unarmed, within a single hour they butchered³³⁶⁰ a total of 10,500³³⁶¹ with impunity.³³⁶²

(20.3) 562 Those who had pursued Cestius, when they came back to Hierosolyma, began to bring over to their side those who were still Romanizing,³³⁶³ some by force and others by persuasion,³³⁶⁴ and after assembling in the temple³³⁶⁵ they began appointing more generals³³⁶⁶ for the war.³³⁶⁷ 563 Yosep son of Gorion³³⁶⁸ was chosen as well as the high

*Judeans appoint
generals for war*

³³⁵⁹ I.e., in the gymnasium. This may mean both that the Judeans were an easier target in such crowded quarters and that, since they were thus confined, the deed could be done without the perpetrators' wives learning of it.

³³⁶⁰ Or "slaughtered, sacrificed, cut the throats of." See the similar phrasing (in relation to Caesarea) and note at 2.457.

³³⁶¹ To hold thousands of people (if the story is plausible), the gymnasium at Damascus must have had a very large internal courtyard: 10,000 people would fill a modern football field if standing in ranks at twice the density of soldiers in close order. Later recalling this event, Eleazar son of Ya'ir will claim 18,000 victims (7.368), though Josephus may deliberately have him exaggerate for rhetorical purposes—he also spells out "women and children"—what was already horrible enough. *Life* 27 also recalls this massacre. Both of those later recollections group this episode with the earlier Syrian massacres (2.461-86), whereas Josephus here isolates the Damascene episode as a response to the defeat of Cestius—showing again the freedom he feels as a creative author.

³³⁶² See the notes to "amnesty" at 2.55 and "freedom from fear" at 2.238. The adverb could mean that they conducted the massacre confidently (without fear) or that they committed such a heinous act with a license or amnesty, because of deep hostility to the Judeans on the part of the Roman authorities.

³³⁶³ This is the only occurrence of ῥωμαΐζω in Josephus, and the first attestation in Greek literature, though from now on the verb begins to be used heavily by others: Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 37.4), Appian (*Annib.* 177-78; *Lib.* 304-5; *Mac.* 7.1; *Illyr.* 40; *Mithr.* 5, 107, 109, 182; *Bell. civ.* 1.5.41; 2.13.91), Philostratus (*Vit. Apoll.* 5.36), Cassius Dio (50.6.4; 51.1.5). Once again (see Introduction) Josephus stands at the beginning of a trend.

In form the verb belongs to a class that had gained prominence during the Persian and then Peloponnesian wars, half a millennium earlier: μηδίζω, περσίζω, λακωνίζω, ἀττικίζω—indicating political alignment with another (normally greater) city or power, usually a forced choice for weaker states in times of crisis (e.g., "Atticize or Laconize?"); cf. Thucydides 3.61.2; Xenophon, *Hell.* 6.3.14. Even if it was unavoidable, the identification with foreign states implied by the verb

carried less-than-noble connotations. In the 2nd century BCE the author of 2 Maccabees ironically adjusted ἑλληνίζω, which had meant simply "to express oneself in Greek" and its condition ἑλληνισμός for the same purpose: to indicate the shameful adoption of a Greek cultural program by Judean élites, to which he contrasted (with another neologism) the noble countermeasure of Ἰουδαϊσμός—the ongoing condition of the verb ἰουδαΐζω (cf. Mason 2007c). The appearance of ῥωμαΐζω in Josephus and his later Greek contemporaries may result from their reappropriation of the older Greek style that marked this period.

We should not assume that the existence of a "Romanizing" group implies a simple polarization, such that Ananus, Josephus, and the others were *anti-Roman*. Josephus' model Polybius claims that such a polarization was *asserted* in relation to Achaea, before the Roman senate, by the troublesome and deceptive sycophant Callicrates. *He* was pro-Roman, and presented everyone who did not share his views as anti-Roman (24.8-10; 30.13.2-11). Polybius himself, however, presents much more complicated scenarios: each Greek city or league had its "pro-Roman" elements—usually disliked by the masses (24.9.5)—but they were an extreme. Everyone else debated how best to deal with the reality of Roman power. Callicrates was a Romanizer. Whereas Aristaenus and Philopoemen differed significantly from each other on the best approach to Rome, neither could be called pro-Roman, even though they agreed on the need for at least limited cooperation with Rome (24.11-13). Polybius admires both men, because they both offered reasoned arguments based upon the advantage of Achaea. So also in Josephus' Jerusalem, his views and those of the leaders he respects are nuanced, not "pro-Roman"—even though they recognize the practical need for ultimate cooperation with the great power (e.g., 2.651; 3.135-37; 4.316-20).

³³⁶⁴ For this familiar pair of alternatives, see the note to "force" at 2.8.

³³⁶⁵ That is, the large temple precinct (τὸ ἱερόν) covering the whole platform built by King Herod, not the inner shrine complex (ὁ ναός). See the note to "shrine" at 1.10.

³³⁶⁶ The significance of "more" is unclear, since this appears to be a new and methodical exercise in selecting commanders, which does not assume continuity on

priest Ananus³³⁶⁹ to be supreme commanders³³⁷⁰ of everything throughout the city, and in particular to raise higher the city's walls.³³⁷¹ **564** Eleazar son of Simon,³³⁷² although he had made over to himself the Romans' plunder and the goods that had been seized from Cestius³³⁷³—and besides these, much from the public treasuries³³⁷⁴—they nevertheless did not assign official functions,³³⁷⁵ because they had observed that he was tyrannical³³⁷⁶

the basis of previous command (cf. Eleazar in 2.564).

³³⁶⁷ This passage, with much of what follows, has generated vast scholarly discussion because of its conflict with *Life* (26-29), which has Josephus and two priestly colleagues chosen to visit Galilee, not to prepare for war but to calm the restive areas in Galilee, disarming the militants and waiting to see what the Romans would do after Cestius' debacle (e.g., Luther 1910: 16-17; Drexler 1925: 299-302; Laqueur 1920: 103-4; Thackeray 1929: 10-11; Shutt 1961: 3, 37-41). Although the two accounts are not strictly contradictory on this matter (there are related contradictions), they create quite different impressions. See the fuller discussion throughout BJP 9.

³³⁶⁸ For the name Yosep, see the note at 2.74. At 2.451 Josephus has mentioned a Gorion son of Nicomedes, as one of those who offered a deceitful pledge of safe passage to the Roman garrison; but that person may be from a different family (see the note there). At 4.159 a Gorion son of Josephus will appear, speaking for Ananus II (with Simon son of Gamaliel) against the Zealots. It is inherently likely that these two men are connected, either by a simple confusion of names in the MS tradition (so Drexler 1925: 299-300) or as father and son. The last-named seems identical also with the distinguished victim of the Zealots (Gourion) at 4.358, killed for envy of his wealth and authority, and because of his frankness of speech; Josephus speaks highly of his free mind and love of the people.

It is a puzzle that, although this Joseph is named as one of the two supreme commanders here, he quickly fades from view. It is rather Jesus (son of Gamaliel or Gamalas) who appears as joint commander with Ananus in the later narrative (4.238, 248-50), as also throughout in *Life* (193). Josephus does not explain the shift, though it is not hard to conjecture reasons in times of war (death or injury, crises requiring his attention, a change of mind).

³³⁶⁹ See the note to his father at 2.240. Ananus II will remain a central figure in *War*: he will prepare Jerusalem for war (2.648-54); his eventual murder along with his colleague Jesus, and Josephus' encomium on the pair, will provide the fulcrum of the entire *War* at 4.314-25 (see Introduction). Cf. 4.151, 160-62, 193-238. Son of the high priest Ananus I—in office during the first period of direct Roman rule (6-15 CE) and so an eminent figure, influential also through his 5 sons who

attained the high priesthood in the decades before 70 CE (*Ant.* 20.198)—Ananus II served briefly as high priest in 62 CE, when he presided over the death of James, brother of Jesus of Nazareth. Josephus' later account of that episode (*Ant.* 20.173-203) is scathing, denouncing the high priest's Sadducean propensity to savagery in punishments. In *Life* (193-96, 216, 309), however, Josephus appears once again basically respectful, though he regrets that even this upright former high priest was susceptible to bribery by John of Gischala.

³³⁷⁰ Josephus' chosen term ἀντοκράτορες was the standard Greek equivalent of Latin *imperatores*, and its other 21 occurrences in *War* all refer to Roman generals/emperors. Josephus apparently intended such associations here for the benefit of his Roman audience.

³³⁷¹ Jerusalem already had strong walls in various configurations, those around the temple, the Antonia, and Herod's palace being particularly solid and high. Agrippa I had begun a grand wall that would have included the vulnerable newer areas, but died before its completion; Josephus remarks that, had he completed it, the Romans would have a much harder task (cf. 2.218-19 and note to "wall" there). At 5.155 Josephus will note that Jerusalem's defenders did hurriedly raise that wall to a height of some 37 ft (12 m). This passage apparently indicates the beginning of that effort.

³³⁷² It is typical of Josephus' narrative art that he now returns to an episode already related (2.554), to draw out a new element—Eleazar's prominence in it. This is the first certain mention of a man who will become an important leader for a time, by breaking away from John of Gischala's Zealots (5.5-7, 12, 21). The two factions will eventually reunite against Simon son of Gioras (5.99-105, 250-51). Eleazar may, however, be mentioned already at 4.225 (in view of 5.5), as the most effective and influential member of the Zealots and as a priest (confirming the significant priestly leadership of the rebel movement[s]), even though "son of Gion" has the best MS support (PAL Latin; the others have "son of Simon") and is preferable as the "more difficult reading."

³³⁷³ The story is in 5.554 above.

³³⁷⁴ See the note to "treasury of God" at 2.50. This was evidently the temple treasury, and Eleazar's use of its funds appears to imply Josephus' criticism.

³³⁷⁵ This claim offers an indirect challenge to the common view that anyone involved in the defense of Judea,

and that the devotees under him³³⁷⁷ were adopting the habits of spear-bearers.³³⁷⁸ **565** Incrementally,³³⁷⁹ to be sure, both the need for the goods³³⁸⁰ and Eleazar's acting the enchanter³³⁸¹ bamboozled³³⁸² the people, resulting in their obeying him in all matters.

(20.4) 566 For Idumea³³⁸³ they selected different³³⁸⁴ generals: Iesus son of Sapphas,³³⁸⁵ one of the chief priests,³³⁸⁶ and Eleazar, son of the high priest Neus.³³⁸⁷ The man who

such as Josephus, must have been an enthusiastic supporter of the rebellion (e.g., Luther 1910: 7; Laqueur 1970 [1920]: 258-59; Drexler 1925: 299; Cohen 1979: 152-54 [but 183]; Goodman 1987: 167; Price 1992: 32; Mader 2000: 1-18). Josephus claims that some of the most zealous rebels (at least Simon here) were excluded on moral grounds, whereas those placed in supreme command, with whom Josephus himself was allied, were more evenly tempered and hoped to find a peaceful solution (Ananus: cf. 2.64-51; 4.318-25). Whether this analysis may be discarded as mere *post factum* rationalization remains to be seen: it happens to accord with principles developed already by Polybius and evident in Plutarch's essay on *Political Precepts*. It is difficult to imagine how Josephus could have absorbed such a complex thought structure in the short period between the war and his time of writing in the early 70s.

³³⁷⁶ See the note to "tyrants" at 1.10—a fundamental theme of *War*.

³³⁷⁷ Or "the Zealots under him" as the later group name: see the note at 2.444. Although the specific group of "those called Zealots" will be clearly indicated only at 2.651 and later, and the Greek word has a common generic meaning (as at *Life* 11 of Josephus' relationship to Bannus), the deliberate construction here ("the ζηλωταί under him" rather than simply "his") and the fact that Eleazar will be named among the Zealot leaders (4.225), before creating a splinter group (5.5-7), suggest that Josephus has the specific group in mind here. Since he has not yet explained the distinction to his audience, however, and the generic meaning of the word also yields a tolerable sense, my translation continues to evoke the sense that an audience would most likely have understood.

³³⁷⁸ Having "spear-bearers" is a frequent concomitant of tyrannical aspiration; see the note to this word at 2.262.

³³⁷⁹ See the references in the note to his name at 2.564.

³³⁸⁰ I.e., what was plundered from Cestius (as 2.554, 564).

³³⁸¹ See the note to this word at 2.261 (here in the cognate verb).

³³⁸² Josephus uses the doubly compound verb ἐκπεριέρχομαι only here and at 2.519 (recently) in *War*, though 11 times in *Antiquities*. In all other cases but *Ant.* 16.190 the sense is literal. Here it is metaphorical and

might be rendered in American English "he made an end run around" or "danced around" the populace. This is distinctive Josephan language: before his 13 occurrences, it is attested only 8 times in all Greek literature, chiefly in fragments of Phylarchus, Megasthenes, and Nicolaus after the astronomer Autolycus; Polybius has it once (10.31.3).

³³⁸³ See the note at 2.43. With close ties to Judea from the Hasmonean period onward (1.68; *Ant.* 13.254-58), cemented by the family of Herod, which originated there, the Idumeans will become major players in the main phases of the war: 4.224-36, 270-326, 345-53, 566-70; 5.248-49, 290, 358; 6.148, 378-81; 7.267.

³³⁸⁴ "Different": separate from the supreme commanders in Jerusalem, presumably, though possibly distinct from the commander already in place, Niger.

³³⁸⁵ This man is otherwise unknown. The person with the similar name at 2.599 is excluded by his being a member of the Tiberian council.

³³⁸⁶ Josephus emphasizes the class distinction: the Judeans were wise enough at first to choose the most eminent men to conduct the conflict: all men of the highest possible breeding and character, irrespective of their personal views on the war. It is understood that they will be most committed to the wisest political solution.

³³⁸⁷ This name makes little sense as it stands (Νέος, "young, new"), because it is Greek, and because no high priest is attested with this name, though we have a more or less complete list for this period. Either for this reason or because nothing stood in the text, the Latin and Ps-Hegesippus (the earliest witnesses to the text) omit this name. Hudson emends it to "Ananias" (Ἀνανίου). Pelletier (*ad loc.*) mentions *Ant.* 20.197-99, which uses the terms "older" and "younger" of the two high priests named "Ananus," and wonders whether the "young" here might have been an appellation for Eleazar's father Ananias here, likewise to distinguish him from an older namesake. That seems unlikely, however, since one would normally use the comparative, as in the analogy. At any rate, some emendation seems necessary.

If Josephus wrote a father's name here then Ananias is the best possibility (Thackeray in LCL, Pelletier, M-B), and if that conjecture were correct then this Eleazar would be the temple commandant who initiated the serious movement to war at 2.409-10. That would raise interesting but currently insoluble questions, since that man has consistently appeared as opposing the older

was in charge of Idumea at the time, Niger³³⁸⁸—[his] ancestry was from Perea across the Jordan,³³⁸⁹ for which reason he was called “the Perean”³³⁹⁰—, they ordered to submit to the generals. **567** They did not neglect³³⁹¹ the other territory,³³⁹² but Yosep [son] of Simon³³⁹³ was sent into Hierichous [Jericho],³³⁹⁴ Manasses³³⁹⁵ into Perea, and Ioannes the *Essaeus*³³⁹⁶ to be general for the toparchy³³⁹⁷ of Thamna.³³⁹⁸ Also allotted³³⁹⁹ to him were Lydda³⁴⁰⁰ and

chief priests and their allies. But a war-time government must often combine varied and otherwise contradictory figures.

If this Eleazar were simply the son of the *current* high priest (and the name Neos does not belong at all), with the Latin translations, Eleazar’s father would be Matthias son of Theophilus (*Ant.* 20.223).

³³⁸⁸ See the note to this figure at 2.520, his first appearance. Niger is partly comparable to the Eleazar just mentioned: although he played a distinguished role in the defeat of Cestius (2.520), he must be subordinated to the supreme high-priestly commanders. He is different from Eleazar, however, in that he will meet a noble end in the story: like Ananus and Jesus, *even* he will be done in by the radical warmongers, in spite of his courageous deeds on their behalf (3.11, 20, 25, 27–28—which Josephus as narrator tragically admires), allegedly out of fear because of his bravery. On their heads he will invoke, as he dies, the programmatic drought, plague, civil war, and factionalism that will indeed come to pass (4.359–64).

³³⁸⁹ See the notes at 2.43, 57.

³³⁹⁰ This is a striking accommodation to Josephus’ audience: he must explain why Niger was called the Perean while also explaining which Perea (in distinction from several Pereaes in Greece—lit. “the area across X”) was meant.

³³⁹¹ Or: “they took great care over” (*litotes*).

³³⁹² At 3.54 Josephus will explain that Jerusalem is *sui generis*, standing above the other toparchies as the head stands above the body. The following sites correspond largely to the list of 11 toparchies, or administrative districts, at 3.54–55. Missing are Pella, En Gedi, and Herodium, for understandable reasons: they are in the opposite direction from the Roman advance (from the N and W).

³³⁹³ This Joseph (an extremely common name, as was his father’s; see the note to “Yosep” at 2.74) is otherwise unknown.

³³⁹⁴ The ancient oasis city and toparchic center at the W edge of the Jordan River valley, NE of Jerusalem; see the note at 2.57. Control of this site would block a major artery from the N and give access to the Dead Sea region with its countless possibilities for refuge.

³³⁹⁵ Manasseh (מנשה) is not among the commonly attested names of the period. This may be in part because of its checkered history: on the one hand, Manasseh was the first-born son of the patriarch Joseph in Egypt, whose

posterity—the “half-tribe” W of the Jordan—came to be included among the 12 tribes of Israel (Gen 41:51; 46:20; 48:5–20); but just as famously, Manasseh was a Judahite king who reversed his father Hezekiah’s monotheistic reforms (2 Kgs 21:1–17; 23:26, notwithstanding the revisionist note of repentance at 2 Chron 33:13). This figure appears only here.

³³⁹⁶ Since Josephus uses Ἐσσαῖος for the singular form of “Essene” (1.78; 2.113; *Ant.* 17.346) and remarks that the group known to his audience as Ἐσσηνοί (plural; *Ant.* 15.371–72) are called by the Judeans Ἐσσαῖοι, most scholars (e.g., Whiston, Thackeray in LCL, Pelletier) have understandably assumed that John was an Essene. The form would also serve, however, for a native of Essa (*Ant.* 13.393), which M–B seem to favor by translating *Essäer* (cf. Schalit 1968: *s.v.*). The latter option has in its favor that men were normally identified either by their father or by their place of origin, as indeed all the others in this paragraph are. This is especially clear at John’s next appearance (*War* 3.11), where he is named alongside Niger *the Perean* and Silas *the Babylonian*. By contrast, when Josephus introduces someone as a Pharisee, Sadducee, or Essene, he usually explains that a school affiliation is in view (1.78; 2.113; *Ant.* 13.293; 17.346; 20.199; *Life* 191, 197), though *Ant.* 15.3, 370 are somewhat comparable to this formulation.

Since Essa appears in Josephus as another name for the Decapolis city of Gerasa (*Ant.* 13.393; cf. *War* 1.104), this reading might create a coincidental parallel with Simon son of Giora, a major leader in the later revolt who came from Gerasa (4.503).

³³⁹⁷ See 2.98 and note: toparchies, equivalent to “cleruchies” (3.54–55; cf. Pliny, *Nat.* 5.70), were Judean administrative districts, of which there were 11.

³³⁹⁸ Thamna (Timnah: Gen 38:12–14; Josh 15:10–57) was a natural and longstanding regional center, on the principal road SE from Caesarea via Antipatris (Aphék)—the course chosen by Vespasian (4.443)—and possibly on a minor N–S route (see the note to “Arous” at 2.69), a toparchic center mentioned in 3.55 and Pliny, *Nat.* 5.70. With the addition of two other toparchies and the coastal site of Joppa (following), John has been entrusted with the major swath of the Judean heartland in the coastal plain WNW of Jerusalem, strategically crucial for blocking a Roman advance by all the standard routes. As J. Schwartz observes (1991: 72), of the sites under his command Thamna was best suited for John’s

Yoppa³⁴⁰¹ and Ammaus.³⁴⁰² **568** Of the Gophnite³⁴⁰³ and Acrabettene³⁴⁰⁴ [regions] Ioannes [son] of Ananias³⁴⁰⁵ was appointed^{*3406} commander, and of each of the two Galilees³⁴⁰⁷ Yosep [son] of Matthias.³⁴⁰⁸ Gamala,³⁴⁰⁹ strongest of the cities in this [region],³⁴¹⁰ was also included under this man's generalship.

Josephus assigned command of Galilee; organizes local government.
Life 29

headquarters because it would be least exposed to heavy Roman onslaughts. But see 4.443-44: the entire region falls quickly to Vespasian.

³³⁹⁹ This is the only occurrence of προσκληρόομαι in Josephus. It is a distinctively Philonic compound verb, occurring a remarkable 31 times in his corpus (e.g., *Cher.* 77; *Sacr.* 6, 7, 119; *Plant.* 61; *Conf.* 111; *Div.* 278; *Dec.* 108; *Spec.* 3.178; *Legat.* 68)—remarkable because it is attested only once before Philo (Diodorus 3.18.2), once in Josephus' contemporary Plutarch (*Mor.* [*Quaest.*] 738d), and rarely after that, from the 3rd century. We see again the Philonic quality of Josephus' diction.

³⁴⁰⁰ Lod, a toparchic center (3.54-55) near the W extremity of Judea proper; see the note at 2.242. Controlling this site alone, given its location at the primary junction of W Judea's coastal plain (*shephelah*; cf. J. Schwartz 1991: 23-24), would prevent Roman access by the normal routes to Jerusalem: that used by Cestius (2.516), via Beit-Horon and Gibeon, and the more southerly route via Ammaus. But Judean control of all these areas collapsed quickly after Vespasian's arrival (4.130, 444).

³⁴⁰¹ Although Joppa (Yafo, Jaffa, just S of mod. Tel Aviv) was not a toparchic center, Josephus will mention it alongside that list because it serves as "leader" of its surrounding region (3.56). As a port city (now completely overshadowed by Caesarea to the N; Joppa seems to have remained Judean), it had strategic value: those possessing it could hope to harass both military traffic on the coastal road from N or S and enemy shipping between Alexandria and Caesarea or Antioch (as indeed happens at 3.414-27).

³⁴⁰² This was a toparchic center (3.54-55) on one of the main W-E roads from coastal Joppa to Jerusalem; see the note at 2.63.

³⁴⁰³ Gophna (mod. Jifna) sat about about 20 km (12.5 miles) N of Jerusalem, on the road from Shechem/Neapolis (Nablus) in Samaria—the route taken by Titus (5.50)—where it joined the route coming SE from Caesarea and Antipatris. It was another strategically important site and a toparchic center, mentioned by Josephus as second to Jerusalem (3.55). Vespasian will leave this region along with Acrabatene until he has taken the coastal plain (4.444), but he seems to encounter little difficulty (4.551). It will have a Roman garrison by the time Titus resumes the campaign (5.50), and will serve as a sanctuary for high-profile Judean deserters (6.115-118).

³⁴⁰⁴ At the SE extremity of Samaria, bordering Judea proper; see the note at 2.235.

³⁴⁰⁵ This John (among the commonest names of the time) appears only here in Josephus. He may be another son of Ananias the high priest, in addition to Ananus and Eleazar (see 2.243 and note). That would explain his high status, but not Josephus' omission of the information here.

³⁴⁰⁶ Josephus frequently switches to the present tense to highlight the main action; here the present serves as a subtle way of highlighting his own role, which he mentions last with apparent humility.

³⁴⁰⁷ Already in the prologue (1.22) Josephus anticipated his forthcoming description of the two Galilees (3.35-44), which is crucial for setting the scene of his main activities as general. He mentions the division again at 2.573, accommodating his audience by referring to "what is called Lower Galilee."

³⁴⁰⁸ Thus our author introduces himself for the first time into the narrative, in which he will now play a significant role. See also his personal remarks in the prologue (esp. 1.1-17) and, for his ancestry, *Life* 1.1-6 with commentary in BJP 9. Until this point Josephus has seldom used the 1st person singular pronoun—in occasional editorial musings: 2.151, 156, 191, though not in reference to himself as character—and in the sequel it will remain rare: once in bk. 2 (quoting his own speech at 2.605), 9 times in bk. 3, 7 times in bk. 4, 7 times in bk. 5, 19 times in bk. 6, not at all in bk. 7, almost all of which concern his thoughts as narrator. He will refer to his character most often in the 3rd person, as here—30 times in the remainder of bk. 2, some 54 times in bk. 3. Cf. Caesar's famous 3rd-person self-references in his 7- (later 8-) volume history, *The Gallic War*.

³⁴⁰⁹ Gamala (named for its camel-back ridge between two hills), in the Golan to the E of Lake Kinneret, was introduced in 1.105 as a resistant fortress taken by Alexander Jannaeus, and mentioned again as one of the sites rebuilt by the Roman Gabinius ca. 56 BCE (1.166). It is now part of King Agrippa II's territory (2.247; 3.56), which Josephus as rebel commander will nonetheless claim, along with Agrippa's cities of Tiberias and Tarichea in Galilee. Josephus will describe the site in detail at 4.2-10, just before its capture by Vespasian. See the note to "Ioudas" at 2.118 and *Life* 46-61—where Josephus first investigates the situation in Gamala on his arrival in Galilee—along with the notes to the latter passage and archaeological information in BJP 9. But

(20.5) **569** For their part, each of the other generals was administering what had been entrusted to him with the eagerness or shrewdness³⁴¹¹ that he possessed; Yosep, after coming into Galilee, turned his thoughts first to the goodwill of the locals towards himself,³⁴¹² knowing that he would set most things right by this [means]³⁴¹³ even if in the other respects he should fail completely.³⁴¹⁴ **570** Realizing that he would win over to his side the powerful [men],³⁴¹⁵ for their part, by sharing authority with them,³⁴¹⁶ and the entire mob,³⁴¹⁷ for their part,³⁴¹⁸ if he would issue orders in general through locals and familiar [men],³⁴¹⁹ he selected the seventy most prudent of the elders³⁴²⁰ and established them as leaders³⁴²¹ of all Galilee, **571** and seven in each city as judges of less significant disputes.³⁴²² The larger matters and the murder trials³⁴²³ he directed [them] to send up to himself and the seventy.

*Josephus
fortifies
Galilean towns.
Life 187*

(20.6) **572** After he had settled the legal issues for each city, pertaining to one another, he moved on to their external security. **573** Recognizing that the Romans would engage first in Galilee,³⁴²⁴ he began building walls appropriate to the locations:³⁴²⁵ Iotapata,³⁴²⁶

whereas Philip son of Iacimus is described in the *Life* passages as keeping Gamala loyal to King Agrippa and the Romans, at *Life* 185-86 Josephus reports that Gamala defected from them and sought assistance from him—extra forces and fortification of the walls—both of which requests he granted. See further 2.575 and note.

³⁴¹⁰ The reasons for this strength are explained at 4.2-10.

³⁴¹¹ The distinction (προθυμία ἢ σύνεσις) is not attested as a cliché. It implies a wry view of Josephus' colleagues: some had more enthusiasm than military cleverness; for others, the case was reversed.

³⁴¹² Cf. *Life* 30-61, where Josephus describes his first task in Galilee as understanding the situation and the people's moods in the various locales.

³⁴¹³ This is a remarkable statement, since the "other respects" in which he might fail would include losing in his theater of the war. Yet Josephus' sentiments accord with the value system articulated in authors from Polybius to Plutarch: one's first and main responsibility as a statesman is to identify with the people in one's care, and to do the best for them in the circumstances; outcomes are not within one's control (in keeping with Stoic views): Polybius 24.11-13; Plutarch, *Mor. [Praec.]* 799b-801c; 815c-e.

³⁴¹⁴ Josephus' character contrasts the same verbs in his speech at 5.390.

³⁴¹⁵ See the note at 2.239.

³⁴¹⁶ *Life* 79 gives this episode a different look. There Josephus, having arrived to find a restive population, takes 70 of the Galilean leading men with him "on a pretext of friendship" as hostages to the people's loyalty. He presents himself there as making the rounds to hear cases, as a governor would, with this group of 70 in attendance as his traveling companions. Although he defers to their judgement, this is a clever ploy to keep them and the people loyal.

³⁴¹⁷ Josephus here omits the description of his first ploy in *Life* (77-78), which involved neutralizing the militants ("bandits") already in Galilee by extracting from the populace protection money, to keep them out of the towns and cities unless called for. See BJP 9 *ad loc.*

³⁴¹⁸ This distinction between the élite and the masses, and the different means for winning over each group, is a consistent feature of Josephus' narrative world; cf. 2.193, 199, 241-43.

³⁴¹⁹ I.e., people known and trusted by the locals. This is classic imperial strategy, followed also by the Romans (as by some predecessors and many followers).

³⁴²⁰ In the ideal world of the *Mishnah* (*Sanh.* 1.5-6; 2.4) the court of 71 constituted the Great Sanhedrin (הגדולה), which alone could decide various weighty matters, e.g.: judging a false prophet, a high priest, or a tribe, or declaring war. This principle was based on Moses' precedent in gathering 70 elders to support him (Num 11:16).

³⁴²¹ Or, more technically: "magistrates, chiefs, *archons*" (ἄρχοντες). See the note to "magistrates" at 2.216. *Archons*, in various numbers and configurations, were chief magistrates of several Greek cities.

³⁴²² The 7 in each city do not appear in *Life* 79. Their function is puzzling, since each town, certainly a city such as Tiberias (cf. *Life* 69 and notes in BJP 9), already had its own local leadership, and this arrangement lacks the motive of either keeping the leadership nearby (as with the 70) or exercising personal control (since the 7 would be local men and not easily accountable for trivial matters). The system does have an attractive symmetry, however, and that may be sufficient explanation (as literary creation) of its appearance here.

³⁴²³ *M. Sanh.* 1.4 has murder trials judged before a *sanhedrin* of 23.

³⁴²⁴ Although this perception might simply reflect hindsight, it did not require prophetic abilities, since the

Bersabe,³⁴²⁷ and Selame;³⁴²⁸ also Capharecho,³⁴²⁹ Iapha,³⁴³⁰ Sigoph,³⁴³¹ the mountain that is called Itabyrion,³⁴³² Tarichea, and Tiberias;³⁴³³ in addition to these he built walls at the

Romans were based in Antioch to the N, and generals from Quintilius Varus (2.68) to Cestius Gallus (2.503-6, 510-12) had first attacked Galilee.

³⁴²⁵ The parallel summary passage in *Life* (186-88) comes later in the narrative, relative to Josephus' Galilean command, after he has already related much concerning some of these walls: Gischala (70-72), Tiberias and Tarichea (142-44), and Gamala (47-61, 114, 186). There it is his account of building Gamala's walls, in response to a request after the town revolts from Agrippa, that leads him to summarize the similar achievements elsewhere. But those individual stories, along with their later parallels in the present work, are enough to show that this opening summary is a literary construction: it misleadingly implies that after setting up an internal administrative-legal system Josephus immediately and systematically turned his attention to fortifying the towns, though in fact each case must have arisen from particular circumstances.

In the list of fortifications here, Sigoph, Sepph, Sepphoris, and Gischala pose particular problems, the first 3 being absent from the *Life* parallel (see following notes). Missing here, in contrast to *Life*'s list, are the Cave of Arbela, though it is alluded to in his reference to the caves, Sogane in Lower Galilee (but see "Sigoph"), and the peculiar Komos, which is apparently a MS problem. Some of the same places are represented differently in the Greek of the two narratives, and the MSS of both texts are full of difficulties, representing either the scribes' bafflement or their attempt to "correct" the text (see BJP 9 and notes *ad loc.*). For all the parallel cases, the reader is referred to BJP 9, the notes to §§ 186-89, and Appendix A in that volume, especially the section of the appendix entitled "The Walled Towns of Josephus."

³⁴²⁶ Mod. Yodefat. This naturally defended, keyhole-shaped hill, recently excavated (see BJP 9 as previous note), will play a central role in bk. 3 as the place of Josephus' last stand and surrender (3.141-339). In *Life* (§ 234) we learn that the town was friendly to Josephus when he was challenged by the delegation from Jerusalem, offering him a safe redoubt. Its location was excellent, protected from the Beit Netofa valley by Mt. Atzmon, but still easily reachable, with lines of escape to E and W: close enough to the valley that Josephus would know what was happening there, and close to many villages in his charge, yet far enough from Tiberias and Tarichea on Lake Kinneret, with which he had a difficult relationship. Excavations at Iotapata have made it a showcase for Josephus' "accuracy" (on a par with Gamala in this respect): an assault ramp against the wall,

sections of casemate wall filled in with boulders and house rooms strengthened with soil infilling from the time of the war—as ballista balls and arrowheads reveal (see Aviam 2002).

³⁴²⁷ This is Galilean Beer-Sheva, just N of Kefar Hananiah at the E end of the Beit-Kerem valley, cited by Josephus later (*War* 3.39) as marking the N extremity of Lower Galilee.

³⁴²⁸ This and the parallel at *Life* 188 are the only references to the site in Josephus, usually identified as the village of Salameh on the W bank of the Zalmon River.

³⁴²⁹ Called Capharath at *Life* 188, this appears to be the village of Kefar Ata: it is mentioned by Josephus only here and in the parallel.

³⁴³⁰ Iapha is generally identified with the village of Yaphi'a (Japhia), about 1.85 miles (nearly 3 km) SW of Nazareth, N of Wadi Kishon. For the MS difficulties at *Life* 188, see BJP 9 and notes there.

³⁴³¹ This name does not appear in the *Life* parallel. Since these sites are said to be in Lower Galilee, and *War* misses Sogane in that region (*Life* 188), and they begin with the same consonants, it is widely held that they are the same place: the modern village of Sakhnin (Sachnin).

³⁴³² This is Josephus' name for Mt. Tabor, roughly in the center of the range of hills in Lower Galilee occupying the SW quadrant of a circle centered in Lake Kinneret. The summit does not seem to have been normally inhabited, but it served as a natural place of refuge in times of conflict (cf. already 1.177). Josephus will mention his building of Tabor's walls again (3 miles' worth, he claims in a gross exaggeration) as he describes the capture of the site by Vespasian's general Placidus (4.54-61). He also claims there that he had stored water and grain on the mountain in preparation for a siege.

³⁴³³ Tarichea, 30 *stadia* (3.75 m., 6 km) N of Tiberias around the middle of the W shore of Lake Kinneret, will provide Josephus' main base in the lake area and a frequent refuge from the more overtly troublesome city of Tiberias—dynamics that *Life* will explore in some detail. Even *War*'s narrative, however, exposes the problems with including these two cities in this simple and seemingly systematic list of fortifications. At 2.606-610 (cf. *Life* 141-44) Josephus will describe how his efforts to return captured plunder to King Agrippa II put him in danger of his life, for betraying the rebel cause. As a stratagem *only*, he claimed that in fact he was preserving the money for building up the walls of Tarichea (the place where he was) and, when the Tiberians and other visitors objected, he assured them that he would build

caves³⁴³⁴ around the shore of Gennesar³⁴³⁵ down in what is called Lower Galilee,³⁴³⁶ and in Upper Galilee [around] the rock called Acchabaron,³⁴³⁷ Sepph,³⁴³⁸ Iamneith,³⁴³⁹ and Me-ro.³⁴⁴⁰ **574** In Gaulanitis³⁴⁴¹ he fortified Seleuceia³⁴⁴² as well as Sogane³⁴⁴³ and Gamala.³⁴⁴⁴ The Sepphorites³⁴⁴⁵ alone he allowed³⁴⁴⁶ to build up³⁴⁴⁷ a city wall of their own accord,³⁴⁴⁸

walls for them also. Evidently, both places will still be in need of fortification at that point.

³⁴³⁴ Josephus must be referring to the Cave(s) of Arbela, one of the few sites from *Life* 187-88 omitted in this list. Near the shoreline N of Tiberias, these caves had a long history as hiding places for rebels of all kinds: from the Seleucid general Bacchides (*Ant.* 12.421) and from a young Herod (*War* 1.304-6; *Ant.* 14.415).

³⁴³⁵ I.e., the Kinneret or Sea of Galilee.

³⁴³⁶ At 2.568 Josephus has just implied that there were two Galilees (cf. 1.22) and all of this builds expectation for the full description of the region near the beginning of the next book (3.35-44).

³⁴³⁷ *Life* 188: Acharabe. The site in question appears to comprise the cliffs facing the Arab village of Akhbara in Upper Galilee (see Appendix A to BJP 9).

³⁴³⁸ The closest match to this name, which does not appear in the *Life* parallel, seems to be Safad (Tzefat, Tsefat), later famous for Kabbalah among other things, about 7.75 miles (12.5 km) into the hills NW of Lake Kinneret. See Appendix A in BJP 9. No fortifications have been found from this period, but the city was heavily built over in the Middle Ages.

³⁴³⁹ Iamnia according to *Life* 188, the site has been probably identified as Khirbet Iamnit, N of Safad (Tzefat); see Appendix A to BJP 9.

³⁴⁴⁰ This site (Meroth at 3.40, where it problematically marks the W extremity of Upper Galilee; Ameroth at *Life* 188, except MS R, which also has Meroth) is now identified as the former Arab village of Maruss in Upper Galilee, 1.5 km S of Qasion ([Qazyon]; see Appendix A to BJP 9). Earlier scholarship had identified Meroth with Meiron, 5 km W of Safad (Tzefat) above the Wadi Meiron (Meyers, Meyers, and Strange 1974: 4); though that site is significantly further W, it would still be hard to square with Josephus' location at 3.40.

³⁴⁴¹ I.e., the Golan Heights, occupying the NE quadrant of a circle centered in Lake Kinneret (Gennesar). The parallel passage concerning fortified sites (*Life* 187) reports the defection of the Golan from King Agrippa II, whose territory the region had been (2.243; *Ant.* 20.138). But that summary comes much later in the story of Josephus' command, after the activities of Philip b. Iacimus in Gamala, the first Tiberian revolt, and various intrigues from John of Gischala. That parallel highlights the artificiality of the summary here. Note further that Josephus' just-announced commission (2.568) included only Gamala, of the Gaulanite towns. He includes Seleuceia

and Sogane here, although according to *Life* they did not join the revolt until much later, and the next we hear of them in *War* (4.4), Josephus remarks that their loyalty to Agrippa had been secured "at the beginning of the revolt" (unlike that of Gamala). Josephus' later descriptions of the whole region in *War* (3.37, 56) continue to describe it as Agrippa's territory.

³⁴⁴² Many cities of this name were founded across the former Seleucid empire. Josephus relates that Alexander Janneus had destroyed an earlier settlement here (1.105; *Ant.* 13.393). The identification of the site remains uncertain (Appendix A to BJP 9), although Seluqiyeh, which preserves the name—some 18 km (11 miles) NE of the Jordan River's entry point to the Kinneret Lake, 16 km from Bethsaida—is the leading candidate.

³⁴⁴³ The site is not yet certainly identified. In spite of Josephus' location of it in Upper Gaulanitis (4.2), many scholars prefer the village of Yehudiyye in Lower Golan; archaeologists have found there remains of a 2-m (6-ft) wide wall of uncertain date. Siyar es-Sujan in Upper Golan is another possibility (see Appendix A to BJP 9). But see the note to "Gaulanitis" in this section on the rebel status of Sogane.

³⁴⁴⁴ This is the only site outside of Galilee (in the Golan) given to Josephus according to 2.568; see the notes there. In the *Life* parallel (§ 185-86), after serious factional blood-letting the people of Gamala defect from King Agrippa II and appeal to Josephus for a garrison, and for help in raising their walls. He sends both. Gamala is often considered one of two showcases (the other is Iotapata) for Josephus' accuracy, since archaeology has turned up a hastily reinforced and thoroughly breached defensive wall from the time of the war, with hundreds of arrowheads and ballista balls in the area (cf. Syon 2002).

³⁴⁴⁵ Located in W-central Lower Galilee, in the gentle hills S of the Beit-Netofa valley, Sepphoris was the chief city of the region at this time; see the note at 2.56.

³⁴⁴⁶ The same collocation "allowed . . . of their own accord" occurs at 2.134 (of the Essenes).

³⁴⁴⁷ Or "rebuild." For variety, it seems, Josephus uses a very rare word for building up (or again): ἀναδέμω. Since it is hardly used by other authors (Memnon, *Frag.* 25 [Müller]), though Philo has it twice (*Agr.* 113, 157) and Josephus has used it 3 times in *War* 1 (1.201, 265, 425—not elsewhere), we can see again (a) the lexical unity of his work and (b) his "Philonic" language.

seeing that they were both well fixed for resources and eager for war³⁴⁴⁹—without an order.³⁴⁵⁰ **575** Similarly³⁴⁵¹ with Gischala.³⁴⁵² Ioannes [son] of Leius³⁴⁵³ walled it of his own accord, after Yosep had so directed;³⁴⁵⁴ for all the other defenses³⁴⁵⁵ he was on hand,

³⁴⁴⁸ This is a puzzling claim. In his digression against Justus (*Life* 346-47) Josephus will claim that the Sepphorites fooled him into building a wall for them as they awaited a garrison from the Roman legate (see the next note). This is, however, suspiciously like the complaint he makes about Tiberias (*Life* 155-56): they too tricked him into building a wall, as they waited for a troop from King Agrippa to secure them against Josephus and the Galileans. It is difficult to reconcile that story in *Life* (concerning Sepphoris) with the account here. Most likely, Josephus is simply, in his “brilliant general” voice, taking credit for something that had little or nothing to do with him (cf. the case of Gischala in the next sentence), viz.: the independent strengthening of the city walls by the Sepphorites for protection *against* their fellow Judeans.

³⁴⁴⁹ This claim poses a notorious problem. At 2.511 Sepphoris has already capitulated to Cestius Gallus’ general Gallus on his first approach (cf. *Life* 30, 38, 104), just as it had capitulated quickly to the young Herod, who used it as his base for pacifying Galilee (1.304). Although it had provided a base in 4 BCE for Judas the son of Ezekias (2.56), Varus’ ruthless punishment seems to have removed any such further activity (2.68). The evidence from the 60s CE seems clear: the locally minted coins (in 68 CE honoring Vespasian and declaring itself “Neronias,” a “city of peace”; Meshorer 1982: 2.167-69) and other archaeological indicators (especially the intentionally filled-in fort complex; Meyers 2002) confirm the general portrait in Josephus that Sepphoris opted early and decisively for loyalty to Rome. *Life* 30 claims that Sepphoris was under attack from the non-urban population (“the Galileans”) precisely because of its firm pledge of loyalty to Rome, and the city’s determined support for Rome proved a constant problem for Josephus as commander of Galilee—as also for his rivals; cf. *Life* 39, 104-11 (the Sepphorites hire mercenaries to keep Josephus out), 124, 232, 346, 373-80, 394 (they request and eventually receive a garrison from Cestius Gallus), 411.

This alleged eagerness for war might be understood in various ways, e.g.: (a) as a pragmatic claim by the city—reflecting a specific historical moment—to keep Josephus away while the Sepphorites continued to plead for a Roman garrison; (b) as Josephus’ ad hoc literary invention here, though inconsistent with his larger narrative, to explain why he was not involved in fortifying this major city (alone); or (c) as some sort of irony, though that seems highly unlikely.

³⁴⁵⁰ I.e., they did not need to receive an order to proceed with war preparations. But see the previous note.

³⁴⁵¹ I.e., both are being walled by the people themselves, though at Josephus’ alleged direction. The critical reader might rather conclude that they are similar in having nothing to do with Josephus, though he claims credit for them.

³⁴⁵² Gush Halav (mod. El-Jish) was the largest Judean center of Upper Galilee in Josephus’ day. It was the home of Josephus’ determined rival, John (next note). It has not yet been excavated (see Appendix A to BJP 9 for surface finds). For its eventual fall to Titus, see 4.92-130.

³⁴⁵³ For the name Ioannes, see the note at 2.287 (a different character). This reading of the father’s name (Ἀήτιος [in MSS PA and the preferred reading, though we find attempted corrections in other MSS and their margins], perhaps related to λήτιον [field] or λεία [plunder]) changes in the *Life* parallels (§§ 43, 122, 189) to Ἀηουεῖς, which suggests the name of the patriarch Levi (Λεύις) and the tribe of Levites (Ἀηουίται). Since Josephus has recently disparaged the Levites there (*Ant.* 20.216-18), he may be wishing to associate John with them; alternatively, John was in fact known as the son of Levi, or a Levite, and Josephus wishes to give a different impression here. At any rate, this is a typically casual first mention of someone who will become central to the main narrative. John’s prominence begins a few sentences below, with Josephus’ unprecedented character assault at 2.585-94. See the notes there.

³⁴⁵⁴ This claim is repeated at 2.590 below, where Josephus continues to portray John as under his control. But the parallels at *Life* 43-45, 70-72, 189 seem impossible to reconcile. There John first appears as flatly opposed to any notion of revolt. When Gischala is overrun by people from Gadara, Aganea, and Tyre (or Kedasa), then sacked and burned, John arms his fellow-citizens, rebuilds the city, and *fortifies its walls* for future protection. That description is presented as part of what Josephus first learned as he gathered intelligence upon his arrival in the region, apparently while based at Sepphoris (*Life* 30-31, 61-64); it had nothing to do with any orders from him. When John reportedly asks Josephus for permission to use the imperial grain supplies scored in Galilee for this purpose, Josephus claims that he refused permission, though John was allowed to proceed by Josephus’ two bribed colleagues. Accordingly, when Josephus comes to list his fortifications in *Life* 187-88, though he has a motive to inflate his achievements, he cannot include

Josephus
recruits and
trains army

laboring alongside³⁴⁵⁶ and also issuing orders.³⁴⁵⁷

576 He also enlisted a force of more than 100,000 young men³⁴⁵⁸ out of Galilee, all of whom he armed, while training them,³⁴⁵⁹ with the old weapons that had been collected.³⁴⁶⁰

(20.7) 577 After that, since he realized that the unbeatable³⁴⁶¹ strength of the Romans had come about in particular through prompt obedience³⁴⁶² and exercise with weapons,³⁴⁶³

Gischala. Immediately after that list of Josephus' fortifications, in fact, comes his indignant claim that John independently fortified Gischala as a function of his hatred for Josephus (*Life* 189; cf. 71-72). Part of John's fortification wall may have been found in the surface finds at Gischala (see Appendix A to BJP 9).

³⁴⁵⁵ These might include digging ditches and tunnels (cf. 4.9), and providing protected shooting points, as well as stockpiling stores.

³⁴⁵⁶ The compound verb συμπονώω occurs only here in Josephus.

³⁴⁵⁷ Josephus' personal participation in fortifying Gischala, where he seems by his own admission never to have been tolerated, let alone welcome (see the previous notes in this section, also *Life* 101-3, 122-23, 189), stretches the imagination; it might just have been possible in the episodes covered by *Life* 70-78 (during Josephus' earliest visit to the site, where he "dismissed" his two colleagues), but even that is unlikely in view of *Life* 71, 189.

³⁴⁵⁸ Cf. 2.583 (where 60,000+ are said to be well trained). Both figures are virtually impossible. They would account for most of the "young men" in all of Judea at the time (given a population of perhaps 1,000,000 and allowing for women, children, and senior men), and the larger one would represent an army equivalent to about 20 legions—nearly the empire-wide Roman deployment. Since this number is also significantly larger than the Canadian Armed Forces (with some 20,000 active duty soldiers, 70,000 personnel in all), contemplating Josephus' training regime for so many recruits boggles the mind—and indeed seems to cause him despair at 2.577. The *Life* uses a more life-like scale. Josephus notes there (§§ 212-13) that he had gradually (cf. §§ 90, 118) acquired a force of about 3,000, roughly the same number as his rival John of Gischala (§§ 95, 233, 371; see below on Ioannes), to which Josephus then added some 5,000 conscripts as a condition of his remaining in Galilee—presumably, to control the largest force in the region.

³⁴⁵⁹ Although Josephus uses the compound verb κατασκευάζω some 221 times, the rare double compound ἐγκατασκευάζω occurs only here, as a middle participle. Both the significance of the prefix ("preparing in") and the object of the participle (preparing or training: the weapons, the soldiers, himself?) are unclear.

I take the accusative relative pronoun "whom" to serve both the finite verb and the participle.

³⁴⁶⁰ Since Josephus has not mentioned a collection of old weapons in *War*, his precise meaning is unclear. *Life* 28-29 claims, to be sure, that his original mission had been to disarm a Galilean populace whose bandits and revolutionaries were well equipped with weapons, but he and his colleagues soon realize that disarmament is out of the question and opt instead to buy off the militants (§§ 77-78). Perhaps he is not referring to any specific weapons, but simply indicating that a collection of old weapons was made for this purpose.

³⁴⁶¹ This Attic adjective (ἀήττητος), with only about two dozen attestations before Philo, occurs only here in Josephus. Philo has it 26 times, after which it remains common (e.g., Plutarch has some 63 occurrences). As with other adjectives of this form, one is unsure whether the author intends a simple description of the past (they are unbeaten) or also potential (they are unbeatable), and both may be in view (cf. 3.106-7).

³⁴⁶² The 6 occurrences of εὐπειθεία in Josephus and the cognate adjective (below in this sentence), all in *War* (also 3.15, 479; 5.122, 127), have to do with this distinctive Roman trait. The word is not much attested before Josephus; his contemporary Plutarch uses it conspicuously of the Spartans (*Lyc.* 4.2; 7.3; 16.5; 30.4; *Comp. Lyc. Num.* 3.6; *Ages.* 2.1; cf. *Mor.* [*Praec.* 817a]; Xenophon, *Lac.* 2.14). On the Roman legionaries' putative ready obedience (with other vocabulary), see further 3.88, 92, 102-6 and the following note.

³⁴⁶³ This precise phrase reappears in Josephus' coming description of military training (3.70-109; cf. 3.102). There too (3.105-7) he will claim that the perfect discipline of the Roman army accounts for the success of their empire. That parallel raises questions, however, about Josephus' sincerity and the possibility of irony. The uncontrollability of legionary soldiers when they moved in to sack a conquered city was no secret (cf. Ziolkowski 1993). More specifically, at 3.98-100, 106-7 Josephus will claim a level of legionary discipline and a history of *never* having been beaten (even by bad fortune), that do not accord with either the past (cf. the first two volumes of Polybius and the notorious losses under Crassus in 53 BCE at Carrhae, as of Varus in 9 CE at Kalkriese in the Teutoburg Forest) or the story that he is about to tell of legionaries' behavior during the Judean

on the one hand he abandoned the instruction, followed by practice;³⁴⁶⁴ on the other hand, seeing that the [Romans'] promptness to obey³⁴⁶⁵ arose from the number of their commanders,³⁴⁶⁶ he divided his army in a more Roman way³⁴⁶⁷ and appointed more officers.³⁴⁶⁸ **578** He created distinctions among the soldiers and subordinated them to decurions,³⁴⁶⁹ centurions,³⁴⁷⁰ and then tribunes,³⁴⁷¹ and above these, commanders in charge of bulkier³⁴⁷² divisions.³⁴⁷³ **579** He taught signals transmission³⁴⁷⁴ and both the advances and the retreats³⁴⁷⁵ on the trumpet,³⁴⁷⁶ as well as the assaults and wheeling movements³⁴⁷⁷ of the wings,³⁴⁷⁸ and how it is necessary on the one hand to turn back from the part that

war (e.g., 5.115-21; 6.12, 29-32, 78-9, 89, 152-56, 190). It seems that he deliberately exaggerates the legions' effectiveness partly in order to enhance the image of his own Judean compatriots, who had such considerable success against them, partly in order to undermine the legions' invincible image.

³⁴⁶⁴ The Greek is not entirely clear, and translators offer various paraphrastic clarifications. In context the sense appears to be that Josephus, now allegedly with 100,000 young recruits, gave up as futile his personal efforts to train them all (for that required both his instruction and his personal supervision of their practice) and took a leaf from the Romans—leaving the training to his officers. This was no doubt wise!

³⁴⁶⁵ This is the cognate adjective of the noun rendered “prompt obedience” in this section.

³⁴⁶⁶ At 3.87-88 Josephus will outline the Roman command structure: the soldiery look to the centurions, who turn to the tribunes, who look to the most senior officers, and all await the signal from the supreme commander (legate).

³⁴⁶⁷ This comparative adjective (ῥωμαϊκώτερος), which appears only here in Josephus, is unattested in literature before his time and appears with extreme rarity in late antiquity. The simple adjective is much more common.

³⁴⁶⁸ Greek ταξίαρχοι has no fixed meaning in Josephus (see note to “heads for each detail” at *Life* 242 in BJP 9), or at least its meaning depends upon the sense of τάξις, which is extremely flexible: see the note to “subversive” at 2.224. In *War* it seems to mean most often “senior officers” (1.369, 461, 491, 673; 3.83, 87; 5.121).

Josephus' solution to the problem of managing large numbers of people recalls that adopted by Moses on the advice of his father-in-law Jethro: to lighten his administrative burden by appointing subordinate officials over thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens (Exod 18:13-22). The parallel is especially significant because in Josephus' own reworking of that story he transforms Moses' move into a military reorganization, with the officers' ranks expanded to match Roman positions (*Ant.* 3.71-72; cf. BJP 3 and comments by Feldman *ad loc.*). Cf. also

his Solomon at *Ant.* 7.368. Even if these models were in Josephus' mind, they would no doubt have been too complicated for him to explain here.

³⁴⁶⁹ Lit. “leaders of 10,” which seems to be the meaning here, though there was considerable flexibility in the actual functions of rank (see the note to “cavalrymen” at 2.298).

³⁴⁷⁰ Josephus seems to mean the term literally (“leader of 100”), though the rank had greater flexibility, and in Rome normally indicated one in charge of 80; see the note at 2.380. MSS PAML and the Latin omit “centurions”; notwithstanding the weight of these MSS and the principle of favoring the more difficult reading (since the fuller list so clearly accommodates this projection to 3.87-88), all modern editions include the centurions here.

³⁴⁷¹ Again, Josephus appears to mean the term literally (“leader of 1,000”), though in practical application the rank had considerable flexibility (see notes to “tribune(s)” at 2.11, 244, 335).

³⁴⁷² Josephus chooses a fairly rare adjective (ἄδρός; thick, stout, bulky), which he uses—both times in the comparative—here and at 4.401.

³⁴⁷³ Josephus' terminology is vague. In military contexts he normally uses τάγμα, the noun here, for a legion, whereas here it is simply a “bulkier division” (than 1,000-strong). Most problematically, his mimicking of the Roman military structure does not account for its practical complications, especially the cohort (of 480 or 800; cf. a modern battalion, or division in British Commonwealth armies) as the effective tactical unit; Josephus has no commanders of 500, etc. Perhaps his vagueness reflects the fanciful nature of his numbers.

³⁴⁷⁴ Possibly “transmission of watchwords” (σημείων παραδόσεις); cf. 3.88; *Ant.* 19.187.

³⁴⁷⁵ Cf. the orderly Roman retreats described at 3.88.

³⁴⁷⁶ For the Roman use of the trumpet in battle, see esp. 4.20; 6.69; also 3.86, 89-91.

³⁴⁷⁷ Cf. the brisk Roman wheeling motions at 3.105.

³⁴⁷⁸ Although κέρας means essentially “horn” and, especially in the Judean context it might indicate signals for wheeling given by a musical horn, Josephus

is making headway towards the one that is becoming weary,³⁴⁷⁹ and on the other hand to share the sufferings³⁴⁸⁰ of the part that is laboring.

580³⁴⁸¹ Whatever conduces to constancy of the soul³⁴⁸² or endurance of the body³⁴⁸³ he would expound.* But he was especially disciplining³⁴⁸⁴ them for war, dilating at every [opportunity] on the orderliness of the Romans,³⁴⁸⁵ and how they would be fighting against men who through their strength of body³⁴⁸⁶ and determination of soul³⁴⁸⁷ dominate very nearly³⁴⁸⁸ the entire world.³⁴⁸⁹ **581** He declared that even before battle³⁴⁹⁰ he would make a test of their obedience to command during the war, [according to] whether they would abstain from the familiar crimes:³⁴⁹¹ from theft as well as banditry³⁴⁹² and plunder, from cheating the compatriot element,³⁴⁹³ and from regarding as private gain³⁴⁹⁴ the harm of one's closest friends.³⁴⁹⁵ **582** For those wars are conducted most honorably in which all³⁴⁹⁶ who do the fighting have a good conscience,³⁴⁹⁷ whereas those who are sordid “inside the

consistently uses it in *War*—also precisely in contexts of wheeling movements—of cavalry *wings* (1.191-92, 306; 3.300).

³⁴⁷⁹ Especially because of its repetition of τὸ κάμνον, which occurs only there and here, this passage recalls Cestius' use of the cavalry in precisely such a manner at 2.519.

³⁴⁸⁰ This is the only occurrence of συμπαθέω in *War* (cf. *Ant.* 6.341; 16.404).

³⁴⁸¹ This description of Josephus' military preparations is replete with language that he has used of the philosophical schools, especially the Essenes (1.119-66); this parallel highlights the close relationship between martial (and Spartan) and moral-philosophical values in ancient thought. See the following notes and those to the Essene passage above (2.119-61).

³⁴⁸² Greek παράστασιν ψυχῆς, equivalent to ψυχῆς παράστημα later in this sentence, is characteristic language in *War*, anticipated mainly by Diodorus; see the note at 2.476. Notice the chiasm in this section (2.580): soul, body; body, soul.

³⁴⁸³ Greek καρτερία was also the goal of Essene training and a hallmark of the Judean character in general; see the note at 2.138. Various MSS include συνεχῶς (“constantly”) somewhere in this sentence.

³⁴⁸⁴ Or “training, drilling.” The only other occurrences of the verb ἀσκέω (cognate to ἄσκησις; cf. “asceticism”) in *War* 2 sit as bookends to the description of the philosophical schools, at 2.119, 166 (there transitive: “cultivate”); cf. the cognate noun at 2.150.

³⁴⁸⁵ See the note at 2.529: Roman orderliness is a prominent theme of the work, though Josephus emphasizes (e.g., 2.151) that the Judean Essenes also master this trait.

³⁴⁸⁶ See the note to this characteristic phrase at 2.268. Note also 2.476, where the characteristic next phrase is paired with it (confirming Josephus' authorial control).

³⁴⁸⁷ See the earlier note to “soul” in this sentence. Josephus has created a chiasm (soul, body; body, soul),

suiting to the high plane of the discourse here.

³⁴⁸⁸ See the note to this phrase at 2.373: the language recalls Agrippa's speech.

³⁴⁸⁹ See the note at 2.360, also in Agrippa's speech.

³⁴⁹⁰ See the note at 2.464.

³⁴⁹¹ These crimes of armed soldiers against vulnerable populations were well known; cf. the appeal of John the Baptist at Luke 3:14. Josephus will re-use the adjective “familiar” (συνήθης) in this sentence: see “closest friends.”

³⁴⁹² For the distinction between these two, see the note to the latter at 2.142: these rules for Josephus' soldiers are conspicuously close to the Essenes' 12 oaths.

³⁴⁹³ Beyond the common moral principle that one should not cheat the fellow-citizenry (τὸ ὁμόφυλον), this comment taps a deeper vein in *War*: the more radical rebels constantly victimized and abused their fellows, while the Romans were comparatively generous toward them (cf. 1.10, 27). This is not necessarily praise of the Romans: the contrast draws its force from the widely shared dismay at Roman abuses.

³⁴⁹⁴ The phrase κέρδος οἰκεῖον, though occasionally attested before Josephus (*Theognis*, *El.* 1.46; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 2.63.3; 3.6.4; Memnon, *Frag.* 59 [Müller]), appears much more characteristically in his works (1.202; *Ant.* 15.288; 17.270; 18.8, 294).

³⁴⁹⁵ Probably *to* but possibly *by* one's most intimate friends. As he often does, Josephus re-uses a word in a new way: here the adjective from “usual [or familiar, customary] crimes” earlier in this sentence (συνήθης) now as an absolute superlative, clearly indicating persons.

³⁴⁹⁶ MSS VRC and Latin omit “all” and MSS AM place it differently, which might mean that it was added at some point; it does not seem necessary to the general sense.

³⁴⁹⁷ Here we have another entrée into Josephus' distinctive language. For the word “conscience” he prefers the articular neuter perfect participle of σύννοια (τὸ

house” have to deal not only with the adversaries confronting them but also with God as an enemy.³⁴⁹⁸

(20.8) 583 In many ways such as these he persisted in encouraging them. Now the [force] that was ready for battle, having been welded together³⁴⁹⁹ by him, comprised 60,000 infantry,³⁵⁰⁰ 350 cavalry,³⁵⁰¹ and apart from these about 4,500 mercenaries,³⁵⁰² in whom he had particular confidence. He also had around him 600 élite guards of his person.³⁵⁰³ 584 The cities began readily maintaining³⁵⁰⁴ the rest of the army, except for the mercenaries:³⁵⁰⁵ each one, while sending out for the army the half-groups³⁵⁰⁶ of those being enlisted, kept back the rest for procuring³⁵⁰⁷ the daily necessities for them.³⁵⁰⁸ Thus they separated out some for weapons and others for work, with those sending the grain³⁵⁰⁹ being furnished in exchange with³⁵¹⁰ security from the armed troops.³⁵¹¹

συνειδός; 1.452, 496; 3.500; *Ant.* 2.25, 52; 3.13, 319; 4.286; 13.316; 16.100-102; *Apion* 2.218) to the noun (ἡ συνειδήσις; 4.189, 193; *Ant.* 16.103, 212). This usage is rarely attested before his time; indeed it seems to be found clearly only in Demosthenes (*Cor.* 110) and Philo (*Post.* 59; *Deus* 128; *Conf.* 121; *Fug.* 159; *Ios.* 47, 68), though some of his contemporaries show the same turn: Plutarch, *Mor.* [Num. vind.] 554f, 556a; Epictetus in Arrian, *Diatr.* 3.22.94 [“Instead of weapons and thugs, the conscience of the Cynic confers authority”]; Appian, *Bell. civ.* 2.11.72.

³⁴⁹⁸ This is a remarkable philosophical interlude, on several levels: τοὺς δὲ οἴκοθεν φαύλους οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἐπιούσιν ἐχθροῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ θεῷ χρηθῆσθαι πολέμιῳ. It appears that Josephus has been reading Philo, whose language is conspicuously and uniquely close (*QE* frag. 32 [Petit]): “The one who cohabits with evil carries destruction within, for he has a housemate that is an enemy plotting against him. For the conscience of the sordid person is a sufficient retribution, presenting the soul with timidity—from within the house, [but] as if from a blow” (Ἐντὸς φέρει τὸν ὄλεθρον ὁ τῆ κακίᾳ συζῶν, ἐπεὶ σύνοικον ἔχει τὸν ἐπίβουλον καὶ πολέμιον. Ἰκανὴ γὰρ πρὸς τιμωρίαν ἡ τοῦ φαύλου συνειδήσις, οἴκοθεν ὡς ἐκ πληγῆς δειλίαν προτείνουσα τῆ ψυχῆ). Philo’s extended metaphor would better explain Josephus’ “house” language, though it is not difficult to understand on its own. Josephus has an ongoing interest in such reflections on the timidity and risk produced by bad consciences, giving them also to his namesake Joseph (*Ant.* 2.25, 52) and to Moses (*Ant.* 3.13, 319; 4.286).

³⁴⁹⁹ Or “whipped into shape, banged together” (συγκροτέω), used conspicuously of John of Gischala at 2.588, the only two occurrences in bk. 2 (of 17 in Josephus, mostly in military contexts); see note there.

³⁵⁰⁰ We are presumably to infer that about a third of the original recruit intake (2.576) did not pass muster.

³⁵⁰¹ MSS VRC Latin have 250, with the words in reverse order. The number seems very small against the size of the infantry, though it would not be easy to raise a large force of capable cavalry from Galilean vil-

lages (even allowing for the fantastic numbers otherwise here).

³⁵⁰² These soldiers for hire are a curious presence, and may be a private joke. According to *Life*, all the bandits and rebels of Galilee essentially became mercenaries when Josephus realized that he could not disarm them; he exacted local funds to pay them off, so that they would stay away from the population centers but remain at his disposal (77-78). Mercenaries were widely regarded as the most reliable troops while being paid (since they were loyal to their paymaster), though Polybius is very critical of reliance upon them in adversity (e.g., 1.70.3-7; 11.13.1-7; 34.14.4).

³⁵⁰³ At *Life* 90, 92 Josephus has a bodyguard of 200.

³⁵⁰⁴ Or “feeding.”

³⁵⁰⁵ The mercenaries obviously have a secure line of support already, and their complement is filled by contract. The rest of the army depends for both recruits and sustenance on the good will of the populace.

³⁵⁰⁶ There is a rough parallel with Polybius’ idealistic description (10.16.1-4) of the Roman legions’ taking a town, according to which no more than half engage in the violence, the other half remaining—but for protection, not foraging.

³⁵⁰⁷ Greek συμπορισμός occurs only here in Josephus. It is attested before his time, remarkably, only in Dionysius (*Ant. rom.* 13.9.2), and after his time only in a 12th-century author. The simple form (without prefix) is much more common elsewhere; it will appear at 2.603.

³⁵⁰⁸ Josephus’ villagers appear extremely wise concerning military matters. Although the specific organizational measures used by the early Roman imperial army is still a matter of much discussion (see Roth 1991: e.g., 280-94), it is clear that Roman generals—notably Julius Caesar—gave constant thought to their logistical needs and especially grain supply. See the note to “legions” at 2.63.

³⁵⁰⁹ I.e., those sending it out to the combat troops. On the crucial importance of a grain supply in military planning, see the note to “legions” at 2.63.

*Opposition
from John of
Gischala. Life
70*

(21.1) 585³⁵¹² As Yosep was thus administering the affairs of Galilee, there stood up against him^{*3513} a certain schemer³⁵¹⁴ of a man from Gischala,³⁵¹⁵ a son of Leius,³⁵¹⁶ Ioannes by name:³⁵¹⁷ the slipperiest³⁵¹⁸ and craftiest³⁵¹⁹ of all those distinguishing themselves in wretched behaviors³⁵²⁰ during these times; nevertheless, being poor³⁵²¹ at the beginning,

³⁵¹⁰ Greek ἀντιχορηγέω occurs only here in Josephus and is barely attested—in Greek orators—before him (Demosthenes, *Mid.* 59, 62; [Andocides], *Alc.* 20, 42). Plutarch seems to quote the first Ps.-Andocides passage (*Alc.* 16.5), but it is used by the 2nd-cent. CE Alexander (*Fig.* 24).

³⁵¹¹ This is a characteristic chiasm: weapons, work with grain; work with grain, weapons.

³⁵¹² Thackeray (LCL *ad loc.*) notes a striking parallel between the following description and Sallust's moral assessment of the senator L. Sergius Catilina (*Bell. Cat.* 5), whose conspiracy (64-62 BCE) was famous in Josephus' Rome: *Animus audax, subdolos, varius, cuius rei lubet simulator ac dissimulator. . . . Vastus animus immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta semper cupiebat. . . . lubido maxuma invaserat rei publicae capiundae; neque id quibus modis adsequeretur, dum sibi regnum pararet, quicquam pensi habebat. Agitabatur magis magisque in dies animus ferox inopia rei familiaris.* "His mind was bold, subtle, and flexible, capable of pretending or dissembling whatever he wished. . . . His insatiable ambition was always pursuing objects that were extravagant, romantic, and unattainable. . . . He was overcome by an extreme desire to seize the commonwealth, and he did not care, as long as he secured power for himself, about the means by which he might achieve it. His violent spirit was spurred on each day by the dwindling of his family's wealth."

³⁵¹³ Greek παρανίστημι occurs only here in Josephus; it seems elsewhere unattested in Greek literature.

³⁵¹⁴ This is the first occurrence of ἐπίβουλος in *War* 2. With narrative emphasis, its 3 remaining occurrences in the brief remaining space (2.615, 620, 622) will all concern John. He *is* the schemer.

³⁵¹⁵ See the note at 2.575.

³⁵¹⁶ See the note at 2.575. Since the audience could not know this father, Josephus' sentence structure seems calculated mainly to enhance the grand narrative entrance (next note).

³⁵¹⁷ Especially considering that Josephus has already mentioned John (2.575; see notes there), this is a conspicuously grand entrance, leading to the relentless and savage assault on his character in the following sentences. This assault may represent Josephus' attempt to strengthen the bond with his Roman audience. They likely know who John is already, given that he has been

displayed in the triumph and is now held in some sort of perpetual custody (*War* 6.433-34; 7.118): Tacitus mentions him (mistakenly giving him Simon's patronymic) as one of the three, ultimately two, Judean rebel generals (*Hist.* 5.12). In a work devoted largely to undermining Roman preconceptions (see Introduction and 1.1-16), Josephus might be expected to seize upon any opportunity to blacken someone whom he and his audience both freely despise.

Life introduces John quite differently, however (§§ 43-44). Perhaps John has died in the meantime; at least, Josephus can there afford a more rounded portrait. In *Life* John appears at first as an *opponent* of rebellion, a moderate not unlike Josephus. Only gradually does he become radicalized, after an attack on his native Gischala by neighboring Greeks (§ 45). Josephus will portray him there as a close friend of a distinguished member of the Jerusalem council, Simon son of Gamaliel (§§ 189-92). The common scholarly view, that Josephus was forced to concede John's good connections in *Life* by the rival account by the latter's friend Justus of Tiberias (§§ 87-8) may have some validity. But virtually every parallel story in *War* and *Life* is told differently in the later work, and many of the differences cannot be traced to Justus' challenge. See further "swath" at 2.587 below, with note.

³⁵¹⁸ Or "shiftest." All 15 occurrences of the adjective πανοῦργος ("ready for—i.e., willing to stoop to—anything") in Josephus come in *War* 1-6, 8 in bk. 1; only John receives the superlative (as also at 2.591).

³⁵¹⁹ Superlative of δόλιος, which Josephus will make John's chief character trait at 4.208 (though he has it only 5 times in the corpus). He has also used the collocation "slippery and crafty" at 2.278, of Gessius Florus. Before his time it is attested only in a vice list from Aristotle, preserved by Origen (*Jer. hom.* 17.1).

³⁵²⁰ Plural of πονήρευμα, a noun that appears only here in Josephus and is rarely attested before him (Demosthenes, *Aristog.* 60; *Fals. leg.* 357; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 6.84.4), though it turns up increasingly among 2nd-century authors (3 times in Aristides alone). It seems to be a newly popular form.

³⁵²¹ The root sense of πένης is that one must labor for one's daily living: John, although later infamous, is presented as not belonging to Josephus' elite-statesman echelon, someone who could attend to political and intellectual life on the basis of landed or invested wealth. His

for a long while he faced a lack of means as an impediment to his evil.³⁵²² **586** Though ready to lie, he was formidable at conveying trustworthiness for the things he had lied about, regarding as a virtue his trickery³⁵²³—and the use of this against those dearest to him;³⁵²⁴ a pretender³⁵²⁵ to kindness,³⁵²⁶ and extremely bloodthirsty³⁵²⁷ when there was hope of gain,³⁵²⁸ **587** though having always yearned for great things, nourishing these hopes by his pathetic wrongdoings.³⁵²⁹ He was a solitary³⁵³⁰ bandit, but later he found a crew of brazenness³⁵³¹—though small at first, cutting an ever-larger swath.³⁵³²

588 It was a concern with him not to take on anyone who was easy to capture, but

alleged financial and moral embarrassment are of one piece. See, however, 2.590 (“a lack of resources was holding him back”) and notes.

³⁵²² Although the correlation between poverty and moral defect is not dwelt upon by Josephus, he stresses the complementary dynamism: that virtue is rewarded with prosperity and happiness (*Ant.* 1.14, 20, 113; 2.7, 198; 4.114, 164; 11.90; 18.339). Notwithstanding philosophical challenges advocating the simple life (i.e., a *voluntary* simplicity), it was axiomatic in Greco-Roman and Near Eastern society that the great were also the good (in Rome, the *honestiores*): cf. Aristophanes, *Plut.* 29 and Job 1:1-2:10 for the problem of exceptions to the rule. It is not only that bad behavior is punished by poverty, but also that those in dire poverty seem much more likely to engage in crime to secure life’s necessities (e.g., Xenophon, *Hier.* 4.10), and simply: poverty must be connected with bad character.

³⁵²³ Or “deception” (ἀπάτη); see note to “trickery” at 2.106.

³⁵²⁴ This elaboration may be invited by Josephus’ recognition that he himself constantly indulges in deception, even relishing it (as at 2.610-11; but cf. 2.615, where John is the trickster). Deception of the populace was part of the statesman’s art at times (Plutarch, *Mor.* [*Praec.*] 813f, 848b: statesmen as “actors”; cf. “pretender” in the next clause), and tricking one’s enemies during war was a constant need for the general (e.g., Frontinus, *Stratagems, passim*). Deception of one’s closest friends, associates, and peers, however, was apparently beyond the pale.

³⁵²⁵ Greek ὑποκριτής φιλανθρωπίας; cf. Plutarch, *Mor.* [*Lib. educ.* 13b]: ὑποκριταὶ φιλίας. This is the only occurrence of ὑποκριτής in Josephus, though he uses the cognate noun ὑπόκρισις 8 times (*War* 1.628, 630; *Ant.* 1.211; 2.160; 13.220; 14.286; 15.204; 16.216) and the verb ὑποκρίνομαι 25 times. From debated origins (e.g., Page 1956), this noun came to mean “actor” or “orator” in the classical and Hellenistic periods (e.g., Plato, *Ion* 532d, 536a; *Resp.* 373b, 395a; Demosthenes, *Cor.* 262; still Plutarch, *Mor.* [*Glor. Ath.*] 345e, 348e; [*Quaest. conv.*] 623b; *Lys.* 23.4). In Josephus’ use of this word and its cognates (not directly concerned with the stage), we see the beginnings of the same metaphorical

and moral sense of the term, which would lead to its great popularity in late antiquity, whence English “hypocrite,” and which we find in some texts contemporary with Josephus: Plutarch (first reference above); *Matt* 7:5; 23:13, 15, 23; *Luke* 6:42.

³⁵²⁶ Although Josephus often speaks of kindness in general (28 times in the corpus), there is not much φιλανθρωπία in *War*: only the pretense to it here and a Roman claim to it at 6.333.

³⁵²⁷ It is a sign of Josephus’ rhetorical flexibility that, although he gives John the superlative φονικώτατος here (used of the emperor Gaius at *Ant.* 19.201), at 4.564 he will claim that Simon is comparatively more bloodthirsty than John (cf. 6.229).

³⁵²⁸ Although similar phrases appear once or twice in several earlier authors, Josephus’ 10 uses mark δι’ ἐλπίδα κέρδους as his distinctive language (1.202; 2.346; 6.383; *Ant.* 14.157; 17.269, 282; 18.7, 176; *Life* 325).

³⁵²⁹ It seems that Josephus offers 2.590-92 below as examples of this nefarious activity.

³⁵³⁰ The single use of the adjective μονότροπος in Josephus (at 5.441; 7.324 adverbially) and its rarity before his time invite consideration of intended nuances. Adverbially and etymologically it means “in only one way,” and this corresponds to the sense of its opposite πολύτροπος (“in many ways, many-sidedly”), which occurs 9 times in Josephus. The context here, however, suggests at least aloneness—given the contrast with the many who joined Josephus—and this might also imply friendlessness (as at Plutarch, *Mor.* [*San.*] 135b; [*Frat.*] 479c; cf. Euripides, *Andr.* 281 on the young loner Paris).

³⁵³¹ See the note at 2.108.

³⁵³² Namely, when the troublemaker John is later besieged by the Romans in his native town he flees by night to Jerusalem (4.92-120). There he gathers a group of youthful followers and launches a bid for power against the other rebel leaders (as he had against Josephus in Galilee; see the following paragraphs). After allegedly betraying Ananus to the Idumeans, who then murder the distinguished chief priest (4.314-25), John becomes one of the two leaders of the revolt, before being forced to surrender (6.433-34) and become an exhibit in the Roman triumph (cf. also 7.263-64).

he selected those who excelled in condition of body,³⁵³³ determination of soul,³⁵³⁴ and expertise³⁵³⁵ in wars: he welded together³⁵³⁶ a band of as many as 400 men, who were mostly refugees from the region of Tyre and the villages therein.³⁵³⁷ **589** Through them he began plundering all Galilee and mauling³⁵³⁸ the masses,³⁵³⁹ who were in suspense over the coming war.

(21.2) **590** Although he [Ioannes] was already keen to be a general³⁵⁴⁰ and setting himself upon greater things, a lack of resources³⁵⁴¹ was holding him back.³⁵⁴² But when he observed that Yosep was greatly enjoying his activity,³⁵⁴³ he persuaded* him first to entrust him with building up³⁵⁴⁴ the wall of his home town—in which [project] he fully took ad-

³⁵³³ Precisely the same phrase was used of Pseudalexander at 2.110; see the note there.

³⁵³⁴ John thus has the same criteria for selection, with the same language, as both Josephus and the Romans in recruiting legionaries (2.580; see notes there).

³⁵³⁵ Or “experience” (ἐμπειρία).

³⁵³⁶ Or “banged, whipped together.” Josephus’ conspicuous use of the same verb as for his own activity (2.583; see note there), along with similar phrases about the attributes of recruits (see previous note), strengthens the comparison between himself and John, in spite of the chasm between them in character and size of forces. He will portray John in what follows as a dangerous opponent.

³⁵³⁷ This notice is surprising, but consistent. It is surprising because Josephus nowhere explains who these Tyrian refugees or fugitives were. Further, Tyre and its villages (notably Tyrian Kadasa lying about 10 km. [6 miles] NE of Gischala) were apparently hostile to Gischala, and vice versa (*War* 2.429 with note; 4.105; *Life* 44). At 3.39-40 Josephus explains that a band of Tyrian villages formed the northern edge of Upper Galilee; so John would have easy access to these people. It is consistent, however, that Josephus gives John a following of loyal Tyrian refugees, who remained with him even when all others fled. In the other passages there are more than 400: 2,000 at *War* 2.625 (assuming that “Syrian” should be understood as “Tyrian”) and 1,500 at *Life* 372 (from the mother-city of Tyre itself, a difficult 35 km NW of Gischala).

It is not clear how Josephus wishes these literary characters to be understood, much less what historical reality they may have had. They do not seem to be Judeans because he labels them foreigners (ξένοι; *Life* 372), though that later remark is not decisive; they might be Judean sympathizers who felt vulnerable after the massacres of Judeans throughout Syria (2.461-65). Or they might simply be non-Judeans disaffected enough with general conditions under Rome to join the Judean revolt (cf. *Life* 112-13 for other non-Judeans who join the fight), or mercenaries. It may be significant that Tyrian coinage is well represented in the surface finds at Gischala; see Appendix A to BJP 9.

³⁵³⁸ See the note to this verb (“mauling it”) at 2.90; in *War* 2 only Josephus tends to use it metaphorically of tyrants (also 2.652).

³⁵³⁹ Or “the many” (οἱ πολλοί), reflecting Josephus’ aristocratic posture.

³⁵⁴⁰ Possibly “keen to make war,” though the sense given in the translation seems more likely in context. This is the only occurrence in Josephus of the fairly rare desiderative verb στρατηγιάω (Xenophon, *Anab.* 1.33; Demosthenes, *Fals. leg.* 295; Dionysius, *Ep. Pomp.* 3.9; Strabo 4.6.7; 7.4.3; Philo, *Abr.* 221; Plutarch, *Caes.* 62.4).

³⁵⁴¹ This expression (ἐνδεια χρημάτων), though not common in Josephus, occurs more frequently in his work (also 1.631; *Ant.* 12.294) than elsewhere; other writers use it no more than once (Xenophon, *Ath. pol.* 1.5; Plato, *Hipp. Maj.* 283d; Antisthenes, *Frag.* 117; Demosthenes, *Olynth.* 3.20).

³⁵⁴² John’s poverty was alleged at 2.585; see the note there. This is nearly the reverse of the portrait in *Life* 43-46, 189-91, according to which John was evidently prosperous at the outset, a well-connected principal man of Gischala, who only gradually came (note “suddenly” at § 70) to challenge Josephus for leadership. See the notes to “name” at 2.585 and “swath” at 2.587, also to BJP 9 (*ad loc.*).

³⁵⁴³ With 23 occurrences of this adjective (here substantivized, τὸ δραστήριον), Josephus is among its heavy users, a group that begins with Dionysius (22) and includes Philo (10), Plutarch (29), and Galen (32). The rough parallel in *Life* (122), at a later point relative to events, will elaborate that John was not happy when he saw everything going according to Josephus’ plan, and that Josephus was showing good will to his supporters but was a terror to his enemies.

³⁵⁴⁴ Possibly “rebuilding” [Gischala], if this is to be connected with the story described in *Life* 44-46, according to which John had to rebuild the city and its walls after a sack by neighboring Syrian-Greeks. But see the note to “directed” at 2.575 for the difficulty of reconciling this account with that later version. *Life* 71-73 emphatically denies that John persuaded Josephus; it alleges rather that he bribed Josephus’ colleagues (invisible in *War*) to secure *their* permission.

vantage of the wealthy folks.³⁵⁴⁵ **591** Then, having concocted a very slippery charade,³⁵⁴⁶ according to which all the Judeans of Syria³⁵⁴⁷ should avoid using olive oil³⁵⁴⁸ unless it had been dispensed by a compatriot,³⁵⁴⁹ he applied [for the right] to send it to them at the frontier.³⁵⁵⁰ **592** Buying up, with Tyrian coinage,³⁵⁵¹ what four Attic [drachmas]³⁵⁵² can [buy]—four amphoras³⁵⁵³—he would sell a half-amphora for the same price.³⁵⁵⁴ Since

*John's olive oil
scheme Life 74*

³⁵⁴⁵ The only possible light we receive is from *Life* 71-73 (see comments in BJP 9), which alleges that John asked to confiscate the imperial granaries throughout Galilee—no doubt established both for Roman military logistics and in case of famine. Josephus refused because he wished to reserve the grain either for the Romans or for his own use, a plausible pair of options if he took the same approach as he gives to Ananus, of hoping for a resolution but being willing to fight honorably if necessary (*War* 4.320). *Life* does not indicate that John took advantage of the wealthy. To guess at Josephus' thinking (opaque to his audience), one might combine the stories by imagining that John sold *Life's* grain to *War's* rich people at an unscrupulous profit, in keeping with the next scheme. But Josephus evidently feels no need to explain the matter here, content with the charge that the poor John defrauded the wealthy.

³⁵⁴⁶ Or "bit of staging" (σκηνὴ; cf. 2.251); the language fits with "pretender" (i.e., actor) at 2.587.

³⁵⁴⁷ This is quite different from the parallel (*Life* 74), according to which the Judeans of Caesarea Philippi alone, confined by a military order, appeal to John for help in providing pure olive oil (see BJP 9 with notes there). Here, instead, Josephus makes it John's initiative to supply all the Judeans of Syria, and he presents it entirely as a ruse on John's part, his language implying that there was no such need to buy from a compatriot; perhaps, indeed, John is taking advantage of the vulnerability of the Syrian Judeans, who have faced mass murder at the hands of their gentile neighbors (2.461-80).

For Josephus (cf. 2.458-60), "Syria" can include the province proper, headquartered in Antioch and including Damascus, as well as the Greek cities of the Decapolis, the coastal cities, and any other areas not properly in Judea; at 2.266 the non-Judeans of Caesarea are "Syrians." Josephus has recently described the Judean populations of Syria in some detail (2.461-480), though giving the impression that many or most had been killed. Whatever historical incident lies behind the present story might have something to do with Josephus' account at *Ant.* 12.119-20, according to which the Antiochenes attempted, during the Judean revolt, to halt the special compensation that local Judeans received if they chose not to use the oil provided in the gymnasium; but the Syrian governor Mucianus (not yet in place here) insisted on maintaining the practice. It might be that Judean Syrians were indeed finding it difficult to get oil at this time, and John in a nationalistic spirit sought to help them.

Whether he did, and whether he extracted an unseemly profit, we cannot presently know. See further the note to "oil" at 2.123.

³⁵⁴⁸ Olive oil was fundamental to ordinary life throughout the Mediterranean world. See the note at 2.123—on the Essene refusal to use cosmetic oil.

³⁵⁴⁹ Although Josephus presents this as a con on John's part, at *Ant.* 12.120 he states plainly that the Judeans of Antioch "did not want to use foreign olive oil." Goodman (1990: 239-43) argues persuasively that this was a matter of *instinct* rather than actual purity law, which is why the restriction was undone by the rabbis (*m. 'Avod. zar.* 2.6).

³⁵⁵⁰ Since John is based in one of the northern-most Judean communities, Gischala, he is perhaps looking to the border area with Syria just a few km to the N.

³⁵⁵¹ For Tyre, see the notes at 2.239, 459. This remark seems to be added for a bit of local color, since the audience would well understand the values of Attic currency about to be mentioned. Four drachmas (= a tetradrachma) were equivalent to one Tyrian shekel, which seems to have been John's currency; the half-shekel (= didrachma) was the tax paid annually by Judeans for the upkeep of the Jerusalem temple. Tyrian coins were of particularly high silver content and so were required for temple use. Meshorer (2001: 73-78) argues that from 19 BCE, following a revolt in 20 BCE, Tyre had lost its privilege of minting silver coins (a privilege carefully monitored by Rome), and the Tyrian shekel was minted by Herod in Jerusalem. Thus the silver coins of the revolt period, with their new dating system ("Year 1" counting from 66 CE rather than 126 BCE), the proclamation "Jerusalem (rather than Tyre) the Holy," and the change of imagery, would represent an act of defiance in light of the rupture with the Greek cities and the local Roman authorities in 66 CE. This would explain *inter alia* why the Tyrian coinage ceases in 66 CE, when the Jerusalem revolt coinage begins.

³⁵⁵² For rough values, see the note to "talents" at 2.50.

³⁵⁵³ These were large, two-handled jars (the name comes from the double handle) with a narrow neck, used for transporting and storing liquids, especially wine and oil. As a measure, the ἄμφορεύς was roughly 9 imperial gallons (US 10.8 gallons; about 50 liters).

³⁵⁵⁴ So, 7/8 of each sale was profit (87.5% of John's investment). At *Life* 74 Josephus gives a different calculation, but it amounts to roughly the same profit.

Galilee is particularly olive-productive³⁵⁵⁵ and at that time had been very productive indeed, after sending in [to Syria] a large amount to those who needed it, as sole [supplier], he gathered in some uncountable hoard³⁵⁵⁶ of resources—which he immediately began to use against the one who had furnished him with the task.³⁵⁵⁷

593 Having come to suppose that if he could eliminate³⁵⁵⁸ Yosep he himself [Ioannes] would command the Galilee,³⁵⁵⁹ he first ordered the bandits under himself to apply themselves more strenuously to acts of plunder,³⁵⁶⁰ so that with many people stirring up revolution throughout the region, either he might execute the general somewhere as he marched out to provide assistance or, if he [Yosep] should stand by and watch the bandits, he [Ioannes] might malign him before the locals.³⁵⁶¹ **594** On top of that he began spreading word from far away that Yosep would betray their affairs³⁵⁶² to the Romans, and he busied himself³⁵⁶³ with many such things [with a view] towards the man's elimination.³⁵⁶⁴

(21.3) 595 At this time³⁵⁶⁵ some young men³⁵⁶⁶ who were guards encamped on the Great Plain,³⁵⁶⁷ from Debarittha (a village),³⁵⁶⁸ ambushed Ptolemy the procurator³⁵⁶⁹ of

*Dabarittan
youths rob royal
official. Life
126*

³⁵⁵⁵ This adjective (ἐλατιόφορος) appears only here in Josephus, and it is rarely attested elsewhere (Euripides, *Herc.* 1178; Theophrastus, *Caus. plant.* 2.4.4; *Hist. plant.* 8.2.8; Diodorus 4.17.4; 20.8.4; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 1.37.2; then in late antiquity and Middle Ages).

³⁵⁵⁶ See the notes to “countless horde,” a distinctive Josephan phrase, at 2.43, 253.

³⁵⁵⁷ I.e., Josephus. John's sharp business practice recalls that of the Aeduan warlord Dumnorix, who reportedly (Caesar, *Bell. gall.* 1.18) monopolized the local customs and taxes in order to create a large fund for his resistance against Rome.

³⁵⁵⁸ See the note at 2.445. This optative construction (εἰ καταλύσειεν) opens an *inclusio* that ends with the cognate noun at the end of 2.594.

³⁵⁵⁹ The rough parallel at *Life* 122 has John “supposing that my success portended his elimination,” upon which realization John gives way to immoderate envy and consequent actions.

³⁵⁶⁰ Josephus has not yet called John's men “bandits,” and this label illustrates the rhetorical flexibility of his usage. At 2.588 he had spelled out John's great care in choosing recruits of physical and mental ability, mostly from Tyrian regions, though at 2.589 he has described their behavior in bandit-like ways. This section on John's ruthless calculation, that general mayhem will give him a chance to unseat Josephus, has no parallel in *Life*. In the corresponding passage there (§§ 122-25, just before the robbery by Dabarittan youths as below), John's envy of Josephus leads him rather to try to attract the major Galilean cities (Tiberias, Sepphoris, and Gabara) to his cause.

³⁵⁶¹ Note the chiasm: John's response if Josephus does A, whereas if Josephus does B, John's response.

³⁵⁶² Possibly the incipient “commonwealth, state” (τὰ πράγματα), in view of the hoped-for independence, on the analogy of Latin *res (publica)*; see the note to “repub-

lic” at 2.168. The charge of betraying (παραδίδομι here; προδοτής) the Judeans or Jerusalem to the Romans will be a constant presence in *War* (3.354, 359; 4.146, 228, 254, 257, 281, 347; 5.439; cf. *Life* 129, 132-35, 416), used mischievously (Josephus claims) by rebel forces to justify the removal of leaders they find uncongenial.

³⁵⁶³ See the note at 2.259.

³⁵⁶⁴ This (πρὸς κατάλυσιν) completes the *inclusio* begun with the cognate verb at 2.593.

³⁵⁶⁵ *Life* 126-44 places this complex of events, one of the reasonably stable elements between the two accounts and apparently cherished by him as an illustration of his generalship, after the major revolt in Tiberias engineered by John of Gischala (*Life* 87-103), though that revolt comes later here (2.614-25).

³⁵⁶⁶ See the note to “youths”—a significant factor in raising tension levels in Judea according to *War*—at 2.225. The form here (νεανίσκοι), however, is used sparingly in *War*. This is the last of 10 occurrences (8 of these in bk. 1), whereas *Ant.* 1-19 hosts 72 occurrences, and *Life*, 3.

³⁵⁶⁷ This is the Plain of Esdraelon or Jezreel Valley, which runs from the SE, at the Jordan River around Scythopolis, to the NW, reaching the Mediterranean between Mt. Carmel and Ptolemais after passing through a bottleneck at Carmel's E end, before opening into the Plain of Acco. *Life* 115-16 claims that Aebutius the decurion and a cavalry squadron, based in Gaba in the W bottleneck, had been entrusted with guarding the Plain for royal and Roman traffic.

³⁵⁶⁸ This small village (here ἀπὸ Δεβαρίθθων), mentioned otherwise by Josephus only at *Life* 126, 318 (Δαβάριττα, Δαβαριττηνοί)—symmetrically positioned in that later work—was well situated as a base for guerrilla activity in the Great Plain. At *Life* 318 Josephus situates it both in the Plain and at the S limits of Galilee. The biblical site of Daverat or Daberath, known

Agrippa³⁵⁷⁰ and Bernice³⁵⁷¹ and carried off all the baggage that he was escorting,³⁵⁷² among which there was a great deal of expensive clothing,³⁵⁷³ a hoard of silver goblets,³⁵⁷⁴ and 600 gold pieces.³⁵⁷⁵ **596** Not being able to dispose of the plunder secretly,³⁵⁷⁶ they brought it all to Yosep at Tarichea.³⁵⁷⁷ **597** After castigating them for this violent act³⁵⁷⁸ against the royals, he deposited* the things that had been brought in³⁵⁷⁹ with Annaeus,³⁵⁸⁰ the most

for its pasture lands (Josh 19:12; 21:18; 1 Chron 6:72), Dabaritta lay at the W foot of Mt. Tabor. Although it could be said to lie on the Plain, it was still in a somewhat protected area (with Givat Moreh to the S), slightly removed and sheltered from the central Plain. Neither in *Life* nor here, to be sure, does Josephus claim that the operation was conducted at Dabaritta, but only that this was the youths' home town.

³⁵⁶⁹ Or "bailiff, administrator." See the notes to "procurator" at 2.14 and "Syria" at 2.16. This Greek-named figure appears only here and in the *Life* parallel. At *Life* 126, however, the first of many small differences between the accounts will be that the victim is Ptolemy's wife, accompanied by a mounted security detail. One might easily suppose that Josephus has adjusted the story there to make the youths seem more daring or reprehensible and himself even more gallant, though the many other changes can have no such explanation. Either he had *War's* story before him and simply decided to tell it differently or he did not consult his earlier version, relying on memory, perhaps on rough notes, and a flair for story-telling. An audience would no doubt imagine that such a high-ranking traveler with so much valuable baggage would have an escort and something of a baggage train.

³⁵⁷⁰ The Judean king with territories to the N/NE; see the note at 2.220. Agrippa has been absent from his territories for quite a while, having left them in the charge of Noarus (2.481), whom he later removed (2.483), and then accompanying Cestius Gallus in his failed campaign (2.502). He has mysteriously faded from the narrative, since we last saw him unsuccessfully negotiating with the Jerusalem rebels (2.525-26).

³⁵⁷¹ Sister of King Agrippa II. See the note at 2.227.

³⁵⁷² *Life* 126 claims that Ptolemy's wife was traveling with the baggage from the territory of Agrippa and Berenice to that governed by the Romans. If that vague notice has any historical value, it may be that Agrippa's agents feared the loss of this wealth (e.g., in Tiberias or in the Golan) to rebel forces, and so it was being conveyed to more secure Roman sites.

³⁵⁷³ *Life* 127 has the wife escorted by 4 baggage mules bearing much clothing. Here there is a litotes ("not a small amount").

³⁵⁷⁴ *Life* 127 has rather a stash of silver (ἀργυρίου σταθμός), which suggests unformed blocks (cf. *Life* 68, 296).

³⁵⁷⁵ *Life* 127: 500 gold pieces. If these were coins, as seems likely, they would be in the denomination of the Roman *aureus* (the only gold available), each worth 25 (silver) *denarii*. Each *aureus* would represent roughly a month's wages for a laborer. See Schürer-Vermes 2.62-67.

³⁵⁷⁶ *Life* 126-28 omits this curious (and nefarious) initial intention, rather portraying it as natural that the youths would bring their plunder to the rebel general Josephus. It is only when they do not immediately get their share that they begin to dispute his motives (§§ 129-30). Here, however, the youths have discerned Josephus' intentions in advance (2.598), and this apparently leads them first to try to dispose of the plunder themselves. Why they would then bring it to Josephus, when their attempts failed, remains unclear, unless we should surmise that they were forced to do so because the affair had since become known—and this is the point of the notice that they were unable to launder the goods secretly.

³⁵⁷⁷ See the notes at 2.252, 573. About 6 km (3.75 miles) N of Tiberias along the W shore of Lake Kinneret, this was Josephus' main base in E Galilee, with Tiberias proving more difficult to control (esp. 2.632-46).

³⁵⁷⁸ Josephus does not explain τὸ βίαιον. Was Ptolemy (or were his unmentioned bodyguards) killed or assaulted? One would assume so. *Life* 127 says that Ptolemy's wife was forced to flee. At any rate, *Life* 127-28 does not include such condemnation from Josephus. He explains more matter-of-factly that the youthful robbers were expecting to receive a share and so were naturally disappointed.

³⁵⁷⁹ *Life* 128-30 introduces an additional step. Josephus (lying) first tells the youths that he will personally keep the stolen goods to use their proceeds for the walls of Jerusalem. Only when they have left does he hand the goods to two of King Agrippa's closest friends (for conveyance to the king); that action is part of the secret dealing, and the king's friends are threatened with death if they should mention it to anyone.

³⁵⁸⁰ See the previous note. *Life* 131 has Josephus hand the goods in secret to two men, "Dassion and Iannaeus the son of Levis," whose main qualification is that they are friends of King Agrippa who can be trusted to get the goods to him secretly and quickly. Here, by contrast, "Annaeus" is chosen because he is the leading man of Tarichea. He apparently has the *public* responsibility of

powerful [man]³⁵⁸¹ of the Taricheans, planning to send [them] to their owners³⁵⁸² when the occasion arose.³⁵⁸³

This exposed him to the greatest danger indeed. **598** For, on the one hand, those who had done the plundering were growing indignant that they would not get³⁵⁸⁴ a share of the things that had been brought; on the other hand, they had seen in advance³⁵⁸⁵ Yosep's intention, that he was about to grant [the fruits of] their labor to the royal [pair]. So at night³⁵⁸⁶ they ran around to the villages³⁵⁸⁷ and portrayed Yosep to everyone as a traitor.³⁵⁸⁸ They filled the nearby cities so full of disturbance that at daybreak³⁵⁸⁹ 100,000 armed soldiers³⁵⁹⁰ had formed up against him.

599 The mob that had assembled in the hippodrome³⁵⁹¹ at Tarichea kept shouting out many things in rage: some had screamed³⁵⁹² that they should stone,³⁵⁹³ others that they should burn, the traitor; now Ioannes³⁵⁹⁴ was provoking³⁵⁹⁵ the masses, and with him a

*Josephus
denounced
at Tarichea
for intended
betrayal. Life
133*

holding the material in safety, until *Josephus* can secretly get it to Agrippa.

It is likely that Annaeus is the same person as *Life's* Iannaeus; this name appears only here, and (given that *War* also omits the Hebrew name Iannaeus for the Hasmonean king Alexander [1.85-106; contrast *Ant.* 13.320]) it might well be adjusted for the sake of Josephus' Roman audience, to sound like the familiar Latin *nomen* Annius (cf. 4.487-88; *Ant.* 18.32-33; 19.18-20).

³⁵⁸¹ See the note at 2.239.

³⁵⁸² I.e., Agrippa II and Berenice.

³⁵⁸³ See the note to Annaeus: it appears from *Life* 131 that in that story Josephus has already dispatched the goods to Agrippa via the king's two friends.

³⁵⁸⁴ Or even "cop a share." The informal translation reflects Josephus' τυχεῖν: they were missing their main chance.

³⁵⁸⁵ See the note to "first considered" at 2.25: this is the last of 4 occurrences of this verb, which Josephus uses only in *War* 2. According to *Life* 129-30, by contrast, the youths had brought the goods to Josephus in good faith, and only fastened on this explanation once he failed to give them their share.

³⁵⁸⁶ *Life* 129 omits this close indication of time, leaving the impression that the youths may have taken some days to reach the villagers with their news; accordingly, the attack on Josephus' home there appears to come in the late evening (*Life* 136), whereas here it follows at first light, after this antecedently implausible overnight tour of villages by the youths (2.598).

³⁵⁸⁷ *Life* 129 indicates the villages around Tiberias to the S: perhaps partly because they are more densely situated, partly because of greater animosity to Josephus in Tiberias itself.

³⁵⁸⁸ See the note to "betray their affairs" at 2.594.

³⁵⁸⁹ Josephus uses the Attic form (ἔως) almost consistently, 13 times in the Atticizing *War* and 16 times in total. Only at *Ant.* 8.414 does he use the Ionic and common Greek ἦώς.

³⁵⁹⁰ Lit. "10 myriads." If it is impossible that Josephus should have recruited 100,000 young Galileans (see the note to "young men" at 2.576), it is *a fortiori* unthinkable that another 100,000 (or even the same)—nearly twice the capacity of Rome's Colosseum or a modern sports stadium, perhaps the entire population of Jerusalem at the time—could have gathered against him at Tarichea, much less in the hippodrome there (see the note in 2.599). In this case, dividing by 100 might produce a plausible (though still large) figure. Although it is true that "myriads" by itself can have a general sense ("a large number"), his addition of the "10" shows that he is aiming at a specific number.

Life 132 both avoids this large figure and implies a more realistic scene: the Taricheans persuade Josephus' elite bodyguard and soldiers (perhaps in the range of 200; see note to "person" at 2.583) to abandon him—an alarming enough admission—and their presence at the hippodrome is considered decisive, whereas they would be trivial in the presence of 100,000.

³⁵⁹¹ No remains of Tarichea's hippodrome have yet been found; see Appendix A to BJP 9. But since the hippodrome of the large showcase-city, Caesarea, could hold only about 10,000 (see Appendix A to this volume), that of Tarichea—so close to the main city of Tiberias (see the note on Tiberias' stadium at 2.618)—must have been smaller.

³⁵⁹² Josephus is partial to this colorful verb (κράζω) in *War*, using it 12 times (only 3 in *Antiquities*); see the note at 2.176.

³⁵⁹³ Greek καταλέγειν. The less vivid reading of MSS PA (καταλύειν, "eliminate, destroy") seems easy enough to understand as a careless default to a frequently used term in Josephus. It seems harder to explain "to stone" as a scribal emendation.

³⁵⁹⁴ Strangely, John has no role in the parallel story in *Life*, in spite of Josephus' having recently said that John had won the support of Tiberias (§§ 122-24): Jesus son of Sapphias is the central figure there.

certain Iesous son of Sapphias,³⁵⁹⁶ council-president of Tiberias at the time.³⁵⁹⁷ **600** So Yosep's friends and bodyguards,³⁵⁹⁸ becoming terrified at the rush of the mob,³⁵⁹⁹ all fled except for four,³⁶⁰⁰ whereas he himself, who was sleeping,³⁶⁰¹ woke up*³⁶⁰² only when the fire was already being applied [to his house].³⁶⁰³ **601** With the four who had remained alongside urging [him] to flee,³⁶⁰⁴ he—terrified neither at his own isolation nor at the horde of those who were opposing [him]³⁶⁰⁵—ripped apart his clothes,³⁶⁰⁶ sprinkled dust on his head,³⁶⁰⁷ folded his hands behind [him], tied on his own sword by its ridge,³⁶⁰⁸ and charged ahead.*³⁶⁰⁹

³⁵⁹⁵ This (παροξύνω) is a favorite term in Josephus. See note to “provoked” at 2.8.

³⁵⁹⁶ As in the *Life* parallels, the MS tradition here shows confusion over the father's name (also Samphia, Sappha, Aphia, Taffan). This man, the son, will appear as a bold and determined rebel leader in the early stages of the Galilean campaign and the battle for Tarichea (to which he will flee from Tiberias): 3.450-52, 457, 467, 498. In *Life* Josephus introduces him twice: first as a factional leader of (allegedly) sailors and thugs (§ 66), then as council-president as here (§ 134). His fate is unknown.

Iesous' putative character (wretched, trouble-maker, sedition-fomentor, revolutionary) and role as provocateur are considerably elaborated at *Life* 134-36: taking a copy of the laws as a stage prop, he whips up anti-Josephan fervor with a patent *non sequitur*. It is his rousing speech that drives the mob, which he personally leads, to rush against Josephus' home.

³⁵⁹⁷ As Schürer-Vermes (2.179-80; cf. A. H. M. Jones 1971: 275-76) show, Tiberias had a typical Hellenistic constitution with a council (βουλή: *Life* 64, 169, 284, 300, 313, 381), a council president or ἄρχων (*Life* 134, 271, 278, 294, 300), a board of 10 (*Life* 33, 69, 168, 296), and various magistracies (*Ant.* 18.149). According to *War* 2.641 below, the council numbered 600—possibly an inflation, given that councils of major Greek cities typically numbered 400 or 500.

³⁵⁹⁸ At 2.583 Josephus has claimed a bodyguard of 600, though *Life* 90, 92 give him a more realistic 200.

³⁵⁹⁹ *Life* 132 claims quite differently that Josephus' military guard had been persuaded to desert him and join the opposition.

³⁶⁰⁰ *Life* 137 emphatically has only *one* man, named Simon, remain behind. In *War*'s version there are striking echoes of Nero's final hours: the young emperor too was alarmingly deserted in his moment of peril by his bodyguard and all but *four* attendants (*War* 4.493; Suetonius, *Nero* 48); but Josephus will successfully employ the stratagems that Nero only imagined. See further note to “clothes” in the next section.

³⁶⁰¹ *Life* 136 elaborates that Josephus had turned in for the night *because of fatigue* (not for ordinary sleep,

therefore apparently earlier than usual), and since he was not expecting trouble. *Life* thus implies that the assembly of the mob took place in the late evening, rather than around daybreak as here (2.598), where Josephus has not yet woken up in the morning. Accordingly, *Life* omits *War*'s notice (2.598) that the youths had visited the villages overnight.

³⁶⁰² In *Life* 137, it is Simon who awakens Josephus.

³⁶⁰³ This notice fulfills the expectation of burning at 2.599.

³⁶⁰⁴ Nero's four advisers reportedly advised him, similarly, to flee the indignities that threatened him if he remained near the city (Suetonius, *Nero* 49). According to *Life* 137, Simon advises Josephus to die nobly as a general, by taking his own life rather than being killed—or forced to kill himself—by enemies.

³⁶⁰⁵ In place of this self-congratulation for a courage that his four colleagues lack, *Life* 137-38 has the sole (and courageous) companion Simon advise Josephus to take his own life rather than leave himself to the crowd's tender mercies. In place of the following list of adjustments to his appearance, *Life* 137-38 has Josephus simply entrust his affairs to God, dress in black, and suspend the sword as he goes out to meet the crowd.

³⁶⁰⁶ *War*'s stratagems for winning over the hostile populace, as follows, recall the reportedly genuine grief and pleading of the chief priests and notables at 2.316, 322. For Josephus' audience they might also recall devices used or imagined by Nero, according to later reports, when he faced a lethal revolt against his own rule (from the Praetorian Guard, Senate, and western legions). Suetonius has him tear his clothes (*Nero* 42), ponder a trip to Gaul, where he would break out in tears before the rebels until they changed their minds (43), then consider addressing the Roman people from the rostra, dressed all in black (as at *Life* 138), and beg their forgiveness for his misdeeds until he persuaded them (47).

³⁶⁰⁷ Greek καταπασάμενος δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς κόνιν. It is uncertain whether the verb should indeed be καταπάσσω (“sprinkle”), as most MSS and as translated here, or καταμάω (“heap”) as in MS L, the 10th-cent. *Suda* lexicon (endorsed by Niese), and the episode containing the closest parallel to these activities in the earlier

602 At this, although there was compassion³⁶¹⁰ among those with close ties³⁶¹¹ [to him] and especially among the Taricheans, to those who were from the countryside and the nearby [towns]³⁶¹² he seemed burdensome.³⁶¹³ They kept slandering [him] and directing [him] to promptly bring out these goods, which were communal, and to admit fully his traitorous articles of agreement.³⁶¹⁴ **603** For they had taken³⁶¹⁵ from his department that he would deny none of the things of which he was suspected,³⁶¹⁶ but that it was in connection with the procuring of a pardon that he had done everything [possible] to attract pity.³⁶¹⁷

Josephus'
resourceful
speech. *Life* 141

604 Yet his abasement³⁶¹⁸ was the early preparation³⁶¹⁹ for a maneuver:³⁶²⁰ using his

narrative (2.322). Sprinkling, especially of *ashes* (a possible meaning of *κόνις* in contexts of fire—so possibly here) on one's head, was part of the biblical symbolism of mourning and/or repentance (LXX Job 2:12; Esther 4:1; Jer 6:26; 2 Macc 10:25). For the possible significance of the other verb, see note to “head[s]” at 2.322.

³⁶⁰⁸ The sequence is slightly awkward, given that Josephus presumably needed his hands, now tied behind his back, in order to fasten on the sword (cf. *Life* 172, with note in BJP 9). Further, the meaning and function of the last word in the clause (τὸ ἴδιον ξίφος ἐπιδήσας τῷ τένοντι) is a puzzle. The Greek participle translated “the ridge” means something that is stretched or extended; when referring to body parts, it usually indicates tendons or sinews (cf. *Ant.* 4.221). It can also refer to a mountain ridge, as in the only other occurrence in Josephus (*War* 4.5). Modern translators (LCL, Pelletier, M-B) take it to mean Josephus' *neck*. This must be influenced by the parallel at *Life* 138, where Josephus plainly says that he suspended the sword *from his neck* (τὸ ξίφος ἀπαρτησάμενος ἐκ τοῦ ἀχένοϋ). But given the many other disparities between these accounts (e.g., whether four associates remained or only Simon), it seems hazardous to explain one story by means of the other. Although Josephus *might* mean his outstretched neck, it is also reasonable to take the dative as instrumental—indicating the ridge or edge of the sword *by which* he held it. It might be safer for him to tie the sword by its middle, if he intends to fall prostrate, than by its handle (in which case the point is liable to stick in the ground and drive the handle into his body). In either case, the point of the gesture in combination with the preceding one is to render his weapon inaccessible: he comes in peace.

³⁶⁰⁹ This (προπηδάω) is a favorite verb in *War*, rarely used before Josephus; see the note to “plunged ahead” at 2.47. It seems from what follows (2.604) that by this movement Josephus has put himself in a humiliating posture, prostrate or facing downward. It is not clear, however, where the following exchanges took place, whether in a confrontation of the advancing mob or back in the hippodrome. *Life* 138 has Josephus reach the hippodrome by taking a route that avoids the advancing mob and only *then* falling prostrate and crying.

³⁶¹⁰ See the note to this key term at 1.12.

³⁶¹¹ Greek τῶν οἰκείως ἐχόντων could mean Josephus' family, his domestic entourage, his close friends, or (as the context suggests here) those with close links to Tarichea.

³⁶¹² According to the narrative (2.598), this would be the vast bulk of the 100,000, most of whom have been drawn in from surrounding areas by the youths.

³⁶¹³ By contrast, *Life* 138 makes Josephus an object of pity before *all*. Therefore *Life* lacks a parallel to the following expression of disgruntlement.

³⁶¹⁴ See the note at 2.397 and (to “pact”) at 2.452.

³⁶¹⁵ Possibly “they added to their grievances” (perhaps: his anticipated confession would only compound their anger), in keeping with the common MSS reading προσειλήφεσαν. Following Niese and other modern editors, I have translated Bekker's emendation, προειλήφεσαν.

³⁶¹⁶ In *Life* 139 Josephus actually makes a preliminary quasi-confession, that he had done wrong (as they would see it). The mob is willing to hear him out in the expectation that after his full confession they will be justified in killing him.

³⁶¹⁷ This is the final reference in bk. 2 to a central tragic theme of the work: pity works constantly along with fear (the hallmark of tragedy; cf. Aristotle, *Poet.* 1449b.27; 1452.38; 1453a.3, 5, 1453b.12). See the notes to the programmatic language of the prologue, to “pity” at 1.10 and “compassion” at 1.12.

³⁶¹⁸ All 3 of the other occurrences of ταπείνωσις in Josephus have to do with the humiliation of Egypt, for which Moses was reportedly born (*Ant.* 2.234, 238, 255).

³⁶¹⁹ This double compound, προπαρασκευή, seems unattested in literature before Josephus (who has it also at *Ant.* 15.346), except in the Hippocratic corpus (*Diaet. morb.* 7.50). It appears a number of times in Soranus, Phrynichus, Galen, and other 2nd-cent. CE authors. (The cognate verb, a favorite of Galen's, has occasional classical and Hellenistic attestation.)

³⁶²⁰ Greek στρατήγημα (“general's behavior”), meaning the ruses and deceptions expected of generals (on

craft³⁶²¹ to make those who were indignant at him dissolve into factions against each other,³⁶²² [he promised that]³⁶²³ he would admit³⁶²⁴ everything that had caused them to become enraged. **605** Accordingly, when it was given to him to speak, he declared:³⁶²⁵

I certainly was not planning either to send these goods back to Agrippa³⁶²⁶ or to take advantage myself. I could never regard as a friend someone who was your foe, or [regard as] gain that which brings harm to the collective. **606** But, Taricheans, when I observed your own city in particular lacking security, and being in need of silver for the construction of a wall,³⁶²⁷ and since I was afraid that the Tiberian populace and those of the other cities were lying ready to ambush what had been plundered,³⁶²⁸ I planned quietly to hold back the goods so that I might put up a surrounding wall for you. **607** If this does not seem right, I am producing what was brought to me and making it available [for you] to plunder,³⁶²⁹ if I did not³⁶³⁰ reason well for you, punish your benefactor!

Josephus as “general,” see 2.562, 566, 569), as illustrated by Julius Caesar and others. Josephus’ contemporary Sex. Iulius Frontinus compiled a manual of such behaviors. Although Frontinus writes in Latin, he borrows the Greek term for the theme of his work (*Strat.* 1.1) and defines στρατηγήματα as skills displayed by generals (*sollertia ducum facta*). Cicero also seems to prefer the Greek word, for which the Latin has only the adjective *imperatorium* (*Nat. d.* 3.6.15). For Josephus’ other general’s tricks in *War*, see 2.630; 3.171-76, 186-92; in *Life* 148, 163, 169, 265, 379.

³⁶²¹ Here is a stunning example of Josephus’ “Philonian” diction. The verb τεχνιτεύω is hardly attested in literature before Philo (Dionysius, *Isa.* 4), who has it 21 times: it is his characteristic language. Josephus uses it 3 times (also 4.422; *Ant.* 5.307), though after him it disappears for a century or more.

³⁶²² In *War*’s context this plan (κατ’ ἀλλήλων στασιάσαι) is ironic, for it taps a deep vein in the larger work. As author, Josephus fundamentally blames the downfall of Jerusalem on στάσις (1.10) and he observes several times that this infighting made things easier for the Romans (3.495; 4.366-76; 5.30-34).

With its different scene, *Life* 140 adds that Josephus urgently had to set the crowd in the hippodrome at odds with each other, before the armed troops that had gone to his house returned.

³⁶²³ The Greek text is awkward here without a finite verb to anchor the participle ὁμολογήσων, and a lacuna is posited by Destinon and Niese; MS C provides ὑπισχνεῖτο, which I follow for convenience—admitting that one can place little confidence in this option.

³⁶²⁴ This offer picks up the demand at 2.602, and appears to be a blatant lie, though celebrated by Josephus as a necessary ruse.

³⁶²⁵ It is another side of Josephus’ complete flexibility in speech-writing that this version of his remarks has little connection to, and no verbal overlap with, the version he will give at *Life* 141-42. There he begins with

a profession of his willingness to die, if he must, then proceeds to dilate on the welcome that Tarichea has given foreigners (who have come to join the cause of rebellion), and finally offers to build Tarichea’s walls on that deserving basis. Here, by contrast, the straight denial of his (rightly understood) plans is followed by a clever effort to set Taricheans and Tiberians against each other by fabricating claims about the latter.

³⁶²⁶ This had been precisely Josephus’ intention (2.597); he advertises his deception.

³⁶²⁷ This casual observation, which must have been valid within the framework of this episode, undercuts Josephus’ claim at 2.573, that after recruiting an army he systematically set about walling the cities of Galilee, including Tarichea and Tiberias.

³⁶²⁸ Josephus presents this as a mischievous claim on his part, deliberately concocted in order to dissolve his opposition into factions (2.604).

³⁶²⁹ This promise is not made in the *Life* parallel, perhaps in part because Josephus no longer has the goods; it seems that he has actually sent them back to Agrippa (*Life* 131). Of course, Josephus does not expect a demand to honor the promise anyway.

³⁶³⁰ The MSS, but especially the editors, show some unhappiness with the wording here because one expects a contrast: “If this does not seem right . . . ; but if I *did* reason well, *don’t* punish your benefactor!” Reinach, Peltier, and Thackeray read the text just this way, transposing “not” from protasis to apodosis. They were encouraged by Hudson, who proposed either dropping it from the first clause or conjecturing the opposite adverb (thus “If I did not reason badly” [εἰ μὴ κακῶς for καλῶς]). M-B leave the text as it is, but read the latter clause as “punish *only* your benefactor.” There seems to be no serious problem, however, with reading the given text as a slight elaboration of what goes before: “If you don’t agree, I’ll bring out the goods; if I did not reason well, punish me!” The direct invitation to punish or abuse is not absolute but dependent on Josephus’ open promise to build walls

(21.4) 608 With these [words] the Taricheans³⁶³¹ began crying out emotionally,³⁶³² whereas those from Tiberias together with the others began lambasting him and making serious threats: both sides left Yosep to himself and began disagreeing with each other!³⁶³³ For his part, having taken courage in those who were already on his side—there were up to 40,000 Taricheans³⁶³⁴—he began conversing more openly with the entire mob. 609 After roundly scolding³⁶³⁵ their impetuosity, he affirmed that although he was going to wall Tarichea from what was on hand, he would similarly secure the other cities as well:³⁶³⁶ they would not be short of resources if they could agree as to whom it was necessary to provide [the walls] against, and not become provoked³⁶³⁷ at the one doing the providing.³⁶³⁸

(21.5) 610 At that, whereas the rest of the mob—those who had been tricked³⁶³⁹—withdrew, albeit still enraged,³⁶⁴⁰ 2,000 armed men³⁶⁴¹ rushed after him.³⁶⁴² Although he overtook them to reach his residence before they did,³⁶⁴³ they were standing outside making threats.

611 With them³⁶⁴⁴ Yosep employed* a second trick:³⁶⁴⁵ he went up on the roof and, after

*Josephus
besieged in
residence, tricks
and flays the
mob's leaders.
Life 148*

for the city. Note the parallel at *Ant.* 13.401-6, where the widowed Queen Alexandra invites the Pharisees to abuse the corpse of her hated husband *after* promising them great power in her new government. (They decide to give him a splendid funeral.)

³⁶³¹ MS P, against the majority and Latin, has Josephus change his normal spelling (Ταριχεῖται) here—as at *Life* 143, 162—, writing Ταριχεῶται instead.

³⁶³² This rare verb (ἀνευφημέω) counts as distinctive Josephan vocabulary, hardly attested before his time in literature (Euripides, *Or.* 1335; Sophocles, *Trach.* 783; Plato, *Phaed.* 60a), though *War* has it 3 times (also 4.113, 117). It will become more popular in the 2nd century (Nicomachus, *Theol. arith.* 22; Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. Clit.* 3.5.6; Chariton, *Call.* 7.3.11; Herodian, *Exc. Marc.* 6.4.1; Aelian, *Var. hist.* 12.1).

³⁶³³ Thus Josephus has achieved his goal (2.604, 606). Although *Life* 143 also sees the Taricheans (and their resident outsiders) at odds with outsiders after Josephus' speech, he does not use his speech there to create dissension: it arises spontaneously from his clever promise to the Taricheans, not matched by a commitment to the others; Josephus quickly remedies the problem by promising walls also for Tiberias (§ 144). Here he does not explicitly promise Tiberians a wall, but he will make a general promise to others (2.609)—after they have fought each other for a while and he is able to reconcile them, having successfully deflected anger from himself.

³⁶³⁴ This appears to be a substantial inflation. According to best estimates, the Roman headquarters city of coastal Caesarea had a population of no more than 20,000, with about 25% more outside the city walls; see the note to “population” at 2.266. If even Antipas' former capital Tiberias could not have been as large, its near neighbor Tarichea was surely smaller.

³⁶³⁵ See the note at 2.182.

³⁶³⁶ *Life* 144: “I would construct walls also for Tiberias and the other cities of theirs that needed them.” Explicit mention of Tiberias is missing here, perhaps because mischievously suspecting that city was the main point of Josephus' tactic in the first place (2.606).

³⁶³⁷ See the note at 2.8.

³⁶³⁸ This traditional call to abandon internal strife for unity against a common enemy (i.e., Rome and Agrippa; cf. 2.638) is part of the ruse—to deflect anger against Josephus himself.

³⁶³⁹ Greek τῶν ἠπατημένων (by Josephus). The same phrase is used at 2.261; see the note there and to “trickery” at 2.106. This is a remarkably clear statement of his willingness to use deception against his own populace for valuable ends (and saving his own life). Josephus' flexibility is evident here: whereas deception, guile, and trickery on the part of others have been roundly condemned (2.106, 249, 259, 261, 586), he celebrates his own Odysseus-like capacity to deceive—in the interests of his assumed virtue.

³⁶⁴⁰ If Josephus' ruse were so successful, it is not clear why the mob were still enraged, except perhaps to connect the literary episodes. Contrast *Life* 144: everyone comes to trust him and so they disperse to their homes. He opts there to give the next episode a new beginning.

³⁶⁴¹ This observation opens an *inclusio*, to be closed at 2.613 when these men abandon their weapons.

³⁶⁴² *Life* 144 by contrast considers the matter settled, and Josephus simply returns home with 20 soldiers as escort and no mob in pursuit; there the next episode arises from new instigations.

³⁶⁴³ It would perhaps be more convenient if Josephus took a different route from the mob's, as he claims to have done in reaching the hippodrome at *Life* 138.

³⁶⁴⁴ Here these are the 2,000 armed malcontents left over from the previous episode; at *Life* 145, a new round

he had settled down the uproar³⁶⁴⁶ with [a motion of] his right hand, declared that he did not know what they were expecting to get; he could not hear because of the confusion of their shouting. But whatever they were directing, he would do it all if they would send to him inside those who would discuss things with him quietly.³⁶⁴⁷ **612** When they heard these things, the notables³⁶⁴⁸ went inside along with the leaders.³⁶⁴⁹ He [Yosep] dragged them into the very innermost part of the house³⁶⁵⁰ and, after he closed off the courtyard entry,³⁶⁵¹ lashed them to the point that he exposed all of their innards.³⁶⁵² Meanwhile, the mob was standing around, figuring that those who had gone inside were involved in protracted argumentation.³⁶⁵³ **613** But all of a sudden he opened the doors³⁶⁵⁴ and discharged the blood-soaked men—and instilled such terror in those making the threats that they discarded their weapons³⁶⁵⁵ and fled.

(21.6) 614³⁶⁵⁶ At this Ioannes intensified his envy³⁶⁵⁷ and crafted³⁶⁵⁸ a second plot³⁶⁵⁹

of instigation produces 600 armed soldiers, who came to set fire to Josephus' house.

³⁶⁴⁵ Greek ἀπάτη, cognate to “tricked” in the previous sentence. See the note there and to “trickery” at 2.106.

³⁶⁴⁶ This dramatically important word (θόρυβος) is usually metaphorical, in which case I translate as “disorder”; see note at 1.4.

³⁶⁴⁷ According to *Life* 146, Josephus invites the mob to send in people to receive the goods (from the Dabaritans' robbery) and so calm the popular rage.

³⁶⁴⁸ See the notes at 2.193 and to “powerful [men]” at 2.239. According to 2.599, this move against Josephus has been led by the Tiberian council-president Iesus, and it stands to reason that other Tiberian councilors would be involved, as they will be in the revolt soon to come (2.632-34, 638-41).

³⁶⁴⁹ Or “magistrates, councilors” (ἄρχοντες); see the note to “magistrates” at 2.216. Perhaps because of the impression of barbarity that this story might well create, with the leading Tiberians as Josephus' victims, *Life* 147 has the mob send in only one man: their most audacious and courageous representative.

³⁶⁵⁰ Josephus presupposes a large *domus*-like house with many rooms and an upper open story, seconded from a wealthy person (see the note to “lying back” at *Life* 222 in BJP 9). This phrase (εἰς τὸ μυχαιτάτον τῆς οἰκίας) is remarkably formulaic in Josephus: it occurs precisely as here at 5.427 (except the plural “houses”) and *Ant.* 7.229, and with structures other than houses at *War* 3.27; *Ant.* 8.311. This is remarkable for at least 3 reasons: (a) this superlative is the only form of the adjective μύχιος (which already means “in-most,” and so rarely needs a superlative) that Josephus uses; (b) this form of the superlative is irregular, one of several possibilities, and very rare (attested before him only in Aristotle, *Mund.* 393a; Strabo 7a.1.20); and yet (c) not only does Josephus use this rare superlative exclusively, but he repeats the formulaic phrase above (unattested elsewhere) several times, through both of his major

works, showing clearly the same authorial hand in different kinds of narrative, albeit using different sources and at different points in his life.

³⁶⁵¹ Since houses in the region—whether single- or multi-family complexes—were typically built around a central courtyard, that courtyard was itself “the innermost part of the house.” When Josephus bars the entry-way to it, he appears to be saying (since it is not as if the 2,000 are in the courtyard) that this is where the leaders are being held for their punishment. That would make a certain sense: it was the largest area (and easiest to clean after the coming bloodshed).

³⁶⁵² *Life* 147 has Josephus first whip his victim and then order him to cut off his own hand, which he must then hang from his neck (an awkward image).

³⁶⁵³ This is the only occurrence of δικαιολογέομαι in *War*, though it appears 5 times in *Antiquities*. It is a distinctively Polybian term (e.g., 3.21.1, 6; 20.9.9; 24.11.7; 30.17.1). He accounts for 11 of the 24 attestations before Josephus.

³⁶⁵⁴ If the scenario described in the preceding notes is accurate, these doors are not those to the central courtyard (he has not mentioned doors there), but rather those to the outside of the entire house complex, where the crowd has been kept waiting.

³⁶⁵⁵ This completes the *inclusio* begun at 2.610 with the deliberate mention of their weapons. For the phrase, see the note at 2.524.

³⁶⁵⁶ The following story of a revolt in Tiberias engineered by John of Gischala (2.614-25) suggests the impossibility of reconstructing Josephus' career from the conflicting accounts in *War* and *Life*. In the later work, although the parallel story (§§ 85-103) is verbally quite close to this one at several points, its location is entirely different. Instead of being a *second* plot by John, after his involvement with the spoils of the Dabaritans' robbery (here), there it comes before the robbery (*Life* 126). And whereas here John's failure will lead to the loss of his followers (2.625) and an appeal to Jerusalem

John's second plot, fomenting Tiberian revolt. Life 87

against Yosep. Affecting³⁶⁶⁰ illness, he begged³⁶⁶¹ Yosep in a letter to allow him to make use of the hot baths in Tiberias³⁶⁶² for care.³⁶⁶³ **615** He [Yosep], since was not yet suspecting the plotter,³⁶⁶⁴ wrote* to his subordinates in the city³⁶⁶⁵ that they should provide Ioannes both hospitality and amenities.³⁶⁶⁶ Having taken full advantage of these, after two days he [Ioannes] began to accomplish what he was there for and, ruining³⁶⁶⁷ some by tricks³⁶⁶⁸ and others with goods, he kept inducing³⁶⁶⁹ them to defect from Yosep.³⁶⁷⁰ **616** When Silas³⁶⁷¹

against Josephus (2.626), in *Life* John retains his followers and vigorous public activity for most of the remaining narrative, losing the followers only near the end (*Life* 372)—long after the delegation from Jerusalem that he requested (*Life* 189-98) has come and gone.

³⁶⁵⁷ That success (εὐπραγία) or good fortune (εὐτυχία) provoke envy (φθόνος) was a commonplace of rhetoric and popular morality (Pindar, *Pyth.* 7; Isocrates, *Pac.* 124; Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1386b, 1387b; *Top.* 109b; *Eth. eud.* 1221a: “Envy consists in being annoyed at prosperity more often than one ought to be [φθονερός δὲ τῷ λυπεῖσθαι ἐπὶ πλείοσιν εὐπραγίαις], for the envious are annoyed by the prosperity even of those who deserve to prosper”; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 3.42.1; Philo, *Somn.* 1.223; *Jos.* 5; Appian, *Lib.* 495), and it is a basic component of Josephus’ rhetorical arsenal: “It is impossible in success (εὐπραγία) to avoid envy (φθόνος)” (*War* 1.208; cf. 1.72, 84, 463, 633-34; 2.82, 181; 4.393; 5.97; cf. 1.67, *Ant.* 2.27, 201; 4.14; 6.59, 193; 10.212, 250, 256; 13.288, 402; 15.130, 349; 16.248; 18.240-41; 20.21; *Life* 80, 85, 122, 204, 423; *Apion* 1.213).

³⁶⁵⁸ Since this verb appears only here in Josephus, though he could have used many for the preparation of a plot, and since the phrase ἤρτυσεν ἐπιβουλήν seems to be attested before him only at Herodotus 1.12, where it refers to the notorious plot of the Lydian king’s wife and Gyges against the king, he may well intend an allusion to that famous story.

³⁶⁵⁹ The first, here in *War*, was John’s effort to whip up the masses in Tarichea against Josephus for not handing over the goods captured by the Dabarittan youths from Agrippa’s official (2.599). *Life* has a completely different order: the equivalent to the following episode there (§§ 85-103) happens there before the robbery by the Dabarittan youths (§§ 126-48) just recounted here—an episode in which John has no role there.

³⁶⁶⁰ See the note to “dissembled” at 2.293. Josephus makes John a specialist in pretense (2.587-89, 591, 617).

³⁶⁶¹ See the note at 2.128: this is the language for a supplicant, often used of addresses to God.

³⁶⁶² The reference is to Hammat, just S of Tiberias (cf. *Ant.* 18.36-37), where some 17 natural hot springs (at ca. 60° C) continue to attract spa customers. Although *Life* presents this story in a completely different place relative to Josephus’ career (see note to “second plot” in this sec-

tion), the language for this plot is so close to that in *Life* 85 as to suggest borrowing in the later version.

³⁶⁶³ Greek θεραπεία opens an *inclusio*, which will close at 2.617—with a different sense of the word.

³⁶⁶⁴ This justification perhaps makes better sense at *Life* 86, where the Dabarittan affair has not yet occurred and John has not exploited it as here against Josephus (2.599), though in both cases Josephus has had ample reason to suspect John (here 2.590-94). He appears to claim here a kind of *clementia*, a willingness to forgive and forget, that he will attribute systematically to Titus in the later narrative (4.101-6; 5.329; 6.12, 29-32, 78-9, 152-56, 190, 228, 353, 356)—whereas he himself will remain duly suspicious and wily.

³⁶⁶⁵ *Life* 86 elaborates: “I wrote to those entrusted by me with the administration of Tiberias, each by name.” Both passages are initially puzzling inasmuch as (a) the leadership of Tiberias appears generally opposed to him (2.599), all the more after his violent treatment of their representatives (2.612-13), and (b) he has not yet indicated any measures to administer the city through his own agents, though *Life* 69 has indicated his alliance with a faction led by one Capella (see BJP 9 and notes). We soon learn (2.616), however, that Josephus has appointed Silas to “guard” (or “watch”) Tiberias in his absence.

³⁶⁶⁶ This pair (ξενία καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια) is somewhat formulaic in Josephus—alone among extant writers (cf. *Ant.* 1.181; 14.131; 15.199).

³⁶⁶⁷ In its preceding 23 appearances in *War* 2, this favorite verb (διαφθείρω) has usually meant (physically) “destroy, ruin, or dispose of” (i.e., kill); see the note to “destroyed” at 2.11. Here he gives it a moral sense.

³⁶⁶⁸ Greek ἀπάται, cognate to “tricked” at 2.610 and “tricks” at 2.611. See the note to “trickery” at 2.106.

³⁶⁶⁹ See the notes to this verb at 1.5; 2.55. *Life* 87 emphasizes by contrast the bad character of those who defected: those delighting in change, sedition, revolution, and upheaval.

³⁶⁷⁰ In the corresponding passage (*Life* 88) we learn that John easily persuaded the influential Justus of Tiberias and his father Pistus, unmentioned in *War* but important to the later work, to follow him rather than Josephus.

³⁶⁷¹ Josephus’ lieutenant will appear also at *Life* 89, 272. His name offers interesting possibilities. Greek

(who had been appointed by Yosep to guard the city)³⁶⁷² realized these things, he wrote* to him in haste³⁶⁷³ about the matters related to the plot. Yosep, when he received the letter, after traveling strenuously by night,³⁶⁷⁴ arrived at Tiberias in the early morning.³⁶⁷⁵ **617** Whereas the rest of the throng went out to meet him, Ioannes, although he suspected that this visit had to do with him, nevertheless sent one of the notables³⁶⁷⁶ and pretended³⁶⁷⁷ feebleness; being bed-ridden,³⁶⁷⁸ he said, his attentiveness³⁶⁷⁹ [upon Josephus] would have to wait.³⁶⁸⁰

618 When Yosep had assembled the Tiberians in the stadium,³⁶⁸¹ he began trying to

Josephus narrowly escapes death from John's soldiers. Life 96

Σίλας might be understood as representing the Roman *cognomen* Sila (taken from the forest of the Bruttii), which had many cognate forms (Kajanto 1982: 237). The name appears in the NT, and comparison of Paul's letters (Silvanus at 1 Thess 1.1; 2 Thess 1.1) with Acts (Silas at 15:22, 27, 32; 16:19, etc.) suggests that Silas could abbreviate Silvanus, one of several related *cognomina* based on *silva* (woods) or *Silvanus* (the god of forests; Kajanto 1982: 91, 155, 213-14, 310). If it were Roman, we might imagine that Silas was one of the Tiberian élite along with other bearers of Latin names (cf. *Life* 32-33 with notes in BJP 9). A complication is the appearance elsewhere in Josephus of Silases from the E, such as *the Babylonian* (2.520; 3.11, 19), suggesting that the Greek form also represented an Aramaic name (cf. *Ant.* 14.40; 18.204; 19.299, 317-25, 353).

³⁶⁷² *Life* 89 calls Silas Josephus' "general," though his command of the city on behalf of Josephus is evidently tenuous.

³⁶⁷³ The expression κατὰ τάχος, only here in *War* 2, was not common among ancient authors. Though it was used 11 times by Herodotus, it must count as a Thucydidean (with 44 occurrences); it is later attested chiefly in Polybius (8 times), Diodorus (33), Dionysius (6), and Josephus' *War* (10). Curiously, Josephus uses it only in *War* (bks. 1, 2, 4, 7).

³⁶⁷⁴ This notice would not make good sense to someone who knew Galilean geography. As far as the audience knows, Josephus is still in Tarichea, the scene of the previous episode (2.599-613), but that lies only about 6 km (3.75 m.) from Tiberias, about an hour's walk, and would not require strenuous travel through the night. *Life* 86, by contrast, incidentally notes that Josephus was staying at the Galilean village of Cana (apparently Kh. Qanah, on the N edge of the Beth Netofa valley, more than 20 km [12.5 miles] from Tiberias, depending on the route) when he authorized John's trip to Tiberias. This location would make much better sense of both his ignorance of John's activity there, until he received a report from his agent, and his long overnight trip. *Life* 90 has Josephus travel "through the entire night" with 200 men.

³⁶⁷⁵ See the note to "daybreak" at 2.598. Here the cognate term is ἐωθινός, which Josephus uses only in

War (also 3.251, 319; 4.63).

³⁶⁷⁶ Many of Tiberias' élite appear inclined from the start to oppose Josephus (2.612); now they have been actively won over to John's faction.

³⁶⁷⁷ See the note to "affecting" at 2.614 (this pretense reinforces the *inclusio* in this paragraph); for the different verb here see the note to "pretend" at 2.587.

³⁶⁷⁸ Greek κλινήρης seems to be attested in literature before Josephus only in Philo (*Spec.* 3.106); Josephus has it otherwise only at *Ant.* 8.236. From his time onward it becomes much more common (Plutarch, *Pyr.* 11.4; *Arat.* 34.6; *Mor.* [*Sen. resp.*] 797c; [Clement of Rome], *Hom.* 5.2.3; Soranus, *Gyn.* 1.46.3; Herodian, *Part.* 67; Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 12.80 [Kaibel]).

³⁶⁷⁹ See the note at 2.2. This is the attentiveness or care (cf. Latin *cura*) due to a more powerful person or a god. The occurrence of θεραπεία here completes the *inclusio* begun with this word, but in a very different sense, at 2.614.

³⁶⁸⁰ *Life* 91 tells a different story: John comes out to greet Josephus in a troubled frame of mind and, realizing that he is in danger, quickly returns home. It appears that Josephus is most interested here in the *inclusio* created by the fake illnesses at the beginning and end of this paragraph.

³⁶⁸¹ The stadium of Tiberias was speculatively located by Lämmer (1976: 43-54) about halfway between Tiberius and Beth-Maon to the NW. Salvage excavations in 2002 led by Moshe Hartal on the grounds of the Galei Kinneret Hotel, in this general location, which uncovered a large section of a curved wall (from a structure of some 39 m [128 ft] diameter at the curved end, perhaps of standard stadium length [200 m.]), appear to represent this structure. Though the discovery was widely reported in newspapers in 2002, it does not yet seem to have been the subject of an official report. Bennett (2007: 228-36) plausibly connects the stadium of Tiberias with the hippodrome of nearby Tarichea as effectively part of one entertainment complex. The argument of Lämmer and Bennett that these facilities must imply the presence of *Kaiserspiele* in Tiberias, albeit without cultic or iconic enhancement (Bennett 2007: 235), is more difficult. If one could hold games without cultic apparatus, why the need to connect them with cult at all?

discuss with them what had been in the letter;³⁶⁸² but he [Ioannes] secretly sent in³⁶⁸³ armed soldiers³⁶⁸⁴ and ordered them to dispose of him. **619** When the populace caught sight of these men baring their swords,³⁶⁸⁵ they shouted out. At this yelling³⁶⁸⁶ Yosep turned around³⁶⁸⁷ and, when he noticed the blade already set for the slaughter,³⁶⁸⁸ leapt off towards the shore;³⁶⁸⁹ he had been standing, addressing the populace,³⁶⁹⁰ on a certain bank of six-cubit height.³⁶⁹¹ By leaping up³⁶⁹² onto a boat lying at anchor,³⁶⁹³ he escaped with two bodyguards³⁶⁹⁴ into the middle of the lake.³⁶⁹⁵

(21.7) 620 Now his soldiers quickly grabbed their weapons and began to advance against the plotters. Then Yosep became anxious that if internecine war³⁶⁹⁶ were set in

³⁶⁸² *Life* 92-93 gives more space to the opening of Josephus' speech: dismissal of his bodyguard, request from the mob for a speech, and his initial appeals about not defecting so quickly. Only when he is in rhetorical flight there do John's men appear.

³⁶⁸³ See the note at 2.8.

³⁶⁸⁴ *Life* 95 has John send in the most trustworthy of his "thousands" of soldiers.

³⁶⁸⁵ See the note to this characteristic Josephan phrase at 2.173.

³⁶⁸⁶ See the note to this distinctive language of *War* at 2.132.

³⁶⁸⁷ In *Life* 94 it is rather Josephus' attendants who interrupt his speech to draw his attention to the arrival of John's men.

³⁶⁸⁸ Or "for the butchery, sacrifice" (see the note to "butchered" at 2.30). Josephus poeticizes the drama, using "iron [blade]" (σίδηρος) rather than the prosaic "sword" and the highly resonant σφαγή—with connotations of innocent sacrifice amply developed in this volume—rather than simply having someone about to strike his neck. He will use the same vivid conjunction of words, which seems unattested in earlier authors, at 3.385, to describe his near-death experience at Iotapata.

³⁶⁸⁹ The particular service performed by the friendly Tiberian named Herod at *Life* 96 is that he leads Josephus to the lake (cf. § 304, where he must reach the lake by an alleyway). Given the lakeside location of Tiberias and its stadium, *War*'s account (implying immediate access) seems more plausible, though *Life* may simply be suggesting that Josephus could not leave the stadium structure by the obvious routes.

³⁶⁹⁰ This is the only occurrence of δημηγορέω in *War*. Of 5 others, one is at the parallel to this story, *Life* 92, which again suggests that he consulted this text when writing the later one.

³⁶⁹¹ About 3 m (nearly 10 ft), and therefore in keeping with Josephus' many other athletic feats in this episode (see next note). It was common for Greek stadiums to use natural hills or earthen banks for at least part of the seating (cf. Lämmer 1976: 45-46). *Life* 92 (cf. 96), by contrast, positions Josephus on a high, man-made stadium wall. This is the only occurrence of βουνός in *War*,

though it appears 7 times in *Ant.* 1-9. There it normally indicates a fairly substantial hill, whereas here (as at *Ant.* 9.128) a mound or bank is in view. Herodotus discusses the word twice, once using it as a Greek equivalent for a Libyan term (4.192) and once citing it as the name given by Cyreneans to a hilly region of their country (4.199).

³⁶⁹² There is a great deal of leaping, charging, and plunging in Josephus' self-description (many on the πηδᾶω root as here), as he illustrates his athletic prowess. See the note to "charged ahead" at 2.601.

³⁶⁹³ Greek παρορμέω occurs only here in Josephus and very rare elsewhere (Philo Mech., *Parasc.* 95 [Thevenot]; Plutarch, *Cim.* 12.5—supporting a supposition of earlier fragments).

³⁶⁹⁴ On this point, remarkably, *War* and *Life* 96 nearly agree: the men are there named as Jacob (the bodyguard) and Herod (a helpful Tiberian).

³⁶⁹⁵ This is a puzzling notice because the following narrative leaves Josephus' whereabouts uncertain, even when the people begin flocking to see him (2.622-23), until 2.634 where he turns at Tarichea. *Life* is more attentive to these details, and at § 96 has him reasonably flee from Tiberias' stadium via the lake N to Tarichea (as also at the mirror event in *Life* 304).

³⁶⁹⁶ This (πόλεμος ἐμφύλιος) is the first occurrence in bk. 2 (cf. 1.216) of a phrase that will become important in the central section of *War* (4.131, 375, 441, 495, 545 [these last of Rome]; 5.19; 6.343; cf. 2.638 below; *Ant.* 7.20, 22; 14.283; 16.189; 19.184 [of Rome]; *Life* 100, 265, 409), as a more descriptive alternative to the Leitmotif στάσις (1.10: "civil strife"), which can also be qualified by ἐμφύλιος; see the note to "civil war" at *Life* 100 in BJP 9. The Greek phrase appears to be of Polybian origin (1.65.2, 71.5, 7; 2.18.4; 6.46.9; 30.11.5); it is used often by Diodorus (11 times, sometimes perhaps via Posidonius), Dionysius (20 times), and Philo (11 times), as by Josephus (19 times) and Plutarch (35 times); Appian uses it 7 times in his *Civil War*. The term corresponds to Latin *bellum domesticum* or *bellum civile*, which were in wide use (cf. the works by Caesar and Appian, as well as Lucan's *Pharsalia*) because they were perceived as representing the most serious threat to Rome in this period.

motion,³⁶⁹⁷ because of the envy of a few,³⁶⁹⁸ it might come at the cost of the city:³⁶⁹⁹ he sent* a messenger to his own men [telling them] to provide only for their own safety, and neither to kill anyone nor to prosecute³⁷⁰⁰ those responsible. **621** Whereas they did indeed hold their peace, obeying the instruction, when those who were up in the surrounding countryside learned of the plot and the one who had orchestrated it,³⁷⁰¹ they started gathering against Ioannes.³⁷⁰² But he outpaced* them, fleeing to Gischala, his home town.³⁷⁰³

John flees to Gischala. Life 101

622 Now the Galileans were streaming together³⁷⁰⁴ from each town toward Yosep, and the many tens of thousands of armed soldiers³⁷⁰⁵ who appeared were shouting that they had come for Ioannes, the common plotter: they would incinerate him together with³⁷⁰⁶ the home town³⁷⁰⁷ that had admitted him.³⁷⁰⁸ **623** Although he [Yosep] affirmed that he accepted their goodwill, he also put a stop to their charge, preferring to subdue his adversaries by savvy rather than to kill them.³⁷⁰⁹

624 So he took note, by name, of those from each city who had stood together with Ioannes in revolt³⁷¹⁰—the commoners were eagerly identifying their own people—and by

Josephus breaks up John's following. Life 370

³⁶⁹⁷ This is characteristic Josephan language; see the note at 2.354.

³⁶⁹⁸ The “few” in question are apparently John of Gischala and his followers, who have reportedly initiated the Tiberian revolt from envy; see the note to this word at 2.614.

³⁶⁹⁹ Greek παραναλώση τὴν πόλιν. The verb παραναλίσκω occurs in Josephus only in *War* (also 3.188; 4.119; 5.561); cf. 2.638 (“expend . . . beforehand”) for a cognate. Although the city here is Tiberias, the observation that emotion leading to civil strife can result in the destruction of a city is a crucial theme in *War*, especially in relationship to Jerusalem (cf. 1.9-12).

³⁷⁰⁰ See the note to this word at 2.351.

³⁷⁰¹ This language of orchestrating or contriving a plot (συσκευάζω + ἐπιβουλή) is distinctively Josephan. It seems not to be attested in literature before him, though he uses the collocation several times in different works (*Ant.* 16.324; *Life* 110, 225).

³⁷⁰² Since *Life* 96 has Josephus in Tarichea at this point, that narrative claims that it was the Taricheans who first became enraged against their Tiberian neighbors and then stirred up anger in the rest of Galilee (§ 97).

³⁷⁰³ As 2.585. But *Life* 101 has John leave for Gischala only after the following move against him from the Galilean masses, at which he becomes afraid.

³⁷⁰⁴ See the note to this formulaic phrase at 2.170.

³⁷⁰⁵ On the problem of such numbers, see the note to “100,000 young men” at 2.576.

³⁷⁰⁶ The doubly compound verb συγκαταφλέγω is rare outside Josephus, and late (Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 14.2.2; Philo, *Flacc.* 69; Plutarch, *Mor.* [*Virt. inf.*] 499c; Lucian, *Nigr.* 30; Appian, *Illyr.* 61; *Bell. civ.* 2.3.21), though he has it 3 times (also *War* 1.50; 6.280).

³⁷⁰⁷ So MSS PAML. Or simply “city” (πόλιν rather than πατριδα) as in MSS VRC and followed by Thack-

eray, M-B, Vitucci, and Pelletier. Since, however, it is much easier to explain VRC's reading as a later scribal adjustment (for Tiberias was not John's home town), we should prefer the more difficult reading, all the more because it is found in generally better MSS. In that case the language is sarcastic, receiving its point from the phrase “that had welcomed him”—ὑποδέχομαι suggesting “harboring a stranger, providing refuge,” or similar. Perhaps also because John's actual home town of Gischala was so far away and inaccessible, the Galileans were only too happy to attack the many who had defected from Josephus in John's adopted home of Tiberias.

³⁷⁰⁸ At *Life* 99, the angry Galileans along with Josephus' own friends counsel him to take Tiberias by storm, raze it, and sell its women and children into slavery.

³⁷⁰⁹ Julius Caesar's renowned clemency toward enemies (recalled by *inter alios* Suetonius, *Jul.* 74-75: *inhibere maluit quam vindicare*; cf. Coulter 1931), the theme of a temple dedicated to him (Dio 44.6), is matched by Josephus' repeated protestations of such an inclination, especially in *Life*, to avoid civil war and bloodshed: *Life* 80-84, 99-103, 174, 244, 259, 369.

At *Life* 100, 102-3, Josephus' mere insistence that matters with John be settled without bloodshed suffices to calm the masses. He cannot there pursue the strategy described here of identifying John's followers and requiring them to abandon him, because John must remain a central figure in that narrative; Josephus will only be able to do what is described here near the end of *Life* (§§ 370-72), after a great deal more nefarious activity on John's part.

³⁷¹⁰ This artful verb (συναφίστημι) was favored by Thucydides (1.57.1, 57.5, 59.2, 104.2, 115.5; 3.47.2, 69.6; 4.88.2) and Diodorus (1.68.3; 2.26.2; 14.17.3; 15.66.4; 16.17.4; 18.40.2; 19.46.3, 47.2; 36.2.4), who account for 17 of the 23 attestations before the 6 in Josephus (also 1.474; 2.645; 4.647; *Ant.* 17.319; *Apion* 1.271).

means of heralds threatened that within five days,³⁷¹¹ if they had not abandoned Ioannes, he would plunder their property and also incinerate³⁷¹² their houses—with their families in them.³⁷¹³ **625** So 3,000 defected immediately:³⁷¹⁴ they came to him and discarded their weapons at his feet. With those who were left (there were as many as 2,000 Syrian refugees)³⁷¹⁵ Ioannes drew back from the more obvious plots in favor of the covert kinds.³⁷¹⁶

John secretly maligns Josephus to Jerusalem authorities. Life 189

626³⁷¹⁷ Secretly, at any rate, he kept sending messengers to Hierosolyma maligning Yosep for the scope of his power,³⁷¹⁸ insisting that he would very shortly³⁷¹⁹ come as tyrant³⁷²⁰ of the mother-city³⁷²¹ unless he were seized beforehand. **627** Whereas the populace, although they already knew these [things],³⁷²² did not take them seriously,³⁷²³ the powerful [men] along with some of the magistrates,³⁷²⁴ out of envy,³⁷²⁵ secretly sent resources to Ioannes for a levy of mercenaries,³⁷²⁶ so that he might wage war against Yosep;³⁷²⁷ they

³⁷¹¹ In the similar story at *Life* 370 Josephus gives John's followers 20 days to consider their futures.

³⁷¹² See the note at 2.58.

³⁷¹³ This threatened barbarity does not appear at *Life* 370, where only burning homes and plundering property are envisaged.

³⁷¹⁴ The similar story at *Life* 371 has 4,000.

³⁷¹⁵ Puzzlingly, Josephus has said (2.588; see note there) that John began with 400 refugees from *Tyre* and its villages. The parallel at *Life* 372 will give him about 1,500 refugees from the city of *Tyre* itself; so at least that number is close to this one. Although the MSS here show no demurrals, evidently Josephus is talking about the same group (Tyrians). If so, either he himself refers to them as both Tyrians and Syrians or an early copyist's error has created the difference.

³⁷¹⁶ Whereas John's loss of followers and reduction to surreptitious activity leads here to the delegation episode, in *Life* (a) the Tiberian revolt just described (*Life* 85-103) does not result in John's loss of followers; (b) the delegation affair is completely decoupled from that first Tiberian revolt and occupies the middle part of the book (beginning only at *Life* 189); and so (c) therefore the delegation affair cannot be a consequence of John's loss of followers and withdrawal to clandestine activities. There he loses his followers only at §§ 371-72.

³⁷¹⁷ It is remarkable that the following story of the delegation sent from Jerusalem to oust Josephus should receive so little attention here (2.626-31), whereas in *Life* it occupies the heart of the work (§§ 189-335), that it should be presented as the consequence of John's massive loss of followers (which does not happen until *Life* 372), and that the details of the embassy should be so different in the two works. On all these problems see the introductory essay to *Life* in BJP 9.

³⁷¹⁸ According to *Life* 189-90, out of hatred John sent his brother Simon along with one Jonathan son of Sisenna (a Roman name) and an armed escort of 100 to Simon son of Gamaliel, a prominent Pharisee in Jerusalem, to

effect Josephus' removal. At § 193, Simon tells the high priest Ananus that Josephus' influence and power need to be restrained.

³⁷¹⁹ The phrase ὅσον οὐδέπω is rarely attested before Josephus (Heraclides, *Frag.* 140 [Wehrli]; Menander, *Asp.* 113). Philo has it twice (*Sacr.* 135; *Mos.* 1.32), but Josephus uses it much more frequently (3.261; 4.96, 539; 5.33; *Ant.* 4.160; 5.340), apparently reflecting a new fashion in the late 1st century CE (cf. Plutarch, *Per.* 29.1; *Alc.* 14.4; *Alex.* 26.5; *Mor.* [Suav. sec. Epic.] 1103d; Ignatius, *Ep.* 2.8.2; Lucian, *Ver. hist.* 1.8; *Icar.* 22; *Merc.* 31; Marcus Aurelius, *Med.* 4.3.4; 5.33.1; 7.70.1; 10.11.1).

³⁷²⁰ See the note to "tyrants" at 1.10.

³⁷²¹ See the note at 2.400.

³⁷²² The referent is unclear: these *accusations*? Facts? See the next note.

³⁷²³ This appears to mean that the populace of Jerusalem was not concerned about Josephus. At *Life* 194, similarly, the high priest Ananus rebuffs Simon's initial bid to have Josephus removed on the ground that many chief priests and also the mob (the common people) support Josephus.

³⁷²⁴ See the note to "magistrates" at 2.216. In contrast with *Life* 193-96, which claims that Simon son of Gamaliel instructed John's brother Simon to bribe Ananus and Jesus, the leading former high priests, to send the delegation. Scholars generally hold that *Life*'s admission of the high status of Josephus' opponents was forced on him by the rival work by Justus of Tiberias (since Luther 1910). Although that is possible, the extreme brevity of *War*'s account seems enough to explain the difference: in giving the entire episode only a couple of paragraphs it is reasonable that Josephus would omit names (while still acknowledging that leaders and officials were involved).

³⁷²⁵ See the note to this word at 2.614.

³⁷²⁶ At *Life* 200 the Jerusalem leaders send a mercenary force of 600, led by a Galilean named Jesus, up to John with the delegation.

also voted on their own initiative to recall him from the generalship.³⁷²⁸

628 They certainly did not expect that this directive would be enough: they dispatched 2,500 armed soldiers³⁷²⁹ and four of their eminent men—Ioesdrus son of Nomicus,³⁷³⁰ Ananias Sadouki,³⁷³¹ and Simon and Ioudas the sons of Ionathes³⁷³²—, all very capable in speaking,³⁷³³ so that they might divert the goodwill enjoyed by Yosep: if he willingly came

Delegation sent from Jerusalem to remove Josephus. Life 199

³⁷²⁷ These proceedings recall the Roman civil wars, and the Senate's declaration of Julius Caesar or later Marc Antony, each a powerful Roman general and governor, a public enemy (*hostis*).

³⁷²⁸ Josephus' generalship was established at 2.562, 568.

³⁷²⁹ *Life* 199-201 claims that the leaders gave these four men 40,000 pieces of silver (drachmas, apparently), a mercenary escort of 600, 300 members of the citizen body, and the 100 armed soldiers accompanying John's brother: 1,000 altogether.

³⁷³⁰ The father's Greek name ("law-related, legal [scholar], lawyer") occurs only here in Josephus. In the gospel of Luke (7:30; 10:25; 11:45-52; 14:3; cf. Tit. 3:9, 13) the formulaic plural indicates a group closely connected with the Pharisees. The son's Hebrew name, Yoezer, takes the form Yozar (or Ioazar) in *Life* (29, 197 [emended], 324-25, 332); if the same person is in question, Josephus appears to have changed his mind about how best to represent in Greek the name יְיֹעֶזֶר (1 Chron 12:6-7 and common among the rabbis; cf. Ilan and Price 1993-94: 192). At *Life* 197 (see discussion in BJP 9), the Yoezer named as a member of the delegation is identified as both a priest and a Pharisee.

³⁷³¹ Possibly "son of Sadok," a nickname of uncertain meaning, or "the Sadducee." See the note at 2.451. Unless Ilan and Price (1993-94) are correct in proposing a mistaken transference of names on Josephus' part, this man has already appeared with Ioudas as a prominent member of Eleazar son of Ananias' faction, which would seem to confirm the general picture of hostility between Josephus and that group. For the Pharisaic Ananias of *Life*, charged with "vile and wretched" activities, see *Life* 290-91; cf. 316, 332.

³⁷³² Ananias and Judas were introduced at 2.451 as two of the three men chosen from the faction of Eleazar son of Ananias to offer assurances of safe passage to the besieged Roman garrison in Jerusalem—just before those soldiers were slaughtered. Since Josephus does not point out this connection, and we discover it only by careful comparison, one might take this as incidental evidence that he really was opposed to, and by, the radical rebel movement, especially by Eleazar's faction, whose members here try to remove him. Alternatively, since the *Life* parallel (§§ 195-98) has the delegation sent by Ananus II, Josephus' own commander, one might suspect that Eleazar's faction were part of the same leadership

group that had sponsored Josephus, which must now have turned against him.

In any case, with the names of Simon and Ioudas we meet a substantial conflict with *Life* 197-98, which identifies the remaining two members of the delegation as Ionathes (Jonathan), a *non-priestly Pharisee*, and Simon, from a *chief-priestly* family. Given that Josephus there portrays Jonathan as the head of the delegation, with whom he is in constant interaction, and who tries to harm him on several occasions (*Life* 199, 216-17, 226, 228-32, 236, 245-46, 249-52, 254-67, 271-73, 277-89, 297-302), it is more than strange that here, in place of Jonathan, he should instead name two *sons* of Jonathan. If we wished to save him by assuming that Jonathan was another name for Jonathan's son Judas, we would face the problem that this Simon cannot be the one in *Life* because that Simon belongs to a different family from Jonathan's. Josephus has thus presented this important story from his own career in completely different terms in his two works, leaving us no apparent leverage for uncovering the truth.

Ilan and Price (1993-94) propose that the presence in Josephus' preparatory notes of the common names Ananias and Jonathan in both the delegation story and the Roman garrison episode at 2.451 led him to conflate the two very different episodes, mistakenly transferring the names from 2.451 to this event. Although that solution is conceivable, it is difficult to imagine that Josephus would not have remembered such an important complex of events from his war-time career (especially the names of his chief opponents). Further, the hypothesis does not deal with the comprehensive differences between *War* 2 and *Life* in chronology and setting, in which the delegation episode is pivotal (see Appendix C to BJP 9). The problem of incompatible names and identities appears to be no different (so, not separately solvable) from those larger difficulties.

³⁷³³ This notice fits with Josephus' assumption, visible everywhere in his corpus, about statesman's need to be able to speak convincingly (cf. Plutarch, *Mor.* [*Praec.*] 801a-804c): see the note to "as follows" at 2.344. *Life* 196-98, by contrast, elaborates several items of comparison between Josephus and the delegation, which the Jerusalem leaders think should lead the Galileans to prefer the delegation: the four of them (against only one of him) were at least as accomplished in the laws, and *two* of them were priests.

with them to render an account³⁷³⁴ they were to allow him, whereas if he used force to remain they were to treat him as an enemy.³⁷³⁵ **629** That an army was in the area, friends had written to Yosep;³⁷³⁶ but they could not clarify the reason, given that his adversaries really had conducted their deliberations covertly.³⁷³⁷

Consequently, and since he had taken no precautions,³⁷³⁸ four cities immediately defected to the foes who had come—Sepphoris as well as Gabara, Gischala, and Tiberias.³⁷³⁹

Josephus captures and sends back the delegation. Life 332

630 But even these he [Yosep] quickly brought onside, without weapons. Through the use of maneuvers³⁷⁴⁰ he subdued both the four commanders and the most powerful of the armed soldiers, and sent them back to Hierosolyma.³⁷⁴¹ **631** The populace were extremely indignant³⁷⁴² at these men, and they rushed to kill them along with those who had sent them out—except that they outpaced them and ran off.³⁷⁴³

Tiberias defects again. Life 158

(21.8) 632 Thereafter, the fear [inspired] by Yosep kept Ioannes under guard within Gischala's wall.³⁷⁴⁴

After a few days³⁷⁴⁵ Tiberias defected again, when those inside made an appeal to Agrippa the king.³⁷⁴⁶ **633** When he did not arrive for the arranged appointment, but a few Roman cavalry were observed nearby on that same day,³⁷⁴⁷ they proclaimed Yosep's

³⁷³⁴ See the note to “give an account” at 2.244.

³⁷³⁵ Similarly *Life* 202: if Josephus put down his weapons, they were to take him alive; if he resisted, they were to kill him without qualms.

³⁷³⁶ According to *Life* 204, Josephus' father passed along a full report to him, having received the news from none other than Jesus son of Gamalas, one of the two former high priests leading the war cabinet. In that story Josephus' father also implores him to return home.

³⁷³⁷ *Life* 195-96 also stresses that the deal was secretly arranged, though in that account the truth had reached Josephus via his father (see previous note).

³⁷³⁸ This is the only occurrence of *προφυλάσσω* in Josephus.

³⁷³⁹ A remarkable statement, since this includes the two main cities of Galilee and two other important centers. According to *Life* 230-35, these delegates met with massive resistance from the villages of Galilee, whose indignant residents were steadfastly loyal to Josephus; Sepphoris gives them a hearing, without rejecting Josephus (§ 232); only Gabara and Gischala are friendly to the newcomers, by virtue of their prior allegiance to John of Gischala (§ 235). Sepphoris' shifts, at least, should presumably be understood as pragmatic, since the city's basic anti-war disposition seems well attested; see the note to “eager for war” at 2.574.

³⁷⁴⁰ On the word, see the note at 2.604. The maneuvers in question occupy a considerable part of the *Life* narrative (§§ 216-332) and so defy quick summarization.

³⁷⁴¹ This extremely compact statement shows the extent to which Josephus can select and manipulate his material, for more than half of *Life* (189-335) is devoted to Josephus' dealings with these delegates from Jerusalem.

³⁷⁴² The translation expresses Josephus' *litotes*: they “were not moderately indignant.”

³⁷⁴³ According to *Life* 332, Josephus, after arresting the delegation members, sent them back to Jerusalem with travel money and an escort.

³⁷⁴⁴ This notice corresponds roughly to the situation near the end of *Life* (372), after the failure of the delegation from Jerusalem (cf. 332), although the episodes that follow here occur there much earlier (§§ 155-74), *before* the delegation's arrival from Jerusalem.

³⁷⁴⁵ See the previous note: *Life* will provide a completely different and irreconcilable arrangement of these episodes.

³⁷⁴⁶ Tiberias was, as far as Roman administration was concerned, a territory belonging to Agrippa II (2.252). Although it lies within Josephus' assumed purview as rebel general, and his rival John has tried to lead the city away (2.573, 599, 614-25), the council here asserts its loyalty to the king and asks for help. The parallel (*Life* 155-58) adds considerable detail: the Tiberians duplicitously demand that Josephus fulfill his pledge to build their walls, while at the same time they request a garrison from King Agrippa to protect them against Josephus. While he is engaged in this building project, on the third day he makes a trip to nearby Tarichea and is informed en route of the defection. Josephus as author cannot use the same scenario here, because he has not pledged to build Tiberias' walls (cf. 2.608-9), and indeed he gives the impression that he has already built them (2.573).

³⁷⁴⁷ See the note to this verb at 2.406 (its only other appearance in Josephus). This account appears to be a somewhat cryptic précis of the one elaborated at *Life* 157. There he explains that the appearance of Roman cavalry nearby gave the false impression that the requested

banishment.³⁷⁴⁸ **634** Their defection³⁷⁴⁹ was immediately reported³⁷⁵⁰ at Tarichea,³⁷⁵¹ but since he had sent out all of his soldiers for the collection of grain³⁷⁵² he was not in a position either to rush out alone against those who had defected or to remain where he was—having become anxious that if he delayed, the royal [troops] would outpace him in reaching the city.³⁷⁵³ He was not going to have [freedom of] activity on the following day since the sabbath would curtail it.³⁷⁵⁴

635 But he contrived to overwhelm those who had defected with a ruse. After directing [them] to close up the gates of Tarichea³⁷⁵⁵ so that no one could announce his scheme³⁷⁵⁶ in advance³⁷⁵⁷ to the objects of the offensive,³⁷⁵⁸ and after assembling all the boats on the lake³⁷⁵⁹—230 were found,³⁷⁶⁰ and there were no more than four sailors in each one³⁷⁶¹—he traveled* with haste³⁷⁶² to Tiberias. **636** Having kept far enough away from the city that it was not easy to detect that the vessels were empty, he directed them to bob around on the open water,³⁷⁶³ whereas he himself—having only seven of the bodyguards,³⁷⁶⁴ un-

Tiberias regained by naval stratagem. Life 172

troops from King Agrippa had arrived, and this emboldened the populace to denounce Josephus and praise their benefactor the king.

³⁷⁴⁸ *Life* 158 mentions only an outpouring of praise for the king and slanders against Josephus.

³⁷⁴⁹ See the note to “rebellion” at 2.39.

³⁷⁵⁰ All MSS read thus, with L clarifying “The defection of these,” but Thackeray follows the corrected MS R in changing τῶν to τῷ: “The (or ‘this’) defection was immediately reported to him at Tarichea.” Pelletier’s Greek follows Thackeray, but his translation agrees with the one here; M-B agree with the translation here and the text assumed. Since the common MS reading is intelligible, and preferable as the more difficult one, it seems the better choice.

³⁷⁵¹ This is the first we learn of Josephus’ whereabouts after 2.619, which left him in the middle of the lake after his escape from Tiberias (see the note there). According to *Life* 157, Josephus was en route to Tarichea from Tiberias.

³⁷⁵² This notice, absent from the *Life* parallel, fits with Josephus’ stronger emphasis here on his excellent generalship; see 2.584 and cf. 2.63 and note to “grain.”

³⁷⁵³ *Life* 159-62 offers a much fuller account of these deliberations, which in both works serve to highlight his impossible situation—so as to throw his clever solution into starker relief. There, Josephus has already dismissed his soldiers, except for 7, to their homes for the approaching sabbath (no mention of foraging). He was at a loss about what to do, since the Friday was nearly over, and he could not recall his troops even if he had wanted to, since they could not fight on the next day. Nor were the Taricheans and their resident aliens a sufficient force to take Tiberias, and the delay involved in assembling them would likely mean that the royal troops would already have arrived and prevented his attack anyway.

³⁷⁵⁴ Josephus implicitly contrasts his lawful behavior with that of the radical rebels, who freely violate the

sabbath; see the notes at 2.146 (cf. 2.392). Similarly *Life* 161 (see the notes *ad loc.* in BJP 9): “Nor, if it [the force] arrived, could it have taken up weapons into the following day, because the laws prevented us—even if some extreme necessity should seem to impose itself.”

³⁷⁵⁵ *Life* 163: Josephus posts his most trusted friends at the gates.

³⁷⁵⁶ Josephus uses the noun σκέμμα 4 times, only in *War* (cf. 1.486, 500; 4.209). It is rarely attested before his time—Plato, Aristotle, Posidonius, and several medical writers (the Hippocratic corpus, Hippias, and Diocles) have it a few times each, usually in the sense of a problem or object of speculation, but no earlier historians. From Josephus’ time it is used much more often (e.g., Plutarch, *Mor.* [Def. orac.] 412d; [Virt. mor.] 447f; Lucian, *Eun.* 8; *Jupp.* 17; *Herm.* 1; dozens of occurrences in Galen). He seems to be using newly fashionable language.

³⁷⁵⁷ The double compound προεξαγγέλλω occurs only here in Josephus and is exceedingly rare otherwise (before Josephus only at Demosthenes, *Fals. leg.* 248).

³⁷⁵⁸ I.e., the Tiberians.

³⁷⁵⁹ *Life* 163 has Josephus assemble all the heads of households and order each to launch a boat, though it gives no number for the fleet assembled.

³⁷⁶⁰ So MSS MLVRC and Latin, against “330” in PA. *Life* 165 merely reports that the Tiberians would see the lake full of boats.

³⁷⁶¹ *Life* 163 has each boat occupied only by the household head and a helmsman or pilot.

³⁷⁶² See the note to this distinctive phrase in *War* at 2.18.

³⁷⁶³ Or “unanchored, suspended” (μετέωρος). Although boats would normally come close enough to shore to secure themselves, he makes a point of keeping them out on the deep water so that their contents cannot be seen.

³⁷⁶⁴ This is one of the few small points of agreement with the parallel in *Life* (161, 164), where the rationale is

armed³⁷⁶⁵—approached closely so as to be seen.³⁷⁶⁶ **637** Having at first observed him from the walls,³⁷⁶⁷ while continuing to slander him, his foes then because of their terror—once they supposed that all the ships were full of armed soldiers—discarded their weapons³⁷⁶⁸ and, while shaking branches of supplication,³⁷⁶⁹ kept pleading with [him] to spare the city.³⁷⁷⁰

(21.9) 638 But Yosep sternly threatened them with violence and roundly scolded them: first that, after taking up this war against Romans, they were expending their strength beforehand in internecine factions and doing for their adversaries the things they most prayed for;³⁷⁷¹ then, that they were so keen to get rid of the protector of their security, and were not ashamed to close their city to the very one who had walled it.³⁷⁷² He affirmed that he was [ready to] welcome those who would defend their actions,³⁷⁷³ and through whom he might confirm the city's [loyalty].³⁷⁷⁴

639 Immediately the ten most powerful of the Tiberians began coming down.³⁷⁷⁵ After

that Josephus had sent the rest home for sabbath. Here, by contrast, the implied rationale appears to be that the other soldiers were away foraging (2.634).

³⁷⁶⁵ All MSS read ἀνόπλους, as translated. Destinon conjectures the opposite (ἐνόπλους: “armed”), in light of the *Life* parallel (§ 164) and the sequel here (*War* 2.642), in which Josephus orders one of these men to cut off a man's hand; this conjecture is followed by Thackeray, Pelletier, Vitucci, and M-B. But the sequel does not require that the soldiers were armed (since the guard might have found a sword with the man himself) and the *Life* parallel cannot be trusted to interpret *War*. The unanimous MS reading is the more difficult one, and on that basis should be accepted; it is also intelligible in the story as Josephus' effort to highlight his vulnerable and brave maneuver.

³⁷⁶⁶ In *Life* 165-67, by contrast, the Tiberians first see the lake full of boats and repent, calling on Josephus for mercy; only then, after telling the others to drop anchor in the deeper water, does he take one boat and approach more closely. Here it seems that he offers his own boat, with 7 soldiers as crew, as an example of the rest.

³⁷⁶⁷ This minor scenic detail seems calculated to remind the audience that it was Josephus who had built the walls from which his enemies have been slandering him (2.606); cf. “the one who had walled it” in the next sentence.

³⁷⁶⁸ This has become something of a refrain, the hallmark of Josephus' mastery of his enemies without (much) bloodshed: cf. 2.613, 625.

³⁷⁶⁹ See the note to “supplications” at 2.497. Here alone in *War*, given the accompanying verb of shaking, Josephus appears to intend with κατασειόντες ίκετηρίας the literal olive branches used for signaling an appeal for mercy.

³⁷⁷⁰ The same phrase (φείσασθαι τῆς πόλεως) appears in the *Life* parallel (166) and at *Life* 328, in connection with *Life*'s later (duplicated?) Tiberian revolt, though

the preceding verb is different in each case. That these are the only occurrences of the phrase in Josephus suggests that Josephus had some sort of written notes as he composed these Tiberian episodes; at least, that he had *War* before him as he wrote *Life*.

³⁷⁷¹ This first topic of censure, absent from the *Life* parallel, fits conspicuously well with *War*'s Leitmotif of civil strife; see the note at 1.10 and more specifically (on doing the Romans' work for them) 4.366-76; 5.24.

The adjective εὐκταῖος (here superlative and substantivized) is another example of Josephus' “Philonic” diction. Before Philo it appears mainly in playwrights (Aeschylus, *Ag.* 1387; *Sept.* 723, 841; *Suppl.* 631; Euripides, *Or.* 214; *Med.* 169; *Iph. Taur.* 213; Sophocles, *Trach.* 239; Aristophanes, *Av.* 1060; Lycophron, *Alex.* 1091), rarely in philosophers (Plato, *Leg.* 906b) or historians (Diodorus 11.11.4; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 6.50.1, 79.1). But it turns up 8 times in quite different contexts throughout Philo (*Opif.* 103; *Spec.* 2.154; 4.147; *Arithm.* frag. 62a; *Legat.* 288; *Virt.* 114, 176; *Praem.* 136) and Josephus has it 6 times in different places (also 7.22, 65; *Ant.* 1.292; 7.165, 249).

³⁷⁷² I.e., Josephus. See 2.573 for the generic claim that he set about fortifying Tiberias and Tarichea along with other cities in his charge, and 2.606-609 for the seemingly contradictory account of how he came to do this: as the unplanned result of a ruse gone awry.

³⁷⁷³ In this case ἀπολογέομαι approximates the English cognate “apologize for.”

³⁷⁷⁴ Although the verb βεβαιώω might have to do with securing the city, the issue here seems to be confirming its relationship with Josephus.

³⁷⁷⁵ According to *Life* 168, Josephus himself demanded that the citizens produce their 10 foremost men as a condition of assuaging his anger. The 10 in question, since they are the first instalment of the entire council, appear to be Tiberias' executive subcommittee, mentioned at *Life* 32-33, 68-69: the δεκάπρωτοι. It seems from *Life*,

he had taken these [men] aboard one of the vessels, he led them quite far off;³⁷⁷⁶ then he directed* fifty different [men] to come forward, those who were particularly notable on the council, as if he wanted to take some pledge of their good faith.³⁷⁷⁷ **640** After that, inventing ever-newer excuses he kept calling forward others and then others, as if under articles of agreement.³⁷⁷⁸ **641** He directed the helmsmen of those [boats] that had filled up to begin sailing off for Tarichea with haste³⁷⁷⁹ and to confine the men in the jail,³⁷⁸⁰ until he had arrested the entire council of 600³⁷⁸¹ as well as around 2,000 from the populace³⁷⁸² and led them off in boats to Tarichea.³⁷⁸³

(21.10) 642 Those who remained kept shouting that the one particularly responsible for the defection³⁷⁸⁴ was a certain Cleitus,³⁷⁸⁵ and kept appealing to [Yosep] that his rage be fixed on him. Yosep had resolved to kill no one,³⁷⁸⁶ but he directed a certain Leouis,³⁷⁸⁷ from his own guards,³⁷⁸⁸ to go out³⁷⁸⁹ with the aim of cutting off Cleitus' hands.³⁷⁹⁰ **643**

Cleitus, alleged as culprit, loses hand. Life 170

then, that even Josephus' closest associates in the city—among them the Roman citizen Iulius Capella—had supported this move to confirm loyalty to Agrippa II and Rome (see the passages cited with notes in BJP 9).

³⁷⁷⁶ *Life* 168: they are taken to Josephus' base in Tarichea.

³⁷⁷⁷ *Life* 169 compresses this explanation.

³⁷⁷⁸ See the note at 2.397: a favorite term in this part of *War* 2.

³⁷⁷⁹ See the note at 2.635.

³⁷⁸⁰ See the note at 2.180.

³⁷⁸¹ This notice joins with others (cf. *Life* 64 with notes in BJP 9) to confirm that Tiberias had the institutions of a Greek city: a large council with a president, a board of 10, and various magistracies; cf. A. H. M. Jones 1971: 275-76; Schürer-Vermes 2.179-80. A. H. M. Jones (1940: 164-65) notes that the central Greek institution of the council typically comprised about 500 citizens, elected by lot, who served for a year. So this was a very large council for a city of Tiberias' size.

³⁷⁸² Without specifying the size of the council, *Life* 169 reports that Josephus captured its members as well as an equivalent number ("no fewer") of the city's principal men.

³⁷⁸³ Josephus has established this city, about an hour's walk N of Tiberias, as his most congenial base in E Galilee (2.596, 634).

³⁷⁸⁴ See the note to "rebellion" at 2.39.

³⁷⁸⁵ This action of the mob creates problems for understanding the narrative logic. According to 2.632, the Tiberians' defection consisted in the city's attempt to realign itself with King Agrippa II (and Rome) against Josephus, and he has accordingly punished the residents by removing 2,600 of their leading men, including the city's 600-person council, which must have been responsible for such a decision about the city's political loyalties. It defies logic, then, that a single man should be the *real* culprit and, especially, that he should still be present—not among even the largest conceivable swath of "leading men."

Further, the man's convenient Greek name (Κλειτός, "Mr. Famous, Notorious"), surprising in someone who must be rather low in social status, which appears only here in Josephus and seems not otherwise attested among Greeks or Judeans (e.g., Horbury and Noy 1992; Noy 1993, 1995; Solin 1996, 2003), arouses the suspicion that Josephus is portraying typical mob activity here for chiefly literary purposes. The masses try to defend themselves from the likely wrath of an offended general by identifying a scapegoat ("kept appealing . . . that his rage be fixed on him"). *Life* 170 describes Cleitus in clichés as "a bold and reckless youth," which seems further to disqualify him from the leading role in Tiberias' defection and suggests that Josephus is there trying to offer further reasons for the crowd's targeting of him. At any rate, the main function of the episode seems clear from its ending (2.644-45): to glorify Josephus' prowess as a general and his ability to instill fear even from afar.

³⁷⁸⁶ *Life* 171: Josephus considered it impious to kill a compatriot, but still saw the need of discipline.

³⁷⁸⁷ Or "Levis" (Ληουίς); there is considerable variation among the MSS. See the note at *Life* 43 in BJP 9. *Life* 171, parallel to this story, seems to spell the name Ληουείς, though the MS problems make judgments uncertain.

³⁷⁸⁸ I.e., one of the 7 bodyguards with Josephus in his boat (2.636).

³⁷⁸⁹ Out of the boat, apparently; see the next sentence.

³⁷⁹⁰ Cutting off hands was apparently a common punishment in Josephus' Galilee: in the parallel to *War* 2.612 (*Life* 147) he orders a Tarichean trouble-maker to cut off his left hand and hang it from his neck; at *Life* 177 he reports that the Galileans had severed the hand of Iustus of Tiberias' brother, charging him with forgery. It was an old near-eastern punishment, as the 18th-cent. BCE *Code of Hammurabi* shows (195: "If a son strikes his father, they shall cut off his hand"). In biblical law, the cutting off of hands is restricted to a rare and specific offense (Deut 25:12, but Exod 21:24). Examples of hand-sev-

But that fellow, afraid to go off on his own into a swarm of adversaries, said “No.” Since Cleitus could see Yosep in the boat fuming about the setback,³⁷⁹¹ and very keen to plunge ahead himself and exact retribution,³⁷⁹² he started begging, from the shore, that he leave him one of his hands.³⁷⁹³ **644** When he [Yosep] had nodded³⁷⁹⁴ his assent, on the condition that he [Cleitus] himself would cut off his own other [hand],³⁷⁹⁵ he drew his sword with the right hand and cut off the left one. Such was the degree of fear into which he had been led by Yosep.

Further rebellion in Tiberias and Sepphoris suppressed. Life 271, 373

645 Although on that occasion he actually took the populace captive and again led Tiberias back to himself—with empty ships and seven spear-bearers!³⁷⁹⁶—, when he found after a few days that it had defected again,³⁷⁹⁷ together with the Sepphorites,³⁷⁹⁸ he turned it over to his soldiers to plunder thoroughly.³⁷⁹⁹ **646** Gathering up [the plunder], nevertheless, he gave it all back to the citizens, likewise to those in Sepphoris.³⁸⁰⁰ For having subdued

ering *post mortem*, for symbolic reasons (*War* 3.378; cf. 2 Sam 4:12), or in the heat of battle (*War* 3.527; cf. Herodotus 6.91.2, 114.1; Xenophon, *Cyr.* 7.47), are more common.

³⁷⁹¹ Josephus’ choice of the relatively rare verb *σχετλιάζω* (cf. 5.325; 7.341; *Ant.* 5.170) must be deliberate, perhaps to leave open the possibility that Cleitus mistook one emotion for another (see next note).

³⁷⁹² The construction leaves it an open question whether what Cleitus saw represented the reality, or whether his accurate perception of Josephus’ animated frustration over the soldier’s refusal was misread as an impression that Josephus himself would come and do the job—a prospect for which Josephus provides no other evidence, and which works against his insistence that the whole matter was settled by deception; hence the stipulation that Cleitus himself remove his hand.

³⁷⁹³ *Life* 172 rather has this remarkable story: attempting to shield the cowardice of his own soldier from the Tiberian crowd assembled on the shore, Josephus calls out to Cleitus and demands that he cut off *both* of his own hands, lest he suffer a worse punishment (even though the soldier had been initially instructed to remove only one of the man’s hands). When Cleitus begs for mercy, Josephus can now magnanimously leave him the right hand; he need only sever the left. Here by contrast, terrified that Josephus will personally come and remove both hands, the man obviates any such command by anticipating Josephus and begging to keep one.

³⁷⁹⁴ Or “gestured”; see the note to “gesture” at 2.498.

³⁷⁹⁵ The underlying point of this entire ruse appears to be that Josephus was in no position—as his reluctant soldier made clear—to go ashore in Tiberias and exact any sort of retribution, even to chop off this man’s hands. He offers it as a sign of great generalship that he was able to intimidate thousands of Tiberians nonetheless by his clever manipulation of impressions. Cf. the next

sentence, the comment about empty ships at 2.645, and the parallel at *Life* 174: the Tiberians finally realized that he had employed “generalship” against them, and they were awestruck.

³⁷⁹⁶ See note to this word at 2.262.

³⁷⁹⁷ This renewed defection “after a few days” lacks a parallel in *Life*. There is a further major revolt, engineered by the delegation from Jerusalem with the aid of John and Justus (*Life* 271–335), but they have already been dispensed with here in *War* (2.632). See the following notes.

³⁷⁹⁸ The parallel at *Life* 373–80 (like the final Tiberian revolt there, impossible to reconcile with *War*’s chronology) has the Sepphorites, who consistently opt for loyalty toward Rome and Agrippa II (*Life* 30, 124), requesting a Roman garrison from Syria to protect them from the rebellion and its regional leader Josephus (*Life* 373). Josephus there describes his taking Sepphoris by storm with a Galilean force, which then shows its long-standing hatred for the city by burning and looting it (375–77). When Josephus is unable to restrain them, he decides to spread the rumor that the Roman force is nearby, which prompts them to flee quickly, leaving behind the plunder they had taken (378–80); and so Sepphoris was spared (!) by Josephus’ generalship.

³⁷⁹⁹ At *Life* 333–35 (the closest parallel), the rhetoric is different. There Josephus’ soldiers have plundered the city without command (as was to be expected of soldiers). When the weary populace pledges loyalty to him, however, they beg Josephus to return whatever can be recovered from this plunder. He orders his soldiers to bring everything out into the open so that it can be returned. They generally fail to comply, though he gives an example of his own virtue: when he saw a soldier wearing an expensive coat, taken from the plunder, he ordered him and anyone in the same situation to return this property.

³⁸⁰⁰ See the note to “Sepphorites” at 2.645.

them also, he wanted through the act of plundering to admonish them, and then by the return of their goods to attract their goodwill to himself again.³⁸⁰¹

(22.1) 647 So the commotions in Galilee had now been brought to an end. Having ended their internecine disorders,³⁸⁰² they turned their attention to preparations against the Romans.

648 In Hierosolyma, Ananus the high priest³⁸⁰³ and also those of the powerful [men]³⁸⁰⁴ who were not wise concerning the Romans³⁸⁰⁵ were readying the wall and many of the war engines.³⁸⁰⁶ 649 Throughout the entire city, while arrows³⁸⁰⁷ and full armor were being forged, the mass of the youth were in irregular exercises,³⁸⁰⁸ and everything was full

Ananus
prepares
Jerusalem for
war

³⁸⁰¹ This deliberate plan is impossible in the closest *Life* parallel (333-35), since the plundering had happened spontaneously; see the notes to “thoroughly plunder” and “Sepphorites” at 2.645.

³⁸⁰² See note to this word at 1.4.

³⁸⁰³ See the note to this important figure at 2.563.

³⁸⁰⁴ See the note at 2.239: one of Josephus’ several terms for the élite class.

³⁸⁰⁵ Possibly “those who were not devoted to the Romans.” Greek [τῶν δύναντων] ὄσοι μὴ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐφρόνουσιν may be read in two senses. Generally, this construction of the verb with τὰ + genitive of X indicates “being wise concerning matters of X” (LSJ, s.v. I.1). Translators of Josephus tend, however, to read it as if the verb were completed with a dative of interest, perhaps under the influence of ῥωμαίζω in 2.562 above (see the note there), to indicate those who were not *partisans* of Rome (so Thackeray in LCL, “pro-Romans”; M-B, “römisch gesinnt”; Pelletier, “pour les Romains”). A further question is whether we should understand the group in question as Ananus’ own constituency (thus: he and his group were not wise concerning Rome, or pro-Romans) or whether the τε . . . καί construction implies a distinction between his personal aims and the views of others he led. Complicating both interpretations are the next three sentences (2.649-51), in which the narrator’s value judgments appear to come forward: “the respectable” people, or “lovers of peace,” are greatly distressed by the activities of those, led by Ananus, who are preparing for war. But in the third sentence (2.651), Ananus is described as hoping to steer the masses away from war—a point elaborated in his eulogy at 4.320-24.

Scholars have often understood the present remark as Josephus’ unintentional admission that Ananus championed the rebel or anti-Roman cause (over against the “moderates” or peace party); they regard Josephus’ claims about the former high priest’s real intentions as obfuscations aimed at concealing the role of the ruling class in prosecuting the conflict (Cohen 1979: 183-86; Goodman 1987: 167; Price 1992: 188 n. 13). Yet Josephus does not attempt to disguise Ananus’ preparations for war, either here or in the obituary, just as he does not

camouflage his own activities as general. In both cases he praises the skillful execution of military plans under élite Judean leadership. Further, trying to locate each leader in either a “pro-” or “anti-Roman” camp does not accord well with ancient discussions of responses to Roman rule. Polybius’ master text (see Introduction) charts a range of responses that combine some degree of resistance with a realistic accommodation to “the circumstances” or “necessity.” E.g., the Epirot Cephalus at the time of the Third Macedonian War (Polybius 15.10-16), although his preferred policy reportedly involved limited cooperation with Rome while praying that war would never come, was compelled by circumstances to join the ill-fated King Perseus against Rome.

As Josephus’ contemporaries Plutarch and Dio also indicate, it was rarely a matter of leaders being simply pro- or anti-Roman. Against that background, Josephus’ Ananus appears as a familiar type: caught in a time of crisis and trying to manage conditions in the safest way possible. In view of popular sentiment, Ananus has little choice but to prepare for war. Josephus’ τε . . . καί construction thus invites a distinction between Ananus and the others: this man, who *was* indeed wise about the Romans and foresaw the outcome (2.651; 4.320-24), was of necessity allied with compatriots who did not grasp the situation. (I am speaking of understanding the story, not of the underlying historical reality.)

³⁸⁰⁶ See the notes to 2.546 for the *ballistae* and *cata-pultae* in question. It is noteworthy that Josephus mentions these along with the existing wall as items being made ready, refitted, or repaired (ἐπισκευάζω, not constructed), in contrast to the arrowheads and armor being forged (next sentence). This might suggest that the former group were among the artillery engines captured from Cestius’ legionary army (2.553).

³⁸⁰⁷ See the note to “projectiles” at 2.48.

³⁸⁰⁸ The precise nuance of the phrase πρὸς ἀτάκτους δὲ γυμνασίαις is unclear: on the one hand, Josephus emphasizes Ananus’ coordinated preparations for war; on the other hand, the disorder or clamor in the city. See the note to “disarray” at 2.517. The adjective ἄτακτος (or cognate adverb) occurs near θόρυβος, as here, at *War*

of clamor.³⁸⁰⁹ The despondency of the reasonable [folk]³⁸¹⁰ was terrible: many could see in advance, and loudly bewailed, the calamities³⁸¹¹ that were about to occur. **650** Divine omens³⁸¹² were full of foreboding³⁸¹³ among the lovers of peace,³⁸¹⁴ but among those who had kindled the war³⁸¹⁵ they were being improvised at their pleasure,³⁸¹⁶ and the condition of the city before the Romans' attacking was that of [a place] about to be completely destroyed. **651** Ananus nonetheless had the intention of bending the insurgents³⁸¹⁷ and the recklessness of the so-called Zealots to the more advantageous³⁸¹⁸ course, as he gradually sidelined the preparations for war; but he succumbed to the violence. In what follows we shall detail the sort of end that befell him.³⁸¹⁹

Simon son of Gioras ravages Acrabatene, Idumea

(22.2) **652** In the Acrabatene toparchy³⁸²⁰ Simon son of Gioras³⁸²¹ united many of those who were revolutionaries³⁸²² and turned to plunder.³⁸²³ Not only did he tear down³⁸²⁴ the houses of the rich,³⁸²⁵ he also badly maltreated³⁸²⁶ their bodies: it was already clear at this

4.231; 6.255. Granted the basic sense of lacking order, the sense here could range from “lazy, indolent, undisciplined,” perhaps befitting the youth in question (who may have caused havoc in the city with their slight military training, but without an accompanying discipline) to a more neutral “irregular,” describing the kind of force (in contrast to such highly trained standing armies as the legions and auxiliaries).

³⁸⁰⁹ Elsewhere translated “disorder,” though that does not seem to have the right nuance here, since Josephus appears to respect Ananus' orderly preparation for war (cf. also 4.320-24). See the note to “disorder,” a key word in *War*, at 1.4.

³⁸¹⁰ See the note at 2.275.

³⁸¹¹ This is another programmatic term (συμφορά) in *War* and in bk. 2; see the notes at 1.9; 2.286. This is the last of 18 occurrences in bk. 2 alone.

³⁸¹² Or “acts of divination,” “superstitions,” “inspired events.” Greek θειασμός occurs only here and at 2.259 in Josephus.

³⁸¹³ The adjective δύσφημος, quite rare before Josephus (e.g., Euripides, *Andr.* 1144; Apollonius of Rhodes, *Arg.* 1.1137; Strabo 3.2.12), occurs only here in his corpus.

³⁸¹⁴ See the note to this distinctive phrase at 2.422.

³⁸¹⁵ See the note to this Josephan phrase at 2.420.

³⁸¹⁶ Or “as they pleased, to please themselves” (πρὸς ἡδονήν). This notice evidently anticipates the same phrase at 6.315 (somewhat symmetrically), which concludes a list of 7 signs (τέρατα, σημεῖα) and two oracles (6.288-314) that were either disdained by the rebels or interpreted as they wished. Josephus offers examples there: when a temple gate opened spontaneously, some understood it as God's opening of the gate of blessings, whereas the learned recognized a bad omen (6.293-95); an oracle indicated that someone from Judea would rule the world, predicting Vespasian's rise, whereas the rebels (implausibly) took it as encouragement (6.312-13). That passage in turn finds a striking parallel in Tacitus (*Hist.*

5.13), who not only relates the disagreement about the predicted ruler from the East but also observes that “the common people, as is the way of human ambition, interpreted such grand destinies for their own favor” (*sibi tantam fatorum magnitudinem interpretati*).

³⁸¹⁷ See the note to this key word at 1.10.

³⁸¹⁸ Greek κάμψαι πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον. This is classic statesman-language; see the note to “advantage” in Agrippa's speech at 2.346. According to Plutarch (*Mor. [Praec.]* 800d-e), the statesman's task is to win the trust of the people and then to train their character, “leading them gently toward the better course (πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον);” cf. 815b.

³⁸¹⁹ As often, Josephus creates suspense. Ananus' murder will not be recounted until 4.314-25, which provides the narrative fulcrum at approximately *War*'s half-way point (by book).

³⁸²⁰ On the border of Judea proper and Samaria; see the note at 2.235.

³⁸²¹ Simon has been briefly introduced as a leader of those who attacked Cestius' forces on their approach to Jerusalem (2.521; see the note there). He will become a principal leader of the revolt, known also to Tacitus (*Hist.* 5.12), from the middle of bk. 4.

³⁸²² See the note at 2.407.

³⁸²³ For the type of man and the plunder motive, see 2.57.

³⁸²⁴ Reading ἐσπάρασσεν with MSS VRC and Niese, Thackeray, Pelletier, and M-B. Although the important MSS PAML (and Latin) support ἐτάρασσεν (“disturbed, upset [the houses of the rich]”), the close parallel at 1.338 to the construction translated speaks in its favor.

³⁸²⁵ For an earlier attack on the houses of the wealthy elite, see 2.265.

³⁸²⁶ Although the simple verb αἰκίζω is common enough in Josephus, the emphatic compound κατααἰκίζω occurs only here in his corpus and is otherwise rare (e.g., Homer, *Od.* 16.290; 19.9; Herodas, *Mim.* 5.12; Diodorus 18.47.3; 20.54.7; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 3.73.4; Philo,

remoteness that he was beginning to exercise tyranny.³⁸²⁷ **653** When an army was sent against him by Ananus and the leaders, he fled to the bandits on Masada,³⁸²⁸ with whom he had connections. There, until the removal of Ananus and of his other adversaries,³⁸²⁹ he joined in pillaging³⁸³⁰ Idumea, **654** with the result that the leaders of this nation, because of the mass of those being murdered and the continual raids, assembled an army to have the villages garrisoned. Such were the [affairs] in Idumea in those [times].

Jos. 22; 4 Macc 6:3; 11:1; 12:13; Plutarch, *Mor.* [*Cons. Apoll.*] 117f).

³⁸²⁷ Josephus' association of Simon with the tyranny anticipated in the prologue (1.10; see note there) will now become routine: 4.564, 573; 5.11, 169; 6.227, 326; 7.32, 265.

³⁸²⁸ See 2.408, 433, 447 with notes. The "bandits" who have recently gone to Masada include the tyrant Manaem, to arm himself for conflicts in Jerusalem (2.433-34), and his followers, among them the future tyrant of Masada,

Eleazar ben Ya'ir, who went there just before Manaem's capture and murder in Jerusalem (2.447-48).

³⁸²⁹ Ananus is killed at 4.314-25; others follow soon (4.326-44, 357-65). Simon is mentioned again at 4.353, but fully reintroduced at 4.503-4, in preparation for his methodical assault upon Jerusalem, and entry into the city as tyrant (4.503-44, 556-84).

³⁸³⁰ The verb συλληίζομαι seems to be attested only here in all Greek literature before the 12th century.

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1.496	3497	1.618	1092		
1.499-512	694	1.620	40, 147		
1.500	3756	1.625	631, 2358		
1.503	989	1.627	618		

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		2.10-13	238	2.28	22, 1305, 1651
		2.10-14	1241	2.29	39, 158, 174, 231, 261, 939, 1064, 1065, 1104, 1405, 1406, 1891, 1957, 2503
		2.11	53, 58, 230, 276, 282, 298, 309, 366, 533, 887, 1401, 1650, 1657, 1728, 1987, 1993, 2113, 2549, 2737, 2961, 3040, 3068, 3098, 3115, 3141, 3191, 3256, 3271, 3471, 3667	2.30	68, 87, 90, 211, 222, 441, 537, 1242, 1403, 1605, 1613, 2132, 2562, 2792, 2817, 2906, 2972, 3051, 3688
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2.67	395, 414, 1189, 2832, 2923, 3065, 3096, 3273				
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2.145	935, p.87	2.171-74	1221	2.198	1096, 1215, 1246, 1248,
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2.147	1852, 2812, 3149		1107, 1118, 1367, 1942,	2.199	56, 1221, 1224, 1230,
2.148	804, 805, 853, 914, 915,		2159		1454, 1746, 2041, 3418
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2.232-44	318	2.250-54	2648	2.273	33, 35, 721, 964, 1716, 1751, 1770, 2213, 2425, 2434, 3243, p.86
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2.233	263, 1249, 1461, 1483, 1533, 1859, 1865, 2020, 2027, 2185, 2212, 2584, 2716, 2802, 3217	2.252	368, 594, 1125, 1386, 1391, 1556, 1982, 2558, 2948, 3577, 3746	2.274-76	1221
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2.234	1453, 1454, 1471, 1474, 2100	2.253	262, 342, 724, 1467, 1477, 1643, 1663, 2545, 2720, 3218, 3266, 3556	2.276	1780, 1930, 2801, 2490
2.235	594, 1480, 1591, 1595, 1671, 1878, 3069, 3111, 3125, 3404, 3820	2.253-54	1663, 1726	2.277	721, 1732, 1733, 1809
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2.237	1071, 1471, 1497, 1514, 2100, 2525, 3049	2.254-55	187, 728, 1115, 1647	2.277-332	2536
2.238	1250, 1693, 1747, 1837, 1949, 2029, 2567, 2933, 3188, 3362	2.254-70	721	2.278	1626, 1725, 1800, 3519
2.239	408, 1450, 1465, 1517, 1519, 1523, 1531, 1670, 1717, 1745, 1841, 1999, 2016, 2024, 2085, 2555, 2576, 2580, 2633, 2651, 2695, 2831, 3022, 3183, 3218, 3334, 3415, 3551, 3581, 3648, 3804	2.255	448, 618, 1089, 1604, 1617, 1792, 2676, 2679, 2680	2.278-79	2076
2.239-40	1810, 1865	2.255-56	1604	2.279	1783, 2080
2.239-44	718, 721	2.256	1499, 1604, 1605, 1625, 1674, 1692, 1759, 1818, 2848, 2861	2.280	64, 67, 187, 1116, 1403, 1626, 1725, 1772, 1785, 1817, 1827, 1903, 2095, 2209, 3119, 3351
2.240	1520, 1522, 1523, 1533, 1914, 2024, 2041, 2716, 3369	2.257	143, 1608, 2971	2.280-81	721, 2103
2.240-46	2209	2.258	518, 964, 1663, 1678, 1725, 1753, 1785	2.280-82	2105
2.241	108, 463, 1478, 1508	2.258-60	1800	2.281	527, 1757, 1850
2.241-43	1221, 3418	2.259	41, 158, 688, 969, 1647, 1663, 1666, 1668, 1811, 1933, 2023, 2177, 2191, 2223, 2238, 2262, 2299, 2317, 2353, 2363, 2748, 3188, 3556, 3563, 3639, 3812	2.281-83	2600
		2.260	2573	2.282	2095
		2.261	1419, 1622, 1637, 1641, 1661, 3381, 3639	2.282-83	2642
		2.261-63	1604	2.283	1614, 1632, 1757, 1798, 1805, 1827, 2023
		2.262	1663, 1756, 2721, 3378, 3796	2.283-332	1808
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2.288	833, 1489, 1747, 1854, 1875, 1884, 1894, 1909, 1932, 2819	2.319	2057	2.346	1322, 1409, 2158, 2169, 2172, 2191, 2264, 2290, 2373, 2384, 2463, 2528
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2.294	44, 263, 1911, 1918, 1929, 1933, p.87	2.303	1456, 1693	2.348-52	2188, p.266, p.267
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2.297	15, 18, 2130	2.321	7, 2019, 2032, 2055, 2570	2.349-80	18, 870, 1924, 2019, 2044, 2604
2.298	158, 939, 1873, 1903, 1936, 2819, 3469	2.322	1482, 1498, 1523, 2018, 2024, 3607	2.350	1239
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2.301-8	2123	2.325-26	2044	2.354	527, 1397, 2045, 2268, 2559, 3697
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2.311	1821	2.335-407	1125	2.361-64	2220, 2230, 2235, 2437, 2559
2.312	1341, 1938, 1940, 1966	2.336	2085, 2581, 2696	2.361-65	2266, 2368, 2371, 2386, 2389
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2.371	1254, 2281, 2386	2.405	727, 1359, 1987, 2079,	2.434	347, 1653, 2627
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2.377	376, 2294, 2357, 2427,		2616, 2626, 2631, 2698,		2756, 3188
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2.377-79	2177	2.409-10	1240, 2676, 2708, 2747,	2.443-50	1883
2.378	953, 2281, 2340, 2427		2774, 2783, 3387	2.444	79, 2766, 3377
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2.380	1073, 2147, 2258, 2509,	2.411	736, 1456, 1498, 1519,	2.446	2115
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2.381	262, 2370		2620, 2655, 2716, 3181,		3242, 3828
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2.384	1223, 2420, 2423	2.416	2001, 2574, 2675	2.450-51	2789
2.385	33, 1983, 2116, 2235,	2.417	57, 1638, 1662, 2552,	2.450-52	2977
	2263, 2270, 2336, 2426,		2573	2.450-53	2561, 2735, 3186, 3344
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2.386	2340, 2386, 2435		2640, 2700, 2723, 2730,	2.451	1728, 2578, 2655, 2789,
2.387	870, 1254, 2235, 2259,		2981, 3337, 3338, 3342,		3368, 3731, 3732
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2.388	2254, 2278, 2509, 3160,	2.418-23	62	2.452	2505, 2779, 2791, 3614
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2.388-39	2394, p.266	2.420	3216, 3815	2.453	1883, 2505
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2.390-92	902	2.422-24	2710	2.456	902, 1852, 2465, 2479,
2.391	2467, 2888	2.423	293, 2683		2480
2.392	1852, 2666, 3754	2.424	1320, 2479, 2804, 2905,	2.457	108, 1677, 1679, 1680,
2.392-93	2814, 3150		2126		1704, 1728, 2512, 2519,
2.393	2467, 2757	2.425	187, 1403, 1604, 1606,		2805, 2834, 2841, 2877,
2.394	2467, 2801		2669, 2684, 2688, 2701,		2890, 2965, 3101, 3216,
2.395	1215, 1487, 2521		2708, 2711		3360, 3557
2.396	143, 174, 352, 2598,	2.425-26	1608	2.457-60	1823
	3337	2.426	1359, 1987, 2617, 2668	2.457-98	2519
2.397	2789, 3614, 3778	2.426-27	1597, 2653	2.458	2519, 2863, 2946
2.397-640	2505	2.426-28	2665	2.458-59	2935
2.398-99	2840	2.427	1489, 2676, 2689, 2708	2.458-60	1823, 2518, 2843, 2846,
2.399	1322, 2182, 2696	2.428	1519, 2581		2921, 2938, 3547
2.400	1215, 1245, 1487, 2644,	2.428-32	3340	2.458-61	2942
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2.401	2160, p.266, p.267	2.430-31	272	2.461-65	1616, 3537
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2.403	2546, 2557, p.266	2.431	2719, 3343	2.461-86	3361
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2.403-5	306, 727		2560, 2623, 2762, 3022,		2875, 2932, 2940, 2942
2.404	33, 2079, 2696, 3351		3828	2.464	1716, 2516, 2857, 2887,
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2.468	2817, 2827, 3033, 3116, 3215	2.508	3118	2.552	356
2.469	2892, 2919, 3061	2.509	594, 1878, 2879, 2928, 3015, 3107, 3257	2.553	2723, 3171, 3279, 3280, 3284, 3285, 3806
2.470	323, 324, 2857, 3003	2.510	1792, 3066, 3087, 3095	2.554	2522, 3372, 3380
2.471	1088, 1365, 2515, 2817, 2866	2.510-12	3424	2.556	2499, 2648, 2913, 2948
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2.475	1215, 1700, 2902	2.513	3325	2.558	1767, 3216, 3331
2.476	1248, 1344, 1700, 2161, 2872, 2881, 2898, 2906, 2908, 3335, 3482, 3486	2.514	469	2.559	308
2.477	308, 2836, 2938, 2941, 3070	2.514-17	187, 1403	2.559-61	2512
2.477-78	2830	2.515	2115, 3088, 3133	2.560	1632, 2511, 2852, 2853, 2875
2.477-80	2822, 3557	2.516	1425, 3145, 3168, 3173, 3178, 3195, 3201, 3275, 3400	2.561	2817, 2890, 3555
2.478	1515, 1693, 2851, 2921, 2983, 3016, 3036, 3257	2.517	1691, 1852, 2480, 2522, 3147, 3165, 3808	2.562	136, 1256, 1823, 2794, 3620, 3805
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2.479-80	2517	2.518	902, 3168, 3270	2.562-64	1792
2.480	2519	2.519	3382, 3479	2.563	450, 1499, 2781, 3803
2.481	2818, 2966, 3077, 3570	2.520	2462, 3388, 3671	2.564	304, 1653, 2754, 3324, 3366, 3379, 3380
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2.482	2818	2.522	158, 939	2.566	3620
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2.485	2833	2.524	3188, 3655	2.569	37, 3620
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2.487	2937, 2990, 3001, 3058	2.526	3182, 3225	2.572	1567
2.487-98	2512	2.526-27	3198	2.573	3407, 3577, 3627, 3746, 3772
2.487-99	1983	2.527	3173, 3176	2.574	340, 3739
2.488	164, 852, 3035	2.528	3174, 3259	2.575	3409, 3515, 3516, 3517, 3544
2.489	1445, 2885, 2981	2.529	925, 3485	2.576	3500, 3590, 3705
2.490	263, 1067, 2928, 3009, 3257	2.530	1366, 2062	2.577	1254, 3458
2.490-98	1378	2.531	2757, 3245, 3271	2.579	3156
2.491	3018, 3034	2.531-34	1793	2.580	860, 925, 1248, 1700, 2254, 2917, 3204, 3482, 3534
2.492	2937, 3009, 3015, 3053	2.532	1456, 3351	2.581	866, 1490, 1963
2.493	58, 2019, 2180, 2604	2.533	1596	2.581-82	865, 876
2.493-94	62, 87, 3018	2.533-34	3211	2.583	1988, 3458, 3536, 3590, 3598, 3752
2.494	57, 2552, 2879, 3015, 3042, 3053	2.533-35	3208	2.585	747, 1787, 2633, 3542, 3703
2.495	2937, 2992, 2996, 2998	2.534	3192	2.585-94	3453
2.496	1416, 2859, 3090	2.535	2928, 3211, 3228, 3257	2.586	3639
2.497	191, 2840, 3769	2.536	291	2.587	342, 3517, 3542, 3546, 3677
2.498	1937, 3056, 3794	2.537	2726, 3166	2.587-89	3660
2.499	2009	2.538	964, 3249	2.588	1248, 2917, 3499, 3560, 3715
2.499-55	1792	2.539	870, 964, 3211	2.589	546, 3560
2.499-502	2949	2.539-40	1793	2.590	3454, 3521
2.499-555	2156	2.540	3303, 3310	2.590-92	3529
2.500	3120, 3271	2.540-43	3168	2.590-94	3664
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2.501	2952, 3066	2.542-56	1425, 3142	2.593	342, 1490, 2757, 3564
2.502	409, 1207, 3099, 3140, 3177, 3570	2.543	262, 1598, 3166		
2.502-6	408	2.544	1705, 1872, 3144, 3151, 3171, 3212, 3213, 3256		
2.503	420, 1194, 3121, 3122	2.545	3295, 3301, 3308, 1425, 2723, 3171, 3276, 3806		
2.503-4	1194	2.546-55	1823, 3168		
2.503-6	3424	2.547	3255		
2.504	420, 3043, 3139	2.548	3277, 3301, 3324		

2.594	1041, 1632, 3558, 3588	2.645	1653, 2775, 3710, 3795,		1511, 3110, 3392, 3397,
2.595	1191, 1359, 1987		3800, 3801		3400, 3402
2.595-609	1428	2.646	1596	3.55	264, 430, 1472, 1549,
2.596	1586, 3783	2.648	1519, 2581		3398, 3403
2.596ff	1567	2.648-53	1499	3.56	3401, 3409, 3441
2.597	1836, 3626	2.648-54	3369	3.59	429
2.598	143, 3576, 3586, 3601,	2.649	1757, 2808, 3147	3.60	1883
	3612, 3675	2.649-51	3805	3.61	3161
2.599	3385, 3590, 3603, 3648,	2.650	1631, 2642, 2652	3.64-65	408
	3659, 3664, 3665, 3746	2.651	2183, 2754, 3363, 3377,	3.64-69	4
2.599-613	3674		3805	3.65	1185
2.601	1482, 2018, 3692	2.652	57, 594, 1472, 2552,	3.66	318, 1987
2.602	2505, 3624		3538	3.66-69	3065
2.603	158, 939, 3507	2.652-54	3167	3.68	79, 1987, 2952, 3071,
2.604	3609, 3628, 3633, 3740	2.653	2560		3072, 3074, 3077, 3078
2.605	179, 3408	2.654	1968, 3202	3.69	290
2.605-21	1983	2.901-92	p.268 n.m	3.70-109	3147, 3463
2.606	3633, 3636, 3767	3	3065, 3408	3.71	2355
2.606-609	3772	3-4	241	3.72	2813
2.606-610	3433	3.1-2	3348	3.74	457, 3264
2.608-9	3746	3.1-4	1792	3.76-77	1348
2.609	883, 1157, 3633	3.1-8	3348	3.80	3323
2.610	1646, 3655, 3668	3.2	136, 2416	3.82	429
2.610-11	3524	3.6	2002	3.83	3468
2.611	179, 3668	3.7	2052	3.85	429, 925, 3204
2.612	18, 3676, 3790	3.9	1792, 3348	3.86	833, 3476
2.612-13	3665	3.9-28	2836	3.86-87	3316
2.613	3187, 3641, 3768	3.10	2836	3.86-88	2026
2.614	1896, 3677, 3679, 3698,	3.11	686, 740, 784, 3162,	3.87	3316, 3468
	3725		3388, 3396, 3671, p.91	3.87-88	3466, 3470
2.614-25	3565, 3656, 3746	3.14	647	3.88	467, 1078, 3462, 3474,
2.615	331, 3514, 3524, 3162,	3.15	3055, 3462		3475
	3665	3.16	3299	3.89	429, 3055
2.617	18, 3660, 3663	3.17	2515	3.89-91	3476
2.618	58, 3591	3.19	3162, 3671, p.91	3.90	1348
2.619	1088, 2856, 3751	3.20	3388	3.92	3462
2.620	2207, 2775, 3514	3.22	647	3.93	457, 467, 3312
2.621	2206	3.25	3388	3.93-97	457
2.622	1067, 3514	3.27	3650	3.96	407
2.622-23	3695	3.27-28	3388	3.97	136
2.624	1596, 1716	3.28	136	3.98-100	3264, 3463
2.625	3537, 3565, 3768	3.29	114, 408, 3349	3.98-107	302
2.626	2522, 3656	3.29-30	1190	3.100	467
2.626-31	3717	3.30	1947	3.101	2355
2.628	2578, 2655, 2769, 2782,	3.31	1254, 3119	3.102	3463
	2783	3.33	240	3.102-6	3462
2.630	3620	3.33-34	3122	3.104	3056
2.632	3785, 3797	3.35	420, 2833	3.105	467, 3477
2.632-34	3648	3.35-36	1190	3.105-7	3264, 3463
2.632-46	3577	3.35-43	264, 1190	3.106	2099
2.633	2550	3.35-44	3407, 3436	3.106-7	2355, 3461, 3463
2.634	1852, 2479, 2775, 3695,	3.35-58	7	3.107	2276
	3764, 3783	3.37	3441	3.108	57
2.635	902, 3779	3.38	420, 1190, 1194, 3085,	3.100	804
2.635-37	3317		3087	3.110	408
2.636	3787	3.39	1191, 3427	3.111	3084
2.637	3052	3.39-40	2831, 3537	3.111-12	784
2.638	1157, 3638, 3699	3.40	3440	3.113	1215, 3147
2.638-41	3648	3.44-47	348	3.115	408, 804
2.639	1312	3.46-47	2823	3.115-26	3168
2.640	2505	3.47	2824, 2826	3.115-28	457
2.641	3597	3.48	594, 1448, 1472, 1549	3.116	409
2.642	3765	3.49	2410	3.120	407
2.643	1753	3.53	1549	3.121	3322
2.644	1088	3.54	408, 3392	3.122	1705
2.644-45	3785	3.54-55	388, 591, 594, 1035,	3.123	1058

3.124	409, 3168	3.331	552	3.477	1464
3.125	3171	3.334	1151	3.479	647, 2662, 3462
3.126	3169	3.336	1883	3.484	1665
3.133	3348	3.340	136	3.485	2805
3.135-37	3363	3.341	2805	3.495	3622
3.141-339	3426	3.343	3168	3.498	647, 3596
3.143	1549	2.346	2099, 2388, 2513, 2595,	3.527	3790
3.144	530		2618, 3350	3.528	308
3.149	647	2.349	2388, 2506	3.436	136
3.151	2657	2.355-57	2236	3.447	57
3.153	1665	3.351	2471, 3247	3.452	377, 1005
3.153-54	284	3.351-53	678	3.459	15
3.155	2682	3.351-54	870	3.467	925, 3204
3.157	3084	3.352	2620	3.472-88	276
3.158	3300	3.354	2259, 2305, 2354, 2527,	3.475	376
3.161	647, 2662		2562	3.488	925, 3204
3.166	3284	3.356	376	3.496	1022
3.166-68	3284	3.357	376, 926, p.87	3.500	3497
3.171-76	3620	3.359	136, 2354, 3562	4	158, 637, 2227, 2522,
3.173	3238	3.360	1253		2754, 3408, 3673, 3821
3.175	1248	3.362-82	p.265	4.2	784, 3443
3.176	647	3.363	543	4.2-10	3409, 3410
3.177	1490	3.367	2291	4.4	3441
3.180	895	3.368-69	2499	4.4-8	1190
3.184	804, 833	3.372	944, 947	4.5	3608
3.186	1363	3.375	1012, 2495	4.7	299
3.186-92	3620	3.377	376, 804	4.8	552, 953, 3300
3.188	3699	3.378	3790	4.9	3455
3.193	1363	3.380	2416	4.10	2682
3.197	179	3.382	939	4.12	784
3.201	2859	3.385	3688	4.12-13	2627
3.203	56	3.386	136, 3238	4.15	2030
3.207	2099	3.389	1009	4.16	2143
3.208	3039	3.390	136	4.17	1210
3.211	1442	3.391	1320, 1321, 2473, 2868	4.18	2639
3.222	1251	3.393	1060	4.19	1665
3.226	3322	3.393-97	2794	4.20	3476
3.228	647	3.395	1060	4.28	3315
3.229-30	276	3.396	323, 870, 1009	4.31	1985
3.230	3322	3.399	701	4.34	1248, 2805, 2917
3.239	1665	3.400	136, 2528	4.36	461, 953
3.245	1883	3.400-1	870	4.45	467
3.246	3151	3.402	67	4.45-6	302
3.251	3675	3.404	870	4.49	1215
3.261	1215, 3719	3.405	979	4.51	3158
3.267	3254	3.409	408, 1549	4.54-61	3432
3.268	3168	3.410	15, 1108	4.60	843
3.278-79	339	3.414	3348	4.63	3239, 3675
3.283	2084	3.414-27	2265, 3401	4.71	1215, 1691
3.289	784	3.416	2311	4.76	2805
3.290	3084	3.418	2310	4.79	3239
3.293	2471, 3018, 3247	3.432	1827	4.82	2859
3.300	3478	3.435	765	4.84	1947
3.302	923, 1210, 3084	3.438	2259	4.85	1642
3.308	2176, 2180	3.445	2180	4.90	647
3.309	428, 1098, 3026	3.446	2827	4.92	784
3.310	1705	3.469	2310	4.92-120	3532
3.313	1289	3.450	1662	4.92-130	3452
3.314	465	3.450-52	3596	4.95	728
3.318	895	3.452	647, 1005, 2662	4.96	2227, 3719
3.319	3675	3.456	534	4.99	2518
3.320	748, 895, p.90	3.457	3596	4.99-103	902
3.320-21	933	3.458	1947	4.101	3312
3.321	2768	3.461	465	4.101-6	3664
3.321-23	1466	3.467	3596	4.105	2831, 3537
3.232	1344	3.475	376, 926, p.87	4.113	3632

4.114	57	4.228	728, 3562	4.355	104
4.114-22	518	4.231	2518, 3147, 3808	4.357	2174
4.116	983	4.234	728	4.357-65	3829
4.117	3632	4.236-344	1256	4.358	2261
4.119	3699	4.238	3368	4.359-64	3388
4.120	57, 883, 1947, 2682	4.238-69	p.265	4.362	1363
4.123	2176	4.240	2165, 2176	4.362-63	1622
4.127	158, 939	4.241-42	105	4.366	22, 2471, 3247
4.130	3400	4.242	1408	4.366-76	3622, 3771
4.131	1098, 3696	4.243	3018	4.366-77	3193
4.134	1975	4.245-46	728	4.369	1022, 2627
4.135	342, 645, 1622, 1753, 1464, 1490	4.246	2227	4.370	2471, 3247
4.139	647, 1968	4.248-50	3368	4.371	1341
4.140	304, 3347	4.253	1068	4.371-76	1622
4.140-41	2634	4.254	3562	4.375	3696
4.141	304	4.256	901	4.379	2179
4.145	1728	4.257	705, 3562	4.382-83	804
4.146	728, 3562	4.258	728, 1061, 2757	4.385	513
4.147	1939	4.259	1956, 1971	4.388-97	1622
4.150	1320	4.260	543	4.393	3657
4.151	105, 1499, 1695, 3369	4.265	158, 939	4.394	1183, 1316, 2750, 2757
4.152	939	4.271	728	4.387	747
4.152-61	52	4.278	1041	4.388	105, 543, 814
4.154	158, 939, 1630	4.279	158, 939	4.389	728
4.158	647	4.281	3562	4.392	1653
4.159	728, 1320, 1665, 1800, 2781, 2781, 3368	4.285	429	4.397	3193
4.160	1157, 1158	4.287	241	4.400	1604
4.160-62	3369	4.292	1491	4.401	3472
4.162-223	1499	4.293	1083	4.401-2	187, 1403
4.163	1320, 2903	4.298	291	4.402	188, 524, 1605, 1662, 1662
4.163-92	p.265	4.300-54	p.85	4.406	1660, 1662
4.165	1968	4.301	1883	4.409	1490
4.168	2638	4.302	2594, 3018	4.412	3084
4.169	1956	4.305	804	4.417	15
4.170	2176	4.309	1183	4.418	2146, 2652
4.173	112	4.312	530, 923, 1210, 1416	4.420	469
4.175	1183	4.314-22	1499, 1466, 3369, 3532, 3819, 3829	4.422	3621
4.175-77	728	4.316-20	3363	4.423	339
4.177-78	1316, 2750	4.317	463, 804	4.424	2662
4.180-82	2603	4.318	1823, 2573	4.427	3158
4.181	2571	4.318-25	3375	4.429	1416
4.182	802, 2523	4.319	382, 739, 2227, p.90	4.431	3151
4.185	728, 2099	4.320	143, 1239, 1256, 2222, 3545	4.438	368
4.186-88	647	4.320-24	3805, 3809	4.400	1604
4.187	1321	4.321	461	4.441	3696
4.189	3497	4.323	105, 870, 1320, 1466	4.443	3398
4.193	1248, 1665, 2197, 3497	4.326-34	176	4.443-44	3398
4.193-238	3369	4.326-44	3829	4.444	463, 594, 3400, 3403
4.197	2754	4.327	1728	4.444-45	388
4.199	2278, 3691	4.328	895	4.449	579
4.201	1320, 2663	4.329	895, 931, 2768	4.451-85	7
4.203	1883	4.330	1728	4.453	2278
4.206	291	4.334	158, 939	4.457	777
4.208	3519	4.335	2179, 2227	4.465	830
4.209	3756	4.336	158, 939, 1596	4.478	761
4.211	1802, 2099, 2176	4.338	553, 1802	4.487-88	3580
4.213	1752	4.339	42	4.486-89	2825
4.214-15	842	4.340	158, 939	4.486-90	3167
4.215	1320, 2663	4.342	158, 939	4.487-98	1983
4.216	900, 1883, 2754	4.344	1183	4.488	2879
4.217	2805	4.347	728, 3562	4.489	308
4.225	2531, 3372, 3377	4.348	2757	4.492	872, 1041
4.225-45	1948	4.349	2358	4.493	2757, 3600
4.227	1363	4.353	1622, 1596, 3829	4.494	1274
				4.495	3696

4.496	1579	5.14	3323	5.131	1081
4.499	2310	5.16	802	5.133	712
4.501	2805	5.17-77	1994	5.134	2736
4.503	594, 1700, 2825, 3167, 3396	5.18-30	3193	5.135	1648
4.503-4	3829	5.19	2471, 3247	5.136	552
4.504	1472	5.20	86, 838, 840, p.90	5.136-137	2653
4.509	645	5.20-27	1622	5.136-247	1190, 2653
4.510	728	5.21	1596, 3167, 3372	5.137	1961
4.511	594, 1472	5.22	3168	5.137-41	2654
4.513	645	5.24	649, 3771	5.140	2142
4.516	1604	5.27	546	5.141	3300
4.528	469	5.28	728	5.142	3205, 3211
4.539	3719	5.30	342, 1947	5.144	2159, 2163, 2736
4.545	3696	5.30-34	3622	5.145	686, 740, 2085, 2142, 2765, 3208, p.89
4.546	2378	5.33	3719		552, 2460, 2736
4.547	1445	5.35	1733	5.147	
4.550	594	5.39	2471, 3247	5.147-55	1364, 3205
4.551	308, 1472, 3403	5.41	1492, 3132, 3325, 3348	5.149-51	2062, 3206
4.552	705	5.42	388, 409	5.150	649
4.556-84	3829	5.45	1378	5.152	1364, 1633
4.557	1068	5.46	290	5.153	1366, 3239
4.558	645	5.47-53	457	5.155	1364, 3205, 3371
4.560	1968, 2760	5.48	1058, 1705	5.158	3227
4.561-62	777	5.49	3169	5.160	801
4.562	757	5.50	3403	5.161-69	2736
4.564	3527, 3827	5.51	429	5.166-69	281
4.567	512, 2462, 3160	5.52	469	5.169	3827
4.573	2757, 3827	5.53	1469	5.174	761
4.586	2378	5.59	1009	5.176-82	1941
4.587	2179	5.60	1184	5.176-83	272
4.595	2378	5.61	649, 983	5.177	325, 3086
4.596	512, 1304	5.63	1248	5.180-81	2741
4.601	1665	5.65	1005	5.187	304, 305, 1099
4.604	3018	5.66	377	5.188	1967
4.607	2450	5.67	388	5.190	2079
4.607-10	2448	5.67-68	1648, 3196, 3197	5.190-92	291, 2079
4.608	2429, 2451	5.70	274, 1648	5.193-94	2148
4.616-18	1378	5.71-84	284	5.194	980
4.617	3026	5.71-97	276	5.200	304
4.618	2641	5.72	1022, 2627	5.201	2588
4.619	2327, 2328	5.74-97	274	5.201-206	1377
4.622	870, 1007, 2805, 2815	5.75	302, 1665, 2014	5.214	3198
4.623-29	678	5.83	2068	5.218	2278
4.635	524, 925, 3204	5.85-97	284	5.228	2032
4.640	1088, 1216	5.88	323, 926, p.87	5.231	2032
4.647	3710	5.90	1248	5.233	158, 939
4.648	2378	5.92	691	5.236-37	7
4.651	1408	5.97	3657	5.237	3210
4.652	p.85	5.99	64, 67, 1826	5.242	158, 939
4.656	2641	5.99-105	3372	5.243-44	291
4.658-62	1983, 2448	5.101	1059	5.243-45	1402, 2063, 2079
4.660	429	5.102	469, 2058	5.244	1058, 1401
5	774, 1364, 1961, 3408	5.103	2176	5.246	2062
5.2	1466	5.104-105	2489	5.248	22
5.3	2754	5.105	3167	5.248-55	3167
5.4	1341	5.106-8	1648, 3196	5.248-57	3193
5.5	814, 2754, 3372	5.110	1947	5.250-51	3372
5.5-7	3372, 3377	5.114	3251	5.252	712, 2142, 2653
5.6	342	5.115-21	3463	5.254	2765
5.7	2754	5.120	872, 1171, 1440, 2259, 2354	5.256	2099
5.8	2454	5.121	1937, 3056, 3468	5.256-57	728
5.9	994	5.122	1464, 3462	5.263	3323
5.10	1320, 2663	5.123	240	5.265	1968
5.11	342, 2653, 3167, 3827	5.124	897	5.267	1792, 3324, 3348
5.12	3372	5.127	2416, 3462	5.275-81	3322
				5.277-78	276

5.278	1022, 2471, 3247	5.423	1883	6:14-15	1997
5.284	524	5.425	514	6.15	883, 1883
5.285	925, 2662, 3204	5.426	2176	6.17-19	305
5.288	3039	5.427	3650	6.18	457
5.289-90	1975	5.429	1971	6.21	933, 1700
5.290	524	5.430	2859	6.22	291, 469, 925, 3204
5.291	3251	5.433	2859	6.23	524, 3322
5.299	3322	5.435	826, 2297	6.23-32	2729
5.302	3348	5.438	826	6.26	3322
5.304	291	5.439	1653, 3562	6.27-28	3239
5.305	293, 339	5.440	1596	6.28	3151
5.305-6	276, 302	5.441	2627, 3530	6.29-32	3463, 3664
5.306	647, 1665, 2662	5.443	535	6.32	787
5.315-16	276, 305	5.444	2088	6.33	376, 926, p.87
5.316	2099	5.445	933	6.33-53	276
5.317	1642	5.449-51	463, 1972, 1975	6.38	2471, 3247
5.318	1797	5.450	2768	6.39	2416
5.318-30	3222	5.453	1596	6.41	433, 1183
5.324	1248	5.457	157, 1363	6.42	376, 900, 926, p.87
5.325	3791	5.458	376, 926, 1183, p.87	6.43	2358
5.329	746, 3664	5.459	1116	6.46	2364
5.332	543	5.460-65	2996, 3072	6.47	945, 947, 1180, 2805
5.333	524	5.461	513	6.52	1248
5.334	1851, 1955	5.466-72	3240	6.55	1700
5.335	901	5.467	1102	6.59	2805
5.336	1596, 1948, 1967	5.468	3211	6.60	2014
5.343	1254, 2471, 3247	5.469	3239	6.62	1248, 2917
5.345	308	5.472	1911	6.64	1073
5.348-55	3198	5.474	2462, 3160	6.68	1058
5.352	3232	5.483	897	6.69	3476
5.353	925, 3204	5.491	1491	6.71	3239
5.360-61	1955	5.502	2805	6.74	288, 804
5.361	157	5.504	1648	6.75	1088, 2803
5.362-419	2597, p.268	5.505	712, 2142	6.76	804
5.364	1254	5.518	304	6.78-9	3463, 3664
5.365	728, 746, 2224, 2227	5.521	3198	6.79	801
5.367	870, 2472, 2473, p.268	5.523	2460	6.80	88, 1068, 1091
5.367-68	2471, 3247	5.526	546	6.81	290, 1248, 1700, 2917
5.371	1955	5.531	158, 939, 1653	6.82	88, 1068, 1091
5.372	1456	5.532	388	6.86	88, 1068, 1091
5.373	1068, 1345	5.533	2696	6.89	284, 2151, 1985, 3463
5.376-77	2597	5.539	1187	6.90	1758
5.376-419	p.265	5.540	515, 1728	6.94	1826
5.377	2805	5.544	2696	6.95	1320, 2663
5.378	2471, 3247	5.546	1363	6.98	2808
5.381	1321	5.550-56	438	6.99	105
5.382	746	5.552	1210	6.99-110	p.265
5.388	2528	5.554	3373	6.101	2001, 2471, 3247
5.389	5331	5.556	833, 1975	6.102	42
5.389-93	525, 526	5.558	1963	6.108	1007, 1116
5.390	2597, 3414, p.268	5.561	3699	6.109	1321, 1775, 2868
5.395-96	728	5.562-63	2571	6.110	105, 2663, 3247
5.395-97	2234, 2481	5.565	774, p.90	6.112	1883
5.396	232, 2229, 2471, 3247	5.565-66	777, 1408	6.113	524
5.397	246	5.567	1826	6.115	3403
5.399-403	2487	5.566	774	6.121	3323
5.399	2597	5.569	195	6.122	1321
5.402	876, 1320, 1968, 2663	5.1145	784	6.123	1073
5.403	1623	6	195, 333, 1142, 1796,	6.124	2011, 2204
5.408	728		1911, 2803, 3408	6.126	2803
5.410	2142	6.3	602	6.130	1473
5.413	1016	6.4	923, 1210, 1321, 2803	6.134	2416
5.414	104, 1773	6.10	933, 1321	6.149	2655
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6.176	2176	6.293	2588	6.413	1058
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Lycophron		801	758	<i>Haliutica</i>	
<i>Alexandra</i>				2.316	543
1091	3771	<i>Samia</i>		Oracula Sibyllina	
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Lycurgus		<i>Sententiae e codicibus Byzantinis</i>		<i>Collectiones medicae</i>	
<i>Oratio in Leocratem</i>		1.126	2469	2.58.7	2475
31	893	Musonius Rufus		2.58.32	2475
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3	897	<i>Theriaca</i>		Pausanias	
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		714	849	1.35.7-8	2371
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10.11	722	Nicolaus of Damascus		2.5.8	941
		<i>Fragmenta</i>		2.11.7	1857
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20	1456	101.704	3008	4.21.11	941
		101.934	1059	4.31.9	1857
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<i>Fragmenta</i>		Numenius		5.4.5	2465
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- Aristobulus (7) (the Younger, son of Herod of Chalcis)—1386
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