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JOSEPHUS
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES
BOOKS XVIII–XIX

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
LOUIS H. FELDMAN



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PREFATORY NOTE

THE text of this volume, as of the previous volumes of this version of Josephus, is substantially that of Niese in his *editio maior*, but with a number of changes suggested by other scholars. The manuscript tradition for the last ten books of the *Antiquities* is discussed at length by Niese in the third volume of his edition, pp. iii-lvii, and summarized briefly by Ralph Marcus in the prefatory note to the sixth volume of this series. In translating these books I have, in a number of places, adopted felicitous renderings found in the rough draft left by Dr. Thackeray. Whiston's version may contain many inaccuracies, but it often is hard to improve upon for sheer verve of style, and I have not hesitated in several places to adopt his phraseology. In composing the commentary, I have learned much, especially as to bibliography, from the notes of the late Prof. Ralph Marcus in his personal copy of Josephus, which Mrs. Marcus has been kind enough to place at my disposal.

The text, translation, and commentary of this edition were submitted to the printer in September, 1960. Scholarship after this date has elucidated several points in the commentary; for references see my critical bibliography, *Scholarship on Philo and Josephus (1937-1962)*, published this year under the auspices of Yeshiva University.

PREFATORY NOTE

In a number of textual matters I have received assistance from Prof. Hans Petersen and from the editors of the Loeb Library. In the translation I owe much to the suggestions of my mentor, Prof. James A. Notopoulos, and the editors. Rabbi Isaiah Molotin has elucidated several passages for me from his fund of Talmudic knowledge. Finally, in the preparation of the index,* I have been aided greatly by Nathan H. Epstein, Julian Plante, Fred Schreiber, Emanuel White, and, above all, my wife Rivkah. To all of them I am sincerely grateful.

LOUIS H. FELDMAN

13 August 1963

* The index, covering all the works of Josephus, has been compiled independently of those at the end of volumes I and III of this series, as well as of that of Niese in his *editio maior*, but it has been checked against all of these.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES

ΙΟΥΔΑΪΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΙΗ

(i. 1) Κυρίνιος¹ δὲ τῶν εἰς τὴν βουλήν συναγομένων ἀνὴρ τὰς τε ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἐπιτετελεκῶς καὶ διὰ πασῶν ὁδεύσας ὑπάτος γενέσθαι τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀξιῶματι μέγας σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπὶ Συρίας παρῆν, ὑπὸ Καίσαρος δικαιοδότης τοῦ ἔθνους ἀπεσταλμένος καὶ

¹ Κυρήνιος AMWE Eusebius: Cyrenius ut vid. Lat.

^a Publius Sulpicius Quirinius, after having been consul in 12 B.C., had distinguished himself by leading a successful expedition against the wild Homanadenses in Asia Minor near Galatia (see Tacitus' report, *Ann.* iii. 48, of Tiberius' eulogy at Quirinius' funeral). Luke ii. 2 says that Quirinius was governing Syria at the time that the census took place in which Joseph and Mary went up to Bethlehem; and some authorities, notably W. Ramsay (*Was Christ Born at Bethlehem: A Study in the Credibility of Luke*, 1898, pp. 229-283), attempt to vindicate Luke by arguing that Quirinius was governor of Syria before 4 B.C. as well as at the time (A.D. 6) here cited by Josephus. But L. R. Taylor, "Quirinius and the Census of Judaea," *Am. Jour. of Philol.* liv, 1953, pp. 120-133, argues convincingly that at the time of the Homanadensian War Quirinius was more probably governor of Galatia (so also R. K. Sherck, *The Legates of Galatia (Johns Hopkins Stud. in Hist. and Pol. Sc., Ser. 69, 1951, pp. 21-24, who cites abundant bibliography)*). In any case, our list of the governors of Syria for the period before the birth of Jesus,

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES

BOOK XVIII

(i. 1) QUIRINIUS,^a a Roman senator who had proceeded through all the magistracies to the consulship and a man who was extremely distinguished in other respects, arrived^b in Syria, dispatched by Caesar^c to be governor^d of the nation and to make an assess-

Assessment
of property
in Judaea
by
Quirinius.

which seems complete, does not have the name of Quirinius; and Tertullian, *Adv. Marcion.* iv. 19, interestingly enough, says that the enrolment mentioned in Luke took place under Saturninus (see the discussion by T. Corbishley, "Quirinius and the Census: Re-study of the Evidence," *Klio* xxix [= Neue Folge, xi], 1936, pp. 91-92). Luke ii. 2 can be vindicated only if we translate with F. M. Heichelheim ("Roman Syria," in T. Frank, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, iv, 1938, pp. 160-161), "This census was the first before that under the prefectureship of Quirinius in Syria."

^b The translation "arrived with a small retinue" is unlikely. I take σὺν ὀλίγοις with μέγας to mean "one among few," i.e. "extremely."

^c Augustus.

^d *Legatus Augusti pro praetore.* J. A. O. Larsen, "Tituli Asiae Minoris, II, 508," *Class. Philol.* xxxviii, 1943, pp. 188-189, observes that the word δικαιοδότης is found only here and in inscriptions from Lycia in the sense of "governor." He plausibly suggests that the word was not so much a title for a governor as an honorary appellation, much like *soter* or *evergetes*. It would emphasize the high regard with which the governor was held as an honest judge, the duties of the governor (in Lycia, at least) being largely judicial.

2 τιμητῆς τῶν οὐσιῶν γενησόμενος, Κωπώνιος τε αὐτῷ συγκαταπέμπεται τάγματος τῶν ἰππέων, ἡγησόμενος Ἰουδαίων τῇ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐξουσίᾳ. παρῆν δὲ καὶ Κυρίνιος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προσθήκην τῆς Συρίας γενομένην ἀποτιμησόμενός τε αὐτῶν τὰς οὐσίας καὶ ἀποδωσόμενος τὰ Ἀρχελάου χρήματα.

3 οἱ δὲ καίπερ τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐν δεινῷ φέροντες τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς ἀκρόασις ὑποκατέβησαν τοῦ μῆ¹ εἰς πλεον ἐναντιοῦσθαι πείσαντος αὐτοὺς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Ἰωαζάρου,² Βοηθοῦ δὲ οὗτος υἱὸς ἦν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡττηθέντες τοῦ Ἰωαζάρου τῶν λόγων

4 ἀπετίμων τὰ χρήματα μηδὲν ἐνδοιάσαντες. Ἰούδας δὲ Γαυλανίτης ἀνὴρ³ ἐκ πόλεως ὄνομα Γάμαλα⁴ Σάδδωκον⁵ Φαρισαῖον προσλαβόμενος ἠπέιγετο ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει, τὴν τε ἀποτίμησιν οὐδὲν ἕλλο ἢ ἀντι-

¹ μῆ] A: om. MWE.

² Iozaro Lat.

³ Ἰούδας δὲ Γαυλανίτης ἀνὴρ] A: Γαυλανίτης δὲ τις ἀνὴρ Ἰούδας MWE.

⁴ A: Γαμάλα MW: Γαμάλας Eus.: Γάβαλα E.

⁵ Σάδδωκον A: Σάδουκον M: Σάδδουκον WE Exc. Peiresc. S Saddocum Lat.: Σαδῶκ Zonaras: Σάδδωκον et Σάδδωκον Eusebii codd.

^a First procurator of Judaea. Cf. the parallel passage in *B.J.* ii. 117, which adds that his powers included the infliction of capital punishment. The Mishnah, *Middot* i. 3, mentions a Gate of Kiponus as one of the five gates of the temple. It has been speculated by M. Simon, in the Soncino translation *ad loc.*, that this gate may have been named after Coponius.

^b See *Ant.* xvii. 355.

ment of their property. Coponius,^a a man of equestrian rank, was sent along with him to rule over the Jews with full authority. Quirinius also visited Judaea, which had been annexed to Syria, in order to make an assessment of the property of the Jews and to liquidate the estate of Archelaus.^b Although the Jews were at first shocked to hear of the registration of property, they gradually condescended, yielding to the arguments of the high priest Joazar,^c the son of Boethus, to go no further in opposition. So those who were convinced by him declared, without shilly-shallying, the value of their property. But a certain Judas,^d a Gaulanite^e from a city named Gamala,^f who had enlisted the aid of Saddok, a Pharisee, threw himself into the cause of rebellion. They said that the assessment carried with it a status amounting to

The revolt inspired by Judas the Gaulanite and Saddok the Pharisee.

^a In *Ant.* xvii. 339, we learn that Archelaus accused Joazar of conspiring against him, and subsequently deposed him from the high priesthood.

^b In the parallel passage in *B.J.* ii. 118 (see Thackeray's note) and in *Ant.* xviii. 23, Josephus refers to Judas as the founder of the Fourth Philosophy. In Acts v. 37 he is mentioned by Gamaliel as having incited the Jews in the days of the census. See also *Ant.* xx. 102. J. S. Kennard, "Judas of Galilee and His Clan," *Jewish Quart. Rev.* xxxvi, 1945-46, pp. 281-286, plausibly identifies this Judas with the Judas who seized the opportunity to aspire to sovereignty in Galilee (*B.J.* ii. 56).

^c Gaulanitis is east of the Jordan and of the Sea of Galilee. In *B.J.* ii. 118 Judas is called a Galilaean.

^f A city in lower Gaulanitis on the Transjordanian side of the Sea of Galilee (not to be confused with the city by the same name in Upper Galilee), so called because it is situated on a hill shaped like a camel (Hebrew *gamal*). It is near the site of modern *Jamle*. See F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, ii, 1938, p. 325; and A. Schlatter, "Die hebräischen Namen bei Josephus," *Beitr. z. Ford. christl. Theol.* xvii. 3-4, 1913, p. 35.

κρυσ δουλείαν ἐπιφέρειν λέγοντες καὶ τῆς ἐλευ-
 5 θερίας ἐπ' ἀντιλήψει παρακαλοῦντες τὸ ἔθνος· ὡς
 παρασχὸν μὲν κατορθοῦν εἰς τὸ εὐδαιμον ἀνακει-
 μένης τῆς κτήσεως,¹ σφαλεῖσιν δὲ τοῦ ταύτης περι-
 όντος² ἀγαθοῦ τιμῆν καὶ κλέος ποιήσεσθαι τοῦ
 μεγαλόφρονος, καὶ τὸ θεῖον οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ ἐπὶ συμ-
 πράξει τῶν βουλευμάτων εἰς τὸ κατορθοῦν συμπρο-
 θυμείσθαι μᾶλλον, ἂν μεγάλων ἐρασταί³ τῇ διανοίᾳ
 καθιστάμενοι μὴ ἐξαφίωνται φόνου⁴ τοῦ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς.
 6 καὶ ἡδονῇ γὰρ τὴν ἀκρόασιν ὧν λέγοιεν ἐδέχοντο οἱ
 ἄνθρωποι, προῦκοπτεν ἐπὶ μέγα ἢ ἐπιβουλή⁵ τοῦ
 τολμήματος,⁶ κακὸν τε οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐ μὴ φύντος ἐκ
 τῶνδε τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ περαιτέρω τοῦ εἰπεῖν ἀνε-
 7 πλήσθη τὸ ἔθνος· πολέμων τε ἐπαγωγαῖς οὐχ οἶων⁷
 τε⁸ ἀπαυστον τὴν βίαν ἔχειν, καὶ ἀποστερησεῖ⁹
 φίλων, οἱ καὶ ἐπελαφρύνοιεν τὸν πόνον, λησθηρίων
 τε μεγάλων ἐπιθέσεσιν καὶ διαφθοραῖς ἀνδρῶν τῶν

¹ φύσεως Exc.

² A : παρίοντος MW.

³ A¹ : ἐργασταί ex corr. A : ἐργάται MW Exc.

⁴ codd. Exc. : πόνου Hudson.

⁵ ἐπιβολή E ed. pr. Exc.

⁶ προῦκοπτεν . . . τολμήματος] in magnum malum seditio
 illorum et audacia prorumpbat Lat.

⁷ οὐχ οἶων] Bekker : οὐχ οἶον MW : οὐ . . χ' ὧν (corr. ex
 οὐχ . . ων) A.

⁸ τε] MW Exc. : τὸ A¹ : τε οὐκ Hudson.

⁹ Bekker : ἀποστερησάν codd.

^a H. St. J. Thackeray, *Selections from Josephus*, 1919, p. 73, notes that the Greek is modelled on Thucydides i. 122: defeat "brings nothing else than downright slavery" (ἀντι-κρυσ δουλείαν). One may add that in the next passage, §§ 5-8, one is reminded so much of Thucydides iii. 82-84 (which has a similar context—the analysis of the psychology of civil war) that H. Drüner, *Untersuchungen über Josephus*, 1896, pp. 1-34, esp. p. 12, and Thackeray, *Josephus, the Man and the*

downright slavery,^a no less, and appealed to the nation to make a bid for independence. They urged that in case of success the Jews would have laid the foundation of prosperity, while if they failed to obtain any such boon, they would win honour and renown for their lofty aim; and that Heaven would be their zealous helper to no lesser end than the furthering of their enterprise until it succeeded—all the more if with high devotion in their hearts they stood firm and did not shrink from the bloodshed^b that might be necessary. Since the populace, when they heard their appeals, responded gladly, the plot to strike boldly made serious progress; and so these men sowed the seed of every kind of misery, which so afflicted the nation that words are inadequate. When wars are set afoot that are bound to rage beyond control, and when friends are done away with who might have alleviated the suffering, when raids are made by great hordes of brigands and men of the highest standing are assassinated, it is supposed to be

Historian, 1929, pp. 110-114, have argued that *Ant.* xvii-xix is the work not of Josephus but of an assistant who was steeped in Thucydides. But cf. H. Petersen, "Real and Alleged Literary Projects of Josephus," *Am. Jour. of Philol.* lxxix, 1958, p. 261 n. 5, who argues cogently against this hypothesis, noting that many Thucydidean reminiscences are found in the earlier books of the *Antiquities*, and that we can account for the greater preponderance of Thucydidean phrases in these books by assuming that Josephus was, while writing xvii-xix, making an intensive study of Thucydides (so also G. C. Richards, "The Composition of Josephus' *Antiquities*," *Class. Quart.* xxxiii, 1939, p. 39) to improve his own style.

^b I have adopted the reading of the mss., since, as can be seen from § 8, the Fourth Philosophy did not shrink from murder to attain its aims. Hudson's emendation, πόνου, gives "did not shrink from the hardship that great aims require."

πρώτων, δόξα μὲν τοῦ ὀρθουμένου τῶν κοινῶν,
 8 ἔργω δὲ οἰκείων κερδῶν ἐλπίσιν. ἐξ ὧν στάσεις
 τε ἐφύησαν δι' αὐτὰς¹ καὶ φόνος πολιτικός, ὃ μὲν
 ἐμφυλίοις σφαγαῖς μανίᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τε ἄλ-
 λήλους καὶ αὐτοὺς χρωμένων ἐπιθυμίᾳ τοῦ μὴ
 λείπεσθαι τῶν ἀντικαθεστηκότων, ὃ δὲ τῶν πολε-
 μίων, λιμός τε εἰς ὑστάτην ἀνακείμενος ἀναισχυντίαν,
 καὶ πόλεων ἀλώσεις καὶ κατασκαφαί, μέχρι δὴ καὶ
 τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνείματο πυρὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἦδε
 9 ἡ στάσις. οὕτως ἄρα ἡ τῶν πατρίων καίνισις² καὶ
 μεταβολὴ μεγάλας ἔχει ῥοπὰς τοῦ ἀπολουμένου
 τοῖς συνελθοῦσιν, εἴ γε καὶ Ἰούδας καὶ Σάδδωκος
 τετάρτην φιλοσοφίαν ἐπέισακτον ἡμῖν ἐγείραντες
 καὶ ταύτης ἔραστῶν εὐπορηθέντες πρὸς τε τὸ παρὸν
 θορύβων τὴν πολιτείαν ἐνέπλησαν καὶ τῶν ἀδθις
 10 κακῶν κατειληφόντων ρίζας ἐφυτεύσαντο τῷ ἄσυν-
 ἦθει πρότερον φιλοσοφίας τοιαῶσδε· περὶ ἧς ὀλίγα
 βούλομαι διελθεῖν, ἄλλως τε ἐπεὶ καὶ τῷ κατ' αὐ-
 τῶν³ σπουδασθέντι τοῖς νεωτέροις ὃ φθόρος τοῖς
 πράγμασι συνέτυχε.

11 (2) Ἰουδαίοις φιλοσοφίαι τρεῖς ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ πάνυ
 ἀρχαίου τῶν πατρίων, ἧ τε τῶν Ἑσσηνῶν καὶ ἡ
 τῶν Σαδδουκαίων, τρίτην δὲ ἐφιλοσόφουν οἱ Φα-
 ρισαῖοι λεγόμενοι. καὶ τυγχάνει μέντοι περὶ αὐτῶν
 ἡμῖν εἰρημένα ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ βίβλῳ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ

¹ δι' αὐτὰς] om. E.

² E: κένωσις, i. marg. γρ κοίνωσις A: κενώσεις MW
 Exc.: novitas Lat.

³ αὐτῶν Holwerda.

the common welfare that is upheld, but the truth is that in such cases the motive is private gain. They sowed the seed from which sprang strife between factions and the slaughter of fellow citizens. Some were slain in civil strife, for these men madly had recourse to butchery of each other and of themselves from a longing not to be outdone by their opponents; others were slain by the enemy in war. Then came famine, reserved to exhibit the last degree of shamelessness, followed by the storming and razing of cities until at last the very temple of God was ravaged by the enemy's fire through this revolt. Here is a lesson that an innovation and reform in ancestral traditions weighs heavily in the scale in leading to the destruction of the congregation of the people.^a In this case certainly, Judas and Saddok started among us an intrusive fourth school of philosophy; and when they had won an abundance of devotees, they filled the body politic immediately with tumult, also planting the seeds of those troubles which subsequently overtook it, all because of the novelty of this hitherto unknown philosophy that I shall now describe. My reason for giving this brief account of it is chiefly that the zeal which Judas and Saddok inspired in the younger element meant the ruin of our cause.^b

(2) The Jews, from the most ancient times, had three philosophies pertaining to their traditions, that of the Essenes, that of the Sadducees, and, thirdly, that of the group called the Pharisees. To be sure, I have spoken about them in the second book of the

The three
 ancient
 Jewish
 philoso-
 phies.

^a Or "the destruction of those who handle it."

^b The text is difficult to construe. Prof. Petersen, in a private communication, translates: "especially since, precisely because of the popularity accorded them, destruction has befallen the succeeding generations."

πολέμου, μνησθήσομαι δ' ὅμως καὶ νῦν αὐτῶν ἐπ' ὀλίγον.

- 12 (3) Οἱ τε γὰρ Φαρισαῖοι τὴν διαίταν ἐξευτελίζουσιν οὐδὲν ἐς τὸ μαλακώτερον ἐνδιδόντες, ὧν τε ὁ λόγος κρίνας παρέδωκεν ἀγαθῶν ἔπονται τῇ ἡγεμονία περιμάχητον ἡγούμενοι τὴν φυλακὴν ὧν ὑπαγορεύειν¹ ἠθέλησεν. τιμῆς γε τοῖς ἡλικία προήκουσιν παραχωροῦσιν οὐδ' ἐπ' ἀντιλέξει τῶν
- 13 εἰσηγηθέντων θράσει² ἔπαιρόμενοι.³ πράσσεισθαί τε εἰμαρμένη τὰ πάντα ἀξιοῦντες οὐδὲ τοῦ ἀνθρωπίου τὸ βουλόμενον τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς⁴ ὁρμῆς ἀφαιροῦνται

¹ ἀπαγορεύειν E: προαγορεύειν ed. pr.

² θράσει] E (spatio vacuo ante θράσει relicto): ταῦτα οἱ θράσει codd.: ταῦτα θράσει ed. pr.: ταῦτα ἢ θράσει conl. Niese.

³ οὐδ' . . . ἔπαιρόμενοι] ita ut nec contrarium quiddam aliquando respondeant Lat.

⁴ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς] E: ἀπ' αὐτῆς codd.

^a *B.J.* ii. 119-166. Josephus here neglects to refer to his brief discussion of the three philosophies in *Ant.* xiii. 171-173. As Marcus states in his note on *Ant.* xiii. 171, Josephus presents the three sects in such a way as to make them more intelligible to Greek readers. Thus he elsewhere compares the Pharisees to Stoics (*Vita* 12) and the Essenes to the Pythagoreans (*Ant.* xv. 371).

^b Josephus perhaps thus intends to indicate a similarity between the Pharisees and the Stoics (cf. note on § 11), and to present a contrast with the Sadducees, who, we are told by the Rabbis, used silver and gold vessels all their lives—"not because they were ostentatious [lit. "of arrogant disposition"]; but the Sadducees said, 'It is a tradition amongst the Pharisees to afflict themselves in this world; yet in the world to come they will have nothing.'" (*Abot de-Rabbi Natan* v, trans. by J. Goldin.)

^c Whiston's translation, "they follow the guidance of reason," which many scholars have adopted, is probably wrong, since, as Thackeray remarks (*Selections*, p. 158 n. 4), λόγος would seem to have the same meaning here and in the

Jewish War,^a but nevertheless I shall here too dwell on them for a moment.

(3) The Pharisees simplify their standard of living,^{(i) The Pharisees.} making no concession to luxury.^b They follow the guidance of that which their doctrine^c has selected and transmitted as good, attaching the chief importance to the observance of those commandments which it has seen fit to dictate to them. They show respect and deference to their elders, nor do they rashly presume to contradict their proposals. Though they postulate that everything is brought about by fate,^d still they do not deprive the human will of the pursuit of what is in man's power,^e since it was God's

opening sentences (§§ 16-18) presenting the doctrines of the Sadducees and the Essenes. G. F. Moore, "Fate and Free Will in the Jewish Philosophies according to Josephus," *Harv. Theol. Rev.* xxii, 1929, p. 374, is, therefore, on dubious ground when he says that Josephus is here speaking of the reasonable living of the Pharisees and that this is one of the respects in which the reader is expected to see a similarity between them and the Stoics (*Vita* 12).

^d As Marcus, in his note on the parallel passage, *Ant.* xiii. 172, remarks, fate (*εἰμαρμένη*) is the Greek equivalent of what we should call Providence. So also G. F. Moore, *op. cit.* p. 379, who notes that for *εἰμαρμένη* in the definition of the Greek philosophical schools, especially the Stoic, there was no equivalent word in Hebrew—and no corresponding conception.

^e The same point about the balance between fate and free will is made in *Ant.* xiii. 172. A similar point of view, reflecting Pharisaic belief, is found in the Talmudic sayings "Everything is foreseen, yet freedom of choice is given" (*Abot* iii. 19) and "All is in the hands of Heaven except the fear of Heaven" (*Berachot* 33 b). The same point is illustrated in the following: "The angel appointed over conception is named Lailah. He takes a seminal drop, sets it before the Holy One blessed be He, and asks, 'Sovereign of the Universe! What is to become of this drop? Is it to develop into a person strong or weak, wise or foolish, rich or poor?' But

- δοκῆσαν τῷ θεῷ κρᾶσιν¹ γενέσθαι² καὶ τῷ ἐκείνης
 βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ ἐθελῆσαν³ προσ-
 14 χωρεῖν μετ' ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας. ἀθάνατόν τε ἰσχύ-
 ναι ταῖς ψυχαῖς πίστις αὐτοῖς εἶναι καὶ ὑπὸ χθονὸς δι-
 καιώσεις τε καὶ τιμὰς οἷς ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας ἐπιτή-
 δευσις ἐν τῷ βίῳ γέγονεν, καὶ ταῖς μὲν εἰργμὸν
 αἰδίων προτίθεσθαι,⁴ ταῖς δὲ ῥαστώνην τοῦ ἀνα-
 15 βιοῦν. καὶ δι' αὐτὰ τοῖς τε δήμοις πιθανώτατοι
 τυγχάνουσιν καὶ ὅποσα θεῖα εὐχῶν τε ἔχεται⁵ καὶ
 ἱερῶν ποιήσεως ἐξηγήσει τῇ ἐκείνων τυγχάνουσιν
 πρᾶσσόμενα. εἰς τοσόνδε ἀρετῆς αὐτοῖς αἱ πόλεις
 ἐμαρτύρησαν ἐπιτηδεύσει τοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσι κρείσσονος
 ἐν τε τῇ διαίτῃ τοῦ βίου καὶ λόγοις.
- 16 (4) Σαδδουκαίοις δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ὁ λόγος συνα-
 φανίζει τοῖς σώμασι, φυλακῇ δὲ οὐδαμῶς τινων

¹ MWE: κρῖον A.

² δοκῆσαν. . . γενέσθαι] iudicium dei futurum esse sentiunt Lat.

³ τὸ ἐθελῆσαν] E: τῷ θελήσαντι MW: τῷ ἐθελήσαντι A: τῷ θελήσαντι coni. Niese.

⁴ Ernesti: προστίθεσθαι codd. E.

⁵ A: ἔπεται MW.

no mention is made of its becoming wicked or righteous" (*Niddah* 16 b). Cf. also Ecclesiasticus xv. 11-17 and Psalms of Solomon ix. 7-9.

^a This difficult passage is thus translated by Thackeray (*Harv. Theol. Rev.* xxv, 1932, p. 93): "While maintaining that all things are brought about by Fate, they yet do not deprive the human will of the impulse to do them, it having pleased God that there should be a coalition between Fate's council-chamber and such men as choose to associate with it, with virtuous or vicious intent."

good pleasure that there should be a fusion and that the will of man with his virtue and vice should be admitted to the council-chamber of fate.^a They believe that souls have power to survive death and that there are rewards and punishments under the earth^b for those who have led lives of virtue or vice: eternal imprisonment is the lot of evil souls, while the good souls receive an easy passage to a new life.^c Because of these views they are, as a matter of fact, extremely influential among the townsfolk; and all prayers^d and sacred rites of divine worship are performed according to their exposition. This is the great tribute that the inhabitants of the cities, by practising the highest ideals both in their way of living and in their discourse, have paid to the excellence of the Pharisees.

(4) The Sadducees hold that the soul perishes along with the body. They own no observance of any sort (11) The Sadducees.

^b Again Josephus is using a phrase for the sake of his Greek audience. S. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, ii^a, 1952, pp. 344-345 n. 46, points, however, to *B.J.* iii. 373-375, where Josephus says that the souls of the righteous are allotted the most holy place in heaven.

^c Thackeray, *Selections*, p. 159, gives a cross-reference to *B.J.* iii. 374 ("their souls . . . are allotted the most holy place in heaven, whence in the revolution of the ages, they return to find in chaste bodies a new habitation"), in which Josephus harangues his men on the evil of suicide. This passage in *B.J.*, says Thackeray, contains a reference to metempsychosis. But our passage, the passage in *B.J.*, and the one in *Contra Ap.* ii. 218 which Thackeray cites in his note on *B.J.* iii. 374, refer not to metempsychosis, which was not a tenet of the Pharisees, but to the belief in resurrection, which was a central doctrine of the Pharisees. Cf. 2 Macc. vii. 9, which employs *ἀναβίωσις*, the noun corresponding to the verb *ἀναβίωω* (the word used by Josephus in our passage) in a clear reference to resurrection.

^d Or "vows."

μεταποίησις αὐτοῖς ἢ τῶν νόμων· πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς διδασκάλους σοφίας, ἢν μετίασιν, ἀμφιλογεῖν ἀρε-
 17 τὴν ἀριθμοῦσιν. εἰς ὀλίγους δὲ ἀνδρας οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἀφίκετο, τοὺς μέντοι πρῶτους τοῖς ἀξιώμασι, πρᾶσσεται τε ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν· ὅποτε γὰρ ἐπ' ἀρχὰς παρέλθοιεν, ἀκουσίως μὲν καὶ κατ' ἀνάγκας, προσχωροῦσι δ' οὖν οἷς ὁ Φαρισαῖος λέγει διὰ τὸ μὴ ἄλλως ἀνεκτοὺς γενέσθαι τοῖς πλήθεσιν.
 18 (5) Ἐσσηνοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν θεῷ καταλείπειν φιλεῖ τὰ πάντα ὁ λόγος, ἀθανατίζουσιν δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς περιμάχητον ἡγούμενοι τοῦ δικαίου τὴν πρόσοδον.¹

¹ πρόσοδον coni. Post.

^a The Sadducees accepted the written but not the oral Law, whereas the Pharisees accepted both. The Sadducees, however, it should be remarked, had their own traditions, as we can see from such passages as Mishnah, *Makkot* i. 6; but these were *gezerot* (decrees) and not based on the oral Law.

^b D. Daube, "Rabbinic Methods of Interpretation and Hellenistic Rhetoric," *Heb. Union Coll. Ann.* xxii, 1949, p. 243, remarks that the Sadducees had evidently taken over from the Hellenistic schools of philosophy the ideal of working out any problems by unfettered argument and counter-argument. But there is no indication of any contact between the Sadducees and the Hellenistic schools; and, in any case, even a cursory examination of the Talmud will reveal that the Pharisees were no whit inferior to the Sadducees in skill of disputation. What Josephus means when he says that the Sadducees are very argumentative is that they, as he puts it in *B.J.* ii. 166, "are, even among themselves, rather boorish in their behaviour, and in their intercourse with their peers are as rude as to aliens."

^c Cf. the remark of the Sadducee to his son in the Babylonian Talmud, *Yoma* 19 b: "My son, although we are Sadducees, we are afraid of the Pharisees." That the wives of the Sadducees followed the Pharisaic rulings with respect to the laws of menstruation is indicated in *Niḏah* 33 b.

^d A much fuller discussion of the Essenes is found in *B.J.*

apart from the laws^a; in fact, they reckon it a virtue to dispute with the teachers of the path of wisdom that they pursue.^b There are but few men to whom this doctrine has been made known, but these are men of the highest standing. They accomplish practically nothing, however. For whenever they assume some office, though they submit unwillingly and perforce, yet submit they do to the formulas of the Pharisees, since otherwise the masses would not tolerate them.^c

(5)^d The doctrine of the Essenes is wont to leave everything in the hands of God. They regard the soul as immortal and believe that they ought to strive especially to draw near to righteousness.^e They

(iii) The Essenes.

ii. 120-161. Most of the points peculiar to the present exposition—the number of the Essenes, their employment in agriculture, their attitude toward sacrifices and slavery, their exclusion from the temple—are also found in Philo, *Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit* 75-91, upon whom Josephus may have drawn. Cf. M. Smith, "The Description of the Essenes in Josephus and the Philosophumena," *Heb. Union Coll. Ann.* xix, 1958, pp. 278-279, and literature cited there.

^e The meaning of *πρόσοδον* presents a problem. Whiston renders the passage thus: "that the rewards of righteousness are to be earnestly striven for." Thackeray, *Selections*, p. 160, also translates "rewards" and in a footnote cites the literal meaning, "revenue." Prof. Post suggests that it may mean "an income" of righteousness; and one is reminded of the list of the ten good deeds (*Shabbat* 127 a) of which, according to Pharisaic doctrine, a man enjoys the fruits in this world, while the stock remains for him for the world to come. But J. Strugnell, "Flavius Josephus and the Essenes: *Antiquities* xviii. 18-22," *Jour. of Bibl. Lit.* lxxxvii, 1958, p. 109, rightly questions such an interpretation since this motive of conduct seems odd for Essene belief. Moreover, the meaning "returns" or "revenues" occurs mostly in the plural, though Thucydides, of whom, as has been noted, Josephus is fond as a model particularly in these later books, does occasionally (ii. 97 and iii. 13) use it in the singular. The

19 εἰς δὲ τὸ ἱερόν ἀναθήματα στέλλοντες θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν¹ διαφορότητι ἀγνεύων, ἃς νομίζοιεν, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ εἰργόμενοι τοῦ κοινοῦ² τεμνίσματος ἐφ' αὐτῶν τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν. βέλτιστοι δὲ ἄλλως

¹ ἐπιτελοῦσι] codd. : οὐκ ἐπιτελοῦσι E : non celebrant Lat.
² κοινοῦ] i. marg. γρ τοῦ κοινοῦ A.

singular is more commonly used in the sense of "approach" or "admission" (cf. Psalm i. 6: ὁδὸν δικαίων, "the way of the righteous"). The phrase should, strictly speaking, be πρόσ-οδον πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον, but here, as Prof. Petersen reminds me, the mere genitive is more easily explained, since the preposition dropped is also part of the compound noun. If Strugnell's hypothesis equating the sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls with the Essenes is correct, the meaning "approach" is further strengthened by the close parallels which he cites (p. 109), 1 QH vii. 14 and 1 QS iv. 21. Another possible interpretation is "the approach of the righteous one," and would refer to the strong Messianic aspirations of the Essenes (cf. also the crucial importance of the "Teacher of Righteousness" in the Dead Sea sect). If we emend to πρόσδορον, the meaning would be "the advance [or "progress"] of righteousness."

^a Though the Epitome and the Latin version have the negative—a reading adopted by E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, ii⁴, 1907, p. 663 n. 50; E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, ii, 1925, p. 397 n. 4; and; M. Friedländer, *Die religiösen Bewegungen innerhalb des Judentums im Zeitalter Jesu*, 1905, p. 156, among others—the manuscripts omit it. Those who insert the negative cite Philo, *Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit* 75, who says that the Essenes "have shown themselves especially devout in the service of God not by offering sacrifices of animals but by resolving to sanctify their minds." As R. Marcus, "Pharisees, Essenes, and Gnostics," *Jour. of Bibl. Lit.* lxxiii, 1954, p. 158, notes, this does not mean that the Essenes disapproved of animal sacrifices; it means merely that this was not central in their pursuit of piety. Strugnell, *op. cit.* p. 114, suggests two possible translations. The first is: "Although the Essenes send ἀναθήματα to the temple, they do not sacrifice [sc. "there," rather than sc. "at all"] because of a difference about the ἀγνεύαι that should be used." The

send votive offerings to the temple, but perform their sacrifices ^a employing a different ritual of purification.^b For this reason they are barred from those precincts of the temple ^c that are frequented by all the people and perform their rites by themselves. Otherwise

alternative version, which he prefers, is the basis of my own. If the Dead Sea sect is to be identified with the Essenes, it is difficult to insert οὐκ, since, as Strugnell remarks (p. 113), the Qumrân texts and archaeological evidence suggest that sacrifice was practised, though we do not know where it took place. It is, moreover, difficult to accept J. M. Baumgarten's suggestion ("Sacrifice and Worship among the Jewish Sectarians of the Dead Sea (Qumrân) Scrolls," *Harv. Theol. Rev.* xlv, 1953, p. 155) that the reference in our passage is to spiritualized sacrifices, since the phrase is never found elsewhere in this sense.

^b Before sundown the Pharisees would render unclean the priest who was to burn the red heifer (Num. xix. 2 ff.) so that the Sadducees might not say that the ceremony could be performed only by those who had waited until sundown before becoming clean (cf. Lev. xxii. 7). Z. Frankel, "Die Essäer nach talmudischen Quellen," *Monatsschr. f. Gesch. u. Wissensch. d. Jud.* ii, 1853, p. 65, says that the Essenes must have followed the Sadduceean point of view; hence they lacked the means of purifying themselves, since the ashes of the red heifer, mixed with water, were utilized for purifying one who had touched a corpse (Num. xix. 11-13). Since they regarded the water of purification that was in use as unclean, they had to seek other means of purification, and hence did not frequent the temple.

^c L. Ginzberg, *Eine unbekannte jüdische Sekte*, Part 1, 1922, pp. 99-100, cites a parallel in the Zadokite sect, the adherents of which found fault with their opponents for not showing sufficient holiness in their attitude toward the holy city of Jerusalem; their first step was to hold themselves aloof from the temple so as not to share in the defilement. S. Zeitlin, "The Essenes," *Hadoar Jubilee Vol.*, 1957 [in Hebrew], p. 49, suggests that the reason why the Essenes did not send sacrifices to the temple was that they protested against the selection of Simon the Hasmonaean as high priest (since he was not of the family of Zadok); but this statement

ἄνδρες¹ τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸ πᾶν πονεῖν ἐπὶ γεωργίᾳ
 20 τετραμμένοι. ἄξιον δ' αὐτῶν θαυμάσαι παρὰ πάν-
 τας τοὺς ἀρετῆς μεταποιοιμένους τότε διὰ τὸ² μη-
 δαμῶς ὑπάρξαν Ἑλλήνων ἢ βαρβάρων τισίν, ἀλλὰ
 μηδ' εἰς ὀλίγον, ἐκείνοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ συνελθόν ἐν
 τῷ³ ἐπιτηδεύεσθαι μὴ κεκωλύσθαι· τὰ χρήματά τε
 κοινά ἐστιν αὐτοῖς,⁴ ἀπολαύει δὲ οὐδὲν ὁ πλούσιος
 τῶν οἰκείων μειζόνως ἢ ὁ μηδ' ὀτιοῦν κεκτημένος·
 καὶ τάδε πράσσοισιν ἄνδρες ὑπὲρ τετρακισχίλιοι
 21 τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες. καὶ οὔτε γαμετὰς εἰσάγονται
 οὔτε δούλων ἐπιτηδεύουσιν κτήσιν, τὸ μὲν εἰς ἀδι-
 κίαν φέρειν ὑπειληφότες, τὸ δὲ στάσεως ἐνδιδόναι
 ποίησιν,⁵ αὐτοὶ δ' ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ζῶντες διακονία⁶ τῇ
 22 ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἐπιχρῶνται. ἀποδέκτας δὲ τῶν προσ-
 ὄδων χειροτονοῦντες καὶ ὅποσα ἢ γῆ φέροι ἄνδρας
 ἀγαθοῦς, ἱερεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ⁷ ποιήσει⁸ σίτου τε καὶ βρω-

¹ AW: om. M Lat.: ἄνδρες (= οἱ ἄνδρες) conl. Post.

² τότε διὰ τὸ] A: τὸ δίκαιον MWE: γρ τὸ δίκαιον μηδαμῶς
 i. marg. A.

³ ἐν τῷ] fort. spuria conl. Niese.

⁴ ἐστιν αὐτοῖς] A: αὐτοῖς ἐστιν MW: αὐτοῖς εἶναι E.

⁵ πρόφασιν Naber.

⁶ διακονία] E: ἐπι διακονία codd.: ἐπιδιακονία conl. Niese.

⁷ δὲ ἐπὶ] E: διὰ MW: τε διὰ A: litt. τε διὰ π i. ras. an-
 gustius m. 2 A. ⁸ E: ποιήσιν codd.

rests on the doubtful identification of the Essenes with the Hasidim of Maccabean times. Our passage, however, speaks of the Essenes as being excluded and not as excluding themselves (εἰργόμενοι is always passive and never middle in Josephus: so R. Marcus, "Pharisees, Essenes, and Gnostics," *Jour. of Bibl. Lit.* lxxiii, 1954, p. 158, and Thackeray-Marcus, *Lexicon to Josephus*, s.v.).

^a The text is difficult. Whiston translates: "It also deserves our admiration, how much they exceed in justice [reading τὸ δίκαιον] all other men that addict themselves to virtue, to such a degree as has never appeared among any

they are of the highest character, devoting themselves solely to agricultural labour. They deserve admiration in contrast to all others who claim their share of virtue because such qualities as theirs were never found before among any Greek or barbarian people, nay, not even briefly, but have been among them in constant practice and never interrupted since they adopted them from of old. Moreover, they hold their possessions in common,^a and the wealthy man receives no more enjoyment from his property than the man who possesses nothing. The men who practise this way of life number more than four thousand.^b They neither bring wives into the community nor do they own slaves, since they believe that the latter practice contributes to injustice and that the former opens the way to a source of dissension.^c Instead they live by themselves and perform menial tasks for one another. They elect by show of hands good men to receive their revenues and the produce of the earth and priests^d to prepare bread and other food.^e Their

other men. . . . This is shown by that institution of theirs, which will not suffer anything to hinder them from having all things in common."

^b The same number is given by Philo, *Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit* 75.

^c Cf. Proverbs xxv. 24: "It is better to dwell in a corner of the housetop than in a house in common with a contentious woman." The depreciation of women is also found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, as indicated by Strugnell, p. 110.

^d Those who see a dual leadership in the Qumrân sect (cf. Strugnell, pp. 110-111), one priestly, the other non-priestly, may discern here a parallel, which, to be sure, depends on adopting the reading of the Epitome (though it may perhaps be deduced from the manuscript A).

^e Variant "good men, priests, to receive their revenues and the produce of the earth and to prepare bread and other food."

μάτων.¹ ζῶσι δὲ οὐδὲν παρηλλαγμένως, ἀλλ' ὅτι μάλιστα ἐμφέροντες² Δακῶν³ τοῖς Κτίσταις⁴ λεγομένοις.⁵

23 (6) Τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ τῶν φιλοσοφιῶν ὁ Γαλιλαῖος Ἰούδας ἡγεμῶν κατέστη,⁶ τὰ μὲν λοιπὰ πάντα γνώμη τῶν Φαρισαίων ὁμολογοῦσι,⁷ δυσίκτητος⁸ δὲ τοῦ ἐλευθέρου ἔρως ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς μόνον ἡγεμόνα καὶ δεσπότην τὸν θεὸν ὑπειληφόσιν. θανάτων τε ιδέας ὑπομένειν παρηλλαγμένας ἐν ὀλίγῳ τίθενται καὶ συγγενῶν τιμωρίας καὶ φίλων ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδένα

¹ προχειρίζονται post βρωμάτων add. E.

² ἐμφέροντες] ἐμφερώς E: ἐμφερεῖς ὄντες Bekker.

³ Δακῶν] i. marg. οὕτως ἔδρον καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις m. 1 A: Σαδδουκαίων Dupont-Sommer: αὐτῶν Carmignac (Vetus Testamentum, vii, 1957, pp. 318-319).

⁴ Ortelius: Πολισταῖς Scaliger: πλειστοῖς codd.

⁵ ἀνδρας . . . λεγομένοις] sacerdotes autem optimos viros eligunt, cibus illis simplex est, habitus insumptuosus et mundus Lat. ⁶ ἢς οἱ τράφημοι ante τὰ add. E.

⁷ codd. E: ὁμολογοῦση Niese.

⁸ δυσίκτητος] Bekker: δυσκίητος codd. E: immobilem immutabilemque Lat.

^a "Founders." The manuscript reading, "from the so-called majority of the Dacians," does not yield sense. Ortelius' brilliant emendation, which is here adopted, is based upon a passage of Posidonius in Strabo vii. 296, which mentions a tribe named the Ctistae who lived without wives. Scaliger's emendation, Πολισταῖς, adopted by Thackeray, *Selections*, p. 160, though close to the manuscript reading, cannot be accepted since this word is rejected by the grammarian Pollux and is nowhere attested in extant Greek writings. It is true that Josephus has just said (§ 20) that righteousness such as the Essenes possess is not to be found among any of the Greeks or the barbarians; but the comparison in § 22 seems to be to such aspects of their life as their avoidance of wives and slaves and their communal sharing of goods. A. Dupont-Sommer, "On a Passage of Josephus Relating to the Essenes (*Antiq.* xviii. 22)," *Jour. of Sem.*

manner of life does not differ at all from that of the so-called Ctistae^a among the Dacians, but is as close to it as could be.

(6) As for the fourth of the philosophies,^b Judas the Galilaean^c set himself up as leader of it. This school agrees in all other respects with the opinions of the Pharisees, except that they have a passion for liberty that is almost unconquerable, since they are convinced that God alone is their leader and master. They think little of submitting to death in unusual forms and permitting vengeance to fall on kinsmen and friends if only they may avoid calling any man

The fourth sect established by Judas the Galilaean.

Stud. i, 1956, pp. 361-366, suggests that the manuscript reading, πλειστοῖς, be kept, since he sees a parallel in the familiar designation of the members of the Qumrân community as *ha-rabim*, "the many" (the Hebrew lacks a superlative form); the meaning would then be that the various Essene groups closely conformed to the Qumrân community, which served as the model for all. The Qumrân sectarians called themselves "sons of Zadok"; and Dupont-Sommer suggests (p. 364) emending Δακῶν to Σαδῶκ, or, preferably, Σαδδουκαίων. The meaning would then be "conforming as much as possible to those of the Sadducees [to be distinguished from the classical Sadducees] who are called the Many." The corruption, however, of Σαδδουκαίων into Δακῶν is palaeographically very difficult to accept.

^b It should be noted that the identification of the Fourth Philosophy with the Zealots, which scholars so often assume, is not found in Josephus here or in the account in *B.J.* iv. 121 ff. So G. F. Moore, in *Harv. Theol. Rev.* xxii, 1929, p. 373.

^c Cf. the Galilaean heretic (Mishnah, *Yadaim* iv. 8: he is called a Sadducee, but S. Lieberman, "Light on the Cave Scrolls from Rabbinic Sources," *Proc. of the Am. Acad. for Jewish Res.* xx, 1951, pp. 401-402, rightly, as we can see from the attitude of the "Sadducee" toward the state, assumes that the word is here used in the generic sense of heretic) who protests against the Pharisaic practice of including the name of the ruler on bills of divorce.

- 24 ἄνθρωπον προσαγορεύειν δεσπότην. ἑωρακόσιν δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς τὸ ἀμετάλλακτον αὐτῶν τῆς ἐπὶ τοιοῦτοις ὑποστάσεως² περαιτέρω διελθεῖν παρέλιπον· οὐ γὰρ δέδοικα μὴ εἰς ἀπιστίαν ὑποληφθῆ τι τῶν λεγομένων ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, τοῦναντίον δὲ μὴ ἐλασσόνως τοῦ ἐκείνων καταφρονήματος δεχομένου τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν τῆς ἀλγηδόνος ὁ λόγος ἀφηγήται.
- 25 ἀνοία τε τῇ ἐντεῦθεν ἤρξατο νοσεῖν τὸ ἔθνος Γεσσίου Φλώρου, ὃς ἡγεμὼν ἦν, τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ ὑβρίζειν ἀπονοήσαντος αὐτοὺς ἀποστήναι Ῥωμαίων. καὶ φιλοσοφεῖται μὲν Ἰουδαίους τοσάδε.
- 26 (ii. 1) Κυρίνιος δὲ τὰ Ἀρχελάου χρήματα ἀποδόμενος ἤδη καὶ τῶν ἀποτιμήσεων πέρας ἔχουσῶν, αἷ ἐγένοντο τριακοστῶ καὶ ἑβδόμῳ ἔτει μετὰ τὴν Ἀντωνίου ἐν Ἀκτίῳ ἦτταν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος, Ἰωάζαρον τὸν ἀρχιερέα καταστασιασθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς πληθύος ἀφελόμενος τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς τιμῆς Ἄνανον τὸν
- 27 Σεθί³ καθίσταται ἀρχιερέα. Ἡρώδης δὲ καὶ Φίλιππος τετραρχίαν ἑκάτερος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρειληφό-

¹ Ernesti: ὑπὸ codd. E.

² ἐνοστάσεως E.

³ A: Σεῖς MW: Σεῖθ ed. pr.: τὸν Σεθί om. Lat.

^a Named procurator of Judaea in 64 or 65 by Nero. For an account of his cruelty and rapacity see *B.J.* ii. 277-279 and *Ant.* xx. 252-258.

^b Augustus'. The census can thus be dated as having taken place in A.D. 6.

^c 2 Sept. 31 B.C. On dating from the Battle of Actium see *B.J.* i. 398, where Josephus dates according to Actiads, the games at Actium that were celebrated every four years.

^d Cf. § 3.

^e High priest from A.D. 6 to 15, when he was deposed by

master. Inasmuch as most people have seen the steadfastness of their resolution amid such circumstances, I may forgo any further account. For I have no fear that anything reported of them will be considered incredible. The danger is, rather, that report may minimize the indifference with which they accept the grinding misery of pain. The folly that ensued began to afflict the nation after Gessius Florus,^a who was governor, had by his overbearing and lawless actions provoked a desperate rebellion against the Romans. Such is the number of the schools of philosophy among the Jews.

(ii. 1) Quirinius had now liquidated the estate of Archelaus; and by this time the registrations of property that took place in the thirty-seventh year after Caesar's^b defeat of Antony at Actium^c were complete. Since the high priest Joazar^d had now been overpowered by a popular faction, Quirinius stripped him of the dignity of his office and installed Ananus^e the son of Seth^f as high priest. ^g Meanwhile, Herod^h and Philip had received and were taking in

the procurator Valerius Gratus (§ 34). He is to be identified with the high priest Annas of the New Testament (Luke iii. 2; John xviii. 13, 24; Acts iv. 6) before whom Jesus was delivered for his first hearing. Five of his sons became high priests (*Ant.* xx. 198), and his son-in-law (so John xviii. 13) Joseph surnamed Caiaphas (Luke iii. 2) likewise attained this office. The family of Ananus was well known for its large size, wealth, and power (so Bab. Talmud, *Pesahim* 57 a; *Tosefta Menahot* xiii. 18). Their greed in particular is bitterly attacked by the Rabbis (*Mishnah Keritot* i. 7), and the family's wealth appears to have been destroyed by the zealots (*Jerus. Peah* ii. 16 c and *Sifre Deut.* xiv. 22). See J. Gutmann, "Ananos," *Ency. Jud.* ii, 1928, pp. 765-766.

^f Sethi in the Greek text.

^g §§ 27-28 are paralleled by *B.J.* ii. 167-168.

^h Herod Antipas.

τες καθίσταντο. και Ἡρώδης Σέπφωριν τειχίσας
 πρόσχημα τοῦ Γαλιλαίου παντὸς ἡγόρευεν¹ αὐτὴν
 Ἀυτοκρατορίδα. Βηθαραμφθᾶ² δέ; πόλις και αὐτὴ
 τυγχάνει, τείχει περιλαβῶν³ Ἰουλιάδα ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτο-
 28 κράτορος προσαγορεύει τῆς γυναικός. Φίλιππος δὲ
 Πανεάδα⁴ τὴν πρὸς ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Ἰορδάνου κατα-
 σκευάσας ὀνομάζει Καισάρειαν, κώμην δὲ Βηθσαῖ-
 δὰ πρὸς λίμνη τῇ Γεννησαρίτιδι πόλεως παρασχῶν
 ἀξίωμα πλήθει τε οἰκητόρων και τῇ ἄλλῃ δυνάμει
 Ἰουλία⁵ θυγατρὶ τῇ Καίσαρος ὀμώνυμον ἐκάλεσεν.
 29 (2) Κωπωνίου δὲ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν διέποντος, ὃν ἔ-
 φην Κυρινίῳ συνεκπεμφθῆναι, τάδε πράσσεται. τῶν
 ἀζύμων τῆς ἑορτῆς ἀγομένης, ἦν πάσχα καλοῦ-
 μεν, ἐκ μέσης νυκτὸς ἐν ἔθει τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἦν

¹ ἦγεν AE: i. marg. γρ ἡγόρευεν A: προσηγόρευεν L. Dindorf: ἡγαγεν MW: ἀνῆκεν Dindorf: appellat Lat.

² Βηθαραμφθᾶ E: Betharamtha Lat.

³ περιβαλῶν E.

⁴ AW: Παναϊάδα A¹M: Paniadam Lat.

⁵ MW: Ἰουλίαν AE.

^a In upper Galilee, probably to be identified with modern *Saffuriyah*. Cf. *Vita* 30 and *passim*. See Schürer ii. 209-213.

^b "Imperial" (city), perhaps "capital" (city). Since *Ἀυτοκράτορ* is the Greek equivalent of *Imperator*, one of Augustus' titles, the name *Ἀυτοκρατορίς* (Latin *Imperatoria*) probably honours Augustus. Otherwise, "he made it autonomous"; but see Schürer ii. 211 n. 496, who rightly remarks that the subsequent history makes it probable that already at that time the rest of Galilee was subordinate to it.

^c Biblical Beth-haram (Josh. xiii. 27), east of the Jordan,

hand their respective tetrarchies. Herod fortified Sepphoris^a to be the ornament of all Galilee, and called it Autocratoris.^b He also threw a wall about another city, Betharamphtha,^c which he called Julias^d after the name of the emperor's wife. Philip too made improvements at Paneas,^e the city near the sources of the Jordan, and called it Caesarea.^f He also raised the village of Bethsaida^g on Lake Gennesaritis^h to the status of city by adding residents and strengthening the fortifications. He named it after Julia, the emperor's daughter.

(2) During the administration of Judaea by Coponius, who, as I have said, had been dispatched with Quirinius, an event occurred which I shall now describe. When the Festival of Unleavened Bread, which we call Passover, was going on, the priests were accustomed to throw open the gates of the tem-

Cities built
by Herod
and Philip.

The
Samaritans
scatter
human
bones in
porticoes of
the temple.

Talmudic Bethramtha, in Eusebius Bethramtha. See Schürer ii. 213-216.

^a On Julia (or Livia), the wife of Augustus, see *Ant.* xvi. 139. Eusebius, *Onom. Sac.* (ed. Larson and Parthey), pp. 112-113, calls the city *Livias*. A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 1937, p. 275, suggests that Herod originally renamed the city *Livias* in honour of Livia, and that later (A.D. 14), when Livia was adopted into the Julian gens, he changed its name to *Julias*. This remained the name in official use during the first century; ultimately it was again replaced by *Livias*.

^b Originally the name of a cave sacred to Pan on a mountain near by.

^c Caesarea Philippi (Matt. xvi. 13, Mark viii. 27), modern *Banias*. Cf. Schürer ii. 204-208.

^d East of the Jordan, slightly north of the Sea of Galilee, perhaps to be identified with the Bethsaida of the New Testament. Schürer ii. 208 notes that since Julia was banished in B.C. 2, the foundation of *Julias-Bethsaida* must have preceded that date.

^e The Sea of Galilee.

30 ἀνοιγνύναι τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοὺς πυλῶνας. καὶ τότε οὖν ἐπεὶ τὸ πρῶτον γίνεται ἡ ἀνοιξις αὐτῶν, ἄνδρες Σαμαρεῖται κρύφα εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐλθόντες διάρρηξιν ἀνθρωπέων ὀστέων ἐν ταῖς στοαῖς καὶ διὰ παντός¹ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἤρξαντο² μὴ πρότερον ἐπὶ τοιούτοις νομίζοντες τά τε ἄλλα διὰ φυλακῆς μείζονος ἤγον τὸ ἱερόν.⁴ καὶ Κωπώνιος μετ' οὐ πολὺ εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπαναχωρεῖ, διάδοχος δ' αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς παραγίνεται Μάρκος Ἀμβιβουλος,⁵ ἐφ' οὗ καὶ Σαλώμη ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡρώδου ἀδελφὴ μεταστάσα Ἰουλίᾳ μὲν Ἰάμνειάν τε καταλείπει καὶ τὴν

¹ καὶ διὰ παντός] διὰ καὶ πάντας Hudson.

² εἴρξαντο Hudson: εἴρξαν Bekker: εἰργάσαντο con. Post.

³ lacunam post ἱεροῦ indicavit Niese ed. min.; post ἤρξαντο indicavi.

⁴ διάρρηξιν . . . ἱερόν] et per templi cunctas porticus et per totum phanum ossa iaciunt mortuorum; et ex illo coepit in templo custodia maior sacerdotibus exerceri Lat.

⁵ con. Niese: Ἀμβιβούλος MW Zon.: Ἀμβιβουδός E (cod. Laur.): om. Lat.: Ἀμβιούσιος Casaubonus ad Baron. p. 205, 1.

^a The five gates of the temple mount (Mishnah *Middot* i. 3). On holidays the people remained on the temple mount and did not enter the temple proper (cf. Bab. *Chagigah* 26 a).

^b Beginning at midnight. Cf. Mishnah *Yoma* i. 8, which states that on all three festivals (Passover, Pentecost, Tabernacles), after the first watch of the evening the priests would begin to prepare the temple for the coming day's service. By the cock's crow, we are told, the temple area was full of people, though we are not told precisely when the gates of the temple were opened. On Passover, the people were busy in their homes eating the paschal lamb, which they had until midnight to consume; hence it would appear that they started to gather in the temple area after midnight.

ple^a after midnight.^b This time, when the gates were first opened, some Samaritans, who had secretly entered Jerusalem, began to scatter human bones in the porticoes and throughout the temple.^c As a result, the priests, although they had previously observed no such custom, excluded everyone from the temple, in addition to taking other measures for the greater protection of the temple.^d Not long afterwards Coponius returned to Rome. His successor in office was Marcus Ambivulus,^f during whose administration Salome, the sister of King Herod, died. To Julia^g she bequeathed Jamnia and its territory, together

Succession of Roman procurators and of high priests.

^c There appears to be a lacuna in the text.

^d The passage, as it stands in the mss., presents difficulties, and a few commentators have suggested that there is a lacuna. J. Carcopino, "Encore le rescrit impérial sur les violations de sépulture," *Rev. hist.* clxvi, 1931, p. 90, in an effort to bring the passage into line with *B.J.* ii. 117, reads: διάρρηξιν . . . ἐν ταῖς στοαῖς ποιοῦνται καὶ διὰ παντός τοῦ ἱεροῦ. καὶ τότε Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς ὀστέα νεκρῶν μετακινήσαντες [correct to μετακινήσαντας?] ἀποκτείνεν ἤρξαντο, i.e., the Romans began to condemn to death those who dispersed the bones. Carcopino would then connect this incident with the Greek inscription, dating from the last years of Augustus or somewhat later, found in Palestine (published by F. Cumont in *Rev. hist.* clxiii, 1930, pp. 241-266). This inscription is an edict against transferring buried bodies to another place, the penalty for violation being death. H. Riesenfeld, "The Resurrection in Ezekiel XXXVII and in the Dura-Europos Paintings," *Uppsala Univ. Arsskrift*, no. 11, 1948, pp. 36-37, noting that the vision of Ezekiel in the valley of dry bones (chap. xxxvii) is the assigned reading from the prophets on [the intermediate Sabbath of] Passover, stresses the Messianic character of the belief in resurrection and its association with Passover.

^e §§ 31-32 are parallel with *B.J.* ii. 167-168.

^f Also spelled "Ambibulus," "Ambivius." Procurator c. A.D. 9-12. Otherwise unknown.

^g Livia, wife of Augustus. See above, § 27.

τοπαρχίαν πάσαν, τὴν τ' ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Φασαηλίδα
καὶ Ἀρχελαΐδα, ἔνθα φοινίκων πλείστη φύτευσις καὶ
32 καρπὸς αὐτῶν ἄριστος. διαδέχεται δὲ καὶ τοῦτον
Ἄννιος¹ Ρούφος, ἐφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ τελευτᾷ Καῖσαρ,
δεύτερος μὲν Ῥωμαίων αυτοκράτωρ γενόμενος ἑπτὰ
δὲ καὶ πενήτην τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτη, πρὸς οἷς μῆνες
ἐξ ἡμέραι δυοῖν πλείονες, τούτου δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ χρόνου
33 ἐβδομηκονταεπτὰ. διαδέχεται δὲ τῷ Καίσαρι τὴν
ἡγεμονίαν Τιβέριος Νέρων γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰουλίας
υἱὸς ὢν, τρίτος ἤδη οὗτος αυτοκράτωρ, καὶ πεμ-
πτὸς² ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παρῆν Ἰουδαίους ἑπαρχὸς διάδοχος
34 Ἀννίῳ Ρούφῳ³ Οὐαλέριος Γράτος· ὃς παύσας ἱερά-
σθαι⁴ Ἀνανοῦ⁵ Ἰσμαήλον ἀρχιερέα ἀποφαίνει τὸν
τοῦ Φαβί,⁶ καὶ τοῦτον δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ μεταστῆσας
Ἐλεάζαρον τὸν Ἀνάου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως υἱὸν ἀπο-
δείκνυσιν ἀρχιερέα. ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ διαγενομένου καὶ
35 νην παραδίδωσιν. οὐ πλείων δὲ καὶ τῷδε ἐνιαυτοῦ
τὴν τιμὴν ἔχοντι διεγένετο χρόνος, καὶ Ἰώσηπος ὁ

¹ Ἄννιος E: Ἄννιος cod. Busb.

² πέμπτος M: quintus Lat.

³ Ἀννίῳ Ρούφῳ A: Ἀννίου Ρούφου MW: Ἀννίου Ρού-
φου E.

⁴ ἀρχιεράσθαι Eus. Dem. Evang.

⁵ Ἄναν Zon.: Ἄνανον Eusebii hist. codd. plerique:
Annan Lat. (cod. A).

⁶ E Eus. Hist. Eccles.: Φαβί A: Φαβῆ M: Iabi Lat.:
Φάβα Eus. Dem.: Βιοβῆ Iosephi Hypom. (Fabricius cod.
Pseudep. Vet. Test.).

⁷ Καθίμου Eus. Dem.: Καθίμου Ios. Hypom. ap. Fabric.

with Phasaëlis, which lay in the plain, and Archelaïs,^a
where palms are planted in very great numbers and
the dates are of the highest quality.^b Ambivulus'
successor was Annius Rufus,^c whose administration
was marked by the death of Caesar,^d the second em-
peror of the Romans, who had ruled for fifty-seven
years, six months, and two days. Antony had shared
authority with him for fourteen years of this period.
He was seventy-seven years old when he died. Cae-
sar's successor in authority was the third emperor,
Tiberius Nero, the son of his wife Julia. He dis-
patched Valerius Gratus^e to succeed Annius Rufus
as procurator over the Jews. Gratus deposed Ananus
from his sacred office, and proclaimed Ishmaël, the son
of Phabi,^f high priest. Not long afterwards he re-
moved him also and appointed in his stead Eleazar,
the son of the high priest Ananus.^g A year later he
deposed him also and entrusted the office of high
priest to Simon, the son of Camith.^h The last-men-
tioned held this position for not more than a year

^a Jamnia was in Philistia along the coast, Phasaëlis and Archelaïs (cf. *Ant.* xvii. 340) in the Jordan valley.

^b Pliny the Elder (*Hist. Nat.* xiii. 44) also mentions the fame of the dates of Archelaïs.

^c Procurator A.D. 12-15. Otherwise unknown.

^d Augustus, whose rule is here reckoned from the death of Julius Caesar in 44 B.C. to his own death in A.D. 14. The period of his reign as given here is about a month too long, as noted in Thackeray's note on the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 168.

^e Procurator A.D. 15-26. Otherwise unknown.

^f High priest A.D. 15-16 but otherwise unknown. Prob-
ably not to be identified with the Ishmael ben Phabi (*Ant.*
xx. 179) who was appointed high priest by Agrippa II in
A.D. 59.

^g High priest A.D. 16-17. Otherwise unknown.

^h High priest A.D. 17-18. Otherwise unknown.

Καϊάφας¹ διάδοχος ἦν αὐτῷ. καὶ Γρᾶτος μὲν ταῦτα πράξας εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπανεχώρει ἕνδεκα ἔτη διατρίψας ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ, Πόντιος δὲ Πιλᾶτος διάδοχος αὐτῷ ἦκεν.

- 36 (3) Ἡρώδης δὲ ὁ τετράρχης, ἐπὶ μέγα γὰρ ἦν τῷ Τιβεριῷ φιλίας προελθών,² οἰκοδομεῖται πόλιν ἐπὶ ὄνυμον αὐτῷ Τιβεριάδα τοῖς κρατίστοις ἐπικτίσας αὐτὴν τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐπὶ λίμνῃ τῇ Γεννησαρίτιδι.³ θερμά τε οὐκ ἄπυθνεν ἔστιν ἐν κώμῃ, Ἀμμαθοῦς⁴ 37 ὄνομα αὐτῇ. σύγκλυδες⁵ δὲ ᾤκισαν,⁶ οὐκ ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ τὸ Γαλιλαῖον ἦν, καὶ ὅσοι μὲν ἐκ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτῷ γῆς ἀναγκαστοὶ καὶ πρὸς βίαν εἰς τὴν κατοικίαν ἀγόμενοι, τινὲς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει. ἐδέξατο δὲ αὐτοῖς συνοίκους καὶ τοὺς πανταχόθεν ἐπισυναγομένους ἄνδρας ἀπόρους, ἔστι δ' οὐδὲ μὴδὲ σαφῶς 38 ἐλευθέρους, πολλὰ τε αὐτοὺς καπὶ πολλοῖς ἠλευθέρωσεν καὶ εὐηργέτησεν ἀνάγκασμα τοῦ μὴ ἀπολείπειν τὴν πόλιν ἐπιθείς, κατασκευαῖς τε οἰκίσεων

¹ Καϊάφας] codd. E Lat. (cf. Ant. xviii. 95 et I. Lévy, ap. Mélanges R. Dussaud ii, 1939, p. 542): καὶ Καϊάφας Eus.

² E: προσελθών codd.: perveniens Lat.

³ AW: Γεννησαρίτιδι ME: Genesar Lat.

⁴ AM: Ἀμμαθοῦς W: Ἀμαθοῦς E: Amathus Lat.

⁵ συνήλυδες L. Dindorf.

⁶ Niese: ᾤκισαν codd. E: i. marg. (ad ᾤκισαν?) ταύτην A.

^a Son-in-law of Ananus. High priest A.D. 18–36. Luke's mention (iii. 2) of both Annas (Ananus) and Caiaphas as high priests has led many commentators to think that Annas was the power behind his son-in-law. He is said to have presided over the Sanhedrin (Matt. xxvi. 57) at the trial of Jesus. He is also mentioned by John (xi. 49, xviii. 13, 24, 28), but not by Mark and Luke, in connexion with Jesus' crucifixion.

^b Or "withdrew," "returned."

and was succeeded by Joseph, who was called Caiaphas.^a After these acts Gratus retired^b to Rome, having stayed eleven years in Judaea. It was Pontius Pilate who came as his successor.^c

(3)^d The tetrarch Herod, inasmuch as he had gained a high place among the friends of Tiberius, had a city built, named after him Tiberias, which he established in the best region of Galilee on Lake Gennesaritis. There is a hot spring not far from it in a village called Ammathus.^e The new settlers were a promiscuous rabble, no small contingent being Galilaean, with such as were drafted from territory subject to him and brought forcibly to the new foundation. Some of these were magistrates. Herod accepted as participants even poor men who were brought in to join the others from any and all places of origin. It was a question whether some were even free beyond cavil. These latter he often and in large bodies liberated and benefited (imposing the condition that they should not quit the city), by equipping houses at his own expense and adding new

Building of Tiberias by Herod the tetrarch.

^c A.D. 26. R. Eisler, *The Messiah Jesus*, 1931, p. 17, rejects this date, asserting, on the basis of the Maximilian *Acta Pilati*, that the crucifixion took place in 21 and that Pilate became procurator about the year 18. This dating is successfully challenged by P. L. Hadley, "Pilate's Arrival in Judaea," *Jour. of Theol. Stud.* xxxv, 1934, pp. 56–57, who, in examining the extant procuratorial coins, notes that the coin-type that emerges in 17–18 is still supreme in 24–25, whereas the coins of the years 29–32 are of an entirely different type, thus indicating, he believes, the advent of a new procurator between 25 and 29.

^d § 36 is parallel with *B.J.* ii. 168.

^e Between Tiberias and Gadara. The name is probably derived from the Hebrew *hamath* (= warm [springs]). It is mentioned several times in the Talmud (*e.g.* *Moed Katan* 18 a) but is not to be confused with Emmaus in Judaea.

τέλεσι τοῖς¹ αὐτοῦ καὶ γῆς ἐπιδόσει,² εἰδὼς παράνομον τὸν οἰκισμὸν ὄντα καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰουδαίους πατρίου διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ μνήμασιν, ἃ πολλὰ τῆδε ἦν, ἀνηρημένους τὴν ἰδρυσιν τῇ Τιβεριάδι γενέσθαι· μισροὺς δὲ ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας εἶναι τοὺς οἰκήτορας ἀγορεύει ἡμῖν τὸ νόμιμον.

39 (4) Τελευτᾷ δὲ καὶ Φραάτης ὁ Παρθυαίων βασιλεὺς κατὰ ταῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐπιβουλῆς αὐτῷ γενομένης ὑπὸ Φραατάκου³ τοῦ υἱέος κατὰ τοιαύτην
40 αἰτίαν. Φραάτης παίδων αὐτῷ γενομένων γνησίων Ἰταλικῆς παιδίσκης (ἤρα),⁴ ὄνομα αὐτῇ Θεσμούσα.⁵ ταύτη ὑπὸ Ἰουλίου⁶ Καίσαρος μετ' ἄλλων δωρεῶν ἀπεσταλμένη τὸ μὲν πρῶτον παλλακίδι ἐχρήτο, καταπλαγείς δὲ⁷ τῷ πολλῷ τῆς εὐμορφίας προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου καὶ παιδὸς αὐτῇ τοῦ Φραατάκου⁸

¹ τέλεσι τοῖς] Bekker: τελείας τῆς codd.: ex (propriis) oribus Lat.

² Bekker: ἀποδόσει codd. E.

³ A: Φραατάκτου MW: Φραάτου cod. Busb. E: fratre cod. Alat.

⁴ conl. Petersen.

⁵ A: Θερμούσα MW: Θεὰ Μοῦσα Gutschmid: Φορμούσα (= Formosa) Naber: Θέλπουσα conl. Petersen.

⁶ Σεβαστοῦ Bucherius: τοῦ νέου Gutschmid.

⁷ δὲ post προϊόντος ponunt Richards et Shutt (Class. Quart. xxxi, 1937, p. 176).

⁸ τοῦ Φραατάκου] A: Φραατάκτου MW: ἐκ Φραάτου E: Fraatre Lat.: ἐκ <Φραάτου> Φραατάκτου Nicklin (Class. Rev. xxvii, 1913, p. 264): [ἐκ] Φραατάκου Mathieu-Herrmann.

^a Num. xix. 11-16.

^b Why does Josephus devote so much space to Parthian affairs? One major reason seems to be the size and importance of the Jewish community of Babylonia, which was (§ 313) subject to the Parthians. Thus the account of the

gifts of land. For he knew that this settlement was contrary to the law and tradition of the Jews because Tiberias was built on the site of tombs that had been obliterated, of which there were many there. And our law^a declares that such settlers are unclean for seven days.

(4)^b In the interval occurred the death of Phraates, Story of Phraataces and Thesmusa. the king of the Parthians.^c He was the victim of a scheme promoted by his son Phraataces, whose motive sprang from the following circumstance.^d Phraates, who already had legitimate children, was in love with^e a young Italian slave girl named Thesmusa,^f who had been sent to him along with other gifts by Julius Caesar.^g At first he treated her as a concubine, but he was so smitten by her abundant charm of face and figure that with time, after she had borne a son

dynastic troubles of the Parthians culminates in the assumption of the kingship by Artabanus III (§ 48), who plays a prominent role (§§ 325 ff.) in the story of the two daring Jewish brothers, Asinaeus and Anilaeus, who established an independent state in Babylonia.

^c On Josephus' reliability as a source for Parthian history see N. C. Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia*, 1938, p. xxix, who notes how often Josephus' account has been confirmed from numismatic or other written sources; and E. Täubler, *Die Parthernachrichten bei Josephus*, 1904.

^d Cf. Dio Cass. lv. 10a. 4.

^e Something like "was living with" or "fell in love with" is required by the context, but the Greek text appears to have a lacuna.

^f After Thesmusa became queen, her name, as the coins attest (see P. Gardner, *Parthian Coinage*, 1887, p. 46) was changed to Thea Musa. But since she is introduced not as the queen but as the royal concubine, her name would hardly be expected to bear the epithet "goddess." In § 42 the unanimous tradition of the mss. is in favour of Thesmusa, and this seems preferable here as well.

^g Augustus.

γενομένου γαμετήν τε τὴν ἀνθρωπον ἀποφαίνεται
 41 καὶ τιμίαν ἦγεν.¹ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν² οἷς εἵποι πιθανὴ τῷ
 βασιλεῖ γεγονυῖα καὶ σπεύδουσα τῷ παιδί τῷ αὐτῆς
 γενέσθαι τὴν Πάρθων ἡγεμονίαν ἑώρα μὴ ἄλλως
 γενησομένην μὴ ἀποσκευῆς αὐτῇ μηχανηθείσης τῶν
 42 γνησίων τοῦ Φραάτου παίδων. πείθει οὖν αὐτὸν
 ἐκπέμπειν εἰς Ῥώμην ἐφ' ὀμηρεῖα³ τοὺς γνησίους
 παῖδας. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν, οὐ γὰρ ἀντειπεῖν εὐπορον
 Φραάτῃ τοῖς Θεσμύουσι ἐπιτάγμασιν, ἐπὶ τῆς
 Ῥώμης ἐξεπέμποντο. Φραατάκης δὲ μόνος ἐπὶ
 τοῖς πράγμασι τρεφόμενος δεινὸν ἡγεῖτο καὶ ἅμα
 χρόνιον τοῦ πατρὸς διδόντος τὴν ἀρχὴν λαμβάνειν,
 ὥστε ἐπεβούλευε τῷ πατρὶ συμπράξει τῆς μητρός,
 43 ἢ δὴ καὶ συνιέναι λόγος εἶχεν αὐτόν. καὶ δι' ἀμφο-
 τερα μισηθεὶς οὐδὲν ἡσούσως τῆς πατροκτονίας τὸ
 μύσος τοῦ⁴ μητρός ἔρωτος⁵ τιθεμένων τῶν ὑπηκόων,
 ἵστασει περιελαθεὶς πρότερον ἢ φῦναι μέγας ἐξέπεσε

¹ ἦγεν] ἦγεν. ἢ δὲ Dindorf.

² πᾶσιν] codd.: πᾶσι δ' E.

³ Gutschmid: ὀμηρεῖαν codd. E.

⁴ τοῦ] codd.: τοῦ τῆς E: τὸν τῆς Bekker: τοῖς Gutschmid.

⁵ ἔρωτα Bekker: ἔρωτας Gutschmid.

^a The reading ἐκ Φραάτου is a gloss (so H. Van Herwerden, "Commentationes Flavianaë Duac," *Mnemosyne*, xxi, 1893, p. 232). Debevoise, p. 143 n. 2, identifies Phraataces as probably the Aphrahat the son of Aphrahat who ruled over Seleucia and Ctesiphon of Beth Aramaya, as stated by Mar Mari in *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, ed. P. Bedjan, i, 1890, 68, § 7.

^b Other reasons why Phraates dispatched his four legitimate sons to Rome were to be pledges of friendship (so Augustus, *Res Gestae* 32; Vell. Pat. ii. 94; Suet. *Aug.* 21; Tac. *Ann.* ii. 1) and to prevent his being deposed, since he realized that no revolution could gain the backing of the

Phraataces,^a he declared this wench to be his wedded wife and held her in honour. When she reached the point where the king concurred in anything that she proposed, she, eager to procure for her son the rule over the Parthians but realizing that this could happen only if she could first contrive to get rid of the legitimate children of Phraates, persuaded him to send his legitimate children away to Rome as hostages. And so they were sent off to Rome, inasmuch as Phraates did not find it easy to gainsay the dictates of Thesmus.^b But Phraataces, who alone was being groomed for the throne, considered it an unsafe as well as a tedious proceeding to receive the throne by his father's award. Hence he plotted against his father with the assistance of his mother, with whom, indeed, according to report, he also had sexual relations.^c He was detested on both counts, for his subjects considered the incest with his mother no less abominable than the murder of his father, so that before he gathered much strength he was caught up

Parthians unless it were allied with an Arsacid (so Strabo xvi. 748; Tac. *Ann.* ii. 1).

^c Starting in A.D. 2 Thesmus appears on Parthian coins together with Phraataces. Debevoise, p. 149, sees a possible connexion between the marriage of Phraataces and Thesmus and other changes then taking place in Zoroastrianism, whereby customs long confined solely to the Magi (next-of-kin marriages was one of these) were being extended to the people generally. But this conjecture is doubtful since the reaction of the Parthians to this incident is one of horror. H. Lewy, "The Genesis of the Faulty Persian Chronology," *Jour. of the Am. Orient. Soc.* lxi, 1944, p. 211 n. 132, compares the story of the marriage of Phraataces and Thesmus with the account of the marriage of Darius I (a more distant relative, to be sure, of his predecessor Cambyses) to Cambyses' sister-wife Atossa and her sister Artystone (Herodotus iii. 88, vii. 69 and 72).

44 τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ οὕτως θνήσκει. συμφρονήσαντες δὲ οἱ γενναιότατοι Πάρθων, ὡς ἀβασιλεύτους μὲν ἀμήχανον πολιτεύεσθαι, δέοι δὲ βασιλεύοντος¹ ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν Ἀρσακιδῶν, οὐ γὰρ ἑτέροις ἄρχειν νόμιμον, ἀπέχρη δὲ πολλάκις καὶ μέχρι νῦν περιωβρίσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκ τε γάμων τῆς Ἰταλικῆς παλλακίδος καὶ γενέσεων, Ὀρώδην² ἐκάλουν πρεσβεύσαντες ὄντ'³ ἄλλως μὲν ἐπίφθονον τῷ πλήθει καὶ ὑπαίτιον καθ' ὑπερβολὰς ὠμότητος, πάνυ γὰρ ἦν σκαιὸς καὶ δυσδιάθετος εἰς ὀργήν, ἔνα
45 δὲ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γένους. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ συστάτες ἀποκτείνουσιν, ὡς μὲν ἔνοιό φασιν, ἐν σπονδαῖς καταπέζαις, μαχαιοφορεῖν γὰρ ἔθος ἅπασιν, ὡς δ' ὁ πλείων κατέχει λόγος, εἰς θήραν προαγαγόντες.
46 πρεσβεύσαντες δὲ εἰς Ῥώμην ἤτοῦντο βασιλέα τῶν ὀμηρευόντων, καὶ πέμπεται Βονώνης προκριθεὶς τῶν ἀδελφῶν· ἐδόκει γὰρ χωρεῖν τὴν τύχην, ἣν αὐτῷ δύο μέγισται τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον ἡγεμονίαι
47 προσέφερον, ἰδία καὶ ἀλλοτρία. ταχεῖα δ' ἀνατροπὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ὑπέσιν ἅτε καὶ φύσει σφαλεροῦς ὄντας πρὸς τε τὴν ἀναξιοπάθειαν, ἀνδραπόδω γὰρ ἀλλοτρίω⁴ ποιήσῃ τὸ προστασόμενον οὐκ ἤξιον,⁵

¹ δέοι δὲ βασιλεύοντος] Gutschmid: οἱ δὲ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος codd.: οἱ δὲ βασιλεύοντες ed. gr.

² M: Ὀρώδην, Ὁ i. ras. A: Ὀρώδην W: Ἡρώδην E. Lat. ³ ὄντ'] Dindorf: εἰς δάν A: ἦν (ἦν W) δ' ἂν MW: ἦν δ' E: εἰς Δάας Gutschmid.

⁴ ἀνδραπόδω γὰρ ἀλλοτρίω] Niese: ἀνδραπόδων γὰρ ἀλλοτρίων codd.

⁵ οὐκ ἤξιον] Hudson: ἤξιον codd.: ἀπηξίον Cocceji.

^a A. D. 4. Cf. P. Gardner, *Parthian Coinage*, p. 46. Au-

in a civil war, banished from the throne, and so died.^a Those of the Parthians who were of the highest birth were of one mind that no form of government but the monarchical was manageable, and that it was necessary that the occupant of the throne should belong to the lineage of the Arsacidae, since custom did not permit others to rule. But they had had enough, over and over again till now, of the upstart degradation to which the throne had been subjected by the marriage with the Italian concubine and by her offspring. The elders therefore sent envoys and offered the throne to Orodes, who, though the populace had no friendly eye for him among other reasons because he had some responsibility for acts of extreme cruelty, being indeed utterly gauche and viciously prone to anger, was still a member of this family. He, however, was slain^b by a concerted attack, according to one version, amidst drinking and feasting,^c for it is customary for everyone to carry a sword at such affairs. But according to the generally received account, they lured him into a hunting party. When they sent envoys to Rome and asked release of one of the hostages as their king, Vonones was chosen in preference to his brothers and was sent. For he seemed to be worthy of the lot that was conferred upon him by the two greatest empires under the sun, one his own, one foreign. But a speedy reversal of sentiment began to affect the barbarians, for they are by nature fickle, when they saw the indignity that they must swallow; for they would not brook obedience to one who had been a slave to a foreigner—a gustus' *Res Gestae* 32 records the fact that Phraataces (there called Phraates) fled as a suppliant to the Romans.

^b C. A. D. 6 (so Debevoise, p. 151).

^c Or "as he was making libations at table."

Parthian
civil war
between
Vonones
and
Artabanus.

τὴν ὀμηρείαν ἀντὶ δουλείας ὀνομάζοντες,¹ καὶ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως τὴν ἀδοξίαν². οὐ γὰρ [ἄν]³ πολέμου δικαίῳ δεδῶσθαι τὸν βασιλεύοντα Πάρθοις, ἀλλά, ὃ
 48 τῷ παντὶ χεῖρον, εἰρήνης ὕβρει. παραχρῆμα δ' ἐκάλουν Ἀρτάβανον Μηδίας βασιλεύοντα γένος Ἀρσακίδην· πείθεται δ' Ἀρτάβανος καὶ μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπεισιν. ὑπαντιάζει δ' αὐτῷ Βονώνης· καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον συμφρονήσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Πάρθων παραταξάμενος νικᾷ, καὶ φεύγει πρὸς τοὺς
 49 ὄρους τῆς Μηδίας Ἀρτάβανος. μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ συναγαγὼν⁴ συμβάλλει τε Βονώνῃ καὶ νικᾷ, καὶ Βονώνης εἰς Σελεύκειαν ἀφιππάζεται σὺν ὀλίγοις τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν. Ἀρτάβανος δὲ πολὺν τῇ τροπῇ φόνον ἐργασάμενος ὑπὲρ ἐκπλήξεως τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς Κτησιφῶντα μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἀναχωρεῖ.
 50 κάκεινος μὲν ἐβασίλευεν ἤδη Πάρθοις, Βονώνης δ' εἰς Ἀρμενίαν διαπίπτει, καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἐφίετο

¹ νομίζοντες Gutschmid.

² πρὸς τε . . . ἀδοξίαν] mansuetudinem eius coeperunt contemnere indignos putantes, ut servo subicerentur alieno; nam obsidatum servitutem esse definiebant Lat.

³ ἄν] spurium putat Niese: vñ Gutschmid.

⁴ συναγαγὼν] congregans etiam ipse magnas turmas exercitus Lat.: συναγαγὼν στρατιᾶν E.

^a Variant "regarding the position of a hostage as tantamount to servitude."

^b Or "indignant at the disgrace of having appealed to Rome."

^c Tac. *Ann.* ii. 2 cites additional reasons for the dislike which the Parthians bore for Vonones, namely, his lack of interest in hunting, horses, and Parthian festivals, his use of a litter of Greek attendants, and the ease with which he could be approached.

term they used instead of hostage^a—nor could they bear the opprobrium conveyed by the epithet.^b For, they said, it was not by the verdict of war that he had been granted to the Parthians as a king but, far worse, by a peacetime offence to their dignity.^c Straightway they summoned to the kingship Artabanus, king of Media,^d of the family of the Arsacidae. Artabanus consented and advanced with an army. Vonones went to meet him; and at first, since the majority of the Parthians were loyal to Vonones,^e he was victorious in a pitched battle, and Artabanus fled to the borders of Media. Not long afterwards Artabanus, having gathered together his forces, engaged and defeated Vonones, who rode off with a small body of followers to Seleucia.^f Artabanus, who, in order to intimidate the barbarians, had wrought much slaughter during the rout, withdrew with the majority of his troops to Ctesiphon.^g Artabanus now ruled the Parthians, while Vonones escaped to Armenia.^h Vonones' original design was to possess that territory, and so he sent an embassy

^a Artabanus III, king of Atropatene (modern Azerbaijan). W. Schur, *Orientalpolitik des Kaisers Nero*, 1923, pp. 70 ff., on the basis of Tacitus' account, questions Josephus' accuracy in stating that Artabanus was king of Media.

^b Or "although the majority of the Parthians were loyal to Artabanus."

^c A city on the west bank of the Tigris, founded by Seleucus Nicator, somewhat south of the modern city of Baghdad. Cf. §§ 372 ff.

^d On the Tigris near Seleucia and north-east of Babylon. It is about sixteen miles below modern Baghdad and is the site of modern *Taki Kesre*.

^e Armenia was at this time without a king after having been governed by a succession of rulers (the last of whom was a woman, Erato), most of whom had been deposed after brief reigns. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 3-4 and Aug. *Res Gestae* 27.

- 51 τῆς χώρας καὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπρέσβευεν. ὡς δ' αὐτῷ Τιβέριος μὲν ἀπέπειν πρὸς τε τὴν ἀνανδρίαν καὶ τοῦ Πάρθου τὰς ἀπειλάς, ἀναπρεσβεύει¹ γὰρ δὴ πόλεμον ἀνατεινόμενος, μηχανὴ δ' ἦν ἑτέρα² βασιλείας οὐδεμία, καὶ γὰρ οἱ περὶ Νιφάτην δυνατοὶ
- 52 τῶν Ἀρμενίων Ἀρταβάνω προστίθενται, παραδίδωσι αὐτὸν Σιλανῷ τῷ τῆς Συρίας στρατηγῷ. κἀκείνος μὲν κατὰ αἰδῶ τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ κομιδῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ παρεφυλάσσετο· τὴν δὲ Ἀρμενίαν Ὀρώδη³ δίδωσι· Ἀρτάβανος ἐνὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παιδῶν.
- 53 (5) Ἐτελεύτησεν δὲ καὶ ὁ τῆς Κομμαγενῆς βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος, διέστη δὲ τὸ πλῆθος πρὸς τοὺς γνωρίμους καὶ πρεσβεύουσιν ἀφ' ἑκατέρου μέρους, οἱ μὲν δυνατοὶ μεταβάλλειν τὸ σχῆμα τῆς πολιτείας εἰς ἐπαρχίαν ἀξιοῦντες, τὸ πλῆθος δὲ βασιλεύεσθαι
- 54 κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. καὶ ψηφίζεται ἡ σύγκλητος Γερμανικὸν πέμπειν διορθώσοντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολήν,

¹ ἀντιπρεσβεύει Gutschmid.² WE: ἑτέρας AM.³ AM: Ὀρώδη W: Herodi Lat.^a Variant "having no means of finding another kingdom."^b A group of mountains in Armenia belonging to the Masius (modern *Karadzeh-Dag*) branch of the Taurus chain, close to modern *Tür Abdin*. Cf. G. Boettger, *Topographisches-historisches Lexicon zu den Schriften des Flavius Josephus*, 1879, pp. 193-194. It is possible, however, that Niphates is the name of an otherwise unknown Armenian leader and that we should translate: "Niphates with his group of Armenian grandees."^c Vonones did secure the Armenian throne but abdicated in A.D. 15 or 16. According to Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 4, it is not that Vonones surrendered himself, but rather that Creticus Silanus sent for him and kept him under surveillance, allowing him to keep his royal pomp and title.

to the Romans to ask for it. But Tiberius, in view of the man's cowardice and the menace of the Parthian king, for the latter had in fact countered with his own envoys and a threat of war, refused his request. Having no alternative means to secure the throne,^a since the Armenian grandees who dwelt around the Niphates^b had joined forces with Artabanus, Vonones threw himself on the mercy of Silanus the governor of Syria.^c Vonones was safeguarded in Syria in deference to his education in Rome,^d while; Artabanus gave Armenia to Orodes, one of his own sons.^e

(5) Now Antiochus, king of Commagene,^f died; and there arose a conflict between the masses and the men of note. Both factions sent embassies, the men of substance requesting reconstitution of the state as a Roman province, while the masses supported the monarchical tradition of their ancestors.^g The senate voted to send Germanicus to effect needed reforms in the East. Fortune contrived to

Death of Germanicus.

^a For references to Vonones' life after this incident see Tac. *Ann.* ii. 58 and 68 and Suet. *Tib.* 49.^b Some scholars (see *Prosopog. Imp. Rom.* i². 1155 [pp. 229-230] and ii. 102 [p. 439]) have conjectured that this statement has been misplaced and that it actually refers to A.D. 35, when Artabanus sent his son Orodes to seize Armenia. But E. Täubler, *Die Parthernachrichten bei Josephus*, pp. 9-10, disputes this on numismatic grounds. Orodes seems to have lasted from 15 or 16 to 18, when Germanicus, finding that the Armenians were ready to accept Zeno of Pontus, who had grown up among the Armenians, as their king, crowned him under the name of Artaxias. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 56, Suet. *Gaius* 1, Strabo xii. 555.^f On Commagene see note on *B.J.* v. 461.^g Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 42, also notes the division of opinion in Commagene, remarking that a majority desired Roman rule, while some preferred the continued rule of their own kings.

πραγματευομένης αὐτῷ τῆς τύχης εὐκαιρίαν τοῦ θανάτου· καὶ γὰρ γενόμενος κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολήν καὶ πάντα διορθώσας ἀνηρέθη φαρμάκῳ ὑπὸ Πείσωνος, καθὼς ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται.

55 (iii. 1) Πιλᾶτος δὲ ὁ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἡγεμὼν στρατιῶν ἐκ Καισαρείας ἀγαγὼν καὶ μεθιδρύσας χειμαδιούσαν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῶν νομίμων¹ τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἐφρόνησε, προτομὰς Καίσαρος, αἱ ταῖς σημαίαις² προσῆσαν, εἰσαγόμενος εἰς τὴν πόλιν, εἰκόνων ποίησιν ἀπαγορεύοντος ἡμῖν τοῦ νόμου. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἱ πρότερον ἡγεμόνες ταῖς

¹ A: νόμων MWE.

² ταῖς σημαίαις] E: τοῖς σημείοις codd.: signis militaribus Lat.

^a A.D. 19.

^b For Germanicus' mission in the East see also Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 43, who notes that the senatorial decree gave Germanicus power to supersede provincial governors. The story of Piso's hostility for Germanicus is told at length by Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 43 ff. Tacitus does not say directly that Piso poisoned Germanicus, but in his typical fashion he implies it strongly (*Ann.* ii. 69).

^c §§ 55-62 are parallel with *B.J.* ii. 169-177.

^d E. M. Smallwood, "Some Notes on the Jews under Tiberius," *Latomus* xv, 1956, p. 327, suggests that Pilate's provocative behaviour in the incidents of the emperor's busts and the building of the aqueduct was inspired by the anti-Jewish policy followed by Tiberius' closest adviser, Sejanus, just before his death in A.D. 31 (see Philo, *In Flacc.* 1 and *Leg. ad Gaium* 159-161).

^e The likeliest date for this episode, which is the first mentioned in the account of Pilate in both the *B.J.* and the *Ant.*, is A.D. 26, the first year of Pilate's procuratorship.

^f These must be the *signa*, which often had the embossed likeness of the emperor upon them. C. H. Kraeling, whose article, "The Episode of the Roman Standards at Jerusalem," *Harv. Theol. Rev.* xxxv, 1942, pp. 263-289, should

make this a fit occasion for his death^a; for when he had reached the East and had completed his reforms, he was removed by poison for which Piso was responsible, as other writers have explained.^b

(iii. 1) ^c Now Pilate,^d the procurator of Judaea, when he brought his army from Caesarea and removed it to winter quarters in Jerusalem,^e took a bold step in subversion of the Jewish practices, by introducing into the city the busts of the emperor that were attached to the military standards,^f for our law^g forbids the making of images.^h It was for this reason

Pilate introduces busts of the emperor into Jerusalem but has to remove them.

be consulted for this incident, thinks that they may also be *uvilla*; but this is unlikely, since the latter did not have embossed figures, and Josephus' word, *προτομὰς*, refers to embossed figures.

^a Ex. xx. 4, Deut. iv. 16.

^b What did the Jews find offensive in these images? Kraeling, *op. cit.* p. 275, thinks that the objection may have been to the religious significance of the standards of the Roman army, which were regarded as *numina* and kept in special shrines. (For examples of the veneration of the standards see A. D. Nock, "The Roman Army and the Roman Religious Year," *Harv. Theol. Rev.* xlv, 1952, p. 239.) But if so, why had the Jews not objected previously to the aniconic standards? To be sure, Philo (*Leg. ad Gaium* 299-305) does mention Jewish objections to certain aniconic votive shields set up in honour of the emperor by Pilate later in his term of office in the palace of Herod at Jerusalem. Kraeling, p. 280, suggests that the real objection may have been to the introduction of the iconic images into the Antonia (*cf. Ant.* xviii. 90-95), where it would have constituted a particularly flagrant violation of the law against images, since the worship of the emperor's image would have compromised the sanctity of the priestly garments which were stored there. But there is no indication in Josephus' account that the images were brought into the Antonia, though admittedly the Antonia, as a fortress, was in an excellent position for military control of the city; and there is similarly no basis to Kraeling's conjecture (p. 281) that the Jews demanded

μη μετα τω̄νδε κόσμων σημαίαις ἐποιοῦντο εἴσοδον
 τῇ πόλει. πρῶτος δὲ Πιλᾶτος ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώ-
 πων διὰ τὸ νύκτωρ γενέσθαι τὴν εἴσοδον ἰδρύεται
 57 τὰς εἰκόνας φέρων εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ
 ἔγνωσαν κατὰ πληθὺν παρήσαν εἰς Καισάρειαν
 ἰκετεῖαν ποιούμενοι ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ μετα-
 θέσει τῶν εἰκόνων. καὶ μὴ συγχωροῦντος διὰ τὸ
 εἰς ὕβριν Καισάρι φέρειν, ἐπέειπερ οὐκ ἔξανεχώρου
 λιπαρεῖν κατὰ ἕκτην ἡμέραν ἐν ὄπλοις ἀφανῶς ἐπι-
 καθίσας τὸ στρατιωτικὸν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἤκεν.
 τὸ δ' ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ κατεσκεύαστο, ὅπερ¹ ἀπέκρυπτε
 58 τὸν ἐφεδρεύοντα στρατόν. πάλιν δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων
 ἰκετεία χρωμένων ἀπὸ συνθήματος περιστήσας τοὺς
 στρατιώτας ἠπείλει θάνατον ἐπιθήσειν ζημίαν ἐκ
 τοῦ δξέος, εἰ μὴ παυσάμενοι θορυβεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰ-
 59 κεία ἀπίοιεν. οἱ δὲ πρηγεῖς ῥύψαντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ
 γυμνοῦντες τὰς σφαγὰς ἠδονῇ δέξασθαι² τὸν θάνα-
 τον ἔλεγον ἢ τολμήσειν τὴν σοφίαν παραβήσεσθαι
 τῶν νόμων. καὶ Πιλᾶτος θαυμάσας τὸ ἔχυρόν³
 αὐτῶν ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν νόμων παραχρήμα τὰς εἰ-

¹ ὅπου vel ὅπερ conji. Niese.

² δέξασθαι ed. pr.

³ A : ὄχυρόν MWE.

the removal not only of the iconic but also of the aniconic objects. According to *B.J.* ii. 170, the objection is to the violation of the Jewish law which prohibits an image from being erected in the city of Jerusalem. There is no special law concerning images applicable to Jerusalem; yet the

that the previous procurators, when they entered the city, used standards that had no such ornaments Pilate was the first to bring the images into Jerusalem^a and set them up, doing it without the knowledge of the people, for he entered at night. But when the people discovered it, they went in a throng to Caesarea and for many days entreated him to take away the images. He refused to yield, since to do so would be an outrage to the emperor; however, since they did not cease entreating him, on the sixth day he secretly armed and placed his troops in position, while he himself came to the speaker's stand. This had been constructed in the stadium, which provided concealment for the army^b that lay in wait. When the Jews again engaged in supplication, at a pre-arranged signal he surrounded them with his soldiers and threatened to punish them at once with death if they did not put an end to their tumult and return to their own places. But they, casting themselves prostrate and baring their throats, declared that they had gladly welcomed death rather than make bold to transgress the wise provisions of the laws. Pilate, astonished at the strength of their devotion to the laws, straightway removed the

Jews must have felt the violation more keenly because of the holiness of the city. The simplest explanation is that the Jews objected to the violation of the law against the making of an iconic figure of a man (*cf. Abodah Zarah 47 b*). *Cf. E. Bevan, Holy Images, 1940, pp. 48-63; E. R. Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period, iv, 1954, pp. 11-24; and C. Roth, "An Ordinance against Images in Jerusalem, A.D. 66," Harv. Theol. Rev. xlix, 1956, pp. 169-177.*

^a Philo, as cited by Euseb. *Dem. Evang.* viii. 2. 123, remarks that it was in the temple that Pilate set up the standards (*σημαῖαι*) at night.

^b Variant "where he had concealed the army."

κόνας ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπανεκόμισεν εἰς Καισάρειαν.

- 60 (2) Ὑδάτων δὲ ἐπαγωγὴν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἔπραξεν δαπάνη τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων ἐκλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ρεύματος ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων διακοσίων,¹ οἱ δ' οὐκ ἠγάπων τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸ ὕδωρ δρωμένοις πολλαὶ τε μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων συνελθόντες κατεβόντων αὐτοῦ παύσασθαι τοῦ ἐπὶ τοιοῦτοις προθυμωμένου, τινὲς δὲ καὶ λοιδορίᾳ χρώμενοι ὕβριζον εἰς
- 61 τὸν ἄνδρα, οἷα δὴ φιλεῖ πράσσειν ὄμιλος. ὁ δὲ στολῆ ἐκείνων πολὺ πλῆθος στρατιωτῶν ἀμπεχόμενον, οἱ ἐφέροντο σκυτάλας ὑπὸ ταῖς στολαῖς, διαπέμφιας εἰς ὃ περιέλθοιεν αὐτούς, αὐτὸς ἐκέλευσεν ἀναχωρεῖν. τῶν δὲ ὠρμηκότων εἰς τὸ λοιδορεῖν ἀποδίδωσι τοῖς στρατιώταις ὃ προσυνέκειτο σημεῖον.
- 62 οἱ δὲ καὶ πολὺ μειζόνως ἤπερ ἐπέταξεν Πιλάτος ἐχρῶντο πληγαῖς τοὺς τε θορυβοῦντας ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ μὴ κολάζοντες. οἱ δ'² εἰσεφέροντο μαλακὸν οὐδέν, ὥστε ἄοπλοι ληφθέντες ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἐπιφερομένων πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν ταύτῃ καὶ ἀπέθνησκον, οἱ δὲ καὶ τραυματῖαι ἀνεχώρησαν. καὶ οὕτω παύεται ἡ στάσις.

¹ τετρακοσίων B.J. ii. 175.

² οἱ δ'] aut omittendum aut οὐδ' scribendum con. Niese.

^a *Megillat Taanit* xviii reads: "On the third of Kislev the ensigns were removed from the [temple?] court." S. Zeitlin, *Megillat Taanit*, 1922, p. 87, sees in this statement a reference to Pilate's removal of the standards from Jerusalem.

^b In the parallel passage, B.J. ii. 175, Josephus says that Pilate drew upon "the sacred treasure known as *Corbonas*."

images from Jerusalem and brought them back to Caesarea.^a

(2) He spent money from the sacred treasury ^b in the construction of an aqueduct to bring water into Jerusalem, intercepting the source of the stream at a distance of 200 furlongs.^c The Jews did not acquiesce in the operations that this involved; and tens of thousands of men assembled and cried out against him, bidding him relinquish his promotion of such designs. Some too even hurled insults and abuse of the sort that a throng will commonly engage in. He thereupon ordered a large number of soldiers to be dressed in Jewish garments, under which they carried clubs, and he sent them off this way and that, thus surrounding the Jews, whom he ordered to withdraw. When the Jews were in full torrent of abuse he gave his soldiers the prearranged signal. They, however, inflicted much harder blows than Pilate had ordered, punishing alike both those who were rioting and those who were not. But the Jews showed no faint-heartedness; and so, caught unarmed,^d as they were, by men delivering a prepared attack, many of them actually were slain on the spot, while some withdrew disabled by blows. Thus ended the uprising.

Pilate uses money belonging to the temple for an aqueduct.

Thackeray, in his note, fails to realize that *Corbonas* is the Hebrew word for sacrifices, and that the Jews were outraged because Pilate was expropriating for his own secular purposes the shekalim which had been contributed by Jews everywhere for the purchase of sacrificial animals (see *Mishnah Shekalim* iii. 2).

^c About twenty-three miles. According to B.J. ii. 175, the distance was twice as great.

^d According to Niese's conjecture, the meaning would be "punishing alike both those who were rioting and those who were not and showing no weakness towards them, so that caught unarmed. . . ."

63 (3) Γίνεται δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἰησοῦς¹ σοφὸς ἀνὴρ, εἶπε ἀνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρῆ· ἦν γὰρ παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητής, διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων

¹ Ἰησοῦς] Ἰησοῦς τις Eusebii Praep. codd. quidam.

^a R. Eisler, *The Messiah Jesus* (tr. by A. H. Krappe), 1931 p. 61, in the belief that the traditional text corresponds closely to Josephus' vocabulary and style but that Christian censors have tampered with it, has restored the original text of §§ 63-64 as follows (the words in parentheses represent words not in the traditional text): Γίνεται δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον (ἀρχὴ νέων θορύβων) Ἰησοῦς τις σοφ(ιστής) ἀνὴρ, εἶπε ἀνδρα λέγειν χρῆ αὐτόν, (τὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐξασιώτατον, ὃν οἱ μαθηταὶ νῦν θεοῦ ὀνομάζουσιν, τὸν οἷα οὐδέποτε ἐπεποιήκει ἀνθρώπος θανάματα ἐργασάμενον. . . .) ἦν γὰρ παρδόξων ἔργων διδάσκαλος, ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡδονῇ τάσθη δεχομένων (. . . .) καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἀπηγάγετο (καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων) ὁ χριστὸς (εἶναι ἐνομίζετο. . . .) καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδείξει τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν παρ' ἡμῶν σταυρῷ ἐπιτεμηκότες Πιλάτου οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο (θορυβεῖν) οἱ τὸ πρώτον ἀγαπήσαντες. φανή(ναι) γὰρ αὐτοῖς (ἔδοξε) τρίτην ἡμέραν ἔχων (θανάτου) πάλιν ζῶν, τῶν θείων προφητῶν ταῦτά τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία περὶ αὐτοῦ θαυμασία εἰρηκότεων. εἰς ἐπὶ καὶ νῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὀνομασμένων οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τὸ φῶλον.

The following is Eisler's translation (p. 62): "Now about his time arose (an occasion for new disturbances) a certain Jesus, a wizard of a man, if indeed he may be called a man (who was the most monstrous of all men, whom his disciples call a son of God, as having done wonders such as no man hath ever done). . . . He was in fact a teacher of astonishing tricks to such men as accept the abnormal with delight. . . . And he seduced many Jews and many also of the Greek nation, and (was regarded by them as) the Messiah. . . . And when, on the indictment of the principal men among us, Pilate had sentenced him to the cross, still those who before had admired him did not cease (to rave). For it seemed to them that having been dead for three days, he had appeared to them alive again, as the divinely-inspired prophets had foretold—these and ten thousand other wonderful things—concerning him. And even now the race of those who are called 'Messianists' after him is not extinct."

(3) ^a About this time ^b there lived Jesus, a wise ^{Jesus} man, if indeed one ought to call him a man. For he ^{(Testi-} was one who wrought surprising feats and was a ^{monium} ^{Flavianum)}

^b Ever since Scaliger in the sixteenth century first suspected the authenticity of this so-called *Testimonium Flavianum*, an enormous literature (for which see especially Schürer i. 544-545 and Eisler, *op. cit.* pp. 36 ff.) has developed concerning it. Those against its genuineness include Schürer, Niese, Norden, Zeitlin, Lewy, and Juster. The principal arguments for its authenticity are that it is found in all the mss., that it is cited by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 11 and *Dem. Evang.* iii. 5. 105, and that the vocabulary and style are basically Josephan. The principal arguments against genuineness are: (1) Josephus, as a loyal Pharisaic Jew, could not have written that Jesus was the Messiah. (The references to Jesus in the Slavonic Josephus can hardly be used as evidence of Josephus' attitude towards Christianity since the authenticity of the Slavonic version is so widely questioned); (2) Origen (*Contra Celsum* i. 47 and *Comment. in Matt.* xiii. 55) explicitly states (c. A. D. 280) that Josephus did not believe in Jesus as the Christ. Eusebius, however, c. A. D. 324, does have our passage: hence, ever since the seventeenth century, when Richard Montague, bishop of Norwich, declared the phrase "he was the Messiah" a Christian gloss, some scholars have argued that the passage was forged, in whole or in part, during the interval between 280 and 324, perhaps, though there is no evidence, by Eusebius himself; (3) The passage breaks the continuity of the narrative, which tells of a series of riots. § 65 seems to belong directly after § 62; (4) There are several stylistic peculiarities (e.g., τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν παρ' ἡμῶν is not the way that Josephus refers to the Jews), though Thackeray and Richards and Shutt have noted a number of Josephan idioms, such as ἡδονῇ δέχεσθαι and τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν. The ingenious theory of R. Laqueur, *Der jüdische Historiker Flavius Josephus*, 1920, pp. 274 ff., that Josephus inserted the passage to secure the favour of the rising Christian sect at a time when he himself was under severe attack, can hardly be accepted. The most probable view seems to be that our text represents substantially what Josephus wrote, but that some alterations have been made by a Christian interpolator.

τῶν ἡδονῆ τάλθηθ¹ δεχομένων,² καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν
 Ἰουδαίους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐπηγά-
 64 γετο· ὁ χριστὸς³ οὗτος ἦν. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδείξει τῶν
 πρώτων ἀνδρῶν παρ' ἡμῶν⁴ σταυρῶ ἐπιτετιμηκότος
 Πιλάτου⁵ οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο⁶ οἱ τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαπή-
 σαντες· ἐφάνη γὰρ αὐτοῖς⁷ τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν
 πάλιν ζῶν τῶν θείων προφητῶν ταῦτά τε καὶ ἄλλα
 μυρία περὶ αὐτοῦ θαυμάσια.⁸ εἰρηκότων. εἰς ἔτι τε
 νῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὀνομασμένον οὐκ
 ἐπέλιπε τὸ φύλον.

65 (4) Καὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἕτερόν τι δεινὸν
 ἐθορύβει τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καὶ περὶ τὸ ἱερόν τῆς
 Ἰσιδος τὸ ἐν Ῥώμῃ πράξεις αἰσχυνῶν οὐκ ἀπηλ-
 λαγμέναι συντυγχάνουσιν. καὶ πρότερον τοῦ τῶν
 Ἰσιακῶν τολμήματος μνήμην ποιησάμενος οὕτω
 μεταβιβῶ⁹ τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις γε-
 66 γονότα. Παυλίνα ἦν τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης προγόνων τε

¹ τάλθηθ Thackeray.

² τῶν . . . δεχομένων] τάλθηθ σεβομένων Eus. Dem.

³ χριστὸς] codd.: χριστὸς λεγόμενος Richards et Shutt (Class. Quart. xxxi, 1937, p. 176); cf. Ant. xx. 200.

⁴ τῶν ἡμῶν] codd.: τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν ἀρχόντων Eus. Dem.

⁵ ante οὐκ i. marg. σεβάσειν add. m. 2 M.

⁶ ἐξεπαύσαντο Eusebii Praep. codd. plurimi.

⁷ αὐτοῖς] αὐτοῖς <ὡς ἔλεγον> vel <ὡς λέγουσιν> con. Richards et Shutt.

⁸ θαυμάσια] om. Eus. Dem.
⁹ Naber: μεταδιδῶ MW: μεταδιδωμι A: μεταγάγω E: transibo Lat.

* Variant (Thackeray's emendation) "the unusual."

* Variant (Richards and Shutt's emendation in *Class. Quart.* xxi, 1937, p. 176) "the so-called Christ."

* Richards and Shutt suggest that "according to their report" has been removed by the Christian censor.

* Actually A.D. 19, as we see from Tac. *Ann.* ii. 85, and not c. A.D. 30, as we should deduce from the insertion of these

teacher of such people as accept the truth^a gladly. He won over many Jews and many of the Greeks. He was the Messiah.^b When Pilate, upon hearing him accused by men of the highest standing amongst us, had condemned him to be crucified, those who had in the first place come to love him did not give up their affection for him. On the third day^c he appeared to them restored to life, for the prophets of God had prophesied these and countless other marvellous things about him. And the tribe of the Christians, so called after him, has still to this day not disappeared.

(4) About this same time^d another outrage threw the Jews into an uproar; and simultaneously certain actions of a scandalous nature occurred in connexion with the temple of Isis at Rome. I shall first give an account of the daring deed of the followers of Isis and shall then come back to the fate of the Jews.^e There was a lady Paulina,^f who because of her descent

Paulina and her lover; trick played by the priests of Isis.

incidents in the midst of the narrative of the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate. E. M. Smallwood, "Some Notes on the Jews under Tiberius," *Latomus* xv, 1956, p. 326, though rejecting Josephus' date, suggests that this date was prompted by the danger in which the Jews found themselves in the year 30 because of Sejanus' opposition to them.

^a Both Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 85, and Suetonius, *Tib.* 36, also couple Tiberius' actions against the Egyptian and Jewish worship.

^f C. Pharr, "The Testimony of Josephus to Christianity," *Am. Jour. of Philol.* xlviii, 1927, p. 144, remarks that this story of Mundus and Paulina in its present literary form has been influenced by the classic story of the trick of Nectanebus II, the Egyptian king who, according to Pseudo-Callisthenes, *History of Alexander*, i. 4 ff., deceived Olympias, wife of King Philip of Macedonia, into believing that he was Zeus Ammon, and through her became the father of Alexander the Great.

ἀξιώματι τῷ τε¹ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἐπιτηδεύματι² ἀρετῆς ἐπὶ μέγα προϊούσα τῷ ὀνόματι, δύναμις τε αὐτῆς χρημάτων ἦν καὶ γεγονυία τὴν ὄψιν εὐπρεπῆς καὶ τῆς ὥρας ἐν ἣ μάλιστα ἀγάλλονται αἱ γυναῖκες εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν ἀνέκειτο ἢ ἐπιτηδεύσεις τοῦ βίου. ἐγεγάμητο δὲ Σατορνίνῳ τῶν εἰς τὰ πάντα ἀντι-
 67 ἰσουμένων τῷ περὶ αὐτὴν ἀξιολόγῳ.³ ταύτης ἐρᾷ Δέκιος Μοῦνδος τῶν τότε ἰππέων ἐν ἀξιώματι μεγάλῳ, καὶ μείζονα οὖσαν ἀλῶναι δώροις διὰ τὸ καὶ πεμφθέντων εἰς πλήθος περιδεῖν ἐξήπτο μάλ-
 68 λον, ὥστε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας δραχμῶν Ἀτθίδων⁴ ὑπίσχεντο εὐνῆς μῖας. καὶ μηδ' ὡς ἐπικλωμένης, οὐ φέρων τὴν ἀτυχίαν τοῦ ἔρωτος ἐνδεία σιτίων θάνατον ἐπιτιμᾶν αὐτῷ καλῶς ἔχειν ἐνόμισεν ἐπὶ παύλῃ⁵ κακοῦ τοῦ κατειληφότος. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπεψή-
 69 λάσσετο. καὶ ἦν γὰρ ὄνομα Ἰδῆ⁶ πατρῶος ἀπελευ-
 θέρα τῷ Μοῦνδῳ παντοίων ἴδρις κακῶν, δεινῶς φέρουσα τοῦ νεανίσκου τῷ ψηφίσματι τοῦ θανεῖν, οὐ γὰρ ἀφανῆς ἦν ἀπολούμενος, ἀνεγείρει τε αὐτὸν ἀφικομένη διὰ λόγου πιθανῆ τε ἦν ἐλπίδων τινῶν ὑποσχέσεσιν, ὡς διαπραχθησομένων ὀμιλιῶν πρὸς
 70 τὴν Παυλίαν αὐτῷ. καὶ δεχομένου τὴν ἱκετείαν ἡδονῆ πέντε μυριάδων δεήσειν αὐτῇ μόνων ἔλεγεν

¹ τῷ τε] Hudson: καὶ τῷ E: τῶν codd.

² ἐπιτηδεύματι] E: ἐπιτηδεύοντι κόσμον codd.

³ τῷ . . . ἀξιολόγῳ] i. marg. A: τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν ἀξιολόγῳ codd. E.

⁴ Ἀτθίδων] A: αὐτῆ δώσειν MW: ἀττικῶν E.

⁵ Naber: Παυλίη codd.

⁶ καὶ ἦν γὰρ ὄνομα Ἰδῆ] καὶ ἦν γὰρ Ἰσίδη, litt. ἀριστ i. ras. M: καὶ ἦν γὰρ Ἰδῆ W: ἦν δὲ Ἰδῆ E.

from noble Romans and because of her own practice of virtue was held in high regard. She also enjoyed the prestige of wealth, had a comely appearance, and was at the age at which women are most exuberant, yet devoted her life to good conduct. She was married to Saturninus,^a who was fully a match for her in reputation. Decius Mundus, who ranked high among the knights of his day, was in love with her. When he saw that her character was too strong to succumb to gifts, since, even when he sent them abundantly, she scorned them, his passion was inflamed all the more, so that he actually promised to give her 200,000 Attic drachmas if he could share her bed a single time. When even this failed to shake her resolution, he, finding it intolerable not to win his suit, thought that it would be fitting to condemn himself to death by starvation and thus to put an end to the suffering that had overtaken him. And so he decided upon such a death and was actually proceeding to carry out his resolve. Mundus, however, had a freedwoman named Ida, expert in every kind of mischief, whom his father had emancipated. She had no patience with the young man's resolve to die, for it was obvious what he intended.^b She went to him, used argument to rouse him, and by plausibly undertaking to find a way, held out hope that he might succeed in enjoying intimate relations with Paulina. When he joyfully listened to her importunity, she informed him that she would require no more than 50,000 drachmas to

^a E. Groag, *Prosopog. Imp. Rom.* ii A. 1528, plausibly conjectures that this Saturninus must be one of the two Sentii Saturnini, Gaius (consul in A.D. 4) or his brother Lucius.

^b Or "he was no undistinguished person who was to perish."

ἐπὶ ἀλώσει τῆς γυναικός. καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀνεγείρασα τὸν νεανίσκον καὶ τὸ αἰτηθὲν λαβοῦσα ἀργύριον οὐ τὰς αὐτὰς ὁδοὺς ἐπέλετο τοῖς προδεδιακονημένοις ὁρῶσα τῆς γυναικός τὸ μηδαμῶς χρημάτων ἀλισκόμενον, εἰδύια δὲ αὐτὴν θεραπείαι τῆς Ἴσιδος σφόδρα ὑπηγμένην τεχνᾶται τι τοιόνδε.

71 τῶν ἱερέων τισὶν ἀφικομένη διὰ λόγων ἐπὶ πίστεσιν μεγάλας τὸ δὲ μέγιστον δώσει χρημάτων τὸ μὲν παρὸν μυριάδων δυοῖν καὶ ἡμίσει, λαβόντος δ' ἕκβασιν τοῦ πράγματος ἑτέρω τοσῶδε, διασαφεῖ τοῦ νεανίσκου τὸν ἔρωτα αὐτοῖς, κελεύουσα παντοίως

72 ἐπὶ τῷ ληψομένῳ τὴν ἀνθρωπον σπουδάσαι. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ πληγῇ¹ τοῦ χρυσοῦ παραχθέντες ὑπισχνοῦντο. καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ γεραίτατος ὡς τὴν Παυλῖναν ὡσάμενος γενομένων εισόδων καταμόνας διὰ λόγων ἐλθεῖν ἡξίου. καὶ συγχωρηθὲν πεμπτὸς ἔλεγεν ἡκειν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀνουβιδος ἔρωτι αὐτῆς ἡσσημένου τοῦ θεοῦ

73 κελεύοντός τε ὡς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν. τῇ δὲ εὐκτὸς ὁ λόγος ἦν καὶ ταῖς τε φίλαις ἐνεκαλλωπίζετο τῇ ἐπὶ τοιοῦτοις ἀξιώσει τοῦ Ἀνουβιδος καὶ φράζει πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, δεῖπνόν τε αὐτῇ καὶ εὐνήν τοῦ Ἀνουβιδος εἰσηγγέλλαι, συνεχώρει δ' ἐκεῖνος τὴν σωφρο-

74 σύνην τῆς γυναικός ἐξεπιστάμενος. χωρεῖ οὖν εἰς τὸ τέμενος, καὶ δειπνήσασα, ὡς ὕπνου καιρὸς ἦν, κλεισθεισῶν τῶν θυρῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱερέως ἔνδον ἐν τῷ νεῷ καὶ τὰ λύχνα ἐκποδῶν ἦν καὶ ὁ Μοῦνδος, προεκέκρυπτο γὰρ τῆδε, οὐχ ἡμάρτανεν ὀμιλιῶν

¹ πλήθει E.

secure the woman. These proposals encouraged the youth, and she received the sum for which she had asked. She did not, however, proceed by the same course as had previous agents, since she perceived that this woman would never succumb to bribes. But knowing that the lady was very much given to the worship of Isis, Ida devised the following stratagem. She had an interview with some of the priests and promised them every assurance, above all, a sum of money amounting to 25,000 drachmas payable at once and as much more after the success of the plot. She then explained the young man's passionate desire for the woman and urged them to bend every effort to secure her for him. The impact of the money was enough to sway them, and they agreed. The eldest of them hastened to Paulina's house and, on being admitted, requested a private talk with her. This being accorded, he said that he had been sent to her by the god Anubis^a; the god had fallen in love with her and bade her come to him. The message was what she would most have wished. Not only did she pride herself among her lady friends on receiving such an invitation from Anubis, but she told her husband of her summons to dine with and share the bed of Anubis. Her husband concurred, since he had no doubt of his wife's chastity. Go then she did to the temple. After supper, when it came time to sleep, the doors within the shrine were shut by the priest and the lamps were cleared away. Mundus, for he had been concealed there beforehand, was not rebuffed when he sought intercourse with her. Indeed

^a After Osiris, the husband of Isis, had been killed, it was Anubis who was said to have helped Isis collect the pieces in which his body had been cut. Anubis consequently became a god of the dead.

τῶν πρὸς αὐτήν, παννυχίον τε αὐτῷ διηκονήσατο
 76 ὑπειληφύια θεὸν εἶναι. καὶ ἀπελθόντος πρότερον ἢ
 κίνησιν ἄρξασθαι τῶν ἱερέων, οἱ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἤδε-
 σαν, ἢ Παυλίνα πρῶτ' ὡς τὸν ἄνδρα ἔλθοῦσα τὴν
 76 φίλας ἐνελαμπρύνετο¹ λόγοις τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτῷ. οἱ δὲ
 τὰ μὲν ἠπίστου ἐῖς τὴν φύσιν τοῦ πράγματος
 ὄρωντες, τὰ δ' ἐν θαύματι καθίσταντο οὐκ ἔχοντες,
 ὡς χρὴ ἄπιστα αὐτὰ κρίνειν, ὅποτε εἰς τε τὴν
 77 σωφροσύνην καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα ἀπίδοιεν αὐτῆς. τρίτη
 δὲ ἡμέρα μετὰ τὴν πράξιν ὑπαντιάσας αὐτὴν ὁ
 Μοῦνδος, "Παυλίνα," φησίν, "ἀλλὰ² μοι καὶ εἴκοσι
 μυριάδας διεσώσω δυναμένη οἴκῳ προσθέσθαι τῷ
 σαυτῆς διακονεῖσθαι τε ἐφ' οἷς προεκαλούμην οὐκ
 ἐνέλιπες. ἃ μέντοι εἰς Μοῦνδον ὑβρίζειν ἐπειρῶ,³
 μηδὲν μοι μελήσαν τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐκ
 τοῦ πράγματος ἡδονῆς, Ἀνούβιον⁴ ὄνομα ἐθέμην
 78 ἐμαυτῷ."⁵ καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπῆει ταῦτα εἰπὼν, ἢ δὲ
 εἰς ἐννοιαν τότε πρῶτον ἔλθοῦσα τοῦ τολμήματος
 περιρρήγνυται τε τὴν στολὴν καὶ τὰνδρι δηλώσασα
 τοῦ παντὸς ἐπιβουλεύματος τὸ μέγεθος ἐδέετο μὴ
 περιωφθαί βοθηθείας τυγχάνειν· ὁ δὲ τῷ αὐτοκρά-
 79 τορι ἐπεσήμηνε⁶ τὴν πράξιν. καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος μαθή-
 σεως ἀκριβοῦς αὐτῷ γενομένης ἐξετάσει τῶν ἱερέων
 ἐκείνους τε ἀνεσταύρωσεν καὶ τὴν Ἰδην ὀλέθρου
 γενομένην αἰτίαν καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐφ' ὕβρει συνθεῖσαν
 τῆς γυναικός, τὸν τε ναὸν καθεῖλεν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα
 τῆς Ἰσίδος εἰς τὸν Θύβριν ποταμὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐμ-

¹ ἀνελαμβάνετο MW.² ἅμα Naber.³ ὑβρίζειν ἐπειρῶ] A: ὕβρει διεσχῶ MWE.⁴ Ἀνούβει coni. Niese.

it was a nightlong service that she performed for him, assuming that he was the god. He departed before the priests, who had been informed of the scheme, had begun to stir. Paulina went early in the morning to her husband and described in detail the divine manifestation of Anubis, and before the ladies, her friends, she put on great airs in talking about him. Those who heard, having regard to the substance of the matter, were incredulous; and yet, on the other hand, finding it impossible not to believe her when they took into consideration her chastity and position in society, they were reduced to marvelling. Two days after the incident, Mundus put himself in her way and said: "Well, Paulina, you have indeed saved me 200,000 drachmas which you could have added to your estate, yet you have rendered to perfection the service I urged you to perform. As for your attempt to flout Mundus, I did not concern myself about names, though I did about the pleasure to be derived from the act, so I adopted the name of Anubis as my own." With these words he departed. Then she, being now aware for the first time of his dastardly deed, rent her garment; and when she had disclosed to her husband the enormity of the scheme, she begged him not to neglect to obtain redress. He in turn brought the matter to the notice of the emperor. When Tiberius had fully informed himself by examining the priests, he crucified both them and Ida, for the hellish thing was her doing and it was she who had contrived the whole plot against the lady's honour. Moreover, he razed the temple and ordered the statue of Isis to be cast into the

⁵ MW: αὐτῷ A: αὐτῷ E.⁶ AE: ἀπεσήμηνε coni. Niese.

80 βαλεῖν. Μοῦνδον δὲ φυγῆς ἐτίμησε, κώλυμα τοῦ μὴ μειζόνως κολάζειν τὸ μετὰ ἔρωτος αὐτῷ ἡμαρτηθῆναι τὰ ἡμαρτηθέντα ἡγησάμενος. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἴσιδος τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ὕβρισμένα τοιαῦτα ἦν. ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀφήγησιν τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ Ἰουδαίους κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον συντυχόντων, ὡς μοι καὶ προαπεσήμενεν ὁ λόγος.

81 (5) Ἦν ἀνὴρ Ἰουδαῖος, φυγὰς μὲν τῆς αὐτοῦ κατηγορία τε¹ παραβάσεων νόμων τινῶν καὶ δέει τιμωρίας τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, πονηρὸς δὲ εἰς τὰ πάντα. καὶ δὴ τότε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διαιτώμενος προσεποιεῖτο 82 μὲν ἐξηγεῖσθαι σοφίαν νόμων τῶν Μωυσέως, προσποιησάμενος δὲ τρεῖς ἀνδρας εἰς τὰ πάντα ὁμοιοτρόπους² τούτοις ἐπιφοιτήσασαν Φουλβίαν³ τῶν ἐν ἀξιώματι γυναικῶν καὶ νομίμοις προσεληλυθῆσαν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις πείθουσι πορφύραν καὶ χρυσὸν εἰς τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερὸν διαπέμψασθαι, καὶ λαβόντες ἐπὶ χρείας⁴ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀναλώμασιν αὐτὰ ποιῶνται,⁵ ἐφ' ὅπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἢ αἴτησις ἐ- 83 πράσσειτο. καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος, ἀποσημαίνει γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν φίλος ὢν Σατορνίνος τῆς Φουλβίας ἀνὴρ ἐπισκίρῃει τῆς γυναικός, κελεύει πᾶν τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν τῆς

¹ ed. pr. : δὲ codd. : om. E.

² A : ὁμοιοτέρους MW.

³ A : Φλουβίαν MW.

⁴ i. marg. γρ ἐπὶ χεῖρας A.

⁵ ἐπὶ . . . αὐτὰ ποιῶνται] ἀνάλωμα ταῦτα ἐπὶ χρείας οἰκείας ποιῶνται. E : propriis usibus adsumpserat Lat.

^a On the Jewish zeal for proselytism in Rome see, most notably, Horace, *Sat.* i. 4. 142 ff. and Tac. *Hist.* v. 5.

^b W. A. Heidel's fantastic suggestion ("Why Were the Jews Banished from Italy in 19 A.D.?", *Am. Jour. of Philol.*

Tiber River. Mundus' sentence was exile, since Tiberius regarded the fact that his crime had been committed under the influence of passion as a bar to a more severe penalty. Such were the insolent acts of the priests in the temple of Isis. I shall now return to the story, which I promised to tell, of what happened at the same time to the Jews in Rome.

(5) There was a certain Jew, a complete scoundrel, who had fled his own country because he was accused of transgressing certain laws and feared punishment on this account. Just at this time he was resident in Rome and played the part of an interpreter of the Mosaic law and its wisdom. He enlisted three confederates not a whit better in character than himself; and when Fulvia, a woman of high rank who had become a Jewish proselyte,^a began to meet with them regularly, they urged her to send purple and gold to the temple in Jerusalem.^b They, however, took the gifts and used them for their own personal expenses, for it was this that had been their intention in asking for gifts from the start. Saturninus,^c the husband of Fulvia, at the instigation of his wife, duly reported this to Tiberius, whose friend he was, whereupon the latter ordered the whole Jewish community to leave

xli, 1920, pp. 38-47) that Fulvia was actually invited to become a temple prostitute grows out of Tacitus' statement, in the same chapter in which he discusses the expulsion, that Tiberius took measures to check prostitution among women of equestrian families; but there was no religious prostitution among Jews at this time.

^c The identity in the names of the husbands of Fulvia and Paulina (§ 66) seems to be due to mere coincidence; but R. S. Rogers, "Fulvia Paulina C. Sentii Saturnini," *Am. Jour. of Philol.* liii, 1932, pp. 252-256, concludes that the same Saturninus is meant and that the wife of this Saturninus was named Fulvia Paulina.

84 'Ρώμης ἀπελθεῖν.¹ οἱ δὲ ὕπατοι τετρακισχίλιους ἀνθρώπους² ἐξ αὐτῶν στρατολογήσαντες ἐπέμψαν εἰς Σαρδῶ τὴν νῆσον, πλείστοις δὲ ἐκόλασαν μὴ θέλοντας στρατεύεσθαι διὰ φυλακὴν τῶν πατρίων νόμων. καὶ οἱ μὲν δὴ διὰ κακίαν τεσσάρων ἀνδρῶν ἠλαύνοντο τῆς πόλεως.

85 (iv. 1) Οὐκ ἀπήλλακτο δὲ θορύβου καὶ τὸ Σαμαρέων ἔθνος· συστρέφει γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀνὴρ ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὸ ψεῦδος τιθέμενος κάφ' ἡδονῆ³ τῆς πληθύος τεχνάζων τὰ πάντα, κελεύων ἐπὶ τὸ Γαρίζειν ὄρος αὐτῷ συνελθεῖν, ὃ ἀγνότατον αὐτοῖς ὄρων ὑπείληπται, ἰσχυρίζετό τε παραγενομένοις δεῖξειν τὰ ἱερά σκεῦη τῆδε κατορωρυγμένα Μωυσέως τῆδε 86 αὐτῶν ποιησαμένου κατάθεσιν. οἱ δὲ ἐν ὄπλοις τε

¹ A: ἀπελαθῆναι MWE: excedere Lat.

² AM: ἀνθρώπων W: ἀνδρας E.

³ κάφ' ἡδονῆ] Niese: καὶ ἐφ' ἡδονῆ codd.: καθ' ἡδονῆ E: Cafedon nomine Lat.

^a This expulsion is also mentioned by Suet. *Tib.* 36, Dio Cass. lvii. 18. 5a, and Tac. *Ann.* ii. 85 (who also extends it to the adherents of the Egyptian cult); cf. also Sen. *Epist.* cviii. 22. Those who refused to leave were, according to Suetonius (*ad loc.*), expelled and threatened with slavery if they defied the order. Dio seems to be correct (and in line with the story in Josephus about Fulvia the proselyte) in the reason which he gives for the expulsion of the Jews, namely, that the Jews were converting so many Romans to their faith. The connexion of this incident with proselytism is corroborated by the statement in Suetonius (*ad loc.*) that those who had embraced the Egyptian and Jewish cults were forced to burn their religious vestments and other accessories; Suetonius is further careful to mention the proselytes as being included in the expulsion. Tacitus likewise seems to refer to proselytes when he speaks of those expelled as *ea superstitione infecti*, "tainted with this superstition." On the whole incident of the expulsion, particularly its legal aspects, see

Rome.^a The consuls drafted four thousand of these Jews for military service and sent them to the island of Sardinia; but they penalized a good many of them, who refused to serve for fear of breaking the Jewish law.^b And so because of the wickedness of four men the Jews were banished from the city.

(iv. 1) The Samaritan nation too was not exempt from disturbance. For a man who made light of mendacity and in all his designs catered to the mob, rallied them, bidding them go in a body with him to Mount Gerizim, which in their belief is the most sacred of mountains. He assured them that on their arrival he would show them the sacred vessels which were buried there, where Moses had deposited them.^c

Pilate puts down the tumult of the Samaritans.

M. Radin, *The Jews among the Greeks and Romans*, 1915, pp. 306-313.

^b According to Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 85, not only the Jews but also the adherents of the Egyptian worship were transported to the island of Sardinia. Tacitus also mentions a total of 4000 and likewise says that they were of military age; he adds that they were of the class of freedmen. They were sent to Sardinia, he remarks, to put down the brigandage of that island. Suetonius, *Tib.* 36, says that the drafting of the Jews into the army was only a pretext for sending them off to the unhealthy region of Sardinia, where, it was evidently expected (so also Tac. *ad loc.*) that those expelled might die. Sardinia's climate, however, is hardly different from that of the Italian peninsula: the reference to its severity is indeed puzzling, and perhaps Radin (*op. cit.* p. 312) is correct in suggesting that the removal to Sardinia was motivated merely by the desire to remove the proselytes from Jewish influence.

^c On this incident see M. Gaster, *The Samaritans*, 1925, pp. 90-91, who sees here a reference to the Samaritan belief in the Restorer (the *Tahab* or *Shahab*). The belief, based on the promise given in their tenth commandment and on Deut. xviif. 15 and 18, is that a prophet will come out of the tribe of Levi, from which Moses was born, and that he will discover

ἦσαν πιθανὸν ἠγούμενοι τὸν λόγον, καὶ καθίσαντες ἐν τινὶ κώμῃ, Τираθανά¹ λέγεται, παρελάμβανον τοὺς ἐπισυλλεγομένους ὡς μεγάλῳ πλήθει τὴν ἀνά-
87 βασιν εἰς τὸ ὄρος ποιησόμενοι. φθάνει δὲ Πιλάτος τὴν ἀνοδὸν αὐτῶν προκαταλαβόμενος ἰππέων τε πομπῇ καὶ ὀπλιτῶν, οἱ συμβαλόντες τοῖς ἐν τῇ κώμῃ προσνηθροισμένοις παρατάξεως γενομένης τοὺς μὲν ἔκτειναν, τοὺς δ' εἰς φυγὴν τρέπονται ζωγρία τε πολλοὺς ἤχον, ὧν τοὺς κορυφαιοτάτους καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς φυγοῦσι δυνατωτάτους ἔκτεινε Πιλάτος.

88 (2) Καταστάντος δὲ τοῦ θορύβου Σαμαρέων ἡ βουλή παρὰ Οὐιτέλλιον ὑπατικὸν ἴσιν ἄνδρα Συρίας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντα καὶ Πιλάτου κατηγοροῦν ἐπὶ τῇ σφαγῇ τῶν ἀπολωλότων· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ διαφυγῇ τῆς Πιλάτου
89 ὕβρεως εἰς τὴν Τираθανά παραγενέσθαι. καὶ Οὐιτέλλιος Μάρκελλον τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων ἐκπέμψας ἐπιμελητὴν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις γενησόμενον Πιλάτον

¹ A: Τираθανά M: Τираθαβή W: Tirathua (Tirathua cod. A) Lat.

the hidden vessels of the temple. On Talmudic traditions concerning the burial of the oil and the holy vessels of the temple see V. Aptowitzer, *Partei-politik der Hasmonäerzeit*, 1927, pp. 192-193 n. 2.

^a J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, 1907, p. 146 n. 15, suggests that this is probably the modern *Tire*, four miles south-west of Shechem; but this site would seem to be too far from Mt. Gerizim. *Duwara (Dawerta)* has also been proposed. Cf. F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, ii, 1938, p. 484.

^b This, as can be seen from the context, was a council of the entire Samaritan community, and not merely of the city of Samaria. A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 1937, p. 269, thinks that this was probably a sur-

His hearers, viewing this tale as plausible, appeared in arms. They posted themselves in a certain village named Tirathana,^a and, as they planned to climb the mountain in a great multitude, they welcomed to their ranks the new arrivals who kept coming. But before they could ascend, Pilate blocked their projected route up the mountain with a detachment of cavalry and heavy-armed infantry, who in an encounter with the firstcomers in the village slew some in a pitched battle and put the others to flight. Many prisoners were taken, of whom Pilate put to death the principal leaders and those who were most influential among the fugitives.

(2) When the uprising had been quelled, the council^b of the Samaritans went to Vitellius,^c a man of consular rank who was governor of Syria, and charged Pilate with the slaughter of the victims. For, they said, it was not as rebels against the Romans but as refugees from the persecution of Pilate that they had met in Tirathana. Vitellius thereupon dispatched Marcellus,^d one of his friends, to take charge of the administration of Judaea,^e and ordered Pilate

vival of one of the councils set up by Gabinius (cf. *Ant.* xiv. 90-91 and *B.J.* i. 169-170), but there is no evidence to support this suggestion.

^c Father of the emperor Vitellius.
^d As governor of Syria Vitellius lacked the authority to appoint procurators, a function reserved for the emperors. Hence, the appointment of Marcellus must have been to be acting procurator of Judaea. Aside from the inconclusive statement of Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 32, that Tiberius entrusted his entire Eastern policy to Vitellius, there is no basis for the assumption of Mommsen and Dessau that Vitellius had extraordinary powers in the East similar to those held by Gaius Caesar and Germanicus. See D. Magic, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, ii, 1950, p. 1364 n. 39.

^e On Tiberius' practice of allowing governors and procurators to serve long terms in office see §§ 170 ff.

Vitellius,
Roman
governor of
Syria, sends
Pilate to
Rome.

ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἀπιέναι πρὸς ἃ κατηγοροῖεν οἱ Σαμαρεῖται¹ διδάξοντα τὸν αὐτοκράτορα. καὶ Πιλάτος δέκα ἔτεσιν διατρίψας ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίας εἰς Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο ταῖς Οὐιτελλίου πειθόμενος ἔντολαῖς οὐκ ὄν ἀντειπεῖν. πρὶν δ' ἐν² τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἴσχειν³ αὐτὸν φθάνει Τιβέριος μεταστάς.

90 (3) Οὐιτέλλιος δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀφικόμενος ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἀνήει, καὶ ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἑορτὴ πατριος,⁴ πάσχα δὲ καλεῖται, δεχθεῖς μεγαλοπρεπῶς Οὐιτέλλιος τὰ τέλη τῶν ἄνουμένων καρπῶν ἀνήησιν εἰς τὸ πᾶν τοῖς ταύτη κατοικοῦσιν καὶ τὴν στολὴν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τὸν πάντα αὐτοῦ κόσμον συνεχώρησεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κειμένην⁵ ὑπὸ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἔχειν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, καθότι καὶ πρότερον ἦν αὐτοῖς⁶ ἐξουσία.⁹ τότε δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀντωνίᾳ, φρούριον δ' ἐστὶν οὕτως λεγόμενον, ἣ ἀπόθεσις αὐτῆς ἦν διατοιαύτην αἰτίαν τῶν ἱερέων τις Ὑρκανός, πολλῶν δὲ ὄντων οἱ τότε ἐκαλοῦντο τὸ ὄνομα ὁ πρῶτος, ἐπεὶ πλησίον τῷ ἱερῷ βάρην κατασκευασάμενος

¹ A: Ἰουδαῖοι MWE Lat.

² δ' ἐν] δὲ ἡ ed. pr.

³ A: προσχεῖν MWE: veniret Lat.

⁴ A: om. MWE.

⁵ A: κείμενον MWE.

⁶ MW: ἐξουσία. A: om. E.

⁹ Variant "Jews."

^b Tiberius died on 16 March A.D. 37. Since, as seems probable, Pilate began his procuratorship in 26, and since he is here stated to have held office for ten years, it would appear that he took a year to arrive in Rome—an improbability since Josephus here remarks that he hurried. E. M. Smallwood, "The Date of the Dismissal of Pontius Pilate from Judaea," *Jour. of Jewish Stud.* v, 1954, p. 12, sensibly notes that Josephus' figure of ten years is presumably a round number, calculated to the nearest year. She dates (p. 14)

to return to Rome to give the emperor his account of the matters with which he was charged by the Samaritans.^a And so Pilate, after having spent ten years in Judaea, hurried to Rome in obedience to the orders of Vitellius, since he could not refuse. But before he reached Rome Tiberius had already passed away.^b

(3) Vitellius,^c on reaching Judaea, went up to Jerusalem, where the Jews were celebrating their traditional feast called the Passover. Having been received in magnificent fashion, Vitellius remitted to the inhabitants of the city all taxes^d on the sale of agricultural produce and agreed that the vestments of the high priest and all his ornaments should be kept in the temple in custody of the priests, as had been their privilege before. At that time the vestments were stored in Antonia^e—there is a stronghold of that name—for the following reason. One of the priests, Hyrcanus,^f the first of many by that name, had constructed a large house near the temple and

Vitellius remits taxes and restores to the Jews custody of the high priest's vestments.

his departure at some time between mid-December 36 and the end of February 37.

^a Josephus had previously (*Ant.* xv. 405) given a brief account of Vitellius' first visit to Jerusalem. He there adds that the transfer of the high priest's garments to Jewish custody was made after he had written to Tiberius on the matter. Since he there makes no mention of a festival in connexion with the visit, Smallwood, *Jour. of Jewish Stud.* v, 1954, p. 19, suggests that Vitellius' first visit, in 36-37, did not coincide with a festival, but that Vitellius' second visit (*Ant.* xviii. 123) occurred during the Passover of 37.

^b Cf. the requests made to Archelaus at the beginning of his reign to remove the heavy taxes on what was publicly bought and sold (*Ant.* xvii. 205).

^c North-west of the temple area. See *Ant.* xii. 252 note d.

^f John Hyrcanus I, the Hasmonaean, succeeded his father Simon as high priest (and as *de facto* king) in 135 B.C.

ταύτη τὰ πολλὰ τὴν διαίταν εἶχεν καὶ τὴν στολήν, φύλαξ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῆς διὰ τὸ καὶ μόνῳ συγκεχωρησθαι τοῦ ἐνδύεσθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ταύτην¹ εἶχεν ἀποκειμένην, ὅποτε εἰς τὴν πόλιν κατιῶν ἀναλαμ-
 92 βάνοι² τὴν ἰδιωτικὴν. καὶ οἱ τε υἱεῖς αὐτοῦ ταῦτα πράσσειν ἐπετήδευσαν καὶ τέκνα ἐκείνων. Ἡρώδης δὲ βασιλεύσας τὴν τε βᾶριν ταύτην ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ κειμένην κατασκευάσας πολυτελῶς Ἀντωνίαν καλεῖ ὀνόματι Ἀντωνίου φίλος ὢν, καὶ τὴν στολὴν ὡσπερ καὶ λαμβάνει τῆδε κειμένην κατεῖχεν, πιστεύων οὐδὲν νεωτεριεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸν λαὸν διὰ τὰδε.³
 93 ἔπρασσε δὲ ὁμοία τῷ Ἡρώδῃ καὶ ὁ ἐπικατασταθεὶς αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς Ἀρχέλαος υἱὸς ὢν, οὐ⁴ Ῥωμαῖοι παραδεξάμενοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκράτου τῆς στολῆς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἀποκειμένης ἐν οἴκῳ λίθοις οἰκοδομηθέντι ὑπὸ σφραγίδι τῶν τε ἱερέων καὶ τῶν γαζοφυλάκων τοῦ φρουράρχου τὸ ἐφ' ἡμέραν ἐκά-
 94 στην λύχνον ἄπτοντος.⁵ ἑπτὰ δ' ἡμέραις πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἀπεδίδοτο αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ φρουράρχου, καὶ ἀγνισθείη⁶ χρυσάμενος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς μετὰ μίαν τῆς ἑορτῆς ἡμέραν ἀπετίθετο αὐθις εἰς τὸν οἶκον, ἥπερ ἔκειτο καὶ πρότερον. τοῦτο ἐπράττετο τρισὶν
 95 ἑορταῖς ἐκάστου ἔτους καὶ τὴν νηστείαν.⁷ Οὐντέλλιος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ πατρίῳ ποιεῖται τὴν στο-

¹ ταύτη E.

² κατιῶν ἀναλαμβάνοι] codd.: κατιῶν, ἀναλαμβάνων Richards et Shutt. ³ διὰ τὰδε] A E: ὄφθην δὲ MW.

⁴ οὐ] codd.: αὐτοῦ παρ' οὐ Eusebius.

⁵ ὑπὸ σφραγίδι . . . ἄπτοντος] sub sigillo sane pontificum et gazofylacis habebatur, a quo cetera quoque templi ornamenta et candelabrum quoque servabatur Lat.

⁶ ἀγνισθείς Naber.

⁷ τὴν νηστείαν] i. marg. γρ κατὰ τὴν νηστείαν A: τῇ νηστείᾳ E: per ieiunia Lat.

lived there most of the time. As custodian of the vestments, for to him alone was conceded the right to put them on, he kept them laid away there, whenever he put on his ordinary clothes in order to go down to the city. His sons and their children also followed the same practice. When Herod became king, he made lavish repairs to this building, which was conveniently situated, and, being a friend of Antony, he called it Antonia.^a He retained the vestments there just as he had found them, believing that for this reason the people would never rise in insurrection against him. Herod's successor as king, his son Archelaus, acted similarly. After him, when the Romans took over the government, they retained control of the high priest's vestments and kept them in a stone building, where they were under the seal both of the priests and of the custodians of the treasury and where the warden of the guard lighted the lamp day by day. Seven days before each festival the vestments were delivered to the priests by the warden. After they^b had been purified, the high priest wore them; then after the first day of the festival he put them back again in the building where they were laid away before. This was the procedure at the three festivals each year and on the fast day.^c Vitellius was guided by our law in dealing with the vestments,^d and in-

^a Cf. L.-H. Vincent, "L'Antonia, palais primitif d'Hérode," *Revue Biblique*, lxi, 1954, pp. 87-107.

^b Variant "he."

^c The three festivals are Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles; the fast day is the Day of Atonement. Cf. Mishnah Yoma i. 1, which notes the preparations of the high priest seven days before the Day of Atonement.

^d Or "Vitellius put the vestments under our ancestral charge."

λήν, ἢ τε κείσοιτο μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν ἐπισκήψας τῷ φρουράρχῳ καὶ ὅποτε δέοι χρῆσθαι. καὶ ταῦτα πράξας ἐπὶ εὐεργεσίᾳ τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἰώσηπον τὸν Καϊάφαν¹ ἐπικαλούμενον ἀπαλλάξας τῆς ἱερωσύνης Ἰωνάθην καθίστησιν Ἀνάνου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως υἱόν. ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας δ' αὖθις ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ὁδόν.

96 (4) Πέμπει δὲ καὶ Τιβέριος ὡς Οὐιτέλλιον γράμματα, κελεύων αὐτῷ πράσσειν φιλίαν πρὸς Ἀρτάβανον τὸν Πάρθων βασιλέα· ἐφόβει γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸς ὦν καὶ Ἀρμενίαν παρεσπασμένον² μὴ ἐπὶ πλεόν κακουργῆ· πιστεύειν δὲ τῇ φιλίᾳ μόνως ὁμήρων αὐτῷ διδομένων, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦ Ἀρταβάνου υἱέος.³ ταῦτα δὲ γράφων Τιβέριος πρὸς τὸν Οὐιτέλλιον μεγάλας δόσεις χρημάτων πείθει καὶ τὸν Ἰβήρων καὶ τὸν Ἀλβανῶν⁴ βασιλέα πολεμεῖν

¹ Καϊάφαν] καὶ Καϊάφαν E.

² ἐχθρὸς . . . παρεσπασμένον] i. marg. γρ ἐχθρὸν ὄντα καὶ ἄρμενίαν παρεσπασμένον A.

³ τοῦ . . . υἱέος] suos filios Lat.

⁴ A: Ἀλανῶν MW Exc.: Ἀλμανῶν E; Labanorum Lat.

^o There are several possible reasons why the Jews protested the retention of the vestments by the Romans in Antonia. If, as seems likely, Antonia was not part of the temple area, the Jews would object because it is prohibited (*Yoma* 69 a) to take the priestly vestments outside the temple. In addition, the handling of these garments by non-Jews would defile them (*Niddah* 34 a; see *Tosafot on Shabbat* 21 b) according to the rabbinic decree of A.D. 66; though this incident occurred about thirty years before that time, the decree may represent merely the crystallization of a long-standing attitude. ^b See above, § 35.

^c The account of the events in Parthia which follows should be dated in A.D. 35 according to Dio Cassius lvi. 26 and Tacitus' long narrative, *Ann.* vi. 31 ff. Josephus has

structed the warden not to meddle with the question where they were to be stored or when they should be used.^a After he had bestowed these benefits upon the nation, he removed from his sacred office the high priest Joseph surnamed Caiaphas,^b and appointed in his stead Jonathan, son of Ananus the high priest. Then he set out on the journey back to Antioch.

(4) Now Tiberius sent a letter to Vitellius^c bidding him to establish friendship with Artabanus, the king of the Parthians; for Artabanus, who was hostile to him and who had already detached Armenia,^d inspired in him the fear that he would do further mischief. But he instructed Vitellius to put faith in a treaty of friendship only if hostages, and especially the son of Artabanus, should be given to him. Even while writing this letter to Vitellius, Tiberius offered large sums of money as an inducement to the kings both of the Iberians^e and of the Albanians^f to come out

thus misplaced it in inserting it after Vitellius' first visit, which took place in 36/37. On Josephus' confusion in this matter see A. Garzetti, "La data dell' incontro all' Eufrate di Artabano III e L. Vitellio legato di Siria," in *Studi in onore di A. Calderini e R. Paribeni*, i, 1956, pp. 211-229.

^a The chief cause of Artabanus' hostility, according to Tacitus' account, *Ann.* vi. 31-32, was apparently Tiberius' attempt to replace Artabanus with Phraates and then with Tiridates. Another factor was Artabanus' elation at his successful wars and his disdain for the aged and unwarlike Tiberius. Tacitus also mentions, *Ann.* vi. 31, Artabanus' seizure of the throne of Armenia for his son Arsaces.

^b Iberia is part of modern Georgia, midway between the Black and Caspian Seas. There is no relation between these Iberians and the inhabitants of Spain. According to Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 32, Tiberius, in his effort to recover Armenia, used as his instrument Mithridates, the brother of the Iberian king Pharasmanes.

^c Albania, east of Iberia, is the modern Azerbaijan on the south-west shore of the Caspian Sea.

Tiberius tells Vitellius to negotiate a treaty of friendship with Artabanus king of Parthia.

Ἄρταβάνῳ μηδὲν ἐνδοίασαι. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀν-
 εἶχον, Ἄλανοὺς¹ δὲ δίοδον αὐτοῖς διδόντες διὰ τῆς
 αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς θύρας τὰς Κασπίας ἀνοίξαντες ἐπ-
 98 ἀγοῦσι τῷ Ἄρταβάνῳ. καὶ ἢ τε Ἀρμενία ἀφῆρητο
 αὐθις καὶ πλησθείσης πολέμων τῆς Παρθυαίων γῆς
 οἱ τε πρῶτοι τῶν τῆδε ἐκτείνοντο ἀνδρῶν ἀνάστατά
 τε ἦν αὐτοῖς τὰ πάντα καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ὁ υἱὸς ἐκ
 τουτωνὶ τῶν μαχῶν ἔπεσε² μετὰ πολλῶν στρατοῦ
 99 μυριάδων. καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν πατέρα Ἀρτάβανον
 Οὐιτέλλιος πομπῇ χρημάτων εἰς τε συγγενεῖς καὶ
 φίλους τοὺς ἐκείνου γενομένη ἐμέλλησε μὲν κτιν-
 νύειν διὰ τῶν τὰ δῶρα εἰληφότων, αἰσθόμενος δὲ
 τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ὁ Ἀρτάβανος ἄφυκτον οὔσαν διὰ
 τὸ ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ τῶν πρῶτων ἀνδρῶν συντεθεῖ-
 100 σαν μὴ ἀνεῖσθαι τοῦ ἐπὶ πέρασ ἐλθεῖν, καὶ νομίζων
 καὶ ὅποσον αὐτῷ καθαρῶς συνειστήκει καὶ τότε
 ἦτοι ἐφθαρμένον ἐπὶ δόλῳ τὴν εὐνοίαν προσποιεί-

¹ ed. pr.: Ἄλανοι codd.: Ἄλμανοι E: Scythas Lat.: Σκό-
 θας Naber: Ἄλανοῖς conl.

² A: ἐπέστη MW Exc. et i. marg. A.

^a According to *B.J.* vii. 244, a Scythian tribe inhabiting the banks of the River Don and the Sea of Azov. Tacitus' account substitutes the Sarmatae, another tribe from approximately the same area, for the Alani, and states that the Iberians poured the Sarmatae into Armenia over the Caucasian pass. Naber's reading, that the Iberian and Albanian kings granted passage to the Scythians, is an attempt to reconcile Josephus with Tacitus; but since the Alani were a Scythian tribe, it seems better to keep the name of the tribe as the Alani, in line with the manuscripts. Though Tacitus definitely has the Iberians and Albanians joining the battle

plainly for war against Artabanus. For their own part, however, those kings held out against him, but they did bring in the Alani^a against Artabanus by allowing them free transit through their own territory after throwing open the Caspian Gates.^b Thus Armenia was recaptured and the land of the Parthians overwhelmed with war, in the battles of which men of the highest standing were killed, all their land ravaged, and the son of the king slain, together with many tens of thousands of soldiers.^c Vitellius sent money to the kinsmen and friends of the elder Artabanus and would have brought about his death by those who had accepted the bribes if Artabanus had not perceived that this plot would inevitably succeed since it had been concocted by many men of the highest standing. He believed too that even those who had sincerely supported him were either now seduced and craftily pretending to be loyal or that as with the Parthians, and though it therefore appears that their initial reluctance was overcome by the assistance of the Alani (or Sarmatae), yet the region of the Alani seems too far from the Caucasus, and hence the manuscript reading, that the Alani offered a passage to the Iberians and Albanians through the Caspian Gates, seems geographically improbable.^b The name given to a mountain pass or a series of passes near the Caspian Sea. Cf. *B.J.* vii. 245 note e. Mathieu-Herrmann, in their French translation of Josephus (*ad loc.*), remark that the reference here should be to the Albanian Gates, since the Caspian Gates, properly speaking, were too far east to be meant. Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 33, also speaks of the Caspian route of the invasion; and Josephus' source, having similar information, may have concluded that the invasion was by way of the Caspian Gates.^c Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 35, whose account of the battle is fuller, says that Artabanus' son Orodes was wounded in the fighting. The mistaken rumour that he was slain caused the Parthians to panic and gave the victory to the coalition of Iberians, Albanians, and Sarmatae.

σθαι ἢ πείρας αὐτῷ γενομένης μετατάξεσθαι¹ πρὸς τοὺς προαφεστηκότας, εἰς τι² τῶν ἄνω σατραπειῶν³ ἔσωξεν αὐτόν. καὶ πολλὴν μετὰ ταῦτα στρατιὰν ἀθροίσας Δαῶν⁴ τε καὶ Σακῶν καὶ πολεμήσας τοὺς ἀνθεστηκότας κατέσχε τὴν ἀρχήν.

- 101 (5) Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Τιβέριος ἠξίου φίλιαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι πρὸς τὸν Ἀρτάβανον, ἐπεὶ δὲ κάκεινος προκληθεὶς ἄσμενος ἐδέχετο τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν⁵ λόγον, ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην παρήσαν ὃ τε Ἀρτάβανος καὶ
- 102 Οὐιτέλλιος. καὶ ζεύξεως τοῦ ποταμοῦ γενομένης κατὰ τὸ μεσαίτατον τῆς γεφύρας ἀλλήλους ὑπηγητίζον μετὰ φυλακῆς ἑκάτερος τῆς περὶ αὐτόν. καὶ λόγων αὐτοῖς συμβατικῶν γενομένων Ἡρώδης ὁ τετράρχης εἰστίασεν αὐτοὺς κατὰ μέσον τὸν πόρον
- 103 σκηνίδα ἐπισκηψάμενος⁶ τῷ πόρῳ πολυτελεῖ. καὶ Ἀρτάβανος πέμπει⁷ Τιβερίῳ ὄμηρον Δαρείον τὸν υἱὸν μετὰ πολλῶν δώρων, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἄνδρα ἐπτά-

¹ Dindorf: μετατάξεσθαι codd. Exc.

² εἰς τι] A: ἐπὶ MW Exc.: i. marg. γρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄνω A.
³ εἰς τι . . . σατραπειῶν] A: ad superiores satrapias Lat.: pro σατραπειῶν habent στρατιῶν MW Exc., στρακῶν E.

⁴ A: Δακῶν MWE Exc.: Dacorum Lat.

⁵ αὐτοῦ E.

⁶ ἡ i. ras. A: ἐπισκεπασάμενος Richards et Shutt.

⁷ πέμπει] A: μετ' οὐ πολὺ πέμπει MWE Exc.

^a Or "in time of trial."

^b The Dahae are also mentioned in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vi. 19; the Sacae in Herodotus vii. 9. In the only other reference to these two Scythian tribes in Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 91, they are also coupled. Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 44, corroborates Josephus' account by stating that Artabanus raised auxiliaries in Scythia.

^c According to Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 36, Artabanus fled to the

soon as an attempt was made on his life^a they would join the ranks of the rebels. He therefore fled for his life to one of the upper satrapies. Subsequently he gathered together a large army of Dahae and Sacae^b and, by military action against his opponents, secured the throne.^c

(5) At this news Tiberius took steps to make friends with Artabanus. When the offer was made, the Parthian was delighted to discuss the matter. He and Vitellius met on the Euphrates.^d The river was bridged and they met in the middle of the bridge, each with his bodyguard by him. After they had arrived at the terms of an agreement, Herod the tetrarch gave a feast for them in a luxurious pavilion which he constructed in the middle of the river. Artabanus sent as a hostage to Tiberius his son Darius,^e together with many gifts, among which he

Vitellius and Artabanus meet on the Euphrates to negotiate the treaty.

remote borders of Scythia, where he hoped for help from the Hyrcanians and Carmanians, with whom he was connected by marriage. See Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 43-44, for a vivid portrait of Artabanus in exile in Hyrcania on the Caspian, where he lived covered with filth, in which garb he remained while gathering auxiliaries for his successful fight against Tiridates, who then occupied the Parthian throne.

^d This parley is also mentioned by Suetonius, *Vit.* 2, who praises Vitellius' masterly diplomacy. Dio Cassius lix. 17. 5 and 27. 2-3 dates the incident in the reign of Caligula rather than in that of Tiberius, as Josephus does here. Täubler, *Die Parthernachrichten bei Josephus*, pp. 33 ff., accepts Josephus' dating, arguing that the historians who were hostile to Tiberius begrudged him this success. One cannot draw conclusions from Tacitus' omission of the incident since this may be due to his bias against Tiberius, or it may argue that the event took place in Caligula's reign, Tacitus' account of which is lost.

^e Probably to be identified with Dareus, one of the Parthian hostages with whom Caligula rode triumphantly over the bridge of ships from Baiae to Puteoli (Suet. *Calig.* 19).

πηχυν τὸ μέγεθος Ἰουδαῖον τὸ γένος Ἐλεάζαρον¹
 104 ὄνομα· διὰ μέντοι τὸ μέγεθος Γίγας ἐκαλεῖτο. ἐπὶ
 τούτοις Οὐιτέλλιος μὲν ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας ἦει, Ἀρτά-
 βανος δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας.² Ἡρώδης δὲ βουλό-
 μενος δι' αὐτοῦ πρώτου γενέσθαι πίστιν³ Καίσαρι
 τὰ ὁμήρων τῆς λήψεως ἐκπέμπει γραμματοφόρους
 105 ὑπολιπόμενος ἐπὶ μηνύσει τῷ ὑπατικῷ. πρὸς Οὐι-
 τελλίου δὲ ἐπιπεμφθεισῶν ἐπιστολῶν καὶ τοῦ Καί-
 σαρος ἐπισημήναντος πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς δῆλα αὐτῷ
 γένοιτο πρότερον πίστιν⁴ περὶ αὐτῶν Ἡρώδου
 προτεθεικότος, ταραχθεὶς ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος μεγάλως
 καὶ πεπονθέναι μεζύονως ἢ ἐπέπρακτο ὑπολαμβά-
 νων ἀδηλον τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔκρυπτεν ὀργήν, μέχρι
 δὴ καὶ μετῆλθε Γαίου τὴν Ῥωμαίων⁵ ἀρχὴν παρ-
 εληφότος.

106 (6) Τότε δὲ καὶ Φίλιππος, Ἡρώδου δὲ ἦν ἀδελ-
 φός, τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον εἰκοστῷ⁶ μὲν ἐνιαυτῷ τῆς
 Τιβερίου ἀρχῆς, ἡγησάμενος δὲ αὐτὸς ἐπτὰ καὶ
 τριάκοντα⁷ τῆς Τραχωνίτιδος καὶ Γαυλανίτιδος καὶ
 τοῦ Βατανέων⁸ ἔθνους πρὸς αὐταῖς, μέτριον δὲ ἐν
 οἷς ἦρχεν παρασχὼν τὸν τρόπον καὶ ἀπράγμονα·
 107 δίαιταν μὲν γὰρ τὸ πᾶν⁹ ἐν γῆ τῇ ὑποτελεῖ ἐποιεῖτο,
 πρόοδοι δ' ἦσαν αὐτῷ σὺν ὀλίγοις τῶν ἐπιλέκτων,
 καὶ τοῦ θρόνου εἰς ὃν ἔκρινεν καθεζόμενος ἐν ταῖς
 ὁδοῖς ἐπομένον, ὅποτε τις ὑπαντιάσας ἐν χρειᾷ
 γένοιτο αὐτῷ ἐπιβοηθεῖν, οὐδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἀλλ'

¹ Lazarum Lat.

² Βαβυλώνος E.

³ E: πίστιν codd. Exc.

⁴ A: πίστιν MW.

⁵ A: om. MWE Lat. Exc.

⁶ εἰκοστῷ] vicesimo secundo Lat., quod probat Scaliger.

⁷ ἐπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα] triginta duos (xxxv alii) Lat.

included a man seven cubits^a tall, a Jew by race, named Eleazar, who on account of his size was called the Giant. These terms having been arranged, Vitellius departed for Antioch and Artabanus for Babylonia. Meanwhile, Herod, in his desire to be the first to communicate the news to the emperor that hostages had been received, wrote and dispatched by couriers so precise and complete an account that he left nothing for the proconsul to report. When Vitellius had later sent his dispatch and the emperor informed him that he knew the facts because Herod had been ahead of Vitellius in putting them at his disposal, Vitellius fell into a great fury, and took the offence to be much greater than it actually was. Yet he kept his wrath concealed until he got his revenge on the accession of Gaius as emperor of the Romans.

(6) Now it was at this time that Philip,^b Herod's brother, died^c in the twentieth year of Tiberius' reign and after thirty-seven years of his own rule over Trachonitis and Gaulanitis, as well as over the tribe called the Bataneans. In his conduct of the government he showed a moderate and easy-going disposition. Indeed, he spent all his time in the territory subject to him. When he went on circuit he had only a few select companions. The throne on which he sat when he gave judgement accompanied him wherever he went. And so, whenever anyone appealed to him for redress^d along the route, at once

^a About ten and a half feet.

^b See above, §§ 27-28.

^c A. D. 34.

^d Or "whenever anyone met him who was in need of his assistance."

^e M: Ναβαταίων A: Βαβαταίων WE: Βαταναικῶν Lat.

^f τὸ πᾶν] AW: om. M.

Herod the tetrarch anticipates Vitellius in sending news to Tiberius.

Death of Philip the tetrarch. His mild character.

- ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἰδρύσεως τοῦ θρόνου ἦ καὶ τύχοι γενομένης καθεζόμενος ἠκροῶτο καὶ τιμωρίας τε ἐπέτιμα τοῖς ἀλοῦσι καὶ ἠφίει τοὺς ἀδίκως ἐν ἐγκλήμασι γενομένους. τελευτᾷ δ' ἐν Ἰουλιᾷ καὶ αὐτοῦ κομισθέντος ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον, ὃ ἔτι πρότερον ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτός, ταφαὶ γίνονται πολυτελεῖς. τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν, οὐ γὰρ κατελίπετο παῖδας, Τιβέριος παραλαβὼν προσθήκην ἐπαρχίας ποιεῖται τῆς Σύρων, τοὺς μέντοι φόρους ἐκέλευσε συλλεγομένους ἐν τῇ τετραρχίᾳ τῇ ἐκείνου γενομένη κατατίθεσθαι.
- 109 (v. 1) Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ στασιάξουσιν Ἀρέτας τε ὁ Πετραῖος βασιλεὺς καὶ Ἡρώδης διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν. Ἡρώδης ὁ τετράρχης γαμεί τὴν Ἀρέτα θυγατέρα καὶ συνῆν χρόνον ἤδη πολύν. στελλόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης καταγεται ἐν Ἡρώδου ἀδελφοῦ ὄντος οὐχ ὁμομητρίου. ἐκ γὰρ τῆς Σίμωνος τοῦ ἀρχιερέως θυγατρὸς Ἡρώδης ἐγεγόνει. ἐρασθεῖς δὲ Ἡρωδιάδος τῆς τούτου γυναικὸς, θυγάτηρ δὲ ἦν Ἀριστοβούλου καὶ οὗτος ἀδελφὸς αὐτῶν, Ἀγρίππου δὲ ἀδελφῆ¹ τοῦ μεγάλου, τολμᾷ λόγων ἄπτεσθαι περὶ γάμου. καὶ δεξαμένης συνθήκαι γίνονται μετοικίσασθαι παρ' αὐτόν, ὅποτε ἀπὸ Ῥώμης παραγένοιτο. ἦν δὲ ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ὥστε καὶ τοῦ
- 111 Ἀρέτα τὴν θυγατέρα ἐκβαλεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔπλει ταῦτα συνθέμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπανεχώρει διαπραξάμενος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐφ' ἅπερ

¹ ἀδελφοῦ E.

^a In *Ant.* xvi. 294 we hear that he succeeded Obodas as king of Arabia and that his previous name was Aeneas.

^b The name of Herodias' husband is given as Philip in all the mss. of Mark vi. 17, but it is omitted in the best mss. in

without a moment's delay the throne was set up wherever it might be. He took his seat and gave the case a hearing. He fixed penalties for those who were convicted and released those who had been unjustly accused. He died in Julius. His body was carried to the tomb that he himself had had erected before he died and there was a costly funeral. Since he had died childless, Tiberius took over his territory and annexed it to the province of Syria. Nevertheless, he ordered that the tribute which was collected in his tetrarchy should be held on deposit.

(v. 1) In the meantime, a quarrel, whose origin I shall relate, arose between Aretas,^a king of Petra, and Herod. The tetrarch Herod had taken the daughter of Aretas as his wife and had now been married to her for a long time. When starting out for Rome, he lodged with his half-brother Herod,^b who was born of a different mother, namely, the daughter of Simon the high priest. Falling in love with Herodias, the wife of this half-brother—she was a daughter of their brother Aristobulus and sister to Agrippa the Great—he brazenly broached to her the subject of marriage. She accepted and pledged herself to make the transfer to him as soon as he returned from Rome. It was stipulated that he must oust the daughter of Aretas. The agreement made, he set sail for Rome. On his return after transacting his business in Rome, his wife,

Herod the tetrarch divorces the daughter of Aretas and marries Herodias, his half-brother's wife.

Luke iii. 19 and in codex D and the Latin versions in Matt. xiv. 3 (in the other mss. of Luke and Matthew it has been supplied from Mark). Josephus' authority for the name, given here and in *Ant.* xviii. 148, is accepted by most authorities, who explain the reading of Mark as being due to a confusion between the husband and the son-in-law of Herodias, who was indeed named Philip. So Thackeray, *Selections from Josephus*, pp. 191-192.

ἔσταλτο, ἢ γυνὴ πίστewς¹ αὐτῇ τῶν πρὸς τὴν Ἡρωδιάδα συνθηκῶν γενομένης πρὶν ἔκπυστος αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὰ πάντα ἐκμαθοῦσα κελεύει πέμπειν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ Μαχαιρουίντου, μεθόριον δ' ἐστὶ τῆς τε Ἀρέτα καὶ Ἡρώδου ἀρχῆς, γνώμην οὐκ ἐκφαίνουσα τὴν ἑαυτῆς.² καὶ ὁ Ἡρώδης ἐξέπεμψεν 112 μηδὲν ἡσθῆσθαι τὴν ἀνθρωπον προσδοκῶν. ἢ δέ, προαπεστάλκει γὰρ ἐκ πλείονος εἰς τὸν Μαχαιρουίντα τότε³ πατρὶ αὐτῆς ὑποτελῆ,⁴ πάντων εἰς τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ἡτοιμασμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἅμα τε⁵ παρῆν καὶ ἀφωρμᾶτο εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν κομιδῇ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκ διαδοχῆς⁶ παρῆν⁷ τε ὡς τὸν πατέρα ἢ τάχος καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν Ἡρώδου διά- 113 νοιαν ἐφράζεν. ὁ δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔχθρας ταύτην ποιη-

¹ A: πίστewς WE et vid. Lat.

² MWE: αὐτῆς A.

³ τότε³ ed. pr.: τῷ τε codd.

⁴ ed. pr.: ὑποτελεῖ codd.

⁵ ἅμα τε⁵ A: Ἀρέτα MWE.

⁶ χρωμένη post διαδοχῆς suppl. Richards et Shutt.

⁷ προαπεστάλκει . . . παρῆν praemiserat enim ante multum tempus ad patrem, ut ei apud Macherunta omnia praepararentur, quae itineris usus exposceret, a ductoribus Aretae suscipitur Lat.

^a Or "to give her an escort."

^b For a description of this fortress, just east of the Dead Sea, see *B.J.* vii. 164 ff.

^c N. Glueck, "Explorations in the Land of Ammon," *Bull. of the Am. Sch. of Orient. Res.* lxxviii, Dec. 1937, p. 15, on the basis of an archaeological survey of the area, concludes that Josephus is approximately correct in placing Machaerus on the border between the territory of Aretas and that of Herod, but that he is wrong in placing it in the territory of Aretas, which was a few miles away.

who had got wind of his compact with Herodias, before any information reached him that she had discovered everything, asked him to send her away^a to Machaerus,^b which was on the boundary^c between the territory of Aretas and that of Herod. She gave no hint, however, of her real purpose. Herod let her go, since he had no notion that the poor woman saw what was afoot. Some time earlier she herself had dispatched messengers to Machaerus, which was at that time subject to her father,^d so that when she arrived all preparations for her journey had been made by the governor. She was thus able to start for Arabia as soon as she arrived, being passed from one governor to the next as they provided transport.^e So she speedily reached her father and told him what Herod planned to do. Aretas made this the start of a

^a The reading of the mss. is "and to him who was subject to her father." Aretas makes war

^b The Nabataean inscriptions, as noted by Jones, *Cities*, p. 292, mention officers with the titles of ἑπαρχος and στρατηγός. That the Greek words are thus transliterated into Nabataean shows that the institution was of foreign origin. Jones plausibly conjectures that the Nabataean kings, after successfully trying to organize their kingdom on the centralized Hellenistic model, gave the local sheikhs the title of "governor." There is perhaps a parallel to be drawn with the magisterial boards of στρατηγοί, usually consisting of five members, often headed by a first στρατηγός, which governed the Hellenistic cities in Asia Minor and elsewhere (see Magic, *Roman Rule*, i. 643-644). G. A. Cooke, *A Textbook of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, 1903, pp. 247-248, suggests the possibility that the two στρατηγοί mentioned in *C.I.S.* ii. 169 may have assisted the daughter of Aretas, since the fortress of Machaerus was probably in the district of one of them, Ya'amru by name. Another inscription mentioning a στρατηγός found in northern Transjordan and probably referring to a village sheik is described by L. Mowry, in *Bull. of the Am. Sch. of Orient. Res.* cxxvii, Dec. 1953, pp. 34-41.

σάμενος περί τε ὄρων ἐν γῆ τῇ Γαβαλίτιδι,¹ καὶ
 δυνάμειος ἑκατέρω συλλεγείσης εἰς πόλεμον καθί-
 114 σταντο στρατηγούς ἀπεσταλκότες ἀνθ' ἑαυτῶν. καὶ
 μάχης γενομένης διεφθάρη πᾶς ὁ Ἡρώδου στρατός
 προδοσίας αὐτῷ γενομένης ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν φυγάδων,
 οἱ ὄντες ἐκ τῆς Φιλίππου τετραρχίας Ἡρώδη συνε-
 115 στράτευον. ταῦτα Ἡρώδης γράφει πρὸς Τιβερίον.
 ὁ δὲ ὀργῇ φέρων τὴν Ἀρέτα ἐπιχείρησιν γράφει
 πρὸς Οὐιτέλλιον πόλεμον ἐξενεγκεῖν καὶ ἦτοι ζωὸν
 ἐλόντα ἀναγαγεῖν δεδεμένον ἢ κτεινομένου πέμπειν
 τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπ' αὐτόν. καὶ Τιβέριος μὲν ταῦτα
 πράσσει ἐπέστειλεν τῷ κατὰ Συρίαν στρατηγῷ.
 116 (2) Τισὶ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐδόκει ὀλωλέναι τὸν
 Ἡρώδου στρατὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μάλα δικαίως
 τινυμένου² κατὰ ποινὴν Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπικαλου-
 117 μένου βαπτιστοῦ. κτείνει γὰρ δὴ τοῦτον Ἡρώδης
 ἀγαθόν³ ἄνδρα καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κελεύοντα ἀρετὴν
 ἐπασκοῦσιν καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους δικαιοσύνη καὶ
 πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβείᾳ χρωμένους⁴ βαπτισμῷ συν-

¹ conl. Jones, Cities, p. 449 n. 19: Γαμαλική A: Γαμαλίτιδι MWE: Gamalica (Gamalitica cod. A) Lat.: Galaaditidi conl. Schürer i. 445 et n. 36: Γαβαλική vel simile conl. Niese: post Γαμαλική lacunam indicat Bekker.

² codd. E Eus.: τινυμένου Niese.

³ ἄγιον Eislser (Messiah Jesus, p. 248).

⁴ <ἐπι> ante βαπτισμῷ conl. Richards et Shutt.

^a The manuscript reading, Gamala, seems unlikely, since this region belonged to Philip's former tetrarchy and hence could not have been the subject of dispute between Aretas and Herod. Schürer's emendation, Galaaditis (Gilead), is geographically possible but is palaeographically not as close

quarrel. There was also a dispute about boundaries in the district of Gabalis.^a Troops were mustered on each side and they were now at war, but they dispatched others as commanders instead of going themselves. In the ensuing battle, the whole army of Herod was destroyed when some refugees, who had come from the tetrarchy of Philip and had joined Herod's army, played him false. Herod sent an account of these events to Tiberius. The latter was incensed to think that Aretas had begun hostilities and wrote Vitellius to declare war and either bring Aretas to him in chains, if he should be captured alive, or, if he should be slain, to send him his head. Such were the instructions of Tiberius to his governor in Syria.

(2) ^b But to some of the Jews the destruction of Herod's army seemed to be divine vengeance, and certainly a just vengeance, for his treatment of John, surnamed the Baptist. For Herod had put him to death, though he was a good man ^c and had exhorted the Jews to lead righteous lives, to practise justice towards their fellows and piety towards God, and so

to the manuscript reading as Gabala, a district south of Moabitic in Idumaea. Cf. *Ant.* ii. 6.

^b In general, this famous passage, §§ 116-119, on the murder of John the Baptist has been accepted as authentic, though Graetz in his later editions regarded it as spurious on the grounds that Josephus would not have called John a baptist without giving an explanation of what baptism is and that Josephus would not have used different forms for the word "baptism." But Josephus does not explain every movement; and since there was no established Greek word for baptism he might well have used two different forms of the word.

^c The Slavonic Josephus, the value of which has been justly questioned by numerous scholars, speaks of John as ἄγιος, a wild man. Eislser, p. 248, recklessly suggests that the Church changed ἄγιος to ἀγαθός.

on Herod
and defeats
him.

Herod's
defeat is
attributed
to his murder
of John
the Baptist.

118 *ιέναι· οὕτω γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὴν βάπτισιν ἀποδεκτὴν αὐτῷ φανεῖσθαι μὴ ἐπὶ τινῶν ἁμαρτᾶδων παραιτή-
σει χρωμένων, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἀγνεΐα τοῦ σώματος, ἅτε
δὴ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς δικαιοσύνη προεκκεκαθαρμένης.
ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων¹ συστρεφόμενων, καὶ γὰρ ἤρθησαν²
ἐπὶ πλείστον τῇ ἀκροάσει³ τῶν λόγων, δέϊσας
'Ηρώδης τὸ ἐπὶ τοσόνδε πιθανὸν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀνθρώ-
ποις μὴ ἐπὶ στάσει⁴ τιμὴ φέροι, πάντα γὰρ ἐώκεσαν
συμβουλῇ τῇ ἐκείνου πράξοντες, πολὺ κρείττον
ἡγείται πρὶν τι νεώτερον ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι προλα-
βῶν ἀνελεῖν τοῦ⁵ μεταβολῆς γενομένης [μὴ]⁶ εἰς
119 πράγματα ἐμπεσῶν μετανοεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑποψία*

¹ MWE: λαῶν ex corr. A: per plurima multitudo Lat.: ἀνθρώπων conl. Niese: πολλῶν conl. Eisler (Messiah Jesus, P. 247).

² codd. E et Eusebii codd. quidam: ἤσθησαν Eusebius.
³ ἤρθησαν . . . ἀκροάσει] συνήχθησαν πλείστοι <ἐπὶ> τῇ ἀκρο-
άσει conl. Richards et Shutt.

⁴ MWE: ἀποστάσει A. ⁵ τοῦ] codd.: ἡ Eus.

⁶ μὴ] om. Eus.: μᾶλλον conl. Petersen.

^a The translation "to be united by baptism" seems unlikely, since there is no indication that John championed group baptism.

^b Josephus uses two different words for baptism in this same passage, *βαπτισμός* and *βάπτισις*.

^c The identity of these others is puzzling. Perhaps the reference is to the unjust men. Eisler, p. 247, following the Latin version, emends to "the masses," contending that "the others" represents a Christian alteration introduced to mitigate the seditious effect of John's preaching.

^d Or "uplifted." Variant "overjoyed." Eisler, p. 246, argues for the manuscript reading, "they were aroused," suggesting that Eusebius' "they were overjoyed," which is also found in the Slavonic Josephus, represents a Christian interpolation made because the Church preferred to think of John as a religious reformer rather than as one who incited the people to revolution. Because Schürer, i. 438 n. 2, and

doing to join in baptism.^a In his view this was a necessary preliminary if baptism^b was to be acceptable to God. They must not employ it to gain pardon for whatever sins they committed, but as a consecration of the body implying that the soul was already thoroughly cleansed by right behaviour. When others^c too joined the crowds about him, because they were aroused^d to the highest degree by his sermons, Herod became alarmed.^e Eloquence that had so great an effect on mankind might lead to some form of sedition,^f for it looked as if they would be guided by John in everything that they did. Herod decided therefore that it would be much better to strike first and be rid of him before his work led to an uprising, than to wait for an upheaval, get involved in a difficult situation and see his mistake. Though

Niese believed that Josephus would never have viewed with sympathy one who stirred up the people thus, they adopted Eusebius' emendation.

^e The Gospels do not mention this reason for Herod's alarm at John's activities. According to Mark vi. 17-21, John was imprisoned because he questioned Herod's right to marry his sister-in-law. And there is nothing in Josephus of the story, told in Mark vi. 22-28, that Salome asked for John's head. But there is no necessary contradiction between Josephus and the Gospels as to the reasons why John was put to death; the Christians chose to emphasize the moral charges that he brought against the ruler, whereas Josephus stresses the political fears that he aroused in Herod.

^f Variant "revolt." Eisler, p. 248, contends that the manuscript reading, "sedition," has clearer notions of revolution than Eusebius' reading, "revolt," and that the Christians changed the manuscripts here, as they did with *ἤρθησαν*, to avoid connecting John with political insurrection. But *ἀπόστασις* means not only a turning away from established traditions but also actual defection or revolt. The chief argument for retaining *ἤρθησαν* and *στάσει* in the text is that they are backed by the manuscript tradition.

τῇ Ἡρώδου δέσμιος εἰς τὸν Μαχαιροῦντα πεμφθεὶς
τὸ προειρημένον φρούριον ταύτῃ κτίννυται. τοῖς¹
δὲ Ἰουδαίοις δόξα² ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ τῇ ἐκείνου τὸν
ἄλθρον ἐπὶ τῷ στρατεύματι γενέσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ
κακῶσαι Ἡρώδην³ θέλοντος.

- 120 (3) Οὐτιτέλλιος δὲ παρασκευασάμενος ὡς εἰς πό-
λεμον τὸν πρὸς Ἀρέταν δυοὶ τάγμασιν ὀπλιτῶν
ὄσοι τε περὶ αὐτὰ ψιλοὶ καὶ ἵππεῖς συμμαχοῦντες ἐκ
τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις βασιλειῶν ἀγόμενοι, ἐπὶ τῆς
121 Πέτρας ἠπεύγετο καὶ ἔσχε Πτολεμαῖδα. ὠρμη-
μένω δ' αὐτῷ διὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀγειν τὸν στρατὸν
ὑπαντιάσαντες ἄνδρες οἱ πρῶτοι παρηγοῦντο τὴν
διὰ τῆς χώρας ὁδόν· οὐ γὰρ αὐτοῖς εἶναι πάτριον
περιορᾶν εἰκόνας εἰς αὐτὴν φερομένας, πολλὰς δ'
122 εἶναι σημαίας ἐπικειμένας. καὶ πεισθεὶς μετέβα-
λέν τε τῆς γνώμης τὸ ἐπὶ τοιούτοις προβουλεύσαν
καὶ διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου πεδίου κελεύσας χωρεῖν τὸ
στρατόπεδον αὐτὸς μετὰ Ἡρώδου τοῦ τετράρχου
καὶ τῶν φίλων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀνῆει θύσων τῷ θεῷ
123 ἑορτῆς πατρίου τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐνεστηκυίας. εἰς ἣν
ἀπαντήσας καὶ δεχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πλῆ-
θους ἑκπρεπῶς τρεῖς μὲν ἡμέρας ταύτῃ διατριβὴν
ποιεῖται, ἐν αἷς Ἰωνάθην τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην⁴ ἀφελό-

¹ τισὶ conl. Eisler (Messiah Jesus, p. 248).

² E: δόξαν AMW: videbatur Lat.: δόξαν παρέσχεν Hol-
werda: ἔδοξεν Bekker: δόξα ἦν conl. Niese.

³ κακῶσαι Ἡρώδην] E: κακῶς Ἡρώδη codd.

⁴ τὴν διὰ] E: διὰ τὴν codd.

⁵ MWE: ἱερωσύνην A.

^a For a description of Ptolemaïs, modern Akkâ, at the northern end of the bay of Haifa, see *B.J.* ii. 188-191.

John, because of Herod's suspicions, was brought in chains to Machaerus, the stronghold that we have previously mentioned, and there put to death, yet the verdict of the Jews was that the destruction visited upon Herod's army was a vindication of John, since God saw fit to inflict such a blow on Herod.

(3) Vitellius got himself ready for war against Aretas with two legions of heavy-armed infantry and such light-armed infantry and cavalry as were attached to them as auxiliaries. Proceeding from the kingdoms that were under the Roman yoke, he pushed toward Petra and occupied Ptolemaïs.^a Since he had started to lead his army through the land of Judaea, the Jews of the highest standing went to meet him and entreated him not to march through their land. For, they said, it was contrary to their tradition to allow images,^b of which there were many attached to the military standards, to be brought upon their soil. Yielding to their entreaty, he abandoned his original plan and ordered his army to march through the Great Plain,^c while he himself, together with Herod the-tetrarch and his friends, went up to Jerusalem to sacrifice to God during the traditional festival which the Jews were celebrating there. When he arrived there, he was greeted with special warmth by the Jewish multitude. He spent three days there, during which he deposed Jonathan from his office as high priest and conferred it on

The expedition of Vitellius against Aretas is arrested by news of Tiberius' death.

^b For a similar objection on the part of the Jews to having military standards with their attached images brought into Judaea see §§ 55-59.

^c Usually refers to the region between Samaria and Galilee (*e.g. Ant.* v. 83) but sometimes indicates the valley of the Jordan (*e.g. B.J.* iv. 455-458). It is not clear which is meant here.

124 μενος ἐγχειρίζει τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ Θεοφίλῳ, τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ γραμματίων αὐτῷ παραγενομένων, ἃ ἐδήλου τὴν Τιβερίου τελευτήν, ἄρκισεν τὴν πληθὺν ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ τῇ Γαίου. ἀνεκάλει δὲ καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεία ἐκάστου χειμαδιῶν¹ πόλεμον² ἐκφέρειν οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως δυνάμενος διὰ τὸ εἰς Γάιον μεταπε-
 125 πτωκένας τὰ πράγματα. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀρέ-
 ταν οἰωνοσκοπησάμενον πρὸς τὴν ἀγγελίαν τῶν Οὐτελλίου στρατιωτῶν φάναι μηχανὴν οὐκ εἶναι τῷ στρατῷ τῆς ἐπὶ Πετραίους ὁδοῦ³. τεθνήξεσθαι γὰρ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἢ τὸν πολεμῆν κελεύσαντα ἢ τὸν γνώμη τῇ ἐκείνου ὠρμημένον διακονεῖσθαι καὶ⁴ ἐφ' ὃν⁵ γένοιτο τὴν παρασκευὴν τοῦ στρατεύματος.
 126 καὶ Οὐτέλλιος μὲν ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας ἀνεχώρησεν. Ἀγρίππας δὲ ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου υἱὸς ἐνιαυτῷ πρότερον ἢ τελευτῆσαι Τιβέριον ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἀνεῖσι πρά-
 127 ξων τι παρὰ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι δυνάμεως τινος αὐτῷ παραγενομένης. βούλομαι οὖν εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ μακρότερον περὶ τε Ἡρώδου καὶ γένους αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐγένετο, ἅμα μὲν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀνήκειν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν λόγον, ἅμα δὲ καὶ παράστασιν ἔχειν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ πληθὸς⁶ οὐδ' ἄλλη τις ἀλκή

¹ AE: χειμαδιοῦντος MW: i. marg. γρ χειμαδιοῦντας A: χειμάδια conl. Niese.

² χειμαδιῶν πόλεμον] litt. νη i. ras. ut vid. m. 2 A.

³ Πετραίους ὁδοῦ] πέτρας | εἰσόδου (πέτρας ex πετραί, ei ex ο, ὁδου ex ὁδοῦ corr.) A: πέτρας εἰσόδου MWE: ut ad Petraeos adveniret Lat.

⁴ MW: ἢ A.

⁵ ἐφ' ὃν] codd.: ὑφ' ὃν Petersen: ὑφ' οὐ conl.

⁶ πληθὸς MWE.

^a Tiberius died on 15 March A.D. 37.

^b The text is doubtful, and I am deeply indebted to Prof. Hans Petersen for my interpretation. Those manuscripts that

Jonathan's brother Theophilus. On the fourth day, when he received a letter notifying him of the death of Tiberius,^a he administered to the people an oath of loyalty to Gaius. He now recalled his army, ordering each man to go to his own home for the winter, for he was no longer empowered as before to make war abroad now that the government had fallen into Gaius' hands. It was also reported that Aretas, on consulting the flight of birds when news came of Vitellius' expedition, declared that his army could by no means enter Petra. One of the leaders would die, either the one who had given orders to make war or the one who had set forth to carry out his decision to attack the man against whom the army had in fact been mustered.^b Vitellius accordingly withdrew to Antioch. Meanwhile, Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, when the means^c presented itself, had gone to Rome a year before the death of Tiberius to gain some advantage at court.^d I will now give a fuller account of Herod and the particulars of his line, both because the tale is pertinent to my history and because it affords a proof of Divine Providence, showing how neither numbers nor any other worldly advan-

Digression on the descendants of Herod the Great.

read ἢ ἐφ' ὃν cannot be construed; ἐφ' ὃν could mean only "against whom," and we would thus have the unlikely possibility of Aretas foretelling the possibility of his own death, an event which surely would not keep the Romans out of Petra. It is straining the Greek to translate ἐφ' ὃν as "for whose sake" and have it refer to Herod. Since ἢ and καὶ are easily confused in minuscule writing, Prof. Petersen suggests reading καὶ and having the passage predict the death of either Tiberius or Vitellius.

^c It is not clear whether this refers to financial means or influence or to a chance opportunity.

^d Or "to transact some business with the emperor." From the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 178, we learn that the reason for Agrippa's visit was to accuse Herod the tetrarch.

- τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐπιτετευγμένων δίχα τῶν πρὸς
 128 τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβειῶν, εἰ γε ἐντὸς ἑκατὸν ἐτῶν ἐξόδου¹
 συνέβη πλὴν ὀλίγων, πολλοὶ δ' ἦσαν, διαφθαρῆναι
 τοὺς Ἡρώδου ἀπογόνους· φέροι δ' ἂν τι κατὰ
 129 σωφρονισμῷ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους τὸ τὴν δυσ-
 τυχίαν αὐτῶν μαθεῖν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν δι-
 ηγήσασθαι θαύματος ἀξιώτατον γεγενημένον, ὃς ἐκ
 πάντων ἰδιώτου καὶ παρὰ πᾶσαν δόξαν τῶν εἰδόντων
 αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοσόνδε ἠξήθη δυνάμεως. εἴρηται μὲν
 οὖν μοι² καὶ πρότερον περὶ αὐτῶν, λεχθήσεται δὲ³
 καὶ νῦν ἀκριβῶς.
- 130 (4) Ἡρώδη τῷ μεγάλῳ θυγατέρες ἐκ Μαριάμ-
 μης⁴ τῆς Ὑρκανοῦ θυγατρὸς γίνονται δύο, Σα-
 λαμψιῷ⁵ μὲν ἢ ἑτέρα, ἣ γαμεῖται Φασαήλῳ τῷ
 αὐτῆς ἀνεψιῷ Φασαήλου παιδί ὄντι τοῦ Ἡρώδου⁶
 ἀδελφοῦ δεδωκότος τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆν, Κύπρος δὲ
 Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ αὐτῇ ἀνεψιῷ Ἡρώδου παιδί τῆς
 131 ἀδελφῆς Σαλώμης. καὶ Φασαήλῳ μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμ-
 ψιῶν⁷ γίνονται πέντε παῖδες Ἀντίπατρος Ἀλέξ-
 ανδρος Ἡρώδης⁸ θυγατέρες τε Ἀλεξάνδρα καὶ
 Κύπρος, ἣν Ἀγρίππας γαμεῖ ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου.⁹
 Ἀλεξάνδραν δὲ γαμεῖ μὲν Τίμιος¹⁰ Κύπριος ἀνὴρ¹¹
 132 τῶν ἀξιολόγων, παρ' ᾧ δὴ ἄτεκνος τελευτᾷ. Κύ-
 πρῳ δ' ἐξ Ἀγρίππου μὲν ἄρρενες γίνονται δύο,

¹ ἐξόδου] δι' ὄλου vel fort. περιόδου conl. Richards et Shutt.

² μοι A: om. MWE. ³ δέ] A: δέ μοι MW.

⁴ Μαριάμης] codd.: Μαριάμης τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀλεξ-
 ανδρος E. ⁵ Salome Lat. (?).

⁶ Ἡρώδου] Ἡρώδου i. ras. maiore m. 1 A: Φασαήλου MW:
 Herodis Lat. ⁷ Salamprus Lat.

⁸ Ἡρώδης Ἀλεξάνδρος tr. MWE Lat.

⁹ Alexandri cod. A Lat.

¹⁰ μὲν Τίμιος] codd.: μὲν om. E: Μεντίμιος conl. Niese.

¹¹ Τίμιος Κύπριος ἀνὴρ] honorabilis vir Cyprus Lat.

tage can avail aught without acts of piety toward the Divine Power. For within a century of Herod's decease it came about that all but a few of Herod's issue, and there were many, had perished. It may contribute to the moral instruction of mankind to learn what their misfortunes were. It may also be edifying to tell the story of Agrippa, which is in the highest degree remarkable. For from a position of no distinction at all and to the surprise of all who knew of him, he rose to his high and mighty exaltation. To be sure, I have spoken previously^a about these matters, but now I shall dwell on them in detail.

(4)^b Herod the Great^c had two daughters by Mariamme the daughter of Hyrcanus. One of them, Salampsio, was given in marriage by her father to Phasaël, her cousin, the son of Herod's brother Phasaël; the other, Cypros, also married a cousin, Antipater, the son of Herod's sister Salome. By Salampsio Phasaël had three sons—Antipater, Alexander, and Herod—and two daughters—Alexandra and Cypros. Cypros' husband was Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus; Alexandra's was Timius of Cyprus, a man of some importance, in union with whom she died childless. By Agrippa Cypros had two sons, named

^a Ant. xvii. 12-22.

^b For a stemma of Herod's family see the extensible sheet at the end of this volume.

^c It is worthy of note that only in this passage (§§ 130, 133, and 136) is Herod given the title *ὁ μέγας*. Since this title is not found in inscriptions, coins, or elsewhere in Josephus, H. Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* iv³, 1867, p. 546, plausibly conjectures that *ὁ μέγας* indicates that he is merely "the elder" (like Latin *maior*) in comparison with his sons of that name. For *ὁ μέγας* as "the Elder" cf. Drusus the Elder in § 143.

θυγατέρες δὲ τρεῖς Βερενίκη¹ Μαριάμμη Δρούσιλλα,
 Ἀγρίππας δὲ καὶ Δρούσος τοῖς ἄρσεσιν ὀνόματα,
 133 ὃν ὁ Δρούσος πρὶν ἡβῆσαι τελευτᾷ.² τῷ δὲ πατρὶ³
 τούτων Ἀγρίππας⁴ ἐτρέφετο⁵ μετὰ καὶ ἑτέρων
 ἀδελφῶν⁶ Ἡρώδου τε καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου⁷· καὶ
 Βερενίκη⁸ καὶ οἶδε παῖδες τοῦ υἱέος Ἡρώδου⁹ τοῦ
 134 μεγάλου¹⁰. ἡ δὲ Βερενίκη Κοστοβάρου καὶ Σαλάμης
 παῖς τῆς Ἡρώδου ἀδελφῆς. τούτους Ἀριστοβού-
 λος νηπίους λείπεται θνήσκων ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς σὺν
 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, καθὰ προειρήκαμεν. ἡβή-
 σαντες δ' ἄγονται Ἡρώδης μὲν οὗτος ὁ τοῦ Ἀγρίπ-
 που ἀδελφός¹¹ Μαριάμμη θυγατέρα Ὀλυμπιάδος

¹ A : Βερενίκη MWE.

² lacunam post τελευτᾷ indicat Niese.

³ τῷ δὲ πατρὶ] ὁ δὲ πατήρ Hudson.

⁴ Ἀγρίππας] -as in -ai corr. A.

⁵ τῷ δὲ . . . ἐτρέφετο] Agrippas autem a patre nutriebatur
 Lat. μετὰ . . . ἀδελφῶν] om. Lat.

⁷ Ἡρώδου τε καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου] Hudson : Ἡρώδης καὶ Ἀρι-
 στόβουλος A : Ἡρώδης τε καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος MW : Ἡρώδης
 δὲ καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος E.

⁸ καὶ Βερενίκη] A : καὶ Βερενίκη MW : καὶ ἀδελφὴ Ἡρωδιάς
 Ἀριστοβούλου E : ἐκ Βερενίκης Hudson.

⁹ τοῦ υἱέος Ἡρώδου] E : Ἡρώδου τοῦ υἱέος codd.

¹⁰ Ἡρώδης . . . μεγάλου] Herodes autem et Aristobulus et
 Verence etiam hi quoque filii fuerunt filii maioris Herodis
 Lat. ¹¹ A : υἱός MW.

^a Niese indicates that there is a lacuna at the end of this sentence, since Josephus here shifts from listing the progeny of Salampsio and Phasael to the brothers of the Agrippa who married Salampsio's daughter Cypros. He thinks that Josephus would not have given such a fragmentary account of the family of Aristobulus, the father of Agrippa, as he here gives. He suggests the possibility that § 136, which states that Josephus has just listed the progeny of Phasael and Salampsio, should come after § 132, where Josephus concludes his listing of the direct line of Phasael and Salampsio. But

Agrippa and Drusus, and three daughters, Berenice, Mariamme, and Drusilla. Of these children Drusus died before reaching adolescence.^a Agrippa,^b together with his brothers Herod and Aristobulus, was raised by their father.^c Berenice, the daughter of Costobar and of Herod's sister Salome, the daughter of Aristobulus, Herod the Great's son,^d and these sons of Aristobulus, Herod the Great's son,^e were raised together. These were left as infants by Aristobulus when, as I have previously related,^e he, together with his brother Alexander, was put to death by his father. When they had reached adolescence, Herod, the brother of Agrippa, married Mariamme,

the digression in §§ 133-138 is understandable inasmuch as Josephus has just mentioned Cypros' husband Agrippa in §§ 131-132 and now wishes to discuss the latter's family. Since there is so much inbreeding and since names recur so often in the family of Herod, there is bound to be confusion, but the genealogical table at the close of this volume will, it is hoped, be of some help.

^b From the Greek it would appear that this is the Agrippa mentioned in § 132, *i.e.* the son of Agrippa the husband of Cypros. But that Agrippa had a brother Drusus, whereas this one has brothers named Herod and Aristobulus. Hence this Agrippa must be the son of Aristobulus, the son of Herod the Great. The transition in the Greek seems too abrupt, and there is probably a lacuna; but the meaning is clear.

^c Aristobulus. *Cf. B.J.* i. 552, which lists his progeny.
^d The mss. have "these sons of Herod, the son of (Herod) the Great." But apart from our having no means of knowing which of several Herods by that name would be meant, we have not had, and do not have in the sections that follow, any mention of Herod, the son of Herod the Great, until we reach § 136, when he appears to be mentioned for the first time. The transposition of the Epitome, supported also by the order of words in the Latin translation, makes perfect sense, and the reference is to the son of Herod the Great, namely Aristobulus, who is the father of Cypros' husband Agrippa.

^e *Ant.* xvi. 394.

τῆς Ἡρώδου βασιλέως θυγατρὸς καὶ Ἰωσήπου τοῦ Ἰωσήπου, ἀδελφὸς δὲ οὗτος Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως·
 135 ἴσχει τε ἐξ αὐτῆς υἱὸν Ἀριστόβουλον. ὁ δὲ τρίτος τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ἀδελφὸς Ἀριστόβουλος γαμεί Ἰωτάπην Σαμψιγεράμου¹ θυγατέρα τοῦ Ἐμεσῶν βασιλέως, θυγάτηρ τε αὐτοῖς γίνεται κωφή ὄνομα καὶ τῆδε Ἰωτάπη. καὶ τὰδε μὲν τῶν ἀρσένων
 136 τέκνα. Ἡρωδιάς δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ ἀδελφὴ γίνεται Ἡρώδῃ Ἡρώδου τοῦ μεγάλου παιδὶ γεγονότι ἐκ Μαριάμμης τῆς τοῦ Σίμωνος τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, καὶ αὐτοῖς Σαλώμη γίνεται, μεθ' ἧς τὰς γονὰς Ἡρωδιάς ἐπὶ συγχύσει φρονήσασα τῶν πατρίων Ἡρώδῃ γαμείται τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τῷ ὁμοπατρίῳ ἀδελφῷ διαστασα ζῶντος.² τὴν δὲ Γαλιλαίων τετραρχίαν οὐ-
 137 τος εἶχεν. ἡ δὲ θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς Σαλώμη Φιλίππῳ γαμείται Ἡρώδου παιδὶ τῷ τετάρτῳ τῆς Τραχωνίτιδος, καὶ ἄπαιδος τελευτήσαντος Ἀριστόβουλος αὐτὴν ἀγεται Ἡρώδου παῖς τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ἀδελφοῦ. παῖδες δὲ ἐγένοντο αὐτοῖς τρεῖς Ἡρώδης Ἀ-
 138 γρίππας Ἀριστόβουλος. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ Φασαήλου καὶ Σαλαμμιοῦς³ ἐστὶ γένος. Κύπρῳ δ' ἐξ Ἀντιπάτρου θυγάτηρ γίνεται Κύπρος, καὶ αὐτὴν Ἀλεξᾶς ὁ Ἐλκίας⁴ γαμεί τοῦ Ἀλεξᾶ, καὶ αὐτῆς θυγάτηρ⁵ ἦν Κύπρος. Ἡρώδης δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, οὗς ἀδελφοὺς ἔφην Ἀντιπάτρου, ἄτεκνοι τελευτῶ-

¹ Lapsigerami cod. A Lat.

² ζῶντος] τοῦ προτέρου γαμέτου ζῶντος·E.

³ MWE: Salampsus Lat.

⁴ ὁ Ἐλκίας] A: Σέλκιος MW: Selcias Lat.

⁵ τοῦ Ἀλεξᾶ . . . θυγάτηρ] Alexae vero huiusque mulieris filia Lat.

the daughter of Olympias—who was herself the daughter of King Herod—and of Joseph—who was the son of Joseph, the brother of King Herod. By her he had a son Aristobulus. The other brother of Agrippa, Aristobulus, married Jotape,^a the daughter of Sampsigeramus^b king of Emesa.^c They had a daughter also named Jotape, who was a deaf-mute. Such were the children of the sons. Their sister Herodias was married to Herod,^d the son of Herod the Great by Mariamme, daughter of Simon the high priest. They had a daughter Salome,^e after whose birth Herodias, taking it into her head to flout the way of our fathers, married Herod, her husband's brother by the same father, who was tetrarch of Galilee; to do this she parted from a living husband. Her daughter Salome was married to Philip, Herod's^f son and tetrarch of Trachonitis. When he died childless, Aristobulus, the son of Agrippa's brother Herod, married her. Three sons were born to them—Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus. Such then was the line of Phasael and Salampsio. As to Cypros, a daughter named Cypros was born to her of Antipater; Alexas, who was surnamed Helcias and was the son of Alexas, married this daughter, and she in turn had a daughter named Cypros. Herod and Alexander, who, as I have said,^g were the brothers of Antipater,

^a G. Macurdy, "Jotape," *Jour. of Rom. Stud.* xxvi, 1936, p. 40, suggests that the Median Jotape was the grandmother both of Jotape the daughter of Sampsigeramus and of Jotape, sister-wife of Antiochus IV of Commagene (*Ant.* xviii. 140).

^b Cf. *Ant.* xix. 338-341.

^c A city or region in Syria on the east bank of the Orontes.

^d Herod (Philip), mentioned in Mark vi. 17.

^e We thus learn the name of the daughter of Herodias mentioned in Mark vi. 22.

^f Herod the Great's.

139 σιν. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ τῷ Ἡρώδου παιδὶ τοῦ βασι-
λέως τῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνηρημένῳ Ἀλέξανδρος
καὶ Τιγράνης ἐγεγόνεισαν υἱεῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἀρχελαίου
τοῦ Καππαδόκων βασιλέως θυγατρὸς. καὶ Τιγρά-
νης μὲν βασιλεύων Ἀρμενίας κατηγοριῶν αὐτοῦ
140 ἐπὶ Ῥώμης γενομένων ἅπαις τελευτᾷ. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
δὲ Τιγράνης ὁμώνυμος τῷ ἀδελφῷ γίνεται παῖς καὶ
βασιλεὺς Ἀρμενίας ὑπὸ Νέρωνος ἐκπέμπεται υἱὸς
τε Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτῷ γίνεται. γαμει δ' οὗτος Ἀν-
τιόχου τοῦ Κομμαγενῶν βασιλέως θυγατέρα Ἰω-
τάπην, Κητιδὸς¹ τε² τῆς ἐν Κιλικίᾳ Οὐεσπασιανὸς
141 αὐτὸν ἴσταται βασιλέα. καὶ τὸ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου
γένος εὐθὺς ἅμα τῷ φυῆναι τὴν θεραπείαν ἐξέλιπε
τῶν Ἰουδαίους ἐπιχωρίων μεταταξάμενοι πρὸς τὰ
Ἑλλησι πάτρια· ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς θυγατράσιν Ἡρώ-
δου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀτέκνοις τελευτᾶν συνέπεσεν.
142 τῶν δὲ γενομένων Ἡρώδου ἀπογόνων οὓς κατέλεξα
ἔμενον³ ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ Ἀγρίππας ὁ μέγας τὴν βασι-
λείαν παρέλαβεν.⁴ τούτων δέ μοι τοῦ γένους προ-
δεηλωμένων διεξιέμι λοιπὸν, ὅποσαι Ἀγρίππα
τύχαι συνέλθοιεν, ὡς τε αὐτῶν διάδρασιν ποιησά-
μενος ἐπὶ μέγιστον ἀξιώματός τε ἅμα προκόψειεν
καὶ δυνάμεως.

143 (vi. 1) Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως ὀλίγον πρὸ τῆς

¹ Wilhelm: ἠσιδος codd.: isedis (lesidi cod. Berol.) Lat.:
Nysiados Harduinus: ησιδος Ernesti: Κητιδος Wilhelm.

² Κητιδος τε] om. spatio vacuo 6 litt. relicto E.

³ κατέλεξα ἔμενον] A: κατέλεξαμεν ὄντων MW: κατέλεξα με-
νόντων Bekker.

⁴ τῶν δὲ . . . παρέλαβεν] Herodis autem quam memoravi
prospapia permansit usque ad tempus quo Agrippa Maior
regnum accepit Lat.: om. E.

died childless. Alexander, King Herod's son, who
had been put to death by his father, had two sons,
Alexander and Tigranes, by the daughter of Arche-
laus king of Cappadocia. Tigranes, who was king of
Armenia, died childless after charges were brought
against him at Rome.^a Alexander had a son who had
the same name as his brother Tigranes^b and who was
sent forth by Nero to be king of Armenia. This Ti-
granes had a son Alexander, who married Jotape, the
daughter of Antiochus, king of Commagene; Ves-
pasian appointed him king of Ceticis^c in Cilicia. The
offspring of Alexander abandoned from birth the ob-
servance of the ways of the Jewish land and ranged
themselves with the Greek tradition. The other
daughters of King Herod, it turned out, died childless.
Of the descendants of Herod, those whom I have
enumerated were still alive at the time when Agrippa
the Great received his royal office. Now that I have
given an account of their family tree by way of pre-
face, I shall proceed to relate all the vicissitudes that
Agrippa experienced and how he eluded them and
forged ahead to the highest rank and power.

(vi. 1) Shortly before the death of King Herod, Relations of
Agrippa
with the

^a Tacitus mentions this prosecution in *Ann.* vi. 40.

^b Tacitus, *Ann.* xiv. 26, likewise notes that Tigranes had
been selected for the throne by Nero. He adds that Tigranes' long
residence in Rome as a hostage had given him a quality
of abject servility and that, as the Roman choice, he was
accepted by the Armenians only because of their even greater
fear of Parthian domination.

^c The manuscript reading is corrupt. Ernesti's emenda-
tion "islet" (Elaiussa-Sebaste: see Wilhelm, *Arch. Epigr.
Mith.* 1894, p. 5), Wilhelm's "Cietis" (an allusion to the
tribe of Cietae mentioned in Tac. *Ann.* vi. 41, probably to be
identified with the Clitae described in Tac. *Ann.* xii. 55 as
savage tribes of Cilicia), or Wilhelm's "Ceticis" (adopted by
Jones, *Cities*, p. 438 n. 30) are best.

τελευτῆς Ἀγρίππας ἐν Ῥώμῃ διαιώμενος καὶ ὁμοτροφίας καὶ συνηθείας αὐτῷ πολλῆς γενομένης πρὸς Δρούσον τὸν Τιβερίου τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος υἱὸν καὶ Ἀντωνία τῇ Δρούσου τοῦ μεγάλου γυναικὶ εἰς φιλίαν ἀφίκετο, Βερενίκης τῆς μητρὸς τιμωμένης παρ' αὐτῇ¹ καὶ προσαγωγῶν ἡξιωκίας τὸν υἱόν.²
 144 φύσει δὲ μέγας³ ὢν ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ δωρεῖσθαι πολυτελῆς ζώσης μὲν τῆς μητρὸς οὐκ ἐξέφαυε τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ θέλον διαδιδράσκειν αὐτῆς ἡξιωκῶς τὴν
 145 ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις γενομένην⁴ ὀργήν, ἐπεὶ δὲ Βερενίκη τελευτᾷ, γενόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ τρόπῳ, τὰ μὲν εἰς πολυτέλειαν τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν διαίτης, τὰ δ' εἰς τῶν δωρεῶν τὸ μὴ μέτρῳ προϊέμενον ἀνάλωσε τῶν χρημάτων, τὰ πλείστα δ' εἰς τοὺς Καίσαρος ἀπελευθέρους ἐτετέλεστο ἐλπίδι πράξεως⁵ τῆς αὐ-
 146 τῶν, πενία τε ἐν ὀλίγῳ περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν. καὶ τοῦτο ἦν κώλυμα τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ διαίτης, καὶ ὁ Τιβε-
 ριος τοῖς φίλοις τοῦ υἱέος τετελευτηκότος ἀπειπῶν φοιτᾶν εἰς ὄψιν αὐτῷ, διὰ τὸ ἀνереθίζεσθαι πρὸς τὸ λυπεῖσθαι μνημονεύων τοῦ παιδὸς θεωρία τῇ ἐκείνων.
 147 (2) Διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας πλέων ὄψηγο κακοπραγῶν καὶ τεταπεινωμένους ὀλέθρῳ τε ὢν εἶχεν χρημάτων καὶ ἀπορία τοῦ ἐκτίσοντος τὰ χρέα τοῖς δανεισταῖς πολλοῖς τε ὄσων καὶ ὀλεωρῶν

¹ A: αὐτῆς MWE.

² καὶ . . . υἱόν] et venerabiliter appellaret Lat.

³ μεγαλόφρων coni. Richards et Shutt.

⁴ ἂν post γενομένην add. Bekker.

⁵ συμπράξεως Richards et Shutt.

^a Son of Tiberius by his first wife Vipsania.

Agrippa was living in Rome. He was brought up with and was on very familiar terms with Drusus,^a the son of the emperor Tiberius. He also won to friendship Antonia,^b the wife of Drusus the Elder,^c for his mother Berenice ranked high among her friends and had requested her to promote the son's interest. Agrippa was naturally noble in spirit^d and lavish in giving, but so long as his mother was alive, he kept his natural bent concealed. It seemed best not to encounter the burst of temper that anything like that would have provoked in her. But when Berenice died and he was left to his own devices, he spent some of his money on the luxuries of his daily life, some on the gifts that he lavished without restraint; but his largest payments were made to the emperor's freedmen, whose co-operation he hoped to secure.^e So he was soon reduced to poverty, and this was an obstacle to his living on in Rome. Moreover, Tiberius forbade the friends of his deceased son^f to pay him visits because the sight of them stirred him to grief by recalling the memory of his son.

(2) For these reasons, therefore, Agrippa set sail for Judaea. He was in dire plight, humiliated by the loss of the money that he had previously possessed and by the fact that he had no one to pay what he owed to the money-lenders, who were numerous and

Agrippa sets sail for Judaea. He contemplates suicide, but is assisted by

^a Daughter of Mark Antony the triumvir, mother of Germanicus, and grandmother of the future emperor Caligula. Cf. §§ 164 ff.

^b Younger brother of the emperor Tiberius. He distinguished himself in several campaigns against the Germans but died in 9 B.C. through a fall from his horse.

^c Or "a born aristocrat," lit. "great by nature."

^d Lit. "in the hope of some action on their part."

^f Tiberius' son Drusus was poisoned by Sejanus in A.D. 23 (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 8).

οὐδ' ἦντινοὺν ἐνδιδούσιν, ὥστε ἀπορία τῶν ποιητέων
καὶ αἰσχύνη τῇ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὑποχωρήσας εἰς τινα
πύργον ἐν Μαλάθοις¹ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας² ἐν περινοίᾳ
148 τοῦ μεταστήσαντος αὐτὸν ἦν. αἰσθάνεται δ' αὐτοῦ
τὴν διάνοιαν Κύπρος ἢ γυνὴ παντοῖα τε ἦν ἀπειρ-
γοῦσα τῶν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις βουλευμάτων. διαπέμ-
πεται δὲ καὶ ὡς τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ Ἑρωδιάδα
Ἑρώδη τῷ τετράρχῃ συνοικοῦσαν γράμματα, δη-
λοῦσα τό τε ἐπὶ τοιούτοις τοῦ Ἀγρίππα προβου-
λεύσαν καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην, ἣ ἐπ' αὐτὰ ἐξήγαγεν
149 ἐκέλευεν τε συγγενῇ οὖσαν βοηθεῖν θεωροῦσαν, ὡς
αὐτῇ παντοίως ὡς³ κουφίζοι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ταῦτα
οὐκ ἐξ⁴ ὁμοίων ἀφορμῶν.⁵ οἱ δὲ μεταπέμψαντες
αὐτὸν οἰκητήριον ἀπέδειξαν Τιβεριάδα καὶ τι καὶ
ἀργύριον⁶ ὥρισαν εἰς τὴν δίαιταν, ἀγορανομία τε
150 τῆς Τιβεριάδος ἐτίμησαν. οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ πλείον γε
Ἑρώδης ἐνέμεινε τοῖς δεδογμένοις, καίτοι γε οὐδ'
ὡς ἀρκοῦντα ἦν ἐν γὰρ Τύρῳ παρά συνοουσίαν ὑπὸ
οἴνου γενομένων αὐτοῖς λαιδοριῶν, ἀνεκτὸν οὐχ
ἡγησάμενος Ἀγρίππας⁷ τοῦ Ἑρώδου⁸ τε ἐπονει-
δίσαντος εἰς ἀπορίαν καὶ τροφῆς ἀναγκαίας μετά-
δοσιν, ὡς Φλάκκον τὸν ὑπατικὸν εἰσεῖσιν φίλον ἐπὶ

¹ A: Μααλάθοις MW.

² τῆς Ἰδουμαίας] om. Lat.

³ ὡς] A: om. MW: i. marg. γρ οὐ κουφίζοι A.

⁴ οὐκ ἐξ] MW: ἐξ A.

⁵ θεωροῦσαν . . . ἀφορμῶν] καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα πρὸς τοῦτο παρα-
σκευάζειν E.

⁶ ἀργύριον] aliquantum aeris per singulos dies Lat.

⁷ Antipater Lat. ⁸ Antipatro Lat.

* Variant "although I am as penniless as he." After "to help him" the Epitome adds "and to dispose her husband to do so" and omits the next sentence.

who allowed him no chance whatever of avoiding them. And so, in his utter helplessness and shame at his condition, he withdrew into a certain tower at Malatha in Idumaea, where he had his mind set on suicide. But his wife Cypros read his thoughts and tried any and every means to deter him from such a resolve. Among other things, she sent a letter to his sister Herodias, the wife of Herod the tetrarch, explaining the nature of Agrippa's plan and the dire necessity that had driven him to such a shift. She urged Herodias as his near relative to help him: "You see," she said, "how I myself am doing all I can to cheer up my husband, though my resources are by no means equal to yours." ^a So Herodias and her husband sent for him, assigned him Tiberias as a dwelling place, fixed him an allowance for living expenses and raised him to the position of commissioner of markets ^b in Tiberias. Herod did not, however, stick to this arrangement for any great while, although even this assistance was insufficient. For once, when they were in each other's company in Tyre and had, under the influence of wine, exchanged taunts, Herod reproached him with his poverty and dependence on charity for his daily bread—reproaches which Agrippa found it impossible to endure. And so he resorted to Flaccus,^c the proconsul, who had previously been a

Herod the
tetrarch
and
Herodias.

^b Cf. *Ant.* xiv. 261. The Greek word ἀγορανόμος is also employed a number of times in Talmudic literature; see the instances listed in S. Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum*, ii, 1899, p. 11. His function was similar to that of the Roman aedile, his chief duties being to inspect the market, to regulate the prices and quantities of items brought into the market, and to punish those guilty of using false weights and measures.

^c L. Pomponius Flaccus, governor of Syria c. A.D. 32-35. Otherwise unknown.

Ῥώμης τὰ μάλιστα αὐτῷ γεγονότα πρότερον· Συ-
ριαν δὲ ἐν τῷ τότε διείπεν.

- 151 (3) Καὶ δεξαμένου Φλάκκου παρὰ τούτῳ διῆγεν
προκατειληφτός¹ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ Ἀριστοβούλου, ὃς
ἀδελφὸς ὦν Ἀγρίππου διάφορός τ' ἦν. οὐ μὴν
ἐβλάπτοντο ἕχθρα τῇ ἀλλήλων, ὥστε μὴ φιλία τοῦ
152 ὑπατικοῦ τὰ εἰκότα τιμὴν φέρεσθαι.² οὐ μὴν ὁ γε
Ἀριστόβουλος ἀνίει τι τοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν
δυσμενοῦς μέχρι καὶ εἰς ἕχθραν αὐτὸν Φλάκκῳ
καθίστησιν, αἰτίαν τοιαύτην ἐπὶ τῇ δυσμενεῖα παρα-
153 λαβάν. Δαμασκηνοὶ Σιδωνίους περὶ ὄρων³ διάφο-
ροι καθεστῶτες, μέλλοντος Φλάκκου περὶ τούτων
ἀκροᾶσθαι μαθόντες τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ὡς παρ' αὐτῷ
μέγα δύναται ἂν ἤξιον μερίδος τῆς αὐτῶν γενέ-
154 σθαι, ἀργυρίον τε πλείστον ὠμολογεῖτο αὐτῷ. καὶ
ὁ μὲν πάντα ἐπὶ τῇ βοηθείᾳ τῶν Δαμασκηνῶν
ᾤρητο πράσσειν. Ἀριστόβουλος δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἐλάν-
θανεν αὐτὸν ἢ ὁμολογία τῶν χρημάτων, καταγο-
ρεύει πρὸς τὸν Φλάκκον. καὶ βασανιζομένου τοῦ
πράγματος ἐπεὶ φανερὰ ἦν, ἐξωθεῖ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν
155 φιλίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ εἰς ὑστάτην περι-
ωσμένος ἀπορίαν εἰς Πτολεμαῖδα παρῆν, καὶ κατὰ
τὸ ἄπορον τῆς ἀλλαχόθι διαίτης γνώμην ἐποιεῖτο
ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας πλεῖν. εἰργόμενος δὲ χρημάτων
ἀπορία ἠξίου Μαρσύαν ὄντα αὐτοῦ ἀπελεύθερον
ποριστὴν γενέσθαι τῶν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις μηχανῶν⁴

¹ E: παρακατεσχηκός codd.: προκατεσχηκός conl. Niese.

² τὰ] i. marg. γρ εἰς τὰ εἰκότα αὐτῷ τιμὴν φέρεσθαι A.

³ περὶ ὄρων] pro militibus (h.e. limitibus) Lat.

⁴ δαπανῶν E.

^a mss. "checked."

^b Prof. Post translates: "They did not, however, let their

very close friend of his in Rome and who was then
governor of Syria.

(3) He was welcomed by Flaccus and lived with Agrippa
him. Agrippa had been anticipated^a there by Aris-
tobulus, who, though his brother, was on bad terms
with him. Their mutual enmity was not, however,
so injurious as to prevent him from winning the honour
nor of Syria.
which his friendship with the proconsul brought him in
due course.^b Nevertheless, Aristobulus did not relent
in his animosity against Agrippa until he had involved
him in a quarrel with Flaccus. The opportunity
which he seized to display his hostility was as follows.
There was a disagreement between the people of Da-
mascus and those of Sidon on the subject of bound-
aries. When Flaccus was about to hear the case,
the Damascenes, on learning that Agrippa would
have a great influence with him, asked Agrippa to
favour their cause and promised him a very large
sum of money. When he had committed himself to
use all means to aid the Damascenes, Aristobulus, to
whom it was no secret that money had been promised,
denounced him to Flaccus. When, upon investigating
the matter, Flaccus found it to be clearly so, he broke
off his friendship with Agrippa. Thus forced into the
most dire straits, Agrippa went to Ptolemais, and,
lacking the means to live anywhere else, he resolved
to set sail for Italy. Since he was restrained from
doing so for want of funds, he appealed to Marsyas,
his freedman, to borrow from someone and provide

mutual hatred damage the standing that they of course en-
joyed as friends of the proconsul." The French translation of
Mathieu and Herrmann renders the sense thus: "Their dis-
agreements did not go so far as to prevent their showing each
other honour for appearance's sake out of friendship for the
proconsul."

156 δανεισάμενον παρά τινος. καὶ ὁ Μαρσύας Πρώτων¹
 κελεύει Βερενίκης ὄντα ἀπελευθέρων τῆς Ἀγρίππου
 μητρός, διαθήκης δὲ τῆς ἐκείνης² δικάϊω³ ὑποτε-
 λούτα τῆς Ἀντωνίας,⁴ αὐτῷ γοῦν παρασχέιν ἐπὶ
 157 γράμματι καὶ πίστει τῇ αὐτοῦ. ὁ δέ, ἐπεκάλει γάρ
 τῷ Ἀγρίππα χρημάτων τινῶν ἀποστέρησιν, ἀναγ-
 κάζει τὸν Μαρσύαν⁵ δύο μυριάδων Ἀτθίδων συμ-
 βόλαιον ποιησάμενον πεντακοσίαις καὶ δισχιλίαις⁶
 ἔλασσον λαμβάνειν. συνεχώρει δ' ἐκείνος κατὰ τὸ
 158 μὴ εἶναι ἄλλως ποιεῖν. εἰλημμένου δὲ τοῦ χρήμα-
 τος⁷ τούτου Ἀγρίππας εἰς Ἀνθηδόνα παραγενόμε-
 νος καὶ λαβίων ναῦν ἐν ἀναγωγαῖς ἦν. καὶ γνοὺς
 Ἐρέννιος Καπίτων ὁ τῆς Ἰαμνείας ἐπίτροπος πέμ-
 πει στρατιώτας, οἱ εἰσπράξονται αὐτὸν ἀργυρίου
 τριάκοντα μυριάδας θησαυρῷ τῷ Καίσαρος ὀφείλο-
 μένας ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀνάγκας τε ἐπέτιθε-
 159 σαν τοῦ μενοῦντος. καὶ τότε μὲν πείσεσθαι τοῖς
 κεκελευσμένοις προσποιητὸς ἦν, νυκτὸς δ' ἐπιγενο-
 μένης κόψας τὰ ἀπόγεια ὥχετο ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρειας
 πλέων. εἴθθα Ἀλεξάνδρου δεῖται τοῦ ἀλαβάρχου⁸
 μυριάδας εἴκοσι δάνειον αὐτῷ δοῦναι. ὁ δ' ἐκείνῳ

¹ Πέτρον E: primum quendam Lat.

² conl. Niese: ἐκείνου codd.

³ Bekker cum Lat.: δικάϊον A: δικάϊως MW.

⁴ διαθήκης . . . Ἀντωνίας] sed iure testamenti eius factum
 dictionis Antoniae Lat.: om. E.

⁵ Μαρσύαν] A: Ἀγρίππαν Μαρσύαν MW.

⁶ χιλίαις E.

⁷ ἀργυρίου conl. Richards et Shutt.

⁸ ἀλαβάρχου E.

^a About £1929 or \$5400.

^b A city, also called Agrippias or Agrippeion, on the
 Mediterranean coast near Gaza. It is mentioned in *B.J.* i.
 87, *Ant.* xiii. 357, etc.

him with the necessary means. Marsyas thereupon
 bade Protos, a freedman of Agrippa's mother Bere-
 nice, who under the latter's will had become a retainer
 of Antonia, to provide him with the money on the
 written bond and security of Agrippa. Protos, how-
 ever, complained that Agrippa had defrauded him of
 some money, and forced Marsyas to draw up a bond
 for 20,000 Attic drachmas^a but to accept 2500 less.
 The latter yielded since he had no alternative. The
 money once in hand, Agrippa repaired to Anthedon,^b
 where he engaged a ship and was on the point of
 putting out to sea. But Herennius Capito,^c the pro-
 curator of Jamnia, learned of this and sent soldiers to
 exact from him the 300,000 pieces of silver^d which he
 owed the Imperial treasury at Rome; and they put
 constraint upon him to remain. He pretended at the
 time that he would obey these orders, but when night
 fell, he cut the mooring cables and proceeded on his
 voyage to Alexandria. There he begged Alexander^e
 the alabarch^f to grant him a loan of 200,000 drach-

Agrippa
 obtains a
 loan from
 Alexander
 the ala-
 barch.

^a Cf. Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium* 199, who speaks particularly
 of his hatred of the Jews. He is plausibly identified by P.
 Fraccaro, "C. Herennius Capito di Teate," *Athenaeum*, xviii,
 1940, pp. 136-144, with the C. Herennius Capito who in an
 inscription is called procurator of Julia Augusta, of Tiberius,
 and of Gaius.

^d Presumably drachmas. Hence about £28,929 or
 \$81,000.

^e Alexander Lysimachus, brother of the philosopher Philo,
 and father of Tiberius Julius Alexander the notorious procu-
 rator and apostate. It was he who decorated the gates of
 the temple with gold and silver, as we learn from *B.J.* v. 205.
Cf. also *Ant.* xix. 276 and xx. 100.

^f The function of the alabarch has been disputed; Ros-
 tovtzeff and Welles suggest that the office was somehow
 closely connected with special taxes paid by the Jews. But
 Baron, *Social and Religious History of the Jews*, i. 409-410

180 μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔφη παρασχεῖν, Κύπρω δὲ οὐκ ἠρνείτο τὴν τε φιλανδρίαν αὐτῆς καταπεπληγμένους καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν ἅπασαν ἀρετὴν. ἡ δὲ ὑπισχνέτο, καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος πέντε τάλαντα αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρεια δούς τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν Δικαιαρχείᾳ γενομένοις παρέξευ ἐπηγγέλλετο, δεδιὼς τοῦ Ἀγρίππου τὸ εἰς τὰ ἀναλώματα ἔτοιμον. καὶ Κύπρος μὲν ἀπαλλάξασα τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας πλεουσούμενον αὐτῇ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίας ἀνέζευξεν.

161 (4) Ἀγρίππας δὲ εἰς Ποσιόλους παραβαλὼν ἐπιστολὴν ὡς Τιβέριον τὸν Καίσαρα γράφει διαιτώμενον ἐν Καπρέαις, παρουσίαν τε τὴν αὐτοῦ δηλῶν ἐπὶ θεραπεία καὶ ὄψει τῇ ἐκεῖνου, καὶ ἀξίων ἔφασιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι εἰς Καπρέας παραβαλεῖν. Τιβέριος δὲ οὐδὲν ἐνδοιάσας τὰ τε ἄλλα αὐτῷ γράφει φιλανθρωπία χρώμενος, ἐκτείνειν τε χάριν¹ ἀποσημαίνων² ἐπὶ τῷ σῶν ἐπανήκειν εἰς τὰς Καπρέας,³ ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφικνεῖται μηδὲν ὕφελὼν τοῦ ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι προθύμου ἠσπάζετό τε καὶ ἐξένιζεν. τῇ δ' ἐξῆς Καίσαρι γραμμάτων αὐτῷ παρὰ Ἐρεννίου Καπίτωνος ἀφικομένων, ὅτι Ἀγρίππας μυριάδας τριάκοντα δάνεισμα ποιήσας καὶ πρὸς τὰς καταβολὰς ἐκλιπῶν χρόνον τὸν συγκείμενον ἀπαιτήσεως γενομένης οὐ-

¹ ἐκτείνειν τε χάριν] Thackeray: ἐκτείνειν τε χάριν codd.: καὶ χαίρειν E: ἐπι χαίρειν ed. pr.: ἐκτείνειν τε χάριν Cocceji: ἐκτείνειν τε χάριν Marcus.

² <νοσῶν> post ἀποσημαίνων add. Petersen.

³ τὰ τε . . . Καπρέας] clementer illi et humane rescripsit inter alia quoque gaudere se significans illum ad se sospitem reppedare Lat.

n. 16, properly notes that the office is found long after the decline of Egyptian Jewry. The traditional explanation,

mas.^a Alexander refused to grant this loan to him, but he did not deny it to Cyprus because he marvelled at her love of her husband and all her other good qualities. She promised to repay it; and so Alexander gave them five talents^b in Alexandria and offered to hand over the rest when they arrived in Dicaearchia,^c for he did not trust Agrippa's prodigal vein. Cyprus thereupon dispatched her husband on his voyage to Italy and herself returned with her children to Judaea.

(4) When Agrippa had reached Puteoli, he sent a letter to the emperor Tiberius, who was then living at Capri, informing him that he had come to see and pay court to him and asking for permission to land at Capri. Tiberius without hesitation wrote him a courteous reply, expressing his particular pleasure upon his safe return to Capri. When Agrippa arrived there, Tiberius showed no less goodwill towards him than he had indicated in his letter and made him a welcome guest. On the following day the emperor received a letter from Herennius Capito stating that Agrippa, after borrowing 300,000 drachmas, had allowed the time stipulated for repayment to pass and that when he was asked to pay, he had gone off in

He returns to Italy and pays court to Tiberius.

His further difficulties with money.

that the alabarch was a general tax administrator and in charge of customs, seems best.

^a About £19,286 or \$54,000.

^b A talent was the equivalent of 6000 drachmas; hence five talents would be 30,000 drachmas (about £2893 or \$8100).

^c The Greek name for Puteoli in Campania (*cf. Vita* 16). Baron i. 409 n. 16 suggests that Alexander may have had a correspondent or even a branch office in Puteoli. But the mere existence of an apparently affluent Jewish colony there (*B.J.* ii. 104) surely does not prove Baron's point. *cf. A. Fuchs, "Marcus Julius Alexander," Zion* xiii-xiv, 1948-49, pp. 10-17 [in Hebrew].

χοιτο φυγὰς ἐκ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῷ χωρίων ἄκυρον αὐτὸν
 164 καθιστὰς τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ εἰσπραζομένῳ¹ ἐξουσίας, ταύ-
 την ἀναγνοὺς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν περιαλγεῖ τε ὁ Καίσαρ
 καὶ διάκλεισιν γενέσθαι τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ κελεύει εἰσό-
 δων τῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄχρι δὴ καταβολῆς τοῦ χρέους.
 ὁ δὲ μηδὲν τῇ ὀργῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος καταπλαγεῖς
 Ἀντωνίας δέεται Γερμανικοῦ μητρὸς καὶ Κλαυδίου
 τοῦ ὕστερον γενομένου Καίσαρος, δάνεισμα αὐτῷ
 δοθῆναι τῶν τριάκοντα μυριάδων, ὡς φιλίας μὴ
 165 ἀμάρτοι τῆς πρὸς Τιβερίου. ἡ δὲ Βερενίκης τε
 μνήμη τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, σφόδρα γὰρ ἀλλήλαις
 ἐχρῶντο αἶδε αἱ γυναικες, καὶ αὐτῷ ὁμοτροφίας
 πρὸς τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κλαύδιον γεγενημένης, δίδωσι τὸ
 ἀργύριον, καὶ αὐτῷ ἀποτίσαντι τὸ χρέος ἀνεπικώ-
 166 λυτος ἦν ἡ φιλία τοῦ Τιβερίου. αὐθις δὲ αὐτῷ
 Τιβέριος ὁ Καίσαρ συνίστησιν νίωνόν τὸν αὐτοῦ
 κελεύων τὰ πάντα αὐτῷ ταῖς ἐξόδοις παρατυγχά-
 νειν. Ἀγρίππας δὲ φιλία δεχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀντω-
 νίας κατὰ θεραπείαν τρέπεται τὴν Γαίου νίωνου τε
 ὄντος αὐτῇ καὶ εὐνοία τοῦ πατρὸς² εἰς τὰ πρῶτα
 167 τιμωμένον. καὶ γὰρ³ ἦν ἄλλος⁴ Σαμαρεὺς γένος⁵

¹ τῷ εἰσπραζομένῳ] Bekker: τῶν εἰσπραζομένων codd.

² matris Lat. ³ γὰρ] codd.: δὴ τις E.

⁴ om. E: ὁ ἄλλος Hudson: ἄνθρωπος Μιέβις (Rev. Belge de Philol. et d'Hist. xiii, 1934, pp. 733 sqq.).

⁵ καὶ . . . γένος] erat ibi forte quidam genere Samareus Lat.

^a Capito's.

^b §§ 166-168 are paralleled by *B.J.* ii. 178-180.

^c Tiberius Gemellus, the son of Drusus the Younger. *Cf.* §§ 187 ff. and 206.

^d The future emperor Gaius Caligula.

^e Germanicus. For the reasons accounting for his popularity see §§ 207-209.

flight from the territory under his^a jurisdiction, thus rendering him powerless to sue and recover the money. Upon reading this letter the emperor was hurt to the quick and ordered that Agrippa's visits should be barred until he had repaid the debt. Undismayed by the emperor's anger, Agrippa asked Antonia, the mother of Germanicus and of the future emperor Claudius, to grant him a loan of 300,000 drachmas so that he might not lose the friendship of Tiberius. Antonia, both because she still remembered Berenice his mother—for the two ladies had been deeply attached to each other—and because Agrippa had been brought up with Claudius and his circle, provided the money. When he had discharged the debt, there was no longer any obstacle to his friendship with Tiberius. ^b Subsequently the emperor Tiberius recommended his grandson ^c to Agrippa and bade him always accompany him on his excursions. When Agrippa was received as a friend by Antonia, he took to attendance upon her grandson Gaius,^d who was held in the highest honour because of the popularity enjoyed by his father.^e Now there was, in addition,^f He pays

^f The manuscript reading, ἄλλος, "another," presents difficulties in this context, and most scholars have adopted Hudson's emendation, ὁ ἄλλος, identifying the Samaritan as Thallus, perhaps, as Schürer iii. 495 would have it, the author of a universal history mentioned by Eusebius (*Chron.* ed. Schoene, i. 265) which mentions an eclipse that took place at the time of the crucifixion in the fifteenth year of Tiberius (A.D. 29). But it is possible to keep the manuscript reading in the sense of "in addition to," "besides"; *cf.* Plato, *Gorgias* 473 D, Aeschines i. 163. Or we may choose to take ἄλλος as a pronoun and translate, "Now there was another, namely a Samaritan by race (birth)," as does H. A. Rigg, "Thallus: the Samaritan?" *Harv. Theol. Rev.* xxxiv, 1941, p. 119, who well explains that "the context of this passage implies that Agrippa has raised a sum of money

Καίσαρος δὲ ἀπελεύθερος· παρὰ τούτου δάνεισμα μυριάδας ἑκατὸν εὐρόμενος τῇ τε Ἀντωνία καταβάλλει τὸ ὀφειληθὲν χρέος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῷ ἀναλώματι θεραπεύων τὸν Γάιον μειζόνως ἐν ἀξιώματι ἦν παρ' αὐτῷ.

- 163 (5) Προϊούσης δὲ ἐπὶ μέγα τῷ Ἀγρίππα τῆς πρὸς Γάιον φιλίας αἰωρουμένοις ποτὲ λόγος περὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου γίνεται, καὶ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου κατ' εὐχὰς τραπομένου, μόνῳ δ' ἦστην, ἣ τάχος Τιβέριον ὑπεκοτάντα τῆς ἀρχῆς Γαίῳ παραχωρεῖν ἀξιώτέρῳ τὰ πάντα ὄντι, τούτων ἀκροῦται τῶν λόγων Εὐτυχος, Ἀγρίππου δ' ἦν ἀπελεύθερος ἡμίχος, καὶ 169 παραχρήμα μὲν οὐγῇ παρεδίδου. κλοπῆς δὲ ἱματίων αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ἐπικαλουμένης, καὶ ἀκριβῶς δὲ ἐκεκλόφει, φυγῶν καὶ ληφθεὶς ἀγωγῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Πείσωνα γενομένης, ὃς ἦν φύλαξ τῆς πόλεως, ἐρομένου τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς φυγῆς Καίσαρι φησὶ ἀπορρήτους ἔχειν λόγους εἰπεῖν ἐπ' ἀσφαλείᾳ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ φέροντας, ὥστε δήσας αὐτὸν ἔστειλεν εἰς τὰς Καπρέας, καὶ Τιβέριος τῷ αὐτοῦ τρόπῳ χρώμενος εἶχεν αὐτὸν δέσμιον, μελλητῆς¹ εἰ καὶ τις ἕτερος βασιλέων ἢ τυράννων γενόμενος. 170 οὐτε γὰρ πρεσβειῶν ὑποδοχὰς ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἐποιεῖτο ἡγεμόσι τε ἢ ἐπιτρόποις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σταλείσῃ οὐδεμία ἦν διαδοχῇ, ὁπότε μὴ φθαῖεν τετελευτη-

¹ μελητῆς M et ut vid. Lat.

in one direction and now borrows another sum with which to pay off the former from another source, viz., a certain Imperial freedman who happened to be a Samaritan."

^a About £96,429 or \$270,000.

^b According to the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 179, it was while entertaining Gaius at dinner that Agrippa prayed that

a certain man of Samaritan origin who was a freedman of the emperor. Agrippa managed to borrow a million drachmas ^a from him and repaid the money that he had borrowed from Antonia. The rest of the money he spent in paying court to Gaius, with whom he consequently rose to higher favour.

(5) And so Agrippa's friendship with Gaius made great progress. Once, while they were riding, ^b the conversation turned to Tiberius, and Agrippa expressed a prayer—for the two of them were alone—that Tiberius would relinquish his office with all speed in favour of Gaius, who was more competent in every respect. These words were overheard by Eutychus, a freedman of Agrippa who drove his chariot, but for the present he kept it to himself. When, however, he was accused of stealing some of Agrippa's clothes, which was precisely what he had done, he took flight, but was caught. Being brought before Piso, who was prefect of the city, he was asked why he had fled. He replied that he had a secret message for the emperor pertaining to his personal security. Piso sent him in chains to Capri, where Tiberius, in his usual way—for no king or tyrant was ever more given to procrastination—kept him a prisoner. For Tiberius was in no hurry to receive embassies, nor did he replace governors or procurators sent out by him unless they died at their posts. ^c Similarly he was

Gaius would soon succeed as emperor through the death of Tiberius.

^c Tiberius' practice of leaving governors in office for an undue length of time is also mentioned by Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 80, who cites various explanations for it—Tiberius' aversion to having to face recurrent problems and his consequent preference for making a single permanent decision, his jealous desire that not too many should enjoy high positions,

κότες· ὅθεν καὶ δεσμωτῶν ἀκροάσεως ἀπερίοπτος¹
 171 ἦν. ὥστε καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐρομένων τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ
 ἐπὶ τοιούτοις ὀλεῖν χρωμένον, ἔφη τὰς μὲν πρὸς
 βίας τρίβειν, ὅπως μὴ ἀπαλλαγῆς αὐταῖς ἐκ τοῦ
 ὀξέος γενομένης ἕτεροι πρέσβεις ἐπιχειροτονηθέντες
 ἐπανόλιον ὄχλος τε αὐτῶ γίνουτο ἐπιδοχαῖς² αὐτῶν
 172 καὶ πομπαῖς προσκειμένῳ.³ τὰς δ' ἀρχὰς συγχα-
 ρεῖν τοῖς ἅπασι εἰς αὐτὰς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταστάσιν
 αἰδοῦς⁴ προμηθεία τῶν ὑποτελῶν· φύσει μὲν γὰρ
 εἶναι πᾶσαν ἡγεμονίαν οἰκείαν τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν·
 τὰς δὲ μὴ παγίους,⁵ ἀλλ' εἰς ὀλίγον καὶ ἄδηλον
 ὅποτε ἀφαιρεθεῖεν⁶ καὶ μειζόνως ἐξοτρύνειν ἐπὶ
 173 κλοπαῖς τοὺς ἔχοντας. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐφεστήκασιν εἰς
 πλεόν, αὐτοὺς ἄδη τῶν κλοπῶν ἔξειν ὑπὸ τοῦ
 πολλοῦ τῶν κεκερδημένων ἀμβλυτέρως τὸ λοιπὸν
 αὐταῖς χρωμένους. διαδοχῆς δ' ἐπιπαραγενομένης
 ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος μηδαμῶς ἂν ἀρκέσαι τοὺς ἄλλα τοῖς
 ἀρχοῦσι προκειμένους ἀναστροφῆς αὐτοῖς οὐ διδο-
 μένης καιρῶν, ἐν οἷς πλήρεις οἱ προειληφότες γενό-

¹ Ernesti ex Thucy. i. 41 : περίοπτος codd. E.

² Dindorf : ἐπὶ δοχαῖς MWE : ἐπὶ διαδοχαῖς A.

³ Ernesti : προκειμένῳ codd. : προκειμένῳ ed. pr.

⁴ ἀδύους Powell (Class. Rev. 1, 1936, p. 11).

⁵ E et i. marg. A : πατρίους codd.

⁶ τὰς δὲ . . . ἀφαιρεθεῖεν] cum igitur non se aliquis perennem in officio manere perspexerit.

and his practice of giving governorships to able men whom he wished to send away from Rome lest they become his rivals. Magie, *Roman Rule*, ii. 1363 n. 37, remarks that out of fifty-seven men who are known to have been consuls from A.D. 6 to 23, only eight are known to have held the proconsulship of the province of Asia and only seven to have held that

negligent about hearing trials of prisoners.^a When his friends asked him why he was so slow in such matters, he replied that he kept the embassies waiting lest, if they discharged their business at once, new ambassadors might be elected and repair to him who would cause him the bother of receiving and dismissing them. As for the official appointments, he said that he allowed any whom he had once appointed to office to remain out of consideration for the feelings of the subject-peoples.^b For it was a law of nature that governors are prone to engage in extortion. When appointments were not permanent,^c but were for short terms, or liable to be cancelled without notice, the spur to peculation was even greater.^d If, on the contrary, those appointed kept their posts longer, they would be gorged with their robberies and would by the very bulk of them be more sluggish in pursuit of further gain. Let succession come rapidly, however, and those who were the destined spoil of the governors could never do enough, for there would be no intervals of relaxation in which those already glutted with their spoils might abate

of Africa during Tiberius' principate. Suetonius also (*Tib.* 41) notes Tiberius' failure to make new appointments to provincial posts.

^a In addition to the case of Eutychus, other instances where Tiberius procrastinated unduly were those of Lampon of Alexandria (*Philo, In Flacc.* 123), who had to wait two years for his trial, and Pomponius Secundus (*Dio Cass.* lix. 6. 2), who waited for seven years.

^b Variant "to remain permanently out of consideration for the subject-peoples."

^c Variant "in the homeland."

^d Tacitus also (*Ann.* iv. 6) mentions Tiberius' concern that the provinces not suffer from the rapacity of governors, but he does not indicate that this was the reason why Tiberius allowed governors to remain in office so long.

μενοι ὑποδιδοῖέν¹ τε² σπουδῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ λαμβάνειν, διὰ τὸ πρὶν ἐν καιρῷ γενέσθαι μεταστῆναι.
 174 παράδειγμά τε αὐτοῖς φησι τοῦτον τὸν λόγον·
 τραυματία τινὶ κειμένῳ μυῖαι κατὰ πλήθος τὰς
 ὤτειλάς περιέστασαν. καὶ τις τῶν παρατυχόντων
 οἰκτείρας αὐτοῦ τὴν δυστυχίαν καὶ νομίσας ἀδυναμία
 μὴ βοηθεῖν οἶος ἦν³ ἀποσοβεῖν αὐτὰς παρα-
 175 στάς. καὶ δεομένου παύσασθαι τῶν ἐπὶ τοιοῦσδε,
 ὑπολαβὼν ἤρετο τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ ἀπρομηθοῦς εἰς τὴν
 διαφυγὴν κακοῦ τοῦ ἐφεστηκότος. "μειζόνως γὰρ
 ἂν ἀδικοῦς με," εἶπε, "ταύτας ἀπαγαγών. ταῖς μὲν
 γε ἤδη πληρωθείσας τοῦ αἵματος οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως
 ἐπιεῖς ὄχλον μοι παρασχεῖν, ἀλλὰ πη καὶ ἀνίσχου-
 σιν. αἱ δ' ἀκραίφνει⁴ τῷ κατ' αὐτὰς λιμῷ συνελ-
 θοῦσαι καὶ τετρυμένον⁵ ἤδη παραλαμβάνουσαι κἂν⁶
 176 ὀλέθρῳ παραδοῖεν." διὰ τὰδε οὖν καὶ τὸς ὑπὸ
 πολλῶν τῶν κλοπῶν διεφθαρμένοις τοῖς ὑποτελέσιν
 προμηθῆς⁷ εἶναι μὴ συνεχῆς ἕξαποστέλλειν τοὺς
 ἡγησομένους, οἳ ἐν τρόπῳ μυιῶν ἐκπολεμοῖεν⁸
 αὐτούς, φύσει πρὸς κέρδος ὀρωρεγμένοις σύμμαχον
 παραλαμβάνοντες τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ ταχέως ἀφαιρεθῆ-
 177 τῶν ὀσμένου τὴν ἐνθένδε ἡδονήν. μαρτυρήσει δέ μοι
 τῷ λόγῳ περὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τοιούτοις φύσεως Τιβερίου
 τὸ ἔργον αὐτό· ἔτη γὰρ δύο πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσιν αὐτο-

¹ ὑπεδιδοῖέν conl. Niese.

² A: τῆς MW: om. E: τι conl. Niese.

³ οἶος ἦν] Post: οἶός τε ἦν MWE: οἶός τ' ἦν A.

⁴ A: ἀκραίφνεις MWE.

⁵ ed. pr.: τετρυμέναι A: τετρυμένοι MW.

⁶ Niese: καὶ codd. E.

⁷ E: προμῆς A: προμηθῆς MW.

⁸ Dindorf: ἐκπολεμῶν codd. E: ἐκπορβοῖεν Richards et Shutt.

somewhat of their grasping avarice, since before that could happen the moment would come to depart. He ^{Fable of the flies.} told them this fable by way of illustration.^a Once a man lay wounded, and a swarm of flies hovered about his wounds. A passer-by took pity on his evil plight and, in the belief that he did not raise a hand because he could not, was about to step up and shoo them off. The wounded man, however, begged him to think no more of doing anything about it. At this the man spoke up and asked him why he was not interested in escaping from his wretched condition. "Why," said he, "you would put me in a worse position if you drove them off. For since these flies have already had their fill of blood, they no longer feel such a pressing need to annoy me but are in some measure slack. But if others were to come with a fresh appetite, they would take over my now weakened body and that would indeed be the death of me." He too, he said, for the same reason took the precaution of not dispatching governors continually to the subject-peoples; who had been brought to ruin by so many thieves; for the governors would harry them utterly^b like flies. Their natural appetite for plunder would be reinforced by their expectation of being speedily deprived of that pleasure. The record of Tiberius' acts will bear out my account of his humour in such matters. For during the twenty-two years that he was

^a Cf. the fable of the fox, the flies, and the hedgehog utilized by Aesop (Fable 314) according to Aristotle (*Rhet.* ii. 1393 b 23—1394 a 1) when he defended a wealthy demagogue before the assembly at Samos. Aesop warns the people of Samos that if they vote to put this demagogue to death, others who are not rich will come along and empty their treasury completely.

^b Lit. "devastate them utterly by war." Variant "plunder them."

- κράτωρ γενόμενος δύο τοὺς πάντας Ἰουδαίους ἐξέ-
 178 πεμφεν διοικήσοντας τὸ ἔθνος, Γράτων τε καὶ
 Πιλάτον, ὃς αὐτῷ διεδέξατο τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. καὶ
 οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν Ἰουδαίων τοιοῦτος ἦν, ἕτεροιὸς δὲ ἐπὶ
 τῶν λοιπῶν ὑπηκόων. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν δεσμωτῶν
 τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀκροάσεως¹ ἀπεσήμαιεν ὑπὸ
 τοῦ² δικαιοθεΐσι μὲν θανάτῳ κούφισιν γενέσθαι τῶν
 ἐνεσθηκότων κακῶν, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπ' ἀρετῆ³ τῶν ἐπὶ
 τοιοῦτοις τύχῃ συνελθεῖν, τριβομένοις δὲ ἀχθηδόνι
 τῇ ἐπικειμένη μείζονα προσρέπειν τὴν δυστυχίαν.
- 179 (6) Διὰ μὲν δὴ τάδε καὶ Εὐτυχὸς ἀκροάσεώς τε
 οὐκ ἐτύγχανε καὶ δεσμοῖς ἐνείχετο.⁴ χρόνου δὲ
 ἐγγενομένου Τιβερίῳς τε ἐκ τῶν Καπρεῶν εἰς Του-
 σκουλανόν⁵ παραγίνεται ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων ἑκατὸν
 τῆς Ῥώμης, καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἀξιοῖ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν
 διαπράξασθαι γενέσθαι τῷ Εὐτύχῳ τὴν ἀκρόασιν
- 180 ἐφ' οἷσιν τὴν κατηγορίαν ποιοῖτο αὐτοῦ. τιμία δὲ
 ἦν Ἀντωνία⁶ Τιβερίῳ εἰς τὰ πάντα συγγενείας τε
 ἀξιώματι, Δρούσου γὰρ ἦν ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ γυνή,
 καὶ ἀρετῇ τοῦ σώφρονος· νέα γὰρ χηρεύειν παρέ-
 μεινεν γάμῳ τε ἀπέπειν τῷ πρὸς ἕτερον καίπερ τοῦ
 Σεβαστοῦ κελεύοντός τι γαμείσθαι, καὶ λοιδοριῶν
- 181 ἀπηλλαγμένον διεσώσατο αὐτῆς τὸν βίον. ἰδίᾳ τε
 εὐεργέτις ἦν εἰς μέγιστα τοῦ Τιβερίου· ἐπιβουλή⁷
 γὰρ μεγάλης συστάσης ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Σηιάνου

¹ τὴν . . . ἀκροάσεως] examinationes se differre Lat. : aut hic aut insequentibus aliquid deesse putat Niese.

² ὑπὸ τοῦ] MW : ὑπὲρ τοῦ E.

³ κούφισιν . . . ἀρετῇ] κούφισιν <μη> γενέσθαι . . . διὰ τὸ [μη] ἐπ' ἀρετῇ Richards et Shutt.

emperor he sent altogether two men, Gratus and Pilate, his successor, to govern the Jewish nation. Nor did he behave so only when he dealt with the Jews ; he was no different with his other subjects. Moreover, as for his procrastination in hearing the cases of prisoners he explained that this was because an immediate hearing would alleviate the present miseries of those condemned to death, whereas they did not deserve to meet with such luck. When, however, they were kept waiting, the weight of their misfortune was rendered more severe by the vexation which was laid upon them.

(6) It was for this reason that Eutychus also failed to obtain a hearing and was held in chains. In time, when Tiberius moved^a from Capri to Tusculum, a distance of a hundred furlongs from Rome, Agrippa besought Antonia to take steps to secure a hearing on the charges which Eutychus had brought against him. Now Antonia was highly esteemed by Tiberius both because, as the wife of his brother Drusus, she was related to him, and because she was a virtuous and chaste woman. For despite her youth she remained steadfast in her widowhood and refused to marry again although the emperor urged her to do so. She thus kept her life free from reproach. She on her own had done a very great service to Tiberius. For a great conspiracy had been formed against him

^a During the latter part of the summer of A.D. 36. See R. S. Rogers in *Class. Weekly* xxxix, 1945-46, p. 43, who notes, however, that Josephus is our only evidence for this journey to Tusculum.

⁴ δεσμοῖς ἐνείχετο] E : retinebatur in vinculis Lat. : τὰ δεσμά ἠνείχετο codd.

⁵ Τουσκουλανόν] Τουσκούλανον A : τοὺς κάλανον W : κάλανον M.

⁶ Ἀντωνία] E : αὐτῷ Ἀντωνία codd.

φίλου τε ἀνδρὸς καὶ δύναμιν ἐν τῷ τότε μεγίστην ἔχοντος διὰ τὸ τῶν στρατευμάτων εἶναι ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῷ, καὶ τῆς τε βουλῆς οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων προσέθεντο καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν διέφθαρτο, προϋκοπτεν τε ἡ ἐπιβουλῇ ἐπὶ μέγα κἂν ἐπέπρακτο Σηιάνῳ τὸ ἔργον μὴ τῆς Ἀντωνίας τόλμῃ χρησα-
 182 μένης σοφωτέρα τῆς Σηιάνου κακουργίας. ἐπεὶ γὰρ μαθάνει τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ συντεθειμένα, γράφει πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα ἀκριβῶς καὶ Πάλλαντι ἐπιδοῦσα τὰ γράμματα τῷ πιστοτάτῳ τῶν δούλων αὐτῆς ἐκπέμπει πρὸς Τιβέριον εἰς τὰς Καπρέας. ὁ δὲ μαθὼν τὸν τε Σηιάνον κτείνει καὶ τοὺς συνεπιβούλους, τὴν τε Ἀντωνίαν καὶ πρὶν ἀξιολόγως ἄγων τιμωτέραν τε ὑπελάμβανεν κἀπὶ τοῖς πᾶσι
 183 πιθανῆν. ὑπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς Ἀντωνίας ὁ Τιβέριος παρακαλούμενος ἐξετάσαι τὸν Εὐτύχον, “ ἄλλ’ εἰ μὲν καταφεύσειε,” φησὶν ὁ Τιβέριος, “[ἐτι δέ] Ἄγρίππου τὰ εἰρημένα² Εὐτύχος, ἀρκοῦσαν κομίζεται παρ’ αὐτοῦ τιμωρίαν, ἣν ἐπιτετίμηκα αὐτός· εἰ δὲ βασανιζομένου ἀληθῆ φανείη τὰ εἰρημένα, μὴ-

¹ ἐτι δέ] A : ὅτι MW et i. marg. A : om. E Lat., recte ut vid. Niesio.

² ἄλλ’ . . . εἰρημένα] siquidem, inquit Tiberius, mendacium est adversus Agrippam quod dicitur Lat.

^o The word ἡγεμονία must clearly refer to the prefecture of the praetorian cohorts, though D. Magie, *De Romanorum iuris publici sacrique vocabulis sollemnibus in graecum sermonem conversis*, 1905, records no parallel. If Bell's restoration is correct, there is a parallel in the *Acta Isidori*; cf. H. I. Bell, "A New Fragment of the *Acta Isidori*," *Archiv f. Papyrusforsch.* x, 1931, p. 11.

^b Cf. Dio Cassius lxxv. 14. 1, who reports that Antonia once sent a secret letter to Tiberius about Sejanus through a

by his friend Sejanus, who at that time held very great power because he was prefect of the praetorian cohorts.^a Most of the senators and freedmen joined him, the army was bribed, and so the conspiracy made great progress. Indeed, Sejanus would have succeeded had not Antonia shown greater craft in her bold move than Sejanus did in his villainy.^b For when she was informed of the plot against Tiberius, she wrote him a full and accurate account of it and, entrusting the letter to Pallas, the most trustworthy of her slaves, sent it to Tiberius at Capri. Tiberius, being informed, put Sejanus and his fellow-conspirators to death. As for Antonia, whom he had previously held in high regard, he now valued her even more and put full confidence in her. Urged by this Antonia to examine Eutyclus, Tiberius said: "If, indeed, Eutyclus has made a false accusation against Agrippa, then the punishment which I myself have inflicted is sufficient. But if it should turn out, when he is questioned, that what he has said is true, let

certain Caenis; otherwise the rôle of Antonia in the Sejanus affair is nowhere mentioned. F. B. Marsh, *The Reign of Tiberius*, 1931, p. 304, says that Dio's statement gives no support to the idea of a conspiracy against Tiberius; but the secret nature of Antonia's correspondence and the statement of Suetonius, *Tib.* 65, that Sejanus was plotting a revolution, corroborate Josephus' account. The statement (Suet. *Tib.* 61), on which Marsh relies so heavily (see p. 193 n. 1), that in a brief autobiography Tiberius asserted that he had punished Sejanus because he had discovered the latter's hatred of the children of Germanicus, is a shrewd attempt of the emperor to enlist sympathy by evoking the magic name of Germanicus, who was so popular among the Romans (see §§ 207-210). Marsh (*ibid.*) thinks that Antonia wrote Tiberius informing him of Sejanus' plot against Germanicus' children; but it is more likely that she gained such high favour at the court because the letter helped save Tiberius' own life.

που κολάζειν ποθῶν τὸν ἀπελεύθερον ἐπ' αὐτὸν μάλ-
 184 λον καλοῖη τὴν δίκην." καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας ταῦτα
 φημένης πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀντωνίας πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἐπ-
 ἔκειτο ἀξιῶν ἐξέτασιν γενέσθαι τοῦ πράγματος, καὶ
 ἢ Ἀντωνία, οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει πολὺς ὢν ὁ Ἀγρίππας
 ἐπὶ τοῖσδε δείσθαι, καιρὸν παραλαβοῦσα τοιοῦτον·
 185 αἰωρεῖτο μὲν Τιβέριος ἐπὶ φορείου κείμενος, προ-
 ἵκντων Γαῖου τε τοῦ ἐκείνης υἱοῦ καὶ Ἀγρίππα,
 ἀπ' ἀρίστου δ' ἦσαν, παραπεριπατοῦσα τῷ φορείῳ
 παρεκάλει καλεῖσθαι τε τὸν Εὐτυχον καὶ ἐξετάζε-
 186 θαι. ὁ δέ, " ἄλλ' ἴστων μὲν, Ἀντωνία," εἶπεν, " οἱ
 θεοί, ὅτι μὴ τῇ ἑμαντοῦ γνώμῃ ἀνάγκη δὲ τῆς
 σῆς παρακλήσεως ἐξαγόμενος πράξω τὰ πραχθησό-
 μενα."¹ ταῦτα εἰπὼν κελεύει Μάκρωνα, ὃς Σηια-
 νοῦ διάδοχος ἦν, τὸν Εὐτυχον ἀγαγεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν
 οὐδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς παρῆν. Τιβέριος δ' αὐτὸν ἤρε-
 το, τί καὶ ἔχοι λέγειν κατ' ἀνδρὸς ἐλευθερίαν αὐτῷ
 187 παρεσχηκότος. ὁ δὲ φησιν, " ὦ δέσποτα, αἰωροῦν-
 το μὲν ἐφ' ἀμάξης Γαίος τε οὗτος καὶ Ἀγρίππας
 σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ σφῶν ἐξόμην παρὰ τοῖν ποδοῖν, λό-
 γων δὲ πολλῶν ἀνακυκλουμένων Ἀγρίππας φησὶ
 πρὸς Γαίον· εἰ γὰρ ἀφίκοιτό ποτε ἡμέρα, ἢ μετα-
 σταὶς ὁ γέρων οὗτος χειροτονοίη σε ἡγεμόνα τῆς
 οἰκουμένης· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡμῖν Τιβέριος ὁ υἱὸς αὐ-
 τοῦ γένοιτ' ἂν ἐμποδῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ τελευτῶν, καὶ ἢ τε
 οἰκουμένη γένοιτ' ἂν μακαρία καὶ γὰρ πρὸ αὐτῆς."²
 188 Τιβέριος δὲ πιστὰ ἡγησάμενος τὰ εἰρημένα καὶ

¹ E: *πραξόμενα* A: *προσταττόμενα* M: *πρασσόμενα* W: *πε-
 πραξόμενος* L. Dindorf.

² πρὸ αὐτῆς] cum eo Lat.

Agrippa have a care lest perchance in his eagerness
 to punish his freedman he find rather that he is calling
 down justice on himself." When Antonia reported
 these words to Agrippa, he began to insist even more
 urgently on a thorough examination of the matter.
 Since Agrippa did not abandon his insistence in
 making this request, Antonia seized her opportunity,
 as I shall describe. Tiberius was once reclining as he
 travelled in a litter; Gaius, her grandson, and
 Agrippa were in front, having just had lunch. An-
 tonia, who was walking beside the litter, entreated
 him to summon Eutychus and to examine him. " But
 let the gods be witness, Antonia," he said, " that it is
 not by my own will but forced by your entreaty that
 I shall do what I am about to do." With these words
 he ordered Macro, who was the successor of Sejanus,^a
 to bring Eutychus. The latter arrived without delay.
 Tiberius asked him just what he could say against a
 man who had given him his liberty. " My lord," he
 said, " Gaius here and Agrippa with him were riding
 in a carriage, and I was sitting at their feet. In the
 course of a long and varied conversation, Agrippa
 said to Gaius: ' I hope that the day will at length
 arrive when this old man will leave the scene and
 appoint you ruler of the world. For his grandson
 Tiberius^c would by no means stand in our way, since
 you would put him to death. The world would then
 know bliss and I above all.' " Tiberius did not doubt
 the truth of this. Moreover, it revived an old grudge

^a As prefect of the praetorian cohorts.

^b §§ 187-189 are parallel with *B.J.* ii. 179-180.

^c Note that the original conversation between Agrippa
 and Gaius as reported in § 168 makes no mention of Tiberius'
 grandson and of Agrippa's expectation that Gaius would put
 him to death.

Antonia
 persuades
 Tiberius to
 hear the
 charge
 against
 Agrippa.

ἄμα μῆνιν ἀναφέρων τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ παλαιάν, διότι
 κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ θεραπεύειν Τιβερίον υἱόνων τε
 αὐτοῦ γεγονότα καὶ Δρούσου παῖδα ὄντα, ὁ Ἀγρίπ-
 πας ἀτίμως ἦγεν παρακροασάμενος¹ τὰς ἐπιστολάς²
 189 καὶ πᾶς ὡς τὸν Γάϊον μετεκάθιζεν, “τούτον μὲν
 δῆ,” φησί, “Μάκρων, δῆσον.” Μάκρων δὲ τὰ μὲν
 οὐ σαφῶς ὄντινα προστάξειεν ἐξεπιστάμενος, τὰ δὲ
 οὐκ ἂν προσδοκῶν περὶ τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ αὐτὸν βου-
 λεῖσθαι³ τι τοιοῦτον, ἐπανείχεν ἀκριβωσόμενος τὰ
 190 εἰρημένα. ἐπεὶ δ’ ὁ Καῖσαρ περιοδεύσας τὸν ἱππό-
 δρομον λαμβάνει τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐστηκότα, “καὶ
 μὴν δῆ,” φησὶν, “Μάκρων, τούτον εἶπον δεθῆναι.”
 τοῦ δὲ ἐπανερομένου ὄντινα, “Ἀγρίππαν γε,”
 191 εἶπεν. καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας τρέπεται μὲν κατὰ δεήσεις,
 τοῦ τε παιδὸς ᾧ συνετέθραπτο μνημονεύων καὶ τοῦ
 Τιβερίου τῆς ἐκτροφῆς, οὐ μὴν ἠνυέν γέ τι, ἀλλ’
 192 ἦγον αὐτὸν ἐν πορφυρίσι δέσμιον. καὶ καθμὰ τε
 γὰρ σφοδρὸν ἦν⁴ καὶ ὑπὸ οἴνου τοῦ ἐπὶ σιτίοις μὴ
 πολλοῦ γεγονότος δίψος ἐξέκαιεν αὐτόν, καὶ τι καὶ
 ἠγωνία⁵ καὶ τὸ παρ⁶ ἀξίαν κατελάμβανεν,⁷ θεασά-
 μενός τινα⁸ τῶν Γαῖου παίδων Θαυμαστὸν ὄνομα
 193 ὕδαρ ἐν ἀγγεῖῳ κομίζοντα ἤτησε πιεῖν. καὶ ὀρέ-
 ξαντος προθύμως πιών, “ἀλλ’ εἴπερ ἐπ’ ἀγαθοῖς,”
 φησὶν, “ὦ παῖ, τὰ τῆσδέ σου τῆς διακονίας γέγονεν,
 διαφυγῆς μοι γενομένης τῶνδε τῶν δεσμῶν οὐκ
 ἂν βραδύνοιμι ἐλευθερίαν εἰσπρασσόμενός σοι παρὰ
 Γαῖου, ὃς καὶ δεσμῶτή μοι γενομένῳ διακονεῖσθαι

¹ A: παρακροασάμενος MWE: contempserat Lat.

² A: ἐντολάς MWE.

³ προστάξει E: cogitare Lat.: κελεύσαι Naber.

⁴ nam aestatis tempus extabat add. Lat. post ἦν.

⁵ ἀγωνία E.

⁶ A: πρὸς MW.

against Agrippa, who, though ordered to pay court to
 Tiberius, the emperor's grandson and the son of
 Drusus, had disrespectfully ignored his orders and
 had given all his attention to Gaius instead. "Well
 then, Macro," he said, "handcuff him." Macro, <sup>Agrippa is
 arrested
 and im-
 prisoned.</sup> partly because he was not quite sure whom he meant
 and partly because he would not have expected him
 to plan such treatment for Agrippa, waited to get the
 exact intent of the order. But when the emperor
 had made the circuit of the racecourse and found
 Agrippa still standing there, "I assure you, Macro,"
 he said, "I meant this man, when I said 'Handcuff
 him.'" When Macro again asked him which man,
 he replied, "Why, Agrippa." Agrippa then began
 to entreat him, reminding him that he had been
 brought up with his son and that he had helped bring
 up Tiberius. These entreaties, however, were of no
 avail, and they led him away a prisoner in his crimson
 robes. The heat was intense and, since he had not
 had much wine at his meal, he was parched with
 thirst. His feelings were divided between this dis-
 tress and the shock to his self-esteem. At this mo-
 ment he saw one of the slaves of Gaius, Thaumastus
 by name, carrying water in a jug, and asked him for
 a drink. The slave handed the jug to Agrippa, who,
 after drinking from it with a will, remarked: "Sir
 slave, if this service of yours turns out well, when I
 escape from these bonds, I will lose no time in
 negotiating your emancipation by Gaius, for you
 have, in doing me service as a prisoner, omitted

⁷ MW: προσελάμβανεν E: ἐλάμβανε A.

⁸ καί τι . . . τινα] unde quoque anxius factus praeter decus
 atque dignitatem coepit cuncta respicere, unde posset siti
 reperire remedium consciensque quendam Lat.

καθάπερ ἐν τῷ πρότερον καθεστηκότι σχήματι τῆς
 194 περὶ ἐμὲ ἀξιώσεως οὐκ ἐνέλιπες." καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύ-
 σατο ταῦτα εἰπὼν, ἀλλὰ δὴ ἡμείψατο¹. ἐν ὑστέρω
 γὰρ βασιλεύσας τὸν Θαυμαστὸν μειζόνως² ἐλεύ-
 θερόν τε ἀφῆκε παρὰ Γαῖου Καίσαρος γεγονότος
 λαβὼν καὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἐπίτροπον καθίστησι, τελευ-
 τῶν τε τῷ υἱεὶ Ἀγρίππα καὶ Βερενίκη τῇ θυγατρὶ
 ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις διακονησόμενον κατέλιπεν, ἐν τιμῇ
 τε ὡν ταύτη γηραιὸς τελευτᾷ. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν
 ὕστερον.³

195 (7) Ἀγρίππας δὲ τότε δεθεὶς εἰσθήκει πρὸ τοῦ βα-
 σιλείου πρὸς τιμὴν δένδρῳ κλιθεὶς ὑπὸ ἀθυμίας μετὰ
 πολλῶν οἱ ἐδέδεντο. καὶ τινος ὄρνέου καθίσαντος
 ἐπὶ τοῦ δένδρου, ᾧ Ἀγρίππας προσεκέκλιτο, βουβῶ-
 να δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν ὄρνιν τοῦτον καλοῦσιν, τῶν
 δεσμωτῶν τις Γερμανὸς⁴ θεασάμενος ἤρετο τὸν
 196 στρατιώτην, ὅστις εἴη ὁ ἐν τῇ πορφυρίδι. καὶ
 μαθὼν μὲν Ἀγρίππαν ὄνομα αὐτῷ, Ἰουδαίου δὲ τὸ
 γένος καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖνη ἀξιολογωτάτων, ἠξίωσεν τὸν
 συνδεδεμένον αὐτῷ στρατιώτην πλησίον ἐλθεῖν διὰ
 λόγων⁵. βούλεσθαι γὰρ τινα ἀμφὶ τῶν πατρίων ἔρε-
 197 σθαι αὐτόν. καὶ τυχὼν, ἐπεὶ πλησίον ἵσταται, δι'
 ἑρμηνέως, "ὦ νεανία," φησίν, "καταχθεὶ μὲν σε
 τὸ αἰφνίδιον τῆς μεταβολῆς πολλήν τε οὕτως καὶ
 ἀθρόαν ἐπαγαγὼν τὴν τύχην, ἀπιστία δέ σοι λόγων,
 οἱ ἐπὶ διαφυγῇ κακοῦ τοῦ ἐφεστηκότος διαιροῦντο

¹ ταῦτα . . . ἡμείψατο] A Lat. : om. MWE.
² om. E.

³ ὕστερον] ὕστερον ἐγένετο MW : postea facta sunt Lat.

⁴ Γερμανὸς] Germanus nomine Lat.
⁵ διὰ λόγων] om. E Lat.

^a The horned owl.

nothing of the respect that you accorded me in my former state." He did not go back on his word, but well repaid him. For later, when he became king, he received Thaumastus from Gaius, who had become emperor, at once set him free, and appointed him steward of his estate. Moreover, when Agrippa died, he left him to his son Agrippa and his daughter Berenice to serve them in the same capacity. Thaumastus kept this position till he died in his old age. But this took place later.

(7) To return to Agrippa, there he stood in chains in front of the palace together with many other prisoners, and had leaned against a tree in his despondency. Now a certain bird, which the Romans call a "bubo,"^a alighted on the tree against which Agrippa was leaning. One of the prisoners, a German, upon seeing Agrippa, asked the soldier in charge of him the identity of the man dressed in crimson. Upon learning that his name was Agrippa, that he was a Jew by race, and that he was one of the most notable men of Judaea, he asked the soldier to whom he was handcuffed^b to allow him to approach and converse with Agrippa, since, he said, he wished to put some questions to him about the Jewish customs. His request granted, he came and stood near Agrippa and said through an interpreter: "Young man, you are in despair at your swift reversal of fortune, which has overwhelmed you at one stroke. You will hardly credit the statement that interprets Divine Providence as designing your deliverance from your present

A German prisoner prophesies Agrippa's greatness, but marks the owl as ominous.

^b Richards and Shutt, *Class. Quart.* xxxi, 1937, p. 176, read "table-companion" since they think that the centurion was chained not to Agrippa but to a private soldier. But since Agrippa was so important a prisoner, it is perfectly possible that the centurion was chained to him.

198 τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν πρόνοιαν. ἴσθι γε μὴν, θεοὺς τοὺς
 ἐμοὶ πατέρας καὶ τοὺς τοιοῦδες ἐγχωρίους, οἳ τόνδε
 ἐπρυτάνευσαν ἡμῖν τὸν σίδηρον, ἐπομνύμενος λέξω
 τὰ πάντα οὔτε ἡδονῇ γλωσσάρῳ διδοὺς τὸν ἐπ'
 αὐτοῖς λόγον¹ οὔτε διακενῆς εὐθυμεῖν σε ἐσπουδα-
 199 κῶς. αἱ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοιοῦδε προαγορεύσεις ὑστερη-
 κότες τοῦ ἀποδείξοντος ἔργου χαλεπωτέραν προσ-
 τίθενται τὴν ἀχθηδόνα τοῦ μηδ' εἰ τὴν ἀρχὴν
 ἀκροάσαιτο αὐτῶν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν κινδύνους
 παραβαλλόμενος δίκαιον ἡγησάμην σοὶ διασαφήσαι
 200 τὴν προαγορεύσειν τῶν θεῶν. οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐκ
 εὐθέως ἀπαλλαγὴ τέ σοι τῶνδε τῶν δεσμῶν παρ-
 ἔσται καὶ πρόοδος ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἀξιώματός τε καὶ
 δυνάμεως, ζηλωτός τε ἂν γένοιο πᾶσιν, οἳ νῦν δι'
 οἴκτου τὰς τύχας σου λαμβάνουσιν, εὐδαίμονά τε
 ἂν ποιοῖο τὴν τελευταίην παισίν, οἷς ἔσθ'² τὸν ὄλβον³
 καταλειπόμενος.⁴ μνημονεύειν δέ, ὅποτε εἰσαυθίς
 τὸν ὄρνιν θεάσαιτο τοῦτον, πέντε ἡμέραις σοὶ τὴν
 201 τελευταίην ἐσομένην. ταῦτα πεπράξεται μὲν ἡπερ⁵
 ἀποσημαίνει τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἐξαποστεῖλαιν τουτονὶ τὸν
 ὄρνιν. προγνώσει τε αὐτῶν σύνεσι τὴν παραγενο-
 μένην ἀποστερεῖν σε ἀδικὸν ἡγησάμην, ὅπως ἐπι-
 στάμενος ἀγαθοῦ μέλλοντος λυσιτελεῖν ἐν ὀλίγῳ
 τὴν ἀχθηδόνα τοῦ παρόντος τιθοῖο. μνήμην δέ
 ποιείσθαι εἰς χεῖράς σου παραγενομένου τοῦ εὐδαί-
 μονος καὶ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς διαφευξομένου δυστυχίαν,

¹ οὔτε . . . λόγον] neque cupidine fallendi Lat.

² οἷς ἔσθ'] codd.: οἳ εἴεν E: οἳ <γεγονότες> εἴεν Richards et
 Shutt ex Lat.

³ MWE: βίον A.

⁴ εὐδαίμονά . . . καταλειπόμενος] exitus etiam vitae in beati-

difficulty. Be assured, nevertheless, for I swear by
 my ancestral gods and by those of this country who
 have ordained these iron chains for us, that I will
 tell you everything not for the pleasure of garrulity
 nor yet with intent to cheer you by false hopes.
 Indeed, prophecies on such matters, when the event
 falls short of the prediction, produce more grievous
 vexation than would be the case if a man had never
 heard such a statement at all. Nevertheless, not-
 withstanding the dangers to which I expose myself,
 it seemed to me right to set forth clearly what the
 gods foretell. It cannot be but that you will forth-
 with find release from these chains and be advanced
 to the highest point of honour and of power. You
 will be envied by all those who now pity your mis-
 fortunes, and you will make an end of life that is blest
 by children, to whom you will be leaving your wealth.
 But remember, when you see this bird again, that
 your death will follow within five days.^a This will take
 place in the manner indicated by the god's dispatch-
 ing of this bird. I did not think it fair to deprive you
 of the understanding which comes through foreknow-
 ledge of these things; for I wished you to know that
 you are to enjoy future blessings in order that you
 might make light of your present distress. But re-
 member, when you have this good fortune in your
 hands, to help me also to gain release from the mis-

^a For a long list of instances in Greek and Latin literature
 of the owl as an omen of death see A. S. Pease, ed., *IV*
Aeneid, 1935, pp. 375-377, who, however, omits this pas-
 sage.

tudine te repperiet constitutum, divitiasque plurimas omnia-
 que, quae prima mortales ducunt, tuis filiis, qui tibi nati
 fuerint, derelinques Lat.

⁵ E et i. marg. A: εἴπερ AMW et ut vid. Lat.

202 ἢ τανῶν σύνεσμεν." καὶ ὁ μὲν Γερμανὸς τοσάδε προειπὼν εἰς τοσόνδε ὤφλεν τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ γέλωτα, ἔφ' ὅσον ἐν τοῖς ὑστερον κατεφάνη θαυμάσθαι ἄξιος. ἢ δὲ Ἀντωνία χαλεπῶς φέρουσα τοῦ Ἀγρίππου τῇ δυστυχίᾳ τὸ μὲν Τιβεριῷ περὶ αὐτοῦ διαλέγεσθαι ἐργωδέστερον ἑώρα καὶ ἄλλως

203 ἐπ' ἀπράκτοις γενησόμενον, εὐρίσκετο δ' αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ Μάκρωνος στρατιωτῶν τε μετρίων ἀνδρῶν οἱ παραφυλάξιαν αὐτὸν ἐν φροντίσιν¹ καὶ ἑκατοντάρχου τοῦ ἐφειστήξομένου τε ἐκείνοις καὶ συνδέτου² ἑσομένου, λουτρά τε καθ' ἡμέραν συγκεχωρησθαι καὶ ἀπελευθέρων καὶ φίλων εἰσόδους τῆν τε ἄλλην βρασιώνην, ἢ τῷ σώματι γένοιτ' ἂν.

204 εἰσήεσάν τε ὡς αὐτὸν φίλος τε Σίλας καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων Μαρσύας καὶ Στοιχεὺς τροφὰς εἰσκομίζοντες αἷς ἔχαιρεν καὶ δι' ἐπιμελείας πάσης ἔχοντες, ἱμάτιά τε κομίζοντες ἐπὶ προσποιήσει πράσεως ὅποτε νύξ γένοιτο ὑπεστρώνυσαν αὐτῷ συμπράξι τῶν στρατιωτῶν Μάκρωνος προειρηκότος· καὶ ταῦτα ἐπράσσετο ἐπὶ μῆνας ἕξ. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Ἀγρίππαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

205 (8) Τιβέριος δ' ἐπανελθὼν εἰς τὰς Καπρέας ἐμαλακίζετο τὰ μὲν πρῶτα μετρίως, ἐπιδοῦσης δ' εἰς τὸ μᾶλλον τῆς νόσου πονηρὰς ἔχων περὶ³ αὐτῷ τὰς ἐλπίδας Εὐδοῦν, ὃς ἦν αὐτῷ τιμιώτατος τῶν ἀπελευθέρων, κελεύει τὰ τέκνα προσαγαγεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν· χρῆζεω γὰρ ἀφικέσθαι σφίσι διὰ λόγων πρὶν

206 ἢ τελευτᾶν. ἦσαν δ' αὐτῷ παῖδες γνήσιοι μὲν οὐκέτι· Δρουσὸς γὰρ δὴ ὁ μόνος αὐτῷ γεγονὼς ἐτύγχανεν τεθνεῶς· υἱὸς δὲ τούτου κατελείπετο

¹ ἐν φροντίσιν] codd. : sine districtione Lat. : ἐκφρόντισιν vel simile conii. Niese.

fortune in which we are now companions." The German who made these prophecies was as ridiculous in Agrippa's eyes then as he later turned out to be deserving of admiration. Antonia, though distressed at the misfortune of Agrippa, saw that it would be too much of an undertaking to discuss his case with Tiberius and would besides be useless. She gained from Macro the following concessions for him, that the soldiers who were to guard him and that the centurion who would be in charge of them and would also be handcuffed^a to him should be of humane character, that he should be permitted to bathe every day and receive visits from his freedmen and friends, and that he should have other bodily comforts too. His friend Silas^b and two of his freedmen, Marsyas^c and Stoecheus, visited him bringing him his favourite viands and doing whatever service they could. They brought him garments that they pretended to sell, but, when night came, they made him a bed with the connivance of the soldiers, who had Macro's orders to do so. These things went on for six months. Such was the situation with regard to Agrippa.

(8) On his return to Capri Tiberius was taken ill. The malady was at first slight, but as it grew worse and worse he began to despair of his life and bade Evodus, who ranked highest of his freedmen, to bring his children to him, for he wished to speak with them before he died. He no longer had any legitimate children, for Drusus, his only son, was of course dead. But Drusus' son Tiberius, who was surnamed Gemel-

Antonia cares for Agrippa during his imprisonment.

Tiberius' illness and possible successors.

^a See note *b* on p. 123.

^b Later appointed by Agrippa (*Ant.* xix. 299) to be in command of his entire army. ^c Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 155-157.

² συνδέτου Richards et Shutt.

³ A : ἐπ' MW.

Τιβέριος ἐπικαλούμενος Γέμελλος, Γαίος τε Γερμανικοῦ παῖς, ἀδελφοῦ υἱωνός¹ γεγονώς, νεανίας τε ἤδη καὶ παιδείαν ἐκπεπονηκώς ἐπὶ πλείστον εὐνοία τε τοῦ δήμου τιμώμενος διὰ τὴν Γερμανικοῦ τοῦ
 207 πατρὸς ἀρετὴν· ἐπὶ μέγιστον γὰρ δὴ οὗτος προήλθεν παρὰ τοῖς πλήθεισι τιμῆς εὐσταθεία τρόπου καὶ δεξιότητι τοῦ ὁμιλεῖν ἀνεπαχθῆς ὦν καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν
 208 κτῶμενος τῷ βούλεσθαι ἴσος πᾶσιν εἶναι. ἐξ ὧν οὐ μόνον ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ βουλή μειζόνως ἤγον αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὑποτελῶν ἕκαστον ἐθνῶν, οἱ μὲν ὠμιληκότες ἀλυσκόμενοι τῇ χάριτι τῆς ἐντεύξεως, οἱ δὲ πύστει τῆς ἐκεῖνων ἀφηγήσεως παραλαμβά-
 209 νοντες. πένθος τε αὐτοῦ τελευτήσαντος προὔτεθη πᾶσιν οὐ θεραπεία τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιψευδομένων τὴν συμφορὰν, λύπη δὲ ἀληθεῖ οἰκειουμένων διὰ τὸ ἴδιον τυχεῖν ἐκάστοις τὴν μετᾶστασιν αὐτοῦ ὑπειληφθαι· οὕτως ἀνεπαχθῶς ὠμίλησε τοῖς ἀνθρώ-
 210 ποις. ἐξ ὧν μέγα ὄφελος καὶ τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ παρὰ πᾶσιν κατελέλειπτο τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ μάλιστα

¹ ἀδελφοῦ υἱωνός] Richards et Shutt: ἀδελφοῦ υἱός codd.: ἀδελφιδού υἱός conl.

^a The mss. read "son," but Gaius was the son of Germanicus, who was the nephew of the emperor Tiberius.

^b Cf. T. S. Jerome, "The Historical Tradition about Gaius," in *Aspects of the Study of Roman History*, 1923, p. 401, who notes that Gaius delivered the oration at Livia's funeral when he was less than seventeen (*Tac. Ann.* v. 1).

^c On Gaius' initial popularity see Suet. *Calig.* 13-21. R. R. Rosborough, *An Epigraphic Commentary on Suetonius' Life of Gaius Caligula*, 1920, p. 22, cites a number of inscriptions from the provinces indicating Gaius' popularity with the provincials and with the army: it is significant that in many of these he is mentioned as the son of Germanicus.

lus, and Gaius, the son of Germanicus and grandson ^a of the emperor's brother, were left. Gaius was now a young man who had gained a thorough education ^b and enjoyed the great goodwill of the people thanks to the good qualities of his father Germanicus. ^c ^d For Germanicus came to be held in the very highest esteem among the masses, to whom he gave no offence inasmuch as he was always equable in temper and tactful in address. He won respect by choosing to be on an equality with everyone. Consequently, he was held in high regard not only by the people and the senate but also by all of the subject nations. Those who had enjoyed his company were captivated by his charming manners, while others were won by the reports they received from those who met him. When he died, mourning was universal, not the feigned grief of those who pay court to their rulers, but the genuine sorrow of those whose hearts are touched, inasmuch as his passing was assumed by all classes to be a personal misfortune, so agreeable was he in his social encounters. ^e From this popularity his son had inherited a great advantage with all men. The army was par-

^a This flattering portrait of Germanicus is confirmed by Tacitus' long account, *Ann.* i. 33 ff., and by Suetonius' brief mention, *Calig.* 3. Both emphasize his kindheartedness and modesty and his ability to win universal respect and affection. J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *The Emperor Gaius*, 1934, p. 128, says that despite the chorus of praise which resounded throughout the empire in honour of Germanicus, the Jews alone did not share in this attitude. Josephus, he admits, is an exception, but he says that this is due to Josephus' reliance upon an unnamed Roman historian. It seems more likely that the favourable view of Germanicus is part of a general exaltation of Agrippa, his friend Antonia (mother of Germanicus), and his friend Gaius Caligula (son of Germanicus).

^e Tacitus also emphasizes the universal grief at Germanicus' death and funeral (*Ann.* ii. 82-83, iii. 1-4).

τὸ¹ στρατιωτικὸν ἦρτο, ἀρετὴν² ἀριθμοῦντες τὸ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνῳ περιγενησομένης, εἰ δεήσει, καὶ τελευτᾶν.

- 211 (9) Ὁ δὲ Τιβέριος Εὐόδῳ πρόσταγμα ποιησάμενος κατὰ τὴν ὑπεραιαν ὑπὸ τὴν ἔω εἰσαγαγεῖν τοὺς παῖδας εὐχεται τοῖς πατρίοις θεοῖς σημειόν τι πρόφαντον αὐτῷ δεῖξαι περὶ τοῦ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν διαδεξομένου, σπεύδων μὲν τῷ υἱεῖ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτὴν καταλιπεῖν, μείζον δὲ δόξης τε καὶ βουλήσεως τῆς αὐτοῦ πεπιστευκῶς τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς
212 ἀποφανοῦμενον. οἰώνισμα δ' οὖν αὐτῷ προῦκειτο, εἰς ἐκείνον ἦξεν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ὃς ἂν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἀφίκουτο πρότερος πρὸς αὐτόν. ταῦτα διανοηθεὶς πέμπει παρὰ τοῦ υἱωνοῦ τὸν παιδαγωγὸν κελεύων ὑπὸ πρώτῃν ὥραν³ ἄγειν τὸν παῖδα ὡς αὐτόν, καταμελήσεσθαι στρατηγίας τὸν θεὸν ὑπολαμβάνων· ὁ δ' ἀντεψήφισεν αὐτοῦ τὴν χειροτονίαν.
213 ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐνθυμησάμενος, ἐπεὶ τάχιστα ἡμέρα

¹ ed. pr. : τὸν A : τοῦ MW.

² gloriam Lat. : αἰρετὸν ed. pr.

³ A : ἡμέραν MWE et i. marg. A.

^a Thackeray, in his own copy of Josephus, has a pencilled note suggesting that Josephus here sees a parallel between the story of Tiberius' method of choosing between his grandson and grandnephew and the account in Genesis xlviii of Jacob's blessing of Joseph's two sons. Thackeray conjectures, consequently, that Josephus' authority was possibly a Jew. But there is no element of augury in the Biblical story, nor is it an account of Jacob's search for a successor: there both sons come for and receive blessings.

^b None of our sources indicates that Tiberius had really decided on a successor, but Suetonius, *Calig.* 19, notes that he was inclined towards Tiberius Gemellus. Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 46, also notes Tiberius' indecision about bequeathing his empire, and like Josephus he mentions Gaius and Tiberius

ticularly enthusiastic and counted it a point of honour even to die, if need be, so that he might become emperor.

(9) ^a After Tiberius had given the command to Evodus to bring his children to him on the following day towards dawn, he prayed to his country's gods to show him some clear indication as to his successor as emperor. He was eager to bequeath the government to the son of his son,^b but he put more faith in the revelation of their future by the god than in his own decision and choice. He therefore proposed by way of augury that the empire should go to the one who should come first to him on the following day. Having decided on this, he sent orders to his grandson's tutor to bring the child to him at sunrise,^c for he did not think that the god would pay any heed to his manoeuvre. But the verdict of the god annulled the choice made by Tiberius. With such considerations in mind, Tiberius, as soon as it was day, ordered Evodus

Tiberius' proposal to divine who is to succeed him.

Gemellus as the two leading possibilities. (Tiberius also thought of the later emperor Claudius, according to this passage in Tacitus, but concluded that such a choice would make the name of the Caesars a laughing-stock.) As to Gaius, Tacitus mentions (*ibid.*) Tiberius' prediction that he would have all of Sulla's vices and none of his virtues. Tiberius' fear that Gaius would succeed him is indicated in the story that Thrasyllus the astrologer had assured Tiberius that Gaius had no more chance of being emperor than of riding over the Gulf of Baiae with horses (see *Ant.* xix. 5-6 for a description of the bridge which Gaius built in fulfilment of this prophecy). Suetonius, *Tib.* 62, tells us that Tiberius at one point intended to kill both Gaius and Tiberius Gemellus, the latter of whom he hated as having been born from adultery. It is clear from Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 46, that Tiberius died without reaching a decision as to his successor.
^c Lit. "at the first hour" or more specifically "about the beginning of the first hour."

ἦν, κελεύει τὸν Εὐδοὸν εἰσκαλεῖν τῶν παίδων τὸν παρόντα πρότερον. ἐξελθὼν δ' ἐκείνος καὶ τὸν Γάιον πρὸ τοῦ δωματίου καταλαβὼν, ὁ γὰρ Τιβέριος οὐ παρῆν μετεώρου τῆς τροφῆς αὐτῷ γενομένης,¹ ἦδει δὲ οὐδὲν ὧν ἐβούλετο ὁ δεσπότης, "καλεῖ σε," φησὶν, "ὁ πατήρ," καὶ εἰσῆγαγεν αὐτόν.

214 Τιβέριος δὲ ὡς θεᾶται Γάιον, τότε πρῶτον εἰς ἐπινοίαν ἔλθων τοῦ θείου τῆς ἐξουσίας καὶ τὴν κατ' αὐτὸν ἡγεμονίαν παντελῶς ἀφηρημένην ἐπικυροῦν οἷς ψηφίσαιτο δυνάμει ἐκείθεν αὐτῷ μὴ παραγεομένης, πολλὰ δὴ κατολοφυράμενος αὐτὸν μὲν τοῦ ἐφ' οἷς προβουλεύσειε κυροῦν ἀφηρημένου τὸ κρά-

215 τος, Τιβέριον δὲ τὸν υἱωνόν, ὡς τῆς τε Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ὁμοῦ διαμάρτοι καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας κεχηρμένον διὰ τὸ ἐπ' ἄλλων κρειπτόνων οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν εἰσηγησαμένων² τὴν συναναστροφὴν κείσεσθαι τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτῷ τοῦ συγγενοῦς μὴ³ ὠφελεῖν δυναμένου πρὸς αὐτόν, τὰ μὲν ὡς προσεδρεύοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἀντεπιβουλεύειν ὑπὲρ τε τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς ἀντιλήψεως⁴ τῶν πραγμάτων μὴ ἀφη-

216 σόμενον. ἦν δὲ καὶ γενεθλιαλογία Τιβέριος μάλιστα προσκείμενος καὶ κατορθούμενα αὐτῇ⁵ μειζόνως τῶν εἰς τὸδε ἀνακειμένων ἐκόντων⁶ τὸν βίον ἐξηγμένος.⁷ Γάλβαν οὖν⁸ ποτε θεασάμενος ὡς αὐτόν

¹ μετεώρου . . . γενομένης] ciborum acceptione tardatus Lat.

² Hudson: εἰσηγησαμένω codd.: εἰσηγησομένων Bekker: ἡγησαμένων Marcus (cf. Ant. xviii. 150).

³ συγγενοῦς μὴ] Bekker: μὴ συγγενοῦς codd.

⁴ MW: ἀναλήψεως A.

⁵ καὶ κατορθούμενα αὐτῇ] κατὰ τὰ κατορθούμενα αὐτῆς Hudson.

⁶ ἐκόντως Hudson.

to call in whichever of the boys was the first to arrive. Evodus went out and found Gaius in front of the chamber. Tiberius was not there because his breakfast was not finished.^a Inasmuch as Evodus did not know anything of his master's preference, he said, "Your father summons you," and brought Gaius in. When Tiberius beheld Gaius, he then for the first time had some conception of the greatness of divine power. He saw himself utterly shorn of the privilege of confirming his own choice of a successor to his imperial office, since power from on high had not been vouchsafed him. Deeply did he bewail himself in that he was rendered impotent to give valid sanction to his own preliminary decision and in that his grandson Tiberius would not only fail to obtain the Roman empire, but would have no means of escape, since his survival would depend upon others who were more powerful and who would regard it as intolerable to consort with him. His kinsmen would be unable to help him since he would be feared and hated by their master, partly because he was next in line to inherit the empire, but also because he would never cease to plot against the ruler both to secure his own survival and in order to assert his claim to govern.^b Now Tiberius was especially addicted to the casting of horoscopes and had elicited from it accurate results on a greater scale than those who have voluntarily devoted their life to it.^c Once, for example,

^a Or "because he had not yet digested his food."

^b Cf. the story told by Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 46, that once Tiberius, after embracing Gemellus with a flood of tears in the presence of Gaius, predicted that Gaius would slay Gemellus.

^c *i. e.*, who practise it as their profession.

⁷ A: ἐξηγμένων MW.

⁸ γοῶν Richards et Shutt.

εἰσιόντα φησὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους αὐτῷ, ὡς
 παραγίνοιτο ἀνὴρ τῇ Ῥωμαίων προτιμησόμενος¹
 217 ἡγεμονία. τά τε πάντα μαντείων ὅποσα ἐχόμενα
 πιθανὰ ἡγούμενος ἡγεμόνων μάλιστα ἀνὴρ οὗτος
 ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπαληθεύοντος αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν
 218 ἐχρήτο αὐταῖς.² καὶ τότε ἐν χαλεποῖς ἦν συντυχία
 τοῦ γεγονότος, ὡς ἐπ' ἀπολωλότι τῷ υἱεῖ τοῦ
 παιδὸς ἀχθεινῶς διατιθέμενος³ καὶ κατάμεμψιν
 αὐτοῦ ποιούμενος τοῦ κατὰ τὴν οἰώνισιν προμη-
 θοῦς⁴. παρὸν γὰρ [ἄν]⁵ αὐτῷ λύπης ἀπηλλαγμένῳ
 τελευτῶν ἀμαθία τῶν ἐσομένων, διατρίβεσθαι⁶ τῷ
 προεγνωκῶς τὴν ἐσομένην δυστυχίαν τῶν φιλάτων
 219 τελευτῶν. καίπερ δὲ συντεταραγμένος τῇ παρὰ
 δόξαν τῆς ἀρχῆς εἰς οὓς οὐκ ἤθελεν περιόδω, ἄκων
 δὲ καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος φησὶ γοῦν πρὸς τὸν Γάιον·
 “ὦ παῖ, καίπερ μοι συγγενεστέρου Τιβερίου ἢ
 κατὰ σέ' ὄντος δόξῃ τε τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τῷ ὁμο-
 ψήφῳ ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῶν θεῶν σοὶ φέρων ἐγχειρίζω τὴν
 220 Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν. ἀξιῶ δέ σε μηδὲν ἀμνη-
 μονεῖν ὁμιλήσαντα αὐτῇ μήτ' εὐνοίας τῆς ἐμῆς, ὅς
 221 εἰς τοσόνδε ἀξιώματος καθίστημι μέγεθος, μήτε
 τοῦ πρὸς Τιβέριον συγγενοῦς, ἀλλ' ἐπιστάμενον, ὡς
 σὺν τε τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦς τοιῶνδ' εἰ σοὶ
 κατασταίην ἀγαθῶν ποριστής, ἀμείβεσθαι μου τὸ

¹ προτιμησόμενος] codd. : ποτε τιμησόμενος E : προτιμηθησόμενος Thackeray.

² ἦν . . . αὐταῖς (§§ 216-217)] om. Lat.

³ διακέειμενος E : διαθεθεμένος conl. Niese.

⁴ τοῦ . . . προμηθοῦς] quod illud augurium postulasset accipere Lat.

when he beheld Galba coming to him he said to his very close friends that a man was arriving who would some day rise to be ruler of the Romans.^a He believed that everything connected with divination was trustworthy ; and because its revelations turned out to be true, he, more than any other emperor, resorted to it in handling his affairs. Now too he was upset at the turn of events and was as much grieved as if his grandson had already died. He berated himself for his premeditated appeal to augury ; for whereas he might have died free from sorrow if he had remained ignorant of the future, he must now die tormented by his foreknowledge of the disaster that would overtake those he most loved. Yet, though confounded by the unlooked-for transference of the empire to one not his choice, he reluctantly and against his will spoke these words to Gaius : “ My son, although Tiberius is closer akin to me than you are, by my own decision, and with the concurrence of the gods, it is to you that I convey and entrust the Roman empire. I ask you, when you grow familiar with the office, not to forget either my kindness to you in appointing you to such an exalted rank or your bond of kinship with Tiberius. Bear in mind that it was by the help of the gods and after consulting them that I took my stand to bestow such felicity upon you. Let my cordial gift of it inspire the same feeling in you. At the same

Tiberius
 appoints
 Gaius his
 successor.

^a Cf. the similar prophecies in Suetonius, *Galba* 4, Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 20, and Dio Cassius *lvii.* 19. 4, and the discussion of these passages by K. Scott, “ Ein Ausspruch des Tiberius an Galba,” *Hermes* *lxvii.*, 1932, pp. 471-473. Tacitus' prophecy can be dated in A.D. 33, Dio's in A.D. 20.

⁵ ἄν] spurium indicat Niese.

⁶ A : διαφθείρεσθαι MWE et i. marg. A.
⁷ κατὰ σέ] τοῦ κατὰ σέ conl. Niese.

ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πρόθυμον καὶ ἅμα Τιβερίου φροντίζειν
 διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν, ἄλλως τε γινώσκειν, ὡς τεῖχος
 σοι καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁμοῦ καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας περιῶν
 γίνοιτο ἂν Τιβέριος, φροῖμιον δὲ τοῦ δυστυχούς
 222 μεθιστάμενος. αἱ τε γὰρ μονώσεις ἐπικίνδυνον τοῖς
 εἰς τηλικούτων πραγμάτων ὄγκον καταστάσιν καὶ
 θεοῖς οὐκ ἀτιμώρητα ὁπόσα παρὰ δίκην πρᾶσσό-
 μενα ἀφανίζοι τοῦ νόμου τὸ ἕτέρως πρᾶσσειν παρα-
 223 καλοῦν." ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Τιβέριος ἔλεγεν, οὐ μὴν
 πιθανὸς ἦν Γαίῳ καίπερ ὑπισχνουμένῳ, ἀλλὰ κατα-
 στάς εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸν τε Τιβέριον μαντείαις
 ἀναιρεῖ¹ ταῖς ἐκείνου² καυτὸς ἐπιβουλῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν
 συντεθεισῶν μετ' οὐ πολλὴν τελευτᾶ.

224 (10) Τιβέριος δὲ³ τὸν⁴ Γάιον ἀποδείξας διάδοχον
 τῆς ἡγεμονίας⁵ ὀλίγας ἐπιβιούς ἡμέρας ἔθανεν σχῶν
 αὐτὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ πέντε⁶ μῆνας
 πρὸς ἐνιαυτοῖν δυοῖν καὶ εἴκοσι. Γάιος δὲ ἦν
 225 αὐτοκράτωρ τέταρτος. Ῥωμαίοις δ' ἦν μὲν πύστις
 τῆς Τιβερίου τελευτῆς εὐφραίνοντό τε τῷ ἀγαθῷ
 τῆς ἀγγελίας, οὐ μὴν πιστεύειν γε θάρσος ἦν αὐτοῖς,
 οὐ τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι, πρὸ πολλῶν γὰρ ἂν ἐτίμησαν

¹ Niese: αἰρείται codd.: αἰρεται E: extinxit Lat.: ἀναι-
 ρεῖται Cocceji: αἰρεῖ Hudson.

² <μὴ πευθόμενος> post ἐκείνου add. Richards et Shutt.

³ Τιβέριος δὲ] sed haec postea, tunc autem Tiberius Lat.

⁴ τόν] MW: τόν τε A: τότε τόν E.

⁵ <καὶ> post ἡγεμονίας add. Petersen.

⁶ vi Lat.

^a Thackeray, in a pencilled note in his copy of Josephus, suggests that the author who here traces the nemesis upon the Roman emperor is the same one who read tragic significance into the history of the house of Herod (*Ant.* xviii. 127 ff.).

^b A.D. 14-37. In the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 180, the reign

time give thought to Tiberius too because he is your kinsman, and above all because you see that if Tiberius remains alive he will be a wall of defence for your empire and for your personal safety, but that if he departs, this will be the prelude to misfortune. Indeed, it is dangerous for those who have reached such a pinnacle of power to be isolated; nor will the gods allow to go unpunished any acts that are contrary to justice and that annul the law with its injunction to the contrary." Such were the words that Tiberius spoke; but Gaius, though he promised to do so, did not follow his advice. For when he was established on the throne, he put the younger Tiberius to death, just as the old man had divined. Not long afterwards a plot was contrived against Gaius himself whereby he met his death.^a

(10) After appointing Gaius as his successor to the empire, Tiberius lived on for a few days. He then died, having held the imperial rule for twenty-two years, five months, and three days.^b Gaius was the fourth emperor.^c When the news of Tiberius' death reached the Romans, they rejoiced at the good tidings.^d Nevertheless, they had misgivings about trusting it, not that they did not want it to be true—

Death of
Tiberius.

is said to have lasted twenty-two years, six months and three days, a reading with which the Latin version of our text is in agreement. Actually, as Thackeray *ad loc.* remarks, both statements differ slightly from the figures of Tacitus (twenty-two years, six months, and twenty-eight days) and Dio Cassius (twenty-two years, seven months, and seven days).

^c Counting Julius Caesar as the first emperor.

^d There was such joy in Rome at the news of Tiberius' death that, according to Suetonius, *Tib.* 75, people ran about yelling "To the Tiber with Tiberius." Others prayed to Mother Earth and the Manes to allow him no home below except among the damned.

χρημάτων τὸ ἐπαληθεύσαν τῶν λόγων, δέει δὲ μὴ
 ψευδοῦς τῆς ἀγγελίας γενομένης προεξαναστάντες
 ἐπὶ δηλώσει τοῦ αὐτῶν χάρματος εἶτ' ἀπολλύονται
 226 διαβολῆς αὐτῶν γενομένης· πλείστα γὰρ ἀνὴρ εἰς
 οὗτος Ῥωμαίων τοὺς εὐπατρίδας εἰργάσατο δεινὰ
 δυσόργητος ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὧν καὶ ἀνήκεστος εἰς τὸ
 ἐργάζεσθαι καταστάς, εἰ καὶ χωρὶς λόγου τὴν
 αἰτίαν ἐπανελοῖτο τοῦ μισεῖν, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι μὲν οἷς
 227 τῶν κουφοτάτων ἀνατιθεῖς τὴν ζημίαν. ὥστε
 ἡδονῇ τοῦ ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγου φέροντος² τὴν ἀκρόασιν
 εἰς ὅσον ἐβούλοντο ἀπολαύσασθαι χρῆσθαι ἐπεκεκώ-
 λυντο δείμασι κακῶν, ἃ προεωρᾶτο ψευθεῖσι τῆς
 228 ἐλπίδος. Μαρούας δὲ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ὁ ἀπελευ-
 θερος πυθόμενος τοῦ Τιβερίου τὴν τελευταίαν ὠθεῖτο³
 δρομαῖος τὸν Ἀγρίππαν εὐαγγελιούμενος, καὶ
 καταλαβὼν ἐν ἐξόδοις ὄντα εἰς τὸ βαλανεῖον συν-
 νεύσας πρὸς αὐτὸν γλώσση τῇ Ἑβραίων, "τέθνηκεν
 229 ὁ λέων," φησὶν. ὁ δὲ σύνεσιν τε τοῦ λόγου ποιη-
 σάμενος καὶ χάρματι τῷ ἐπ' αὐτῷ περιενεχθεῖς,
 "ἀλλὰ σοι τῶν ἀπάντων καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ δέ⁴ εὐαγγ-
 γελίας χάριτες ἐν ἐμοὶ παντοῖαι γίνονται, μόνον
 230 ἀληθῆ τὰ λεγόμενα εἶη." καὶ ὁ ἑκατοντάρχης,
 ὅσπερ τῇ φυλακῇ ἐφειστήκει τοῦ Ἀγρίππου, θεώ-
 μενος τὴν τε σπουδὴν μεθ' οἷας ὁ Μαρσύας ἀφίκετο
 καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῶν λόγων χάρμα τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ συνελθόν,

¹ ex corr. A: κρίνειεν MW.

² φέροντες ed. pr.

³ A¹E: ἔθει MW et ex corr. A.

⁴ Bekker: τῶνδε codd.

for they would have given much money to insure that
 these words should prove true—but rather because
 they feared that if the news turned out to be in error,
 they might find themselves too soon off the mark in
 flaunting their delight and might be reported to their
 own destruction.^a Indeed, he had inflicted fearful
 wrongs in greater numbers on the Roman nobles than
 any other one man, for he was always quick to anger
 and relentless in action, even if his grounds for con-
 ceiving hatred of a man made no sense. It was his
 bent to turn savage in every case that he decided;
 and he inflicted the death penalty even for the
 slightest offences. And so, though the report that
 they had of his death gave them pleasure, they were
 prevented from enjoying it as much as they would
 have liked by fear of the dire consequences that they
 foresaw if hope played them false. But Marsyas, the
 freedman of Agrippa, having learned of the death of
 Tiberius, forced his way at top speed to announce the
 good news to Agrippa. Finding him on his way out
 to the bath, he beckoned to him and said in Hebrew,
 "The lion is dead."^b Agrippa grasped his meaning
 and, giddy with joy at this announcement, said, "My
 unbounded thanks to you for your whole service and
 for this happy news. I only hope it is true." Now
 the centurion, who commanded Agrippa's guards,
 seeing in what a hurry Marsyas had come and how
 pleased Agrippa was as soon as he heard the message,

The news
comes to
Agrippa.

^a Thackeray, *Selections from Josephus*, p. 82, has, for the last clause, "they would be slanderously accused and lose their lives."

^b Cf. Bab. *Shabbat* 30 b, where Solomon quotes Ecclesiastes ix. 4, "A living dog is better than a dead lion," in speaking of his father David, who has just died and whose corpse is threatened by hungry dogs.

- ὑποτοπήσας καίνωσίν¹ τινα γεγονέναι τῶν λόγων
 232 ἤρετό σφας περὶ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἐφεστηκότος. οἱ
 δὲ τῶς μὲν παρέτρεπον, ἐγκειμένω δὲ ἀποσημαίνει
 ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ἥδη γὰρ φίλος ἦν, μηδὲν ἐνδοιάσας.
 ὁ δὲ ἐκοινοῦτό τε τὴν ἡδονὴν τοῦ λόγου διὰ τὸ εἰς
 ἀγαθὰ τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ φέρειν προὔτιθει τε αὐτῷ
 δεῖπνον. εὐωχουμένων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ πότου
 προϊόντος παρῆν τις λέγων ζῆν τε τὸν Τιβερίον καὶ
 233 ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἐπανήξειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ ὁ
 ἑκατοντάρχης δεινῶς θορυβηθεὶς τῷ λόγῳ διὰ τὸ
 εἰς θάνατον ἀνακειμένα πεπραχέναι δεσμώτη τε
 καὶ ἐπ' ἀγγελία θανάτου αὐτοκράτορος συνδιητη-
 σθαι μετὰ χάριτος, ἀπωθείται τε τὸν Ἀγρίππαν
 τοῦ κλινιδίου καί, "ἦπου," φησὶν, "λήσει με ὑπο-
 νοεῖς θάνατον τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος κατεψευσμένος, ἀλλ'
 οὐ κεφαλῇ τῇ σῆ τοῦτον ἀναμαζόμενος τὸν λόγον;"
 233 ταῦτα εἰπὼν κελεύει δῆσαι τὸν Ἀγρίππαν λευκῶς
 πρότερον αὐτὸν φυλακὴν τε ἀκριβεστέραν αὐτοῦ ἢ
 πρότερον καθίσταται. καὶ νύκτα μὲν ἐκείνην ὁ
 234 Ἀγρίππας ἐν τοιοῦτοις ἦν τοῖς κακοῖς. τῇ δὲ
 ὑστεραία λόγος τε πλείων ἦν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἰσχυρι-
 ζόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ Τιβερίου, ἐθάρρουν τε
 οἱ ἄνθρωποι φανερώς ἤδη θροεῖν² καὶ τινες καὶ
 θυσίας ἐπετέλουν, ἐπιστολαὶ τε ἀφίκοντο παρὰ τοῦ
 Γαίου, ἣ μὲν πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον τοῦ Τιβερίου δια-
 σαφούσα τὴν τελευτὴν καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ παράληψιν

¹ AW: καὶ γνώσω M: i. marg. γρ καίνωσω A: κοίνωσω Ernesti.

² A: θρουλλεῖν M: θρουλεῖν W.

^a Thackeray, *Selections*, p. 83, suggests as an alternative translation "suspected the use of a strange language," namely Hebrew.

^b Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 50, also reports that after the first news

surmised that something novel had been said^a and asked them about the message in question. For a time they put him off, but, when he insisted, Agrippa, being now on friendly terms with him, told him the truth without reserve. He joined in the rejoicing at the news because it was to Agrippa's advantage and treated him to a dinner. While they were feasting and the drinking was under way, someone came in and said that Tiberius was alive and would return to the city within a few days.^b The centurion was so shockingly perturbed at this report, since the penalty set for such things as he had done was death, that is, both to have dined together with a prisoner and to have rejoiced at the news of the emperor's death, that he pushed Agrippa off the couch and said: "So you thought you would fool me with a false report of the emperor's death, and would not pay for it with your own head?" With these words he ordered the manacles to be put on Agrippa, though he had previously taken them off, and a stricter guard to be kept than before. Such was the wretched condition of Agrippa through the night. On the following day, however, the reports of Tiberius' death were more numerous and assured in the city. The people now began to have the courage to speak of it without misgiving, and some even offered sacrifices. Two letters then arrived from Gaius: one to the senate informing that body fully of the death of Tiberius and of his own

had been received of Tiberius' death and Gaius Caligula and his supporters had started to rejoice, another message was received that Tiberius was actually recovering from his faintness and calling for food. In the ensuing panic only Macro, the prefect of the praetorian cohorts, was undaunted and simply ordered that Tiberius should be smothered under a heap of clothes.

235 τῆς ἡγεμονίας γενομένην, ἣ δὲ πρὸς Πείσωνα τὸν φύλακα τῆς πόλεως τούτῳ τε ἀγορεύουσα, καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐκέλευεν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μεταστῆσαι¹ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, ἐν ἣ πρότερον ἢ δεθῆναι δίαταν εἶχεν. τότε ἐν θάρσει λοιπὸν ἤγεν τὰ περὶ αὐτῆς· φυλακὴ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τήρησις ἦν, μετὰ μέντοι ἀνέσσεως τῆς εἰς τὴν δίαταν. Γάιος δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ Ῥώμης παρῆν ἄγων τοῦ Ἰβηρίου τὸ σῶμα, ταφάς τε αὐτοῦ ποιεῖται πολυτελεῖς νόμοις τοῖς πατρίοις, Ἀγρίππαν τε αὐθημερόν λυεῖν ὄντα πρόθυμον κώλυμα Ἀντωνία ἦν οὐ τι μίσει τῷ πρὸς τὸν δεδεμένον προμηθεία δὲ τοῦ Γαίου εὐπρεποῦς, μὴ δόξαν ἀπαγοίτο ἡδονῇ δεχομένον τὴν Ἰβηρίου μετάστασι² ἄνδρα ὑπ' ἐκεῖνον δεδεμένον λύων ἐκ τοῦ ὄξεος.

237 διελευσῶν μέντοι οὐ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν μεταπεμφθέντος αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἀποκείρει τε αὐτὸν καὶ μεταμφιέννουσιν, εἶτα δὲ τὸ διάδημα περιτίθησιν τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ βασιλέα καθίστησιν αὐτὸν τῆς Φιλίππου τετραρχίας δωρησάμενος αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν Λυσανίου τετραρχίαν, ἀλλάττει τε σιδηρὰ ἀλύσει χρυσοῦν ἰσοσταθμον. ἰππάρχην³ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐκπέμπει Μάρυλλον.⁵

¹ Niese: μεταστῆσαι AME: μεταστῆσιν W.

² MWE (cf. Ant. xviii. 89): τελευτήν A: mortem Lat.

³ ἰππάρχην] codd.: magistrum equitum Lat.: ἑπαρχον Hudson: ὑπαρχον conl. Niese.

⁴ ἐκ E.

⁵ Μάρυλλον M.

^a Josephus' statement is confirmed by Suetonius, *Calig.* 15, who speaks of the funeral oration which Gaius delivered weepingly before a vast crowd and of the magnificent burial that he accorded him. Dio Cassius lix. 3. 7, however, claims that Gaius brought in Tiberius' body at night and gave him a hasty funeral. M. P. Charlesworth, "The Tradition about Caligula," *Camb. Hist. Jour.* iv, 1933, p. 108, cites an entry

succession to his office, the other to Piso, the prefect of the city, containing both this statement and the order that Agrippa should be removed from the camp to the house where he had lived before his imprisonment. After that he had no hardship to fear, for though he was still guarded and watched, yet the watch on his daily activities was relaxed. After Gaius had arrived in Rome with the body of Tiberius and had given him a splendid funeral in the old Roman fashion,^a he was eager to release Agrippa on that very day. Antonia, however, restrained him, not that she wished the prisoner any harm, but she was concerned not to let Gaius commit an impropriety. It would give the impression, if he released so quickly one who had been imprisoned by Tiberius, that he joyfully welcomed Tiberius' death. ^b Not many days thereafter, he sent for Agrippa to come to his house, and he attended to cutting his hair and changing his clothes. This done, he put a diadem on his head and appointed him king of the tetrarchy of Philip,^c presenting him also with the tetrarchy of Lysanias.^d Furthermore, in exchange for his iron chain, he gave him a golden one of equal weight. As commander of the cavalry ^e in Judaea he dispatched Marullus.^f

Gaius makes Agrippa king of Philip's tetrarchy.

from the Acts of the Arval Brethren and other epigraphical evidence which refute Dio and indicate that Gaius showed full respect for Tiberius.

^b Cf. the parallel passage in *B.J.* ii. 181.

^c See above, §§ 27-28, 106-108.

^d Cf. *Ant.* xv. 344, xix. 275, xx. 138; Dio Cass. lix. 8. 2.

^e Hudson emends, but without any evidence, to ἑπαρχον, "procurator," and is followed by E. Stein, "Marullus," *R.E.* xiv, 1930, p. 2053.

^f Otherwise unknown. E. M. Smallwood, "The Date of the Dismissal of Pontius Pilate from Judaea," *Jour. of Jewish Stud.* v, 1954, p. 14, adopts S. L. DeLact's suggestion

- 238 (11) Δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς Γαίτου Καίσαρος ἡγε-
μονίας Ἀγρίππας ἡξίου συγχώρησιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι
πλεύσαντι τὴν τε ἀρχὴν καταστήσασθαι καὶ τὰ
239 ἄλλα εἰς δέον οἰκονομησαμένῳ ἐπανιέναι. καὶ συγ-
χωροῦντος τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος παρῆν παρ' ἐλπίδας
τε ὤφθη πᾶσι βασιλεὺς πολλὴν τε τῆς τύχης ἐπε-
δείκνυεν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῖς θεω-
ροῦσιν ἐκ λογισμῶν ἀπορίας τε τῆς πρότερον καὶ
τοῦ ἐν τῷ παρόντι εὐδαίμονος. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐμακάρι-
ζον τοῦ μὴ διαμαρτία χρησαμένου τῶν ἐλπίδων, οἱ
δ' ἐν ἀπιστίᾳ περὶ τῶν γεγονότων ἦσαν.
- 240 (vii. 1) Ἡρωδιάς δὲ ἡ ἀδελφὴ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου
συνουκοῦσα Ἡρώδῃ, τετράρχης δὲ οὗτος ἦν Γαλι-
λαίας καὶ Περαιάς, φθόνῳ τὰδελφοῦ τὴν ἐξουσίαν
ἐδέχετο ὀρώσα ἐν πολὺ μείζονι ἀξιώματι γεγενη-
μένον ἀνδρὸς τοῦ αὐτῆς, διὰ τὸ φυγῆ μὲν ποιήσα-
σθαι τὴν ἔξοδον διαλῦσαι τὰ χρέα μὴ δυνάμενον,
κάθοδον δὲ μετ' ἀξιώματος καὶ οὕτως πολλοῦ τοῦ
241 εὐδαίμονος. ἐλυπέτο οὖν καὶ βαρέως ἔφερεν τῇ
ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῦ μεταβολῇ, καὶ μάλιστα ὅποτε
θεόσαιτο μετὰ τῶν εἰωθότων παρασήμων τῆς βα-
σιλείας ἐπιφοιτῶντά τε τοῖς πλήθεσιν, ἐπικρύπτε-
σθαι οὐκ ἠνείχετο τὴν δυστυχίαν τοῦ φθόνου, ἀλλὰ
τὸν ἄνδρα ἐξῆρεν κελεύουσα ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης πλεῖν
242 ἐπὶ μνηστεία τῶν ἴσων· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀνεκτὸν εἶναι
σφίσι τὸ ζῆν, εἰ Ἀγρίππας Ἀριστοβούλου μὲν υἱὸς
ὦν θανεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς κατεγνωσμένου,¹ πενία

¹ ed. pr. et ut vid. Lat. : κατεγνωσμένος codd.

("Le Successeur de Ponce-Pilate," *Antiq. Class.* viii, 1939, pp. 418-419) that this Marullus (or Maryllus) is to be identified with the Marcellus whom Vitellius had appointed (*Ant.*

- (11) In the second year of the reign of the emperor Gaius, Agrippa asked for permission to set sail and make his rule secure, as well as to get all other matters duly organized, and then to return to Rome. The emperor gave consent and he went. All were surprised to see him in his royal state. He was an object lesson in demonstrating the great power of fortune over mankind to those who beheld him and speculated on the contrast between his former distress and his present prosperity. Some thought him lucky not to have failed to attain his hopes, while others were incredulous about what had happened.
- (vii. 1) ^a Herodias, the sister of Agrippa and wife of Herod, tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea, begrudged her brother his rise to power far above the state that her husband enjoyed. Agrippa had had to flee for lack of money to pay his debts, but now he had returned in grandeur and with such great prosperity. It was consequently painful and depressing for her to see so great a reversal in his fortunes. The spectacle of his royal visits in the customary regalia before the multitudes made her especially helpless to keep this unfortunate envy to herself. Instead she instigated her husband, urging him to embark for Rome and sue for equal status. For their life was unbearable, she said, if Agrippa, who was the son of that Aristobulus who had been condemned to death by his father, who had himself known such helpless

Agrippa
returns
home.

Herodias
eggs her
husband on
to seek a
similar
fortune.

xviii. 89) to take charge of the administration of Judaea, and that Gaius simply gave the acting governor the official position of procurator. But in addition to going counter to the unanimous authority of the manuscripts, this suggestion disregards *ἐκπέμπει*, which indicates that Gaius sent him forth from Rome.

^a §§ 240-255 are parallel with *B.J.* ii. 181-183.

δὲ ἀπόρῳ συνιών, ὡς τελέως¹ αὐτῷ ἐπικουφίξεσθαι τὰναγκαῖα τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμέρας, φυγῆ δὲ τῶν δεδανεικότων τὸν πλοῦν πεποιημένους ἐπανεληλύθοι βασιλεὺς, αὐτὸς δὲ γε ὢν παῖς βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ συγγενοῦς² τῆς ἀρχῆς καλοῦντος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ μεταποιήσει τῶν 243 ἴσων³ καθέζοιτο ἀγαπῶν ἐν ἰδιωτεῖα διαβιοῦν. "ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ πρότερόν γε, Ἡρώδη, μηδὲν ἐλύπει σε τὸ ἐν ἐλάσσονι τιμῇ πατρὸς οὐ γέγονας εἶναι, νῦν γοῦν ὀρέχθητι συγγενοῦς ἀξιώματος μηδὲ ὑπόμενε ἡσῶσθαι προὔχοντι τιμῆς ἀνδρὶ πλοῦτον τεθεραπευκότι τὸν σόν, μηδὲ πενίαν ἀποφῆνης τὴν ἐκείνου τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐπορίας ἀρετῇ μᾶλλον χρῆσθαι δυναμένην, μηδὲ δευτερεύειν ἀνεπαίσχυντον ἡγοῦ τῶν 244 χθῆς τε καὶ πρῶτην ἐλέω τῷ σῷ διαβεβιωκότων. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἴωμεν, καὶ μήτε πόνου φειδώ τις ἔστω μήτε ἀργυρίου δαπάνης καὶ χρυσοῦ, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπ' οὐδαμινούσιν ἐν⁴ βελτίοσιν γενέσθαι τὴν τήρησιν αὐτῶν ἀναλώσεως τῆς ἐπὶ κτήσει βασιλείας ἔσομένης."

245 (2) Ὁ δὲ τέως μὲν ἀπεμάχετο ἀγαπῶν τὴν ἡσυχίαν καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης τὸν ὄχλον δι' ὑποψίας λαμβάνων ἀναδιδάσκειν τε αὐτὴν ἐπειράτο, ἢ δ' ἐφ' ὅσον ἐξαναχωροῦντα εἴωρα μειζόνως ἐπέκειτο κελύουσα μὴ ἀνιέναι πάντα πράσσειν ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ. 246 καὶ πέρασ οὐκ ἀνήκεν ἕως ἐξενίκησεν⁵ αὐτὸν ὁμογνώμονα αὐτῇ ἀκουσίως γενέσθαι διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἄλλως ἀποφυγεῖν αὐτῆς τὸ ἐπὶ τοιοῦτοις ψηφισάμενον, παρασκευασάμενός τε ὡς ἐνῆν πολυτελῶς καὶ φειδοῖ μηδεὶνὸς χρώμενος ἀνήγετο ἐπὶ τῆς

¹ ἐλέω (et ut vid. ὦστ') Naber.

² <καὶ κοινωσὺ> post συγγενοῦς add. Richards et Shutt.

³ τοῦ συγγενοῦς . . . ἴσων] et frater eius qui tetrarchiam

poverty that the necessities of daily life had entirely failed him, and who had set out on his voyage to escape from his creditors, should have returned as a king, while Herod himself, the son of a king, who was called by his royal birth to claim equal treatment, should rest content to live as a commoner to the end of his life. "Even if, O Herod," she said, "you were not distressed in the past to be lower in rank than the father from whom you sprang, now at least I beg of you to move in quest of the high position that you were born to. Do not patiently admit defeat by a man outranking you, who has bent the knee to your affluence. Do not inform the world that his poverty can make better use of manly qualities than our riches. Never regard it as anything but a disgrace to play second fiddle to those who were but yesterday dependent on your bounty for survival. Come, let us go to Rome; let us spare neither pains nor expense of silver and gold, since there is no better use for which we might hoard them than to expend them on the acquisition of a kingdom."

(2) For a while he resisted and tried to change her mind, for he was content with his tranquillity and was wary of the Roman bustle. The more, however, she saw him shying away, the more urgently she insisted, bidding him not to be remiss in seeking a throne at any cost. The upshot was that she never flagged till she carried the day and made him her unwilling partisan, for there was no way of escape once she had cast her vote on this matter. And so, supplied as lavishly as possible and sparing no expense, he

illam ante possederat, ut magis ei cognationis iure deberetur Lat.

⁴ ἂν coni. Niese.

⁵ Niese: ἐξενίκησεν codd. E.

- 247 Ῥώμης ἄμα καὶ τὴν Ἡρωδιάδα ἀγόμενος. Ἀγρίπ-
 πας δὲ τὴν τε διάνοιαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν
 αἰσθόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς παρεσκευάζετο, ἐπεὶ τε ἐκ-
 πεπλευκότας ἀκούει, πέμπει καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῆς
 Ῥώμης Φορτουνατον αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων δῶρά
 τε κομίζοντα τῷ αὐτοκράτορι καὶ ἐπιστολάς κατὰ
 τοῦ Ἡρώδου τὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν διδάξοντα ἦ¹ καιρὸς
 248 τὸν Γάιον. ὁ δὲ ἐπαναχθεὶς τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην
 καὶ δεξιῶ χρησάμενος τῷ πλῶ τοσόνδε ἀπελίπετο
 τοῦ Ἡρώδου, ὥστε τὸν μὲν ἐντυχεῖν Γαίῳ, ὁ δὲ
 ἐπικατάγεται καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς ἀπεδίδου. καὶ
 προσέπλευσαν ἀμφότεροι Δικαιαρχεῖα καὶ τὸν
 249 Γάιον ἐν Βαῖαις λαμβάνουσιν. πολύδριον² δ' ἐστὶ
 καὶ τοῦτο τῆς Καμπανίας ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων πέντε
 τῆς Δικαιαρχείας κείμενον, βασιλικοὶ τὲ εἰσιν οἰκή-
 σεις αὐτόθι πολυτελεῖσι κεκρημέναι κατασκευαῖς
 φιλοτιμηθέντος τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ἐκάστου τοὺς
 προγεγονότας ὑπερβάλλεσθαι, λουτρά τε παρέχεται
 τὸ χωρίον θερμὰ γῆθεν αὐτόματα ἀνιέντα ἀγαθὰ
 ἐπὶ τε ἰάσει τοῖς χρωμένοις καὶ ἄλλως τῷ ἀνειμένῳ
 250 τῆς διαίτης συμφέροντα. Γάιος δὲ ἄμα τε προ-
 αγορεύων τὸν Ἡρώδην, πρῶτον δὲ αὐτῷ ἐνετύγ-
 χανεν, ἄμα τε τοῦ Ἀγρίππου τὰς ἐπιστολάς ἐπιὼν
 ἐπὶ κατηγορίᾳ τῇ ἐκείνου συγκειμενας, κατηγορεῖ
 δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁμολογίαν πρὸς Σηιανὸν κατὰ τῆς Τι-
 βερίου ἀρχῆς καὶ πρὸς Ἀρτάβανον τὸν Πάρθον ἐπὶ
 251 τοῦ παρόντος κατὰ τῆς Γαίου ἀρχῆς, παράδειγμα
 τε ἦν αὐτῷ τοῦ λόγου μυριάσιν ἑπτὰ ὀπλιτῶν
 ἀρκέσουσα-κατασκευὴ ἐν ταῖς Ἡρώδου ὀπλοθήκαις
 ἀποκειμένη, ἐκινεῖτό τε ὑπὸ τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ

¹ ἦ A: εἰ MWE.

² A: πολύδριον MWE: γρ πολύδριον ἢ πολύδριον i. marg. A.

set sail for Rome, accompanied by Herodias. But Agrippa counters this move by accusing Herod of conspiracy. Agrippa, when he learned of their plan and their preparations, made his own preparations. And when he heard that they had set sail, he himself also dispatched Fortunatus, one of his freedmen, to Rome, charged with presents for the emperor and letters against Herod, and ready to tell his story to Gaius himself as the opportunity presented itself. Fortunatus, putting out to sea in pursuit of Herod's party, had a favourable voyage and was so little behind Herod that while the latter had obtained an audience with Gaius, he landed and delivered his letters. Both of them had made port at Dicaearchia and had found Gaius at Baiae. This is a little city in Campania situated at a distance of about five furlongs^a from Dicaearchia. There are royal residences there lavishly furnished, for each of the emperors was ambitious to outdo his predecessors. The locality also affords hot baths, which spring naturally from the ground and have a curative value for those who use them, not to mention their contribution to easy living in other ways. At the very time that he was greeting Herod, whom he interviewed first, Gaius was perusing the letters of Agrippa which were composed as an indictment of him. The letters accused Herod of conspiring with Sejanus against the government of Tiberius and of being now in league with Artabanus the Parthian against the government of Gaius. As proof of this charge the letters stated that equipment sufficient for 70,000 heavy-armed foot-soldiers was stored in Herod's armouries. Spurred by these

^a Josephus has underestimated the distance, which is about three miles (or about two miles, as the crow flies, according to Mathieu-Herrmann).

ἤρετο τὸν Ἡρώδη, εἰ ἀληθῆς ὁ περὶ τῶν ὄπλων
 252 λόγος. τοῦ δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἕτερα εἰπεῖν διὰ τὸ
 ἀντιφθέγγασθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, εἰπόντος εἶναι τὰ
 ὄπλα, πιστὰ ἡγούμενος εἶναι τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποστάσει
 κατηγορούμενα, τὴν τετραρχίαν ἀφελόμενος αὐτὸν
 προσθήκην τῇ Ἀγρίππου βασιλείᾳ ποιεῖται καὶ τὰ
 χρήματα ὁμοίως τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ δίδωσιν, αὐτὸν δὲ
 φυγῇ αἰδίῳ ἐξημίωσεν ἀποδείξας οἰκητήριον αὐτοῦ
 253 Λούγδουνον πόλιν τῆς Γαλλίας.¹ Ἡρωδιάδα δὲ
 μαθὼν Ἀγρίππου ἀδελφὴν οὖσαν τὰ τε χρήματα
 ἐδίδου ὅποσα ἐκείνη ἰδίᾳ ἦν καὶ τοῦ μὴ κοινωεῖν
 νομίσαι² τῷ ἀνδρὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς τεῖχος αὐτῇ τὸν
 254 ἀδελφὸν ἔλεγεν.³ ἡ δέ, “ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν, αὐτόκρατορ,”
 εἶπεν, “μεγαλοφρόνως τε καὶ ἀξιώματι τῷ σουτοῦ
 πρεπόντως τάδε λέγεις, κώλυμα δέ μοί ἐστιν χρή-
 σθαι σου τῇ χάριτι τῆς δωρεᾶς εὐνοια ἢ πρὸς τὸν
 γεγαμηκότα, οὐ κοινωνόν με τῆς εὐδαιμονίας γενο-
 μένην οὐ δίκαιον ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τὸ ἐπὶ ταῖς τύχαις
 255 καθεσταμένον.” ὁ δὲ ὀργῇ τοῦ μεγαλόφρονος αὐ-
 τὴν ποιησάμενος συνήλαυεν καὶ αὐτὴν τῷ Ἡρώ-
 δη καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῆς τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ δίδωσιν.
 Ἡρωδιάδι μὲν δὴ φθόνου τοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ
 Ἡρώδη γυναικείων ἀκροασαμένῳ κουφολογιῶν
 256 δίκην ταύτην ἐπετίμησεν ὁ θεός. Γάιος δὲ τὸν μὲν
 πρῶτον ἐναυτὸν καὶ τὸν ἕξῃς πάνν μεγαλοφρόνως
 ἐχρήτη τοῖς πράγμασιν καὶ μέτριον παρέχων αὐ-

¹ AW: Γαλιλαίας, λ secundum ex a corr. M: Γαλατίας E.

² conl. Niese: νομίσας codd.: om. E.

³ καὶ τοῦ . . . ἔλεγεν] arbitrans in consilio viri consciam

words, Gaius asked Herod whether the report about
 the arms was true. When Herod replied that the
 arms were there—for it was impossible for him to
 deny it in face of the truth—Gaius, regarding the
 accusations of revolt as confirmed, relieved him of his
 tetrarchy and added it to the kingdom of Agrippa.
 He likewise gave Herod's property to Agrippa and
 condemned Herod to perpetual exile, assigning him
 as his residence Lyons, a city in Gaul.^a When Gaius
 learned that Herodias was a sister of Agrippa, he
 offered to allow her to keep all her personal property
 and told her to regard her brother as the bulwark
 who had protected her from sharing her husband's
 fate. She, however, replied: “Indeed, O emperor,
 these are generous words and such as befit your high
 office, but my loyalty to my husband is a bar to my
 enjoyment of your kind gift, for it is not right when
 I have shared in his prosperity that I should abandon
 him when he has been brought to this pass.” Gaius,
 angered at her proud mood, exiled her also, together
 with Herod, and presented her possessions to Agrippa.
 And so God visited this punishment on Herodias for
 her envy of her brother and on Herod for listening to
 a woman's frivolous chatter. As for Gaius, he ad-
 ministered the empire quite highmindedly during the
 first and second years of his reign.^b By exercising
 moderation he made great advances in popularity

Herod is
 banished
 and his
 tetrarchy
 is given to
 Agrippa.

^a According to the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 183, Herod was banished to Spain.

^b Dio Cass. lix. 2. 6 also has the good part of Gaius' reign lasting about two years, whereas from Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium* 13, and from Suetonius, *Calig.* 37, we conclude that it lasted about a year.

non fuisse; tutabatur etiam eam quod sororem Agrippae cognoverat Lat.

τόν εἰς εὐνοίαν πολλήν προὔχῳρει παρά τε Ῥωμαίους αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις.¹ προῦν δ' ἐξίστατο τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φρονεῖν ὑπὸ μεγέθους τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκθειάζων ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐπ' ἀτιμίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ πολιτεύειν ἤρτο.

257 (viii. 1) Καὶ δὴ στάσεως ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ γενομένης Ἰουδαίων τε οἱ ἐνοικοῦσι καὶ Ἑλλήνων τρεῖς ἀφ' ἑκατέρας τῆς στάσεως πρεσβευταὶ αἰρεθέντες παρήσαν ὡς τὸν Γάιον. καὶ ἦν γὰρ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων πρέσβων εἰς Ἀπίων, ὃς πολλὰ εἰς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐβλασφήμησεν ἄλλα τε λέγων καὶ ὡς
258 τῶν Καίσαρος τιμῶν περιορῶεν πάντων γούν ὅποσοι τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ὑποτελεῖς εἶεν βωμοὺς τῷ Γαίῳ καὶ νεῶς ἰδρυμένων τά τε ἄλλα πᾶσιν αὐτὸν ὡσπερ τοὺς θεοὺς δεχομένων, μόνους τούσδε ἀδοξον ἡγείσθαι ἀνδριάσι τιμᾶν καὶ ὄρκιον αὐτοῦ

¹ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις] apud Graecos Lat.

^a The account of the strife is given at great length in Philo's treatise *In Flaccum*, and the story of the embassy in Philo's *Legatio ad Gaium*. The true cause of the tension was, it seems, the Jewish attempt to gain recognition of their claim to Alexandrian citizenship (so H. Box, ed., *Philonis Alexandrini In Flaccum*, 1939, pp. xxxviii ff.). The immediate occasion for the strife was the visit of Agrippa to Alexandria in A.D. 38 after he had been crowned king by Gaius Caligula. The Jews received him with great pomp, but the Greeks, who recalled his previous visit to the city when he was destitute, mocked him by dressing up an imbecile as king and addressing him as "Marin" (Aramaic for "our Lord"). Because they feared Caligula's displeasure, the Greeks then demanded the erection of statues of the emperor in every synagogue so that he could be worshipped as a god. The Roman governor, Flaccus, sided with the Greeks and proclaimed the Jews to be foreigners and aliens; and soon there was a pogrom against the Jews. The Jewish

both with the Romans themselves and with their subjects. But as time went on, he ceased to think of himself as a man and, as he imagined himself a god because of the greatness of his empire, he was moved to disregard the divine power in all his official acts.

(viii. 1) Meanwhile, there was civil strife in Alexandria between the Jewish inhabitants and the Greeks.^a Three delegates were chosen by each of the factions and appeared before Gaius.^b One of the Alexandrian delegates was Apion,^c who scurrilously reviled the Jews, asserting, among other things, that they neglected to pay the honours due to the emperor. For while all the subject peoples in the Roman empire had dedicated altars and temples to Gaius and had given him the same attentions in all other respects as they did the gods, these people alone scorned to honour him with statues and to swear by

Strife in Alexandria between Jews and Greeks. Gaius refuses to hear Philo.

embassy was then sent to Caligula to ask him to reassert the traditional Jewish rights granted by the Ptolemies and confirmed by Augustus. On these events in Alexandria and on the embassy see further H. Willrich, "Caligula," *Klio* iii, 1903, pp. 397 ff.; H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, 1924, pp. 10-21; Balsdon, *The Emperor Gaius*, pp. 125-135; and Box, *op. cit.* pp. xxxviii ff.

^b It is possible to date Philo's voyage to Rome (*Leg.* 190) as having occurred in the winter of 38-39 or 39-40, probably the latter (so J. P. V. Balsdon in his full discussion of the chronology of Gaius' dealings with the Jews, in *Jour. of Roman Stud.* xxiv, 1934, pp. 19-24). But cf. E. M. Smallwood, "The Chronology of Gaius' Attempt to Desecrate the Temple," *Latomus* xvi, 1957, pp. 3-17, who accepts the chronological indications in Philo in preference to those of Josephus where they conflict and dates the episode some months earlier. Philo, *Leg.* 370, says that he headed an embassy of five persons, and his evidence, being firsthand, is obviously to be preferred.

^c The notorious anti-Semite against whom Josephus wrote his *Contra Apionem*.

- 259 τὸ ὄνομα ποιείσθαι. πολλά δὲ καὶ χαλεπὰ Ἀπίωνος εἰρηκότος, ὑφ' ὧν ἀρθῆναι¹ ἤλπιζε τὸν Γάϊον καὶ εἰκὸς ἦν, Φίλων ἄπροεστὸς τῶν Ἰουδαίων τῆς πρεσβείας, ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα ἐνδοξος Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ τοῦ ἀλαβάρχου ἀδελφὸς ὧν καὶ φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἄπειρος, οἷος² ἦν ἐπ' ἀπολογία χωρεῖν τῶν κατὰ
260 ἠγορημένων. διακλείει³ δ' αὐτὸν Γάϊος κελεύσας ἐκποδῶν ἀπελθεῖν, περιοργῆς τε ὧν φανερός ἦν ἐργασόμενός τι δεινὸν αὐτοῦς. ὁ δὲ Φίλων ἕξεισι περιωβρισμένος καὶ φησι πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ἦσαν, ὡς χρή θαρρεῖν, Γάϊου λόγῳ μὲν αὐτοῖς ὠργισμένου, ἔργῳ δὲ ἤδη τὸν θεὸν ἀντιπαρ-
εξάγοντος.
- 261 (2) Γάϊος δὲ ἐν δεινῷ φέρων εἰς τοσόνδε ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων περιωφθῆναι μόνων πρεσβευτὴν ἐπὶ Συρίας ἐκπέμπει Πετρώνιον διάδοχον Οὐιτελλίῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς, κελεύων χειρὶ πολλῇ εἰσβαλόντι εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, εἰ μὲν ἐκόντες δέχονται, ἰστᾶν αὐτοῦ ἀνδριάντα ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰ δ' ἀγνωμοσύνη χρώντο, πολέμῳ κρατήσαντα τοῦτο ποιεῖν. καὶ
262 Πετρώνιος Συρίαν παραλαβὼν ἠπέιγετο διακονεῖσθαι ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος, συμμαχίαν τε πλείστην δοσὴν ἠδύνατο ἀθροίσας καὶ τάγματα δύο

¹ ἐρεθισθῆναι coni. Richards et Shutt.
² τε post οἷος omisi. ³ διακλείει] ex secretario exclusi Lat.

^a The word ὄρκιος is used of a god by whom one swears. So A. G. Roos, "Lesefruchte," *Mnemosyne*, iii Series, vol. 2, 1935, pp. 237-238.

^b Mentioned in §§ 159-160 as one who lent a large sum of money to Agrippa.

^c V. A. Tcherikover, in the prolegomena to his *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, i, 1957, p. 67, emphasizes that Philo represented the higher and wealthier circles of the

his name.^a And so Apion spoke many angry words by which he hoped that Gaius would be moved, as might be expected. Philo, who stood at the head of the delegation of the Jews, a man held in the highest honour, brother of Alexander the alabarch^b and no novice in philosophy, was prepared to proceed with the defence against these accusations.^c But Gaius cut him short, told him to get out of his way, and, being exceedingly angry, made it clear that he would visit some outrage upon them. Philo, having thus been treated with contumely, left the room, saying to the Jews who accompanied him that they should be of good courage, for Gaius' wrath was a matter of words, but in fact he was now enlisting God against himself.

(2)^d Indignant at being so slighted by the Jews alone, Gaius dispatched Petronius^e as his legate to Syria to succeed Vitellius in this office. His orders were to lead a large force into Judaea and, if the Jews consented to receive him, to set up an image of Gaius in the temple of God. If, however, they were obstinate, he was to subdue them by force of arms and so set it up. Petronius took over Syria and hastened to carry out the commands of the emperor. Gathering together as many auxiliaries as possible, he marched

Jewish population in Alexandria, who sought a reconciliation with the Roman government and with the Greeks, whereas a strong segment of the masses of the Jews were opposed to such a reconciliation.

^d §§ 261-262 are parallel with *B.J.* ii. 185-187. This incident is also mentioned by Philo, *Leg.* 186 and 207-208, and by Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 9, both of whom note that Caligula ordered the Jews to set up his statue in the temple in Jerusalem, but that they chose to take up arms rather than to obey him.

^e Governor of Syria A.D. 39-42.

τῆς Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεως ἄγων ἐπὶ Πτολεμαΐδος
 παρῆν αὐτόθι χειμάσων ὡς πρὸς ἕαρ τοῦ πολεμεῖν
 οὐκ ἀφεξόμενος, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Γάιον ἔγραφεν περὶ
 τῶν ἐπεγνωσμένων. ὁ δὲ ἐπήγει τῆς προθυμίας
 αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκέλευεν μὴ ἀνίεναι πολεμεῖν δὲ μὴ πει-
 263 θομένους ἐντεταμένους. Ἰουδαίων δὲ πολλὰ μυρι-
 ἀδες παρῆσαν ὡς τὸν Πετρώνιον εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα
 κατὰ δεήσεις μηδὲν ἐπὶ παρανομία σφᾶς ἐπαναγ-
 264 κάζειν καὶ παραβάσει τοῦ πατρίου νόμου.¹ “εἰ δέ
 σοι πάντως πρόκειται τὸν ἀνδριάντα φέρειν καὶ
 ἰστᾶν, ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς πρότερον μεταχειρισάμενος
 πᾶσσε τὰ δεδογμένα· οὐδὲ γὰρ δυνάμεθα περιόντες
 θεωρεῖν² πράγματα ἡμῖν ἀπηγορευμένα ἀξιωματί-
 τε τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ προπατόρων τῶν ἡμετέρων
 τῶν εἰς ἀρετὴν ἀνήκειν αὐτὰ κεχειροτονηκότων.”
 265 Πετρώνιος δὲ ὀργῆν³ λαβὼν εἶπεν⁴. “ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν
 αὐτοκράτωρ ὢν βουλευμασι χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἐμαντοῦ
 τάδε πράσσειν ἐπενόουν, κἂν⁵ δίκαιος ἦν ὑμῖν πρὸς
 με οὗτος ὁ λόγος. νυνὶ δέ μοι Καίσαρος ἐπεσταλ-
 κότης πᾶσα ἀνάγκη διακονεῖσθαι τοῖς ἐκείνω προ-
 ανεψηφισμένοις διὰ τὸ εἰς ἀνηκεστοτέραν φέρειν
 266 ζημίαν τὴν παρακράσιν αὐτῶν.” “ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὕ-
 τως φρονεῖς, ὦ Πετρώνιε,” φασὶν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, “ὡς
 μὴ ἂν ἐπιστολὰς τὰς Γαίου παρελθεῖν, οὐδ’ ἂν αὐτοὶ
 παραβαίημεν τοῦ νόμου τὴν προαγόρευσιν θεοῦ⁶
 πεισθέντες ἀρετῇ⁷ καὶ προγόνων πόνοις τῶν ἡμετέ-

¹ νόμου A: om. MWE.

² A: συγχωρεῖν MW: ammittere Lat.

³ ὀργῆν] codd.: ὀργῆ conl. Niese: πρὸς ὀργῆν conl. Richards et Shutt.

⁴ ὀργῆν . . . εἶπεν] respondit Lat.

⁵ ed. pr.: καὶ AW: om. ME.

at the head of two ^a legions of the Roman army to Ptolemaïs, intending to spend the winter there and towards spring to engage in war without fail. He wrote Gaius what he had in mind to do. The latter commended him for his zeal and bade him abate nothing but wage war vigorously against them if they persisted in disobedience. Meanwhile, many ^{Jewish em-} tens of thousands of Jews came to Petronius at ^{bassy to} Ptolemaïs with petitions not to use force to make ^{Petronius} them transgress and violate their ancestral code. ^{at Ptole-} “If,” they said, “you propose at all costs to bring in ^{maïs pro-} and set up the image, slay us first before you carry ^{testing.} out these resolutions. For it is not possible for us to survive and to behold actions that are forbidden us by the decision both of our lawgiver and of our forefathers who cast their votes enacting these measures as moral laws.” To this Petronius indignantly replied: “If I were the emperor and intended to take this action of my own choice, you would have a right to speak as you do. As it is, I am Caesar’s emissary and bound to carry out the decision he has already made, since to disregard it would bring on me irretrievable punishment.” “Equal to this determination of yours, O Petronius,” replied the Jews, “not to transgress the orders of Gaius, is our determination not to transgress the declaration of the law. We have put our trust in the goodness of God and in the labours

^a The parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 186, says that there were three legions. Thackeray’s note *ad loc.* cites the statement of Philo, *Leg.* 207, that Petronius came with half his army; since there were four legions in Syria at this time Josephus’ statement here is to be preferred.

^b θεοῦ] θεῶ | τε, θεῶ suppl., τε ex θυ (h.e. θεοῦ) corr. A: ὁ MW.

⁷ ἀρετῇ] MW: καὶ ἀρετῇ (καὶ suppl.) A.

- ρων εἰς νῦν ἀπαράβατοι μεμενηκότες, οὐδ' ἂν τολμήσαιμεν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον κακοὶ γενέσθαι, ὥστε ὅποσα ἐκείνῳ δόξειεν μὴ πρασσόμενα ἀγαθοῦ ῥοπῆν ἡμῖν φέρειν αὐτοὶ παραβαίνειν ποτ' ἂν θάνατον φοβηθέντες. ὑπομένουμεν δὲ εἰς τύχας ἰόντες ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τε πατρίων καὶ κινδυνεύειν προθεμένοις ἐλπίδα οὐσαν ἐξεπιστάμενοι κἂν περιγενέσθαι διὰ τε τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ στησόμενον μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τε τῇ ἐκείνου τὰ δεινὰ ὑποδεχομένων καὶ τῆς τύχης τὸ ἐπ' ἀμφότερα φιλοῦν τοῖς πράγμασι παρατυγχάνειν,
- 268 ἐκ δὲ τοῦ σοὶ πείθεσθαι πολλὴν μὲν λουδορίαν τοῦ ἀνάνδρου προσκεισομένην ὡς δι' αὐτὸ¹ παράβασιν τοῦ νομίμου προσποιούμενοι,² καὶ ἅμα πολλὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃς καὶ παρὰ σοὶ δικαστῆ γένοιτ' ἂν βελτίων Γαίου."
- 269 (3) Καὶ ὁ Πετρώνιος ἐκ τῶν λόγων θεασάμενος δυνάμειον αὐτῶν τὸ φρονεῖν καὶ μὴ ἂν ἀμαχεὶ δύναμιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι διακονήσασθαι Γαίῳ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν τοῦ ἀνδριάντος πολλὴν δὲ ἔσεσθαι φόνον, τοὺς τε φίλους ἀναλαβὼν καὶ θεραπείαν, ἣ περι αὐτὸν ἦν, ἐπὶ Τιβεριάδος ἠπέιγετο χρήζων κατα-
- 270 νοῆσαι τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὰ πράγματα ὡς ἔχοι. καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι μέγαν ἠγούμενοι τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον κίνδυνον, πολὺ μείζονα δὲ κρίνοντες τὸν ἐκ τοῦ παρανομεῖν, αἰθῆς πολλὰι μυριάδες ὑπηγητῆζον Πετρώνιον εἰς τὴν Τιβεριάδα γενό-
- 271 μενον, καὶ ἱκετεῖα χρώμενοι μηδαμῶς εἰς ἀνάγκας τοιαύτας αὐτοὺς καθιστᾶν μηδὲ μαιίνειν ἀνδριάντος

¹ δι' αὐτῶν] ed. pr. : δι' αὐτῶν A : δι' αὐτὸν MW : δέει αὐτῶν Coccej.

² ὡς . . . προσποιούμενοι] quod timore transgressores legis efficitur Lat.

of our forefathers and have thus hitherto remained innocent of transgression. Nor could we ever bring ourselves to go so far in wickedness as by our own act to transgress, for any fear of death, the law bidding us abstain, where He thought it conducive to our good to do so. In order to preserve our ancestral code, we shall patiently endure what may be in store for us, with the assurance that for those who are determined to take the risk there is hope even of prevailing; for God will stand by us if we welcome danger for His glory. Fortune, moreover, is wont to veer now toward one side, now toward the other in human affairs. To obey you, on the other hand, would bring on us the grave reproach of cowardice, because that would be the explanation of our transgressing the law, and at the same time we should incur God's severe wrath—and He even in your eyes must be accounted a higher power than Gaius."

(3) ^a Now Petronius saw from their words that their spirit was not easily to be put down and that it would be impossible for him without a battle to carry out Gaius' behest and set up his image. Indeed there would be great slaughter. Hence he gathered up his friends and attendants and hastened to Tiberias, for he wished to take note of the situation of the Jews there. The Jews, though they regarded the risk involved in war with the Romans as great, yet adjudged the risk of transgressing the Law to be far greater. As before, many tens of thousands faced Petronius on his arrival at Tiberias. They besought him by no means to put them under such constraint nor to pollute the city by setting up a statue. "Will

Jewish petition to Petronius at Tiberias.

^a This account of Petronius, §§ 269-288, is parallel with B.J. ii. 192-202.

ἀναθέσει τὴν πόλιν. “πολεμήσετε ἄρα Καίσαρι,”
 Πετρώνιος ἔφη, “μήτε τὴν ἐκείνου παρασκευὴν λο-
 γιζόμενοι μήτε τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀσθένειαν;” οἱ δ’
 “οὐδαμῶς πολεμήσοιμεν,” ἔφασαν, “τεθνηξόμεθα
 δὲ πρότερον ἢ παραβῆναι τοὺς νόμους.” ἐπὶ τε τὰ
 272 ἔτοιμοι κτινύεσθαι ἔλεγον εἶναι. καὶ ταῦτ’ ἐπράσ-
 σετο ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ τοῦ γεωργεῖν
 ἀπερίοπτοι τὸ λοιπὸν ἦσαν καὶ ταῦτα τῆς ὥρας
 οὔσης πρὸς σπόρῳ, πολλή τε ἦν προαίρεσις αὐτοῖς
 καὶ τοῦ θνήσκειν ἐπιθυμίας πρόθεσις, ἢ τὴν ἀνά-
 θεσιν θεάσασθαι τοῦ ἀνδριάντος.

273 (4) Ἐν τούτοις ὄντων τῶν πραγμάτων Ἀριστό-
 βουλος ὁ Ἀγρίππου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφὸς καὶ
 Ἐλκίας ὁ μέγας¹ ἄλλοι τε οἱ κράτιστοι τῆσδε τῆς
 οἰκίας καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι σὺν αὐτοῖς εἰσίασιν ὡς τὸν
 274 Πετρώνιον παρακαλοῦντες αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν προ-
 θυμίαν ὄρᾳ τῆς πληθύος, μηδὲν εἰς ἀπόνοιαν αὐτῆς
 παρακινεῖν,² ἀλλὰ γράφειν πρὸς Γάιον τὸ ἀνήκεστον
 αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀποδοχὴν τοῦ ἀνδριάντος, πῶς τε
 ἀποστάντες τοῦ γεωργεῖν ἀντικαθέζονται, πολεμεῖν
 μὲν οὐ βουλόμενοι διὰ τὸ μηδ’ ἂν δύνασθαι, θανεῖν
 δ’ ἔχοντες ἡδονὴν πρὶν παραβῆναι τὰ νόμιμα αὐτοῖς,
 ὥστε ἀσπόρου τῆς γῆς γενομένης ληστεῖται ἂν
 275 φύοιντο ἀδυναμία καταβολῆς τῶν φόρων. ἴσως

¹ ὁ μέγας] maior Lat.

² μηδὲν . . . παρακινεῖν] ut bene de negotio praesenti con-
 suleret neque de tantae multitudinis perditione cogitaret Lat. :
 pro παρακινεῖν legit παρακαλεῖν A.

^a The same words, “Will you then go to war with Caesar?”
 are also found in the parallel account, *B.J.* ii. 196.

you then go to war with Caesar,”^a said Petronius,
 “regardless of his resources and of your own weak-
 ness?” “On no account would we fight,” they said,
 “but we will die sooner than violate our laws.” And
 falling on their faces and baring their throats,^b they
 declared that they were ready to be slain. They con-
 tinued to make these supplications for forty days.^c
 Furthermore, they neglected their fields, and that,
 too, though it was time to sow the seed.^d For they
 showed astubborn determination and readiness to die
 rather than to see the image erected.

(4) At this juncture Aristobulus, the brother of
 King Agrippa, together with Helcias the Elder^e and
 other most powerful members of this house, together
 with the civic leaders, appeared before Petronius and
 appealed to him, since he saw the deep feeling of the
 people, not to incite them to desperation but to
 write to Gaius telling how incurable was their opposi-
 tion to receiving the statue and how they had left
 their fields to sit protesting, and that they did not
 choose war, since they could not fight a war, but
 would be glad to die sooner than transgress their
 customs. Let him point out that, since the land was
 unsown, there would be a harvest of banditry, because
 the requirement of tribute could not be met. For

^b Cf. the similar phrase in § 59 in the description of the
 Jewish entreaty to Pilate.

^c Fifty, according to the parallel account in *B.J.* ii. 200.

^d Philo, *Leg.* 249, places this incident at the harvest time.

^e Mentioned in *Ant.* xix. 353 as the prefect and friend of
 King Agrippa. After the latter's death Helcias conspired
 with Herod, the ruler of Chalcis, to put to death their enemy
 Silas, Agrippa's general. He is apparently identical with
 the Alexas surnamed Helcias mentioned in *Ant.* xviii. 138
 as the husband of Cypros, daughter of Herod the Great's
 daughter Cypros.

γὰρ ἂν ἐπικλασθέντα τὸν Γάιον μηδὲν ὤμον δια-
νοηθῆναι μηδὲ ἐπ' ἀναστάσει φρονῆσαι τοῦ ἔθνους·
ἐμμένοντος δὲ τῇ τότε βουλῇ τοῦ πολεμῆν τότε δὴ
276 καὐτὸν ἄπτεσθαι τοῦ πράγματος. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄμφι
τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν Πετρώνιον παρ-
εκάλουν. Πετρώνιος δὲ τοῦτο μὲν τῶν περὶ τὸν
'Αριστόβουλον παντοίως ἐπικειμένων διὰ τὸ ὑπὲρ
277 μεγάλων ποιείσθαι τὴν δέξιον καὶ πάσῃ μηχανῇ
χρησαμένων εἰς τὰς ἰκετείας, τοῦτο δὲ τῶν Ἰου-
δαίων θεώμενος τὴν ἀντιπαράταξιν τῆς γνώμης καὶ
δεινὸν ἠγούμενος τοσαύτῃ ἀνθρώπων μυριάσιν
μανία τῇ Γαίῳ διακονούμενος ἐπαγαγὼν θάνατον
ἐν αἰτία τὸ πρὸς θεὸν σεβάσμιον ἔχειν καὶ μετὰ
πονηρᾶς τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα βίον ἐλπίδος διατᾶσθαι,
πολὺ κρείσσον ἠγείτο ἐπιστείλας τῷ Γαίῳ¹ τὸ ἀν-
ήκεστον αὐτοῦ² <τῆς> ὀργῆς³ φέρειν⁴ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ
278 ὀξέως⁵ δεδιακονημένου αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς⁶. τάχα
μὲν γὰρ καὶ πείσειν· καὶ τῇ τὸ πρῶτον μανία τῆς
γνώμης ἐπιμένοντος ἄψεσθαι⁷ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς
αὐτούς, εἰ δ' ἄρα τι καὶ κατ' αὐτοῦ τρέποι τῆς
ὀργῆς,⁸ καλῶς ἔχειν τοῖς ἀρετῆς μεταποιουμένοις
ὑπὲρ τοσσηδε ἀνθρώπων πληθύος τελευτᾶν, ἔκρινε
πιθανὸν ἠγείσθαι τῶν δεομένων τὸν λόγον.
279 (5) Συγκαλέσας δὲ εἰς τὴν Τιβεριάδα τοὺς Ἰου-
δαίους, οἱ δὲ ἀφίκοντο πολλὰι μυριάδες, καταστάς

¹ post Γαῖω lacunam indicat Dindorf.

² ed. pr.: αὐτῶν AE: αὐτῷ MW.

³ <τῆς> ὀργῆς] Petersen: ὀργὴν codd.: ὀργῆ ed. pr.

⁴ φέρειν] Petersen: φέροντος codd.

⁵ ὀξέως Dindorf.

⁶ ὀργῆν . . . ἐπιστολαῖς] om. E.

⁷ Bekker: ἀψασθαι codd. E.

perhaps Gaius would relent and not adopt a cruel
plan or have the heart to exterminate the nation.
But if he remained firm in his present policy of war,
let Petronius then proceed with operations. When
Aristobulus and the rest appealed to Petronius along
such lines, he was influenced by them, for they
brought pressure to bear upon him in every way,
since the question at issue was of such importance,
and employed every device to make their plea effective.
Furthermore, he beheld the stubborn determination
of the Jews to resist and thought it a terrible
thing to bring death upon so many tens of thousands
of men in carrying out the mad orders of Gaius, and to
hold them guilty for their reverence to God, and thus
to spend the rest of his life in foreboding. He con-
sidered it far better to send a letter to Gaius and to
endure the latter's inexorable wrath aroused by his
not carrying out the orders at once.^a Perhaps, more-
over, he might even convince him. Nevertheless, if
Gaius persisted in his original lunacy, he would under-
take war against them. But if, after all, Gaius should
turn some of his wrath against him, a man who made
virtue his goal might well die on behalf of such a
multitude of men. And so he decided to recognize
the cogeny of the plea of the petitioners.

(5) He now convened the Jews, who arrived in
many tens of thousands, at Tiberias, stood up before

^a The text is very uncertain, though the meaning is clear
from §§ 279-283. I have adopted Prof. Petersen's emenda-
tion. If αὐτῶν is retained, the meaning of the first part is "to
send a letter to Gaius that they [the Jews] were beyond cure."

^b ἐπιστείλας . . . ὀργῆς] ut scriberet Gaius et aut eius ani-
mum mitigans nihil per eum iniquum contingeret; aut si
forsitan indignatione concitaretur, quod eius minime mandata
compleverit et adversus eum aliquid mali decerneret Lat.

Petronius
decides to
write Gaius

ἐπ' αὐτῶν τὴν τε ἐν τῷ παρόντι στρατείαν οὐ γνώμης ἀπέφαινε τῆς αὐτοῦ τοῦ δὲ αὐτοκράτορος τῶν προσταγμάτων, τὴν ὀργὴν οὐδὲν εἰς ἀναβολάς, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα ἐπιφέρεισθαι τοῖς προστάγμασι¹ τοῖς παρακροᾶσθαι θάρσος εἰσφερομένοις· “ὦ² καλῶς ἔχον ἐστὶν τὸν γε τιμῆς τοσαύτης ἐπιτετευχότα συγχωρήσει τῇ ἐκείνου οὐδὲν ἐναντίον
 280 πρᾶσσειν· οὐ μὴν δίκαιον ἡγοῦμαι ἀσφάλειάν τε καὶ τιμὴν τὴν ἐμαντοῦ μὴ οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὑμετέρου μὴ ἀπολουμένου τοσοῦτων ὄντων ἀναλοῦν διακονουμένων³ τῇ ἀρετῇ τοῦ νόμου, ὃν πάτριον ὄντα περιμάχητον ἡγείσθε, καὶ τῇ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀξιώσει καὶ δυνάμει τοῦ θεοῦ, οὐ⁴ τὸν ναὸν οὐκ ἂν περιδεῖν τολμήσαμι ὑβρεῖ πεσεῖν τῆς τῶν ἡγεμονευόντων
 281 ἐξουσίας. στέλλω δὲ ὡς Γάιον γνώμας τε τὰς ὑμετέρας διασαφῶν καὶ πῃ καὶ συνηγορία χρώμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς παρὰ⁵ γνώμην πείσεσθαι⁶ οἷς⁷ προὔθεσθε ἀγαθοῖς.⁸ καὶ συμπράσσοι μὲν ὁ θεός, βελτίων γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνης μηχανῆς καὶ δυνάμεως ἢ κατ' ἐκείνον ἐξουσία, πρυτανεύων ὑμῖν τε τὴν τήρησιν τῶν πατρίων καὶ αὐτῷ τὸ μηδὲν ἀνθρωπεΐας παρὰ γνώμην βουλεύσει τιμῶν τῶν εἰωθιῶν ἀμαρ-
 282 τεῖν. εἰ δ' ἐκπικραθεῖς Γάιος εἰς ἐμὲ τρέψει τὸ

¹ τοῖς προτάγμασι] Thackeray : τοῖς πράγμασιν codd. om. Bekker, Holwerda.

² ed. pr. : ὦ (i. ras. A) AMW.

³ Hudson et Cocceji : διακονούμενον codd.

⁴ Cocceji : om. codd.

⁵ παρὰ] μὴ παρὰ Holwerda.

them and explained that the present expedition was not of his own choosing but by command of the emperor, whose wrath would descend instantly and without any delay upon those who assumed the audacity to disobey his commands. “It is only right that one upon whom such high position had been conferred by grant of the emperor should thwart him in nothing. I do not, however,” he said, “deem it right not to hazard my own safety and position in order to save you, who are so numerous, from perishing. You are carrying out the precepts of your law, which as your heritage you see fit to defend, and serving the sovereign of all, almighty God, whose temple I should not have had the heart to see fall a prey to the insolence of imperial authority. Rather I am sending a dispatch to Gaius fully explaining your determination and also in some way advocating my own case for compliance, contrary to his decree, with the good object which you have proposed.^a May God assist you, since His might is above any human ingenuity or strength; may He enable you to maintain and to preserve your ancestral laws without His being deprived of His customary honours by capricious human plots. If, however, Gaius is embittered and makes me the object of his inexorable wrath, I

^a Or (with Hudson) “advocating your cause so as not to see you suffer for the good arguments that you proffered.” Prof. Post, reading ὑπὲρ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς μὴ παρὰ γνώμην πεισομένου, suggests “acting as your advocate to defend your refusal to obey contrary to your judgement and your moral principles.”

^b Petersen : πεισομένην codd. : πεισομένου Cocceji : πειδομένου conl. Niese.

⁷ καθ' ἡμᾶς . . . οἷς] μὴ ὑμᾶς παρορῶν πεισομένους ἐφ' οἷς Hudson.

⁸ καὶ πῃ . . . ἀγαθοῖς] quantum possum causam adiuvans et vestrum in bono propositum Lat.

ἀνήκεστον τῆς ὀργῆς, τλήσομαι πάντα κίνδυνον καὶ
 πάσαν ταλαιπωρίαν συνιοῦσαν τῷ σώματι καὶ τῇ
 τύχῃ¹ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μη ὑμᾶς τοσοῦσδε ὄντας ἐπὶ οὕτως
 283 ἀγαθαῖς ταῖς πράξεσι διολλυμένους θεωρεῖν. ἅπιτε
 οὖν ἐπὶ ἔργα τὰ αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι καὶ τῇ γῆ ἐπι-
 πονεῖτε. πέμψω δ' αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Ῥώμης καὶ τὰ
 πάντα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν δι' ἑμαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων οὐκ
 ἀποτραπήσομαι διακονεῖν."

284 (6) Ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ διαλύσας τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὸν
 σύλλογον προμηθεῖσθαι τῶν εἰς τὴν γεωργίαν ἡξίου-
 τούς ἐν τέλει καὶ καθομιλεῖν τὸν λαὸν ἐλπίσι χρη-
 σταῖς. καὶ ὁ μὲν εὐθυμεῖν τὸ πλῆθος ἔσπευδεν. ὁ
 θεὸς δὲ παρουσίαν² ἐπεδείκνυτο τὴν αὐτοῦ Πιτρω-
 νίῳ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄλοις σύλληψιν. ἅμα τε γὰρ
 ἐπαύετο τοῦ λόγου, ὃν πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἶπεν,
 καὶ αὐτίκα ὑετὸν ἠφίει μέγαν παρ' ἐλπίδα τοῖς
 ἀνθρώποις γενόμενον διὰ τὸ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν
 αἴθριον ἔωθεν οὐσαν οὐδὲν ὄμβριον ἀποσημαίνειν ἐκ
 τῶν περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἔτος αὐχμῷ με-
 γάλῳ κατεσχημένον ἐπ' ἀπογνώσει ποιεῖν τοὺς ἀν-
 θρώπους ὕδατος τοῦ ἄνωθεν, εἰ καὶ σύννεφόν ποτε
 286 θεάσαντο τὸν οὐρανόν. ὥστε δὴ τότε πολλοῦ καὶ
 παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς καὶ παρὰ τὸ ἐτέρῳ δόξαν ἀφιγμένον
 ὕδατος τοῖς τε Ἰουδαίοις ἐλπίς ἦν ἐπ' οὐδαμοῖς
 ἀτυχήσειν Πιτρώνιον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δεόμενον, ὁ τε
 Πιτρώνιος κατεπέπληκτο μειζόνως ὄρων ἐναργῶς
 τὸν θεὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων προμηθεύμενον καὶ πολλὴν
 ἀποσημήναντα τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, ὡς μηδ' ἂν τοῖς
 ἔργῳ προθεμένοις τᾶναντία φρονεῖν ἰσχὺν ἀντι-

¹ καὶ τῇ τύχῃ] A: καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ WE: καὶ ψυχῇ M: om. Lat.

² E: praesentiam Lat.: παρησίαν codd.

^a Variant "soul."

will endure every form of danger and every form of
 suffering that may be inflicted upon my body and my
 fortune^a rather than behold you who are so numer-
 ous destroyed for deeds so virtuous. Go, therefore,
 each to your own occupation, and labour on the land.
 I myself will send a message to Rome and will not
 turn aside from doing every service in your behalf
 both by myself and through my friends."

(6) With these words he dismissed the assembly of
 the Jews and requested those in authority to attend
 to agricultural matters and to conciliate the people
 with optimistic propaganda. He thus did his best to
 encourage the masses. God, on His part, showed
 His aid in all matters. For as soon as Petronius had
 finished delivering this speech before the Jews, God
 straightway sent a heavy shower^c that was contrary
 to general anticipation, for that day, from morning
 on, had been clear and the sky had given no indication
 of rain. Indeed, that entire year had been beset by
 so great a drought that it caused the people to despair
 of rainfall even if at any time they saw the sky over-
 cast. The result was that, when much rain fell at
 that moment exceptionally and unexpectedly, the
 Jews were hopeful that Petronius would by no means
 fail in his petition on their behalf. Petronius, on his
 part, was struck with great amazement when he saw
 unmistakable evidence that God's providence was
 over the Jews and that He had shown His presence
 so abundantly that not even those who actually pro-
 posed to take the opposite view^d had any heart left

^b MSS. "showed Petronius His frankness."

^c The account of this shower is omitted in the parallel
 passage in *B.J.* ii. 199-202.

^d *i.e.* that God was *not* favourable to the Jews.

Providen-
 tial rainfall
 encourages
 the Jews.

287 λέξεως καταλείψθαι.¹ ὡς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Γάιον
 σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς ὅποσα ἔγραφεν, ἐπαγωγὰ δὲ ἦν τὰ
 πάντα² καὶ παντοίως παρακαλοῦντα μὴ τοσαύτας
 μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων ἀπονοεῖν, ἅς εἰ κτεῖνοι, οὐ γὰρ
 διχα γε πολέμου παραχωρήσειν τοῦ νομίμου τῆς
 θρησκείας, προσόδου τε τῆς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀποστερεῖ-
 σθαι καὶ τῷ ἀποτροπαίω³ τῆς ἀρᾶς ὑποτίθεσθαι τὸν
 288 μέλλοντα αἰῶνα.⁴ κἀλλως θείου τοῦ προεστηκότος
 αὐτῶν τὴν δύναμιν ὡς ἀκραιφνῆ ἀπέφαιεν καὶ μη-
 δὲν ἐνδοιαστὸν ἐπὶ δυνάμει τῇ αὐτῆς ἐπιδείκνυσθαι
 καταλείπουσαν. καὶ Περώνιος μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.
 289 (7) Ἀγρίππας δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἐτύγχανεν γὰρ ἐπὶ
 Ῥώμης διαιωμένος, προῦκοπτε φιλίᾳ τῇ πρὸς τὸν
 Γάιον μειζόνως. καὶ ποτε προθεῖς δείπνον αὐτῷ
 καὶ πρόνοιαν ἔχων πάντας ὑπερβαλέσθαι τέλεσι τε
 τοῖς εἰς τὸ δείπνον καὶ παρασκευῇ τοῦ εἰς ἡδονὴν
 290 φέροντος, ὡς μὴ ὅπως ἂν τινα τῶν λοιπῶν, ἀλλὰ
 μηδ' αὐτὸν Γάιον πιστεύειν⁵ ποτε ἰσωθῆναι θελή-
 σοντα οὐχ ὅπως ὑπερβαλέσθαι· τοσοῦτον ὁ ἀνήρ
 τῇ παρασκευῇ πάντας ὑπερῆρεν καὶ τῷ τὰ πάντα
 291 Κάισαρι⁶ ἐκφροντίσας⁷ παρασχέιν.⁸ καὶ ὁ Γάιος

¹ ante ὡς lacunam statuit Hudson : post ἔγραφεν lacunam statuit Dindorf.

² γράμματα conl. Niese.

³ Cocceji : τροπαίω codd. : ἀποτροπῇ conl. Thackeray (cf. Ant. xix. 268).

⁴ καὶ τῷ . . . αἰῶνα] memoriam etiam non bonam Romani nominis in posteriora tempora derelinqui Lat. : καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίων ὄνομα τῇ ἀρᾷ ὑποτίθεσθαι <εἰς> τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα conl. Richards et Shutt ex Lat.

⁵ A : om. MW Exc.

⁶ Κάισαρι] Hudson : Κάισαρος MW Exc. : ἡ Κάισαρος AE.

⁷ A : i. marg. γρ ἐκφροντίσας A : ἐκφροντίσαι MW Exc. : ἐκφροντίσει ed. pr.

⁸ τοσοῦτον . . . παρασχέιν] om. Lat.

to dispute the fact. He included ^a this occurrence along with the other things of which he wrote to Gaius. It was all designed to induce him and entreat him in every way not to drive so many tens of thousands of men to desperation. For if he should slay them—and they would certainly not give up their accustomed manner of worship without war—he would be deprived of their revenue and would be put under the ban of a curse for all time to come. He said, moreover, that the Divinity who was in charge of them had shown His power to be unimpaired and was quite unambiguous in displaying this power. So much for Petronius.

(7) Meanwhile King Agrippa,^b who, as it happened, Agrippa at Rome advances in favour with Gaius. Once he made a banquet for him with the intention of surpassing everyone both in the expenditure on the banquet and in provision for the pleasure of the guests. He was so successful that, to say nothing of the others, even Gaius himself despaired of equalling, much less surpassing it, if he should desire to do so. So far did this man surpass everyone in his preparations and in devising and providing everything for the emperor. Gaius thoroughly

^a There appears to be a lacuna in this sentence, though the meaning seems clear.

^b In Philo, *Leg.* 276-329, Agrippa is depicted as unaware of the emperor's order to Petronius, about which he learns from Caligula himself. He is taken aback by the announcement and faints. After recovering, he writes at length to the emperor urging him to follow the example of his predecessors and to show tolerance towards the Jews. There is no mention of a banquet, a setting which is reminiscent of the seventh chapter of the Book of Esther, where Esther makes a plea on behalf of her people to King Ahasuerus, who is ready to offer her half his kingdom.

ἐκθαυμάσας τὴν τε διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μεγαλο-
πρέπειαν, ὡς ἐπ' ἀρεσκείᾳ τῇ αὐτοῦ βιάζοιτο καὶ
ὑπὲρ δυνάμιν τῶν χρημάτων εὐπορίᾳ χρήσασθαι,
βουλόμενός τε μιμήσασθαι τὴν Ἀγρίππου φιλο-
τιμίαν ἐφ' ἡδονῇ τῇ αὐτοῦ πρασσομένην, ἀνεμμένος
ὑπὸ οἴνου καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν εἰς τὸ ἰλαρώτερον ἔκτε-
τραμμένος, φησὶν ἐν συμποσίῳ παρακαλοῦντος εἰς
292 πότον· "Ἀγρίππα, καὶ πρότερον μὲν σοι τιμὴν
συνῆδειν ἢ ἔχρῳ τὰ πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ πολλὴν εὐνοίαν
μετὰ κινδύνων ἀποδειχθείσαν, οἷς ὑπὸ Τιβερίου
περιέστης δι' αὐτήν, ἐπιλείπεις τε οὐδὲν καὶ ὑπὲρ
δυνάμιν ἀρετῇ χρήσθαι τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ὅθεν, αἰσ-
χρὸν γὰρ ἡσθᾶσθαί με ὑπὸ τῆς σῆς σπουδῆς, ἀνα-
293 λαβεῖν βούλομαι τὰ ἐλλειμμένα πρότερον· ὀλίγον
γὰρ πᾶν ὁπόσον σοι δωρεῶν ἐχόμενον ἀπεμοιρασά-
μην. τὸ πᾶν, ὅπερ σοι ῥοπήν ἂν προθυμίᾳ τε
εὐδαίμονος, δεδιακονήσεται γὰρ σοι προθυμίᾳ τε
καὶ ἰσχύϊ τῇ ἐμῇ." καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγεν οἰό-
294 μενος γῆν τε πολλήν¹ τῆς προσόρου² αἰτήσεσθαι³ ἢ
καὶ τινων προσόδους πόλεων, ὁ δὲ καίπερ τὰ πάντα
ἐφ' οἷς αἰτήσαι παρασκευασάμενος οὐκ ἐφάνερον
τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἀμείβεται τὸν
Γάιον, ὅτι μήτε πρότερον κέρδος τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
καραδοκῶν παρὰ τὰς Τιβερίου ἐπιστολάς θερα-
295 πεύσειεν αὐτὸν οὔτε νῦν πράσσειεν τι τῶν εἰς χάριν
τὴν ἐκείνου κερδῶν οἰκείων ἐν τισὶ λήψεσι. μεγάλα
δὲ εἶναι τὰ προδεδωρημένα καὶ περαιτέρω τοῦ θρά-
σει χρωμέρου τῶν ἐλπίδων· "καὶ γὰρ εἰ τῆς σῆς
ἐλάττονα γέγονεν δυνάμειος, τῆς γ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ εἰλη-

¹ γῆν τε πολλήν] A: τὴν τε πόλιν MW Exc.: τὴν τε πολλήν E.
² τῆς προσόρου] E: τῆς προσόδου codd.: om. ed. pr.

admired his ingenuity and magnificence and his for-
cible way of employing, in order to give him pleasure,
an abundance of money even beyond his means.
Gaius therefore wished to imitate the ambitious dis-
play that Agrippa had made to please him. Hence
while he was relaxed with wine and while his mood
was unusually genial, he said during the banquet
when Agrippa invited him to drink: "Agrippa, I
have known in my heart before how highly you re-
garded me and how you have proved your great
loyalty even amidst the dangers with which, because
of it, you were encircled by Tiberius. And now you
never fail to show kindness to us, going even beyond
your means. Consequently, inasmuch as it would be
a stain on my honour to let you outdo me in zeal, I
wish to make amends for past deficiencies. Indeed, ^{Gaius' offer}
all the gifts that I have allotted to you are but slight ^{to grant}
in amount; any service that can add its weight in ^{Agrippa}
the scale of prosperity shall be performed for you ^{any request.}
with all my heart and power." He spoke these words
thinking that Agrippa would ask for a large accession
of territory adjoining his own or for the revenues of
certain cities. As for Agrippa, although he was quite
ready to make his request, he did not reveal his in-
tention. On the contrary, he at once replied to
Gaius that it was not in expectation of any benefit
from him that he had in the past paid court to him in
spite of Tiberius' orders; nor were any of his present
activities in giving him pleasure designed as a road to
personal gain. He said that the gifts that Gaius had
already presented to him were great and went beyond
any expectations that he would dare to cherish. "For
even if they have been inferior to your capacity, they

³ Hudson: αἰτήσεσθαι codd. E Exc.

296 φότος διανοίας τε και ἀξιώσεως μέλζονα." και ὁ
Γάιος ἐκπλαγεῖς τὴν ἀρετὴν¹ αὐτοῦ πλειόνως ἐνέ-
κειτο εἰπεῖν, ὃ τι χαρίζοιτ' ἂν αὐτῷ παρασχόμενος.
ὁ δέ, " ἐπεὶ περ, ὡ δέσποτα, προθυμία τῇ σῇ δω-
ρεῶν ἄξιον ἀποφαίνεις, αἰτήσομαι τῶν μὲν εἰς ὄλβον
φερόντων οὐδὲν διὰ τὸ μεγάλως με ἐνδιαπρέπειν
297 οἷς ἤδη παρέσχες· ὃ τι δ' ἂν σοὶ δόξαν προσποιῶ²
τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς και τὸ θεῖον σύμμαχον ἐφ' οἷς θελή-
σειας παρακαλοῖ³ κάμοι πρὸς εὐκλείας γένοιτο παρὰ
τοῖς πυνθανομένοις, ὡς μηθεὶς ὦν χρησαίμην ὑπὸ
τῆς σῆς ἐξουσίας ἀτυχεῖν πώποτε γνόντι⁴. ἀξιώ-
γάρ σοι τοῦ ἀνδριάντος τῆν ἀνάθεσιν, ἣν ποιήσα-
σθαι κελεύεις Πετρώιον εἰς τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἱερόν,
μηκέτι πράσσειν διανοεῖσθαι."

298 (8) Καὶ ὁ μὲν καιπερ ἐπικίνδυνον τοῦτο ἡγού-
μενος, εἰ γὰρ μὴ πιθανὰ ἔκρινε Γάιος, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ
εἰς θάνατον ἔφερεν, διὰ τὸ μεγάλα νομίζειν τε και
εἶναι κύβον ἀναρριπτεῖν τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἡγείτο.
299 Γάιος δέ⁵ ἅμα τε τῇ θεραπείᾳ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ἀνει-
λημμένος και ἄλλως ἀπρεπὲς ὑπολαμβάνων ἐπὶ
τοσῶνδε μαρτύρων ψευδῆς γενέσθαι περὶ ὧν προ-
θύμως ἐβιάζετο αἰτεῖσθαι τὸν Ἀγρίππαν μετὰ τοῦ
300 ὀξέως μεταμέλω χρώμενος, ἅμα δέ και τοῦ Ἀγρίπ-
που τὴν ἀρετὴν θαυμάσας ὅτι ἐν ὀλίγῳ (θέμενος)⁶
αὔξειν⁷ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀρχὴν ἤτοι προσόδοις χρημάτων
ἢ ἄλλῃ δυνάμει τοῦ κοινοῦ⁸ τῆς εὐθυμίας ἐπιμελοῖτο

¹ A : διάνοιαν MW Exc. et i. marg. A : continentiam Lat.

² Niese : προσποιῶ codd. F Exc.

³ Niese : παρακαλώ codd. Exc. : παρακαλῆ Bekker.

⁴ ὡς . . . γνόντι] quod nihil a te petierim ad usus pertinens
temporalium rerum Lat. : γνόντι corruptum indicat Niese.

⁵ δέ] WE : δὲ και AM.

⁶ ὄξει] ἐν ὀλίγῳ [θέμενος] Petersen : ἐν ὀλίγῳ codd. : ὅτι ἐν

exceed my thoughts and my claims as a recipient." Gaius, amazed at his character, insisted all the more on his telling what he might grant to please him. Agrippa replied : " Since, my lord, in your kindness you declare me worthy of gifts, I shall ask for nothing that would make me richer inasmuch as I am already extremely conspicuous because of the gifts that you have hitherto bestowed upon me. But I shall ask for something that will bring you a reputation for piety and will induce the Deity to help you in everything that you wish ; and it will bring me the renown, among those who hear of it, of never having known failure in anything that I desired your authority to obtain for me. Well, I ask you to abandon all further thought of erecting the statue which Petronius has your orders to set up in the temple of the Jews."

(8) Hazardous as he considered this petition—for Agrippa if Gaius did not regard it with favour, it would bring persuades Gaius to desist from setting up the statue. him certain death—yet, because he thought the issue important, as it truly was, he chose to make the gamble on this occasion. Gaius was bound by Agrippa's attentions to him. Furthermore, if he repented quickly of his offer, he regarded it as unseemly to break his word before so many witnesses, when he had by his zealous constraint compelled Agrippa to make his request. At the same time he admired the character of Agrippa in that he set little store on adding to his personal authority either by increasing his revenue or by other privileges, but had regard to the happiness of the commonwealth, by giving prece-

ὀλίγῳ Cocceji : post ὀλίγῳ lacunam indicat Ernesti, excidit
θεοῖτο vel aliud : post θαυμάσας <εἰ ποιοῖτο> vel sim. con.
Thackeray : ποιούμενος supplet Bekker.

⁷ ἐν ὀλίγῳ αὔξειν] quod . . . non . . . amplificare cupi-
verit Lat. ⁸ κοινοῦ] MWE Exc. : κοινοῦ δὲ A.

πρεσβεύων τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸ θεῖον, συνεχώρει καὶ γράφει πρὸς τὸν Περτρώνιον, ἐκείνον τῆς τε ἀθροίσεως τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπαινῶν καὶ τοῦ πρὸς 301 αὐτὸν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπεσταλκότος. “ νῦν οὖν εἰ μὲν φθάνεις τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἑστακῶς, ἑστάτω¹. εἰ δὲ μὴπω πεποίῃσαι τὴν ἀνάθεσιν, μηδὲν περαιτέρω κακοπαθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸν τε στρατὸν διάλυε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφ’ ᾧ τὸ πρῶτόν σε ἔστειλα ἄπιθι. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔτι δέομαι τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ ἀνδριάντος Ἀγρίππα χαριζόμενος ἀνδρὶ παρ’ ἐμοὶ τιμωμένῳ μειζόνως ἢ ὥστε με χρεῖα τῇ ἐκείνου καὶ οἷς κελεύσειεν ἀντει- 302 πειν.” Γάιος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα γράφει πρὸς τὸν Περτρώνιον πρότερον ἢ ἐντυχεῖν ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει καταδοξάσας αὐτοὺς² ἐπείγεσθαι,³ μηδὲν γὰρ ἕτερον ἀποσημαίνει τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ πόλεμον 303 ἄντικρυς Ῥωμαίους ἀπειλεῖν.⁴ καὶ περιαλγῆσας ὡς ἐπὶ πείρα τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῦ τετολημηκότων, ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἡσῶν μὲν τοῦ αἰσχροῦ, κρείσσων δὲ τοῦ βελτίστου καὶ ἐφ’ οἷσιν κρίνειεν ὀργῇ χρῆσθαι παρ’ ὄντιν οὖν ἐπιειγόμενος παίδευσιν αὐτῆς οὐδ’ ἡντινοῦν προστιθείς, ἀλλ’ ἐφ’ ἡδονῇ τιθείς τῇ

¹ ἑστάτω] μὴ ἑστάτω Clementz.

² καταδοξάσας αὐτοὺς] Thackeray: καταδόξας αὐτοὺς A: αὐτοὺς κατὰ δόξας MW: διὰ τὸν ἀνδριάντα Zonaras.

³ ἐντυχεῖν . . . ἐπείγεσθαι] ἐντυχεῖν ταῖς αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολαῖς ἐμφανούσαις ἐπὶ ἀποστασίᾳ τοῦ Ἰουδαίου κατὰ δόξας αὐτοὺς ἐπείγεσθαι E, lacuna ex coniectura expleta: lacunam post ἐντυχεῖν indicat Niese.

⁴ πρότερον . . . ἀπειλεῖν] antequam seditio maior oreretur; nam ita iam mentes omnium tumbant, atque talia voluntatum eorum indicia monstrabantur, ut si forte contrarius nuntius adveniret parati essent apertum bellum gerere cum Romanis Lat.

dence to religion and the law. So he yielded and wrote to Petronius commending him for having assembled his army and for having sent him his dispatch on the subject. “ Now, therefore,” he said, “ if you have already set up my statue, let it stand.^a If, however, you have not yet dedicated it, do not trouble yourself further but dismiss the army and betake yourself to those matters for which I originally dispatched you. For I no longer require the erection of the statue, showing favour to Agrippa in this, a man whom I hold in too high esteem to gainsay his request and his bidding.” Gaius had written this to Petronius before reading the latter’s message from which he wrongly concluded that the Jews were bent on revolt^b and that their attitude indicated no other intent than a threat of downright war against the Romans. Upon receiving this letter, he was in agony at the thought that they had dared to put his authority to the test. Since he was a man who always yielded to baseness but was strong in resisting the claim of an ideal, one who beyond all others rushed into a rage against anyone who came under his censure, exercising no control over it whatsoever but considering the pleasure derived from indulging it

Petronius’
letter to
Gaius
archives.

^a H. Clementz, in his German translation of Josephus, says that the meaning must be “ let it not stand ” since otherwise the promise of Gaius to Agrippa would not be fulfilled. But since Agrippa had asked that Gaius abandon all further thought of erecting the statue, Gaius could sophistically have claimed that his message to Petronius was in accordance with the promise, and that Agrippa had not requested that he remove the statue.

^b The text is doubtful. If we follow the reading of the Epitome, the meaning would be “ before reading Petronius’ letters which showed that the Jews were in thought already bent on revolt.”

304 ἐκείνης τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ εὐδαίμονος, γράφει πρὸς τὸν Πετρώνιον· " ἐπειδὴ δῶρα ὅποσα σοι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι παρέσχον ἐν μείζονι λόγῳ τῶν ἐμῶν πεποιήσαι ἐντολῶν διακονεῖσθαι τὰ πάντα ἡδονῇ τῇ ἐκείνων ἀρθεῖς ἐπὶ παραβάσει τῶν ἐμῶν ἐντολῶν, κελεύω σε σαυτῷ κριτὴν γενόμενον λογίσασθαι περὶ τοῦ ποιητέου σοι ὑποσάντα¹ ὀργῇ τῇ ἐμῇ, ἐπεὶ τοι παράδειγμα ποιούντο σε οἱ τε νῦν πάντες² καὶ ὀπόσοι ὕστεροι γένοιτ' ἂν,³ μηδαμῶς ἀκυροῦν αὐτοκράτορος ἀνδρὸς ἐντολάς."

305 (9) Ταύτην μὲν γράφει Πετρωνίῳ τὴν ἐπιστολήν, οὐ μὴν φθάνει γε ζῶντος Πετρώνιος δεξάμενος αὐτὴν βραδυνθέντος τοῦ πλοῦ τοῖς φέρουσιν εἰς τοσόνδε, ὥστε Πετρωνίῳ γράμματα πρὸ αὐτῆς ἀφικέσθαι, δι' ὧν μαρτυρεῖ τὴν Γαίου τελευτήν.

306 θεὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἄρ' ἀμνημονήσειν ἔμελλε Πετρωνίῳ κινδύνων, οὓς ἀνειλήφει ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Ἰουδαίων χάριτι καὶ τιμῇ τῇ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὸν Γάιον ἀποσκευασάμενος ὀργῆς ὧν ἐπὶ σεβασμῷ τῷ αὐτοῦ πράσσειν ἐτόλμησε, τὸν μισθὸν χρεολυτεῖν.⁴ συνεργεῖ⁵ τῷ Πετρωνίῳ ἢ τε Ῥώμῃ καὶ πάσα ἡ ἀρχή, μάλιστα δ' ὅποσοι τῆς βουλῆς προὔχουσιν ἀξιώματι, διὰ τὸ εἰς ἐκείνους ἀκράτῳ τῇ ὀργῇ χρῆσθαι τὸν

¹ ὑποσάντα Bekker: ὑπεκσάντα con. Niese.

² ποιούντο . . . πάντες] codd.: ποιούμε (ποιούμε' Ε) ἂν σε τοῖς τε νῦν πᾶσι E et i. marg. A.

³ ἐπεὶ τοι . . . γένοιτ' ἂν] ut exemplum efficiare cunctis et praesentibus et futuris Lat.

⁴ lacunam post χρεολυτεῖν indicat Niese.

his criterion of happiness, he wrote to Petronius as follows: " Since you have held the gifts that the Jews have bestowed upon you in higher regard than my orders and have presumed to minister in everything to their pleasure in violation of my orders, I bid you act as your own judge and consider what course it is your duty to take, since you have brought my displeasure upon yourself. For I assure you that you shall be cited as an example by all men now and all that will come hereafter to point the moral that an emperor's commands are never to be flouted." ^a

Gaius' angry letter to Petronius is nullified by Gaius' death.

(9) Such was the letter that he wrote to Petronius. But Petronius did not receive it while Gaius was alive since the voyage of those who brought the message was so delayed that before it arrived Petronius had received a letter with news of the death of Gaius.^b Indeed, God could never have been unmindful of the risks that Petronius had taken in showing favour to the Jews and honouring God. No, the removal of Gaius in displeasure at his rashness in promoting his own claim to worship was God's payment of the debt to Petronius. In fact, Rome and all the empire, and especially those of the senators who were outstanding in merit, favoured Petronius, since Gaius had vented his wrath against them without mercy. And so

^a The parallel passage in *B.J.* omits the whole account of Agrippa's intercession with Caligula and merely mentions (ii. 203) Gaius' angry reply threatening to put Petronius to death for his tardiness in executing his orders.

^b Gaius died on 24 January A.D. 41. According to the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 203, those who bore Gaius' letter to Petronius were weather-bound for three months at sea and arrived twenty-seven days after those who brought news of Gaius' death.

⁵ MW: συνεργεῖται A: συνεργεῖται con. Niese.

- 307 Γάιον.¹ καὶ τελευτᾷ μὲν οὐ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον ἢ γράψαι τῷ Πετρωνίῳ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θανεῖν ἀνακειμένην ἐπιστολήν, τὴν δ' αἰτίαν, ἐξ ἧς τελευτᾷ, καὶ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τὸν τρόπον ἀφηγήσομαι προϊόντος τοῦ λόγου. Πετρωνίῳ δὲ προτέρα μὲν παρῆν ἢ διασαφούσα τοῦ Γαίου τὴν τελευτὴν ἐπιστολή, μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἡ κελεύουσα αὐτὸν τελευτᾶν αὐτόχειρα, καὶ ἦσθη τε τῇ συντυχίᾳ τοῦ ὀλέθρου, ὃς τὸν Γάιον 309 κατέλαβεν, καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν πρόνοιαν ἐξεθαύμασεν οὐδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος μισθὸν αὐτῷ τιμῆς τε τῆς εἰς τὸν ναὸν καὶ βοθηθείας τῆς Ἰουδαίων σωτηρίας παρασχομένου.² καὶ Πετρωνίῳ μὲν οὕτως μὴ ἂν τοπασθεῖς³ διεφεύχθη ῥαδίως ὁ κίνδυνος τοῦ θανεῖν.
- 310 (ix. 1) Γίνεται δὲ καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ καὶ μάλιστα τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν οἰκοῦντας Ἰουδαίους συμφορὰ δεινὴ καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς ἦστινος ἐλάσσων φόνος τε αὐτῶν πολλὸς καὶ ὀπόσος οὐχ ἰστορημένον πρότερον. περὶ ὧν δὴ τὰ πάντα ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς διηγησάμενος ἐκθήσομαι καὶ τὰς αἰτίας, 311 ἀφ' ὧν αὐτοῖς τὸ πάθος συνέτυχεν. Νέαρδα⁴ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας ἐστὶ πόλις ἄλλως τε πολυανδροῦσα καὶ

¹ ἀλλὰ . . . Γάιον] sed Gaium de medio auferens mercedem illi dignam pro illius impietate restituit, cooperatus est autem Petronio; nam tanta illi dilectio comparata est tam Romae quam in unoquoque regno, ut dei gratia super eum evidens appareret [ut . . . appareret om. cod. A]. Romae namque omnes senatorii ordinis et quotquot dignitatibus eminebant tam virtutis merito quam odio Gaii, quod propter crudelitatem iniquitatemque conceperant, circa Petronium magno favore ferebantur Lat.

² Hudson: παρασχομένον codd.

Gaius died not long after having written to Petronius this letter consigning him to death^a; the cause of Gaius' death and the manner in which the plot was formulated I shall relate in the course of my work.^b Thus Petronius first received the letter which reported clearly the death of Gaius, and, not long afterwards, the one which ordered him to take his life with his own hand. He rejoiced at the coincidence that Gaius' disaster came when it did, and marvelled at the providence of God, who swiftly and punctually had paid him his reward for showing honour to the temple and coming to the rescue of the Jews. Thus for Petronius the menace of death was easily dispelled in a manner that could hardly have been foreseen.

(ix. 1) The Jews of Mesopotamia and especially those inhabiting Babylonia now met with a terrible and unparalleled disaster and were massacred in such numbers as never before in recorded history. I shall tell the whole story in detail, setting forth also the causes that were the occasion of their misfortune. Nearda^c is a city in Babylonia that is not only populous but also possesses a rich and extensive district,

The Jews in Babylonia. Their treasure cities. Nearda and Nisibis.

^a The parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 203, says that Gaius merely threatened to put Petronius to death.

^b *Ant.* xix. 15-114.

^c Not far from Sippar and near the junction of the Euphrates and the *Nahr Malka*—the "King's Canal," which made the city difficult to attack: cf. *Bab. Kiddushin* 70 b, *Shabbat* 108 b. It is to be identified with Nehardea, the seat, in Talmudic times, of the exilarch and of a famous academy headed by Samuel in the third century.

³ οὕτως μὴ ἂν τοπασθεῖς] A: οὕτως μὴ ἀντοπίσθεῖς M: οὕτως μὴ ἀντοπίσθεῖς W: οὕτως μὴ αὐτῷ ὀφθεῖς Hudson: τρόπον μὴ προὔπτων coni. Richards et Shutt.

⁴ Νέαρδα] Neardā MW: Neērdā A: Neērdā E: Neerda Lat.: Nārdā apud Steph. Byz. vocatur.

χώραν ἀγαθὴν καὶ πολλὴν ἔχουσα καὶ σὺν ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀνάπλεων.¹ ἔστιν δὲ καὶ πολεμίοις οὐκ ἐδέμβυλος περιόδῳ τε τοῦ Εὐφράτου πᾶσαν ἐντὸς αὐτὴν ἀπολαμβάνοντος καὶ κατασκευαῖς τειχῶν. ἔστιν δὲ καὶ Νίσιβις² πόλις κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦ ποταμοῦ περίρρουν, ὅθεν Ἰουδαῖοι τῇ φύσει τῶν χωρίων πεπιστευκότες τό τε δίδραχμον, ὃ τῷ θεῷ καταβάλλειν ἐκάστοις πάτριον, ταύτη κατετίθεντο καὶ ὅποσα δὲ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, ἐχρῶντό τε ὡς περ ταμείῳ ταῖσδε ταῖς πόλεσιν. 313 ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἀνεπέμπετο ἢ καιρὸς, πολλαὶ τε ἀνθρώπων μυριάδες τὴν κομιδὴν τῶν χρημάτων παρελάμβανον δεδιότες τὰς Παρθυαίων ἀρπαγὰς ὑποτελούσης ἐκείνοις τῆς Βαβυλωνίας.³ 314 καὶ ἦσαν γὰρ Ἀσιναιοὶ καὶ Ἀνιλαῖοι Νεερδάται μὲν τὸ γένος, ἀλλήλων δὲ ἀδελφοί. καὶ αὐτοῦς, πατὴρ δ' ἦσαν ὀρφανοί, ἢ μήτηρ προσέταξεν ἱστών⁴ μαθήσει ποιήσεως,⁵ οὐκ ὄντος ἀπρεποῦς τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ὥστε τοὺς ἀνδρας ταλασιουργεῖν⁶ παρ' αὐτοῖς. τούτοις ὁ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐφεστώς, καὶ γὰρ

¹ Hudson (ex Lat.): ἀνάπλεως codd.

² AM: Νίσιβης (η minus clarum) W: Nesebis (Nesibis cod. Canon.) Lat.

³ δεδιότες . . . Βαβυλωνίας] om. Lat. ⁴ ἱστών Naber.

⁵ ἱστών . . . ποιήσεως] ut navium operarentur velamina Lat.

⁶ ταλασιουργεῖν] ut . . . exerceanur operibus quae usui marino proficiant Lat. (h.e. θαλασσοργεῖν).

^a Apparently to be distinguished from the more famous city in north-eastern Babylonia, since, as noted by J. Sturm, "Nisibis," no. 3, Pauly-Wissowa, xvii², 1936, p. 757, Josephus' city is on an island in the Euphrates near Nearda, whereas the other Nisibis is between the Tigris and the Euphrates.

^b The equivalent of the half shekel (Ex. xxx. 13) paid by all Jews twenty or more years of age.

which, in addition to its other advantages, is also thickly settled. It is, moreover, not easily exposed to hostile invasion because it is entirely encompassed by a bend of the Euphrates and the construction of walls. There is also a city Nisibis^a situated on the same bend of the river. The Jews, in consequence, trusting to the natural strength of these places, used to deposit there the two-drachm coins^b which it is the national custom for all to contribute to the cause of God, as well as any other dedicatory offerings. Thus these cities were their bank of deposit. From there these offerings were sent to Jerusalem at the appropriate time. Many tens of thousands of Jews shared in the convoy of these monies because they feared the raids of the Parthians, to whom Babylonia was subject. Now there were two brothers, Asinaeus^{The} and Anilaeus, who were natives of Nearda. Since^{brothers} they had lost their father, their mother apprenticed^{Asinaeus} them to learn the weaving trade, for it is not considered undignified by the inhabitants of that country^{and Anilaeus,} for men to spin wool.^{being out-}^{raged, col-}^{lect a rob-}^{ber band.} The man in charge of their

^a On the normal conditions of apprenticeship in Palestine and Babylonia see S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie*, ii, 1911, pp. 255-256.

^b On weaving as a disgraceful occupation see Mishnah, *Eduyoth* i. 3, which states that there is no craft lower than that of a weaver, and Bab. *Baba Batra* 21 a, where the word used is clearly derived from *γερδιός*, "weaver." See, in general, Krauss, *op. cit.* i, 1910, pp. 149 and 560 notes 271-275, who quotes (p. 560 n. 273) the proverb emanating from Babylonia and given in *Abodah Zarah* 26 a: "A year's scanty earnings will alter [improve] a weaver if he be not a proud fool." F. M. Heichelheim, "Roman Syria," in T. Frank, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, iv, 1938, p. 191, notes that Borsippa and Nearda in Babylonia produced large quantities of linen and woollen goods (*cf.* Strabo xvi. 39, which he cites). The Latin version interprets our passage

- ἐμεμαθήκεσαν παρ' αὐτῷ, βραδυτήτα ἐπικαλέσας
 315 τῆς ἀφίξεως ἐκόλασε πληγαῖς. οἱ δὲ ἐφ' ὕβρει τὴν
 δικαίωσιν λογιζόμενοι, κατασπάσαντες τῶν ὄπλων
 πολλὰ ὅποσα ἦν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας φυλασσόμενα
 ᾤχοντο εἰς τι χωρίον, διάρρηξιν μὲν ποταμῶν λεγόμε-
 νον,¹ νομὰς δὲ ἀγαθὰς παρασχεῖν πεφυκὸς καὶ
 χιλὸν ὅποσοι² εἰς τὸν χειμῶνα ἀποτιθοῦντο. συν-
 ἦσαν τε ὡς αὐτοὺς τῶν νέων οἱ ἀπορώτατοι, καὶ
 τούτους τοῖς ὄπλοις φραγνύντες στρατηγοὶ τε ἦσαν
 καὶ τῶν κακῶν ἠγεμόνες οὐκ ἐκωλύοντο εἶναι.
 316 προελθόντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμαχον καὶ κατασκευά-
 σαντες ἀκρόπολιν διέπεμπον πρὸς τοὺς νεμοντας
 φόρον αὐτοῖς κελυμένους καταβάλλειν τῶν βοσκη-
 μάτων, ἢ ἀρκοῦσα ἐπιτροφή γίνουιτ' ἄν, προστιθέντες
 φιλίαν τε πειθομένοις καὶ ἄμυναν τῶν ἀλλαχόθεν
 ποθὲν πολεμίων, σφαγὰς δὲ τῶν ποιμνίων ἀπειθοῦ-
 317 σιν. οἱ δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἕτερα παρ' αὐτὰ ποιεῖν,
 ἠκροῶντο καὶ τῶν προβάτων ἕστελλον ὅποσα
 κελυσθεῖεν, ὥστε δὴ καὶ πλείων αὐτοῖς συνελέγετο
 ἰσχὺς κύριοι τε ἦσαν ἐφ' οἷς βουλευσειαν ἐκ τοῦ
 ὀξέος ἐλαύνοντες κακουργεῖν. θεραπεύειν τε αὐτοὺς
 ἠρκτο³ πᾶς προστυγχάνων, καὶ ἦσαν φοβεροὶ καὶ
 τοῖς πειρασομένοις, ὥστ' ἤδη προῦκοπτε λόγος περὶ
 αὐτῶν κάπυ τοῦ Πάρθων βασιλέως.
 318 (2) Ὁ δὲ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας σατράπης μαθὼν ταῦτα
 καὶ βουλευθεὶς ἔτι φυομένους⁴ κωλύσαι πρὶν τι μεί-
 ζον κακὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀναστήναι, συλλέξας στρατὸν

¹ A : ποιούμενον MWE.

² ὅποσοι] ὅποσα τε conl. Niese.

³ AM : ἠρητο W : ἠρητο conl. Niese.

⁴ ἔτι φυομένους] Gutschmid : ἐπιφυομένους codd.

to mean that the two brothers were apprenticed as sail-makers

work, from whom they had learnt their trade, called them to task for arriving late and punished them with a whipping. Because they accounted such punishment a personal indignity they dragged down a quantity of weapons which were stored on the house-top and went off to a certain district called the "Parting of the Rivers." It was capable of providing good pasturage and green fodder in sufficient quantity to be stored for winter. Young men of the poorest class gathered about them, and these they armed. They acted as their generals and leaders in mischief without let or hindrance. When it came to the point where they were unbeatable and had built themselves a citadel, they used to issue orders to the herdsmen to pay a tribute from their flocks sufficient to support them. They, in turn, proffered friendship to those who obeyed them and a defence against all their enemies from any other quarter, threatening to destroy their flocks if they refused. The inhabitants, since they had no alternative, complied and dispatched the imposed quotas of livestock. This strengthened them even further and put them in a position to injure any that they saw fit by sudden raids. All and sundry began to defer to them, while they were a source of terror to any who thought of attacking them. Hence their fame kept increasing, even making its way to the ears of the Parthian king.^a

(2) When the satrap of Babylonia took note of this, he chose to cut them off while they were still growing and before some greater mischief should arise through

The brothers rout a Parthian force on the Sabbath.

(whence Naber's emendation), but sails would be of linen, and *ταλαιουργεῖν* can refer only to the spinning of wool. Moreover, sail-making is nowhere mentioned as a separate trade in antiquity.

^a Artabanus III. Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 48 ff.

ὅσον ἐδύνατο πλείστον καὶ τῶν Παρθυαίων καὶ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἤλασε πρὸς αὐτούς, φθῆναι θέλων προσβαλὼν ἐξελεῖν πρὶν ἐξάγγελτος γενέσθαι κατα-
 319 σκευάζων τὸν στρατὸν. περικαθίσας δὲ τὸ ἔλος ἠσούχαζεν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιούσαν, ἦν δὲ σάββατον ἀργίας παντὸς χρήματος Ἰουδαίους ἡμέρα, οἰόμενος οὐ τολμήσειν ἀντιστατήσῃ αὐτῷ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλὰ ἀμαχεὶ λαβὼν ἄξειν δεδεμένους, κατὰ βραχὺ δὲ προσῆει χρήζων αἰφνίδιον ποιείσθαι τὴν ἐπίπτω-
 320 σιν. Ἀσιναῖος δὲ ἐτύγγαχε σὺν τοῖς ἐταίροις καθ- ἐζόμενος καὶ τὰ ὄπλα παρέκειτο αὐτοῖς. "ἀνδρες," φησί, "χρεμετισμός μοι ἵππων προσέπεσεν οὐ φορ- βάδων, ἀλλ' οἷος γένουσι ἀνδρῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπιβεβη- κόντων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἀνακρούσεως αἰσθάνομαι χαλινῶν δέδια, μὴ λελήθασιν ἡμᾶς οἱ πολέμιοι περιστάντες. ἀλλὰ τις προῦτω¹ κατόπτῃς ἀπαγ- γελίαν ἡμῖν σαφῆ τῶν ἐνεστηκότων ποιησόμενος.
 321 εἴη δὲ ἐπὶ ψευδέσι μοι λελέχθαι τὰ εἰρημένα." καὶ ὁ μὲν τάδε εἶπεν, καὶ ὄχοντό τινες προσκοποῦντες τὸ γινόμενον καὶ ἦ τάχος παρελθόντες, "καὶ οὔτε αὐτὸς ψεύδῃ σαφῆς² εἰκαστῆς εἶναι τῶν πρασσο- μένων τοῖς πολεμίους οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι³ πλείονως ἐπι-
 322 τρέψειν ἡμελλόν ἡμῖν ὑβριεῖν.⁴ περιειλήμμεθα δόλω μηδὲν βροσκημάτων διαφέροντες· τοσῆσδε ἵππου πλήθος ἐπελαύνουσιν ἡμῖν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ χειρῶν κει- μένοις διὰ τὸ κατείργεσθαι προαγορεύσει τῶν πα-
 323 τριῶν εἰς τὸ ἀργεῖν." Ἀσιναῖος δὲ οὐκ ἄρα γνώμη τοῦ κατασκοποῦ κρίνειν ἔμελλεν ἐπὶ τοῖς ποιητέοις,

¹ Niese: *προσίτω* codd. E: *procurrat* Lat.: ἴτω Suidas.

² *ψεύδῃ σαφῆς*] MW: *ψευδῆς σαφῆς τε* A: *ψευδῆς σαφῆνα* ed. pr.: *ψευδῆς ἔφασαν* Dindorf: *ψευδῆς φασιν* ex Lat. Hudson.

³ Hudson: *ἐκεῖνοις* codd. ⁴ *corruptum indicat* Niese.

them. He therefore mustered as large an army as he could both of Parthians and Babylonians and marched against them; his aim was to drive his attack home and annihilate them before it was even reported that he was shaping up an army. He got his men in position about the marsh and made no move. The following day was the Sabbath, a day of rest for the Jews from all work. Assuming then that the enemy would not venture to resist him and could be seized without a battle and made prisoners, he advanced little by little, eager that his attack should be unexpected.^a As it happened, however, Asinaeus was sitting with his companions, and their arms were lying beside them. "Men," he said, "a neighing of horses has fallen upon my ears, not like that of horses grazing but like that of horses with riders, for I also catch the jingling of bridles. I fear that the enemy have surrounded us unperceived. Let someone, therefore, go forth as a scout in order to give us a full report of what is upon us. And may my statement prove to have no foundation." No sooner were the words spoken than a few men were off to see what was going on. They returned with all speed, saying: "You were not mistaken but correctly conjectured what the enemy are doing; and we might have known that they would not let us insult them any longer. We are caught in a trap like so many animals at pasture. There are all these horsemen approaching and our hands are tied because the commandment of our ancestral law orders us to do no work." But Asinaeus, as it appeared, was not going to let the scout's pronouncement decide for him the question of duty.

^a Cf. the similar plan of Mithridates to attack Anilaeus on the Sabbath (§ 354).

ἀλλὰ νομιμώτερον ἡγησάμενος τοῦ ἐπ' ἀπράκτοις
 τελευτώντας εὐφραίνειν τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ ἀλκῆ¹
 δεξάμενος αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀνάγκης εἰς ἣν ἐνεπε-
 πτώκει παρανομεῖν τιμωρίαν ἀπολαμβάνων,² εἰ δέοι,
 τελευτᾶν,³ αὐτὸς τε ἀναλαμβάνει τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τοῖς
 324 ὁμοίως ἴασι τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ πολλοὺς κτείναντες
 αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ καταφρονούντας ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ ἔτοιμα
 χωρεῖν εἰς φυγὴν τρέπονται τὸ λοιπόν.
 325 (3) Ὁ δὲ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλεὺς, ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο
 αὐτῷ ἡ ἀγγελία τῆς μάχης, ἐκπλαγεὶς τῷ τολμή-
 ματι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπεθύμησεν αὐτοῖς ἐλθεῖν δι'
 ὄψεως καὶ λόγων, καὶ πέμπει τὸν πιστότατον τῶν
 326 σωματοφυλάκων λέγοντα, ὅτι " βασιλεὺς Ἀρτάβα-
 νος καίπερ ἡδικομημένος ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐπιχειρήσεως αὐ-
 τοῦ τῆ ἀρχῆ γενομένης ἐν ἐλάσσονι τὴν καθ' αὐτὸν
 ὀργὴν τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρετῆς ποιησάμενος ἀπέστειλέν
 με δεξιᾶς τε καὶ πίστιν δώσοντα ὑμῖν, συγχωρῶν
 ἄδειάν τε καὶ ἀσυλίαν ὁδῶν, χρήζων ἐπὶ φιλίᾳ προσ-
 χωρεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν δόλου τε καὶ ἀπάτης χωρὶς,
 δῶρά τε δώσειν ὑποσχεῖται καὶ τιμὴν, ἥτις ὑμῖν
 327 πρὸς τῆ νῦν οὕση ἀρετῇ μελλήσει δυνάμει τῇ
 ἑκείνου ὠφελεῖν." Ἀσιναῖος δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπερ-
 βάλλεται ὁδοὺς τὰς ἐκεῖ, τὸν ἀδελφὸν δὲ Ἀνιλαῖον
 ἐκπέμπει μετὰ δώρων ὅποσα πορίσαι ἦν. καὶ ὁ
 μὲν ὄχετο καὶ εἰσοδος αὐτῷ γίνεται παρὰ βασιλέα.
 Ἀρτάβανος δὲ ἐπεὶ θεᾶται τὸν Ἀνιλαῖον καταμόνας
 ἦκοντα, ἤρετο τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἀσιναῖον

¹ E: ἀλκῆς codd.

² Dindorf: ἀπολαμβάνοι codd.: ἀπολαμβάνοντας ed. pr.

He thought it better observance of the law, instead of gladdening the foe by a death without anything accomplished, to take his courage in his hands, let the straits into which he had fallen excuse violation of the law, and die, if he must, exacting a just vengeance. So he armed himself and emboldened his comrades to emulate his valour. When they engaged the foe in battle, they slaughtered them in great numbers, since they came on contemptuously, as if the prey were theirs for the taking, and put the remainder to flight.

(3) When the news of the battle reached the ears of the Parthian king, he was amazed at the bold adventure of the brothers and longed to see and speak with them. And so he sent the most trustworthy of his bodyguards with this message: "King Artabanus, notwithstanding the injury you have done him in attacking his realm, has let respect for your feats outweigh his own resentment. He has consequently dispatched me to give you a solemn pledge. He grants you safe conduct and an inviolate passage, for he wants you to visit him as friends without guile and deceit; and he promises to give you both gifts and an office, which, with the prestige of your present feats, is likely to give you the benefit of authority from him." Asinaeus, for his part, postponed any journey there, but sent forth his brother Anilaeus with all the gifts that he could manage. The latter departed and was admitted to the king's presence. When Artabanus observed that Anilaeus had come alone, he inquired why Asinaeus had stayed behind.

Artabanus,
king of
Parthia, en-
lists their
services.

³ τὸ . . . τελευτᾶν] oportere iudicat, ut non sine hostium ultione morerentur Lat.

⁴ conl. Niese: καὶ codd.: om. E.

- 328 ἐφυστερηκότος. ἐπεὶ δὲ πυνθάνεται αὐτὸν δέισαντα ἐν τῷ ἔλει ὑπομένειν, ὁ δὲ τοὺς τε πατρώους θεοὺς ἐπώμνυτο μηδὲν κακὸν δράσειν αὐτοὺς πίστει τῇ αὐτοῦ προσκεχωρηκότας, καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐδίδου, ὅπερ μέγιστον παρὰ πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐκείνη βαρβάροις
- 329 παράδειγμα τοῦ θαρσεῖν γίνεται τοῖς ὀμιλοῦσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ψεύσαιτό τις δεξιῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δόσεων γενομένων οὐδὲ πιστεύειν ἐνδοιάσειεν, εἰ τοιαῶσε ἀσφαλείας δόσις γίνοιτο παρὰ τῶν ἐν ὑποψία ἀδικήσειν καθεστηκότων. καὶ Ἀρτάβανος μὲν ταῦτα πράξας ἐκπέμπει τὸν Ἀνιλαῖον πείσοντα τὸν
- 330 ἀδελφὸν ἐπανελεῖν, ἔπρασεν δὲ ταῦτα βασιλεὺς χρηζῶν ἐνοτομομάτων¹ τῇ ἀρετῇ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀδελφῶν εἰς φιλίαν κτήσασθαι τῶν ἐκείνου σατραπειῶν ἐν ἀποστάσει τε οὐσῶν καὶ διανοία τοῦ
- 331 ἀποστησομένου μέλλων ἐλάσειν ἐπ' αὐτούς.² ἔδεδει γὰρ, μὴ καὶ περιεχομένου πολέμῳ τῷ ἐκείνῃ κατὰ χεῖρωσιν τῶν ἀφεστηκότων αὐξηθῶσιν ἐπὶ μέγα οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀσιναῖον καὶ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ἦτοι γε συστήσονται ἐπ' ἀκρόασει τῇ αὐτῶν ἢ καὶ τούτου γε ἀποτυχόντες τοῦ κακῶσαι μειζρόνως οὐ διαμάρτοιεν.
- 332 (4) Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα διανοηθεὶς ἐκπέμπει τὸν Ἀνιλαῖον, ὁ δὲ πιθανὸς ἦν τῷ ἀδελφῷ τὴν τε ἄλλην προθυμίαν εἰσηγούμενος τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ὄρκιον τὸ γεγενημένον, ὥστε δὴ ἠπείγοντο ὡς τὸν Ἀρτά-
- 333 βανον. ὁ δὲ ἠδονῇ αὐτοὺς δέχεται παραγενομένους ἐθαύμαζεν τε τὸν Ἀσιναῖον τοῦ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν εὐψύχου, θεωρῶν παντελῶς ὄντα ὀφθῆναι βραχύ

¹ ἐνοτομομάτων | codd. E Suid. : ἐνοτόμισμα ed. pr. : ἐνοτόμισμα τῶν Holwerda : ἐπιστόμισμα Herwerden : ἐνοτόμισμα τῆ Post : ante τῇ lacunam indicat Holwerda.

Informed that he had remained in the marsh because of fear, Artabanus swore by his ancestral gods that he would do no evil to them, if they visited him in reliance on his pledge. He offered him his right hand, and that is for all the barbarians of those parts the highest assurance of security in making visits. For no one would ever prove false when he had given his right hand, nor would anyone hesitate to trust one that he suspected might harm him, once he had received that assurance of safety. Having taken this step, Artabanus sent off Anilaeus to persuade his brother to return with him. The king's purpose in this was to use the prowess of the Jewish brothers as a curb to ensure the loyalty of his satrapies, for some of them were in rebellion, and some were considering whether to rebel; and he was on the point of marching against them. Hence he was afraid that while he was occupied with the war in those parts and subduing the rebels, Asinaeus would grow much stronger and would either win over Babylon to his jurisdiction or, even if he had no such success, would unfailingly inflict still greater damage.

(4) With this calculation in mind, he dispatched Anilaeus. The latter prevailed on his brother, setting forth, among other evidences of the king's goodwill, the oath that he had taken. And so they hastened to Artabanus. He welcomed them upon their arrival and was astonished at Asinaeus' courage in action, when he observed that he was quite short in outward

Artabanus plays a double game. The brothers control Mesopotamia.

² ἔπρασεν . . . αὐτοὺς] agebat autem haec imperator opus habens illis fratribus pro tutamine illius satrapiae propter quod in illa regione facile possent ab imperio suo decedere, ut antequam aliquid tale contingeret ipse illos per amicitiam occuparet Lat.

τε¹ καὶ τοῖς τὸ πρῶτον ὄψει συνελθοῦσιν ἐνδοῦναι
 καταφρονήματος ἀφορμὰς ὡς οὐδενὶ² κρίνοιεν
 αὐτόν, φησὶ τε πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, ὡς μείζονα ἐν
 τῇ παραθέσει παρέχοιτο τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ σώματος,
 παρά τε πότον δεικνὺς τὸν Ἀσιναῖον Ἀβδαγάσῃ
 τῷ αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδάρχη τό τε ὄνομα διασαφε³
 334 καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν, ἣ χρώτο εἰς πόλεμον. τοῦ
 δὲ Ἀβδαγάσου κελεύοντος συγχώρημα αὐτῷ γε-
 νέσθαι κτεινάντα αὐτὸν ἅποινα ἀπολαβεῖν ὑπὲρ ὧν
 ὑβρίσειεν εἰς τὴν Παρθυαίων ἀρχὴν, “ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἄν,”
 εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς, “συγχώρημα διδοίην ἐπ’ ἀνδρὶ
 πίστει τῇ εἰς ἐμέ τεθαρρηκότει καὶ προσέτι δεξιάν
 τε πέμψας καὶ θεῶν ὅρκους πιθανὸς γενέσθαι
 335 σπουδάσας. εἰ δὲ ἀνὴρ τυγχάνεις τὰ πολέμια
 ἀγαθός, μηδὲν ἐπιτοκίας χρήζων τῆς ἐμῆς Παρ-
 θυαίων ἐκδίκει τὴν ἀρχὴν περιυβρισμένην· ἐπανα-
 χωροῦντι γὰρ ἐπιθέμενος περιγίνου κράτει τῷ περὶ
 336 σὲ καὶ μετ’ ἀγνοίας τῆς ἐμῆς.” ἔωθεν δὲ μετακα-
 λέσας τὸν Ἀσιναῖον, “ᾠρα σοι,” φησὶν, “ὦ νεανία,
 χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ σαυτοῦ, μὴ καὶ πλείοσιν τῶν ἐνθάδε
 στρατηγῶν τὴν ὄργην ἐρεθίσαις ἐπιχειρεῖν σου τῇ
 337 σφαγῇ καὶ δίχα γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς. παρακαταθη-
 κην δέ σοι δίδωμι τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν γῆν ἀλήτοσεντόν
 τε καὶ ἀπάθῃ κακῶν ἐσομένην ὑπὸ τῶν σῶν φρον-
 τίδων. ἄξιον δέ μοι τυγχάνειν σου χρηστοῦ ἀν-
 ἐπικλητόν σοι παρασχόμενος τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ πίστιν,
 οὐκ ἐπὶ κούφοις ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰς σωτηρίαν ἀνακει-
 338 μένοις.” ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ δῶρα δούς τὸ τηνίκα⁴
 ἐκπέμπει τὸν Ἀσιναῖον. ὁ δὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν
 παραγενόμενος φρούρια κατασκευάζει καὶ ὅποσα

¹ τε] codd. : ὥστε Gutschmid.

² οὐδενί] A : οὐδὲν εἰ MW : οὐδὲν Naber.

appearance and thus gave those who got sight of him
 for the first time reason to disregard him and judge
 him of no account. Indeed the king said to his friends
 that Asinaeus had a soul that by comparison was
 greater than his body. Once, while drinking, he
 pointed out Asinaeus to Abdagases, who was his
 military chief of staff, giving his name and a full
 account of his prowess in war. Abdagases proposed
 that permission be given him to slay the man and so
 get revenge for his insolent treatment of the Parthian
 realm. “No,” said the king, “I cannot grant you
 permission against this man who puts confidence in
 my pledge. Moreover, I have given him my right
 hand and have made a point of winning his trust by
 swearing by the gods. If, however, you are truly a
 brave man in war, you do not need any breach of my
 oath. Punish him yourself for his trespass against
 the honour of Parthia. As he is going home, attack
 him with your own forces and get the better of him
 without my knowledge.” But at dawn he called for
 Asinaeus and said : “It is high time, young man, for
 you to go to your own territory, for fear of rousing
 the wrath of several of the generals here who may
 make attempts on your life even without my consent.
 I am granting to you the land of Babylonia as a trust
 to be kept free of pillage and of other abuses by your
 care. I deserve kindness of you since I have kept
 unimpeachable faith with you when no trifles were
 at stake, but the means of preserving your life.”
 With these words he gave gifts to Asinaeus and sent
 him away at once. On reaching his own territory,
 Asinaeus built forts and added to the strength of any

³ AW : Ἀβδαγάσῃ M : Abdagati Lat.

⁴ A : ὀπηνίκα MWE.

πρότερον ὠχύρου, μέγας τε ἐν ὀλίγῳ γεγόνει καὶ
 339 οἷος¹ οὐκ ἄλλος τῶν πρότερον ἐκ τοιαύτης ἀφορμῆς
 ἄψασθαι πραγμάτων ἐν τόλμῃ γεγονότων, Παρ-
 θυαίων τε αὐτὸν ἐθεράπευον οἱ ταύτη καταπεμπό-
 μοι στρατηγοί· μικρὸν γὰρ ἐδόκει καὶ τῆς κατ'
 αὐτὸν ἥσσον ἀρετῆς ἢ ἐκ Βαβυλωνίων προΐουσα
 τιμῆ· ἦν τε ἐν ἀξιώματι καὶ δυνάμει, πάντα τε
 ἤδη τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἤρτο
 πράγματα, προὔκοπέν τε αὐτῶν² ἢ εὐδαιμονία ἐπὶ
 ἕτη πεντεκαίδεκα.

340 (5) Ἀκμαζόντων δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀρχὴ
 αὐτοὺς ἐπικαταλαμβάνει κακῶν ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας,
 ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἣ προὔκοιεν ἐπὶ μέγα δυνά-
 μειος, ἐκτρέπουσιν εἰς ὕβριν ἐπὶ παραβάσει τῶν
 πατριῶν ὑπὸ ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ ἡδονῆς. ἐμπεσόντες
 τῶν Πάρθων τινί, στρατηγὸς δὲ ἀφίκετο τῶν ταύτη
 341 χωρίων, ᾧ δὴ καὶ εἶπετο γαμετὴ τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ
 εἰς τὸ ἐπαινέσθαι προειληφύια πασῶν καὶ μείζονα
 342 ῥοπήν ἐπ' αὐτῷ λαμβάνουσα θαύματι τοῦ εὐπρε-
 ποῦς. ταύτης εἶτε ἀκοῆ τῆς εὐπρεπείας ἐκμαθῶν
 εἶτε καὶ ἄλλως αὐτόπτης γενόμενος Ἀνιλαῖος ὁ
 τοῦ Ἀσιναιίου ἀδελφὸς ἐραστής τε ἐγεγόνει καὶ
 πολέμιος, τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ ἄλλως ἐλπίζειν ἐκ-
 πράσσεσθαι τὴν σύνοδον τῆς γυναικὸς μὴ τὴν ἐξ-
 ουσίαν ὡς ἐπ' αὐτῇ κτηθείσῃ παραλαβῶν, τὸ δὲ
 343 ὑπὸ τοῦ δυσαντίλεκτον κρίνειν τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. ἄμα

¹ Hudson: ὁπόσα codd. Lat.

² AM: αὐτῶ W: eius Lat.

^a A.D. 20-35.

^b Debevoise, *op. cit.* pp. 163-164, remarks that the virtual independence of Anilaeus and Asinaeus well illustrates the situation in the Parthian empire at this time. The constant

that had existed before. He had grown great in a brief time; there was none his equal of all who had ventured from such a beginning to grasp the reins of office. The Parthian generals who were sent down through his territory courted his favour. For the honour extended to him by the Babylonians seemed petty and less than he merited. And so he enjoyed dignity and authority; he held sway from now on over all Mesopotamia, and for fifteen years^a the brothers' prosperity kept on increasing.^b

(5) When their success was at its peak, their situa- Anilaeus' affair with a Parthian general's wife creates a scandal.
 tion began to deteriorate for the following reason. Their manly qualities had raised them to the height of power; but now they diverted these to the service of lawlessness, into which they plunged in violation of the Jewish code at the bidding of lust and self-indulgence. The trouble arose when they met a certain Parthian, who had arrived as commander in those regions. He was accompanied by his wife, whose praises were sung beyond all other women for other qualities, yet it was her marvellous beauty that gave her most effective control over him.^c Whether Anilaeus, the brother of Asinaeus, had learned about her beauty through hearsay or else had seen her with his own eyes, he became at once her lover and her enemy. He was her foe partly because he had no hope of union with her unless he were to get her in his power as a captive, partly because he considered his lust hard to gainsay. Therefore her husband

struggles for the throne had brought Parthia to the verge of anarchy. It would seem that Artabanus was forced to grant quasi-independence to large areas of his empire, and that Parthian troops and officials were helpless.

^c Or "and her wonderful beauty inclined the scale of praise still more in her favour."

τε οὖν πολέμιος ἐπ' αὐτῆς¹ ἀνὴρ κεχειροτόνητο
 κτιλίω² καὶ μάχης ἐπάκτου γενομένης πεσόν-
 τος ἀνρηρημένου ἀλοῦσα ἐγεγάμητο τῷ ἐραστῇ. οὐ
 μὴν δίχα γε μεγάλων δυστυχιῶν Ἀνιλαίω τε ἅμα
 αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀσιναιίω ἢ γυνὴ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὸν οἶκον
 αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ σὺν τινι μεγάλῳ κακῷ διὰ τοιαύτην
 344 αἰτίαν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ τάνδρος τεθνηκότος αἰχμάλω-
 τος ἦγετο, τὰ ἀφιδρύματα τῶν θεῶν, ἅπερ τῷ ἀνδρὶ
 καὶ αὐτῇ πατρίᾳ ἦν, ἐπιχώριον δὲ τοῖς ἐκείνῃ
 πᾶσιν ἔστιν ἐπὶ τε τῆς οἰκίας ἔχειν σεβάσματα
 καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐπὶ ξένης συνεπάγεσθαι, περιστέλλουσα
 καὶ ταύτῃ τοῦ πατρίου τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔθος συν-
 ἀπῆγετο, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον λεληθότως αὐτῶν
 θρησκείαν ἐποιεῖτο, γαμετὴ δὲ ἀποδειχθεῖσα ἤδη
 345 ἐπὶ τοῦ προτέρου ἀνδρὸς ἐθεράπευεν αὐτούς. καὶ
 τῶν ἐταίρων οἱ μάλιστα τιμώμενοι παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ
 μὲν πρῶτον ἔλεγον Ἀνιλαίω ὡς³ οὐδαμῶς πρᾶ-
 σοι Ἑβραϊκὰ οὐδὲ ὅποσα νόμοις τοῖς αὐτῶν
 πρόσφορα γυναικὰ ἡγμένους ἀλλόφυλον καὶ παραβαί-
 νουσαν θυσῶν καὶ σεβασμῶν τῶν αὐτοῖς εἰωθότων
 τὴν ἀκρίβειαν ὄραν οὖν, μὴ τὰ πολλὰ τῇ ἡδονῇ
 τοῦ σώματος συγχωρῶν ἀπολέσειε τὴν ἀρχὴν⁴ τοῦ⁵
 εὐπρεποῦς καὶ τὴν εἰς νῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ προελθοῦ-

¹ αὐτῆς] A : αὐτοῖς MW Exc. : αὐτῇ ὁ conl. Niese.

² κτιλίω] Κτιλίω Κτιλίω W : κτιλίω κτιλίω M : κτεινὼν κτινὼν A (κτινίωνα ex corr. A, i. marg. γρ κτιλίωνα) : κτινὼν Exc. : Κτιλίω omisi.

³ πρῶτον ἔλεγον Ἀνιλαίω ὡς] E : πρῶτον codd. : primum (quidem) ad ipsum Anilaeum locuti sunt quia Lat. : πρῶτον ἐπέσηκτο ὡς ed. pr. : plura excidisse velut προσελθόντες τοῦ Ἀνιλαίου ἀναδιδάσκειν ἐπειρῶντο τὸ εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα προπετέες λέγοντες ὡς putat Niese.

was at once declared an enemy and a "dead man"^a and forced into a battle, in which he fell. After he had been slain, his widow was captured and became the wife of her passionate wooer. Nevertheless, she did not enter the family without a train of great disasters. Of one such I shall relate the occasion, affecting not only Anilaeus but Asinaeus as well. When after the death of her husband she had been taken captive, she took along the ancestral images of the gods belonging to her husband and to herself—for it is the custom among all the people in that country to have objects of worship in their house and to take them along when going abroad.^b She too, therefore, secretly carried them off in observance of her national custom in these matters. At first she worshipped them without attracting attention, but after she had been given the status of wife, she proceeded to worship them in her accustomed manner and with the rites that she had employed during the lifetime of her former husband. At first those who ranked highest at the court of the brothers merely told Anilaeus that his actions were quite contrary to Hebraic custom and not consonant with their laws, in that he had taken a gentile wife—one who transgressed the strict rules of their accustomed sacrifices and rituals. Let him beware, then, lest by too great indulgence of fleshly lust, he should lose the authority that he had gained by seemly conduct and the dominion that hitherto had

^a Here I adopt a suggestion of Professor Abraham Schalit of the Hebrew University that *ἀνθρ* . . . κτιλίων represents an Aramaic phrase *gavra ktila*. See p. 389.

^b The story is reminiscent, in some degree, of the account of Rachel and Laban's images (Gen. xxxi. 19 ff.).

⁴ AW : ἡδονὴν M.

⁵ τοῦ] ἐκ τοῦ conl. Post.

346 σαν ἔξουσίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπέβαινον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τινα αὐτῶν τὸν μάλιστα τιμώμενον ὅτι πλεον
 παρρησία χρήσαιτο ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ ὃς ἀποθεώ-
 μενος¹ εὐνοίας τε² τῶν νόμων καὶ³ τοῦ κτείνοντος
 αὐτὸν τιμωρίαν ἐπηράσατο αὐτῷ τε Ἀνιλαίῳ καὶ
 347 Ἀσιναίῳ καὶ πᾶσιν ἑταίροις ὁμοίαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἔχ-
 θρῶν ἐπαχθεῖσαν γενέσθαι τελευτήν, τοῖς μὲν ὡς
 ἡγεμόσι παρανομῶν γεγονόσι, τοῖς δέ, ὅτι μὴ
 βοηθοῖεν αὐτῷ τοιάδε πάσχοντι διὰ τὸ ἐκδικεῖν τοῖς
 νόμοις, οἱ δὲ ἐβαρύνοντο μὲν, ἠνείχοντο δέ, μνημο-
 νεύοντες οὐκ ἐξ ἄλλης αἰτίας ἀλλ' ἰσχύι τῇ ἐκείνων
 348 τῇ εὐδαιμονίᾳ συνελθόντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν θερα-
 πείαν ἀκροῶνται τῶν θεῶν τῶν Παρθυαίοις τιμω-
 μένων, οὐκέτι ἀνεκτὸν ἡγούμενοι τοῦ Ἀνιλαίου τὸ
 ὑβρίζον εἰς τοὺς νόμους ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσιναῖον ἐλθόντες
 349 καὶ πλέονες ἤδη κατεβόων τοῦ Ἀνιλαίου, φάμενοι
 καλῶς ἔχειν, εἰ μὴ πρότερον κατ' αὐτὸν ἑώρα τὸ
 ὠφελοῦν ἀλλὰ νῦν γοῦν ἐπιστροφὴν ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ
 γεγονότος πρὶν ἢ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐκείνῳ τε καὶ πᾶσι
 τοῖς ἄλλοις γενέσθαι εἰς ὄλεθρον ἀνακειμένην, τὸν
 τε γάμον τῆς ἀνθρώπου λέγοντες οὐ μετ' αὐτῶν⁴
 οὐδ' αὐτοῖς εἰωθότων τεθεῖσθαι νόμων καὶ τὴν
 θρησκείαν ἣν ἐπιτηδεύει ἢ γυνὴ ἐπ' ἀτιμώσει θεοῦ
 350 τοῦ αὐτοῖς σεβασμίου πράσσεσθαι. ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς
 ἦδει μὲν τὴν ἁμαρτάδα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μεγάλων αἰτίων

¹ Post (ex B.J. ii. 310 ap. Thackeray, Lexicon): . . . θεώ-
 μενος, i. marg. γρ κτεινόμενος A: κτεινόμενος MWE Exc.:
 moriens Lat.: ἀποθανούμενος Petersen.

² εὐνοίας τε] εὐνοία τῇ E.

been increased by God's favour. The appeal was
 fruitless. In fact, he even put to death a man of
 highest rank because he had spoken too frankly. He,
 fixing his mind on loyalty to the laws and on ven-
 geance against his slayer, pronounced a curse on Ani-
 laeus himself and Asinaeus and all their companions,
 to suffer a similar end at the hands of their enemies
 —the brothers because they had been the leaders
 in transgressing the laws, the others because they
 failed to come to his rescue when they saw how he
 was treated for championing the Law. These others
 were distressed at this, but did nothing about it, for
 they had not forgotten that they owed their pros-
 perity to no other instrument than the strength of
 those very men. But when they further heard of
 the worship of the gods that were esteemed among
 the Parthians, they regarded the trampling on the
 Law by Anilaeus as no longer to be borne. They
 went to Asinaeus and now in greater numbers in-
 veighed against Anilaeus. They said that it did not
 matter if he had not previously seen for himself the
 expedient course. Now, however, he must certainly
 take notice of the thing that had been done before
 the guilty act resulted in the ruin of himself and
 everybody else. For they said that Anilaeus' mar-
 riage with this woman had taken place without
 their consent and was not in accordance with the
 laws which they were accustomed to follow, and
 that the worship which the woman practised showed
 disrespect for the God of their religion. Asinaeus, to
 be sure, knew without prompting that the sin of his
 brother was and would be the cause of great mis-

³ καὶ] om. E.

⁴ μετ' αὐτῶν] μετὰ ὑγιῶν Gutschmid.

οἶσαν κακῶν καὶ ἐσομένην, οὐ μὴν ἀπείχετό γε¹
 εὐνοία τοῦ συγγενοῦς νικώμενος καὶ συγγνώμην
 νέμων ὡς ὑπὸ κρείσσονος κακοῦ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας
 351 νικωμένου. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλείους τε ὁσημέραι συνεστρέ-
 φοντο καὶ πλείους ἦσαν αἱ καταβοαί, τηλικαῦτα δὴ
 φησιν περὶ αὐτῶν πρὸς Ἀνιλαῖον τοῖς τε πρῶτον
 γεγυρόσιν ἐπιτιμῶν καὶ παύσασθαι τὸ λοιπὸν κε-
 λεύων τὴν ἀνθρωπὸν ἀποπεμφάμενον εἰς τοὺς συγ-
 352 γενεῖς. ἐπράσσετο δὲ οὐδὲν ἐκ τῶν λόγων· καὶ ἡ
 γυνὴ δὲ αἰσθανομένη μὲν τοῦ θροῦ τοῦ κατέχοντος
 τοὺς λαοὺς δι' αὐτήν, δεδοικυῖα δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ἀνι-
 λαίου, μὴ καὶ τι πάθοι ἔρωτι τῷ πρὸς αὐτήν,
 φάρμακον τῷ Ἀσινάϊω δοῦσα ἐν τοῖς σιτίοις μεθ-
 ἴστατο τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ἀδεῆς τε ἦν ἐπὶ κριτῇ τῶν
 περὶ αὐτὴν πραχθησομένων τῷ ἔραστῇ γενομένη.
 353 (6) Ἀνιλαῖος δὲ καταμόνας ἤδη τὴν ἡγεμονίαν
 παραλαβὼν ἐξάγει στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὰς Μιθριδάτου
 κώμας ἀνδρὸς πρώτου ἐν τῇ Παρθυηνῇ καὶ βα-
 σιλέως Ἀρταβάνου τὴν θυγατέρα γεγαμηκότος,
 διὰ λείας τε ἤγεν αὐτάς, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν χρήματα
 καὶ ἀνδράποδα εὐρίσκειται, πολλὰ δὲ πρόβατα ἄλλα
 τε πολλὰ ὅποσα ἐπὶ προσλήψει τοῦ εὐδαίμονος
 354 ὠφελεῖ τοῖς ἔχουσιν. Μιθριδάτης δέ, ἐτύγχανε
 γὰρ τῆδε ὢν, ἐπειδὴ ἀκούει τῶν κωμῶν τὴν ἄλωσιν
 ἐν δεινῷ φέρων, ὅποτε μὴ προάρξαντος ἀδικεῖν
 Ἀνιλαῖος ἄρξαιτο καὶ παρόντος τοῦ ἀξιώματος
 ὑπεριδῶν, ἰππέας συναγαγὼν πλείστους ὅσους ἐδύ-
 νατο καὶ τῶν πλείστων τοὺς² ἐν ἡλικίᾳ παρῆν ὡς
 προσμῖξυν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀνιλαῖον καὶ ἐν τινι

¹ οὐ μὴν ἀπείχετό γε] A : οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἠρείχετό γε (γε om.
 E) MWÉ Exc. et i. marg. A : verum tamen . . . tolerabat
 Lat.

fortunes. Yet he did not restrain him because he
 found the ties of blood too strong and excused his
 brother as mastered by his passion, a vice that he
 could not resist. But when day after day they
 gathered in greater and greater numbers, and their
 clamours became louder and louder, then at last he
 spoke about these matters to Anilaeus, rebuking him
 for his former deeds and urging him to put an end to
 them for the future and to send back the woman to
 her kinsfolk. He accomplished nothing, however, by
 these words. Furthermore, the woman, perceiving
 that the people were murmuring because of her, and
 fearing that Anilaeus might come to grief through
 his love for her, put poison in Asinaeus' food. She
 thus dispatched the man with impunity, since her
 fate would be decided by her lover.

(6) Anilaeus, who had now taken over sole com-
 mand, led out an army against the villages of Mithri-
 dates, a leader among the Parthians who had married
 the daughter of King Artabanus. He plundered
 these villages and gained there an abundance of
 money, captives, and livestock, as well as much else
 that adds to the prosperity of the possessors. But
 when Mithridates, who happened to be there, heard
 of the capture of the villages, he was indignant that
 Anilaeus had without provocation taken the initiative
 in doing him wrong and had disregarded his high
 rank to his face. And so he gathered together all
 the cavalry that he could, selected from this number
 those who were in their prime, and was ready to join
 battle with the forces of Anilaeus. He had camped

² τῶν πλείστων τοὺς] codd. : τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τοὺς coni. Niese :
 τῶν πελατῶν τοὺς Holwerda : τοὺς πλείστους τῶν Richards et
 Shutt ex Lat.

κώμη τῶν αὐτοῦ σχῶν¹ ἠσύχαζεν, ὡς τῇ ἐπιούσῃ
 355 Ἰουδαίοις ἐν ἀργία διαγομένην. Ἀνιλαῖος δὲ
 ταῦτα πυθόμενος παρὰ ἀνδρὸς Σύρου ἀλλοφύλου
 ἐξ ἑτέρας κώμης τὰ τε ἄλλα φράζοντος ἀκριβῶς
 καὶ τὸ χωρίον, ἔνθα Μιθριδάτης ἤμελλεν δαίνυσθαι,
 δειπνοποιησάμενος καθ' ὥραν ἤλαυνε νυκτὸς ἀμα-
 356 πεσεῖν. καὶ περὶ τετάρτην φυλακὴν ἐπιπεσῶν τοὺς
 μὲν ἔτι κοιμωμένους ἀναιρεῖ τοὺς δὲ εἰς φυγὴν
 τρέπει, Μιθριδάτην δὲ ζυγρία λαβὼν ἤγειν ὡς αὐτὸν
 ἐπὶ ὄνον γυμνὸν ἀναθέμενος, ἥπερ ἀτιμιῶν μεγίστη
 357 νομίζεται παρὰ Παρθυαίους. καταγαγὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν
 ὕλην² μετὰ τοιοῦδε ὑβρίσματος,³ [καὶ]⁴ κελουόντων
 τῶν φίλων ἀναιρεῖν τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἀνεδίδασκεν
 αὐτοὺς σπεύδων αὐτὸς ἐναντία· μὴ γὰρ καλῶς
 ἔχειν ἀναιρεῖν ἀνδρα γένους τε ὄντα τοῦ πρώτου
 358 παρὰ Παρθυαίους καὶ ἐπιγαμία τῇ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα
 μειζόνως τιμώμενον· νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἀνεκτὰ εἶναι τὰ
 πεπραγμένα· καὶ γὰρ εἰ περιῦβρισται Μιθριδάτης,
 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἰσχυρὰ τῆς ψυχῆς εὐεργετούμενον χά-
 359 ριτος μνήσεσθαι⁵ τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα παρασχούσιν, πα-
 θόντος δὲ τι ἀνῆκεστον οὐκ ἀτρεμήσειν βασιλέα μὴ
 οὐ μεγάλην σφαγὴν Ἰουδαίων τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι
 ποιησάμενον,⁶ ὧν φείδεσθαι καλῶς ἔχειν διὰ τε τὴν

¹ A: κατασχῶν MW.

² Niese: σάββατον codd. E.

³ eis τὴν ὕλην] codd.: ad locum proprium Lat.: eis τὸ ἔλος coni. Richards et Shutt.

⁴ Gutschmid: ὀρίσματος codd.

⁵ suspectum om. E.

⁶ χάριτος μνήσεσθαι] Niese: χάριτος μνήσεσθαι codd.: με- ποιησόμενον E.

in one of the latter's villages, where he rested with the intention of fighting on the following day, inasmuch as it would be the Sabbath, a day on which the Jews abstain from work.^a But Anilaeus learned of this from a Syrian gentile of another village who told him everything in detail, including the place where Mithridates intended to dine. Anilaeus, therefore, dined betimes and made a night march intent on attacking the Parthians while they were unaware of what he was doing. About the fourth watch^b he fell upon them, dispatching some as they slept and putting the others to flight. Mithridates he captured alive and brought home mounted naked upon an ass, which is considered the highest disgrace by the Parthians. When he had brought him into the forest in this insulting way,^c Anilaeus' friends bade him put Mithridates to death, but he argued with them, zealously advocating just the contrary. For, he said, it was not a good idea to kill a man who belonged to the first family of the Parthians and who ranked even higher because of his marriage connexion with the king. As it was, what they had hitherto done was tolerable. For even though Mithridates had been insulted wantonly, yet the granting of his life was a favour which he would remember to the advantage of those who had granted it. But if Mithridates should suffer an incurable fate, the king would not rest until he had inflicted a great slaughter on the Jews in Babylon. It was right that they should spare these

^a Cf. the similar plan (§ 319) of the Babylonian satrap to attack Asinaeus and Anilaeus on the Sabbath.

^b About 3 A.M.

^c Gutschmid's emendation has been adopted since the manuscript reading makes little sense and cannot mean "with this determination."

συγγένειαν καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀναστροφῆν¹ εἶναι ἂν αὐ-
 τοῖς πταίσματός τινος γενομένου ἀπολόμενον² τὸ³
 360 κατ' ἐκείνους ἀκμῆς πληθύνει χρώμενον. καὶ ὁ μὲν
 ταῦτα διανοηθεὶς καὶ φράσας ἐν τῷ συλλόγῳ πιθανὸς
 ἦν ἀφίεται τε Μιθριδάτης, ἔλθοντα δὲ αὐτὸν ὠνειδι-
 ζεν ἢ γυνή, εἰ μὴ προθυμήσεται⁴ βασιλέως τε γαμ-
 βρὸς ὧν καὶ ταύτη συνοικῶν⁵ τιμωρηθήσεται τοὺς
 361 ὑβρίσαντας εἰς αὐτὸν περιορώμενος, ἀγαπῶν δὲ τὴν
 σωτηρίαν μετὰ αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνδρῶν
 γενομένην. "καὶ νῦν ἐπανάδραμε τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἢ θεοὺς
 ἐπόμνυμι τοὺς βασιλείους ἢ μὴν παραλυθήσεται
 362 τῆς πρὸς σέ ἐπί γάμῳ κοινωνίας." ὁ δὲ αὐτοῦ
 μὲν τῶν ὄνειδῶν τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν ἀχθηδόνα μὴ φέ-
 ρων, τοῦτο δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην δε-
 διώσ, μὴ παραλύοιτο αὐτοῦ τῶν γάμων, ἄκων μὲν
 καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος συνάγει δ' ὄν στρατὸν ὅσον
 ἐδύνατο πλείστον καὶ ἤλαυνεν οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ὑπο-
 λαμβάνων ἔτι καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν, εἰ Παρθναῖος
 ὧν ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίου περιωθοῖτο ἀντιπολεμοῦντος.
 363 (7) Ἀνιλαῖος δὲ ὡς μανθάνει προσελαύνοντα δυνά-
 μει πολλῇ τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἄδοξον ἡγησάμενος τὸ
 μένειν ἐν τοῖς ἔξοις, ἀλλὰ μὴ φθάσας ὑπαντιάζειν
 τοὺς πολεμίους, εὐτυχία τε τῇ πρότερον ἐλπίζων
 ὁμοία πράξειν καὶ τὴν τε ἀρετὴν τοῖς τολμῶσι καὶ

¹ ἀποστροφῆν Ernesti.

² ἀπολόμενον supplevi: ἀπόλοιτο supplet Petersen.

³ τὸ] A: τε MW: τῇ Lowthius: τὸ τε Liezenberg.

⁴ MWE: προμηθήσεται A: festinaret Lat.

⁵ Post: τιμωρῶν codd.

^a The Jews of Babylon.

^b The text is difficult. Prof. Post suggests: "because they would have no place of refuge in case of a defeat; whereas these people had among them an abundance of the

Jews both because of their kinship with them and because these Jews would have no place of refuge if any disaster overtook them,^a and those of their numbers perished who were in the prime of life.^b When he put his thoughts before the conference in this way, he won them over, and Mithridates was released. On his return home, his wife upbraided him if, though he was the king's son-in-law and her husband,^c he should not set his heart on vengeance, but should overlook the perpetrators of his disgrace, being content to have come off alive after being made a prisoner by Jews. "And now," she said, "recover your valour, or I swear by the royal gods that I will verily dissolve my marriage partnership with you." Mithridates, for his part, unable to endure the painful upbraiding of his wife day after day and alarmed lest her pride should lead her to sever the marriage bond with him, reluctant and unwilling though he was, nevertheless mustered the largest army that he could and set out. He himself conceived that he could no longer bear to survive if he, a Parthian, were to be driven from pillar to post in a war with a Jew.

(7) When Anilaeus learned that Mithridates was marching against him with a great force, he regarded it as inglorious to lurk in the marshes rather than anticipate the enemy in seeking an encounter. Hoping for the same good fortune as in the past and expecting that success in battle ever attends those who are

very best." Another possible translation is: "because if any disaster befell them, their [*i.e.* Babylon's Jews'] great numbers of men in the prime of life would not be available to them [*i.e.* Anilaeus' followers]."

^c The manuscript reading "and avenging her" is difficult to understand. It cannot mean "avenging himself for her sake."

είωθόσιν¹ θαρρεῖν παρατυγχάνειν,² ἐξήγε τὴν δύ-
 364 ναμιν. πολλοὶ τε πρὸς τῷ οἰκείῳ στρατῷ προσ-
 εγγόνεσαν αὐτῷ καθ' ἄρπαγὴν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων
 τραπησόμενοι καὶ ὄψει πᾶν³ προεκπλήζοντες τοὺς
 365 πολεμίους. προῖοσι δὲ αὐτοῖς εἰς σταδίους ἐνετή-
 κοντα καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀνύδρου τῆς πορείας γενομένης
 καὶ μεσημβρίας τὰ τε ἄλλα⁴ περιῆν τότε⁵ τὸ δίψος
 καὶ Μιθριδάτης ἐπιφανεῖς προσέβαλε τεταλαιπωρη-
 μένοις ἀπορία τοῦ πιεῖν καὶ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν ὥραν
 366 φέρειν τὰ ὄπλα μὴ δυναμένοις. τροπὴ τε οὖν γί-
 νεται τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀνιλαῖον αἰσχρὰ διὰ τὸ ἀπηγο-
 ρευκότας ἀκραιφνέσι προσφέρεσθαι καὶ φόνος πολὺς
 πολλαὶ τε μυριάδες ἔπεσον ἀνδρῶν, Ἀνιλαῖος δὲ
 καὶ ὅσον περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν συνεστηκὸς ἐπὶ τῆς ὕλης
 ἐπανεχώρου φυγῆ μεγάλην⁶ νίκης τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς χα-
 367 ρὰν Μιθριδάτῃ παρεσχηκότες.⁷ Ἀνιλαῖω δὲ προσ-
 ῆει πλῆθος ἀπορον⁸ ἀνδρῶν πονηρῶν⁹ ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὴν
 σωτηριαν ποιουμένων ῥαστώνης χάριτι τῆς εἰς τὸ
 παρόν, ὥστε ἀντανίσωμα τὴν τούτων πρόσδοον γε-
 νέσθαι πλῆθους¹⁰ τῶν ἀπολωλότων· οὐ μὴ ὅμοιοί
 368 γε ἦσαν τοῖς πεπτωκόσι διὰ τὸ ἀμελέτητον. οὐ
 μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους¹¹ ἐπιφοιτᾷ ταῖς κώμαις τῶν
 Βαβυλωνίων ἀνάστατά τε ἦν πάντα ταῦτα ὑπὸ τῆς
 369 Ἀνιλαίου ὕβρεως. καὶ οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ οἱ ὄντες¹²

¹ καὶ τὴν τε . . . εἰωθόσιν] litt. καὶ τὴν . . . εἰ i. ras. m. 2 A : καὶ τὴν τε τόλμησιν καὶ εἰωθόσι MW.

² καὶ τὴν . . . παρατυγχάνειν] *audentibus virtutis etiam robur adrescere* Lat.

³ A : πάλιν MW.

⁴ τὰ τε ἄλλα] A : om. MWE.

⁵ περιῆν τότε] A : τότε περιῆν τε MW : περιῆν τὸ E.

⁶ Gutschmid : μεγάλη codd.

⁷ Μιθριδάτῃ παρεσχηκότες] ed. pr. : Μιθριδάτου παρεσχηκότος codd.

bold and never afraid, he led forth his forces. In addition to his own army he was joined by many who hoped to plunder other people's property and by their mere appearance to cause consternation among the enemy. When they had advanced ninety furlongs, since there was no water along their route and it was now midday, they were indeed suffering from thirst. Then Mithridates appeared and attacked them, miserably short as they were of anything to drink, and incapable of wearing armour because of thirst and the time of day. Consequently the followers of Anilaeus suffered a disgraceful rout, since they, in their exhausted condition, were engaging men who were fresh. The slaughter was great and many tens of thousands of men fell. Anilaeus and all those who were banded together about him withdrew in flight to the forest, having afforded great joy to Mithridates at his victory over them. Anilaeus was now joined by an indigent^a horde of scoundrels who held their lives cheap to gain some ease for the moment. Thus the addition of these men compensated for the multitude of those who had perished. Yet, owing to lack of training, they were not of the same quality as those who had fallen. Nevertheless, even with these he ravaged the villages of the Babylonians, and everything in the region was laid waste by the violence of Anilaeus. The Babylonians and those

^a Or "unmanageable." Hudson's emendation, based upon the Latin version, would mean "endless."

⁸ ἀπορον ed. pr. : ἀπειρον Hudson.

⁹ πλῆθος . . . πονηρῶν] *infinita multitudo hominum pessimorum* Lat. : πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν πονηρῶν δι' ἀπορίαν E.

¹⁰ ex corr. AE et ut vid. Lat. : πλῆθος MW.

¹¹ Lowthius : cum hac multitudine Lat. : ταύταις codd.

¹² καὶ οἱ ὄντες] codd. : καμόντες Gutschmid.

ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ¹ πέμπουσιν εἰς τὰ Νέαρδα πρὸς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ Ἰουδαίους Ἀνιλαίων ἐξαιτούμενοι, καὶ μὴ δεχομένοις τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, οὐδὲ γὰρ βουλομένοις ἔκδοτον παρασχεῖν δυνηθῆναι, εἰρήνην προὔκαλοῦντο· οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ χρήζειν ἔλεγον τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης συμβάσεων καὶ πέμπουσι μετὰ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἄνδρας, οἱ διαλέξοντο πρὸς τὸν Ἀνιλαῖον.

370 οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι κατοπτίας αὐτῶν γενομένης μαθόντες τὸ χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ ἰδρυμένος ὁ Ἀνιλαῖος ἦν, ἐπιπεσόντες κρύφα νυκτὸς μεθύουσι καὶ καθ' ὕπνον τετραμμένοις κτείνουσιν ἀδεῶς πάντας ὄσους ἐγκατέλαβον καὶ Ἀνιλαῖον αὐτόν.

371 (8) Βαβυλώνιοι δὲ ἀπαλλαγέντες τῆς Ἀνιλαίου βαρύτητος, ἐπιστόμισμα γὰρ ἦν αὐτῶν μίσει τῷ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, αἰεὶ γὰρ ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ διάφοροι καθεστήκεσαν αἰτία τῆς ἐναντιώσεως τῶν νόμων καὶ ὁποτέρους παραγένοντο θαρρεῖν πρότεροι ἀλλήλων ἤπτοντο εἰ μὴ² καὶ τότε οὖν ἀπολωλότων τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀνιλαῖον ἐπετίθεντο τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις οἱ

372 Βαβυλώνιοι. οἱ δ' ἐν δεινῷ τιθέμενοι τὴν ὕβριν τὴν ἐκ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων καὶ μὴτε ἀντιτάξασθαι μάχῃ δυνάμενοι μὴτε ἀνεκτὸν ἡγούμενοι τὴν συνοικίαν ᾗ ᾗ ᾤοντο εἰς Σελεύκειαν τῶν ἐκείνῃ πόλιν ἀξιολογώτατην Σελεύκου κτίσαντος αὐτὴν τοῦ Νικάνωρος.³ οἰκοῦσιν δ' αὐτὴν πολλοὶ μὲν Μακεδόνων, πλείστοι δὲ Ἕλληνες, ἔστιν δὲ καὶ Σύρων οὐκ ὀλίγον τὸ

¹ καὶ οἱ . . . πολέμῳ] *quamvis ad bellum parati Lat.*

² εἰ μὴ] *codd.* : *λύμης Gutschmid* : *αἰεὶ Herwerden.*

who were engaged in this war sent envoys to the Jews in Nearda, demanding that they should deliver up Anilaeus. When the Neardaeans refused this request—for they were not in a position to deliver him up even if they had wished—the envoys invited them to make peace. The Jews replied that they themselves desired a treaty of peace, and they sent men with the Babylonians to negotiate with Anilaeus. The Babylonians, discovering through reconnaissance the place where Anilaeus and his men were quartered, fell secretly upon them at night while they were drunk and given over to sleep, and slew unmolested all those whom they had trapped, including Anilaeus himself.^a

Anilaeus is defeated and killed.

(8) The Babylonians were now rid of the pressure imposed by Anilaeus, which had curbed their hatred against the Jews—for in general they always quarrelled with them because of the contrariety of their laws, and whichever party happened to feel more self-confident would initiate an attack on the other. Accordingly, now that Anilaeus and his men were no more, the Babylonians began to attack the Jews. The latter were indignant at the insolent conduct of the Babylonians, but neither were able to face them in battle nor considered it tolerable to live together with them. So off they went to Seleucia,^b the most notable city of the region, which Seleucus Nicator^c had founded, whose inhabitants consisted of many Macedonians, a majority of Greeks, and not a few

The Jews migrate to Seleucia, where the Syrians and Greeks unite to slaughter them.

^a A.D. 35 or 36.

^b On the Tigris. Cf. § 49.

^c Founder of the Seleucid kingdom in Syria. He ruled from 312 to 280 B.C. The manuscript spelling is "Nicanor": the same error occurs in *Ant.* xii. 119 and xiii. 213.

³ Dindorf: *Νικάνωρος codd.* E Lat.

373 ἔμπολιτευόμενον. εἰς μὲν δὴ ταύτην καταφεύγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν πέντε ἔτη ἀπαθεῖς κακῶν ἦσαν, τῷ δὲ ἕκτῳ ἔτει μεθ' ὃ¹ πρῶτον φθορὰ ἐν Βαβυλωνί² ἐγένετο αὐτῶν καὶ καιναὶ κτίσεις³ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ δι' αὐτὴν ἄφιξις εἰς τὴν Σελεύκειαν⁴ ἐκδέχεται μείζων αὐτοὺς συμφορὰ δι' αἰτίαν, ἣν ἀφηγήσομαι.

374 (9) Σελευκῶν τοῖς Ἕλλησι πρὸς τοὺς Σύρους ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐν στάσει καὶ διχονοίᾳ ἐστὶν ὁ βίος καὶ κρατοῦσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες. τότε οὖν συνοικούντων⁵ αὐτοῖς Ἰουδαίων γενομένων ἐστασίαζον, καὶ οἱ Σύροι καθυπέρτεροι ἦσαν ὁμολογία τῇ Ἰουδαίων πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλοκινδύνων τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ πολεμῶν προθύμων

375 ἐντεταγμένων. καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες περιωθούμενοι τῇ στάσει καὶ μίαν ὀρώντες αὐτοῖς ἀφορμὴν τοῦ ἀνασώσασθαι τὸ πρότερον ἀξίωμα, εἰ δυνηθεῖεν παῦσαι ταῦτόν λέγοντας⁶ Ἰουδαίους καὶ Σύρους, διελέγοντο ἕκαστοι πρὸς τῶν Σύρων τοὺς αὐτοῖς συνήθεις πρὸ τοῦ γεγονότας εἰρήνην τε καὶ φιλίαν ὑπισχνούμενοι.

376 οἱ δὲ ἐπείθοντο ἄσμενοι. ἐγένοντο οὖν ἀφ' ἑκατέρων λόγοι καὶ τῶν πρώτων παρ' ἑκατέροις ἀνδρῶν πρᾶσσόντων ἐπιδιαλλαγὰς⁷ τάχιστα ἢ σύμβασις⁸ ἐγένετο,

¹ μεθ' ὃ Bekker: μετὰ τὸ codd.

² Babylonia Lat.

³ κτίσεις] MW: κτήσεις ex corr. A: αἱ κτήσεις Gutschmid: μετοικήσεις Hudson.

⁴ καὶ καιναὶ . . . Σελεύκειαν] et ruina et hoc plurimi Seleuciam magis magisque confugiunt Lat.

⁵ συνοικῶν Cocceji.

⁶ ταῦτόν λέγοντας] ed. gr.: τὸν λέγοντα codd.: ὁμοιοῦντας E.

⁷ ἐπιδιαλλαγὰς] A: ἐπὶ διαλλαγὰς MW: ἐπὶ διαλλαγαῖς conil.

Post. ⁸ AW: συμβίβασις M.

Syrians holding civic rights.^a Here then the Jews took refuge. For five years^b they lived there unmolested, but in the sixth year after they were first despoiled in Babylon and formed new settlements upon leaving that city, and in consequence came to Seleucia, there ensued a greater misfortune, the cause of which I shall relate.

(9) At Seleucia life is marked by general strife and discord between the Greeks and the Syrians, in which the Greeks have the upper hand. Now when the Jews came to live in the city there was continued strife, and the Syrians got the upper hand by coming to terms with the Jews, who were adventurous and joined the ranks in battle with gusto. Now the Greeks, harried by this civil conflict, saw that there was only one possibility of regaining their former prestige, namely, by breaking up the alliance between Jews and Syrians. To this end various groups among the Greeks parleyed with any of the Syrians with whom they had formerly been on intimate terms, offering a promise of peace and friendship. The Syrians on their part gladly assented. Proposals were put forward by the two parties. The leading men on both sides effected a reconciliation and an agreement was very speedily reached. Once they

^a During the latter part of the first century, somewhat after this period, Seleucia had 600,000 inhabitants, according to Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vi. 122, but such figures are often exaggerated. The city prided itself on its Greek tradition, as is clear from Tacitus' statement, *Ann.* vi. 42, that the city had never lapsed into barbarism but had clung loyally to its founder Seleucus. It appears to have attracted natives of Babylon, however, since Strabo xvi. 743 remarks that it was normal to describe a man of Seleucia as a Babylonian. See E. R. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, i, 1902, p. 253.

^b A.D. 35/36-40/41.

ὁμονοήσαντες τε μέγα τεκμήριον ἐκάτεροι εὐνοίας
 παρ' ἄλλήλοις ἤξιον παρασχεῖν τὸ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰου-
 δαίους ἔχθος, ἐπιπεσόντες τε αἰφνίδιον αὐτοῖς κτεί-
 νουσι μυριάδας ὑπὲρ πέντε ἀνδρῶν, ἀπώλοντό τε
 377 πάντες πλὴν εἴ τινες ἐλέω φίλων ἢ γειτόνων ἐπιχω-
 ἀποχώρησις πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα καὶ τῆς Σελευκείας
 πλησίον κειμένην, ἔνθα χειμάζει τε ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ
 πᾶν ἔτος καὶ πλείστη τῆς ἀποσκευῆς αὐτοῦ τῆδε
 ἀποκειμένη τυγχάνει. ἀσύνετα² δὲ ἦν αὐτοῖς τὴν
 378 ἴδρυσιν πεποιημένοι³ τιμῆς⁴ τῆς βασιλείας Σελευ-
 κέων μὴ πεφροντικώτων.⁵ ἐφοβήθη δὲ καὶ πᾶν τὸ
 τῆδε Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος⁶ τοὺς τε Βαβυλωνίους καὶ τοὺς
 Σελευκεῖς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὅποσον ἦν Σύρων ἐμπολιτευθῶν
 τοῖς τόποις ταῦτόν ἔλεγον τοῖς Σελευκεῶσιν ἐπὶ πο-
 379 λέμῳ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους. καὶ συνελέγησαν
 ὥστε πολὺ εἰς τε τὰ Νέαρδα καὶ τὴν Νίσιβιν ὄχυ-
 ρότητι τῶν πόλεων κτώμενοι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, καὶ
 ἄλλως πληθὺς ἅπανα μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν κατοικεῖται.
 καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Ἰουδαίους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ
 κατωκημένους τοιαῦτα ἦν.

¹ om. E.

² ἀσύνετα Hudson: ἀνέλπιστα coni. Richards et Shutt.

³ ἀσύνετα . . . πεποιημένοι] nulla tamen eis iam spes vi-
 vendi fuerat derelicta Lat.

⁴ Hudson: τιμῆ codd.

⁵ μὴ πεφροντικῶτων] Hudson: πεφροντικῶτων codd.

⁶ A: γένος MWE.

^o Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 49. V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, 1959, p. 503 n. 74, rightly cites Strabo xvi. 743, who terms Ctesiphon "a large village" and concludes that the Greeks did not regard it as a polis: hence Josephus

were on good terms, both parties agreed, as a great proof of mutual loyalty, to show enmity to the Jews. They fell upon them suddenly and slew more than 50,000 men. Indeed all were slain except for some who were mercifully granted the chance to flee by friends or neighbours. Those who escaped retreated to Ctesiphon,^a a Greek city situated near Seleucia, where the king spends the winter each year and where most of his baggage is stored, as it happens. But it was without prudence that they settled there,^b since the Seleucians had no respect for the authority of the crown.^c All the Jewish people in this region now became terrified of both the Babylonians and the Seleucians since all the Syrians who were citizens of these places fell in line with the Seleucians and made war against the Jews their policy. Most of the Jews flocked to Nearda and Nisibis,^d where they were safe because these cities were fortified and were furthermore populated by men who were valiant fighters every one. Such is the story of the Jewish inhabitants of Babylonia.

is wrong in calling it a Greek city. Eusebius and Jerome identify it with the Biblical Calneh (Gen. x. 10), but on insufficient evidence. On Ctesiphon as the winter residence of the Parthian kings see Strabo xvi. 743. See, in general, Boettger, *Topographisch-Historisches Lexicon*, pp. 95-96.

^b Hudson's emendation, ἀσύνετα, would yield the following meaning: "They could put no solid confidence in settling there." A similar meaning is given by Richards and Shutt's emendation.

^c For seven years (c. 37-44) the Seleucians were in revolt and were actually independent of Parthian overlordship. See Tacitus, *Ann.* xi. 9, and numismatic evidence cited by Debevoise, pp. 164-165.

^d Cf. §§ 311-312.

BIBAION IO

(i. 1) Γάιος δὲ οὐκ εἰς μόνους Ἰουδαίους τοὺς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ τοὺς ὅποσοι τῆδε οἰκοῦσιν ἐπεδείκνυτο τῆς ὑβρεως τὴν μανίαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ πάσης

^a T. Mommsen's theory ("Cornelius Tacitus und Cluvius Rufus," *Hermes* iv, 1870, p. 322) that Josephus' source for the long account of the conspiracy against Gaius and the accession of Claudius is the historian Cluvius Rufus has won rather general acceptance (*cf.*, e.g., Groag, in Pauly-Wissowa, iv, 1901, pp. 123-125). The chief support for this theory is the conversation recorded between Cluvius and a senator named Bathybius in which Cluvius gives an apt quotation from Homer urging Bathybius to be silent (§§ 91-92). Such an anecdote, it has been said (see Mommsen, p. 320; accepted by R. Syme, *Tacitus*, i, 1958, p. 287), can derive only from Cluvius Rufus himself, and not verbally, but precisely from his writings. Moreover, M. P. Charlesworth, "The Tradition about Caligula," *Camb. Hist. Jour.* iv, 1933, p. 116, cites a number of examples from this section of Book XIX in which Josephus' style is more metaphorical and more highly coloured than is usual for him; and he suggests that Josephus had before him a Latin original written in a highly rhetorical and metaphorical style, namely Cluvius Rufus. It has even been argued by A. Momigliano, "Osservazioni sulle fonti per la storia di Caligola, Claudio, Nerone," *Rend. d. Accad. d. Lincei* viii, 1932, p. 305, that Cluvius was the main source not only of Josephus but also of the two other chief extant writers on the subject of Gaius' assassination, Suetonius and Dio Cassius. But Mommsen's theory seems to rest on rather flimsy evidence. In the first place, there is no indica-

BOOK XIX

(i. 1) ^a Gaius not only exhibited the madness ^b of his insolence in relation to the Jews who dwelt in Jerusalem and throughout Judaea, but he also sent

Insolence and madness of Gaius Caligula.

tion that Cluvius Rufus' history covered the period of Gaius and Claudius, since the references to it in Tacitus, *Ann.* xiii. 20 and xiv. 2, and in Pliny, *Epist.* ix. 19. 5, deal with the period of Nero alone. The anecdote in §§ 91-92 might well have been recorded by another writer, perhaps Servilius Nonianus or Aufidius Bassus (see Syme, i, pp. 287-288) or, because it was so striking, might well have been transmitted orally. There is no indication that Josephus' style in Book XIX is more metaphorical than it is in large parts of the rest of the work; and even if it is, there is no evidence that these metaphors were borrowed from Cluvius, about whose style we know almost nothing firsthand, inasmuch as his works are lost except for very slight fragments (H. Peter, *Hist. Rom. Reliq.* ii, 1906, p. 114). The rhetorical style was widely cultivated among the Romans, and Josephus might have borrowed these metaphors from another writer who worked within the same rhetorical tradition. Several reasons have been advanced for the length of this digression on Gaius' murder and Claudius' accession. But Josephus' own moralistic reasons (§ 16), coupled with his desire to glorify the Jewish king Agrippa, who played a key rôle in Claudius' accession (§§ 236 ff.), seem sufficient.

^b *Cf.* Suetonius, who divides his biography of Gaius Caligula into two parts, Caligula the emperor and Caligula the monster (*Calig.* 22). Gaius' madness is also referred to by Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium* 34, Dio Cass. lix. 29. 1, Tac. *Ann.* xi. 3, and Sen. *De Const. Sap.* 18. 1 (cited by J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *The Emperor Gaius (Caligula)*, 1934, p. 212).

ἔσομένην γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἔστειλεν αὐτήν, ὅποση
 'Ρωμαίοις ὑπακούει, μυρίων τε ἀνέπλησεν αὐτήν
 2 κακῶν ὅποσα μὴ ἰστόρητο πρότερον. μάλιστα δὲ
 ἠσθάνετο τοῦ δεινοῦ τῶν πρᾶσσομένων ἢ 'Ρώ-
 μη κατ' οὐδὲν αὐτὴν τιμιωτέραν τῶν λοιπῶν πό-
 λεων ἡγουμένου, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τε ἄλλους ἄγοντος καὶ
 φέροντος καὶ μάλιστα τὴν σύγκλητον καὶ ὅποσοι
 τούτων εὐπατρίδαι καὶ προγόνων ἐπιφανείαις τι-
 3 μώμενοι. μυρία τε εὐρίσκετο καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἰππέων
 μὲν καλουμένων, ἀξιώματι δὲ καὶ δυνάμει χρη-
 μάτων ὅμοια τοῖς συγκλητικοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως
 ἀγομένων διὰ τὸ ἐκ τούτων εἰς τὴν βουλὴν εἶναι
 κατακλήσεις· ὧν ἀτίμωσις ἦν καὶ μετανάστασις
 κτεινομένων τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα συλωμένων διὰ τὸ
 καὶ τὰς σφαγὰς ὡς τὸ πολὺ ἐπ' ἀφαιρέσει τῶν
 4 χρημάτων αὐτοῖς συντυγχάνειν. ἐξεθείαζεν τε ἑαυ-
 τὸν καὶ τὰς τιμὰς οὐκέτ' ἀνθρωπίνως ἡξίου γίνε-
 σθαι παρὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων αὐτῶ· εἷς τε τοῦ Διὸς
 φοιτῶν τὸ ἱερόν, ὃ Καπετώλιον¹ μὲν καλοῦσιν

¹ ed. pr. : Καπιτώλιον (i ante τ i. ras. A) AME: Καπειτώλιον W.

^a At first, according to Dio lix. 6. 1, Gaius showed great deference to the senators. But later, according to Suetonius, *Calig.* 26, Gaius made some of the senators run for several miles in their togas beside his chariot and serve as waiters when he dined. He abused the senate as having been adherents of Sejanus and as having acted as informers against his mother and brothers (Suet. *Calig.* 30). See also Sen. *De Ira* iii. 18. 3-19. 2 and *De Ben.* ii. 12. 1-2, and Dio lix. 23. 3.

^b Cf. Suetonius, *Calig.* 35, who notes that Caligula deprived the noblest men of their ancient family emblems. Thus he took away Torquatus' gold collar, Cincinnatus' lock

it forth to spread over every land and sea which was subject to the Romans, and infected the empire with countless ills, such as had never before been chronicled in history. Rome above all felt the horror of his actions, since he gave it no more privilege than other cities, but harried the citizens, especially the senators^a and those who were of the patrician class or had special honours because of distinguished ancestors.^b He also devised countless attacks upon the equites,^c as they were called. The standing and financial influence of this group gave them equal status with the senators in the eyes of the city because it was from their ranks that the senate was recruited. He deprived the equites of their privileges and expelled them from Rome or put them to death and robbed them of their wealth; for it was usually as a pretext for confiscating their property that he had them slain.^d He would also have deified himself and demanded from his subjects honours that were no longer such as may be rendered to a man. When he visited the Temple of Jupiter^e which they call the Capitol^f and which is first in honour among their

of hair, and Gnaeus Pompey's surname "the great," which the Pompeian family had long held.

^c According to Suetonius, *Calig.* 30, Gaius asserted that the equestrian order had incurred his displeasure because of their excessive devotion to attending dramas and sporting events.

^d Cf. the story of how Gaius interrupted a game of dice, went out into the courtyard, caused two rich equites who passed by to be arrested, confiscated their property, and then returned to the game boasting of his good luck (Suet. *Calig.* 41).

^e The temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus stood on the Capitoline hill, so called on account of the temple.

^f The temple of Jupiter was also called the *aedes Capitolina*; see Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 5. 16, 6. 19; xxxv. 4. 14.

τιμωτάτον δ' ἄρα αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ἱερῶν, ἀδελφὸν
 5 ἐτόλμησε προσαγορεύειν τὸν Δία· καὶ τὰλλα ἐπρα-
 σεν μανίας οὐδὲν ἀπολελειμμένα,¹ ἐπεὶ καὶ ἀπὸ
 Δικαιαρχείας² τῆς πόλεως ἐν Καμπανίᾳ κειμένης
 εἰς Μισσηνοῦς³ ἕτερον πόλιν ἐπιθαλάσσιον, καὶ τὴν
 6 διάβασιν δεινὸν ἡγούμενος τριήρει περατοῦν, καὶ
 ἄλλως ἐπιβάλλειν ἡγούμενος αὐτῷ δεσπότην ὄντι
 τῆς θαλάσσης ταῦτα καὶ ὅποια καὶ παρὰ γῆς
 ἀπαιτεῖν, ἀπ' ἄκρων ἐπ' ἄκρα σταδίου τριάκοντα
 μέτρον τῆς θαλάσσης⁴ ζεύξας⁵ καὶ εἴσω τὸν κόλπον
 ἀπολαβῶν πάντα ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τῇ γεφύρᾳ τὸ ἄρμα·

¹ ex Lat. : ἀπολελειμμένος codd. E.

² Dindorf: Δικαιαρχίας codd. E.

³ Hudson: Μεσηνοῦς codd. E: Mesena Lat.

⁴ ταῦτα . . . θαλάσσης] om. W.

⁵ E: om. codd.

^a It was here that the consuls made their first public sacrifice, here that the senate met, here that triumphal processions ended, and here that archives dealing with foreign relations were kept. Cf. S. B. Platner and T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 1929, pp. 297-302.

^b Suetonius, *Calig.* 22, notes that Gaius would engage in conversation with Jupiter Capitolinus, alternately whispering and shouting angry threats. Gaius finally announced that Jupiter had persuaded him to live with him, and so he built a bridge connecting the imperial palace with the Capitol. Dio lix. 4. 2 remarks that though at first he forbade anyone to set up images of himself, he even went on to manufacture statues himself and to order temples to be erected and sacrifices offered to himself as a god. Dio also (lix. 28. 5; similarly Suet. *Calig.* 22) notes that Gaius called himself Jupiter Latiaris, i.e. Jupiter of Latium, and remarks (lix. 26. 5) that he used to impersonate all the gods.

^c Of Baiae.

^d Roman Puteoli. See *Ant.* xviii. 160.

^e mss. Meseni (for other instances of the plural "Miseni" see Pauly-Wissowa, xv², 1932, p. 2046); modern Miseno. This was the chief naval base in Italy at the time.

temples,^a he had the audacity to address Jupiter as brother.^b His other actions too did not fall short of madness. For instance, it was insufferable, he thought, to cross the bay^c from the city of Dicaearchia^d in Campania to Misenum,^e another maritime city, in a trireme. Then, too, he considered it his privilege as lord of the sea to require the same service from the sea as he received from the land. So the thirty^f furlongs of sea from headland to headland were connected by pontoons, which cut off the whole bay, and over this bridge^g he drove in his chariot.

^f Twenty-six furlongs in Dio lix. 17. 1, who says that the bridge extended from Puteoli to Bauli.

^g For a further description of this bridge see Dio lix. 17. 1-3, who notes that it had resting-places, lodging-rooms, and even running water for drinking. Gaius celebrated the dedication of the bridge by throwing some people off it. Suetonius, however, by including the building of this bridge among the acts of Caligula the emperor (*Calig.* 19) rather than of Caligula the monster indicates, as Balsdon, *op. cit.*, p. 52, points out, that the bridge was not mere irrational caprice. Suetonius gives three reasons for the building of the bridge: (1) to improve upon Xerxes' feat of bridging the much narrower Hellespont; (2) to arouse the awe of the Germans and Britons; and (3) to fulfil the prophecy of Thrasyllus the astrologer, who had assured Tiberius that Gaius had no more chance of becoming emperor than of riding over the Gulf of Baiae with horses. Suetonius says that he heard the last reason from his own grandfather, who asserted that it had been revealed to him by courtiers in Caligula's confidence. Seneca, *De Brev. Vitae* 18. 5-6, like Josephus, alludes to it as an instance of Gaius' madness; for, he says, at a time when Rome had enough food for at most seven or eight days, Gaius was making bridges of boats and playing with the resources of the empire. Josephus and Seneca apparently place the episode in the last few months of Gaius' reign, while Dio lix. 17. 1-3 and Suetonius seem to put it before A.D. 39; but this discrepancy gives no ground for the conjecture that the whole incident may have been fabricated.

θεῶ γὰρ ὄντι τοιαύτας ποιεῖσθαι καλῶς ἔχειν τὰς
 7 ὁδοῦς.¹ τῶν τε ἱερῶν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν οὐδὲν ἔτι
 ἀσύλητον κατέλιπεν, ὅποσα γραφῆς ἢ γλυφῆς ἐχό-
 μενα καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς κατασκευὰς ἀνδριάντων καὶ
 ἀναθημάτων ἀγεσθαι κελεύσας παρ' αὐτόν· οὐ γὰρ
 ἐν ἑτέρῳ τὰ καλὰ κείσθαι καλῶς ἔχειν ἢ ἐν τῷ
 καλλίστῳ, τυγχάνειν δὲ τοῦτο οὖσαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων
 8 πόλιν. ἐκόσμηι τε τοῖς ἐνθένδε ἀγομένοις τῆν τε
 οἰκίαν καὶ τοὺς κήπους ὅποσαι τε αὐτῷ καταγωγῆι
 διὰ γῆς τῆς τῶν Ἰταλῶν. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Ὀλύμπιον
 τιμώμενον Δία ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ οὕτως ὠνο-
 μασμένον Ὀλύμπιον² Φειδίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου πε-
 ποιηκότος ἐτόλμησε κελεῦσαι εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην
 9 μεταφέρειν. οὐ μὴν ἔπραξεν γε τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων
 φαμένων πρὸς Μέμμιον Ῥῆγγλον,³ ὃς ἐπετέτακτο τῇ
 κινήσει τοῦ Διός, ἀπολείσθαι τοῦργον κινήσεως αὐ-
 τοῦ γενομένης. λέγεται δὲ Μέμμιον διὰ ταῦτα καὶ
 σημεῖων μειζόνων γενομένων, ἢ ὡς ἂν τινα μὴ⁴

¹ καὶ ἄλλως . . . ὁδοῦς] subicere sibi etiam hoc elementum posse velut domino maris existenti talia volebat etiam in fluctibus gerere, qualia solet terrae natura sustinere. voluit ergo, ut a litore ad litus stadia ferme trecenta in medio mari et intra tam vastum sinum pontem construeret, super quem carrucis et diversis vehiculis itinera valeret efficere Lat.

² τὸν Ὀλύμπιον . . . Ὀλύμπιον] Iovem Olympium, qui maxime apud gentiles venerabilis habetur Lat.

That way of travelling, said he, befitted his godhead. Of the Greek temples^a he left none unpillaged, giving orders that paintings and sculptures and all other statues and dedicatory offerings with which they were furnished should be brought to him; for it was not right, he said, that beautiful objects should stand anywhere but in the most beautiful place, and that was the city of Rome. With the spoils which he brought from Greece, he adorned his palace and gardens and all his residences throughout the land of Italy. He even dared^b to give orders to transport to Rome the "Zeus" that was worshipped by the Greeks at Olympia and was therefore called Olympian, a work of the artist Phidias of Athens. He did not, however, carry out this intention, for the chief technicians reported to Memmius Regulus,^c who had the assignment of moving the Zeus, that the work would be ruined if it were moved. It is said that Memmius postponed removing the statue not only

^a Dio lix. 28. 1 reports that Gaius desired to appropriate to his own use the large and very beautiful temple that the Milesians were building for Apollo.

^b A.D. 40. Cf. Dio lix. 28. 3, who says that Gaius blamed Jupiter for occupying the Capitoline hill ahead of him and consequently hastened to build another temple on the Palatine, to which he proposed to transfer the statue of Olympian Zeus after remodelling it to resemble himself. The transfer of the statue is also mentioned by Suetonius, *Calig.* 22.

^c Publius Memmius Regulus, consul suffectus in 31 and later governor of Moesia, Macedonia, and Achaia. According to Tacitus, *Ann.* xiv. 47, when Nero was ill and his flatterers said that if anything befell him the empire would come to an end, he replied that the state still had a resource, namely, Memmius Regulus.

³ Ῥῆγγλον, ἢ in *l* corr. A: Ῥηγοῦλον MW: Ῥέγγλον E.
⁴ om. E (sed extat in Busb.).

10 πιστὰ ἡγεῖσθαι, ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὴν ἀναίρεσιν. καὶ γράφει τὰδε πρὸς τὸν Γάιον ἐπ' ἀπολογία τοῦ ἐκλιπεῖν ἀδιακόνητον τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ἀπολέσθαι τε ἐκ τούτων αὐτῷ κινδύνου γενομένου σώζεται φθάνοντος ἤδη Γαίου τελευτήσας.

11 (2) Εἰς τοῦτο δὲ προὔβη τὸ μανικὸν αὐτῷ, ὥστε δὴ καὶ θυγατρὸς αὐτῷ γενομένης ἀνακομίσας ἐπὶ τὸ Καπετώλιον ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασι κατατίθεται τοῦ ἀγάλματος, κοινὸν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῷ Διὶ γεγονέναι τὸ τέκνον καὶ δύο χειροτονεῖν αὐτῆς πατέρας, ὀπότερον
12 μείζονα φάμενος ἐν μέσῳ τε καταλιμπάνειν.¹ καὶ τὰδε ἠνείχοντο πρᾶσσοντα αὐτὸν οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ. ἐπεχώρησε² δὲ καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις κατηγορίας ποιῆσαι τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐφ' οἷσιν ἐβελήσειαν ἐγκλήμασιν· δεινὰ γὰρ πάντα ἦν, ὅποσα μέλλοι λέγεσθαι,³ διὰ τὸ χάριτί τε καὶ ὑπαγορεύσει τῇ ἐκείνου τὰ
13 πολλὰ γίνεσθαι, ὥστε ἤδη καὶ Κλαυδίου ἐτόλμα ποιήσασθαι Πολυδεύκης ὁ δοῦλος κατηγορίαν, καὶ Γάιος ἠνείχετο κατὰ πατρῶον τοῦ αὐτοῦ δίκης θανάτου λεγομένης ἐπ' ἀκροάσει συνελθεῖν ἐλπίδι τοῦ παραλαβεῖν δύναμιν ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν. οὐ μὴν ἐξ-

¹ ὀπότερον . . . καταλιμπάνειν] om. Lat.

² conl. Niese: ἐπεχώρησε codd. : i. marg. γρ ἐπέτρεψε A : molitus est . . . (servos) . . . excitare Lat. ³ A : γενέσθαι MW.

^a Dio lix. 28. 3 reports that the ship built to transport the statue was shattered by thunderbolts and that loud laughter was heard whenever anyone approached as if to take hold of the pedestal of the statue.

^b The Epitome omits the μή: "that were beyond what anyone could believe." This would indicate that Josephus did not accept the story.

^c Cf. the similar rescue of Petronius (*Ant.* xviii. 305), who had similarly violated an order of Gaius, by the death of the emperor. According to Dio lix. 28. 3, Gaius, after hearing

for this reason but because of certain portents^a that were too serious to be discredited.^b He sent Gaius a letter reporting these matters and explaining his failure to carry out his orders. In consequence, he risked being executed, but he was saved by the death of Gaius which intervened.^c

(2) So far did Gaius' frenzy go, that when a daughter was born to him he actually carried her to the Capitol^a and deposited her on the knees of the statue,^b remarking that the child belonged to both him and Zeus and that he had appointed two fathers for her, but left open the question which of the two was the greater. Such was the behaviour that the world had to put up with. He also permitted^c servants to bring accusations against their masters on whatever charges they pleased. Anything that was reported was bound to have serious consequences, because most of the charges were brought for his gratification or at his suggestion. Thus Polydeuces, the slave of Claudius, dared to bring an accusation against Claudius, and Gaius was tolerant enough to attend court when a capital charge was brought against his own uncle, expecting to receive authority to put him to death. He was, however, disappointed.

why the statue could not be transported, uttered threats against the statue and set up a new one of himself.

^a The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

^b According to Suetonius, *Calig.* 25, Gaius carried his daughter, Julia Drusilla, to the temples of all the goddesses before finally placing her in the lap of Minerva, whom he called upon to direct his child's growth and education. Dio lix. 28. 7 says that Gaius placed her on the knees of Jupiter, thereby hinting that she was Jupiter's child, and put her in charge of Minerva to be suckled.

^c Niese's emendation. Variants "entrusted to," "attempted to arouse."

- 14 ἐγένετό γε αὐτῷ. ἀναπεπληρωκότι δὲ αὐτῷ συκοφαντιῶν καὶ κακῶν πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἧς ἐπῆρχεν, καὶ πολλὴν τὴν δουλοκρατίαν ἐπῆρμένον τοῖς δεσπόταις ἐπιβουλαὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἤδη συνίσταντο, τῶν μὲν ἐπ' ἀμύνη ὧν πάθοιεν ὀργὴν ποιουμένων, τῶν δὲ πρὶν ἐμπεσόντες κακῶν τυχεῖν μεγάλων¹ τι-
 15 θεμένων τὸ μεταχειρίσασθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον.² ὅθεν, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς τε ἀπάντων νόμοις καὶ τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ μεγάλῃ συνήνεγκεν εὐδαιμονίας ῥοπήν ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ ἔθνεϊ τε τῷ ἡμετέρῳ οὐδὲ εἰς ὀλίγον ἐξεγεγόνει μὴ οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι μὴ ταχείας αὐτῷ τελευτήης παραγενομένης, βούλομαι³ δι' ἀκριβείας τὸν πάντα
 16 περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον διελεθεῖν, ἄλλως τε ἐπειδὴ καὶ πολλὴν ἔχει πίστιν τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ παραμυθίαν τοῖς ἐν τύχαις κειμένοις καὶ σωφρονισμόν τοῖς οἰομένοις αἰδίων τὴν εὐτυχίαν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐπιμεταφέρειν⁴ κακῶς ἀρετῆς αὐτῆ μὴ παραγενομένης.
 17 (3) Ὅδοὺς μὲν δὴ τρεῖς ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάζετο καὶ τούτων ἐκάστης ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἶχον. Αἰμίλιός τε γὰρ Ῥῆγγλος ἐκ Κορδύβης τῆς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γένος συνεῖχεν τινὰς ἢ δι' ἐκείνων ἢ δι' αὐτοῦ πρόθυμος ὧν ἀρασθαι Γάϊον.
 18 ἑτέρα δὲ αὐτοῖς συνεκροτεῖτο, ἧς Χαϊρέας Κάσσιος χιλίαρχος ἡγεμῶν ἦν. Βινουκιανὸς⁵ δὲ Ἄννιος⁶

¹ μέγα coni. Richards et Shutt.

² τῶν δὲ . . . ἀνθρωπων] ab aliis autem praevenire homines cupientibus, cum sibi ab eis pro culpis suis aliquod supplicium imminere sentirent Lat.

³ βούλομαι] Hudson ex Lat. : βούλομαι δὲ codd. : βούλομαι δὴ coni. Niese.

⁴ ἐπιμεταφέρειν] AM : ἐπιφέρειν W : ἐπὶ μήκιστον φέρειν ed. pr. : ἐπὶ μέγα φέρειν coni. Niese.

⁵ [vel Βινουκιανὸς] coni. Niese (vol. iii, praef., p. xviii) : Μινουκιανὸς codd. ⁶ Ἄννισος Busb. : om. Lat.

As he had made all of the inhabited world over which he ruled a prey to informers and their evil work and had raised high the power of slaves over their masters, conspiracies were now commonly formed against him. Some of the conspirators were angry and sought vengeance for the wrongs they had endured, others counted on doing away with the creature before they fell foul of him and suffered disaster. Therefore, since his death not only was of great importance in the interest of all men's laws and the safeguarding of them, but our own nation was brought to the very verge of ruin and would have been destroyed but for his sudden death, I am resolved to give an exact account of everything that happened. I have another particular motive in that the story provides good evidence of God's power.^a It will comfort those who are in unhappy circumstances, and will teach a lesson in sobriety to those who think that good fortune is eternal and do not know that it ends in catastrophe unless it goes hand in hand with virtue.

(3) There were three schemes in preparation for his death, and each of them had good men as leaders. Aemilius Regulus of Cordova in Iberia was the centre of one ring and heartily hoped to dispose of Gaius either by the hands of his colleagues or by his own. A second ring was in process of organization to aid them, of which Cassius Chaerea the military tribune^b was leader. Finally, Annus Vinicianus^c was no

^a Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 306.

^b According to Suetonius, *Calig.* 56, he was tribune of a cohort of the praetorian guard.

^c There seems to be a good deal of confusion in Josephus in the name : he seems to use the name Minucianus for both Vinicianus and Marcus Vinicius. This is clear from § 102,

Josephus' reasons for recounting Gaius' death.

Three conspiracies against Gaius.

οὐκ ὀλίγη μοῖρα τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννίδα παρεσκευα-
 19 σμένων ἦν. αἰτία δ' αὐτοῖς μίσους τοῦ πρὸς Γάϊου
 συνελθεῖν, Ῥήγλω μὲν τὸ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὀργίλον καὶ
 μῖσει χρώμενον πρὸς τὰ μετ' ἀδικίας ἐξαγόμενα·
 καὶ γὰρ ἔχει τι θυμοειδὲς ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ ἔλευ-
 θέριον, ὑφ' οὗ μὴδὲ στέγειν προστίθεσθαι τῶν βου-
 λευμάτων· πολλοὺς γοῦν ἀνεκωνώσατο καὶ φίλοις
 20 καὶ ἄλλοις δοκοῦσιν αὐτῷ δραστηρίοις. Βινουκια-
 νός¹ δὲ τὰ μὲν Λεπίδου τε ἐκδικήσων,² φίλον γὰρ
 αὐτῷ τὰ μάλιστα ὄντα τοῦτον καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν σὺν
 ὀλίγοις ἀναιρεῖ Γάϊος, καὶ ἄλλως φοβηθεὶς τὰ περὶ
 αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως τὸν Γάϊον ἐπὶ θάνατον
 ἀνακειμένην ἐπαφίεναι τὴν ὀργὴν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐγχεί-
 21 ρησιν ἤλθεν.³ Χαιρέας⁴ δὲ αἰσχύνῃ φέρων τὰ
 ὄνειδῆ⁵ τὰ⁶ εἰς τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γάϊου προφερό-
 μενα,⁷ καὶ ἄλλως τὸ ἐφ' ἡμέρα κινδυνεύειν φίλια καὶ
 θεραπεία τὴν Γάϊου τελευτὴν οὐκ ἀνελεύθερον⁸ ὑπο-
 22 λαμβάνων.⁹ οἱ δὲ καὶ πᾶσι κοινῇ προτεθῆναι τὴν

¹ conl. Niese (cf. § 18): Μινουκιανός codd.

² Petersen: ἐκδικία codd. ³ Cocceji: ἔλθειν codd.

⁴ Dindorf: Χαιρέαν codd.

⁵ φέρων τὰ ὄνειδη] Dindorf: φέροντα ὄνειδη codd.

⁶ Hudson: τε codd.

⁷ Hudson: προφερομένου A: προσφερομένου MW.

⁸ οὐκ ἀνελεύθερον] Hudson: οὐ πάντ' ἐλεύθερον codd.

⁹ συνελθεῖν . . . ὑπολαμβάνων] om. E.

where the mss. similarly have Μινουκιανός and where (cf. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 15) Vinicius must be meant (so also Niese, preface to vol. iii, p. xviii). Here, though the mss. have Minucianus, it appears from Dio lx. 15. 1 that Vinicianus is meant. The latter had been accused of treason in 32 by Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* vi. 9) and was one of the Arval Brethren. He took his own life in 42 after an unsuccessful conspiracy against Claudius (Dio lx. 15. 1 ff.).

^a mss. Minucianus; cf. note on § 18.

slight addition to those who were enlisted against the tyranny. The reasons for their hatred of Gaius were as follows: Regulus was moved by general indignation and a detestation of unjust proceedings. For he had in him a free man's independent spirit, so much so that he even threw his weight against keeping any of the plots a close secret. At any rate he informed many friends of them as well as others who won his approval as men of action. Vinicianus^a joined the plot partly to avenge Lepidus,^b a special friend of his and one of the best citizens,^c who had been put to death by Gaius, and partly from fear for himself, because when Gaius gave vent to his anger, it was a death-dealing fury that made no exceptions. Chaerea joined because he felt disgraced by the slurs cast on his manliness^d by Gaius; moreover, there was daily peril in his intimate attendance on Gaius, and he considered it the part of a free man to put an end to him.^e These three men thought that the

^b M. Aemilius Lepidus; cf. § 49. Seneca, *Epist.* 4. 7, reports that Gaius ordered him to bare his neck for the axe of the tribune Dexter. There is no evidence to support Balsdon's suggestion (p. 42) that he was a cousin of Gaius, but he did marry Gaius' sister Drusilla (Dio lix. 11. 1 and 22. 6). After the latter's death in 38, Caligula chose him as his successor (Dio lix. 22. 7). Several writers (Suet. *Calig.* 24, Dio lix. 22. 6, Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 2) report his adultery with Agrippina. He and Gaetulicus were involved in a conspiracy against Gaius (Suet. *Calig.* 24, *Claud.* 9), as was Livilla, Gaius' sister (Suet. *Calig.* 24), and he was put to death in 39. ^c A less likely meaning is "along with a few other citizens."

^d Suetonius, *Calig.* 56, says that Gaius persistently taunted Chaerea, who was well along in years, for his supposed effeminacy.

^e Text emended. Variant "because he considered the daily danger of his friendship with and attendance upon Gaius to be a task quite unbecoming a free-born man."

ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι σκέψιν¹ τὴν τε ὕβριν θεωμένοις
καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἀκμὴν ἐπ' ἄλλων² ἀκμάζουσιν
διαφυγεῖν ἀραμένοις τὸν Γάιον· ἴσως μὲν γὰρ ἂν
κατορθῶσαι, καλῶς δὲ κατορθοῦσι τηλικούτων ἀγα-
θῶν σχεῖν ἐπὶ σωτηρία τῆς τε πόλεως καὶ τῆς
ἡγεμονίας πονοῦσι καὶ μετὰ ὀλέθρου ἄπτεσθαι τοῦ
23 πράγματος.³ παρὰ πάντα δὲ Χαιρέαν ἐπέιγεσθαι
ὀνόματός τε ἐπιθυμία μείζονος καὶ ἄλλως ὑπὸ τοῦ
ἀδεέστερον προσίεναι τῷ Γαίῳ διὰ τὴν χιλιαρχίαν
ῥαστώνης αὐτῷ κτείνειν ἐσομένης.

24 (4) Ἐν τούτῳ δ' ἵπποδρομῖαι ἦσαν· καὶ σπουδά-
ζεται γὰρ Ῥωμαίοις ἢδε ἢ θεωρία δεινῶς, συνίασιν
τε προθύμως εἰς τὸν ἵπποδρομον καὶ ἐφ' οἷς χρή-
ζοιεν δέονται τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων κατὰ πλήθος
25 συνελθόντες, οἱ δὲ ἀναντιλέκτους τὰς δεήσεις κρι-
νοντες οὐδαμῶς ἀχαριστοῦσιν. ἐκέλευον δὴ καὶ
τὸν Γάιον ἐκθύμῳ τῇ ἱκετεία χρώμενοι τῶν τε τε-
λῶν ἐπανιέναι καὶ τῶν φόρων⁴ ἐπικυφίζειν τι τοῦ
ἐπαχθοῦς. ὁ δ' οὐκ ἠνείχετο, καὶ πλέον τι τῇ βοῇ
χρωμένων ἄλλους ἄλλη διαπέμφας κελεύει τοὺς
βοῶντας λαβεῖν τε καὶ μηδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἀνελεῖν
26 προαγαγόντας. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκέλευε ταῦτα καὶ οἷς
προσετέτακτο ἔπρασσον, πλείστοί τε ἦσαν οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν

¹ σκέψιν] σκέψιν φασι E.

² conī. Niese: ἀλλήλων codd.

³ οἱ δὲ . . . πράγματος] ceteri vero cupiebant super hoc habere commune consilium videntes tantas iniurias et exemplum pravum dari cupientibus principatum, omnes ergo ut tantis cladibus liberarentur desiderabant adversus Gaium aliquid geri; decere namque ad talia negotia bonos viros accedere pro salute pietatis et imperii macula auferenda etiam cum suo discrimine Lat. ⁴ τῶν φόρων] A: om. MWE.

^a Suetonius, *Calig.* 40, notes that under Caligula there were no goods or services that were not taxed. The new tax

matter should be laid for general consideration before everyone who had been spectators of the emperor's insolence and who desired, by removing Gaius, to avoid the sharp sword that was raging against others. Perhaps they would succeed; and a high thing it would be to achieve such good ends by their efforts, when they were ready in any case to strike for the preservation of city and empire even if it meant their own destruction. Chaerea was especially bent on action, both because he desired to win a better reputation, and because, by his freer access to Gaius as tribune, he would more easily find an opportunity to kill him.

(4) At this time occurred chariot races. This is a kind of spectator sport to which the Romans are ^{Gaius' savagery & petitioners} fanatically devoted. They gather enthusiastically at the circus and there the assembled throngs make requests of the emperors according to their own pleasure. Emperors who rule that there can be no question about granting such petitions are by no means unpopular. So in this case they desperately entreated Gaius to cut down imposts and grant some relief from the burden of taxes.^a But he had no patience with them, and when they shouted louder and louder, he dispatched agents among them in all directions with orders to arrest any who shouted, to bring them forward at once and to put them to death. The order was given and those whose duty it was carried it out. The number of those executed in such summary fashion was very

regulations were announced orally. When the people entreated him to put them in written form, he finally agreed, but had them written in so cramped a place and in so small a script as to cause people to incur the penalties by ignorance of the law. Cf. also Dio lix. 28. 11.

οὔτοις ἀποθανόντες. καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἑώρα μὲν, ἠνεί-
 χετο δὲ παυσάμενος τῆς βοῆς, ἐν ὀλίγῳ¹ ἕνεκα τῶν
 27 χρημάτων ὀφθαλμοῖς ὀρώντες τὴν ἐπὶ τοιοῦτος
 Χαίρειαν ἐνήγαγε μειζόνως ἄπτεσθαί τε τῆς ἐπι-
 βουλῆς καὶ παύειν κατὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξηγηρι-
 κότα τὸν Γάιον, καὶ πολλάκις μὲν καὶ παρά τὰς
 ἐσιτιάσεις ἐμέλλησεν ἐπιχειρεῖν, οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἐπεί-
 χετο λογισμῶ, τὸ μὲν κτείνειν οὐκέτ' ἔνδοιαστὸν
 κεκρικώς, τὸν δὲ καιρὸν περισκοπῶν, ὅπως μὴ εἰς
 κενόν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ καταπράξει τῶν βεβουλευμένων
 ταῖς χεροὶ χρώτο.

28 (5) Ἐστραγγεῦτο² δὲ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον οὐχ
 ἠδονῆ φέρων Γάιος εἰσπραξόμενον τοὺς τε φόρους
 καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα καταβαλλόμενα εἰς τὸν Καίσαρος θη-
 σαυρὸν ἐφυστερῆκει τοῖς καιροῖς διὰ τὸ ἐπιδιπλασιά-
 ζεσθαι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν, χρόνον ἐκεῖ³ ποιεῖται τῇ
 ἐκπράξει⁴ τρῶπι τῷ αὐτοῦ χρώμενος μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ
 29 Γαίου προστάξει, διὰ τὸ φειδοῖ χρησθαι τὰς τύχας⁵
 οἴκτω λαμβάνων τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν εἰσπραξιν εἰς ὄργην
 προῦκαλεῖτο τὸν Γάιον μαλακίαν ἐπικαλοῦντα αὐτῷ
 τοῦ σχολῆ συνάγεσθαι αὐτῷ τὰ χρήματα. καὶ δὴ
 τὰ τε ἄλλα ὑβρίζεν εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ ὅποτε τὸ σημεῖον
 αἰτοῖ⁶ τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας καθηκούσης εἰς αὐτόν, θήλειά
 30 τε ἐδίδου τὰ ὀνόματα, καὶ ταῦτα αἰσχύνης ἀνάπτει

¹ ἐν ὀλίγῳ] om. E.

² Naber: ἔστρατεύετο codd.: militabat Lat.

³ A: συναναστροφῆν MW.

⁴ ἐκείνων vel ἐκείως coni. Herwerden.

⁵ εἰσπράξει E.

⁶ Post: αὐτῷ codd.: αἰτοῖτο coni. Niese: παρείχε post αὐτῷ

add. E.

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large. The people, when they saw what happened, stopped their shouting and controlled themselves, for they could see with their own eyes that the request for fiscal concessions resulted quickly in their own death. This strengthened still further Chaerea's determination to embark on the plot and to put an end to Gaius and his brutal fury against mankind. Often at entertainments he had been on the point of acting, yet nevertheless refrained when he calculated his chances. He no longer had any hesitation in his resolve to kill the man, but his search for the best moment continued, since he wished not to resort to violence fruitlessly, but to ensure the success of his plans.

(5) Progress had been blocked^a now for some time and Chaerea was disgusted with the conduct of Gaius.^b But when Gaius appointed him to the duty of enforcing payment of any taxes or other sums that were payable to the imperial treasury and that were overdue because the rate had been doubled, he took his time about these exactions and followed his own bent rather than the instructions of Gaius. Because he was merciful out of pity for the misfortunes which the people suffered under the exactions, he incensed Gaius, who called it womanly weakness to be so slow in collecting the money. Moreover, he not only insulted Chaerea in other ways, but whenever Chaerea as officer of the day asked for the password, Gaius would give him women's words and such as had quite obscene connotations.^c And yet, Gaius

^a mss. "he had been soldiering" or "he had been carrying on his campaign."

^b Variant "Chaerea found his relations with Gaius no pleasure."

^c Suetonius, *Calig.* 56, and Seneca, *De Const. Sap.* 18. 3,

καὶ ταῦτα ἔπρασεν αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμένος ἔν-
τινων τελεταῖς μυστηρίων, ἃς αὐτὸς συνίστατο,
στολάς τε ἐνδύμενος γυναικίους καὶ τινων περι-
θέσεις πλοκαμίδων ἐπινοῶν ἄλλα τε ὅποσα ἐπι-
καταμεύσασθαι θηλύτητα τῆς ὄψεως ἔμελλεν, αὐτὸς
31 καλεῖν. Χαιρέα δὲ καὶ ὅποτε μὲν παραλαμβάνοι
τὸ σημεῖον¹ ὄργη² παρίστατο, μειζόνως δ' ὅποτε
παραδιδόη, γελῶμενος ὑπὸ τῶν παραλαμβανόντων,
ὥστε καὶ οἱ συγχίλιάρχοι παιδιὰν ἐποιοῦντο αὐτόν·
ὅποτε γὰρ αὐτὸς μέλλοι τὸ σημεῖον παρ' αὐτοῦ
Καίσαρος κομίζειν, προὔλεγόν τινα τῶν εἰωθότων
32 φέρειν εἰς παιδιὰν. διὰ ταῦτα δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ θάρσος
παρίστατο κοινωνοῦς τινὰ παραλαμβάνειν, ὡς οὐκ
ἐπ' ὀλίγοις³ ὄργῃ χρώμενος. καὶ ἦν γὰρ Πομπή-
διος⁴ συγκλητικὸς μὲν, τὰς ἀρχὰς δὲ διεληλυθὼς
σχεδὸν ἀπάσας, Ἐπικούρειος δ' ἄλλως καὶ δι' αὐτὸ
33 ἀπράγμονος ἐπιτηδευτῆς βίου. τοῦτον ἐνδείκνυσεν
Τιμίδιος ἐχθρὸς ὢν ὡς λαιδορία χρησάμενον ἀ-
πρεπέι κατὰ τοῦ Γαῖου μάρτυρα παραλαμβάνων
Κυιντιλίαν γυναῖκα τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐπιφανεῖα

¹ τὸ σημεῖον] haec vestimenta Lat.

² Hudson: ὄργη codd. E.

³ A: ὀλίγοις MW: causis minoribus Lat.

⁴ Πομπή | ἴος A¹: Pompidius Lat.

remark that when Chaerea would demand the password, Caligula would give him "Priapus" or "Venus." Dio lix. 29. 2 says that Gaius habitually called Chaerea, who was the hardest of men, a wench, and that he would give him such passwords as "Love" or "Venus."

⁵ A similar account of the accusation of Pompeidius is

himself was not free from the same taint in the rites of certain mysteries which he had himself contrived. He would put on women's robes and devise wigs or other means of counterfeiting a feminine appearance. Yet now he actually had the effrontery to invite mockery of Chaerea on the same score. Whenever Chaerea received the password he was furious, and still more when he passed it on and was derided by those who received it from him. As a result, even his fellow tribunes made fun of him; whenever he was due to go to bring them the password from Caesar, they would mention beforehand one of the words that lent themselves to jests. As a consequence, he gained courage to seek partners in his plot, for he had good reason to be angry. Now there was one Pompeidius,^a of senatorial rank, who had held nearly all the offices of state, but except for that was an Epicurean^b and consequently lived a life of ease. This Pompeidius was accused by his enemy Timidius of applying opprobrious epithets to Gaius.^c Timidius called as a witness Quintilia, an actress who enjoyed

found in Dio lix. 26. 4, where, however, he is called Pomponius and where Timidius is not mentioned by name but is merely called a friend. The attempted identification of Pompeidius with the senator Pompeius Pennus (Sen. *De Ben.* ii. 12. 1-2) has, as noted by Stein, "Timidius," in Pauly-Wissowa, 2. Reihe, vi¹, 1936, p. 1256, little to recommend it.

^b Epicureanism, preaching both a cosmopolitanism and the happiness of the individual, taught its adherents to avoid political careers so as to maintain maximum personal liberty. See N. W. De Witt, *Epicurus and His Philosophy*, 1954, who quotes (p. 187) Cicero's remark to Atticus the Epicurean in 44 B.C. after the assassination of Julius Caesar: "You mention Epicurus and dare to warn me μὴ πολιτεύεσθαι" ["to keep out of politics"] (Cic. *Ad Att.* xiv. 20. 5).

^c Dio lix. 26. 4 says that Pomponius (*i.e.* our Pompeidius) was accused of having actually plotted against Gaius.

- τοῦ ὠραίου περισπούδατον πολλοῖς τε οὖσαν καὶ
 34 τῷ Πομπηδίῳ. καὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπου, ψεῦδος γὰρ ἦν,
 δεινὸν ἡγουμένης μαρτυρίαν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ τοῦ ἑρα-
 στοῦ παρασχεῖν, βασάνων ἔχρηξεν ὁ Τιμίδιος, καὶ
 Γάιος παρωξυμένος κελεύει τὸν Χαιρέαν μηδὲν
 εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἀλλ' εὐθέως βασανίζειν τὴν Κυντιλίαν,¹
 χρώμενος τῷ Χαιρέᾳ πρὸς τε τὰ φονικὰ καὶ ὅποσα
 στρεβλώσεως δέοιτο ὑπὸ τοῦ νομίζειν ὠμότερον δια-
 κονήσεσθαι τὴν λοιδορίαν φεύγοντα τῆς μαλακίας.
 35 Κυντιλία δ' ἐπὶ τὴν βάσανον ἀγομένη τῶν συνιστό-
 ρων τινὸς ἐπιβαίνει τῷ ποδὶ ἀποσημαίνουσα θαρ-
 σεῖν καὶ μὴ τὰς βασάνους αὐτῆς δεδιέναι· διοίσειν
 γὰρ μετ' ἀνδραγαθίας. βασανίζει δ' αὐτὴν ὠμῶς ὁ
 Χαιρέας, ἄκων μὲν, κατ' ἀνάγκας δὲ τὰς ὑπὲρ
 αὐτοῦ, καὶ μηδὲν ἐνδοῦσαν ἤγεν εἰς τὴν ὄψιν τὴν
 Γαῖου διακειμένην² οὐκ ἐν ἡδονῇ τοῖς θεωροῦσι.
 36 καὶ ὁ Γάιος παθὼν τι πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν τῆς Κυντιλίας
 δεινῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλγηδόνων διακειμένης τοῦ τε
 ἐγκλήματος ἠφίει καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν Πομπηδίον,
 ἐκείνην δὲ καὶ χρημάτων δόσει τιμᾷ παραμυθίας
 ἔσομένων λώβης τε ἦν ἐλελώβητο εἰς τὴν εὐπρέ-
 πειαν τοῦ τ'³ ἀφορήτου τῶν ἀλγηδόνων.
 37 (6) Ταῦτα δεινῶς ἠρίασεν τὸν Χαιρέαν ὡς αἰτιῶν⁴
 ἀνθρώποις καὶ ὑπὸ Γαῖου παρηγορίας ἀξίους⁵ κακῶν

¹ W: Κύντιλίαν A: Κυντιλίαν M: Quintillam cod. A Lat.

² δεδεγμένην conl. Marcus.

³ τοῦ τ' conl. Niese: τοῦ codd.

⁴ ὡς αἰτιῶν] om. Petersen.

the devotion of Pompeidius and many others because of her striking beauty. This poor woman, since the charge was false, was indignant at the thought of bearing witness that would be fatal to her lover. Timidius then called for torture. Gaius in a passion ordered Chaerea not to waste a moment, but to put Quintilia to torture at once. He employed Chaerea in cases of murder and any others that called for torture, because he calculated that Chaerea's performance would be more cruel since he would not want to be abused as a weakling. Quintilia, when brought in for torture, trod on the foot of one of those privy to the conspiracy as a sign that he should keep cool and have no fear of her yielding to torture, for she would hold out bravely. Chaerea, reluctantly, but forced by superior authority, tortured her cruelly, but when she showed no weakness, he brought her—she was now in a state that brought no delight to the eyes of onlookers—into the presence of Gaius. Even Gaius was affected by the sight of Quintilia, who was in a sorry state as a result of her suffering. He acquitted both her and Pompeidius of the charge and conferred a gift of money^a on her as consolation for the maltreatment that marred her beauty and for the intolerable agonies that she had undergone.

(6) These things grievously distressed Chaerea, Chaerea plots with Clemens and Papius, for he had been, so far as it was in his power, a source of misery to persons who were considered even by

^a So also Dio lix. 26. 4. Suetonius, *Calig.* 16, reports that Gaius, to make known his encouragement of noble action, awarded 800,000 sesterces to a freedwoman—he does not give her name—who, despite the most severe torture, kept silent about her patron's guilt.

⁵ ἀξιουμένους Richards et Shutt.

ὅσον ἐπ¹ αὐτῷ γενόμενον,² φησὶν³ τε πρὸς Κλή-
 μεντά τε καὶ Παπίνιον, ὧν Κλήμης μὲν ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν
 στρατοπέδων, Παπίνιος⁴ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν χιλιαρ-
 38 χῶν, " ἄλλ' ἐπὶ φυλακῇ γε, ὧ Κλήμης, τὰ πάντα
 τοῦ αυτοκράτορος ἡμῖν πράσσειν οὐκ ἐλλέλειπται·
 τῶν γὰρ συνομαωμοκότων αὐτοῦ κατὰ τῆς ἡγεμονίας
 προνοία καὶ πόνοις τοὺς δὲ ἀπεκτείναμεν, τοὺς δὲ
 ἐστρεβλώσαμεν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, ὡς ἐλεεινοὺς κάκεῖνω
 γενέσθαι, μετὰ πόσης τε ἀρετῆς ἡμῖν ἐξάγεται τὰ⁵
 39 τῶν στρατιῶν; " ⁶ σιγήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Κλήμεντος
 καὶ τὸ μὲν αἰσχύνῃ φέρειν τὰ προστασσόμενα καὶ
 τῷ βλέμματι καὶ τῷ ἐρυθρήματι παριστάντος, λόγῳ
 δὲ αὐτοῖς τὴν μανίαν τοῦ αυτοκράτορος προσκαλεῖν
 40 ἄδικον ἡγουμένου προνοία τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς, Χαιρέας
 ἤδη θάρσει χρώμενος ἐν λόγοις ἦν κινδύνων ἀνει-
 μένοις πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ κατέχοντα δεινὰ τὴν πόλιν
 καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπεξιών, καὶ ὅτι λόγῳ μὲν εἶη Γάιος
 41 ὁ τὴν ἐπὶ τοιοῦτοις αἰτίαν προτιθέμενος, τοῖς δὲ τὰ-
 ληθῆς ἐξετάζειν πειρωμένοις, " ἐγὼ τε, ὧ Κλήμης,
 καὶ οὐτοσὶ ὁ Παπίνιος καὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν σύ, ταύτας

¹ ὁπὸ Richards et Shutt.

² κακῶν ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενόμενον] Hudson: ἐν αἰτία κακῶν
 τὸ ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς γεγενημένοις (γενομένοις W) codd.: γενό-
 μενον E.

³ ὡς αἴτιον . . . φησὶν] quod per eum homines torquerentur,
 unde quoque suam iracundiam non sustinens dixit Lat.

⁴ Παπίνιον AWE: Παμπήνιον M.

⁵ Richards et Shutt ex Lat.: τὸ conī. Niese: om. codd.

⁶ μετὰ . . . στρατιῶν] ita nostram militiam cum nimia
 severitate tractamus Lat.

* I have adopted Hudson's emendation. The mss. yield:
 "These things grievously distressed Chaerea, as if he were
 guilty [of torturing] persons [considered] even by Gaius de-
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Gaius to be deserving of consolation.^a He thus de-
 clared himself to Clemens^b and Papinius,^c of whom
 the former was pretorian prefect and the latter was
 a military tribune like himself: "Well, Clemens, we
 have not failed to go to any length at least in guarding
 the emperor. Through our forethought and toil we
 have slain some of the conspirators against his rule
 and tortured others to the point where even he took
 pity. How great is the virtue with which we exercise
 our military commands!" Clemens was silent, but
 by his look and blush showed how ashamed he was
 of the emperor's orders; out of regard for his own
 safety, however, he did not think it right to refer
 openly to the emperor's madness. Chaerea, now
 plucking up courage, began to speak to him in
 language unchecked by fear of consequences, re-
 counting the horrors to which the city and the realm
 were a prey. Though nominally, said he, Gaius
 bore the responsibility for such proceedings, "to
 those who try to investigate the facts it is I, O
 Clemens, and Papinius here and you, more than the

serving of consolation, who had been charged with evils in
 so far as they were concerned." The text suggested by Prof.
 Petersen (omission of ὡς αἴτιον and change of αὐτοῖς to αὐτῷ)
 would mean: "These things grievously distressed Chaerea,
 inasmuch as he was blamed by persons (whom even Gaius
 considered deserving of consolation) for violence done them
 in so far as they had been turned over to him."

^b M. Arrecinus Clemens, father-in-law of the emperor
 Titus (Suet. *Tit.* 4). Tacitus, *Hist.* iv. 68, notes that in the
 year 70, Mucianus appointed Arrecinus Clemens commander
 of the praetorian guard, "alleging that his father, in the reign
 of Caligula, had admirably discharged the duties of that
 office."

^c Mathieu-Herrmann suggest that this Papinius is perhaps
 related to the Sextus Papinius killed by order of Caligula (*cf.*
Sen. De Ira iii. 18. 3).

Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ τῷ παντὶ ἀνθρωπείῳ τὰς στρέβλας προσφερόμενοι, οὐκ ἐπιτάγμασιν τοῖς Γαίου δια-
 42 κονούμενοι, γνώμη δὲ τῆ αὐτῶν, εἰ παρὸν παῖσαι
 τσαούτῃ ἤδη χρώμενον ὕβρει εἰς τε τοὺς πολίτας
 καὶ τοὺς ὑπηκόους διακονούμεθα, δορυφόροι καὶ δή-
 μοι καθεστηκότες ἀντὶ στρατιωτῶν καὶ τὰ ὄπλα
 ταυτὶ φέροντες οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας οὐδ' ἀρχῆς τῶν
 Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σωτηρία τοῦ δουλουμένου τά τε
 σώματα αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ φρονήματα, μαινόμενοι τῷ
 καθ' ἡμέραν αἵματι σφαγῆς καὶ βασάνου τῆς ἐκεί-
 νων, μέχρι δὴ τις καὶ καθ' ἡμῶν διακονήσεται
 43 τοιαῦτα Γαῖω. οὐ γὰρ εὐνοία γε¹ πολιτεύσει² διὰ
 τὰδε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, δι' ὑφοράσεως δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ
 ἄλλως τοῦ πολλοῦ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἐπιδεδωκότος³.
 οὐ γὰρ δὴ στήσεται ποτε Γαῖω τὰ τῆς ὀργῆς διὰ
 τὸ μὴ δίκην ἀλλ' ἡδονὴν πέρας αὐτῆς τυγχάνειν.
 σκοποὶ δὲ προσκεισόμεθα καὶ τοῖ, δέον καὶ τοῖς
 πᾶσιν τὸ ἀνεπιβούλευτόν τε καὶ ἐλεύθερον βεβαιῶν
 καὶ ἡμῖν κινδύνων ἀπαλλαγὰς ψηφίσασθαι."⁴
 44 (7) Κλήμης δὲ τὴν μὲν διάνοιαν τὴν Χαιρέου
 φανερόν ἦν ἐπαινῶν, σιγᾶν δ' ἐκέλευε, μὴ καὶ
 φοιτῶντος εἰς πλείονας τοῦ λόγου καὶ διαχαιομένων
 ὅποσα κρύπτεσθαι καλῶς ἔχοι πρὶν τυχεῖν πράξαν-
 τας ἐκπύστου τοῦ ἐπιβουλεύματος γενομένου κολα-
 σθεῖεν, χρόνῳ δὲ τῷ αὐθις καὶ τῇ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐλπίδι
 παραδίδοναι τὰ πάντα ὡς παραγεννησομένης τινὸς
 45 αὐτοῖς ἐπικουρίας τυχαίου· αὐτὸν μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ

¹ Busb. : διακονήσεται codd. E.

² Niese : τε AW : om. M : τι Dindorf.

³ Niese ex Lat. : πολιτεύει codd.

⁴ Thackeray : ἀποδεδωκότος codd.

⁵ σκοποὶ . . . ψηφίσασθαι] tum demum etiam nos cunctis
 pereuntibus coniungemur Lat.

two of us, who are applying these tortures to Romans and to humanity at large. We are not discharging Gaius' orders, but following our own policy if, when it is possible for us to stop him from treating his fellow citizens and subjects as outrageously as he is now doing, we act as his agents, occupying a post as his bodyguard and public executioners instead of doing our duty as soldiers—bearing these arms not to preserve the liberty and government of the Romans, but to save the life of one who makes them slaves in body and mind. And we pollute ourselves with shedding their blood and torturing them daily, up to the moment, mark you, when someone as Gaius' agent will do the same to us. For he will not favour us in his policy on account of these services, but will rather be governed by suspicion, especially when the number of the slain has increased. For surely Gaius will never halt in his furious course since the end he pursues is not justice but pleasure. There we shall be, set up before him as targets,^a when we ought to be upholding the security and independence of all the people at the same time that we cast a ballot for our own rescue from a dangerous position."

(7) Clemens, it was evident, approved the resolve of Chaerea, but bade him keep silent, lest as the story spread more widely and reports got abroad of what should properly be concealed, the plot might be discovered before they succeeded in its execution, and so they would be punished. It was rather, he said, to the future and to the hope that it inspired that he preferred to entrust everything, in the belief that some stroke of luck would come to their aid.

^a Or "we shall be attached to him as his spies."

γῆρως ἀφῆρησθαι τὴν ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε τόλμαν, “ τῶν μέντοι γε ὑπὸ σοῦ, Χαιρέα, συντεθέντων τε καὶ ρηθέντων ἀσφαλέστερα μὲν ἴσως ἂν ὑποθίμην, 46 εὐπρεπέστερα δὲ πῶς ἂν τις καὶ δύναιτο;” καὶ Κλήμης μὲν ὡς αὐτὸν ἀναλύει διὰ λογισμῶν τῶν τε ἀκροαθέντων καὶ ὁπόσων αὐτὸς εἰρήκει περιφερόμενος. Χαιρέας δὲ δέισας ὡς Κορνῆλιον Σαβίνου ἠπείγετο καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν χιλίαρχον ὄντα, ἀξιόλογον δ’ ἄλλως ἐξεπιστάμενος αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ ἐλευθέρου ἐραστὴν καὶ δι’ αὐτὸ τῇ καταστάσει τῶν πραγ- 47 μάτων πολεμίως διακείμενον, χρήζων ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἔχεσθαι τῶν ἐγνωσμένων τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καλὰ νομίσας εἶναι προσθέσθαι¹ καὶ δέει, μὴ ὑπὸ Κλήμεντος ἐκφοίτησις γένοιτο αὐτῶν, ἄλλως τε τὰς μελλήσεις καὶ τῶν καιρῶν τὰς ὑπερβολὰς πρὸς τῶν ὑπερβαλλομένων τιθέμενος.

48 (8) Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀσμένῳ καὶ τῷ Σαβίνῳ τὰ πάντα ἦν, ἅτε καὶ αὐτῷ γνώμης μὲν οὐχ ὑστεροῦντι τῆς ἴσης, ἀπορία δὲ πρὸς ὄντινα εἰπῶν ἀσφαλῆς εἶη τὰ πρὸς ἐκείνους σιγῇ παραδιδόντι,² ἐπεὶ τε ἀνδρὸς ἠπόρητο οὐ μόνον στέγειν ὧν πύθοιτο προσθησομένου, ἀλλὰ καὶ γνώμην φανερῶντος τὴν αὐτοῦ, πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἤρτο, καὶ μηδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἐδείτο τοῦ

¹ ὑπ’ . . . προσθέσθαι] oportunitum est ratus ut cum eo rem communicaret Lat.: om. E.

² Bekker: παραδιδόντος codd.

^a Mentioned by Suetonius, *Calig.* 58, as the tribune who, after Chaerea had struck Gaius the first blow, stabbed the

“ I myself,” he said, “ am debarred by age from such a venture, but while I might perhaps advise a course safer than that which you, Chaerea, have designed and told me of, how could anyone propose a more honourable one ?” And so Clemens returned home turning over in his thoughts the proposal that he had heard and his own response to it. Chaerea, for his part, hastened in trepidation to Cornelius Sabinus,^a who was a military tribune like himself, knowing him well as a noteworthy citizen whose devotion to independence ensured his hostility to the present government. He desired to take in hand with all speed what he had decided upon ; and though he thought it good to add new names, yet he had misgivings that their plans might be brought to the ears of others by Clemens. Besides that, in his accounting, delays and postponements of the event favoured the ruling party.^b

(8) But Sabinus rejoiced to hear the whole story. He had not failed to come to the same conclusion himself ; and it was only for lack of one to whom he might safely speak that he had committed to silence what he was ready to join them in doing. Now he had found a man who would not only join him by keeping to himself what he was told but who even declared his own mind. Sabinus was so much the more encouraged and begged Chaerea to waste no time. So

Vincianus is also enlisted.
emperor in the breast. Both Suetonius, *Calig.* 56 and 58, and Dio lix, 29. 1 regard him and Chaerea as the two leading conspirators. Suetonius states (*Calig.* 56) that they had been implicated, though falsely, in a previous plot against Gaius and that Gaius constantly accused them to one another in an effort to set them at odds.

^b There is here a play on words—*ὑπερβολὰς*, “ delays,” lit. “ excesses,” and *ὑπερβαλλομένων*, “ exceeding,” “ excessive.”

49 Χαίρεου.¹ τρέπονται τε ὡς Βινουκιανόν,² αὐτοῖς
 μὲν ἐπιτηδεύσει ἀρετῆς καὶ τῷ ὁμοζήλῳ τοῦ μεγα-
 λόφρονος συγγενῆ, Γαίῳ δ' ὑποπτον τῆς Λεπίδου
 τελευτῆς, πάνυ γὰρ δὴ φίλοι ἐγένοντο Βινουκιανός³
 τε καὶ Λέπιδος, καὶ δέϊματι κινδύνων⁴ τῶν καθ'
 50 αὐτόν.⁵ πᾶσι γὰρ τοῖς ἐν τέλει φοβερός ἦν Γάιος,
 ὡς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἕκαστον καὶ πρὸς οὐστινας τῇ μανίᾳ
 51 χρῆσθαι μὴ ἀφησόμενος, φανεροί⁶ τε ἀλλήλοις ἦσαν
 τῆς ἐπὶ πράγμασιν ἀχθηδόνος, διασαφεῖν μὲν ἀλλή-
 λους ἀντικρυς τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ μίσος τὸ πρὸς Γάιον
 φόβῳ τε κινδύνων ἀφέμενοι ἄλλως τε αἰσθανόμενοι
 τοῦ ἀλλήλων μίσους πρὸς τὸν Γάιον καὶ δι' αὐτὸ
 εὐνοία χρῆσθαι τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους μὴ ἀπηλλαγμένοι.
 52 (9) Γενόμενων δ' αὐτοῖς ἀξιώσεων⁷ ἐπέπερ συν-
 ἔβαλον, εἰωθότες καὶ πρότερον ὅποτε συνέλθοιεν
 τίμιον ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν Βινουκιανόν⁸ ὑπεροχῇ τε ἀξιώ-
 ματος, γενναιότατος γὰρ ἦν τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ τῷ
 53 ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐπαινουμένῳ, μᾶλλον ὡς ἀπαιτού τινος
 λόγου. φθάσας⁹ κάκεινος¹⁰ ἤρετο¹¹ Χαίρεαν,¹² ὃ τι

¹ ἐδεῖτο τοῦ Χαίρεου] ἐδεῖτο ποιεῖν τοῦ Χαίρεου E: ἐδεῖτο τοῦ Χαίρεου βοηθεῖν (vel ἐπιχειρεῖν) Richards et Shutt: ἐδεῖτο Busb.
² conl. Niese (cf. § 18): Μινουκιανόν codd.; ἀπορία . . . Βινουκιανόν] tunc quidem tacere se dixit et ad nullum de tali re suam proferre voluntatem, si vero tempus et hominem nancisceretur, tunc non solum silentium abiectum sed etiam suam voluntatem manifestaturum esse firmabat. sed si aliquid viriliter inquit volumus efficere, nihil dilatione penitus detur, his igitur dictis exinde convertuntur ad Minucianum Lat.
³ conl. Niese (cf. § 18): Μινουκιανός codd.

⁴ E: κινδυνεύων codd.: periclitabatur Lat.

⁵ A: αὐτόν, οἱ. ras. M: αὐτούς E.

⁶ MW: φοβεροί AE Lat.: γρ φανεροί i. marg. A.

⁷ A Busb.: ἀξιώσεως MW: ἀξίων E.

⁸ conl. Niese (cf. § 18): Μινουκιανόν codd.

⁹ WE: φθάσαι AM.

¹⁰ ἐκέινος Petersen. ¹¹ E: εἴ ποτε AM: εἶπετο W.

they betook themselves to Vinicianus,^a who was akin to them in honest habits and in devotion to high ideals but was viewed with misgiving by Gaius on account of the death of Lepidus.^b For Vinicianus and Lepidus had been very great friends, and Vinicianus was in fear of dangers arising therefrom.^c Indeed, Gaius was a source of terror to all in authority, as one who would not desist from venting his madness upon each and all alike. They were mutually aware of their vexation at the state of affairs; yet, from fear of danger, they refrained from a full and frank statement to one another of their thoughts and their hatred of Gaius. Yet in other ways they were aware of one another's loathing for Gaius and had therefore not ceased to enjoy mutually friendly relations.

(9) At their meeting there was an exchange of courtesies. When they had previously come together, they had been accustomed to give precedence to Vinicianus^d both for his higher rank, since he was the noblest of Roman citizens, and because of his high repute in all respects, but particularly when he took part in a debate.^e Vinicianus, getting the matter started, asked Chaerea what password he had re-

^a mss. (here and later in this section) Minucianus; cf. note on § 18.

^b Cf. § 20.

^c Prof. Post suggests that the last clause, καὶ δέϊματι . . . αὐτόν, may be displaced, and he would let it refer to συγγενῆ. The meaning would then be that the three men were also united by their fear for themselves.

^d mss. Minucianus; cf. note on § 18.

^e Or "so that he was more likely to begin a discussion." A variant reading introduces this clause into the next sentence thus: "Minucianus [i.e. Vinicianus], more in order to begin conversation, asked Chaerea . . ."

¹² μᾶλλον . . . Χαίρεαν] inter principia sermonum praece-dens ille verba facit ad Cheream requirens Lat.

καὶ παραλάβοι σημεῖον τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης· αἰδιμιος γὰρ διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἦν ἢ εἰς τὸν Χαιρέαν διὰ τῶν
 54 σημεῖων τῆς δόσεως πρασσομένη ὕβρις. ὁ δὲ χάρματι τοῦ λόγου μηδὲν μελλήσας ἡμείβετο τοῦ Βινουκιανοῦ¹ τὸ ἐπὶ τοιοῦσδε πιστεύσαν ὀμιλία χρησασθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, καί, “ σὺ μοι δίδως,” εἶπεν, “ σημεῖον ἐλευθερίας, χάρις δέ σοι τοῦ ἀνεγειραντός
 55 με μειζόνως ἥπερ εἴωθα ἐμαυτὸν ὀρμᾶν, οὐδὲν μοι χρεια πλειόνων ἐτι λόγων, οἱ με θαρσοῖεν, εἰ δὴ καὶ σοὶ ταῦτα δοκεῖ, γνώμης τε τῆς αὐτῆς κοινωνοὶ καὶ πρότερον ἢ συνελθεῖν γεγόναμεν. καὶ ἐν μὲν ὑπ-
 56 ἔζωμαι ξίφος, ἀμφοῖν δ’ ἂν ἀρκέσειεν. ὥστε ἴθι καὶ ἔργων ἐχώμεθα, ἡγεμών τ’ ἴσθι, ἢ βούλοιο αὐτὸς κελεύων με χωρεῖν, ἢ καὶ προσοίσομαι,² ἐπικουρία τῇ σῇ συμπράσσοντος τε πίσυνος. οὐδὲ ἀπορία σι-
 δήρου τοῖς τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς τὰ ἔργα προσφερομέ-
 νοις,³ δι’ ἣν καὶ ὁ σίδηρος δραστήριος εἴωθεν εἶναι.
 57 ὠρμηκά τε εἰς τὴν πρᾶξιν οὐχ ὧν ἂν αὐτὸς πάθοιμι ἐλπίδι περιφερόμενος· οὐ γὰρ σχολὴ κινδύνους μοι κατανοεῖν τοὺς ἐμαντοῦ δουλώσει τε πατρίδος ἐλευθερωτάτης ἐπαλγοῦντι τῶν νόμων τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀφηρημένης τοὺς τε πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὀλέθρου
 58 διὰ Γάιον κατειληφότος. ἄξιος δ’ ἂν εἶην παρὰ σοὶ δικαστῇ πίστει εἰς τοιοῦτοις τυγχάνειν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὁμοια φρονεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ σὲ μὴ ἀπηλλάχθαι.”⁴
 59 (10) Βινουκιανός⁵ δὲ τὴν ὀρμὴν τῶν λόγων θεα-

¹ conl. Niese (cf. § 18) : Μινουκιανοῦ codd.

² ἢ καὶ προσοίσομαι AM : οἱ καὶ προσοίσομαι W : ἢ καὶ προσοίσομαι E : litt. ἢ καὶ προσοίσομαι i. ras. m. 2 A : ἢ καὶ προσοίσομαι Busb.

³ ἢ καὶ . . . προσφερομένοις] quod si coepero tui operatione solatii persequar grassatione ferri concessa mihi te confortante fiducia Lat.

ceived for that day ; for the city buzzed with the insults of which Chaerea was made the victim by the passwords given him. Chaerea was delighted at his words and without further delay returned the trust that Vinicianus^a had put in him when he took part in a conference under such conditions and said : “ Your password for me is ‘ Liberty,’ and I thank you for rousing me to greater energy than I am accustomed to display by myself ; nor do I need any further words to encourage me if you too approve this course, so that we have arrived at one joint decision even before our conference. I have one sword in my belt ; but one will suffice for both of us. So up, let us get on with the work. Do you be leader and order me to go where you choose ; and I will betake myself there,^b relying on your support and co-operation. Nor is there any shortage of weapons when men throw their hearts into a task, for it is the heart that is wont to make a sword effective. I have thrown myself into this enterprise unmoved by any thought of what may happen to me personally. I have no leisure to scrutinize the threats to my own life. I am tormented when I see my country reduced from unequalled freedom to slavery and robbed of its excellent laws. Because Gaius lives, the human race is overtaken by disaster. It must be that I am worthy to be trusted with such a cause in your judgement, since we are of one mind and you have not renounced me.”
 (10) Vinicianus,^c noting the urgency of his words,

^a mss. Minucianus ; cf. note on § 18.

^b Variant “ or else I will take the lead.”

^c mss. Minucianus ; cf. note on § 18.

⁴ ἄξιος . . . ἀπηλλάχθαι] dignus enim sum apud te iudicem fidem rerum huiusmodi, quando etiam tu sapere talia comprobabis Lat. ⁵ conl. Niese (cf. § 18) : Μινουκιανός codd.

σάμενος ἠσπάζετό τε ἀσμένως καὶ προσπαρίστατο¹
 τὴν τόλμαν αὐτοῦ ἐπαινέσας τε καὶ ἀσπασόμενος
 60 μετ' εὐχῶν καὶ ἱκετείας ἀπελύετο.² καὶ ἰσχυρίζοντό
 τινες ὡς βεβαίως ταῦτα³ εἰρημένα.⁴ εἰσιόντος γὰρ⁵
 εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον Χαϊρέου φωνήν⁶ ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους
 γενέσθαι τινὸς ἐπ' ἐξορμήσει κελεύοντος περαίνειν
 μὲν δὴ τὸ πρακτέον καὶ προσλαμβάνειν τὸ δαιμό-
 61 νιον. καὶ τὸν Χαϊρέαν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον⁷ ὑπιδέσθαι,
 μὴ καὶ τινος τῶν συνωμοτῶν προδότου γεγονότος
 ἀλίσκοιτο, καὶ τέλος συνέντα ἐπὶ προτροπῇ φέρειν
 πρῶτον εἴτε παραινέσει τῶν συνεγνωκότων ἀντι-
 σημαίνοντός τινος, εἴτε δὴ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃς ἐφορᾷ
 62 τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, αἶροντος αὐτόν. διεληλύθει δὲ διὰ
 πολλῶν τὸ ἐπιβούλευμα καὶ πάντες ἐν ὄπλοις παρ-
 ἦσαν, οἱ μὲν τῶν βουλευτῶν ὄντες οἱ δὲ ἵππεῖς καὶ
 ὅποσοι τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ συνήδεσαν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἦν,
 ὃς μὴ ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ ἂν ἠρίθμει⁸ τὴν Γαίου μετά-
 63 στασι· καὶ δι' αὐτὸ πάντες ἠπέλγοντο ὁποῖω
 δύναϊτό τις τρόπῳ μηδὲ ἐκὼν εἶναι τῆς ἐπὶ τοιοῦ-
 τοῦ ἀρετῆς ὑστερεῖν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔχοι προθυμίας ἢ
 δυνάμεως καὶ λόγους καὶ δι' ἔργων ἤρτο⁹ ἐπὶ τῇ
 64 τυραννοκτονίᾳ, ἐπεὶ καὶ Κάλλιστος,¹⁰ ἀπελεύθερος
 δ' ἦν Γαίου πλείεστα τε ἀνὴρ εἰς οὗτος ἐπὶ μέγιστον
 δυνάμεως ἀφίκετο καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἰσοτύραννον
 εἶχε τὴν δύναμιν φόβῳ τε τῶν πάντων καὶ μεγέθει

¹ προσπρήθιζε E. ² MWE: ἀπελύοντο A: dimisit Lat.
³ βεβαίως ταῦτα] MW: βεβαιοῦν τὰ A: βεβαιοῦσαν τὰ Her-
 werden.

⁴ καὶ ἰσχυρίζοντό . . . τὰ εἰρημένα] quidam enim adsevera-
 bant ea quae cogitabantur quodam auspicio fuisse firmata
 Lat.: καὶ ἰσχυρίζοντό <τι> τινες ὡς βεβαιοῦν τὰ εἰρημένα Peter-
 sen: om. E.; lacunam post εἰρημένα indicat Niese.

⁵ A: δὲ MW: nam Lat.: om. E.

⁶ φωνήν] φωνὴν λέγεται E.

⁷ om. E Lat.

responded warmly and further encouraged his bold-
 ness. After he had commended and embraced him,
 he dismissed him with prayers and supplication.
 And some have maintained that there was a confirma-
 tion of their words; for as Chaerea was entering the
 senate house there came from the crowd a voice of
 someone bidding him, in order to spur him on:
 "Proceed therefore to carry out thy task and accept
 the support of heaven." They say that Chaerea at
 first suspected that one of the conspirators had turned
 traitor and that he was trapped; but in the end he
 understood that the cry was in the first place meant
 to encourage him, whether it was a signal of warning
 from one of the conspirators or whether it was actually
 the voice of God, who watches over men and their
 lives, speaking to inspire courage in him. For the
 secret of the plot had reached many persons and
 everybody who was there had arms—members of the
 senate and of the equestrian order and all soldiers
 who were privy to the plot; for there was no one
 who would not have reckoned the removal of Gaius
 as a blessing. For this reason all were eager, in
 whatever manner was possible, not, so far as they
 were concerned, to show less courage than the situa-
 tion required. With the utmost zeal, with all their
 strength, whether by words or by action, all were in-
 tent on the execution of the tyrant. Take the case
 of Callistus.^a He, as a freedman of Gaius, had, of all
 men, reached the highest summit of power both by
 the fear which he inspired in all and through the
 plot.

^a Dio lix. 29. 1 also mentions him as a leading conspirator.

⁸ ἂν ἠρίθμει] Niese: ἀνηρίθμει codd.: ἠρίθμει E.

⁹ MW: ἤρκετο A: erant . . . praeparati Lat.

¹⁰ συνὴν vel παρὴν post Κάλλιστος suppl. Richard. et Shutt.

65 χρημάτων, ἅπερ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ· δωροδοκώτατος γὰρ ἦν καὶ ὑβριστότατος παρ' ὄντινον γίνεται, ἐξουσία χρησάμενος παρὰ τὸ εἰκός· καὶ ἄλλως τε τοῦ Γαίου τὴν φύσιν ἐξεπιστάμενος ἀνήκεστον οὖσαν καὶ ἐφ' οἷσιν κρίνειεν οὐδαμῶς ἀντισπᾶσματι χρωμένῃ, αὐτῷ τε πολλὰς μὲν καὶ ἄλλας αἰτίας τοῦ κινδυνεύειν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν χρημάτων·
 66 ὥστε δὴ καὶ Κλαύδιον ἐθεράπευε κρυπτῶς μετακαθίζων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλπίδι τοῦ καὶ εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἦξει τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Γαίου μεταστάντος, αὐτῷ δὲ¹ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν² τῆς τιμῆς καὶ³ τὴν ἐφ' ὁμοίους ἰσχὺν προκαταθέμενος⁴ χάριν καὶ φιλανθρωπίας λόγον.⁵
 67 ἐτόλμησεν γοῦν εἰπεῖν, ὡς κελευσθεὶς διαχρήσασθαι φαρμάκῳ τὸν Κλαύδιον μυρίας εὐροῖτο τοῦ χρημάτων τὰς ὑπερβολὰς. δοκεῖν⁶ δὲ προσποιεῖτο⁷ Κάλλιστος ἐπὶ θήρᾳ τῇ Κλαυδίῳ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον,⁸ ἐπεὶ τε⁹ οὔτε Γάιος ὠρμηκῶς μεταχειρίσασθαι Κλαυδίον ἠείχετο τῶν Καλλίστου προφάσεων οὔτε Κάλλιστος κελευσθεὶς πού τὴν πράξιν ἀπευκτὸν¹⁰ ὑπελάμβανεν¹¹ ἢ κακουργῶν εἰς τοῦ δεσπότην τὰς ἐπιστολάς οὐκ ἂν ἐκ τοῦ παραχρήμα τὸν μισθὸν ἐκομίζετο.¹² ἀλλὰ

¹ δὲ post αὐτῷ suppl. Petersen.

² ὑπόθεσιν A.

³ καὶ post τιμῆς suppl. Post. ⁴ προκαταθεμένῳ Petersen.

⁵ ἐλπίδι . . . λόγον] sperans quia si ei cederet principatus deficiente Gaio honorem similem ei praeberet, eo quod illi gratiam et verba clementiae primitus inpendisset Lat.

⁶ A W: δοκεῖ M E.

⁷ προσποιεῖσθαι E.

⁸ δοκεῖν . . . τοῦτον] sed mihi videtur, quia fingebat haec Callistus volens capere Claudium Lat.

⁹ ἐπεὶ τε] i. marg. A: ἐπειτα AMW: ἐπεὶ E: nam Lat.

¹⁰ Post: ἐκτὸν codd.: φευκτὸν Bekker.

¹¹ ὑπερέβαλεν Hudson.

¹² οὔτε Κάλλιστος . . . ἐκομίζετο] neque Callistus iussus optabilem Gaio rem perpetrare si distulisset mandata domini sui potuit pericula declinare Lat.

great wealth that he had amassed. His power was no less than a tyrant's. For he was a great taker of bribes, and most contemptuous of rights, with none to match him. His authority had been exercised beyond all reason. Above all, he knew that Gaius by temperament was implacable, that he never allowed for any counter-influence in a case that he had once decided; and that he was himself in danger not only for many other reasons but particularly because of his great wealth. In consequence, he even paid court to Claudius, secretly going over to his side because he expected that in the event of Gaius' death the empire would pass to him and that by laying up beforehand a store of favour and credit for his kindness he would have a basis for preferment and strength similar to that which he now enjoyed.^a At any rate, he went so far as to say that though he had been ordered to dispose of Claudius by giving him poison, he had invented countless devices for putting it off. My view is that Callistus invented this story to ingratiate himself with Claudius, since Gaius, if he had been bent on killing Claudius, would not have tolerated Callistus' excuses, nor would Callistus, if he had ever been ordered to do the deed, have regarded it as anything to deplore,^b nor, if he had sinned against his master's injunctions, would he have failed instantly to receive the wages of dis-

^a The text is difficult. Prof. Petersen suggests the following translation for his emended text: "And that Claudius' promise to honour him would assure him the continuation of his power on the same terms, especially since he had obliged Claudius in advance with flattery and intimations of courtesy."

^b Text emended. Prof. Petersen suggests keeping the manuscript reading and translates thus: "Nor would Cal-

δὴ Κλαυδίω μὲν ἔκ τινας θείας δυνάμεως ἦν φυγῆ
χρήσασθαι¹ μανιῶν τῶν Γαῖου, Κάλλιστῳ δὲ² προσ-
ποιήσασθαι χάριτος κατάθεισιν μηδαμῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
γενομένης.

- 70 (11) Τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Χαιρέαν ὑπερβολαὶ τὸ καθ'
ἡμέραν ἦσαν ὀκνοῦντων πολλῶν. οὐ γὰρ Χαιρέας
ἐκὼν³ εἶναι τοῦ πράσσειν ἀναβολὴν ἐποιεῖτο, πάντα
71 καιρὸν ἐπιτήθειον τῇ πράξει νομίζων. καὶ γὰρ⁴ εἰς
τὸ Καπετώλιον ἀνιόντα καὶ τὰς⁵ θυσίας ὑπὲρ τῆς
θυγατρὸς ἐπιτελουμένας ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαῖου παρῆν πολ-
λάκις καιρὸς, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἰστάμενον καὶ
τῷ δήμῳ χρυσοῖα καὶ ἀργυρίου χρήματα διαρ-
ριπτοῦντα ὤσαι κατὰ κεφαλῆς, ὑψηλὸν δ' ἔστι τὸ
τέγος εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν φέρον, ἐπὶ⁶ τε τῶν μυστηρίων
72 ταῖς ποιήσεσιν ἃ συνίστατο· πάντων γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀ-
περίοπτον εἶναι προνοία τοῦ ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐπρεπῶς
ἀναστραφησομένου καὶ ἀπογνώσει τοῦ ἐν ἐπιχειρή-
σει τιμῇ⁷ γενέσθαι πιστεύειν.⁸ εἰ δὲ μηδὲν τὸ κωλῶδον⁹

¹ ἦν φυγῆ χρήσασθαι] Post: χρήσασθαι codd.: σώσασθαι ἐκ Hudson: περιγενέσθαι ἐκ Bekker: <φυγῆ> χρήσασθαι Herwerden: <φυγῆ ἦν> χρήσασθαι Richards et Shutt.

² Κάλλιστῳ δὲ] Petersen: Κάλλιστος codd.: Callistus autem Lat.: Κάλλιστον δὲ Hudson.

³ ἐκὼν] E: . . . ἐκὼν A: ἔσται ἐκὼν MW: γε ἐκὼν conl. Niese.

⁴ <κτεῖναι> post γὰρ suppl. Petersen.

⁵ καὶ τὰς] κατὰ E.

⁶ ἐπὶ] ἔστι E: adhuc Lat.

⁷ τιμῇ E.

⁸ E: πιστεύοντα codd.

⁹ μηδὲν τὸ κωλῶδον] Petersen: μηδὲν σημεῖον Hudson: μὴ δέου τινα ἐπιτίμιον Post: μηδὲν τίμιον codd.

listus, had he received the order, have considered the deed as
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obedience. Rather, I think that it was through some divine intervention that Claudius enjoyed exemption from the mad fits of Gaius; and Callistus merely pretended to have put Claudius in his debt when he had done nothing at all.

(11) The party of Chaerea postponed action from day to day because many of them were cautious.^a Postpone-
ment of the attempt.
For Chaerea would not of his own free will have let a moment slip; in his eyes any opportunity for action was good enough. Indeed he had frequent opportunities when he went up to the Capitol^b on occasions when Gaius offered sacrifice for his daughter's benefit. For as Gaius stood above the palace^c and scattered gold and silver money among the people, Chaerea might with a push have sent him falling headlong, for the roof overlooking the forum is high; or again he might have killed him at the performances of the mysteries that Gaius had instituted. For he was indifferent to everything else, in his concern to acquit himself honourably in what he did and in his conviction that no one would move to act. But if no divinity

something desirable." The implication is that Callistus would have refused to carry out the order, and Gaius would have had to look for another agent. On the other hand, it appears from §§ 68-69 that Josephus regards the explanation alleged by Callistus for not putting Claudius to death as hypocritical; and the implication is that Callistus failed to dispatch Claudius not because of his devotion to him but because he had never received an order from Gaius to do so. Hudson's emendation yields the following translation: "Nor would Callistus, if he had ever been ordered to do the deed, which was desired by Gaius, have postponed it."

^a Or "shrank from the deed."

^b The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Cf. §§ 4, 11.

^c Mathieu-Herrmann say that this is doubtless the palace on the Palatine between the temple of Augustus and the palace of Caligula.

ὡς¹ τῶν θεῶν Γαῖω² δύναμιν τοῦ θανάτου παρα-
 73 τυγχάνειν, αὐτῷ δ' ἂν ἰσχὺν ἐγγενέσθαι καὶ μὴ σιδη-
 ροφορομένῳ διαχρήσασθαι τότε³ Γάιον. οὕτως δὲ
 ὄργης⁴ εἶχε τοὺς συνωμώτας ὁ Χαιρέας⁵ δεδιὼς τοὺς
 74 καιροὺς μὴ διαρρηῖεν. οἱ δὲ εἰρων μὲν νομίζων
 τε χρήζοντα καὶ ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐπιεγόμενον,
 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἠξίουσαν εἰς ὀλίγον γοῦν ὑπερβολῇ χρή-
 σασθαι, μὴ καὶ πῃ σφάλματος τῇ ἐπιχειρήσει συν-
 ελθόντος ταραξάειεν τὴν πόλιν ζητήσεων τῶν συν-
 εγνωκότων τὴν πράξιν γινομένων καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς⁶
 75 μελλήσουσαν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἄπορον τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν⁷
 φραξαμένου Γαίου πρὸς αὐτοὺς μειζόνως.⁸ καλῶς
 οὖν ἔχειν θεωριῶν ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ ἐπιτελουμένων
 ἀπτεσθαι τοῦ χρηματός· ἄγονται δὲ ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ
 πρώτου μεταστησαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ δήμου
 Καίσαρος εἰς αὐτὸν μικρὸν τε πρὸ τοῦ βασιλείου
 καλύβης πηκτοῦ γενομένης, καὶ Ῥωμαίων τε οἱ
 εὐπατρίδαι θεωροῦσιν ὁμοῦ παισὶν καὶ γυναιξίν καὶ
 76 ὁ Καίσαρ· ῥαστώνην τε αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι πολλῶν
 μυριάδων ἀνθρώπων εἰς ὀλίγον χωρίον καθειργνυ-

¹ ὡς] ὡς ἀπὸ Hudson.

² Petersen: αὐτῷ codd.

³ τότε] A: τὸν τε MW.

⁴ δι' ὄργης] E: ὄργης i. marg. A: εὐχῆς codd.

⁵ οὕτως . . . Χαιρέας] tantum habuit cum coniuratis
 Chaereas ardorem Lat.

⁶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς] τοῖς ἀδελφ. Holwerda: τοῖς αὐτῇ Bekker: αὐτοῖς
 τοῖς coni. Thackeray.

⁷ <ποιήσειαν> post ἀνδραγαθίαν suppl. Thackeray.

⁸ καὶ τοῖς . . . μειζόνως] et insidiarum iam non valeret
 utilitas in futuro Lat.

^a The mss. yield little sense. Hudson's emendation would mean "and if no sign as from the gods came to give him power to inflict the death." Prof. Post proposes "if there were not bound to occur some effective occasion to deal death, whereby the gods would wreak vengeance."

prevented Gaius from meeting his death,^a he himself, though he should have no sword, would summon up the strength to dispose of Gaius. So angry was Chaerea with his fellow conspirators, fearing that the opportunities to act would slip by. They saw that he desired only a reign of law and that his urgency was for their benefit; nevertheless they begged him to postpone action at least for a while, lest, if the plot was frustrated, they should create a commotion in the city while search was made for any who had been informed of the plot, and lest in the future any who might have intended to act should find no way open for brave deeds because Gaius would have taken greater precautions against them. It was therefore best, they thought, to undertake the business on an occasion when shows were exhibited on the Palatine. These^b are held in honour of that Caesar^c who was first to transfer authority from the people to himself; during their celebration a stage^d is set up a little in front of the palace, and the Roman patricians look on with their children and wives, together with Caesar himself. They would then have the opportunity, when many tens of thousands of people would

Action
 planned for
 the Pala-
 tine games

^b The assassination took place, as Suetonius, *Calig.* 56, says, during the Ludi Palatini, established by Livia in honour of Augustus just after his death in A.D. 14, which started on 17 January and culminated with theatrical exhibitions on 21, 22, and 23 January (Dio lvi. 46. 3, lix. 16. 10 [probably]; Tac. *Ann.* i. 73). In the year in which Gaius was assassinated Gaius added extra days to the festival (Dio lix. 29. 5). See G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, 1912, p. 458 n. 5. Josephus would therefore appear to be incorrect when he says (§ 77) that Gaius was murdered on the third day of the spectacles, since this would be 23 January, whereas the murder occurred on 24 January (Suet. *Calig.* 58).

^c Augustus, as is clear from § 87.

^d Lit. "hut."

μένων ὥστε εἰσιόντι τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ποιήσασθαι
δυνάμεως τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς, εἰ καὶ τινες προθυμοῦν-
το, μὴ παρατευξομένης αὐτῷ βοηθεῖν.

- 77 (12) Ἦνείχето¹ δὲ Χαιρέας, καὶ τῶν θεωριῶν ἐπ-
ελθουσῶν τῇ πρώτῃ δεδογμένον ἄπτεσθαι τῆς
πράξεως ἰσχυρότερον ἦν τοῦ κατ' ἐκείνους προβε-
βουλευκότος τὸ τῆς τύχης συγχωροῦν ὑπερβολάς,
καὶ τὰς τρεῖς ὑπερβαλλομένοις² τὰς νομίμους ἡμέ-
ρας³ μόλις κατὰ τὴν τελευταίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπράχθη τὸ
78 ἔργον. Χαιρέας δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς συνωμότας,
“ πολὺς μὲν,” εἶπεν, “ καὶ ὁ παρεληλυθὼς χρόνος
ὄνειδίσαι τὸ ἔτι μέλλον⁴ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς οὕτω βου-
λευθείσιν μετ' ἀρετῆς, δεινὸν δέ, εἰ καὶ μηνύματος
γενομένου διαπαισείτῃ ἢ πρᾶξις καὶ Γάιος ὑβριεῖ
79 μειζόνως. ἢ οὐχ ὀρώμεν, ὡς τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀφαι-
ροῦμεν ὅσας τῶν ἡμερῶν προσθήκη τῇ Γαίου
τυραννίδι χαριζόμεθα,⁵ δέον αὐτοῦς τ' ἀδεεῖς τὸ
λοιπὸν εἶναι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις αἰτίαν τοῦ εὐδαίμονος
παρασχόντας δι' αἰῶνος τοῦ ἅπαντος τοῖς ἀθθῖς ἐν
80 θαύματι μεγάλῳ καὶ τιμῇ⁶ καταστήναι; ” τῶν δὲ
οὔτε⁷ ἀντειπεῖν ὡς οὐ πᾶν καλῶς⁸ δυναμένων οὕτε
τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀντικρυς δεχομένων σιγῇ δὲ καταπεπλη-
γόντων, “ τί,” φησὶν, “ ὦ γεναῖοι, διαμέλλομεν; ἢ
οὐχ ὁράτε τὴν σήμερον τῶν θεωριῶν ἡμέραν ὑστά-
81 τῆν οὖσαν καὶ Γάιον ἐκπλευσοῦμενον; ” ἐπὶ γὰρ
Ἀλεξανδρείας παρεσκευάστο πλεῖν κατὰ θεωρίαν

¹ E: εἶχето codd.: expectabat Lat.: ἠπέιχето Naber.

² Ernesti: ὑπερβαλλομένου codd.

³ τὰς νομίμους ἡμέρας] Lowthius: ταῖς νομίμοις ἡμέραις codd.

be wedged into a small space, to make the attack on him as he entered, and his bodyguards would have no chance, even if any of them should desire it, of rendering him assistance.

(12) Chaerea bore with them, and it was decided to take the business in hand when the first day of the spectacles arrived. Their plan, however, was overruled by Fortune, who granted one reprieve after another; and having let pass the three days prescribed for the spectacles, they barely accomplished the deed on the last. Chaerea then called together the conspirators and said: “The days that have gone by put us to shame for our tardy execution of so noble a resolve. It is an appalling thought that if someone informs on us, our enterprise will fall through and Gaius will be more insolent than ever. Or do we not see that every additional day that we grant to Gaius’ tyranny is subtracted from the days of liberty? It behooves us henceforth to be fearless and, when we have laid a foundation for the eternal happiness of future generations, to establish ourselves for posterity as objects of great admiration and honour.” They could neither deny that his words were wholly right nor yet undertake to act forthwith, but stood silent in dismay. “Why,” he continued, “good sirs, do we still hesitate? Are you not aware that today is the last day of the spectacles and that Gaius’ ship will soon depart?” (For he had made preparations

⁴ ἔτι μέλλον] Bekker: ἐπιμέλλον AW: ἐπιμέλον M.

⁵ καὶ Γάιος . . . χαριζόμεθα] et potius Gaius nos afficiat cunctorumque auferat libertatem his diebus quos nos tyrannidi eius adicimus Lat.

⁶ ἐν θαύματι . . . τιμῇ] A: om. MW.

⁷ Dindorf: οὐκ AE: οὐδὲ MW.

⁸ AE: καλῶν MW: καλοῖς Hudson.

τῆς Αἰγύπτου. “καλὸν δὲ ἡμῖν προέσθαι τῶν χειρῶν τὸ ὄνειδος τῇ Ῥωμαίων μεγαλαυχία πομπευσσον διὰ τε γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης; πῶς δ’ οὐκ ἂν δικαίως κρίνομεν¹ αὐτοὺς² αἰσχύνῃ τῶν γενησομένων,³ εἴ τις αὐτὸν Αἰγύπτιος κτείνειεν τὴν ὕβριν οὐχ ἠγησάμενος ἀνασχετὸν τοῖς ἐλευθέροις γεγονό-

82
83 σιν; ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐκέτι εἰς πλείονα ἀνέξομαι τὰς σκῆψεις⁴ ὑμῶν, χωρήσω δὲ τοῖς κινδύνοις ὁμοῦ σήμερον ἠδονῇ φέρων πᾶν ὃ τι καὶ γένοιτο ἐξ αὐτῶν, οὐδ’ ἂν ὑπερβαλλοίμην εἴπερ εἴη· τί γὰρ δὴ καὶ γένοιτ’ ἂν ἀνδρὶ φρόνημα ἔχοντι τούτου σχετικώτερον, ἕτερον Γάιον ἀναιρεῖν ἐμοῦ ζώντος ἐμὲ τῆν ἐπὶ τῷδε ἀρετῆν ἀφηρημένον;”

84 (13) Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἰπὼν αὐτὸς τε ὠρμήκει πράξων τὸ ἔργον καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐνεποίησε θάρσος πᾶσιν τε ἦν ἔρωσ ἀπτεσθαι τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος μηδὲν 85 ὑπερβαλλομένοις, ἔωθέν⁵ τε ἐπὶ τοῦ Παλατίου ἐώθει⁶ τὸ ξίφος ὑπέζωσμένος τῶν ἵππικῶν· ἔθος γὰρ δὴ τοῖς χιλιάρχοις τοῦτο ἐζωσμένοις αἰτεῖν παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τὸ σημεῖον, ἦν τε ἡ ἡμέρα καθήκουσα εἰς αὐτὸν τῆς παραλήψεως τοῦ σημείου. 86 ἄρτι τε συνῆει πληθὺς εἰς τὸ Παλάτιον ἐπὶ προκατα-

¹ Niese: κρίνομεν A: κρίνομεν MW.

² αὐτοὺς] αὐτοὺς <ἐνόχους> Richards et Shutt ex Lat.

³ πῶς δ’ : . . . γενησομένων] nam quomodo non iuste erimus confusionis obnoxii Lat.

⁴ A: σκέψεις MW: cogitationes Lat.

⁵ A: εἴωθε MW.

⁶ conl. Niese (vel ὠθει): εἴωθει A: om. MW: γέγοιτε E: εἰσῆκει Petersen.

to set sail for Alexandria to inspect Egypt.^a) “Is it honourable to let slip from our hands this blot on the proud record of the Romans that he may parade in triumph over land and sea? Should we not be justified in passing sentence against ourselves for the disgrace that would befall us if some Egyptian, finding the insolence of Gaius intolerable to freeborn men, were to slay him? I for one will no longer put up with your pretexts, but will face the risks this very day, accepting with a glad heart whatever outcome may ensue, nor would I postpone the issue even if it were possible. For what could be more galling to a man of spirit than that some other should slay Gaius while I live on and am robbed of the high valour of the deed?”

(13) With these words he himself set out to do the deed and had also put heart into the rest, so that they were all consumed by desire to take the enterprise in hand without delay. In the morning Chaerea made his way^b towards the Palatine girt with the sword of an equestrian; for it was the custom for the tribunes to be so equipped when they asked the emperor for the password, and it was his day to receive it. A crowd was already collecting on the Palatine in anticipation of the spectacle, and there

^a V. M. Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius*, 1940, p. 51, rightly notes that since Gaius was known to be addicted to Egyptian and Oriental ways, this projected visit brought home to the senators the danger to Latin institutions, particularly since their memory of the Egyptian influence on Antony and Caesar was still fresh.

^b mss. was accustomed.”

⁷ μηδὲν . . . ἵππικῶν] nihilque differens diluculo ad palatium multitudo equestrium armata convenit Lat.; τῶν ἵππικῶν] A: ἵπποκομῶν MW.

λήψει θέας πολλῶ θορύβῳ καὶ ὠθισμῶ, χαρᾷ
 φέροντος Γαίου τὴν ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε τῶν πολλῶν σπου-
 δὴν, παρὸ καὶ διακέκριτο οὐδὲν οὔτε τῇ συγκλήτῳ
 χωρίον οὔτε τοῖς ἰππεύσιν, φύρδην δὲ ἔζοντο καὶ
 τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὁμοῦ αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ τῷ δούλῳ ἀνα-
 87 μεμυγμένον τὸ ἐλευθέρων. Γάιος δὲ προόδων αὐτῷ
 γενομένων ἔθυσε τῷ Σεβαστῷ Καίσαρι, ᾧ δὴ καὶ
 τὰ τῆς θεωρίας ἤγετο, καὶ πίπτοντος τῶν ἱερείων
 τινὸς συνέβη αἵματι τὴν Ἀσπρήνα στολὴν ἐνὸς τῶν
 συγκλητικῶν ἀνάπλεων γενέσθαι. τοῦτο Γαίῳ
 γέλωτα μὲν παρέσχευ, ἦν δ' ἄρα εἰς οἰωνὸν τῷ
 Ἀσπρήνῃ φανερόν· ἐπικατασφάζεται γὰρ τῷ Γαίῳ.
 88 Γάιον δ' ἱστορεῖται παρὰ φύσιν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ εὐπρο-
 ηγορώτατον γενέσθαι κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ
 δεξιότητι χρώμενον ὀμιλίας πάνθ' ὄντινον ἐκπλη-
 89 ξαι τῶν παρατυγχανόντων. μετὰ δὲ τὴν θυσίαν ἐπὶ
 τὴν θεωρίαν τραπεῖς ἐκαθέζετο καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν τῶν
 90 ἐταίρων οἱ ἀξιολογώτατοι. κατεσκευάστο δὲ τὸ
 θέατρον, πηκτὸν δὲ ἐγίνετο κατὰ ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν,
 τοιόνδε τρόπον· θύρας ἔχει δύο φερούσας τὴν μὲν
 εἰς αἴθριον, τὴν δ' εἰς στοὰν εἰσόδους καὶ ἀποχωρή-
 σεσιν, ὅπως μὴ ταρασσῶντο οἱ ἐνδον ἀπειλημμένοι,
 ἐκ δ' αὐτῆς τῆς καλύβης ἐνδοτέρῳ διαφράγμασιν
 91 νισταῖς καὶ ὀπίσσω ἀκροάματα.¹ συγκαθημένης δὲ
 τῆς πληθύος καὶ τοῦ Χαιρέου σὺν τοῖς χιλιάρχοις

was much noise and jostling. Gaius was delighted to see the general enthusiasm for the proceedings, and for that reason no seats had been set apart either for the senate or for the equites, so that the seating was a jumble, women mixed with men and free men with slaves. Gaius, when his procession entered, sacrificed to Augustus Caesar, in whose honour the spectacle was presented. It happened that, as one of the victims fell, the robe of Asprenas,^a a man of senatorial rank, was spattered with blood.^b At this Gaius burst out laughing, but to Asprenas it turned out to be a manifest omen, for he was struck down over Gaius' dead body. It is reported that on that day Gaius was, contrary to his wont, most affable; and that he overwhelmed all and sundry whom he met with his adroit sociability. After the sacrifice he turned to the spectacle and took his seat surrounded by the most prominent of his companions. The construction of the theatre, which was set up every year, was as follows. It had two doors, one leading to the open air, the other into a portico with exits and entrances, in order that those who were separately assembled in the portico might not be troubled by anyone passing through. Entrances had been made from the stage building itself, which had an inner partition to provide a retreat for actors and all kinds of musical performers. The crowd being seated, Chaerea had his place among the tribunes not far

Gaius' sacrifice is ominous. Description of the games.

^a P. Nonius Asprenas, consul in 38.

^b Suetonius, *Calig.* 57, records, without mentioning the name of Asprenas, that Caligula himself was splashed with blood while he was sacrificing a flamingo.

¹ ἐκ δ' . . . ἀκροάματα] est etiam illic et alia cella, ubi lusoires exerceri solent atque cantores Lat.

οὐκ ἄπωθεν τοῦ Γαίου, δεξιὸν δὲ τοῦ θεάτρου κέρας
 ὁ Καῖσαρ εἶχεν, Βαθύβιός¹ τις τῶν συγκλητικῶν
 ἀνὴρ ἐστρατηγηκῶς ἦρετο Κλούιον² παρακαθεζόμενον
 αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτον ὑπατικόν, εἰ δὴ τις αὐτῷ
 νεωτέρων πραγμάτων περὶ ἀφίκοιτο πύστις, προ-
 μνηθῆς γενόμενος τοῦ μὴ ἐξάκουστος εἶναι τάδε
 92 λέγων. τοῦ δὲ φαιμένου μηδὲν πεπύσθαι σημεῖον,³
 "τοιγαροῦν, ὦ Κλούιε, τυραννοκτονίας ἀγῶν πρό-
 κείται." καὶ ὁ Κλούιος, "ὦ γενναῖε," φησὶν, "σίγα,
 93 μὴ τίς τ' ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶν μῦθον ἀκούσῃ." πολλῆς
 δ' ὀπίρας ἐπιχειομένης τοῖς θεωροῖς καὶ πολλῶν
 ὀρνέων ὅποσα τῷ σπανίῳ τίμια τοῖς κτωμένοις, ὁ
 Γάιος ἠδονῇ τὰς περὶ αὐτοῖς ἐθεώρει μάχας καὶ
 94 διαρπαγὰς οἰκειουμένων αὐτὰ τῶν θεωρῶν. ἔνθα
 δὲ καὶ σημεῖα συμβαίνει⁴ δύο γενέσθαι⁵ καὶ γὰρ
 μῖμος εἰσάγεται, καθ' ὃν σταυροῦται ληφθεὶς ἡγε-
 μών, ὃ τε ὀρχηστῆς δρᾶμα εἰσάγει Κινύραν, ἐν ᾧ
 αὐτὸς τε ἐκτείνεται καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ Μύρρα, αἰμά τε

¹ codd. Busb.: Βατίβιος E: Bathybius Lat.: Ουατινίος Hudson.

² Niese: Κλούιον codd.: Κλαύιον E: Cluitum Lat.: Κλούβιον Hudson.

³ om. E: i. marg. γρ σήμερον A, quod habuit etiam Lat.

⁴ Bekker: μανθάνει codd.: μανθάνω Shilleto: οὐ λανθάνει Petersen (et γενόμενα pro γενέσθαι).

⁵ ἔνθα δὲ . . . γενέσθαι] in illo siquidem spectaculo duo ei auguria provenerunt Lat.

^a The name is unknown, whether for a person of Greek or Roman descent, as R. Hanslik, "Vatinius," no. 5, in Pauly-Wissowa, 2. Reihe, viii¹, 1955, p. 520, remarks. But his suggestion, that the emendation of Hudson be adopted and that Vatinius be read, has little to recommend it since we know of no one by this name of equestrian or senatorial rank during this period.

from Gaius, who occupied the right wing of the theatre. Now a certain Bathybius,^a a man of senatorial rank who had been praetor, asked Cluvius,^b another man of consular rank who was sitting beside him, whether any news had reached him of a revolution, taking care that this remark should not be overheard. When Cluvius replied that he had perceived no indication of this, Bathybius said, "Well then, Cluvius, the programme^c for to-day will include assassination of a tyrant." Cluvius answered, "Be silent, good sir, lest some other of the Achaeans hear the word."^d A considerable quantity of fruit was scattered among the spectators with a number of such birds as are prized by their possessors for their rarity; and Gaius watched with amusement as the spectators fought over them and snatched them from one another. Here there were two new portents. In the first place a mime was presented in the course of which a chieftain is caught and crucified. Moreover, the play presented by the dancer^e was *Cinyras*,^f in which the hero and his daughter Myrrha^g are

^b Cluvius must have been consul in 39 or 40, since, as Syme, *Tacitus*, i, p. 294, remarks, we know the names of the consuls for the previous years. On Cluvius as a possible source for Josephus' account of Gaius' assassination see note on § 1.

^c Lit. "struggle" or "contest," particularly a contest for a prize at the games.

^d A quotation from Homer's *Iliad* xiv. 90-91, except that the word *τοῦτον* after *Ἀχαιῶν* has been omitted.

^e Mnester, according to Suetonius, *Calig.* 57.

^f Suetonius, *Calig.* 57, remarks that this was particularly ominous since it was the same tragedy that had been performed during the games at which Philip of Macedon was assassinated.

^g So also Ovid, *Met.* x. 312; her name, as given by Plutarch, *Parall.* 22, is Smyrna.

ἦν τεχνητὸν πολὺ καὶ τὸ¹ περὶ τὸν σταυρωθέντα ἐκ-
 95 κεχυμένον καὶ τὸ² περὶ τὸν Κινύραν. ὁμολο-
 γεῖται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην γενέσθαι, ἐν ᾗ
 Φίλιππον τὸν Ἀμύντου Μακεδόνων βασιλέα κτείνει
 Παισανας εἰς τῶν ἐταίρων εἰς τὸ θέατρον εἰσιόντα.
 96 Γαίου δ' ἐνδοιάζοντος, εἴτε παραμείνειεν εἰς τέλος
 τῆ θεωρίας διὰ τὸ τελευταίαν εἶναι τὴν ἡμέραν εἴτε
 λουτρῶ χρησάμενος καὶ σίτω εἶτα ἐπανίοι καθὰ
 καὶ πρότερον,³ Βινουκιανὸς⁴ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Γαίου καθ-
 εζόμενος καὶ δεδιώς, μὴ διαχυθείη⁵ τὰ τῶν καιρῶν
 εἰς κενόν, ἐξαναστὰς ἐπειδὴ καὶ Χαιρέαν ἑώρα προ-
 εξεληλυθότα, ἠπείργετο θαρσύνειν αὐτὸν προελθόν.
 97 λαμβάνεται δ' αὐτοῦ τῆς στολῆς Γάιος κατὰ φιλο-
 φροσύνην δῆθεν καί, "ποῖ δὴ," φησὶν, "ὦ μακάριε;"
 καὶ ὁ μὲν αἰδοῖ δοκεῖν τοῦ Καίσαρος καθίζει, κρείσ-
 98 ἴσταται. καὶ ὁ Γάιος οὐδὲν ἐμποδῶν ἦν ἐξιώντι⁶

¹ M: τὸν W: om. A.

² conl.: τὸν MW: τῶν A.

³ πρότερον] ed. pr.: prius Lat.: οἱ πρότερον codd.

⁴ conl. Niese (cf. § 18): Μινουκιανὸς codd.

⁵ διαλυθείη E: efflueret Lat.

⁶ Lowthius et Hudson: ἐξιών τι codd.: egredienti Lat.

^a According to the legend, Myrrha, because of the wrath of Aphrodite, fell in love with her own father. She confided in her nurse, who told Cinyras that a neighbouring maiden was in love with him but was too modest to approach him openly. Thus Myrrha managed, under cover of darkness, to have relations with her father night after night, until Cinyras discovered that he was the father of Myrrha's unborn child. He threatened to kill her but she managed to escape, whereupon he killed himself. According to the various versions of the legend, Myrrha was not killed but was changed into the

killed.^a Thus a great quantity of artificial blood was shed, what with the crucified man and Cinyras. It is also agreed that the day of the year was the same as that on which Philip, the son of Amyntas and king of the Macedonians, was slain by Pausanias, one of his "Companions,"^b as he entered the theatre.^c Gaius hesitated^d whether to wait until the end of the spectacle, since it was the last day, or to bathe and dine and then come back again as he had done previously. Vinicianus,^e who was sitting above Gaius, fearing that the opportunity might be dissipated fruitlessly, rose to leave. When he saw that Chaerea had preceded him to the exit, he quickened his step to reach him first and bid him be bold. Gaius, with an air of friendly interest, plucked his robe and said, "Where are you going, bless you?" Vinicianus resumed his seat, apparently as a courtesy to Caesar, though fear was a stronger motive. Shortly after, however, he rose to leave again. This time Gaius did not interfere, supposing that he was leaving his

tree that bears her name. See Ovid, *Met.* x. 298-502, and Plutarch, *Parall.* 22.

^b The most important body of the Macedonian cavalry. They included the king's most prominent personal friends and advisers. It was they whom Alexander the Great usually chose to lead in battle.

^c The murder of Philip by Pausanias is also mentioned in *Ant.* xi. 304. Philip was celebrating the marriage of his daughter Cleopatra to Alexander of Epirus. This could not have occurred on the same day on which Gaius was assassinated (24 January) since the wedding festivities took place in the autumn. See J. G. Droysen, *Geschichte der Hellenismus*, i², 1877, p. 98, esp. n. 3.

^d Suetonius, *Calig.* 58, gives the reason for this hesitation. Gaius had an upset stomach from having overeaten on the previous day.

^e mss. Minucianus; cf. note on § 18.

δοκῶν ἐπί τινι τῶν ἀναγκαίων¹ ποιείσθαι τὴν ἕξ-
 οδον. Ἀσπρήνας² δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς παρήνει τῷ Γαίῳ
 καθὸ πρότερον ὑπέξελθόντι πρὸς τε λουτρῷ καὶ
 ἀρίστῳ γενέσθαι καὶ ἔπειτα δὲ εἰσελθεῖν, χρήζων
 ἐπὶ πέρας ἀχθῆναι τὰ ἐγνωσμένα.

- 99 (14) Καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Χαίρειον ἕτασσοι³ μὲν ἀλ-
 λήλους ἢ καιρὸς τε καὶ ἐχρῆν ἕκαστον στάντα ἢ
 προσταχθείη μὴ ἀπολιμπάνεσθαι ἐπιπονοῦντες. ἤ-
 χθοντο δὲ τῇ διατριβῇ καὶ τῷ μέλλεσθαι τὰ ἐν χερσίν,
 ἐπεὶ καὶ περὶ ἐνάτην ὥραν ἤδη τὰ τῆς ἡμέρας ἦν.
 100 καὶ Χαίρειος βραδύνοντος Γαίου πρόθυμος ἦν ἐπ-
 εισελθεῖν ἐν τῇ καθέδρᾳ προσπεσῶν μέντοι προῆδει
 τοῦτο σὺν πολλῶ φόνῳ τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ
 ὁπόσοι τῶν ἱππέων παρήσαν καίπερ δεδιῶς πρόθυ-
 μος ἦν, καλῶς ἔχειν ἠγούμενος πᾶσιν ἀσφάλειαν
 καὶ ἐλευθερίαν ὠνούμενος ἐν ὀλίγῳ τίθεσθαι τὰ
 101 κατὰ τοὺς ἀπολουμένους. καὶ δὴ τετραμμένων εἰς
 τὸ θέατρον εἰσόδῳ σημαίνεται Γάιος ἕξαστάς καὶ
 θόρυβος ἦν, ἀνέστρεφον δὲ καὶ οἱ συνωμόται καὶ
 ἀνεωθοῦντο τὴν πληθύν, λόγῳ μὲν διὰ τὸ δυσ-
 χεραίνειν τὸν Γάιον, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐπ' ἀδείας βουλόμενοι
 ἐν ἐρημίᾳ τῶν ἀμυνομένων καταστήσαντες αὐτὸν
 102 ἀπτεσθαι τῆς σφαγῆς. προεξήεσαν δὲ Κλαύδιος
 μὲν ὁ πάτριος αὐτοῦ καὶ Μάρκος Βινίκιος⁴ ὁ τῆς

¹ A: ἐν αἰτία ἐκὼν MW: necessaria Lat.: ἀναντιλέκτων.
 ed. pr.

² E: Ἀμβρωνᾶς A: Ἀμπρώνας MW: Ἀσπρίνας i. marg.
 A Busb.: Aspronas Lat.

³ exacuebant Lat.

⁴ Niese: Μινουκιανὸς codd. E Lat.: Οὐνίκιος Hudson.

^a Some mss. have Ambronas or Ampronas.

seat for a necessary purpose. Asprenas,^a who was
 also in the plot, then urged Gaius to withdraw, as
 had been his custom, for a bath and lunch, and then
 to come back. His object was to see the conspirators'
 plans carried to fulfilment.

(14) Chaerea's party had posted one another as
 the occasion required. There each man was bound
 to stick to his assigned duty without deserting in
 spite of weariness. They were now impatient with
 the passage of time and with the postponement of
 the matter in hand, for it was about the ninth hour^b
 of the day. Chaerea himself, since Gaius lingered
 on, was ready to re-enter the theatre and to attack
 him where he sat. He foresaw, to be sure, that this
 would be attended by a great carnage of the senators
 and of such of the equites as were present. Yet,
 even with that fear in mind, he was still eager to act,
 for he thought it a sound principle, when purchasing
 security and liberty for all, to allow little weight to
 the cost in lives. They had actually turned to enter
 the theatre, when the signal was given that Gaius
 had risen to leave. There was a din raised, and the
 conspirators returned to their positions and began to
 thrust back the crowd, saying that Gaius would take
 offence, though their real object was to render them-
 selves secure, before they proceeded with the assas-
 sination, by removing any would-be defenders from
 his side. Claudius, his uncle, and Marcus Vinicius,^c

^b About 2 p.m. Suetonius, *Calig.* 58, places his death at
 about the seventh hour.

^c mss. Minucianus. But Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 15, makes it
 clear that it is Marcus Vinicius to whom Gaius' sister Julia
 was married and who is mentioned by Seneca, *Epist.* 122. 12.
Cf. the substitution of this same name, Minucianus, for
 Vinicianus in § 18 and elsewhere in this book.

ἀδελφῆς ἀνὴρ ἔτι δὲ Οὐαλέριος Ἀσιατικός,¹ οὗς
οὐδὲ βουλομένοις διακλείσαι δύναμις ἦν αἰδοὶ τῆς
ἀξιώσεως, εἶπετο δ' αὐτὸς σὺν Παύλῳ Ἀρουντίῳ.²
103 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐντὸς ἦν τοῦ βασιλείου, τὰς μὲν ἐπ' εὐθείας
ὁδοὺς λείπει, καθ' ἃς διεστήκεσαν τῶν δούλων οἱ
θεραπεύοντες αὐτὸν καὶ προήεσαν οἱ περὶ τὸν
104 Κλαύδιον· τρέπεται δὲ κατὰ στενωπὸν ἡρεμηκότα
καὶ ἐπίτομον³ πρὸς λουτροῖς γενησόμενος ἅμα καὶ
παῖδας οἱ ἤκεσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας κατανοήσων, πομπῆς
αὐτῶν ἐκεῖθεν γενομένης ἐπὶ ὕμνοις μυστηρίων
ἃ ἐπετέλει, ἔνιοι δὲ κατὰ πυρρῆχισμούς, οἱ ἐν τοῖς
105 θεάτροις ἔσουτο. ὑπαντιάζει δ' αὐτὸν Χαίρεας καὶ
ἤτησεν σημεῖον. τοῦ δὲ τῶν εἰς χλεϋὴν ἀνακει-
μένων εἰπόντος οὐδὲν ἐνδοιάσας λοιδορίας τε ἐχράτο
κατὰ τοῦ Γαῖου καὶ πασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἐπάγει
106 πληγὴν σφοδράν· οὐ μὴν γε ἦν καιρῖος. καίτοι γέ

¹ Ἀσουατικός A: ἀνθυπατικός MW Busb.: ἀνθυπατικός E: Asiaticus Lat.

² Παύλῳ Ἀρουντίῳ] ed. pr.: ταλαιπωρουντίῳ codd.: Paulo Arruntio Lat.

³ conl. Niese: ἐπὶ τόπον codd.: ἐπίσκοτον Bekker.

^a Julia Livilla.

^b Consul suffectus before 41 and consul ordinarius in 46. His friendship for Gaius is also cited by Seneca, *De Const. Sap.* 18. 2. His great wealth is mentioned by Dio ix. 27. 2. According to Tacitus, *Ann.* xi. 1, he was one of the leaders of the conspiracy against Gaius. Cf. also §§ 159 and 252.

^c mss. Aruntius. The spelling of the Latin version, Arruntius, is supported by the many inscriptions of members of this family. Paulus Arruntius, however, is otherwise unknown.

^d Suetonius, *Calig.* 58, does not mention the baths; he says that Gaius left for lunch.

^e Suetonius, *Calig.* 58, reports that along the covered passage through which he had to pass were some boys of noble birth from Asia who were rehearsing their parts for a stage performance. Dio lix. 29. 6 says that the boys were of

his sister's^a husband, and Valerius Asiaticus^b had preceded Gaius' exit. No one could have blocked their egress even if he had wanted to, such was the respect due to their dignity. The emperor himself followed with Paulus Arruntius.^c But when he was inside the palace, he quitted the direct route along both sides of which were lined those of the slaves who were in attendance, and which Claudius and his party had earlier taken. Instead, he turned down a deserted alley that was a short cut to the baths,^d where he was going. He also wished to inspect the boys who had come from Asia.^e A troop of them had been dispatched as a choir to sing in the mysteries which he was celebrating, and some came to take part in Pyrrhic dances^f that were to be performed in the theatre. Here Chaerea waylaid him and asked for the watchword. Gaius gave him one of his words of mockery, whereupon without wavering Chaerea showered abuse on Gaius and drawing his sword dealt him a severe, though not a mortal, blow.^g

Gaius is assassinated. The role of Chaerea.

exalted birth and had been summoned from Greece and Ionia to sing a hymn in Gaius' honour.

^f Originally these were military dances, or rather ornamental parades, of the Spartans and Cretans. But the dances referred to here are more like a ballet (cf. Apuleius, *Met.* x. 29), usually on a mythical theme, often connected with the worship of Bacchus.

^g Suetonius, *Calig.* 58, gives two versions of the actual assassination. According to one, Chaerea came up behind Gaius as he was talking with the boys from Asia, shouted "Do your duty," and cut him deeply in the neck with his sword. Then Cornelius Sabinus stabbed Gaius in the breast. According to the other version, Sabinus told certain centurions who were privy to the plot to clear away the crowd. He then asked Gaius the watchword. The emperor gave him "Jupiter," whereupon he shouted "So be it," and split Gaius' jawbone with his sword.

φασίν τινες προνοία τοῦ Χαιρέου γενέσθαι τοῦ μὴ
 μᾶ πλεγγῆ διεργάσασθαι τὸν Γάιον, ἀλλὰ τιμωρεῖ-
 107 σθαι μειζόνως πλήθει τραυμάτων. οὐ μὴν ἐμοὶ
 πιθανὸς οὗτος ὁ λόγος διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπιχωρεῖν ἐν
 ταῖσδε ταῖς πράξεσιν λογισμῶ χρησθαι τὸν φόβον,¹
 Χαιρέαν δέ, εἶπερ οὔτως ἐφρόνει, πάντων ἡγῆμαι
 μωρία διαφέρειν ἡδονὴν τῆ ὀργῆ χαριζόμενον μάλ-
 λον ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἀπαλλαγὴν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς
 συνωμόταις κινδύνων χαριζόμενον, διὰ τὸ πολλάς
 ἂν μηχανὰς ἔτι γενέσθαι βοηθειῶν Γαίῳ μὴ φθάντι
 τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφεῖναι κἀνταῦθα Χαιρέα λόγον ἂν γενέ-
 σθαι οὐ περὶ τῆς Γαίου τιμωρίας, ἀλλὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ
 108 καὶ τῶν φίλων, ὅπου γε καὶ πράξαντι καλῶς ἂν
 εἶχε συγῆ χρωμένῳ διαδιδράσκειν τὰς ὀργὰς τῶν
 ἀμυνομένων, οὐχ ὅπως ἀδελφὸν εἰ τύχοι κατορθῶν
 ἐπ' ἀλόγοις κρήξιν αὐτόν τε ἀπολέσαι καὶ τὸν
 καιρόν. καὶ τότε μὲν εἰκάζειν² παρέστω τοῖς βου-
 109 λομένοις ἢ καὶ θέλοιεν. ὁ δὲ Γάιος ἀληθῶς τῆς
 πληγῆς περιφερόμενος, μεσσηγὺς γὰρ τοῦ τε ὤμου
 καὶ τοῦ τραχήλου φερόμενον τὸ ξίφος ἐπέσχευ ἢ
 κλείς προσωτέρω χωρεῖν, οὔτε ἀνεβόησεν ὑπ' ἐκ-
 πλήξεως οὔτε ἐπεκαλέσατό τινας τῶν φίλων εἴτε
 ἀπιστία εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως ἀφρονήσει, στόνῳ δὲ χρησά-
 μενος πρὸς τῆς ἀληθῶς τὸ περιῶν³ εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν

¹ A: φόνον MW.

² αὐτόν . . . εἰκά[ειν] A: om. MWE.

³ στόνῳ . . . περιῶν] sed dolorem fortiter ferens Lat.

^a M. P. Charlesworth, in *Camb. Hist. Jour.* iv, 1933, p. 112, appropriately points to Suetonius, *Calig.* 30, for the explanation as to why the story might have arisen that Chaerea had dispatched Gaius with a multitude of blows. There we are told that Gaius enjoyed watching a lingering death, and so he preferred inflicting a number of small wounds.

There are some, to be sure, who assert that Chaerea intentionally avoided dispatching Gaius with a single stroke, to have a greater revenge by inflicting a number of wounds.^a This account, however, I cannot believe; for in such actions fear leaves no room for deliberation. If Chaerea did entertain such a thought, I consider that he would have been foolish beyond the ordinary, a man who indulged his anger instead of granting himself and his conspirators a speedy deliverance from dangers. For Gaius might have been rescued in many different ways, had he not at once expired, and in that case Chaerea would have had to reckon not on the punishment of Gaius but on his own and that of his friends. Surely, even in case of success, it would be better to say nothing and to elude the anger of any who would retaliate; how much more foolish, then, when success was problematical, to choose irrationally to risk his life and miss the opportunity. The field is open, however, for such guesses as those who choose desire to make. Gaius, dazed by the pain of the blow, for the sword struck him between the shoulder and the neck, where the collar-bone held it from going farther, neither cried out in alarm nor called upon any of his friends.^b Either he could not believe what had happened or else he lacked the presence of mind. Instead he groaned in extreme agony and dashed ahead to

His order "Strike so that he may feel that he is dying" became proverbial, according to Suetonius. Hence a desire for poetic justice may have led to this account of Gaius' own death.

^b A different version is found in Suetonius, *Calig.* 58, who says that as Gaius lay writhing on the ground, he shouted that he was still alive. Dio lix. 29. 7 says nothing of this, but reports that when he had fallen, all the men who were present stabbed him even though he was dead.

- 110 ἔετο φυγῆ. καὶ δεξάμενος αὐτὸν Κορνήλιος Σαβίνος τὴν διάνοιαν ἤδη προκατειργασμένος¹ ὠθει καὶ κλιθέντα ἐπὶ γόνυ πολλοὶ περιστάντες ἀφ' ἐνὸς ἐγκελεύσματος ἔκοπτον τοῖς ξίφεσιν, παρακελευσμός τε τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς ἕρισ αὐτοῖς ἦν.² τελευταία δὲ Ἀκύλας, ὁμολογεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ πάντων
- 111 πληγὴν ἐπαγαγὼν, μεθίστησιν αὐτὸν ἀκριβῶς. ἀναθείη δ' ἂν τις τὴν πράξιν Χαιρέα· καὶ γὰρ εἰ σὺν πολλοῖς ἐπράχθη τὸ ἔργον αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' οὖν πρῶτος τε ἐνεθυμήθη³ μέντοι αὐτὸ ὡς πραχθείη⁴ προλαβὼν⁵
- 112 πολὺ τῶν ἀπάντων, καὶ πρῶτος μὲν τολμηρῶς ἐξείπεν τοῖς λοιποῖς, δεχομένων δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ λόγον σποράδας τε ἤθροισεν καὶ τὰ πάντα φρονίμως συγκροτήσας ἔνθα γνωμῶν εἰσηγήσεως ἔχρην πολὺ κρείσσων ἐγίνετο καὶ λόγοις καθωμίλησεν χρηστοῖς ὡς οὐ τολμῶντας ἠνάγκασέν τε
- 113 τοὺς ἅπαντας, ἐπεὶ τε καιρὸς ἐλάμβανεν χειρὶ χρῆσασθαι, φαίνεται κἀνταῦθα πρῶτος τε ὀρμήσας καὶ ἀψάμενος ἀρετῆ τοῦ φόνου καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐεπίβατον παρασχὼν καὶ προτεθνεῶτα Γάιον, ὥστ' ἂν δικαίως καὶ ὁπόσα τοῖς λοιποῖς εἴη πεπραγμένα τῆ Χαιρέου γνώμη τε καὶ ἀρετῆ προστίθεσθαι καὶ πῶν τῶν χειρῶν.
- 114 (15) Καὶ Γάιος μὲν τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ χρησάμενος τῆς τελευτῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ τῶν τραυμάτων ἀπο-

¹ MW Lat.: προκατειργασμένον A.

² ἀφ' ἐνὸς . . . αὐτοῖς ἦν] singuli ad invicem gladiis et quasi ad certamina discerpserunt Lat.

³ εἶναι post ἐνεθυμήθη om.: κτείνει legit Petersen: τί εἶναι coni. Marcus.

⁴ μέντοι αὐτὸ ὡς πραχθείη] A (litt. τοι αὐτὸ ὡς πραχθείη i. ras. m. 2): μέντοι αὐτῷ ὡς MW: τοιαῦτα ὡς πραχθείη ed. pr.: μέν, τοιαῦτα δ' ὡς πραχθείη Petersen: μέντοι οὕτως πραχθείη coni. Marcus.

escape. He was confronted by Cornelius Sabinus, who had his course of action already worked out. He pushed Gaius to the ground and brought him down on one knee. Here a number of assailants encircled Gaius and at a single word of encouragement struck at him with their swords, cheering one another on and competing too. Finally Aquila, and there is no dissent about this, delivered a blow that unquestionably dispatched him. But the credit for the feat must still go to Chaerea. To be sure, he had many to help him accomplish it, but at any rate he was the first to think of the means by which to achieve it, and he planned it long before anyone else.^a Again he was the first who had the courage to speak openly of a plot to the rest. Moreover, when scattered individuals accepted the proposal of the murder, he brought them together and prudently organized the whole scheme. Thus, where initiative was called for, he proved far superior to the rest. In addition, by his noble eloquence he won them over when their courage failed them and compelled them all to act. Finally, when the time came for action, there too he was clearly the first to move and to initiate the glorious assassination, thus making Gaius, who was as good as dead already, an easy mark for the rest. The conclusion is that whatever the others may have done, all will rightly be credited to the decision and valour of Chaerea and to the labour of his hands.

(15) Such was the manner in which Gaius came to his end; deprived of life by his numerous wounds,

^a Text slightly emended, but the meaning is clear.

^b MW ed. pr.: προύλαβειν A (litt. πρὸν i. ras. m. 2, litt. ὠ i. ras. m. 1): προύλαβεν Petersen.

- 115 ψυχθεὶς ἔκειτο. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Χαιρέαν ἐπειδὴ κατείργαστο αὐτοῖς ἦδη Γάιος, ὁδοὺς μὲν τὰς αὐτὰς¹ ἰόντες σώζειν αὐτοὺς ἀμήχανον ἑώρων, ὅκνω τε τῶν γεγονότων, οὐ γὰρ μικρὸν ἦν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀνηρηκόσι τὸ κινδύνεμα ὑπὸ τε ἀνοίας τοῦ δήμου τιμώμενον καὶ ὄντα προσφιλεῖ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν
- 116 μὴ ἀναιμωτὶ ποιησομένων τὴν ζήτησιν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλως τε στενῶν οὐδῶν τῶν ὁδῶν, καθ' ὅς ἐπραξαν τὸ ἔργον, καὶ μεγάλου πλήθους ἐμφράξαντος αὐτὰς τῆς τε θεραπείας καὶ ὁπόσοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐκείνην παρήσαν τὴν
- 117 ἡμέραν, ὁδοὺς τε ἑτέρας χωροῦντες παρήσαν εἰς τὴν Γερμανικοῦ μὲν οἰκίαν τοῦ Γαίου πατρός, ὃν τότε ἀνηρήκεσαν, συνημμένη δὲ ἐκείνη,² διὰ τὸ ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ ὃν ἐπ' ἐποικοδομίας³ ἑκάστου τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ γεγονότων ἀσκηθῆν ἀπὸ μέρους ὀνόματι τῶν οἰκοδομησαμένων⁴ ἢ καὶ τι τῶν μερῶν⁵ οἰκήσεις ἀρξάντων τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν παρασχέσθαι.
- 118 καὶ διεκπεσόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τὴν ἔφοδον ἐν ἀδείᾳ τὸ παρὸν ἦσαν⁶ λαυθάνοντος ἀκμὴν κακοῦ τοῦ
- 119 τὸν αὐτοκράτορα παρειληφότος. πρῶτους δὲ εἰς τοὺς Γερμανοὺς ἢ αἰσθησις ἀφίκετο τῆς Γαίου τελευτῆς. δορυφόροι δ' ἦσαν οὗτοι ὁμώνυμον⁷ τῷ ἔθνει ἐφ'⁸ οὐ κατεiléχαστο⁹ Κελτικοῦ τάγμα παρεχό-

¹ τὰς αὐτὰς] Hudson: τοσαύτας codd. E: eadem Lat.

² συνημμένη δὲ ἐκείνη] συνημμένη δὲ ἐκείνη Bekker: συνημμένη δὲ ἐκείνη coni. Niese (secundum Lat.).

³ A: οἰκοδομίας MW: ἐποικοδομίας Holwerda.

⁴ ed. pr.: οἰκοδομηθησομένων codd.

⁵ ed. pr.: ἡμερῶν A: ἡμετέρων MW et i. marg. A.

⁶ συνημμένη . . . ἦσαν] erat enim haec domus coniuncta regalibus eo quod hi qui in eminentia constituti sunt diebus suae potentiae in talibus habitare noscuntur. et declinantes multitudinis invasionem esse iam videbantur in requie Lat.

there he lay. Chaerea and his companions, once they had settled their business with Gaius, saw that there was no chance of escape if they followed the route by which they had come. For one thing they had cause for alarm in what they had done, and it was no small danger that menaced the emperor's assassins. For he was held in honour and affection by the foolish mob; and the soldiers, in their search for him, would not refrain from bloodshed. Moreover, the passage-ways along which they had done the deed were narrow and blocked by a great crowd of his attendants and of such soldiers as were present for duty that day as the emperor's bodyguard. So they took another route, and came to the house of Germanicus, the father of the Gaius whom they had just now killed, which was contiguous to the palace of Gaius. For the palace, although a single edifice, had been enlarged part by part, and this occasioned the naming of the additions for members of the ruling family who completed or else started some part of the structure. Having escaped the mob without an assault, they were now free from danger, since the disaster which had overtaken the emperor was still undetected. The Germans were the first^a to discover the death of Gaius. They were the emperor's bodyguard and bore the name of the nation from which they had been enlisted; and it was they who made

The German bodyguard avenged Gaius.

^a Suetonius, *Calig.* 58, says that even before the arrival of the German bodyguards, Gaius' litter-bearers ran to help him.

⁷ ex Lat.: ὁμώνυμοι codd.

⁸ AM: ἀφ' W.

⁹ κατεiléχαστο] Dindorf: κατεiléχαστο, σ ex ν corr. A: κατείλεχαν τὸ MW.

- 120 μνοι τὸ αὐτῶν. θυμῷ δὲ χρῆσθαι πάτριόν ἐστιν αὐτοῖς, ὡσπερ σπάνιον εἶ¹ τισιν ἑτέροις βαρβάρων διὰ τὸ ἡσσόνως λογισμὸν ἐπιδέχεσθαι τῶν ποιουμένων, ῥωμαλέοι τε τοῖς σώμασι καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ ὀρμῇ συνιόντες τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὓς ἂν νομίσωσι,²
- 121 μεγάλα κατορθοῦντες. οὗτοι οὖν πυθόμενοι τοῦ Γαίου τὴν σφαγὴν καὶ περιαλγίσαντες διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀρετῇ κρίνειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄλοις, ἀλλὰ συμφέρουσι τῷ αὐτῶν, μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοῖς προσφιλεῖς ἦν Γάιος
- 122 δόσεσι χρημάτων τὸ εὖνον αὐτῷ κτώμενος, σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη, προειστήκει δ' αὐτῶν Σαβίνος χιλιάρχων οὐ δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ γενναιότητα προγόνων, μονομάχος γὰρ ἦν, ἰσχύι δὲ σώματος τὴν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις κτησάμενος ἀνθρώποις³ ἀρχήν,⁴ διεξήεσαν τῆς οἰκίας ἀνερευνῶμενοι τοὺς σφαγέας τοῦ Καίσαρος.
- 123 Ἀσπρήναν τε κρουργήσασιν αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ πρώτῳ περιπεσεῖν, οὗ τὴν στολὴν μιᾶναν τὸ αἷμα τῶν θυμάτων, ὡς μοι λέλεκται πρότερον, οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τὴν συντυχίαν ἀπεσήμαινε τοῦ γεγονότος, δεύτερος Νωρβανός⁵ ὑπηγντίαζεν ἐν τοῖς γενναιοτά-

¹ σπάνιον εἶ] Hispanis aut Lat.: Ἰσπανοῖς καὶ Richards et Shutt ex Lat.

² οὓς ἂν νομίσωσι] quibuscumque congressi Lat.: οἷς ἂν ὁμόσ' ἴωσι Richards et Shutt ex Lat.

³ κτησάμενος ἀνθρώποις conl.: κτησάμενος ἄθροισιν A: κτησάμενος MWE: κτησάμενος ἀνδράσι Bekker.

⁴ ed. pr.: ἀρετῇ codd.: dignitatem Lat.

⁵ δεύτερος Νωρβανός] A: βάρβαρος Ῥωμανός M: βάρβαρος Νωρμανός W: post hunc (occurrit eis) barbarus Norbanus Lat.: Βάββος Νωρβανός Groag (ap. Pauly-Wissowa, xvii¹, 1936, p. 932).

^a Not the Cornelius Sabinus who was one of the leaders in the conspiracy to assassinate Gaius (§§ 46 ff.). This Sabinus was one of the Thracians whom Caligula put in charge

up the Celtic band. It is a national trait of theirs to act furiously to a degree such as is rarely if ever met with among other barbarians, for the Germans pause less for calculation of the consequences. They are also physically powerful and win great success in the first onset whenever they engage any whom they consider enemies. These men, then, when they learned of the murder of Gaius, were full of resentment, for they did not decide issues on their merits according to the general interest, but according to their own advantage. Gaius was especially popular with them because of the gifts of money by which he acquired their goodwill. With swords drawn, they burst out from the palace in search of Caesar's murderers. They were led by Sabinus,^a a military tribune^b who owed his command over such men not to the services and nobility of his ancestors, for he was a gladiator, but to his physical strength. Asprenas^c was the first whom they came upon, and that was good reason to carve him limb from limb; it was he whose robe had been soiled by the blood of the victims, as I have mentioned above, an omen which boded no good. The second to fall in their way was Norbanus,^d one of his German bodyguard, according to Suetonius, *Calig.* 55. Later, when Claudius was eager to see him killed in a gladiatorial contest, he was saved by Messalina, whose paramour he was (*Dio* ix. 28. 2).

^b The title, as Keune, "Custos," Pauly-Wissowa, iv, 1901, p. 1903, indicates, is not to be taken literally, since the German bodyguard was not organized thus.

^c Cf. § 87.

^d Apparently L. Norbanus Balbus, consul in 19 (the gap in years between 19 and 41 is not sufficient to support the guess that our Norbanus was his son). In all probability, according to Stein, "Norbanus," no. 8, Pauly-Wissowa, xvii¹, 1936, p. 931, he was the grandson of Lucius Cornelius Balbus the Younger, who had fought with Julius Caesar in

- τοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτοκράτορας παρ-
 124 εχόμενος τῶν προπατόρων. καὶ μηδὲν αἰδουμένον
 αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀξίωσιν ἰσχυρῶν προῦχων ἀφαιρεῖται τὸ
 ξίφος τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν ἐπιόντων συμπλακεὶς φανερός
 τε ἦν οὐκ ἀπραγμόνως τεθηξόμενος, μέχρι δὴ
 125 περισχεθεὶς πολλοῖς τῶν ἐπιφερομένων ἔπεσεν ὑπὸ
 πλήθους τραυμάτων. τρίτος δὲ Ἀντήιος τῶν ἐκ
 τῆς βουλῆς σὺν δλίγοις, οὐ τυχαίως τοῖς Γερμανοῖς
 καθάπερ οἱ πρότερον περιπεσῶν, ὑπὸ δὲ φιλοθεα-
 μοσύνης καὶ ἡδονῆς¹ τοῦ αὐτόπτης γενόμενος² Γαίου
 κειμένου μίσος εὐφρᾶναι τὸ πρὸς αὐτόν³. τὸν γὰρ
 πατέρα τοῦ Ἀντηίου καὶ ὁμώνυμον φυγάδα ἐλάσας
 καὶ μὴ ἄρκεσεῖς κτείνει στρατιώτας ἀποπέμψας.
 126 καὶ παρῆν μὲν διὰ τὰδε εὐφρανόμενος θεωρεῖα τοῦ
 νεκροῦ, θορυβουμένης δὲ τῆς οἰκίας κρύπτειν αὐτὸν
 ἐνθυμησάμενος οὐ διαφυγγάνει τῶν Γερμανῶν τό τε
 εἰς τὴν ἔρευναν ἀκριβὲς κάπῃ τοῖς φόνοις ὁμοίως
 τῶν τε αἰτίων καὶ μὴ ἕξαγριωσάντων. καὶ οἶδε
 μὲν ταύτῃ τεθνήκεσαν.
 127 (16) Εἰς δὲ τὸ θέατρον ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο ὁ λόγος περὶ
 τῆς Γαίου τελευτῆς, ἐκπληξίς τε καὶ ἀπιστία ἦν· οἱ
 μὲν γὰρ καὶ πάνυ ἡδονῇ δεχόμενοι τὸν ὄλεθρον
 αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸ πολλοῦ ἡγησάμενοι σφίσιν ἀγαθὸν

¹ ἡδονῇ coni. Petersen.

² γενέσθαι E.

³ μίσος . . . αὐτόν] διὰ μίσους ἔφερετο πρὸς αὐτόν E.

the Civil War, and who in turn was a nephew of Lucius Cornelius Balbus the Elder, who had served under Caesar in Spain and Gaul. Since Josephus says that he could boast of many generals among his ancestors, he may also have been a descendant of Gaius Norbanus, who had fought unsuccessfully against Sulla.

^a Otherwise unknown, though perhaps the brother of

of the noblest of the citizens, who could boast of many generals among his ancestors. When the Germans showed no respect for his rank, his superior strength enabled him, on grappling with the first of his assailants, to snatch away his sword. He let it be seen that he would not let them kill him at their ease, but at last he was enclosed in a circle of assailants and succumbed to their many blows. The third victim was Anteius,^a one of the most distinguished senators. He did not, like his predecessors, fall foul of the Germans accidentally, but was attracted by the love of a spectacle and by the pleasure of seeing the prostrate Gaius with his own eyes in order to gratify his hatred for him. For Gaius had driven Anteius' father,^b who bore the same name, into exile; and, not content with that, he had sent a body of soldiers after him to put him to death. Such cause Anteius had to rejoice as he stood there looking on. But when the uproar began in the palace, and the need to conceal himself became urgent, he did not escape the vigilant search of the Germans nor the savage fury with which they slew both the guilty and the innocent alike. And so these three men died thus.

(16) When the news of the death of Gaius reached the theatre, there was consternation and incredulity. Some, who heartily welcomed his assassination and would have regarded it long since as a blessing to

The theatre is stunned by news of Gaius' death.

Publius Anteius, who was legate in Dalmatia in 51/52 and committed suicide in 66 (Tac. *Ann.* xvi. 14; cf. Rohden, "Anteius," no. 4, Pauly-Wissowa, i, 1894, p. 2349).

^b Otherwise unknown, unless he is to be identified with the Anteius who was one of those whom Germanicus put in charge of constructing a fleet in 16 (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 6; cf. Rohden, "Anteius," no. 1, Pauly-Wissowa, i, 1894, p. 2349).

128 συνελθεῖν ὑπὸ δέους ἐν ἀπιστία ἦσαν. εἰσὶ δ' οἷς
καὶ πάνν ἀπ' ἐλπίδων ἦν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐθέλειν τι
τοιούδε περὶ τῷ Γαίῳ γεγονέναι μήτε ἀληθεία προσ-
τίθεσθαι διὰ τὸ μὴ οἶόν τε ἀνθρώπῳ εἶναι τοιαῦδε
129 ἀρετῇ χρῆσθαι. γύναια δ' ἦν ταῦτα καὶ παῖδες
ὅποσοι τε δοῦλοι καὶ τινες τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ, οἱ
μὲν διὰ τὸ μισθοφορεῖν καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ συντυραν-
νοῦντες καὶ διακονία τῆς κατ' ἐκείνον ὕβρεως ἐπανα-
σειόμενοι τοῖς κρατίστοις τῶν πολιτῶν τιμῆς τε
130 ἅμα καὶ ὠφελειῶν τυγχάνειν, ἡ δὲ αὐ γυναικωνῆτις
καὶ τὸ νεώτερον, ὅπερ ὄχλος φιλεῖ, θεωρίας τε καὶ
μονομαχιῶν δόσεσιν καὶ τινων κρεανομιῶν ἡδοναῖς
ἀνειλημμένοι, ἃ ἐπράσσετο λόγω μὲν ἐπὶ θεραπεία¹
τῆς πληθύος,² τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἐκπιμπλάντα τῆς μανίας
131 Γαίου τὴν ὠμότητα· οἱ δὲ δοῦλοι διὰ τὸ ἐν προσ-
ηγορία τε εἶναι καὶ καταφρονήματι τῶν δεσποτῶν,
ἀποστροφῆς τῷ ὑβρίζοντι αὐτοὺς³ οὔσης τῆς κατ'
ἐκείνον ἐπικουρίας· ῥᾶδιον γὰρ ψευσαμένοις τε κατὰ
τῶν κυρίων πεπιστεῦσθαι καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐνδεί-
ξασιν αὐτῶν ἅμα ἐλευθέρους τε εἶναι καὶ πλουσίους
μισθῷ τῶν κατηγοριῶν διὰ τὸ ἄθλα αὐτοῖς προκει-
132 σθαι τὰς ὀγδόας τῶν οὐσιῶν. τῶν δὲ εὐπατριδῶν
εἰ καὶ τισιν πιστὸς ὁ λόγος φανείη, τοῖς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ
προειδέναι τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, τοῖς δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ θέλειν
εὐκτὸν ἡγευμένοις, σιγῇ παρεδίδοτο οὐ μόνον ἡ ἐπὶ

¹ A: θεωρία MW et i. marg. A.

² ἃ ἐπράσσετο . . . πληθύος] quas in ludis agebat Gaius, ut quasi populo voluptatem exhiberet Lat.

³ ed. pr.: αὐτῆν codd.: αὐτῶν conl. Niese.

themselves, were incredulous from fear. There were others to whom the news was quite contrary to their hopes because they had no desire that any such thing should befall Gaius; and they did not credit it, because it seemed to them impossible for any human being to have the courage to kill Gaius. Among them were silly women, children, all the slaves, and some of the army. The last named were of this mind because they were mercenaries, and no less than partners in his tyranny; by playing the lackey to his insolence, they gained both honour and profit, for the noblest citizens were in terror of them. The women-folk and the youth, after the fashion of the mob, were captivated by his shows and by the gladiatorial combats that he presented, as well as by the enjoyment of portions of meat that he distributed. The reason given for such provision was to cater to the crowd, but the truth was that Gaius' own savage madness fed on such things. The slaves supported him because they were now on familiar terms with, and contemptuous of, their masters, and found in his intervention a refuge from their masters' rough treatment, for it was easy for them to gain credence when they informed falsely against their lords. They also found it easy, by giving information about their masters' possessions, to gain both freedom and wealth as a reward for such denunciations, since the informer's fee was one-eighth of the property.^a As to the patricians, if there were any who credited the report, some from their foreknowledge of the plot and others because of wishful thinking, they not only consigned to silence their joy at the announcement

^a Actually the informer's fee under Tiberius had been one-fourth (*Camb. Anc. Hist.* x, 1934, p. 627).

τοῖς ἠγγεγμένους χαρά, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ δόξα τῆς ἀκρο-
 133 ἀσεως, οἱ μὲν δεδιότες μὴ καὶ ψευθεῖσιν ἐλπίδος
 τιμωρία συνέλθοιεν ὡς προεξορμήσασιν ἀποφύνα-
 σθαι τὴν διάνοιαν ἑαυτῶν, οἱ δ' ἐξεπιστάμενοι διὰ
 τὸ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς μετασχεῖν μειζόνως ἔκρυπτον
 ἀλλήλων ἀγνοία καὶ δεδιότες, μὴ πρὸς τινα εἰπόντες,
 οἷς ἡ τυραννὶς ἐστῶσα ὠφέλιμος ἦν, ζῶντος Γαίου
 134 κολασθεῖεν ἐνδείξεως γενομένης. ἐπεὶ καὶ ἕτερος
 ἐπεφοιτῆκει λόγος ὠμιληκέναι μὲν τραύμασιν,¹ οὐ
 μὴν ἀποθανεῖν, ἀλλὰ ζῶντα ἐν θεραπείαις ὑπὸ τῶν
 135 ἰατρῶν εἶναι. ἦν τε πιστὸς οὐθεῖς² οὐδενί, ὧ καὶ
 θαρσῆσας γνώμην ἀποφαίνοντο τὴν αὐτοῦ· ἡ γὰρ
 φίλος ὢν ὑποπτος ἐγένετο εὐνοία τῆς τυραννίδος ἢ
 καὶ μίσει πρὸς ἐκείνον χρώμενος τῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν
 οὐδαμῶθεν εὐνοία χρωμένῳ διαφθείρειν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς
 136 λεγομένοις πίστιν. ἐλέγετο δὲ ὑπὸ τινων, οἱ καὶ
 μάλιστα τοῖς εὐπατρίδαις ἠφάνιζον τὸ εὐθυμοῦν τῆς
 ἐλπίδος, ἐν ἀμελείᾳ κινδύνων γεγονότα καὶ ἄφροντιν
 κομιδῇ τῶν τραυμάτων, ὥσπερ εἶχεν ἡματωμένον
 ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς διεκπεσεῖν καὶ δημηγορίαις εἶναι.
 137 καὶ τὰδε μὲν εἰκάζετο βουλήσει τῇ ἀλογίστῳ τῶν
 θροεῖν προθεμένων καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα δόξῃ τῶν
 ἀκούοντων λαμβανόμενα· οὐ μὴν τὴν γ' ἐνέδραν³
 ἐξέλιπον δεδιότες τὴν ἐπενεχθησομένην προεξιούσῳ
 αἰτίαν· οὐ γὰρ ἐφ' ἧς ἀξιοῖεν⁴ διανοίας γενήσεσθαι

¹ ὠμιληκέναι . . . τραύμασιν] quia res quidem a coniuratis
 fuisse temptata Lat.

² ex Lat.: αἰθεῖς codd.: οὐθεῖς Bekker.

³ ἐνέδραν] loca suae custodiae Lat.: ἔδραν Dindorf.

⁴ ἐξιοῖεν Hudson ex Lat.

but even pretended not to have heard of it. They were afraid lest, if they were disappointed in their expectation, they would be brought to punishment because they had started too soon to show what they thought. Those who had knowledge of the plot, because they were partners in it, were still more secretive, since they did not know who the others were in the plot and feared that if they spoke of it to anyone who stood to gain by the continuance of the tyranny, they would be denounced and punished if Gaius still lived. For another story had got about to the effect that though wounded, Gaius was not dead, but alive and being attended by physicians. There was no one who had sufficient confidence in anyone else to pluck up courage and tell him what he thought. For if the other were a friend of Gaius, he was suspected because of the goodwill that he bore to the tyranny, or else, if he hated Gaius, confidence was undermined in what he said by his unwillingness to tolerate anything favourable about Gaius from any source. It was reported by some—and it was they who most of all banished all optimism from the patricians' minds—that Gaius, in disregard of danger and quite unconcerned to get his wounds treated, had escaped, bloodstained as he was, to the Forum and was haranguing the people. Such were the pictures drawn by the unreasoning desire of those who took it upon themselves to wag their tongues; the effect on the hearers depended on their attitude one way or the other. None, however, left their seats, because they feared the charge which might be brought against any who were the first to go out; for they would be judged guilty or innocent not because of the intention with which they might claim

περὶ αὐτοῖς τὴν κρίσιν,¹ ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἧς εἰκάζων² ἐθελή-
σειαν οἱ τε κατηγορήσοντες καὶ οἱ δικάζοντες.³

138 (17) Ἐπει δὲ καὶ πλῆθος τῶν Γερμανῶν περιέσχε
τὸ θέατρον ἐσπασμένων τὰ ξίφη, πᾶσι τοῖς θεωροῖς
ἐλπίς ἦν ἀπολείσθαι, καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν οὐτινος εἰσ-
οδὸν πτοία εἶχεν αὐτούς, ὡς αὐτίκα μάλα συγκοπή-
σουντο, ἐν ἀμηχάνοις τε ἦσαν οὐτ' ἀπίενοι θάρσος
εἰσφερόμενοι οὔτε ἀκίνδυνον τὴν διατριβὴν τὴν ἐπὶ
139 τοῦ θεάτρου πεπιστευκότες. εἰσπιπτόντων τε ἡδὴ
βοῇ τοῦ θεάτρου ῥήγνυνται καθ' ἰκετεῖαν τρεπομένου
τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὡς πάντων ἀγνοίας αὐτοῖς⁴ γενο-
μένης καὶ τῶν βουλευθέντων τοῖς ἐπαναστάσιν, εἰ
140 δὴ τις καὶ γέγονεν ἐπαναστάσις, καὶ τῶν γενονό-
των. φείδεσθαι οὖν καὶ μὴ τόλμης ἀλλοτρίας παρὰ
τῶν οὐδ' ἐν αἰτία γενομένων ἀπολαμβάνειν τιμω-
ρίαν, παρέντας ἐρευνῆν⁵ τῶν πεπραχότων ὅ τι καὶ
141 πεπραγμένον εἶη καταστῆναι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτά τε
καὶ περαιτέρω μετὰ δακρῶν καὶ τύψεως προσ-
ώπων ἐπιθειάζοντες καὶ ποτνιῶμενοι ὅποσα ἀνεδί-
δασκεν αὐτοῦς ὁ κίνδυνος ἐστὼς πλησίον, καὶ ὡς
142 ἂν τις ἀγωνιζόμενος περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς εἴποι τι, ἔλεγον.
θραύεται δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς ταῦτα ἡ ὄργη
καὶ μεταμελήσαν αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς θεωροῖς βου-
λεύματος, ὡμόν τε γὰρ ἦν τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνοις καίπερ
ἐξηγηρικώσιν ἐδόκει, τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν περὶ τὸν
143 Ἀσπρήναν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀπερειαμένους. πρὸς

¹ οὐ γὰρ . . . κρίσιν] quando non qua voluntate discederent
accusari poterant aut damnari Lat.

² A: ἐγκαθίξειν MW.

³ οἱ τε κατηγορήσοντες καὶ οἱ δικάζοντες] Lowthius (κατηγορή-
σοντες conit.: κατηγορήσαντες Lowthius): τοὺς τε κατηγορήσον-
τας καὶ τοὺς δικάζοντας codd.

to have acted but because of whatever construction
would-be prosecutors and jury might chose to put
upon the act.

(17) But when in fact a troop of Germans with
drawn swords surrounded the theatre, all the spec-
tators expected a massacre; they cringed when any-
one entered, no matter who, convinced that they
would be cut to pieces that very instant. They were
thus at a loss what to do, for on the one hand they
were unable to pluck up courage to depart, and on
the other hand they had no confidence that it was
safe to stay in the theatre. When the troops now
streamed in, the people in the theatre burst into cries,
turning in supplication to the soldiers and pleading
that they had had no knowledge of anything, neither
of the designs of the rebels, supposing that a rebellion
had occurred, nor of actual events. They therefore en-
treated the soldiers to spare them and not to make in-
nocent men pay the penalty for the rashness of others,
and to abandon the idea of instituting a search for
those who had done whatever it was that had actually
been done. Such were their words and more, as they
wept and beat their faces, conjuring them to listen
with agonized appeals such as the danger that hovered
near schooled them to repeat. Each man spoke as a
man must speak when life hangs on his eloquence.
The anger of the soldiers gave way under the impact
of these words, and they repented of their intended
attack on the spectators, which would have been
cruel and appeared so even to them, furious though
they were. But first they fixed the heads of Asprenas
and their other victims upon the altar. At this sight,

Appearance
of German
avengers in
the theatre.

⁴ conit. Niese: αὐτῆ codd.: αὐτῶ ed. pr.

⁵ Niese: ἐρευνῆ A: ἐν ἐρευνῆ MW.

- ὡς μειζόνως ἔπαθον οἱ θεωροὶ λογισμῶ τε ἀξιώσεως τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἐλέω τοῦ πάθους, ὥστε παρ' ὀλίγων καὶ αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἔλλιπεστέρως τὰ τῶν κινδύνων ὁμλήσαντα ἐπανασεεῖσθαι, ὧν ἀδελον εἶναι τὴν συμφορὰν εἶπερ εἰς τέλος φευχθῆναι δύναται ἄν.
- 144 ὥστε κἂν εἴ τινες τῶν προθύμως μισούντων καὶ μετὰ δίκης τὸν Γάιον ἀφαιρέσθαι τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ εὐφροσυνῶν τῆς χώρας,¹ διὰ τὸ ἐν ῥοπή μὲν τοῦ συναπολουμένου² γεγονέναι,³ τὸ δὲ πιστὸν τοῦ περιεῖναι μηδέπω καὶ τότε ἐχέγγυον συνελθεῖν.
- 145 (18) Ἦν δὲ Εὐάρεστος Ἀρουντίος⁴ τῶν κηρυσόντων τὰ πωλούμενα καὶ δι' αὐτὸ φωνῆς τε μεγέθει χρώμενος καὶ χρήματα περιβεβλημένος⁵ ὅμοια τοῖς Ῥωμαίων πλουσιωτάτοις, δύναμις τε αὐτῷ ἦν ἐφ' οἷς ἐβελήσειε πράσσειν⁶ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐν
- 146 τε τῷ τότε κἂν τοῖς ὕστερον. οὗτος διαθεῖς αὐτὸν ὡς ἐνῆν πενθιμώτατον, καίτοι μίσει καὶ παρ' ὄντινον ἐχρήτο πρὸς Γάιον, ἀλλὰ μὴν κρείσσων ἢ διδασκαλία τοῦ φόβου καὶ στρατηγία περὶ τοῦ κερδησομένου τὴν σωτηρίαν τῆς εἰς τὸ παρὸν ἠ-
- 147 δονῆς, πάντα κόσμον ἐπιτηδεύσας ὡς ἂν τις ἐπὶ τοῖς τιμιωτάτοις παρεσκεύαστο ἀπολωλόσιν, ἀποσημαίνει τοῦ Γαῖου τὸν θάνατον ἐπὶ τὸ θέατρον παρελθὼν καὶ ἔπαυσε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ πλέον
- 148 ἀγνοία συμπεριφέρεσθαι τοῦ γεγονότος. ἤδη δὲ καταστείλας⁷ Ἀρουντίος παρῆν⁸ ἀνακαλῶν τοὺς

¹ τῆς χώρας] τῆς χάρας ed. pr. : καὶ τῆς χαρᾶς Hudson.

² ed. pr. : συναπολογουμένου codd.

³ διὰ τὸ . . . γεγονέναι] cum ad tanta pericula pervenissent Lat.

⁴ A : Ἀρουντίος MW : Aruntius Lat.

⁵ χρήματα περιβεβλημένος] indutus vestibus diversi coloris Lat.

⁶ πράσσειν] agendi Lat. : πιπράσκειν Naber.

⁷ καταστείλας] Post : καὶ Στήλας AW : καὶ σύλας, σ ex στ

the spectators were still more deeply moved both by consideration of the rank of the deceased men and by pity for their fate. As a result, they themselves were almost equally daunted by close contact with the threatened fate, since it was still uncertain whether in the end they would be able to make good their escape. And so even those who hated Gaius heartily and with justice were left with no chance to rejoice at his death, because they were on tenterhooks for fear of perishing with him and they had not yet even then had any trustworthy assurance that they would survive.

(18) Now Euarestus Arruntius was a professional auctioneer and therefore possessed of a powerful voice; he had accumulated money till he had as much as the wealthiest of the Romans, and was able both then and later to do just as he liked throughout the city. This man arrayed himself in the deepest possible mourning; for though he hated Gaius as much as anyone, yet the discipline of fear and the strategy required to secure his survival outweighed any pleasure of the moment. He therefore dressed himself with all the detail that would have been employed in mourning the most honoured dead, and passed into the theatre, where he announced the death of Gaius, thus putting an end to any further activity on the part of the people that was due to misinformation as to what had happened. By now Arruntius had got control^a and accompanied the

An auctioneer announces the death of Gaius, and the Germans are quieted.

^a Text emended. The best manuscript reads "Stelas [*i.e.* Stella] Aruntius [*i.e.* Arruntius]" for "Arruntius had got

corr., ὅ in ras. A : καὶ στέλας M : καὶ στέλλας E : etiam statuas Lat. : Παῦλος Dindorf ex § 102.

⁸ παρῆν] circumibat Lat. : περιέχει Dindorf ex Lat.

Γερμανούς καὶ οἱ χιλιάρχοι σὺν αὐτῷ κελεύοντες
κατατίθεσθαι τὸν σίδηρον καὶ διασαφεύοντες Γαίου
149 τὴν τελευτήν. τοῦτο καὶ σαφέστατα ἔσωσεν τοὺς
ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ συνειλεγμένους καὶ πάντας, οἱ καὶ
ὄπωσον¹ τοῖς Γερμανοῖς περιτύχοιεν· ἐλπίδος γὰρ
αὐτοῖς παραγενομένης ἔμπνουν κείσθαι τὸν Γάιον
150 οὐκ ἔσθ' οὐτινος κακῶν ἂν ἀπέσχοντο. τοσόνδε
ἐπερίσσευσεν αὐτοῖς εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς
κἂν μετὰ τοῦ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἀπολουμένου τῆς ψυχῆς
κτῆσασθαι τὸ ἀνεπιβούλευτον αὐτῷ καὶ τοσαύτη
151 δυστυχία μὴ συνεσόμενον.² παύονται δὲ τοῦ ὠργη-
κότος εἰς τὴν τιμωρίαν μαθήσεως σαφοῦς παρα-
γενομένης αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ, διὰ τε τὸ εἰς
ἀχρεῖον ἐπιδείξασθαι τὸ πρόθυμον τῆς εὐνοίας, ὃς
ἀμείψαιτο αὐτοὺς ἀπολωλότος, καὶ δέει, μὴ καὶ
περαιτέρω τῇ ὕβρει χρωμένων ἐπιστροφή γένοιτο
ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, εἴπερ εἰς ἐκείνην περισταίη τὸ
152 κράτος, ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπικαταστάντος ἄρχοντος. καὶ
Γερμανοὶ εἰ καὶ μόλις, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐπαύσαντο λύσσης
τῆς ἐπὶ Γαίου τῷ θανάτῳ καταλαμβανομένης αὐ-
τούς.

153 (19) Χαίρεας δέ, σφόδρα γὰρ περὶ Βινουκιανῶ³
ἔδεισε, μὴ διαφθαρείη μανία τῶν Γερμανῶν περι-
πεσιών, ἕκαστόν τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν μετῆι προ-
μηθεῖσθαι τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ δεόμενος καὶ μὴ
154 ἀπολώλοι πολλὴν ἐξέτασιν ποιούμενος. καὶ Βινου-

¹ ὄπωσον] ed. pr. : ὄπως ἂν codd.

² μὴ συνεσόμενον] Hudson : συνεσόμενον codd.

³ conī. Niese (cf. § 18) : Μινουκιανῶ codd.

control." If so, this may be the Arruntius Stella who in 55 had charge of the games that were prepared by the emperor (Tac. Ann. xiii. 22). But it seems unlikely that Josephus,

tribunes recalling the Germans, bidding them sheathe their swords and giving a full account of the death of Gaius. This was certainly the thing that saved those who were assembled in the theatre and all who in any way came in contact with the Germans; for, had the Germans been given any hope that Gaius still lay breathing, there is no crime from which they would have refrained. So great was their loyalty to him that they would even have risked their own lives to secure for him immunity from plots and avoidance^a of so great a disaster. But an end was put to their furious quest for vengeance, once they had been fully informed about the death of Gaius; for it was of no use to display their ardent devotion, now that the one who would have rewarded them had perished. They feared, moreover, that, if they proceeded further in their lawless mood, they might attract attention from the senate, supposing that it should succeed to power, or from the imperial ruler who won control. So the Germans did, at any rate, though it was a narrow escape, desist from the frenzy that took possession of them at the death of Gaius.

(19) Chaerea was much alarmed for Vinicianus^b lest he should meet with and be killed by the frenzied Germans. He went among the soldiers one by one, begging them to take precautions for Vinicianus' safety, and satisfying himself by much questioning that he had not lost his life. Meanwhile, Vinicianus

immediately after mentioning and identifying Euarestus Arruntius, should mention, without further identification, another man named Arruntius who performed a similar function of giving an account of Gaius' death.

^a The mss. have "participation in," but the negative is clearly intended from the context.

^b mss. (here and in § 154) Minucianus; cf. note on § 18.

κιανόν¹ μὲν Κλήμης, ἀνάγεται γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦτον, μεθί-
 ησιν πολλῶν μετ' ἄλλων συγκλητικῶν δικαιοσύνην
 155 τῇ πράξει συμμαρτυρῶν καὶ ἀρετὴν τοῖς ἐντεθυ-
 νίδα γὰρ εἰς ὀλίγον μὲν ἐλθεῖν² ἡδονῇ τοῦ ὑβρίζειν
 ἐπαρθέσαν, εὐτυχεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἄρα ποιείσθαι τὰς ἀπ-
 156 αλλαγὰς τοῦ βίου μίσει τῆς ἀρετῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν
 χρωμένης, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοιαύτης δυστυχίας, ὁποῖα
 δὴ Γάιον συνελθεῖν πρὸ τῶν ἐπαναστάντων καὶ
 συνθέντων⁴ τὴν ἐπίθεσιν αὐτὸν⁵ ἐπίβουλον αὐτῷ
 γενόμενον⁶ καὶ διδάξαντα οἷς ὑβρίζων ἀφόρητος ἦν
 ἀφανίζων τοῦ νόμου τὴν πρόνοιαν πολέμῳ πρὸς αὐ-
 τὸν χρησθαι τοὺς φιλάτους, καὶ νῦν λόγῳ μὲν εἶναι
 τούτους οἱ ἀνηγήκασιν Γάιον, ἔργῳ δὲ αὐτὸν ὑφ'
 ἑαυτοῦ κείσθαι διολωλότα.

157 (20) Ἦδη δὲ καὶ τὸ θέατρον ἐξανίστατο τῶν
 φυλακῶν αἰ τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς⁷ πάνυ πικραὶ ἐγένοντο
 ὑπανεισῶν.⁸ αἰτία δ' ἦν τοῦ προθύμους καὶ δια-
 φευξομένου τῶν θεωρῶν Ἀλκύν¹⁰ ὁ ἰατρός, συν-
 αρπασθεὶς μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ τινῶν τραυματιῶν,
 ἐκπέμψας δὲ τοὺς συνόντας λόγῳ μὲν ὡς καὶ μετ-
 ελευσομένους ὅποσα εἰς τὴν ἴασιν τοῖς τραυμα-

¹ conī. Niese (cf. § 18): Μινουκιανόν E Lat.: Μινουκιανός codd.

² καὶ Βινουκιανὸν . . . ἀποδεδειλιακός] et Minucianum quem Clemens adduxit in medium. ad Chaeream vero conversum cum multis aliis senatoribus iustitiaeque et virtuti testabatur eius laudans cogitationem et actum sine formidatione completum Lat.

³ ἀνθεῖν Hudson.

⁴ Dindorf: συνθέντων codd.

⁵ ed. pr.: αὐτῶν codd.

⁶ εὐτυχεῖς . . . γενόμενον] quippe cum non posset felix vita illi praebere, qui virtuti probaretur odibilis, sed cum tali calamitate deficere quali Gaius, qui etiam ante coniuratorum

was brought up before Clemens, who released him; for Clemens, together with many others of senatorial rank, bore witness to the justice of the deed and to the valour of those who had made the plans and shown no weakness in the execution of them. "For," he said, "tyranny, which is motivated by lust for unrestrained violence, lasts but a short time. As we see, there is no happy ending for the life of a tyrant, since the virtuous hate him. No, he is visited with such disaster as has come to Gaius, who had plotted against himself before there was any uprising or any organization of the attack. It was by the lessons that he gave to those who could not endure his violations, and by his abolition of legal protection, that he taught his dearest friends to make war on him. And now, though they are said to be the slayers of Gaius, he has fallen, in fact, a victim to his own design."

(20) By now the occupants of the theatre were rising from their seats, the guard which at first had been so cruel being somewhat relaxed. The person responsible for the spectators being allowed to depart so readily was Alcyon the physician. He had been seized and carried off in order that he might care for some wounded men. He then dispatched those present with him, as if they were to fetch some supplies that he needed to treat the patients, but his

consensum proprium facinus sibi constituit inimicum Lat.; γενόμενον] ed. pr.: γενομένην AW: γενησομένην M.

⁷ αἰ τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς] i. marg. A, quod etiam Lat. habuisse vid.: καὶ ἀρχαὶ codd.: καὶ παραχαί ed. pr.

⁸ ὑπανεισῶν] conī. Niese: ὑπανίσως A: τοῦ πᾶν εἶσω MW: τῶν εἶσω ed. pr.: ὑπανεισῶν Herwerden; ἦδη . . . ὑπανεισῶν] iam ergo surgebant de theatro custodiae, quae principio perniciosae fuerant, quando omnes velociter abscedere festinabant Lat.

¹⁰ A (λ in ras.): Ἀρκύων M: Ἀρκύων W: Alcyon Lat.

τίας πρόσφορα, τὸ δ' ἀληθές ὡς ἀπέσειντο¹ κινδύνου
 158 τοῦ κατελιηφότος. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ βουλῆς τε γίνεται
 σύνοδος καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἥπερ καὶ εἰώθασιν ἐκκλη-
 σιάζειν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καταστάς ἐν ζητήσιν τῶν
 σφαγέων τῶν Γαίου ἦσαν, ὁ μὲν δῆμος καὶ πάνν
 159 ἐκθύμως, δοκεῖν δὲ καὶ ἡ βουλή. καὶ ἦν γὰρ
 Ἀσιατικὸς Οὐαλέριος ὑπατικὸς ἀνὴρ, οὗτος ἐπὶ
 τὸν δῆμον καταστάς, θορυβούντων καὶ δεινὸν τιθε-
 μένων τὸ ἔτι λανθάνον τῶν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀπ-
 εκτονότων, ἐπεὶ προθύμως πάντες αὐτὸν ἤροντο, τίς
 160 ὁ πράξας τυγχάνει, "εἶθε γὰρ ἔγωγε," φησί. καὶ
 προῦθεσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ὑπατοὶ διάγραμμα Γαίου μὲν
 κατηγορίας ποιούμενοι, κελεύοντες δὲ τῷ τε² δῆμῳ
 καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἀπιέναι, τῷ μὲν
 δῆμῳ πολλὴν ἀνεσεως ἐπαγγελόμενοι ἐλπίδα, τῷ
 στρατιωτικῷ δὲ τιμῶν, εἰ ἐν κόσμῳ μείνειαν τῷ
 εἰωθότι μηδὲν ὑβρίζειν ἐξαγόμενοι· δέος γὰρ ἦν, μὴ
 ἐξαγριωσάντων ἀπολαύσειεν τοῦ κακοῦ ἢ πόλις
 καθ' ἄρπαγὰς αὐτῶν καὶ συλήσεις τῶν ἱερῶν τρε-
 161 πομένων. ἐφθάκει δὲ ἤδη τῶν βουλευτῶν τὸ πᾶν
 πλήθος συνειλεγμένον καὶ μάλιστα οἱ εἰς³ τοῦ Γαίου
 συνελθόντες⁴ τὸν φόνον θράσει τε ἤδη χρώμενοι
 κᾶν καταφρονήματι⁵ μεγάλῳ ὄντες ὡς εἰς αὐτοὺς
 ἀνακειμένων δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων.
 182 (ii. 1) Ἐν τούτῳ δὴ ὄντων τῶν πραγμάτων
 αἰφνίδιον ἀρπάζεται Κλαύδιος ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας· οἱ γὰρ

¹ ed. pr.: πείσειντο AM: πέσειντο W: (pericula) decli-
narent Lat.

² δὲ τῷ τε] Ernesti: τε τῷ A: δὲ τῷ τότε MW: δὲ τῷ E.

³ A: om. MWE.

⁴ συνθέντες E.

⁵ φρονήματι E.

^a Cf. §§ 102 and 252.

real purpose was to remove them from the danger
 that had overtaken them. Meanwhile, a meeting of Meetings of
 the senate was convened; and the people also met the senate
 in the Forum, where they customarily hold their and
 assemblies. Both were engaged in an investigation popular
 of the murderers of Gaius. The populace was in fact assembly.
 quite zealous, but the senate merely made a show of
 zeal. Now there was a certain Valerius Asiaticus,^a
 a man of consular rank, presiding over the popular
 assembly,^b who, when the people were in an uproar
 and indignant that the emperor's murderers were
 still undetected, and when everybody urgently de-
 manded to be told who had done the deed, replied,
 "Would that it had been I." The consuls also pro-
 posed a decree bringing charges against Gaius, and
 bade both the people and the soldiers depart to their
 quarters, giving the people every assurance that they
 would receive some relief, while the soldiers were to
 receive rewards, if they maintained the usual disci-
 pline and did not resort to violence. For the consuls
 feared that if they ran amuck, the city would suffer
 the consequences, once they turned to plunder the
 citizens and violate the temples. By now all the
 senators had assembled, and in particular those who
 had plotted the assassination of Gaius. These latter
 were now full of confidence and had great notions of
 their own exalted position, thinking that the govern-
 ment was now in their hands.

(ii. 1) Such was the political scene when Claudius^c The
 was suddenly kidnapped from his house. For the soldiers
 veto demo-
 cracy and

^b In Dio lix. 30. 2 he addresses an assembly of the prae-
torian guard. His statement so alarms them that they stop
their outcry.

^c There is a parallel, but much briefer, account of the
accession of Claudius in *B.J.* ii. 204-214.

στρατιῶται συνόδου γενομένης αὐτοῖς, ἀλλήλοις καὶ αὐτοῖς λόγον δόντες περὶ τοῖς ποιητέοις ἑώρων δημοκρατίαν ἀδύνατον τε ὄν ἐν κράτει τοσῶνδε ἂν ποτε γενέσθαι πραγμάτων ἐξικομένην τε οὐκ ἔπ' 163 ἀγαθῶ τῶ αὐτῶν κτήσασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰ τέ τις τῶν κατὰ ἕνα σχήσοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, εἰς πάντα λυπηρὸν αὐτοῖς εἶναι μὴ οὐ συνεργοῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς κατα- 164 στᾶσιν.¹ καλῶς οὖν ἔχειν ἀκρίτων ἔτι ὄντων τῶν πραγμάτων ἡγεμόνα αἰρεῖσθαι Κλαύδιον, πάτρωά τε ὄντα τοῦ τεθνεώτος καὶ τῶν εἰς τὴν βουλήν συλλεγομένων οὐδενὸς οὐτινος οὐκ ἀξιολογώτερον προγόνων τε ἀρετῆ καὶ τῶ² κατ' αὐτὸν παιδείαν με- 165 μελετηκότι, καὶ σταθέντα αὐτοκράτορα τιμήσειεν τε τὰ εἰκότα καὶ ἀμεΐψασθαι³ δωρεαῖς. ταῦτα διανοοῦνται τε καὶ ἔπραξαν ἐκ τοῦ παραχρήμα. ἤρ- παστο μὲν δὴ Κλαύδιος ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ. 166 Ναῖος⁴ δὲ Σέντιος⁵ Σατορνίνος⁶ καίτοι πεπυσμένους τὴν Κλαυδίου ἀρπαγήν, καὶ ὡς ἐπιδικάζοιτο τῆς ἀρχῆς⁷ ἄκων μὲν δοκεῖν, τὸ δὲ ἀληθές καὶ βουλήσει τῇ αὐτοῦ, καταστάς ἐπὶ τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ μηδὲν ἐκπλαγεῖς ἑλευθέροις τε καὶ γενναίοις ἀνδράσι προπόντως ποιεῖται παραίνεσιν τάδε λέγων.

167 (2) " Εἰ καὶ ἄπιστον, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, διὰ τὸ χρόνον πολλῶ ἦκεν ἀνέλπιστον οὐσαν ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἔχομεν τοῦ ἑλευτέρου τὴν ἀξίωσιν, ἀδηλον μὲν

¹ ἐξικομένην . . . καταστᾶσιν] nec sibi utile si quis illorum, qui operatores in ne Gai fuerant, ad imperium perveniret Lat.

² Herwerden: τῶν codd.

³ ed. pr.: ἀμεΐψασθαι codd. E.

⁴ Niese: νέος codd. E.: Γνέος ed. pr.: om. Lat.: Γναῖος Hudson.

⁵ Σέντιος] Σέρτιος ex Σέντιος corr. A: ἔτι ὦν E.

⁶ AM: Σατορνίλος W. ⁷ MW: ἀρετῆς A.

soldiers had held a meeting and had taken counsel ^{elect} with each other to decide what should be done. They ^{Claudius} saw that it was out of the question for a democracy ^{emperor.} to control such a mighty realm. Even if it did succeed, it would not govern in their interest. On the other hand, if any single individual should gain supreme authority, it would be constantly harmful to them not to have taken a stand to help establish the government. It was therefore best, they thought, while matters were still undecided, to choose Claudius as emperor. He was an uncle of the deceased, and there was no one among those assembled in the senate whom he did not excel both by distinction of his ancestors and by his own studious devotion to learning.^a And so, once established as emperor, he would reward them with the usual privileges and repay them with gifts. No sooner had they formed these plans than they put them into effect. Claudius was, therefore, kidnapped by the soldiers. Meanwhile, Gnaeus Sentius Saturninus,^b although he had heard that Claudius was kidnapped and, despite an apparent unwillingness, had really agreed to accept and was a suitor for the throne, yet stood up in the senate, and, nothing daunted, gave them words of exhortation, such as free and noble men may fittingly speak, to this effect:

(2) " Incredible as it may appear, Romans, because ^{Speech of} it has come upon us unexpectedly after so long a ^{Sentius} time, nevertheless we enjoy the dignity of freedom. ^{Saturninus} ^{in the} ^{senate.}

^a Or "by his own careful education." Cf. Suetonius, *Claud.* 3, who notes that Claudius had applied himself seriously to literature from childhood and had published some of his attainments.

^b Cf. *B.J.* ii. 205. Consul in 41, he was, in all probability, the son of the identically named consul of A.D. 4.

ἐφ' ὅποσον παρατείνουσιν καὶ γνώμη θεῶν οἱ
 ἐχαρίσαντο αὐτὴν κειμένην, εὐφραίνειν δὲ ἀρκοῦσαν
 καὶ εἴπερ ἀφαιρεθεῖται αὐτῆς¹ εὐδαιμονία συν-
 168 ἀγουσαν· ἰκανὴ γὰρ καὶ μία ὥρα τοῖς ἀρετῆς αἰσθα-
 νομένοις καὶ μετ' αὐτοτελοῦς² τῆς διανοίας³ ἐν
 αὐτοδικῇ τῇ πατρίδι καὶ μετὰ νόμων, οἷς ποτε ἤν-
 169 θησε, διαιτωμένη βιωθεῖσα. ἔμοι δὲ τῆς μὲν πρό-
 τερον ἐλευθερίας ἀμνημονεῖν ἔστι διὰ τὸ κατόπιν
 αὐτῆς γεγενῆσθαι, τῆς δὲ νῦν ἀπλήστως μιμπλάμεν
 μακαριστοῦς τε ἡγέσθαι τοὺς ἐγγενηθέντας καὶ ἐν-
 τραφέντας⁴ αὐτῇ καὶ τῶν θεῶν οὐδὲν μειόνως ἀξίους
 τιμῆς τοῦσδε τοὺς ἄνδρας, οἱ ὅψε γοῦν κὰν τούτῳ
 170 τῆς ἡλικίας ἡμᾶς γεύσαντας αὐτῆς. καὶ εἴη μὲν εἰς
 πᾶν τοῦ αἰῶνος τὸ ἐπίδον παραμεῖναι τὴν ἄδειαν
 αὐτῆς, ἀρκοῦσα δ' ἂν γένοιτο καὶ ἥδε ἡ ἡμέρα τοῖς
 τε νεωτέροις ἡμῶν καὶ ὅσοι γεγηράκαμεν αἰ-
 ῶν ὑπείληπται, τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις δ' εἰ τῶν⁵ ἀγα-
 θῶν αὐτῆς ἐν ὁμιλίᾳ γεγονότες μετασταίεν,⁶ τοῖς
 171 δὲ νεωτέροις παιδεύμα ἀρετῆς καταστάσεως⁷ ἀγα-
 θὸν ὄν⁸ ἀνδράσι τοῖσδε ἀφ' ὧν γεγόναμεν, νῦν δὲ
 ἤδη καὶ ἡμῶν διὰ τὴν ἄρτι ὥραν οὐδὲν προυργιαί-
 τερον εἴη τοῦ ζῆν μετὰ ἀρετῆς, ἣ μόνη ἐκφροντίζει

¹ εἴπερ . . . αὐτῆς] si eius felicitatem nequiverimus amit-
 tere Lat.

² μετ' αὐτοτελοῦς] ed. pr. : μετὰ ταῦτα τέλος (τέλος M) codd.

³ μετ' . . . διανοίας] cum secura voluntate Lat.

⁴ ed. pr. : nutritos Lat. : ἐγγραφέντας codd.

⁵ δ' εἰ τῶν] Warmington: δ' εἰ τῶν Petersen: εἰ τῶν

Hudson: δόντων A; δόντων MW.

⁶ μετασταίεν] A: μέγα δὲ ἐν M: μέγα τε ἐν W: moriemur
 (i.e. μετασταίμεν) Lat.

⁷ καταστάσεως Hudson.

We cannot tell how long it will last, a matter to be determined by the gods who bestowed the gift, yet what we have now suffices for rejoicing, and even if we should be robbed of it, to possess it is bliss. Indeed, for those who appreciate virtue, it is sufficient to live but for a single hour with freedom to think as we please, in a country that is subject to its own sense of right, and that regulates itself by the constitution under which it once became a flourishing state. For myself, though I cannot recall the former age of liberty because I was born after that era, yet, as I insatiably steep myself in our present liberty, I count those enviable who were born and brought up in it; and I hold worthy of honour not less than the gods these men here who at this late date and at this stage of our lives, have treated us to one sip of liberty that we may know its taste. I pray that the security of our present liberty may remain for all time to come. But even this one day should be sufficient for those of us who are younger, while for those who are grown old, it counts as a lifetime: to the older men if only they may depart with some experience of its joys, while to the younger it counts as a lesson in the essence^a of virtue, a lesson which was the glory of those men from whom we are sprung.^b Now, therefore, for us too, because we have this present hour, nothing can be more advantageous than to live virtuously, for virtue alone ponders and finds the

^a Or "establishment."

^b Text emended. Prof. Post, adopting Hudson's emendation, *καταστάσεως*, suggests "a lesson in the virtue that established the good fortune of those men from whom we sprang."

⁸ ὄν post *ἀγαθὸν* add. Petersen: aliquid ante *ἀγαθὸν* deesse putat Niese.

172 τῷ ἀνθρωπείῳ τὸ ἐλεύθερον¹. ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ παλαιὰ οἶδα ἀκοῆ παραλαβών, οἷς δὲ ὄψει ὀμιλήσας ἠσθόμην, οἷων κακῶν τὰς πολιτείας ἀναπιμπλάσιν αἰ τυραννίδες, κωλύουσαι μὲν πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν καὶ τοῦ μεγαλόφρονος ἀφαιρούμεναι τὸ ἐλεύθερον, κολακείας δὲ καὶ φόβου διδάσκαλοι καθιστάμεναι διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπὶ σοφία τῶν νόμων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ ὀργῇ τῶν

173 ἐφέστηκόντων καταλιπεῖν τὰ πράγματα. ἀφ' οὗ γὰρ Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ φρονήσας ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς δημοκρατίας καὶ διαβυσάμενος τὸν κόσμον τῶν νόμων τὴν πολιτεία συνετέραξεν,² κρείσσων μὲν τοῦ δικαίου γενόμενος, ἦσσαν δὲ τοῦ κατ' ἰδίαν ἡδονὴν αὐτῷ κομιούντος, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι τῶν κακῶν οὐ

174 διέτρυψεν³ τὴν πόλιν, φιλοτιμηθέντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀπάντων, οἱ ἐκείνῳ διάδοχοι τῆς ἀρχῆς κατέστησαν, ἐπ' ἀφανισμῷ τοῦ πατρίου καὶ ὡς ἂν μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν ἐρημίαν τοῦ γενναίου καταλείποιεν, διὰ τὸ οἰεσθαι πρὸς ἀσφαλείας εἶναι τῆς αὐτῶν τὸ κιβδηλοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὀμιλεῖν καὶ τῶν ἀρετῇ προὔχειν πεπιστευμένων οὐ μόνον ὑφαιρεῖν τι τοῦ αὐχῆματος, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἐπιψηφίζειν αὐτῶν⁴

175 τοῖς ὀλέθροις τῶν ἀπάντων.⁵ ἀριθμῷ τε πολλῶν ὄντων καὶ βαρῦτητα ἀνύποιστον ἐπιδειξαμένων καθ' ἃ ἕκαστος ἤρξεν⁶ εἰς ἃν ὁ Γάιος ὁ σήμερον τεθνεὺς πλέω τε τῶν πάντων δεινὰ ἀπεδείξατο οὐ μόνον εἰς τοὺς συμπολίτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τοὺς συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους ἀπαίδευτον τὴν ὀργὴν ἐπαφιεῖς, ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀπασιν καὶ μείζων κακὰ ἐντριβόμενος ἀδίκως τὴν

¹ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις . . . ἐλεύθερον] senibus quidem quando eius conspicientes libertatem cum dulcedine moriemur, iunioribus autem eo quod sit eis doctrina virtutis, unde constat per viros istos quorum labore consistimus propter haec quae nuper gesta noscuntur, quia nihil quam cum virtute degere maius

path of liberty for mankind. Past history I know from tradition, but from the evidence of my own eyes I have learned with what evils tyranny infects a state. For it frustrates all the virtues, robs freedom of its lofty mood, and opens a school of fawning and terror, inasmuch as it leaves matters not to the wisdom of the laws, but to the angry whim of those who are in authority. For ever since Julius Caesar was minded to destroy the democracy and caused an upheaval of the state by doing violence to law and order, setting himself above justice but really a slave to what would bring him private gratification, there is not a single evil that has not afflicted the city. All who succeeded him in the government vied with one another in abolishing our heritage and in allowing no nobility to remain among our citizens. For they supposed that the society of human counterfeits contributed to their own security, and that it was best not merely to diminish somewhat the glory of those who were believed to excel in virtue but to decree their complete extinction. But many in numbers as were these tyrants and intolerable as was the oppression that was conspicuous in their acts, Gaius, who to-day lies dead, in his sole person assailed our eyes with more outrages than all the rest. He vented an untutored rage not only upon his fellow citizens but also upon his kinsmen and his friends. For upon all alike he has inflicted evils greater than those in-

Tirade
against
tyrants.

est, de qua consuevit libertas humana solummodo cogitare Lat.
² συνετέραξεν] AM: οὐ συνετέραξε W: διετέραξε E.
³ MW: διέστρυψε (ex διέτρυψεν corr. A) AE: invasit Lat.
⁴ ἐπιψηφίζειν αὐτῶν] E: ἐπιψηφίζειν αὐτῶν codd.
⁵ ἀπάντων] ἀπάντων, ἃν coni. Niese.
⁶ ἀριθμῷ . . . ἤρξεν] singuli namque regnantium quaeque sunt gravia commiserunt Lat.

τιμωρίαν εἰσπράσσεσθαι ὠργικῶτων, ὁμοίως εἰς τε
 176 ἀνθρώπους ἐξαγριώσας καὶ τοὺς θεούς.¹ τυραννίδι
 γὰρ οὐ κερδαίνεται τὸ ἡδὺ οὐδὲ μεθ' ὕβρεως ἀπο-
 χρήται, οὐκ εἰς τὰ χρήματα λελυπησθαι² καὶ γαμετάς,
 ἀλλὰ τὸ πᾶν κέρδος ἐκ τοῦ πανοικεσία διοχλουμέ-
 177 νου³ τῶν ἐχθρῶν.⁴ ἐχθρὸν δὲ τυραννίδι πᾶν τὸ ἐλεύ-
 θερον, εἰς εὐνοίαν τε ἐκκαλεῖσθαι αὐτὴν καὶ τοῖς ἐν
 ὀλίγῳ τιθεμένοις ὅποσα πεπόνθοιεν οὐκ ἔστιν. ἐξ-
 επιστάμενοι γὰρ ὦν ἀναπλήσειαν κακῶν ἔστιν οὓς
 κἂν ἐκένοι⁵ μεγαλοφρόνως καταφρονήματι χρών-
 ται⁶ πρὸς τὴν τύχην, αὐτοὶ λανθάνειν αὐτοὺς ὦν
 πράξειαν μὴ δυνάμενοι⁷ μόνως πιστεύουσι κτήσε-
 σθαι τοῦ ὑπόπτου τὸ ἀδέες, εἰ παντελὲς ἄρασθαι⁸
 178 δυνηθεῖεν αὐτούς. τοιούτων δὲ κακῶν ἀπογεγο-
 νότες καὶ ὑποτελεῖς ἀλλήλοις καταστάντες, αἴπερ
 πολιτειῶν ἐχεγγυώταται πρὸς τε τὸ παρὸν εὐνοῦν
 καὶ τὸ αὐθις ἀνεπιβούλευτον καὶ τὸ δόξαν οἰκείαν⁹
 τῷ ὀρθουμένῳ τῆς πόλεως¹⁰ δίκαιοι τε¹¹ προνοῆσαι
 διὰ¹² τὸ εἰς κοινὸν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὠφέλειαν ἀπαντᾶν καὶ

¹ ὁμοίως τοῖς . . . θεοῖς] iniuste poenas exigens et veluti furiosus in homines atque deos ferus existens Lat.

² λελυπῆσθαι Thackeray.

³ Bekker: διοχλουμένον codd.: διολλυμένον coni. Richards et Shutt; διολουμένον Post.

⁴ τυραννίδι . . . ἐχθρῶν] nihil etenim tyrannus suavitatis habere potest. nonne cum iniuria vobis abusus est? nonne in pecuniis vos et coniugibus contristavit? nonne omne votum vestrum praecibus agebatur insistens inimicis? Lat.

⁵ κἂν ἐκένοι] Bekker: κακένοι codd.

⁶ καταφρονήματι χρώνται] A (litt. i χρώνται i. ras. m. 2 A): καταφρονημάτων τε codd.

⁷ ἐξεπιστάμενοι . . . δυνάμενοι] scientes namque tyranni quibus malis insignes viros adfligant et eos videntes impatienter

flicted by persons unjustly passionate to exact vengeance; and he has raged like a savage against men and gods alike. For a tyranny is not satisfied with an accrual of pleasure even lawlessly procured, nor with the grief caused by assaults on property and wives; no, it must complete the total by utterly harassing its enemies with all their households. To tyrants all show of freedom is an enemy; and it is impossible to elicit any goodwill from them even towards those who take little account of all that they have suffered. For the tyrants know full well what a plague of evil they have brought on some, and though the afflicted should magnanimously dismiss their ill fortune as trivial, yet can the tyrants not be unaware of their own acts. Thus they have no confidence in any safety from suspected foes unless they are able to remove them utterly. Now that you have rid yourselves of such evils, and obtained a government in which you have no obligation but to one another—and of all forms of government this most guarantees both present loyalty and future immunity from hostile intrigue as well as a fame that belongs to the prosperous city that is well governed—your duty now is to make prudent proposals for the common benefit,^a or

^a Thackeray's emendation will give: "You ought now to provide for that which you decide to be proper to the restoration of the city. Indeed, to do so conduces to its common welfare."

talia sustinere nec tamen ignorare quod geritur, sed solatium expectare fortunae Lat.

⁸ coni. Niese: ἀρείσθαι codd. (i. marg. γρ ἀρείσθαι A): amputare Lat.

⁹ οἰκείον coni. Thackeray.

¹⁰ τὸ δόξαν . . . πόλεως] restituta civilitate Lat.

¹¹ δίκαιοι τε] δίκαιοι τε ἔσπε Hudson: iustum est ut vos Lat.

¹² ἰδίῃ Hudson.

ἀνταποφύνασθαι γνώμην, οἷς μὴ ἀρέσκοιτο τὰ
 179 προεισηγημένα, οὐδαμῶς εἰς κίνδυνον φέρον,¹ διὰ
 τὸ μὴ δεσπότην εἶναι τὸν ἐφεστηκότα, ᾧ ἀνεύθυνόν
 τε βλάπτουσι τὴν πόλιν καὶ αὐτοκράτορι μεταστή-
 180 σασθαι τοὺς εἰρηκότας. καὶ τέτροφε τὴν τυραννίδα
 οὐδὲν ἕτερον² πλὴν ἢ τε ἀργία καὶ τὸ πρὸς οὐδὲν
 181 τῶν ἐκείνῃ θελομένων ἀντιλογία χρώμενον· τῆς γὰρ
 εἰρήνης τοῦ τερπνοῦ ἡσώμενοι καὶ μεμαθηκότες
 ἀνδραπόδων ἐν τρόπῳ ζῆν³ ὅποσοι τε ἐπαίτομεν συμ-
 φορὰς ἀνηκέστους κακοῖς τε τοῖς πέλας ἐπέιδομεν
 φόβῳ τοῦ μετ' ἀρετῆς τελευτᾶν μετὰ αἰσχύνῃς τῆς
 182 ὑστάτης ὑπομένοντες⁴ τὰς τελευτάς. πρῶτον δὲ⁵
 τοῖς ἀραμένοις τὸν τύραννον τιμὰς αἰτινες μέγιστα
 ταύτας εἰσενεγκεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ Χαιρέα τῷ Κασσίῳ·
 σὺν γὰρ τοῖς θεοῖς εἰς ἀνὴρ οὗτος ποριστῆς ἡμῖν καὶ
 183 γνώμη καὶ χερσὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας πέφηνεν. οὐ καλὸν
 μὴ ἀμνημονεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς τυραννίδος ὑπὲρ ἐλευ-
 θερίας τῆς ἡμετέρας προβεβουλευκότος τε ἅμα καὶ
 προκεκινδυνευκότος, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ψηφίσασθαι
 τὰς τιμὰς πρῶτόν τε ἀνεπιτάκτους τοῦτο ἂν ἀπο-
 184 φήνασθαι. ἔργον δὲ κάλλιστον καὶ ἐλευθέρους ἀν-
 δράσι πρέπον ἀμείβεσθαι τοὺς εὐεργέτας, οἷος δὴ
 καὶ ἀνὴρ οὗτος περὶ ἡμᾶς πάντας γέγονεν οὐδὲν
 παραπλησίως⁶ Κασσίῳ καὶ Βρούτῳ τοῖς Γάιον
 Ἰούλιον ἀνηρηκόσιν, ἐπεὶ γε οἱ μὲν στάσεως καὶ
 πολέμων ἐμφυλίων ἀρχὰς ἐπανερρίπισαν τῇ πόλει,

¹ Dindorf: φέρειν ex φέρων ut vid. corr. A: φέρων MW: φέρουσαν Hudson.

² Naber: νεώτερον codd.

³ post ζῆν lacunam indicat Dindorf.

⁴ ὑπομένομεν Bekker.

else to make counterproposals, if some measure al-
 ready proposed is not to your liking. There is no
 danger in opposition, for there is no longer a despot
 at the head of the state who is not only unaccount-
 able for any injury that he inflicts on the city but has
 sole power to do away with those who have spoken.
 This tyranny was fostered by nothing but indolence^a
 and our failure to speak in opposition to any of its
 wishes. We have succumbed to the seduction of
 peace and have learned to live like conquered
 prisoners. Whether we have suffered incurable disas-
 ters ourselves or have only observed the calamities
 of our neighbours, it is because we are afraid to die
 like brave men that we must be patient when slain
 with the utmost degradation. But our first duty is
 to confer the very highest honours on those who have
 removed the tyrant, and in particular on Cassius
 Chaerea; for, with the help of the gods, this man
 above all has both by his counsel and action shown
 himself our purveyor of liberty. It is right, now that
 we are free, that we should not be unmindful of him,
 but that for one who both laid the plans in time of
 tyranny on behalf of our liberty and was first to risk
 the deed, we should, in time of liberty, vote these
 honours and make this our first spontaneous act. It
 is a most noble deed, and such as becomes free men,
 to requite a benefactor, such as this man has now
 shown himself in relation to all of us. He is beyond
 comparison with Cassius and Brutus, the slayers of
 Julius Caesar; for they only fanned into fresh life
 the fires of sedition and civil war in the state, while

^a mss. "not by any revolution but by indolence."

⁵ δέ] δὲ δεῖ Dindorf.

⁶ similis Lat.: παραπλησίως Niese.

οὗτος δὲ μετὰ τῆς τυραννοκτονίας καὶ τῶν ἐντεύθεν
δεινῶν ἀπήλλαξεν τὴν πόλιν."

- 185 (3) Σέντιος μὲν τοιούτοις ἐχρήτο τοῖς λόγοις καὶ
τῶν βουλευτῶν ἡδονῇ δεχομένων καὶ ὁπόσοι τῶν
ἰππέων παρήσαν. ἀναπηδήσας δὲ τις Τρεβέλλιος¹
Μάξιμος περιαιρείται τὸν δακτύλιον τοῦ Σεντίου,
λίθος δὲ εἰκόνα Γαίου ἐγγεγλυμμένος ἐδεσμεύετο
αὐτῷ, καὶ σπουδῇ τῶν λεγομένων καὶ ὧν ἐπενόει
πράξειν, ὅπερ ὤετο, ἐν λήθῃ γεγονότι,² καὶ ἡ μὲν
186 γλυφὴ κατὰγνυται.³ προεληλύθει δὲ ἡ νύξ ἐπὶ
μέγα, καὶ Χαιρέας δὲ σημείον ἦτει τοὺς ὑπάτους,
οἱ δὲ ἐλευθερίαν ἔδοσαν. ἐν θαύματι δὲ ἦν αὐτοῖς
187 καὶ ὁμοία ἀπιστία τὰ δρώμενα· ἔτει γὰρ ἑκατοστῷ,⁴
μέθ' ὃ τὴν δημοκρατίαν τὸ πρῶτον ἀφῆρέθησαν,⁵
ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους σημείον ἢ παράδοσις⁶· οὗτοι γὰρ
πρότερον ἢ τυραννηθῆναι τὴν πόλιν κύριοι τῶν⁷
188 στρατιωτικῶν ἦσαν. Χαιρέας δὲ τὸ σημείον λαβὼν
παρεδίδου τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοῖς πρὸς τὴν σύγκλη-
τον συνεστηκόσιν. ἦσαν δὲ εἰς σπείρας τέσσαρας,
οἷς τὸ ἀβασίλευτον τιμώτερον τῆς τυραννίδος
189 προῦκειτο. καὶ οἷδε μὲν ἀπῆσαν μετὰ τῶν χιλιάρ-
χων, ἀνεχώρει δὲ ἡδῆ καὶ ὁ δῆμος περιχαρῆς καὶ

¹ Trebellius Lat. : Στρεβέλλιος codd.

² Iacunam post γεγονότι indicat Niese.

³ κατὰ . . . γνυται A : καταπήγνυται MW : est agnita Lat.
⁴ ἔτει γὰρ ἑκατοστῷ] Thomas Terry : ἐτι γὰρ ἑκαστος τῷ (ὡ
in ὧi corr. A) codd.

⁵ ἀφῆρέθησαν] ἀφαιρέθεισαν Terry : ἀφῆρέθησαν ἐπέστρεψεν
Hudson ex Lat. : ἀφῆρέθησαν ἐπανήλθε (vel simile) conl. Niese.

⁶ ἔτει γὰρ . . . παράδοσις] quia reversa videretur ad consules haec potestas Lat.

⁷ τῶν] τῶν <πολιτικῶν καὶ> conl. Richards et Shutt ex Lat.

this man has not only slain the tyrant but has also
relieved the city of the horrors which originated with
him."

(3) Such was the address of Sentius, which was
heartily approved both by the senators and by all
the equites who were present. At this point a certain
Trebellius Maximus^a leapt up and snatched off
Sentius' ring, in which was set a stone graven with
the image of Gaius. For, as Trebellius supposed,
Sentius was too much interested in his speech and in
his plans of action to notice its presence; and so the
image was smashed. And now, with the night far
advanced, Chaerea asked the consuls for the watch-
word, and they gave "Liberty." This ritual filled
them with wonder, and they were almost unable to
believe their ears, for it was the hundredth^b year
since they had first been robbed of the democracy to
the time when the giving of the watchword reverted
to the consuls. For before the city came under a
tyranny, it was they who had commanded the armies.
Chaerea, having received the watchword, passed it on
to such of the soldiers as had joined the side of the
senate; there were a total of four cohorts^c who re-
garded freedom from imperial rule as more honour-
able than tyranny. These cohorts now left with their
tribunes. By this time the people were also with-

The consuls
give the
watchword
"liberty."

^a Mentioned by Tacitus, *Ann.* xiv. 46, as having carried
out, together with Quintus Volusius and Sextius Africanus
(who despised him), an assessment of Gaul. He was consul
suffectus in 56.

^b From 59 B.C., the first consulship of Julius Caesar, to
A.D. 41, the date of the assassination of Gaius.

^c The parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 205, says that there were
three cohorts. Since the strength of a cohort at this time was
between 500 and 600 men, this would amount to a force of
between 2000 and 2400 men.

ἐλπίδος καὶ φρονήματος¹ ἐπὶ τῷ κτησαμένῳ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοῖς, οὐκέτι ἐπὶ τῷ ἐφεστηκότῳ. καὶ τὰ πάντα ἦν ὁ Χαίρειος αὐτοῖς.

- 190 (4) Χαίρειος δὲ ἐν δεινῷ τιθέμενος περιεῖναι τὴν θυγατέρα Γαίου καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, ἀλλὰ μὴ πανοικὶ τὸν ὀλεθρον αὐτῷ συντυχεῖν, ἐπεὶ καὶ πᾶν ὃ τι ὑπολείπεται αὐτῶν ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῆς πόλεως λειψθήσεσθαι καὶ τῶν νόμων, ἄλλως τε πρόθεσιν ἐσπουδακῶς τελειώσασθαι τὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ πᾶν εὐφρᾶναι μίσος τὸ πρὸς Γάιον, Ἰούλιον ἐπέμπευ Λούππῳ² ἓνα τῶν χιλιάρχων κτενοῦντα τὴν τε γυναῖκα
- 191 Γαίου καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα. Κλήμεντος δ' ὄντι συγγενεῖ τῷ Λούππῳ τὴν ἐπὶ τοιοῦσδε προὔθεσαν λειτουργίαν, ὅπως μετασχῶν κἂν ἐπὶ τοιοῦτοις τῆς τυραννοκτονίας ἀγάλλοιτο ἀρετῇ πρὸς τῶν πολιτικῶν, ὡς καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἐπιβουλεύματος δόξειε
- 192 κοινωρεῖν τὸ πρῶτον συνθεμένων. ἐνίοις δὲ τῶν συνωμοτῶν καὶ ὠμὸν ἐδόκει τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικὶ θράσει χρησόμενον αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ³ Γάιον φύσει τῇ αὐτοῦ χρώμενον ἢ συμβουλῇ τῇ ἐκείνης τὰ πάντα πράξαι, ἐξ ἧν ἢ τε πόλις ἀπηγορεύκει τοῖς κατελληφόσι κακοῖς καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ὃ τι καὶ ἄνθος ἦν
- 193 ἀπώλετο. οἱ δὲ καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τοιοῦτοις ἐνεκάλουν αὐτῇ γνώμην τὸ δὲ πᾶν καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Γαίου πεπραγμένων κακῶν ἐκείνη τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπέφερον φάρμακον τῷ Γαίῳ δοῦσαν ἐννοιῶν δούλωσιν καὶ ἐρώτων ἐπαγωγὰς αὐτῇ ψηφιοῦμενον, εἰς μανίαν μεταστάντος τὰ πάντα αὐτὴν εἶναι τὴν νεναυπηγη-

¹ καὶ ἐλπίδος καὶ φρονήματος] hanc spem habentes atque cogitationem Lat. : μετ' ἐλπίδος καὶ φρονήματος Ernesti : καὶ ἐλπίδος καὶ φρονήματος μεσὸς Dindorf.

² Lupum Lat.

³ ed. pr. : τὸν codd.

drawing, overjoyed and full of hope and pride because they had acquired self-government and no longer were under a master. Chaerea was everything to them.

(4) Chaerea was alarmed that the daughter and wife of Gaius should survive, and that his whole household had not shared his ruin. For any remnant of them that was left alive would remain a menace to the city and the laws. In any case, he was determined to do the job completely and to indulge to the full his hatred for Gaius. Thus he dispatched one of the military tribunes, Julius Lupus,^a to put the wife and daughter of Gaius to death. They proposed Lupus for this mission because he was a kinsman of Clemens, in order that by taking part in the tyrannicide even in such a way, he might be exalted in prowess in the eyes of the citizens, and might be thought to be a confederate of those who were first to organize the whole conspiracy. Some of the conspirators, however, thought that the proposal to strike at ^b Gaius' wife was too cruel, because Gaius was following his own bent and not her counsel in all that he did to bring the city to exhaustion under its burden of calamity and to destroy the finest flowers among the citizens. But others accused her of responsibility for the policy that produced such effects, and laid upon her the entire blame for the evil deeds of Gaius, saying that she had given him a drug calculated to enslave his thinking and to excite his passion for her, and that this drove him mad. Thus she, they charged, had fitted out the whole fleet of troubles.

^a Suetonius, who does not mention his name, calls him (*Calig.* 59) a centurion of the praetorian guard, but this is incorrect, according to Stein, "Julius," no. 327, Pauly-Wissowa, x¹, 1917, p. 663.

^b Lit. "to use boldness against."

μένην ἐπὶ ταῖς Ῥωμαίων τύχαις καὶ τῆς ὑποτελοῦ-
 194 σης αὐτοῖς οἰκουμένης.¹ καὶ πέρασ κυρωθὲν ὥστε
 αὐτὴν τελευτᾶν, οὐδὲν γὰρ οἱ ἀποσπεύδοντες οἰοί
 τε ὠφελεῖν ἦσαν, ἐστέλλετο ὁ Λαῦππος· ἐβραδύνετο
 δὲ οὐδὲν μελλήσει τῆ κατ' αὐτόν, ὥστε μὴ οὐκ εἰς
 καιρὸν δεδιακονῆσθαι τοῖς ἀπεσταλκόσιν, θέλων
 ἐπ' οὐδαμοῖς μεμπτός εἶναι τῶν ἐπ' ὠφελεία τοῦ
 195 δήμου πεπονημένον. παρελθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βασι-
 λείου λαμβάνει τὴν Καισωνίαν,² γυνὴ δ' ἦν τοῦ
 Γαίου, παρακατακειμένη τῷ σώματι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
 χαμαιπετεῖ καὶ πάντων ἐν ἀτυχία ὧν χαρίζοιτ' ἂν
 ὁ νόμος τοῖς μεταστᾶσιν,³ αἵματι τε ἀναπεφυρ-
 μένην ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων καὶ πολλὴν τὴν ταλαιπω-
 ρίαν⁴ συμφερομένην⁵ τῆς θυγατρὸς παρερριμμένης·
 ἠκούετό τε ἐν τοῖς τοιοῖσδε οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ κατὰ
 μεμψις τοῦ Γαίου, ὡς πιθανὴν οὐ σχύοντος πολλὰ κίς
 196 προηγορευκυῖαν αὐτὴν. ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω δὲ οὗτος ὁ
 λόγος καὶ τότε εἰκάζετο καὶ νῦν ἐφ' ὁμοίοις πρό-
 κειται τῇ διανοίᾳ τῶν ἀκροατῶν πρὸς ὃ τι θελή-
 σειαν ῥοπὰς τὰς αὐτοῦ προστιθέμενοι.⁶ οἱ μὲν γὰρ
 ἀποσημαίνειν ἔφασαν τὸν λόγον, ὡς συμβουλευο-
 μένης ἀποστάντα μανίων καὶ τοῦ εἰς τοὺς πολίτας
 ὠμοῦ μετρίως καὶ μετ' ἀρετῆς ἐξηγεῖσθαι τῶν
 πραγμάτων, μὴ⁷ παρ' αὐτόν ἀπολέσθαι τρόπῳ τῷ

¹ οἱ δὲ . . . οἰκουμένης] et illi quidem his assertionibus eam defendere nitebantur. omnium autem malorum quae a Gaio gesta fuerant haec erat caput; Gaio namque dederat poculum, ut eius mentem suo potuisset subjugare servitio et amoris incantationibus ad vesaniam transformatum ita sibi devin-xerat, quatenus fortunae omnium Romanorum et totius orbis, cui praesidebat, ei subditae viderentur nihilque defensores eius valere potuerunt Lat.

² Hudson: Καισωνίαν A¹WE: Καισωνίαν M et ex corr. A et Busb.: Cesonia Lat.

against the fortunes of Rome and of the inhabited world subject to that city. In the end it was decided to put her to death, for those who opposed the proposal were unable, despite their zeal, to do her any service; and Lupus was dispatched. He, on his part, did not prolong his mission or fail to execute it in good time for the group whose emissary he was, since he was eager to incur no censure for an act performed in the public interest. On entering the palace he found Caesonia, the wife of Gaius, stretched beside the corpse of her husband that lay on the floor unprovided with any of the tributes that custom graciously bestows on the departed. She was all dabbled with blood from his wounds and in a state of deep misery, while her daughter had thrown herself down at her side. In such a scene no word was heard except her reproach of Gaius because he had not believed her oft-repeated prediction. As to the interpretation of these words, opinions at the time were divided; and to this day the opinions of those who hear them repeated are similarly balanced, each assigning such weight to them as he chooses. Some said that her words signified that she warned him to desist from his madness and barbarity to the citizens, to administer the government with moderation and virtue and not to bring about his own destruction at their

³ καὶ πάντων . . . μεταστᾶσιν] et omnes in luctu positos sicut moris est mortuis exhiberi Lat.

⁴ πολλὴν τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν] πολλὴ τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ Dindorf.

⁵ circumdata Lat.: συμπεριφερομένη Richards et Shutt.

⁶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω . . . προστιθέμενοι] haec enim ratio et tunc et nunc similiter aestimatur et in hominum mente sita est et nunc eos quibus compatiuntur (patiuntur cod. Ambros.) Lat.

⁷ ed. pr.; καὶ codd.

- 197 αὐτοῦ χρώμενον. οἱ δέ, ὡς λόγου τοῦ περὶ τῶν συναμοτῶν ἐπιφοιτήσαντος Γαίῳ κελεύσειεν μηδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος πάντας μεταχειρισάμενον αὐτούς, κἂν εἰ μηδὲν ἀδικοῖεν, ἐν ἄδει κινδύνων καταστήναι, καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι τὸ ἐπονειδιζόμενον, ὡς προηγορευκίας διαπράξασθαι μαλακῶ
- 198 γεγονότι. καὶ τὰ μὲν λεχθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς Καισωνίας καὶ ὅποια οἱ ἄνθρωποι περὶ αὐτῆς ἐφρόνουσι ταῦτα ἦν. ἡ δὲ ἐπεὶ θεᾶται τὴν πρόσσodon τοῦ Λούππου τό τε σῶμα τοῦ Γαίου προῦδείκνυεν καὶ ἄσπον ἰέναι
- 199 παρεκάλει μετ' ὀλοφυρμού καὶ δακρύων. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῇ διανοίᾳ συνεστηκότα¹ ἑώρα τὸν Λούππον, καὶ μηδὲν² προσίοντα ὡς ἐπὶ πράξιν οὐκ αὐτῷ κεχαρισμένην,³ γνωρίσασα ἐφ' ὅ τι⁴ ἔχουσι τὴν τε σφαγὴν ἐγύμνου καὶ πάνυ προθύμως ποτινωμένη ὅποια εἰκὸς τοὺς οὕτω σαφῶς ἐν ἀπογνώσει τοῦ ζῆν γεγονότας καὶ κελεύουσα μὴ μέλλειν ἐπὶ τελειώσει τοῦ
- 200 δράματος οὐ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς⁵ συνέθεσαν. καὶ ἦδε μὲν εὐψύχως ταύτῃ τελευτᾷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λούππου καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ τὸ θυγάτριον. καὶ Λούππος ταῦτα προαπαγγέλλων ἔσπευδεν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Χαιρέαν.
- 201 (5) Γάιος μὲν δὴ τέταρτον ἐνιαυτὸν ἡγεμονεύσας Ῥωμαίων λείποντα τεσσάρων μηνῶν οὕτως τελευτᾷ, ἀνὴρ καὶ πρότερον ἢ τῇ ἀρχῇ συνῆλθεν σκαιὸς

¹ συνεστηκότα] attonitum Lat. : μὴ συνεστηκότα Hudson.

² om. Hudson.

³ καὶ μηδὲν . . . κεχαρισμένην] et nulla compassione motum

Lat.

⁴ ὅ τι] Niese : ὅν codd. : quod Lat. : ὅ ed. pr.

⁵ αὐτῆς cod. Laur. : αὐτῆ Busb. E.

^a Lit. "had composed for them," i.e. for Gaius, his wife, and his daughter.

^b Suetonius, *Calig.* 58, reports that at the same time that

hands by following his own bent. Others said that a rumour had reached her concerning the conspirators and that she had bidden Gaius to do away with them all forthwith and without an instant's delay, even if they were innocent, and so render himself secure from risk; and that this was the meaning of her reproach, namely, that he had been too soft to do a thorough job when she had predicted the result. Such were Caesonia's words and such the judgements that men passed on them. When she saw Lupus approaching she pointed to the body of Gaius, bidding him, with tears and lamentation, to come nearer. But when she saw that Lupus was firmly determined and came on showing no sign that the deed was not to his liking, she recognized the object of his coming and bared her throat most willingly, raising such cries of horror as may be expected of one whose hope of life is so plainly lost, and bidding him not put off the final act of the drama that they had composed for the downfall of the royal family.^a Thus she courageously met her death at Lupus' hands and her young daughter after her.^b And Lupus made haste to be the first to bring word of this to Chaerea and the others.

(5) Such was the end of Gaius after he had been emperor of the Romans for four years lacking four months.^c Even before he succeeded to office he was

Gaius' character and achievements.

Gaius was murdered, his wife Caesonia was stabbed with a sword by a centurion and his daughter's brains were dashed against a wall. Dio lix. 29. 7 says merely that Gaius' wife and daughter were promptly slain.

^c So also in the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 204. Suetonius, *Calig.* 59, gives the length of his reign as three years, ten months, and eight days. Dio lix. 30. 1 says that it lasted three years, nine months, and twenty-eight days.

τε καὶ κακοτροπίας¹ εἰς τὸ ἄκρον ἀφιγμένος, ἡδονῇ
 τε ἡσώμενος καὶ φίλος διαβολῆ,² καὶ τὰ μὲν φο-
 βερὰ καταπεπληγμένος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐφ' οἷς θαρ-
 σῆσαιε φονικώτατος,³ τῆς τε ἔξουσίας ἐφ' ἐνὶ μόνῳ
 πιμπλάμενος τῷ ὑβρίζειν, εἰς οὓς ἤκιστα ἐχρῆν
 202 κτείνειν καὶ παρανομεῖν. καὶ τοῦ μὲν θείου καὶ
 νομίμου μείζων ἐσπουδακῶς εἶναι τε καὶ δοκεῖν,
 ἡσώμενος δὲ ἐπαίνων τῆς πληθύος καὶ πάντα,
 203 ὅποσα αἰσχρὰ κρίνας ὁ νόμος ἐπιτιμᾷ τιμωρίαν,
 ἐνόμισεν ἀρετῆς. καὶ φιλίας ἀμνήμων, εἰ καὶ
 πλείστη τε καὶ διὰ μεγίστων γένοιτο, οἷς τότε⁴
 ὀργισθεῖν ἐκπλήξει κολάσεως καὶ ἐλαχίσταις,⁵ πο-
 λέμιον δὲ ἡγούμενος πᾶν τὸ ἀρετῇ συνερχόμενον,
 204 ἀναντίλεκτον ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς κελεύσειε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν
 λαμβάνων· ὅθεν καὶ ἀδελφῇ γνησίᾳ συνῆν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ
 μάλιστα αὐτῷ φύεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ἤρξαστο
 σφοδρότερον τὸ μῖσος διὰ τὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου μὴ
 205 ἱστορημένον εἰς τε ἀπιστίαν καὶ ἐχθραν τὴν πρὸς
 τὸν πράξαντα παρακαλεῖν. ἔργον δὲ μέγα ἢ βα-
 σίλειον οὐδὲν αὐτῷ πεπραγμένον εἶποι ἂν τις ἢ ἐπ'
 ὠφελείᾳ τῶν συνόντων καὶ αὐθις ἀνθρώπων ἔσο-
 μένων, πλήν γε τοῦ περὶ Ῥήγιον καὶ Σικελίαν

¹ A: κακοπραγίας MW Exc. Peiresc.

² ἡδονῇ . . . διαβολῆ] ἡδονῆς θ' ἡττώμενος καὶ φίλων διαβολῆς
 conl. Richards et Shutt.

³ ἡδονῇ . . . φονικώτατος] om. E.

⁴ ποτε Exc. (?) Hudson: τε conl. Niese.

⁵ ἐλαχίσταις] ἐλαχίστης ed. pr.: ἐπ' ἐλαχίστοις Hudson; καὶ
 ἐλαχίσταις] κατ' ἐλαχίσταις <αἰτίας> conl. Post; πάντα . . .
 ἐλαχίσταις] quaeumque leges tamquam turpia puniunt sua
 credidit esse tormenta, virtutis et amicitiarum immemor,
 quando contra haec cum inlacione supplicii frequenter exor-
 sus est Lat.

a sinister character who had reached the peak of
 perversity, a slave to pleasure, a lover of slander, a
 man dismayed by danger and consequently most
 bloodthirsty against those of whom he was not afraid.
 He was greedy of power with one object only, to
 treat abusively or to bestow senseless largess where
 it least behooved him, one who obtained his revenue
 by means of slaughter and injustice. It was his
 object to be and to be thought stronger than religion
 or the law, but he had no strength to resist the flat-
 teries of the mob, and regarded as virtuous achieve-
 ment everything that the law condemns as disgrace-
 ful and on which it imposes a penalty. He was
 unmindful of friendship, however close it was and
 however great the occasion for it, and he would inflict
 punishment for the slightest matter on any at whom
 he became enraged. Everything that went with
 virtue he regarded as hostile; if he took a fancy to
 anything he tolerated no opposition to any command
 that he gave. Hence he even had sexual intercourse
 with his own sister^a: this conduct was the source
 from which the citizens' hatred of him grew fiercer
 and fiercer. For such a deed, which for ages past
 had not been recorded, drew them to incredulity and
 hatred of the doer. No great work, not even a palace,
 can be cited as constructed by him for the benefit
 either of his contemporaries or of posterity, excepting
 the harbour which he planned near Rhegium and

^a Julia Drusilla. Named in 37 to succeed Gaius, she died
 in 38. She was married successively to Cassius Longinus
 (*cf. Ant.* xv. 406, xx. 1 and 7) and Aemilius Lepidus (§§ 20,
 49). The scandal of Gaius' incest with her is not mentioned
 by Philo, Seneca, or Tacitus, but it is related by Suetonius,
Calig. 24, and Dio lix. 3. 6, both of whom declare that he
 committed incest with all three of his sisters.

ἐπινοηθέντος ἐν ὑποδοχῇ τῶν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου σιτη-
 206 γῶν πλοίων· τοῦτο δὲ ὁμολογουμένως μέγιστόν τε
 καὶ ὠφελιμώτατον τοῖς πλέουσιν· οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ τέλος
 γε ἀφίκετο, ἀλλ' ἡμίεργον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀμβλυτέρως
 207 αὐτῷ ἐπιπονεῖν κατελείφθη. αἴτιον δ' ἦν ἡ περὶ
 τὰ ἀχρεῖα σπουδὴ καὶ τὸ δαπανῶντα εἰς ἡδονάς, αἱ
 καταμόνας ἔμελλον ὠφελεῖν, αὐτῷ ὑφαιρεῖν τῆς
 ἐπὶ τοῖς κρείσσοσιν ἀνωμολογημένοις φιλοτιμίας.
 208 ἄλλως δὲ ρήτωρ τε ἄριστος καὶ γλώσση τῇ Ἑλλάδι
 καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίοις πατρίῳ σφόδρα ἡσκημένος συνίει
 τ' ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα καὶ τοῖς ὑφ' ἑτέρων συντε-
 θεῖσιν τε καὶ ἐκ πλείονος προσυγκειμένοις ἀντειπῶν
 ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέως φανῆναι πιθανώτερος ἐν μεγίστῳ
 πράγματι παρ' ὄντινον γενόμενος, εὐκολία τε εἰς
 αὐτὸ τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῷ¹ εἰς ἰσχὺν αὐτῇ προσλα-
 209 βεῖν μελέτην² τοῦ ἐπιπονεῖν. ἀδελφοῦ γὰρ παιδὸς
 υἱεὶ γεγονότι Τιβερίον, οὗ καὶ διάδοχος γίνεται,
 μέγα ἀνάγκασμα παιδείας ἀντέχεσθαι διὰ τὸ καὶ
 αὐτὸς εἰς τὰ πρῶτα ἐν αὐτῇ κατορθῶν διαπρέπειν,
 καὶ συνεφιλοκάλει Γάιος συγγενοῦς τε ἀνδρὸς καὶ

¹ Ernesti : τοῦ codd. Exc.

² Ernesti : μελέτη codd. Exc.

^a Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iv. 4. 10-5. 13 (so also Suet. *Calig.* 21), cites one project undertaken by Gaius that would have been of great commercial benefit, namely, the building of a canal across the Isthmus of Corinth. But the project was never completed. Frontinus, *Aquaed.* i. 13, declares that Gaius began two aqueducts in Rome since the seven then existing seemed insufficient to meet both the public needs and the luxurious private demands of the day. These also were left incomplete at Gaius' death but were finished by Claudius. Suetonius, *Calig.* 21, however, cites several projects that Gaius did complete: the temple of Augustus, Pompey's theatre, and the repair of the city walls and temples at Syracuse. He also mentions his plans to restore the palace of

Sicily for the reception of the grain transports from Egypt.^a This was, admittedly, a very great work, and of the greatest utility to seafarers. It was not finished, however, but was left half-completed owing to the laggard way in which he dealt with the task. This is explained by his great interest in useless objects, and by his squandering^b money on pleasures that would benefit no one but himself; and thus he suffered the gradual loss of any ambition for achievements that would have been without question greater. He was, moreover, a first-rate orator,^c deeply versed in the Greek and Latin languages. He knew how to reply impromptu to speeches which others had composed after long preparation, and to show himself instantly more persuasive on the subject than anyone else, even where the greatest matters were debated. All this resulted from a natural aptitude for such things and from his adding to that aptitude the practice of taking elaborate pains to strengthen it. For, being the grandson of the brother of Tiberius, whom he succeeded, he was under a great compulsion to apply himself to education, because Tiberius himself also had conspicuously succeeded in attaining the highest place in it. Gaius followed him in his attachment to such noble pursuits, yielding to the

Polycrates at Samos, to finish the temple of the Didymaeon Apollo at Ephesus, to found a city high up in the Alps, and to build an amphitheatre near the Saepta.

^b Dio lix. 4. 5 also says that Gaius spent money most sparingly. Suetonius, *Calig.* 37, gives a catalogue of his extravagances. Thus, for example, he would drink expensive pearls dissolved in vinegar and would serve his guests bread and meat of gold. He thereby squandered in less than a year the 2,700,000,000 sesterces that Tiberius had amassed.

^c Cf. Dio lix. 19. 3: "Gaius always claimed to surpass all the orators."

- ἡγεμόνος εἰκων ἐπιστολαῖς¹ ἐπρώτευσέν τε τῶν
 210 κατ' αὐτὸν πολιτῶν. οὐ μὴν ἀντισχεῖν οἶά τε
 ἐγένετο αὐτῷ τὰ ἐκ τῆς παιδείας συλλεγόμενα ἀγαθὰ
 πρὸς τὸν ἐπελθόντα ὄλεθρον αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας·
 οὕτως ἄρα δυσπόριστον ἢ ἀρετῇ τοῦ σωφρονεῖν, οἷς
 211 ἀνυπεύθυνον τὸ πράσσειν βραστώνῃ πάρεστιν. φίλοις
 μὲν κεχυῆσθαι καὶ πάντα ἀξιολόγοις ὑποσπουδα-
 σθεῖς² τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ὑπὸ τε παιδείας καὶ³ δόξης
 ζήλου τῶν κρειττόνων, μέχρι δὴ⁴ τῷ περιόντι τοῦ
 ὑβρίζειν ἀπαμφίας⁵ εὐνοίας⁶ ἢ⁷ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐχρή-
 σαυτο, μίσους ὑποφυνέντος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπιβουλευθεῖς
 τελευτᾷ.⁸
- 212 (iii. 1) Κλαύδιος δέ, καθάπερ ἀνώτερον ἔφην,
 ἀπορρηξέως αὐτῷ τῶν Γαίου ὁδῶν γενομένης καὶ
 τοῦ οἴκου θορυβηθέντος πάθει τῆς Καίσαρος τε-
 λευτῆς,⁹ ἐν ἀμηγάνοις ὧν περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἔν
 τιμι στενωπῷ κατελημμένος ἔκρυπτεν ἑαυτὸν
 οὐδεμίαν κινδύνων αἰτίαν πλὴν τῆς γενναιότητος¹⁰
- 213 ὑφορώμενος· μέτριον γὰρ ἰδιώτης ὧν ἦγεν αὐτὸν
 καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν¹¹ ἀρκῶν ἦν, παιδεία τε συνίων¹²

¹ καὶ συνεφιλοκάλει . . . ἐπιστολαῖς] Gaius itaque puer colebat haec quasi cognatus et imago principis Lat.

² ὑπεροσπουδασθεῖς conl. ex Liddell-Scott-Jones.

³ καὶ] A: κατὰ M: καὶ τὰ W Exc.

⁴ ed. pr.: δὲ codd. Exc.

⁵ A: ἀπαμφιάσεις MW Exc.: γρ ἀπαλειφέσις i. marg. A: ἀπαμφιασθείσης Lowthius.

⁶ A (σ ex i corr.): εὐνοία MW. ⁷ ed. pr.: τῇ codd.

⁸ μέχρι . . . τελευτῇ] postea perductus ad iniuriarum usum et odium, quod circa eum homines ommissa priore devotione gerebant, ad id usque descendit, ut ab eisdem insidias passus extingueretur Lat.

⁹ ἀπορρηξέως . . . τελευτῆς] interruptione facta viarum egrediebatur de theatro, qui Gaio mortuo et domo Caesaris nece turbata Lat.

injunctions of a man who was both his kinsman and his commander-in-chief. Thus he came to stand highest among the citizens of his time. For all that, the advantages obtained from education could not withstand the corruption wrought upon him by his rise to power; so hard to achieve, it seems, is the virtue of moderation for those who find it easy to take action for which they need account to no one. At the outset, owing to education and a reputation for a zeal for the higher pursuits, he took some pains to cultivate the friendship of men who were in every respect worthy of regard; but in the end, because of his surpassing brutality, their former loyalty was discarded; when hatred had grown in its place, they aimed at him the plot that cost him his life.

(iii. 1) Now Claudius, as I said above, had broken away from the route taken by Gaius, and since the palace was thrown into an uproar by the death of Caesar, he had no means to secure his own safety. He was in a narrow passage when cut off and concealed himself there, though he could see no cause, other than his noble rank, for alarm. For in private life he bore himself modestly and was satisfied with what he had. He pursued his studies,^a especially in Greek,^b

Claudius is found hiding by the praetorian guard.

^a Suetonius, *Claud.* 3 and 41, and Dio lx. 2. I say that he had applied himself seriously to literature from childhood and had composed some historical works.

^b After becoming emperor, Claudius indicated his preference for Greek by often answering Greek envoys in their own language, by quoting Homer from the tribunal, and by writing twenty books of Etruscan history and eight of Carthaginian history in Greek (*Suet. Claud.* 42).

¹⁰ μετριότητος E.

¹¹ Terry: πᾶσιν codd.

¹² A: συνῶν MWE: compositus Lat.

καὶ μάλιστα τῇ Ἑλληνίδι καὶ παντὸς τοῦ εἰς θόρυ-
 214 βον ἀνακειμένου παντοίως ἀπαλλάσσων αὐτόν. τότε
 δὲ πτοίως κατειληφύνας τὸν ὄχλον καὶ τοῦ βασιλείου
 παντὸς στρατιωτικῆς μανίας ἀνάπλεω γεγονότος
 καὶ δειλίας καὶ ἀταξίας ἰδιωτῶν οἷον ἀπειληφότων
 σωματοφυλάκων,¹ οἱ περὶ τὸ² στρατηγικὸν καλού-
 μενον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς καθαρώτατον, ἐν
 βουλῇ περὶ τοῖς πρακτέοις ἦσαν, ὅσοι δὲ καὶ
 παρετύγγανον, τὴν μὲν Γαίον τιμωρίαν ἐν ὀλίγῳ
 215 ἐλθεῖν, τὰ δὲ περὶ αὐτοὺς ἀνεσκοποῦντο μᾶλλον ὄν
 τρόπον σχήσοι καλῶς καὶ³ τῶν Γερμανῶν τε ἐν
 τιμωρίαις τῶν σφαγέων ὄντων ὠμότητος χάριτι τῆς
 216 ἑαυτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ συμφέροντος τοῖς πάσιν. ὕψ'
 ὧν ἀπάντων ὁ Κλαύδιος ἐθορυβεῖτο δεδιὼς περὶ
 τῆς σωτηρίας, ἄλλως τ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν
 Ἀσπρήναν ἐτεθέατο τὰς κεφαλὰς παραφερομένας·
 εἰσθῆκει δὲ κατὰ τι προσβατὸν ὀλίγαις βαθμίσι
 217 χωρίον ὑπεσταλκῶς τῷ κατ' αὐτὸ σκότῳ. καὶ
 Γράτος τῶν περὶ τὸ βασιλείον τις στρατιωτῶν θεα-
 σάμενος καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀκριβωσομένου τὴν ὄψιν
 ἀμαθῆς ὧν διὰ τὸν σκότον, τοῦ δὲ ἀνθρώπου εἶναι
 τὸν ὑπολοχῶντα κριτῆς εἶναι μὴ ἀπηλλαγμένος,
 προσῆει τε ἐγγύτερον καὶ ὑποχωρεῖν ἤξιωκότος
 ἐπέκειτο καὶ καταλαβὼν ἐπιγνωρίζει, "Γερμανικὸς
 μὲν οὗτος," φησὶν πρὸς τοὺς ἐπομένους, "καὶ στη-

¹ καὶ δειλίας . . . σωματοφυλάκων] et terror atque indisciplinatio cunctos privatos adprehendisset Lat.

² ed. pr. : τὸν codd.

³ δειλίας . . . καλῶς καί] om. E.

^a Or "tucked away in the dark."

^b Or "sought leave to withdraw." According to Sueto-

and abstained completely from the kind of action that could lead to any disturbance. But now the crowd was panic-stricken, and the soldiers raged throughout the palace in their fury, while the emperor's bodyguards reverted to a timidity and lack of discipline worthy of civilians. These troops, called the praetorian guard, being the cream of the army, were in session debating their next move. Such as were present were little concerned to avenge Gaius, reasoning that he had justly met his fate. They were rather investigating what course would redound to their advantage. Even the German troops were engaged in vengeance on the assassins more to gratify their own ferocity than to promote the general good of all. Claudius was disturbed by all this and alarmed for his own safety, especially as he had seen the spectacle when the heads of Asprenas and the others were carried past. There he stood in an alcove to which a few steps led, making himself as small as he could^a in the gloom. Gratus, one of the palace guard, caught sight of him, but was unable to make out his features well enough to recognize him in the dim light. Still he was not so far afield as not to determine that the lurking creature was human. He approached nearer, and when Claudius asked him to withdraw,^b he pounced upon him and caught him. On recognizing him, he cried to his followers: "Here is a Germanicus^c: let us set him up as emperor and

nus, *Claud.* 10, Claudius fell to his feet in terror. Dio lx. 1. 2-4 also confirms Josephus' account of how Claudius was dragged forth and reluctantly made emperor.

^c Suetonius, *Claud.* 1, explains that among the honours voted to Claudius' father Drusus because of his victories in Germany was that the surname Germanicus should be retained by himself and his descendants forever.

- 218 σώμεθα τοῦτον ἡγεμόνα φερόμενοι." Κλαύδιος δὲ ἐφ' ἀρπαγῇ παρεσκευασμένους ὄρων καὶ δείσας, μὴ κατὰ φωνὴν¹ ἀποθάνοι τὴν Γαίου,² φειδῶ σχεῖν ἡξίου τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνεπαχθοῦς ἀνάμνησι αὐτοῖς ὑποτιθεῖς καὶ τοῦ ἀπρομηθοῦς³ τῶν γεγονότων.
- 219 καὶ ὁ Γράτος μειδιάσας ἐπισπάται τῆς δεξιᾶς, καί, "παῦσαι," φησὶν, "μικρολογούμενος περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας δέον σε μεγαλοφρονεῖσθαι περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ἣν οἱ θεοὶ Γάιον ἀφηρημένοι τῇ σῆ συνεχώρησαν ἀρετῇ πρόνοιαν τῆς οἰκουμένης λαβόντες. ἀλλ' ἴθι
- 220 καὶ τῶν προγόνων ἀπολάμβανε τὸν θρόνον." ἀνεβάσταξεν τε αὐτὸν οὐ πᾶν τοῖς ποσὶ βαίνειν δυνάμενον ὑπὸ τε φόβου καὶ χάρματος τῶν εἰρημένων.
- 221 (2) Συνεστρέφοντο δὲ περὶ τὸν Γράτον ἤδη καὶ πλείους τῶν σωματοφυλάκων καὶ θεωροῦντες τὸν Κλαύδιον ἀγόμενον ἐσκυθῶπαζον⁴ δόξῃ τοῦ ἐπὶ κόλασιν ἔλκεσθαι⁵ τῶν ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε ζημιῶν ὡς ἄνδρα ἀπράγμονα διὰ βίου τοῦ παντός καὶ κινδύνους οὔτι μετριῶς ἐπὶ τῆς Γαίου ἀρχῆς ὠμιληκότα, τινὲς δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐπιτρέπειν⁶ κρίσιν ἡξίου
- 222 τὴν περὶ αὐτόν.⁷ καὶ πλείονων τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ συστρεφομένων φυγαὶ τε ἦσαν τοῦ ὀμίλου καὶ προόδων⁸ ἀπορία τῷ Κλαυδίῳ δι' ἀσθένειαν τοῦ σώματος, ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ τὸ φορεῖον αὐτοῦ φέροντες περὶ⁹ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν αὐτοῦ παραγενομένης φυγῆς ἔσωζον

¹ A (ο ex ω corr., i. marg. φωνὴν εἶπε τὸν φόνον ποιητικῶς): φωνὴν M: φώνην W.

² κατὰ φωνὴν . . . τὴν Γαίου] propter Gaium Lat.

³ ἀνυπευθύνων conit. Richards et Shutt.

⁴ ἀγόμενον ἐσκυθῶπαζον] E: ἀγόμενον codd.

⁵ post ἔλκεσθαι lacunam indicat Niese.

⁶ E et i. marg. A: ἐντρέπειν A: ἐμπρέπειν MW.

⁷ times . . . περὶ αὐτόν] om. Lat.

move fast." Claudius saw that they were prepared to carry him off; and fearing that he might be put to death for the slaying of Gaius, he asked them to spare him, reminding them that he had never given them offence, and that he had had no part in planning the course of events. Gratus broke into a smile, tugged at his right arm, and said: "Stop this niggling about saving your life, when you should be making big plans to gain the empire. The gods have taken it from Gaius and granted it to you for your virtue because they wished to promote the welfare of mankind. Do come and accept the throne of your ancestors that is your due." So off he carried him, for Claudius was utterly unable to walk, from both fear and joy at what Gratus had said.

(2) By this time, more of the bodyguard were collected around Gratus, and when they saw Claudius being hurried along,^a apparently being dragged off to punishment, they greeted with black looks the penalization of such a man. For he had all his life avoided meddling in public affairs and had also experienced no small share of danger under Gaius' rule; and some of them urged that his case should be put before the consuls. As more of the soldiers gathered, the crowd began to take flight, but Claudius had no means of proceeding onward owing to his physical weakness; for, when he was seized, even his litter-bearers took to their heels to save them-

^a Suetonius, *Claud.* 10, says that the people who saw him pitied him as if he were an innocent man being hurried to execution.

^b E: προσόδων codd.: fugere Lat.

^c φέροντες περὶ] φέροντες πίστειως περὶ, litt. res . . . περὶ i. ras. m. 2 A.

αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἐλπίδος θέμενοι τὴν σωτηρίαν τοῦ δε-
 223 σπότη. ἐν εὐρυχωρίᾳ δὲ τοῦ Παλατίου γενομένοις,
 πρῶτον δὲ οἰκηθῆναι τῆς Ἰωμαίων πόλεως τοῦτο
 παραδίδωσιν ὁ περὶ αὐτῆς λόγος, καὶ ἤδη τοῦ δη-
 μοσίου ἀντιλαμβανομένοις πολλὰ πλείων ἢ ἐπιφοί-
 τησις ἦν τῶν στρατιωτῶν χαρᾶ τὴν ὄψιν δεχομένοις
 τοῦ Κλαυδίου, περὶ πλείστου τε ἦν αὐτοῖς αὐτο-
 κράτορα στήσεσθαι¹ τὸν ἄνθρωπον εὐνοία τε τοῦ²
 Γερμανικοῦ, ἀδελφὸς δὲ ἦν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ μέγα πᾶσιν
 τοῖς ὠμηλικόσιν καταλειπότος³ κλέος τὸ αὐτοῦ.
 224 ἀναλογισμὸς τε αὐτοὺς εἰσῆει τῆς τε πλεονεξίας
 τῶν ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ δυναστευόντων καὶ ὅποσα ἐπὶ
 225 τῆς πρὶν ἀρχῆς ἡμάρτητο αὐτῇ. πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὸ
 ἀμήχανον τοῦ πράγματος κατενόουν, καὶ πάλιν εἰς
 ἐνὸς ἀρχὴν μεθισταμένων τῶν ὄλων κινδύνους αὐ-
 τοῖς φέρεειν δι' ἐνὸς⁴ κτησαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν⁵ παρὸν⁶
 ἐπιχωρήσει καὶ εὐνοία τῇ αὐτῶν λαβόντα Κλαυδίον
 μνημονεύσεις τε χάριτος αὐτοῖς ἀποδιδόντα τιμῆν,
 ἢ ἐπὶ τοιούτοις γένοιτ' ἂν ἀρκοῦσα.⁷
 226 (3) Ταῦτα πρὸς τε ἀλλήλους καὶ δι' ἑαυτοὺς δι-
 ἐξήεσαν καὶ τοῖς αἰεὶ προσπίπτουσιν διηγούντο.⁸ οἱ
 δὲ πυνθανόμενοι προθύμως ἐδέχοντο τὴν πρόκλη-
 σιν, συμπράξαντες⁹ τε καὶ περικλάσαντες¹⁰ ἦγον
 ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου φοράδην ἀναβαστάσαντες, ὡς

¹ στήσεσθαι Niese. ² τῆ E. ³ καταλειπότος E.

⁴ δι' ἐνὸς] A: διὰ τινος MW.

⁵ ἀρχὴν] Hudson: ἀρχὴν μεθισταμένων τῶν ὄλων codd.

⁶ παρὸν] W: παρ' ὃν AM: παρὰ τὸν Post.

⁷ δι' ἐνὸς . . . ἀρκοῦσα] quando quodcumque solus vellet
 efficeret, sed etiam quia Claudius cum imperium susciperet,
 pro favore senatui gratiam repensaret sufficienter Lat.

⁸ Cocceji: διηγούντο codd. E.

⁹ A: συμπράξαντες MW.

¹⁰ MW: περικλείσαντες (ei ex a corr.) A.

selves, despairing of their master's life. But when ^{The} they had come to the open area of the Palatine— ^{soldiers} legend has it that this was the first site of the city of ^{decide to} Rome to receive a settlement^a—and were just reach- ^{proclaim} ing the Treasury,^b there was a far larger concourse ^{Claudius} of soldiers, who were overjoyed at the sight of ^{emperor.} Claudius and who were determined to proclaim him emperor because of the popularity of his brother Germanicus, who had left behind him an immense reputation among all who had known him. They reflected on the rapacity of the powerful members of the senate, and what errors the senate had committed when it was in power before. Moreover, they took into account the impracticability of having the senate handle affairs,^c and also considered that if the government again passed into the hands of a single ruler they would take a risk upon themselves since one individual would have gained the throne for himself, whereas it was possible for Claudius to receive it by their motion and support. And Claudius would then show his appreciation by an honorarium adequate to such a service.

(3) They expounded their views to one another, pondered them in their own minds, and reported them to each group as it came in. They, on hearing the report, welcomed the summons to action. They closed their ranks about Claudius, wheeled around and proceeded towards the camp, taking his litter

^a Cf. Varro, *Ling. Lat.* v. 164, Tac. *Ann.* xii. 24, Diony. i. 87. 3, and Livy i. 7.

^b Lit. "public building." In *Ant.* xiii. 265-266 and xvi. 164 it refers to the public treasury. Suetonius, *Claud.* 10, says that he was ultimately taken to the praetorian camp, where he spent the night.

^c Lit. "the impracticability of the matter."

227 μὴ ἐμποδίζοιτο αὐτοῖς ἢ ἔπειξις.¹ διεισηθήκεσαν δὲ αἱ γνώμαι τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς· οἱ μὲν ἀξιωματὸς τε τοῦ² πρότερον ὀρεγόμενοι καὶ δουλείαν ἔπακτον αὐτοῖς ὕβρει τῶν τυράννων γενομένην
 228 φιλοτιμούμενοι διαδιδράσκειν χρόνῳ παρασχόν,³ ὁ δὲ δῆμος φθόνῳ τε πρὸς ἐκείνῃν καθιστάμενος καὶ τῶν πλεονεξίων αὐτῆς ἐπιστόμισμα τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας εἰδὼς καὶ αὐτοῦ καταφυγὴν ἔχαιρεν Κλαυδίου τῇ ἀρπαγῇ στάσι⁴ τε ἔμφυλον, ὅποια καὶ ἐπὶ Πομπηίου γένοιτο, ἀπαλλάξειν αὐτῶν ὑπελάμβανον τοῦτον αὐτοκράτορα καθιστάμενον.⁵ γνοῦσα δ' ἡ βουλή τὸν Κλαύδιον ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀφειγμένον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον πέμπει πρὸς ἐκείνον ἄνδρας ἀρετῇ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν προὔχοντας,⁶ οἱ διδάξαιαν μὴ δεῖν⁷ ἐπὶ καθέξει τῆς ἀρχῆς βιάζεσθαι,
 230 παραχωρεῖν δὲ τῇ συγκλήτῳ τοσῶνδε ἀνδρῶν ἕνα ὄντα ἡσώμενον⁸ καὶ τῷ νόμῳ παραχωροῦντα τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς κόσμου τὴν πρόνοιαν, μνημονεύοντα ὧν οἱ πρότεροι τύραννοι κακώσειαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ὧν ὑπὸ Γαίου καὶ αὐτὸς κινδυνεύσειεν σὺν αὐτοῖς, μηδὲ μισήσαντα⁹ τὴν βαρύτητα τῆς τυραννίδος ὑφ' ἑτέρων πρασσομένης τῆς ὕβρεως αὐτὸν ἐθελουσίως ἐπὶ παροιρία θαρσεῖν τῆς πατρίδος.
 231 καὶ πειθομένῳ μὲν τοῦ πρότερον ἀπράγμονος τὴν

¹ MW: ἐπιδειξις A.

² E Lat.: οὐ codd.

³ Hudson: παρέσχον codd.; χρόνῳ παρασχόν] om. Busb.

⁴ ed. pr. Lat.: πᾶσι codd.

⁵ Hudson: καθισταμένου codd.; στάσι . . . καθισταμένου] tunc itaque paene bellum iam civile quale sub Pompeio flagrabat, quod tamen imperatore constituto sedatum est Lat.

⁶ αὐτῶν προὔχοντας] E: αὐτῶν codd.; ἄνδρας . . . προὔχοντας] viros de suo coetu virtute claros Lat.

on their shoulders in order that there might be no drag on their speed. The will of the people and that of the senators were at variance. The latter were eager to regain their former prestige and earnestly aspired, since after long years they now had the chance, to escape a slavery brought upon them by the insolence of the tyrants. The people, on the other hand, were jealous of the senate, recognizing in the emperors a curb upon the senate's encroachments and a refuge for themselves. They rejoiced in the seizure of Claudius, and supposed that his securing the throne would avert from them any civil strife such as had occurred in Pompey's day.^a The senate, having learned that Claudius had been brought into the camp by the soldiers, sent some of their men of superior character to impress on him that he must not take forcible action to put himself on the throne.^b On the contrary, they said, he should yield to the senate, submitting, as a single individual, to so large a number of men, and allowing the law to provide for the organization of the commonwealth. He should remember what injuries former tyrants had inflicted on the state and what perils he, along with themselves, had undergone at the hands of Gaius. Since he detested the cruelty of tyranny when insolently practised by others, he should not voluntarily take rash action and indulge in a burst of violence against his fatherland. If he complied and showed that his former good conduct in avoiding

Opposition of the senate and people. Embassy to Claudius.

^a 49-46 B.C.

^b Similarly Dio lx. 1. 4.

⁷ μὴ δεῖν] μηδὲν E et i. marg. A et ut vid. Lat.

⁸ A: ἡ ἐσόμενον MW.

⁹ μιμησόμενον Richards et Shutt.

ἀρετὴν ἐπιδεικνυμένῳ βέβαιον τιμὰς τε ὑπάρξειν, αἶ ὑπὸ ἐλευθέρων ψηφισθεῖεν τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ ἐπιχωρήσει τοῦ νόμου τὸ μέρος ἄρχοντά τε καὶ 232 ἀρχόμενον κερδαίνειν¹ ἔπαινον ἀρετῆς. εἰ δὲ ἀπονοοῖτο μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς Γαίου τελευτῆς σωφρονιζόμενος οὔτι γε αὐτοῖ ἐπιτρέψειν τῆς τε γὰρ στρατιᾶς πολὺ εἶναι τὸ συνεστηκὸς αὐτοῖς ὄπλων τε εὐπορίαν 233 καὶ πληθὺν οἰκετῶν, οἱ χρῆσαιτο αὐτοῖς.² μέγα δὲ μέρος τῆν τε ἐλπίδα εἶναι καὶ τῆν τύχην, τοὺς τε θεοὺς οὐκ ἄλλοις συμμαχεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μετ' ἀρετῆς καὶ τοῦ καλοῦ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ποιουμένοις. εἶναι δὲ τούτους, οἱ ἂν περὶ ἐλευθερίας μάχωνται τῆς πατρίδος.

234 (4) Καὶ οἱ μὲν πρεσβευταὶ Οὐηράνιος³ τε καὶ Βρόγγχος,⁴ δῆμαρχοι δὲ ἦσαν ἀμφότεροι, τοῖσδε ἐχρῶντο τοῖς λόγοις καὶ καθικέτευον τοῖς γόνασιν αὐτοῦ προσπεσόντες μηδαμῶς πολέμοις καὶ κακοῖς ἐμβαλεῖν τῆν πόλιν, θεωροῦντες⁵ στρατιᾶς πληθύν τὸν Κλαύδιον πεφραγμένον καὶ τὸ μηδὲν τοὺς ὑπά- 235 τούς ὄντας συγκρίσει τῇ πρὸς αὐτόν. εἴ τε τῆς ἀρχῆς ὀρέγοιτο, παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς δέχεσθαι διδομένην· αἰσιώτερον γὰρ καὶ εὐδαιμονέστερον χρῆ-

¹ Niese: κερδαίνειν codd. E.

² οἱ χρῆσαιτο αὐτοῖς] quibus adversus cum fortiter uterentur Lat.: οἷς χρῆσαιτο Hudson ex Lat.

³ ed. pr. ex Lat.: Οὐηράνιος A: Οὐηράνιος M: Οὐηράνιος W: γρ ἐν ἄλλοις Οὐηράνιος i. marg. A.

⁴ Hudson: Βρόγγχος A: Βροῦχος MW: Βρόσχος E: Βρόχος Busb.: Bracchus Lat.: Βροῦτος Casaubonus.

⁵ θεωροῦντες] θεωροῦντες δὲ E.

trouble could be trusted to continue, he would obtain honours, which would be voted him by free citizens; for if he did his part in yielding to the law, he would gain plaudits for virtuous conduct whether as subject or as ruler. If, however, he was reckless and had learnt no wisdom from the death of Gaius, they certainly would not permit him to act thus; for they were supported by a large part of the army and were well supplied with arms and had a host of slaves to use them. Hope and Fortune, they remarked, were a large asset; and the gods seconded the efforts of those alone who strove to win without sacrificing moral and spiritual values, namely, those who fought for the freedom of their country.

(4) This message was delivered by the envoys Veranius^a and Brocchus,^b both tribunes of the people, who fell on their knees and besought him on no account to involve the city in wars and calamities; for they saw that Claudius was under protection of a large army and that the consuls were as nothing in comparison with him. They went on to say that if he sought the throne, he should receive it as a gift from the senate, for he would exercise it more aus-

^a Quintus Veranius, tribunus plebis in 41 (so also *Inscr. Gr. ad Res Rom. per.* iii. 703), governor of Lycia (or Lycia-Pamphylia), consul in 49, governor of Britain in 58, where he died that same year (*Tac. Agr.* 14 and *Ann.* xiv. 29). From a new inscription discussed at length by A. E. Gordon ("Quintus Veranius Consul A.D. 49," *Univ. of Calif. Publ. in Class. Archaeol.* ii. 5, 1952, pp. 231-341), it appears that the emperor Claudius was connected with Veranius' being named to the consulship, and that during that year he was named augur and raised to the rank of patrician.

^b The spelling in the mss. varies: Bronchus, Brouchos, Broschus, Brochus, Bracchus. He is otherwise unknown. Of the various spellings only Brocchus is actually found in an inscription.

σθαι τὸν μὴ μετὰ ὕβρεως ἀλλ' εὐνοία τῶν δίδόντων παραλαμβάνοντα.

- 236 (iv. 1) Κλαύδιος δέ, ἠπίστατο γὰρ μεθ' οἷας αὐθαδείας ἀποσταλεῖν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν γνώμη τῇ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μετριώτερον τρεπόμενος, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ περὶ αὐτοῦ φόβῳ διαναστὰς ἅμα μὲν θάρσει τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἅμα δὲ Ἀγρίππου τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύοντος μὴ¹ προσέσθαι τῶν χειρῶν τηλικαύτην ἀρχὴν ἠκούσαν αὐτόματον. πράξας μὲν καὶ περὶ Γάιον οἶον εἰκὸς ἀνδρα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τιμῆς ἠγμένον, καὶ γὰρ τὸν νεκρὸν περιέσπεν² τοῦ Γαίου καὶ ἀναθέμενος ἐπὶ κλίνης καὶ περιστείλας ἐκ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων εἰς τοὺς σωματοφύλακας ὑπεχώρει, ζῆν μὲν τὸν Γάιον ἀπαγγέλλων κακοπαθοῦντι³ δὲ⁴ ὑπὸ⁵ τραυμάτων ἰατροῦς μετέσεσθαι⁶ 238 λέγων⁷. πυθόμενος δὲ τοῦ Κλαυδίου τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀρπαγὴν ὠθείτο πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ καταλαβὼν τεταραγμένον καὶ οἶόν τε ἐκχωρεῖν τῇ συγκλήτῳ ἀνήγειρεν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι κελεύων τῆς ἡγεμονίας. ταῦτα δὲ πρὸς τὸν Κλαύδιον εἰπὼν προσεχώρει πρὸς αὐτόν,⁸ καὶ μετακαλούσης αὐτὸν τῆς βουλῆς χρισάμενος μύροις τὴν κεφαλὴν ὡς ἀπὸ

¹ om. Lat.

² Bekker: περιέπεσε (-σεν A¹) codd. E: περιέπλεξε Hudson.

³ κακοπαθούντα E.

⁴ MWE: γε A.

⁵ E Busb.: ἀπὸ codd.

⁶ A: μετῆσθαι M et l. marg. A: μεθῆσθαι W: μετελθεῖν E: μετῆσσεσθαι conl. Niese dubitans.

⁷ καὶ γὰρ . . . λέγων] et eius lectum lugubriter prosecutus Lat.

⁸ Hudson: αὐτόν codd.

^a Cf. the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 206, where Agrippa has the passive rôle and Claudius the active rôle, since it is

iciously and more fortunately if he obtained it not by violence but by favour of the donors.

(iv. 1) ^a Claudius knew with what contumacy they had been sent, but was for the present moved by their views to greater moderation. Nevertheless, he had recovered from his fear of them both because of the bold action of the soldiers and because of the advice of King Agrippa ^b not to let slip through his hands such an office which had come unsought. Agrippa had done for Gaius what was to be expected of one who had been held in honour by him. For he attended to the corpse of Gaius, laid it upon a bier, and after dressing it with such materials as were at hand retired to the bodyguard and announced that Gaius was alive, saying that physicians would be arriving to aid him inasmuch as he was suffering from serious wounds. On hearing of the kidnapping of Claudius by the soldiers, Agrippa forced his way to him; and finding him perplexed and on the point of yielding to the senate, he stirred him up and bade him make a bid for the empire. After these words to Claudius Agrippa returned home. On being summoned by the senate, he anointed his head with unguents as if he had arrived from a banquet that

Agrippa persuades Claudius to become emperor and offers to persuade the senate.

the latter who takes the initiative to summon the former—the reverse of the situation here. Cf. V. M. Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius*, 1940, pp. 58-59, who is justified in his scepticism of the account in the *Antiquities*, since it seems strange that the senators should think that they could win by persuasion what they could not obtain by force, especially since the senatorial envoys Veranius and Brocchus had already indicated (§§ 230-231) that the senate was ready to accept a compromise, namely that Claudius should receive his imperial power from the senate.

^b Agrippa's rôle in helping to make Claudius emperor is also mentioned briefly by Dio lx. 8. 2.

συνουσίας γινομένης ἀναλύσεως αὐτῆ¹ παρῆν και
 240 ἤρετο τοὺς βουλευτάς, τί πέπραχε Κλαύδιος. τῶν
 δὲ τὰ ὄντα φαμένων και προσανερομένων, ἦντινα
 γνώμην ἔχοι περὶ τοῖς ὄλοις, τελευταῖν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 κατ' ἐκείνην εὐκλεοῦς ἔτοιμος ἦν τοῖς λόγοις, σκο-
 πεῖν δὲ ἐκέλευε περὶ τῷ συμφέροντι πᾶν ὃ τι και
 241 εἰς ἡδονὴν φέροι ὑπεξελομένους· χρεῖαν γὰρ εἶναι
 τοῖς ἀρχῆς μεταποιουμένοις και ὄπλων και στρατι-
 ωτῶν, οἱ φράζαιντο αὐτοῖς, μὴ και ἀπαράσκευοι
 242 καταστάντες εἰς τάδε σφαλείην. ἀποκριναμένης δὲ
 τῆς βουλῆς ὄπλων τε εὐπορίαν και χρήματα εἰσοί-
 σειν, και στρατιᾶς τὸ μὲν τι αὐτοῖς εἶναι συνεστη-
 κός, τὸ δὲ συγκροτήσειν ἐλευθερώσεως δούλων γενο-
 μένης. "εἴη μὲν, ὦ βουλή," φησὶν ὁ Ἀγρίππας
 ὑποτυχῶν, "πράσσειν ὅποσα θυμὸς ὑμῖν, λεκτέον
 243 τὸν λόγον. ἴστε μὴν στρατόν, ὃς ὑπὲρ Κλαυδίου μα-
 χεῖται, πλήθει χρόνου ὄπλιτεύειν μεμελετηκότα, τὰ δ'
 ἡμέτερα, συγκλύδων ἀνθρώπων πλήθος δ' ἔσται και
 τῶν παρὰ δόξαν τῆς δουλείας ἀπηλλαγμένων, δυσ-
 κράτητα. πρὸς δὲ τεχνίτας μαχοῦμεθα προαγαγόν-
 244 τες ἀνδρας μὴδ' ὅπως σπάσαι τὰ ξίφη εἰδότας. ὥστε
 μοι δοκεῖ πέμπειν ὡς Κλαυδίον πείσοντας κατα-
 τίθεσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν, πρεσβεύειν τε ἔτοιμός εἰμι."
 245 (2) Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπεν, και συγκαταθεμένων
 πεμφθεῖς σὺν ἑτέροις τὴν τε ταραχὴν τῆς βουλῆς
 διηγείται καταμόνας πρὸς τὸν Κλαυδίον ἐδίδασκέν
 τε ἡγεμονικώτερον ἀποκρίνασθαι και τῷ ἀξιώματι
 246 τῆς ἐξουσίας χρώμενον. ἔλεγεν σὺν Κλαυδίος, οὐ

¹ Hudson : αὐτῶι ex corr. A : αὐτῷ MW.

^a Cf. the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 208.

had just broken up, appeared before them and asked
 the senators what Claudius had done. They told
 him the state of affairs and asked him in return what
 he thought of the whole situation. He declared that
 he was ready to die for the honour of the senate, but
 bade them consider what was expedient and to set
 aside all personal predilections. For, he noted, those
 who made a bid to rule the state needed arms and
 soldiers for their defence, lest on taking a stand un-
 prepared they should find that this was their fatal
 mistake. The senate replied that they were well
 supplied with arms and would contribute money, that
 they had something of an army standing by them,
 and that they would whip more troops into shape
 by liberating slaves. "May you succeed, senators,"
 said Agrippa in reply, "in doing what you desire,
 but I must speak without shilly-shallying because my
 speech has a bearing on your security. You know,
 of course, that the army that will fight for Claudius
 has been long trained to bear arms, while ours will be
 a motley rabble consisting of men who have unex-
 pectedly been released from slavery and who are
 consequently hard to control. We shall fight against
 experts, having brought into play men who do not
 even know how to draw their swords. Therefore my
 judgement is to send a deputation to Claudius to
 persuade him to lay down his office ; and I am ready
 to act as ambassador."

(2) So he spoke, and on their agreeing to his pro-
 posal he was dispatched with others. He thereupon
 recounted to Claudius in private the confusion of the
 senate and advised him to reply rather imperiously,
 speaking with the dignity of one in authority.

"Claudius accordingly replied that he did not wonder

Claudius'
 reply to the
 senate.

θαυμάζειν τὴν βουλήν ἠδονῆ μὴ φέρουσαν ἄρχεσθαι διὰ τὸ ὠμότητι τετυῦσθαι τῶν πρότερον ἐπὶ τὸ ἡγεμονεύειν καταστάντων, γεύσειν τε αὐτοὺς ἐπιεικεία τῇ καθ' αὐτὸν μετρίων καιρῶν, ὀνόματι μὲν μόνῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐσομένης, ἔργῳ δὲ κοινῆς πᾶσι προκεισομένης¹ εἰς μέσον. διὰ πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ποικίλων ὠδευκότη² πραγμάτων ἐν ὄψει τῇ ἐκείνων
 247 καλῶς ἔχειν μὴ ἀπιστεῖν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις τοιούτων ἀκροάσει λόγων καθομιληθέντες ἐξεπέμποντο. Κλαύδιος δὲ τῷ στρατῷ συλληχθέντι διελέγετο ὄρκους λαμβάνων ἢ μὴν ἐμμενεῖν³ πίστει τῇ πρὸς αὐτόν, δωρεῖται τοὺς σωματοφύλακας πεντακισχιλίας δραχμαῖς κατὰ ἕκαστον ἄνδρα, τοῖς τε ἡγεμόσιν αὐτῶν ἀνάλογον τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ καὶ τοῖς ὅποι ποτὲ στρατοπέδοις ὑπισχνεῖτο τὰ ὅμοια.
 248 (3) Συνεκάλουν δὲ οἱ ὑπατοὶ τὴν βουλήν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ νικηφόρου Διὸς· ἔτι δὲ νύξ ἦν. τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει κλέπτοντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐνεδοίαζον πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόασιν, τοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἀγρῶν

¹ ἔργῳ . . . προκεισομένης] A: om. MW.

² Hudson: ὠδευκότητων codd.: ὠδευκότητων τῶν E.

³ Dindorf: ἐμμένειν codd. E.

^a Cf. the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 208, where Claudius similarly informs the senate through his envoy Agrippa that he will be content with the honour of the title of emperor and adds that even if he were not naturally moderate the death of Gaius would be a sufficient warning to him to act thus.

^b Or perhaps "the army."

^c Balsdon, *op. cit.*, p. 188, notes the discrepancy between this figure in Josephus (=20,000 sesterces) and the figure cited in Suetonius, *Claud.* 10 (15,000 sesterces =3750 drachmas) and remarks that the payment of this sum to the praec-

that the senate was not pleased at the prospect of submitting to authority because they had been oppressed by the brutality of those who had previously held the imperial office. But he promised to behave with such propriety that they would taste for themselves the savour of an era of fair dealing; that only nominally would the government be his, that in reality it would be thrown open to all in common. Seeing that he had passed through many vicissitudes of fortune before their eyes, they would do well not to distrust him.^a The envoys, conciliated by the words that they heard, were ushered out. Claudius assembled and addressed the army, binding them by oath that they would remain loyal to him. He presented the praetorian guard^b with five thousand drachmas^c apiece and their officers with a proportionate sum and promised similar amounts to the armies wherever they were.

(3) The consuls then called together the senate in the Temple of Jupiter Victor^d while it was still night. Some of the senators who were in hiding in the city hesitated when they heard the summons; others had departed to their private estates, praetorian guard alone would have amounted to 135,000,000 sesterces.

^d Livy x. 29. 14 and 18 refers to a vow by Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus to build a temple to Jupiter Victor; and Ovid, *Fasti* iv. 621-622, declares that the temple was dedicated on the Ides of April. Dio Cassius refers (xlv. 17. 2, xlvii. 40. 2) to temples or shrines to Ζεὺς Νίκαιος. But there is considerable doubt whether these refer to the same temple and where that temple was located. The epithet "Invictus" in inscriptions is probably an alternate for Victor. Cf. S. B. Platner and T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 1929, pp. 306-307. In the parallel passage (*B.J.* ii. 205), in Suetonius, *Calig.* 60, and in Dio lx. 1. 1 it is in the Capitol that the senate meets after Gaius' death.

Meeting of the senate in the Temple of Jupiter.

ἔγεγόνεισαν ἕξοδοι προορωμένοις ἢ χωρήσει τὸ πᾶν ἐν ἀπογνώσει τοῦ ἐλευθέραν γεγονότος,¹ καὶ πολὺ κρείττον ἐν ἀκινδύνῳ τοῦ δουλεύειν ὑπειληφότες διαβιοῦν ἀργία τοῦ πονεῖν ἢ κτώμενοι τὸ ἀξίωμα τῶν πατέρων περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀμφίβολοι
 249 καταστήται. συνελέγησαν δ' ὁμῶς ἑκατὸν οὐ πλείους, καὶ διαβουλευομένων περὶ τῶν ἐν χερσὶν αἰφνίδιον αἴρεται βοή τοῦ συνεστηκότος αὐτοῖς στρατιωτικοῦ στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα κελευόντων τὴν βουλήν ἐλέσθαι καὶ μὴ φθείρειν πολυαρχία τὴν
 250 ἡγεμονίαν. καὶ τὸ μὲν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀπεφαίνοντο περὶ τοῦ μὴ πᾶσιν, ἀλλ' ἐνὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐφέσιμον εἶναι, ὄραν² δὲ ἐκείνοις ἐπιτρέπειν, ὅστις τοσαύτης προστασίας ἀξίος. ὥστε ἐν ἀνίᾳ³ τὰ τῶν συγκλητικῶν ἦν πολὺ πλεόν δι' ἁμαρτίαν μὲν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀυχέματος, φόβῳ δὲ τοῦ Κλαυδίου.
 251 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἦσαν οἱ ἐφιέμενοι γένους τε ἀξιώματι καὶ οἰκειότησιν γάμου· καὶ γὰρ Βινίκιος⁴ Μάρκος⁵ καὶ τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν γενναιότητι ἀξιόλογον ὄντα⁶ καὶ δὴ ἀδελφὴν Γαίου γεγαμηκότα Ἰουλίαν, πρόθυμὸς τε ἦν ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων, κατέειχον δὲ οἱ
 252 ὑπάτοι πρόφασιν ἐκ προφάσεως ἀναρτῶντες. Οὐα-

¹ προορωμένοις . . . γεγονότος] prospicientes quoniam si res ad effectum veniret in libertatis desperatione consistentent Lat.
² ἔαν Naber.

³ ἐν ἀνίᾳ] Niese: ἐναντία A: ἐναντία MW: contraria Lat.: ἐν ἀδημονίᾳ E: τῷ δῆμῳ ἐναντία conl. Richards et Shutt.

⁴ conl.: Βινίκιον Naber: Μινουκιανὸς codd.: Μινουκιανὸν E.

⁵ M: Μάρκου AWE.

⁶ καὶ γὰρ . . . ὄντα] Minucianus namque Marcum fortitudine dignum Lat.

^a Or perhaps "leisure for work."

^b The parallel account, *B.J.* ii. 209, has the senate rejecting Claudius' offer to rule with moderation and asserting that they

seeing how it would all come out. These latter despaired of liberty and deemed it far better to live out their lives free from the perils of servitude and with leisure from toil^a than to maintain the dignity of their fathers and have no assurance of surviving. Nevertheless, one hundred—no more—assembled; and, as they were deliberating^b about the matter in hand, suddenly a shout arose from the soldiers who had stood by them, bidding the senate choose an emperor^c and not to ruin the empire by entrusting it to a multitude of rulers. The senate replied that they agreed that the government must be in the hands not of everyone but of a single man, but they must see to it that they put it in charge of someone who was worthy of such pre-eminence. Thus the position of the senators was much more distressing because they had not retained the liberty about which they were so eloquent and because they were afraid of Claudius. Nevertheless, there were some Rival claimants to the empire. who aspired to the throne by reason both of their distinguished birth and of their marriage connexions. For instance, Marcus Vinicius^d had a good claim both because of his own noble birth and by his marriage to Gaius' sister Julia. He was eager to compete for the highest office but was restrained by the consuls, who brought up one pretext after another.

will not submit to voluntary slavery. When Claudius hears this he again sends Agrippa as his envoy to the senate and threatens them with open war. It is only then that one of the soldiers who has sided with the senate shouts out on behalf of Claudius and rushes from the senate with his fellow soldiers. Then the senators, now devoid of military support, hurry to Claudius and capitulate.

^c Or "a commander-in-chief."

^d mss. Minucianus; cf. note on § 102. Variant "Vinicius proposed Marcus, whose courage made him worthy . . ."

λέριον δὲ Ἀσιατικὸν Βινουκιανὸς¹ ἐκ τῶν Γαῖου
 σφαγέων ἀνείχε τοιούτων διανοιών. ἐγεγόνει δ'
 ἂν φόνος οὗ τινος ἐλάσσων ἐπιχωρηθέντων τῶν ἐπι-
 θυμούντων τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ὥστε ἀντιτάξασθαι
 253 Κλαυδίω, ἄλλως τε καὶ οἱ μονομάχοι, πλήθος δ'
 ἦν αὐτῶν ἀξιόλογον, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ νυκτο-
 φυλακοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐρέται² τε ὁπόσοι
 συνέρρεον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὥστε τῶν μετιόντων
 τὴν ἀρχὴν οἱ μὲν φειδοὶ τῆς πόλεως, οἱ δὲ καὶ φόβω
 τῷ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπέστησαν.
 254 (4) Ὑπὸ δὲ πρώτην ἀρχὴν τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ Χαι-
 ρέας καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ παρελθόντες ἐν ἐπιχειρήσει
 λόγων ἦσαν πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας. τῶν δὲ τὸ
 πλήθος ὡς ὄρα παύσαντας³ αὐτοὺς ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ
 τοῦ εἰπεῖν οἴους τε ἄρχεσθαι, ἀνεθορύβησεν μὴ ἐφι-
 έναί ὥστε εἰπεῖν διὰ τὸ ὠρμῆσθαι πάντας ἐπὶ τῷ
 μοναρχεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἡγησόμενον ἐκάλουν ὡς οὐκ
 255 ἀνεξόμενοι τὰς τριβάς. τῇ συγκλήτῳ δὲ ἀπορία
 ἄρχειν τε καὶ ὃν ἀρχθεῖεν ἂν τρόπον οὔτε δεχομένων
 αὐτοὺς⁴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν Γαῖου σφαγέων
 256 συγχαρεῖν τοῖς στρατιώταις οὐκ ἐφίεντων. ἐν τοι-
 οῖς δὲ ὄντων Χαιρέας τὴν ὄργην οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος
 πρὸς τὴν αἴτησιν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος δώσειν ἐπηγ-
 γέλλετο στρατηγόν, εἴ τις αὐτῷ σημεῖον παρὰ
 257 Εὐτύχου κομίσειεν. ἦν δὲ ὁ Εὐτύχος οὗτος ἡνίοχος
 τοῦ καλουμένου πρασίνου περισπούδαστος Γαῖω,
 καὶ περὶ τὰς οἰκοδομὰς τῶν στάσεων τοῦ περὶ

¹ cōni. Niese (cf. § 18): Μινουκιανὸς codd.

² ed. pr.: *αἰρεταί* ex corr. A: *αἰρεταί* A¹MW: om. Lat.

³ A: παύσαντας MW: παύοντας Niese.

⁴ δεχομένων αὐτοῦς] Hudson: δεχομένων αὐτῶν codd.

⁵ Cf. 102. ⁶ mss. Minucianus; cf. note on § 18.

Valerius Asiaticus^a was restrained by Vinicianus,^b
 who was one of Gaius' assassins, from similar designs.^c
 There would have been a massacre second to none had
 those who coveted the empire been allowed to range
 themselves against Claudius. Above all, there were
 gladiators—and their number was considerable—and
 the soldiers of the night watch in the city and all the
 rowers of the fleet who were streaming into the camp.
 And so, of those who were candidates for the office,
 some withdrew in order to spare the city, others out
 of fear for themselves.

(4) About the break of day Chaerea and his com-
 panions came forward and attempted to talk with
 the soldiers. The majority of the soldiers, when they
 saw these men raising their hands for attention and
 ready to begin addressing them, clamorously protested
 that they should not be allowed to speak, because
 all were bent on having a single ruler. They conse-
 quently demanded their future ruler, for they would
 brook no delay. The senate was unable either to
 govern or to decide how they should be governed,
 for, on the one hand, the troops rejected them and,
 on the other hand, the assassins of Gaius did not
 permit them to give way to the soldiers. In this
 contingency Chaerea, unable to restrain his indigna-
 tion at the soldiers' petition for an emperor, promised
 to give them a leader if someone would bring him
 the password from Eutyclus. This Eutyclus was a
 charioteer of the so-called "green faction," a great
 favourite of Gaius^d; and the soldiers wore them-

The senate
 is helpless
 in the face
 of the
 soldiers.

^a A third candidate proposed for the throne was Galba,
 the future emperor (Suet. *Galba* 7).

^d There were four factions, named after their colours,
albata (white), *prasina* (leek-green), *russata* (red), and *veneta*
 (blue). Suetonius, *Calig.* 55, also reports the ardour with

ἐκεῖνον ἵππικου¹ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἐτρίβετο² ἀτί-
 258 μοις ἐργασίαις ἐπικείμενον. εἰς ἅπερ ὁ Χαιρέας
 ὠνείδιζεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ τοιαῦτα, τὴν τε
 κεφαλὴν κομῆειν τοῦ Κλαυδίου· δεινὸν γάρ, εἰ μετὰ
 259 μανίαν παραφροσύνη δώσουσι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. οὐ
 μὴν διετράπησάν γε ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων, ἀλλὰ σπασά-
 μενοι τὰς μαχαίρας καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἀράμενοι ὄχοντο
 ὡς τὸν Κλαύδιον κοινωρήσοντες τοῖς ὀμνύουσιν
 αὐτῷ. κατελείπετο δὲ ἢ τε σύγκλητος ἐπ' ἐρημίας
 τῶν ἀμνούντων καὶ οἱ ὑπατοὶ μηδὲν ἰδιωτῶν δια-
 260 φέροντες. ἐκπληξίς τε καὶ κατήφεια ἦν, οὐδ' ὅτι
 χρῆσαιτο αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰδότην διὰ τὸ
 ἀνηρεθίσθαι τὸν Κλαύδιον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ἀλλήλοις τε
 261 ἐλοιδοροῦντο, καὶ μετὰμελος ἦν αὐτοῖς.³ καὶ Σα-
 βίνος εἰς τῶν Γαίου σφαγέων σφάζειν πρότερον
 αὐτὸν ἠπέλει παρελθῶν εἰς μέσους ἢ Κλαύδιον
 ἄρχοντα στήσεσθαι καὶ δουλοκρατίαν ἐπόψεσθαι
 καταλαβοῦσαν, τὸν τε Χαιρέαν εἰς φιλοφυχίαν ἐπέ-
 πλησεν, εἰ κατάφρονήσας Γαίου πρῶτος⁴ ἀγαθὸν
 ὑπολαμβάνοι τὸ ζῆν τῆς ἐλευθερίας οὐδ' οὕτως
 262 ἀποδοθῆναι δυναμένης τῇ πατρίδι. Χαιρέας δὲ
 περὶ μὲν τοῦ θνήσκεν ἐνδοιαστὸν οὐδὲν φρονεῖν
 ἔλεγεν, βούλεσθαι μέντοι διακωδωνίζειν διάνοιαν
 τὴν Κλαυδίου.

263 (5) Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖσδε ἦσαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ στρα-

¹ τοῦ περὶ ἐκεῖνον ἵππικου] ed. pr.: τοὺς περὶ ἐκεῖνον (ἐκέ-
 των W) ἵππικουδς codd.

² ἡνίοχος . . . ἐτρίβετο] agitator prasini Gaio et militibus
 circa sollemnitates circensium et seditiones Lat.

³ αὐτοῖς] suspectum indicat Niese.

⁴ πρῶτον coni. Thackeray.

which Gaius supported the green faction. He adds that

selves out building stables for his horses, being assigned to tasks that were beneath them. This and many other things of the sort Chaerea cast in their teeth, and bade them bring the head of Claudius; for it would be monstrous, he said, if after being ruled by a madman they should hand over the empire to an addeplate. ^a The soldiers, however, were not deterred by his words, but drawing their swords and hoisting their standards, went off to Claudius to make common cause with those who were swearing allegiance to him. The senate was left without supporters, and the consuls had no more authority than private individuals. There was consternation and dejection, for the senate knew not what course to take inasmuch as Claudius was incensed with them; and they berated one another and were sorry for what they had done. Then Sabinus,^b one of Gaius' assassins, stepped forward into their midst and threatened to kill himself rather than to set up Claudius as ruler and witness their country in the grip of a slave-government. He reproached Chaerea with cowardice, if after showing contempt for Gaius he was the first to regard life as a blessing when liberty could not even thus be restored to the fatherland. Chaerea replied that he had no hesitation in his mind about dying, but that he wished to sound out the intentions of Claudius.

(5) Such was the situation in the senate. Mean-

Gaius would frequently dine and spend the night in their stables and that he once gave the driver Eutyclus 2,000,000 sesterces in gifts. He provided his favourite horse, Incitatus, with a home, slaves, and furniture, and planned, according to report, to make him a consul.

^a Cf. the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 211.

^b *Cf.* § 46.

τοπέδου πανταχόθεν ὠθεῖτο κατὰ θεραπείαν.¹ καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων ὁ ἕτερος Κόντος Πομπώνιος² δι' αἰτίας ἦν τῷ στρατιωτικῷ μᾶλλον ὡς ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ³ τῆν συγκλητον παρακαλῶν, ἄρμησάν τε σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη, κἂν ἐπέπρακτο αὐτοῖς μὴ Κλαυδίου 264 διακεκωλκόςτος. παρακαθίζεται δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν ὑπατον ἐξαρπάσας τοῦ κινδύνου, τῶν δὲ συγκλητικῶν ὅσον⁴ ἦν σὺν τῷ Κοῖντῳ οὐ⁵ μεθ' ὁμοίας ἐδέχετο τιμῆς· τινὲς δὲ καὶ πληγὰς ἔλαβον αὐτῶν ἀνωθούμενοι τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐντεύξεως, Ἀπώνιος⁶ δὲ τραυματίας ἀνεχώρει, ἦν τε κίνδυνος περὶ πάντας αὐτούς. καὶ Ἀγρίππας ὁ βασιλεὺς προσελθὼν τῷ Κλαυδίῳ ἀξιοῖ τοῖς συγκλητικοῖς ἡπιώτερον καταστήναι· γενομένου γάρ τινος κακοῦ περὶ τὴν 266 βουλῆν οὐχ ἔξειεν ὧν ἄρξειεν ἑτέρων. πειθεται δὲ Κλαυδίου καὶ συγκαλεῖ τὴν βουλὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Παλατίου διὰ τῆς πόλεως φερόμενος παραπέμποντος αὐτὸν τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ σὺν πολλῇ πάνυ κακώσει 267 τῆς πληθύος.⁷ προεξήρσαν δὲ τῶν Γαίου σφαγέων εἰς τὸ φανερώτερον Χαιρέας καὶ Σαβίνος εἰργόμενοι προόδων κατ' ἐπιστολὰς Πολλίωνος, ὃν μικρῶ πρότερον Κλαυδίου στρατηγὸν ἤρητο⁸ τῶν σωματο-

¹ *θεραπειαν*] *θεραπειαν* Κλαυδίου Α.

² Hudson: Πομπήιος codd. E Lat.; cf. B.J. ii. 205.

³ Niese: ἐλευθερίας codd.: ἐλευθερίαν E.

⁴ Niese: ὅς codd. E: ὁ ed. pr.

⁵ A: δ M: δ W. ⁶ Apolinus Lat.

⁷ σὺν πολλῇ . . . πληθύος] cum multo nimis impetu atque ridiculo Lat.

⁸ Bekker † ἤρειτο (είρο i. ras. pressius scriptum A) AE: ἤρητο MW.

^a Variant " respects to Claudius."

^b Q. Pomponius Secundus, consul suffectus in 41. He

while, from all quarters men came hurrying towards the camp to pay their respects.^a One of the two consuls, Quintus Pomponius,^b was especially guilty in the eyes of the troops for summoning the senate in the cause of liberty. Drawing swords they rushed at him and would have murdered him had not Claudius intervened. Having rescued the consul from peril, Claudius took his seat beside him, but he did not receive the rest of the senators who accompanied Quintus with like honour. Some of them even received blows from the soldiers, who repulsed their attempts to get an audience with him. Aponius^c retired wounded, and they were all in danger. King Agrippa then approached Claudius, and besought him to take a kinder attitude to the senators; for if any harm came to the senate, he would have no other subjects over whom to rule. Claudius agreed and summoned the senate to the Palatine, whither he was borne through the city, escorted by the soldiers, who dealt very harshly with the crowd. Of the assassins of Gaius, Chaerea and Sabinus had now come forward more openly, but they were prevented from advancing by the instructions of Pollio,^d whom Claudius had shortly before chosen as praetorian prefect.

later joined in a rebellion against Claudius (Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 43).

^c Perhaps to be identified with Aponius Saturninus, who once, having fallen asleep during an auction conducted under Gaius' auspices, kept nodding his head until he had bought thirteen gladiators for 9,000,000 sesterces (Suet. *Calig.* 38).

^d Rufrius Pollio. He later accompanied Claudius on his British campaign and was honoured by receiving the right to sit in the senate (Dio lx. 23. 2). If, as seems likely (so Stein, in Pauly-Wissowa, 2. Reihe, i, 1920, p. 1202), he is identical with Rufius (Rufius) Pomfilius (Sen. *Apocol.* 13. 5), he was among those later put to death by Claudius.

268 φυλάκων. Κλαύδιος δέ, ἐπέπερ εἰς τὸ Παλάτιον ἀφικνεῖται συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἐταίρους¹ ψῆφον ἀνεδίδου περὶ Χαιρέου. τοῖς δὲ τὸ μὲν ἔργον λαμπρὸν ἐδόκει, ἀπιστίαν δ' ἐπεκάλουν τῷ πεπραχότι καὶ αὐτῷ τιμωρίαν ἐπιβάλλειν δίκαιον ἡγοῦντο ἐπ'
269 ἀποτροπῇ τοῦ μέλλοντος χρόνου.² ἀπήγγετο οὖν τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Λουππός³ τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων πλείους. λέγεται δὲ Χαιρέας μεγαλοφρόνως ἐνεγκεῖν τὴν συμφορὰν οὐ μόνον τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀμεταπτώτῳ τοῦ σχήματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἷς ὀνειδίσειεν Λουππον εἰς δάκρυα ἐκτετραμμένον.⁴
270 ἀποτιθεμένου γέ τοι τὴν στολὴν τοῦ Λουππου καὶ τὸ ῥίγος⁵ αἰτωμένου φησίν, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐναντία τοῦ λούππου ποιήσαιτο πῶποτε ῥίγος. πλήθους τε ἀνθρώπων ἐπομένου κατὰ θέαν, ὡς ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίον, ἤγρετο τὸν στρατιώτην, εἰ διὰ μελέτης αὐτῷ γεγόνοιεν αἱ σφαγαὶ ἢ εἰ πρῶτον ἔχοι τὸ ξίφος⁶ ἐκέλευέ τε⁷ κομίζειν ᾧ Γάιον μεταχειρίσαιτο αὐτός· θνήσκει δὲ εὐδαιμόνως μιᾶς πληγῆς αὐτῷ γενο-
271 μένης. Λουππος δὲ οὐ πάνυ δεξιῶς ὑπέξῃληεν ἀθυμία καὶ πληγῶν πλειόνων γενομένων διὰ τὸ μαλακῶς τὸν τράχηλον παρασχέιν.

¹ MW: ἐτέρους A: alios Lat.

² ἀπιστίαν . . . χρόνου] sed Pollioni praecipue causam mortis applicabant, qui tantum operis fieri persuaserat et ut ipse pariter pro merito futuri temporis deperiret iustum esse clamabant Lat.

³ Λούπος E (sed Λουππος Busb.).

⁴ resolutum Lat.: ἐκκεχυμένον Richards et Shutt.

⁵ ἀποτιθεμένου . . . ῥίγος] om. E Lat.

⁶ εἰ διὰ . . . ξίφος] si interficiendi meditationem haberet Lat.; lacunam vel ante vel post τὸ ξίφος indicat Niese.

When Claudius reached the Palatine, he assembled his companions and put the case of Chaerea to a vote.^a Their verdict was that the deed had been a splendid one; but they accused its perpetrator of disloyalty and thought it right to inflict punishment upon him as a deterrent for the future. Chaerea was accordingly led off to be executed, and with him Lupus^b and several other Romans. It is reported that Chaerea bore his fate with great dignity, as was evident not only by his own unchanged countenance, but also by his reproach of Lupus, who had given way to tears. Indeed, when Lupus took off his robe and complained of the cold,^c Chaerea remarked that "cold could never harm a wolf."^d A crowd of people followed to see the sight. When Chaerea reached the place of execution he asked the soldier whether he had had practice in executions or whether this was the first time that he had held a sword and bade him bring the sword^e with which he himself had dispatched Gaius. He was fortunate to be slain by the first blow. Lupus, for want of courage, was not very skilful in making his exit; he received several blows because he stuck his neck out so gingerly.

^a Dio lx. 3. 4 says that though Claudius was pleased that Gaius had been assassinated, he was displeased that an emperor had been assassinated, and so he put Chaerea and some others to death since he sought to insure his own safety.

^b The military tribune who had slain Gaius' wife and daughter (§§ 190-200).

^c This occurred a few days after Gaius' assassination on 24 January.

^d There is a play on *lupus*, the Latin word for wolf.

^e There is perhaps a slight lacuna here in the text, in which the soldier replied to Chaerea's question.

⁷ ἐκέλευέ τε] E: rogavitque Lat.: καὶ ἐκέλευε ed. pr.: ἐκέλευε codd.

Chaerea
and Lupus
are
executed.

- 272 (6) Ὀλίγαις δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἐναγισμῶν ἐνε-
 οσηκότων Ῥωμαίων τὸ πλῆθος τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐπι-
 φέροντες καὶ Χαίρεαν μοίραις ἐτίμησαν εἰς τὸ πῦρ
 τιθεμέναις, ἵλεων καὶ ἄμηνιν εἶναι τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν
 ἀχαριστίας παρακαλοῦντες. καὶ Χαίρεά μὲν τοι-
 273 αὐτῆ τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου συνέτυχεν. Σάβινος δὲ
 Κλαυδίου μὴ μόνον τῆς αἰτίας παραλύοντος αὐτὸν
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἣν εἶχεν ἐφιέντος, ἄδικον
 ἠγεῖτο τὴν ἐκλείπειν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς συνωμώτας
 πίστεως, σφάζει θ² αὐτὸν περιπεσὼν τῷ ξίφει
 μέχρι³ δὴ καὶ τὴν κόπην τῷ τραύματι συνελθεῖν.
 274 (v. 1) Κλαυδῖος δὲ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ πᾶν ὃ τι
 ἦν ὑποπτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐδέος ἀποσκευασάμενος διά-
 γραμμα προὔτιθει τὴν τε ἀρχὴν Ἀγρίππα βεβαίων,
 ἣν ὁ Γάιος παρέσχε, καὶ δι' ἐγκωμίων ἄγων τὸν
 βασιλέα. προσθήκην τε αὐτῷ ποιεῖται πᾶσαν τὴν
 275 Ἰουδαίαν καὶ Σαμαρείαν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὡς
 ὀφειλόμενα τῇ οἰκειότητι τοῦ γένους ἀπεδίδον.
 Ἄβιλαν⁴ δὲ τὴν Λυσανίου καὶ ὅποσα ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ
 ὄρει ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ προσετίθει, ὄρκιά τε αὐτῷ τέμ-
 νεται πρὸς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μέσης ἐν

¹ αὐτῶν Richards et Shutt, qui ἀπαρχὰς post αὐτῶν add.

² σφάζει θ¹ conl. Niese: σφάζει codd.: σφάζει τε E: καὶ σφάζει Suidas.

³ μέχρι] μέχρι τοῦ conl. Richards et Shutt.

⁴ A: Ἄβελαν M: Ἄβελαν W: Ἄβηλαν E: Abelan Lat.

^a Since Gaius was murdered on 24 January, the reference would seem to be to the Parentalia, 13-21 February. Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* ii. 533 ff., for a description of the ceremonies, which were performed annually at the tombs of the deceased.

^b Sabinus' suicide is also mentioned by Dio lx. 3. 5.

(6) A few days later,^a when the sacrifices to the dead were offered, the Roman people brought offerings to their deceased relatives and honoured Chaerea also with portions that they cast into the flames, beseeching him to be gracious and not vengeful because of their ingratitude to him. Such was the end of Chaerea's life. As for Sabinus, he was not only released by Claudius from the charge but allowed to retain the office which he held. Nevertheless, deeming it wrong to fail in loyalty to his fellow conspirators, he slew himself, falling upon his sword till the hilt actually reached the wound.^b

(v. 1)^c Claudius speedily purged the army of all unreliable units. He then promulgated an edict whereby he both confirmed the rule of Agrippa, which Gaius had presented to him, and delivered a panegyric on the king.^d He also added to Agrippa's dominions all the other lands that had been ruled by King Herod, his grandfather, namely, Judaea and Samaria.^e He restored these lands to him as a debt due to his belonging to the family of Herod. But he also added Abila,^f which had been ruled by Lysanias,^g and all the land in the mountainous region of Lebanon as a gift out of his own territory, and he celebrated a treaty with Agrippa in the middle of the

Claudius confirms Agrippa in his kingdom and adds to it.

^a §§ 274-275 are parallel with *B.J.* ii. 215-216.

^b Dio lx. 8. 2 adds that Claudius bestowed the rank of consul on Agrippa and the rank of praetor on Agrippa's brother Herod; he then permitted them to enter the senate and to express their thanks to him in Greek.

^c Also, according to *B.J.* ii. 215, Trachonitis and Aurantias, which Augustus had presented to Herod.

^d Or Abela, on the northern slope of Mount Hermon, north-west of Damascus. Cf. *Ant.* xx. 138.

^e See note on *Ant.* xviii. 237. Lysanias the tetrarch of Abilene is also mentioned in Luke iii. 1.

- 276 τῆ Ῥωμαίων πόλει. Ἀντίοχον δὲ ἦν εἶχεν βασιλείαν ἀφελόμενος Κιλικίας μέρει τινὶ καὶ Κομμαγηνῇ δωρεῖται. λύει δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον¹ τὸν ἀλαβάρχη² φίλον ἀρχαῖον αὐτῷ γεγονότα καὶ Ἀντωνίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπιτροπεύσαντα τὴν μητέρα ὀργῇ τῇ Γαίου δεδεμένον, καὶ αὐτοῦ υἱὸς Βερενίκην τὴν
- 277 Ἀγρίππου γαμεί θυγατέρα. καὶ ταύτην μὲν, τελευτᾷ γὰρ Μάρκος ὁ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸς παρθένον λαβών, ἀδελφῷ τῷ αὐτοῦ Ἀγρίππας Ἡρώδη δίδωσιν Χαλκίδος αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν εἶναι αἰτησάμενος παρὰ Κλαυδίου.
- 278 (2) Στασιάζεται δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν χρόνον Ἰουδαίων³ τὰ πρὸς Ἑλλήνας ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείαν πόλεως. τελευτήσαντος γὰρ τοῦ Γαίου τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος³ ἐπὶ ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐκείνου τεταπεινωμέ-

¹ Ἀλέξανδρον] A: Ἀλέξανδρον Λυσίμαχον MWE: γρ Λυσίμαχον i. marg. A: Lysimachum Lat.

² Ἰουδαίους E.

³ γένος E.

^a An alliance of Agrippa with the senate and the Roman people is depicted on a coin, for which see F. W. Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881, pp. 136-137.

^b Gaius had named Antiochus IV king of Commagene in northern Syria in 38 and added the Cilician coast to his realm (Dio lix. 8. 2). His kingdom was taken from him shortly thereafter by Gaius, but it was soon returned to him by Claudius in 41 (Dio lx. 8. 1). He was deprived of his kingdom in 72. Cf. *B.J.* v. 461 and vii. 219-243; and *Ant.* xviii. 140, xix. 338 and 355, and xx. 139.

^c For Claudius' maintenance of the Roman policy of establishing protectorates on the fringe of the empire even at the expense of incorporated territory see also *Ant.* xix. 351 and 362, xx. 104 and 138; *B.J.* ii. 215-217, 223; and 247, vii. 97; and Dio lx. 8. 1 (cited by J. G. C. Anderson, in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* x, 1934, p. 752). The kingdom of which Antio-

Forum in the city of Rome.⁴ He deprived Antiochus^b of the kingdom that he held, and presented him with a portion of Cilicia and with Commagene.^c He further liberated Alexander^d the alabarch,^e an old friend of his, who had acted as guardian for his mother Antonia and had been imprisoned by Gaius in a fit of anger. The son^f of Alexander married Berenice, the daughter of Agrippa. After the death of Marcus, son of Alexander, who was her first husband, Agrippa gave her to his own brother Herod,^g after asking Claudius to give him the kingdom of Chalcis.^h

(2) About this time, there arose a feud between Jews and Greeks in the city of Alexandria. For upon the death of Gaius, the Jews, who had been humili-

Strife of
Greeks and
Jews in
Alexandria.

chus was deprived may have been in southern Lycaonia north of the Taurus, since numismatic evidence indicates that he ruled this area at one time. More likely it is Josephus who is confused, since it appears that the kingdom of which Antiochus was deprived was Commagene, and that it was Gaius who deprived him of it (cf. Dio lx. 8. 1). It was then restored to Antiochus by Claudius, as we learn also in Dio lx. 8. 1. See D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, ii, 1950, pp. 1367-1368 n. 49.

^a Some mss. add "Lysimachus," but this is a gloss, as noted by J. Schwartz, "Note sur la famille de Philon d'Alexandrie," *Ann. d. l'Inst. d. Philol. et d'hist. or. et sl.*; *univ. libre d. Brux.* xiii, 1953 (= *Mélanges Isidore Lévi*), p. 596.

^b Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 150 ff.

^c Marcus Julius Alexander. His name occurs frequently in the ostraca of Nicanor, one of whose leading customers he was during the period from 37 to 43/44. These ostraca indicate that Marcus had important business dealings with Arab countries and with India. See A. Fuks, "Notes on the Archive of Nicanor," *Jour. of Juristic Papyr.* v, 1951, pp. 207-216, esp. 214-215.

^d The marriage took place in 43 or 44, as indicated by A. Fuks, "Marcus Julius Alexander" [in Hebrew], *Zion* xiii-xiv, 1948-1949, pp. 15-17.

^e In the Lebanon valley: cf. *B.J.* i. 185.

νον καὶ δεινῶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων ὑβρισμένον¹
 279 ἀνεθάρρησέ τε καὶ ἐν ὄπλοις εὐθέως ἦν. καὶ Κλαύ-
 διος ἐπιστέλλει τῷ ἐπαρχοῦντι² κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυ-
 πτον ὥστε τὴν στάσιν καταστείλαι, πέμπει δὲ καὶ
 διάγραμμα παρακεκληκόντων αὐτὸν Ἀγρίππου τε
 καὶ Ἡρώδου τῶν βασιλέων εἰς τε τὴν Ἀλεξάν-
 δρειαν καὶ Συρίαν γεγραμμένον τοῦτον τὸν τρό-
 280 πον· “Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Καίσαρ Σεβαστὸς Γερ-
 281 μανικὸς³ δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας λέγει.⁴ ἐπιγνοὺς
 ἀνέκαθεν τοὺς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἰουδαίους Ἀλεξ-
 ἀνδρεῖς λεγομένους συγκατοικισθέντας⁵ τοῖς πρώ-

¹ A: βιαζόμενον MWE.

² Dindorf: ἱππαρχοῦντι codd.: praefecto Lat.: ὑπαρχοῦντι conl. Niese.

³ ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος post Γερμανικὸς add. Hudson.

⁴ λέγει] ὑπάτος λέγει E.

⁵ Dindorf: συγκατοικισθέντας (-ησθ- W) codd.

^a Probably C. Vitrasius Pollio, but perhaps it is his successor L. Aemilius Rectus.

^b The edict which follows mentions the rights of the Alexandrian Jews only, but presumably a similar edict, *mutatis mutandis*, reaffirmed the civic rights granted the Jews of Syria by Seleucus Nicator (*Ant.* xii. 119).

^c Hudson adds “pontifex maximus,” to make this edict parallel with the edict sent by Claudius to the rest of the world (§ 287). In his letter to the Alexandrians later in the year (London Papyrus 1912: published by H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, 1924, pp. 1-37), Claudius also refers to himself as pontifex maximus.

^d There has been considerable debate as to the meaning of the term Ἀλεξανδρεῖς (“Alexandrians”). If it means simply “inhabitants of Alexandria,” the edict would be redundant in speaking of the Jewish inhabitants of Alexandria who are called inhabitants of Alexandria; moreover, the Greek says “so-called Alexandrians,” with the implication that this is a technical term meaning something different from mere inhabitants of Alexandria. Perhaps the term

ated under his rule and grievously abused by the Alexandrians, took heart again and at once armed themselves. Claudius commanded the prefect ^a of Egypt to put down the factional war. In addition, on the petition of Kings Agrippa and Herod, he issued an edict to Alexandria and Syria ^b to the following effect: “Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus,^c of tribunician power, speaks. Having from the first known that the Jews in Alexandria called Alexandrians ^d were fellow colonizers

Claudius' edict to Alexandria and Syria on behalf of the Jews.

^e Ἀλεξανδρεῖς refers to the entire Greek population of Alexandria, whether citizens or not; the term “called Alexandrians” would then mean that the Jews, because of the degree to which they were Hellenized, were indistinguishable from the Greek inhabitants of Alexandria. But such a “popular” use is unlikely in a legal document. A clue to the meaning of “Alexandrians” in the edict is, it would appear, to be found in a papyrus dating from the reign of Augustus (*B.G.U.* 1140 = V. A. Tcherikover, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, no. 151), in which a man calling himself an Alexandrian petitions the Roman governor Gaius Turanius. Someone—it is not clear who—has substituted “a Jew from Alexandria” for “Alexandrian” in the papyrus; and the most likely assumption, as indicated by V. A. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, 1959, p. 312, is that when the Jew presented the petition he asserted his claim to civic rights, but that he was unable to prove this and hence was forced to designate himself merely as an inhabitant of Alexandria. The term “Alexandrians,” therefore, probably implies civic rights; “called Alexandrians” means that the Jews are alleged to have civic rights (*πολιτεία*). Thus in *Contra Apionem* ii. 38, Josephus mentions Apion's astonishment at the idea of Jews being called Alexandrians; this indicates that Apion saw no basis for the claim. V. A. Tcherikover, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, i, 1957, p. 41 n. 102, who has made a careful study of the papyrological documents, concludes that the term Ἀλεξανδρεῖς was applied to the whole body of citizens of Alexandria. Since, however, the papyri seem to speak of *δωτοί* as distinct from Ἀλεξανδρεῖς, perhaps, though there is no evidence to prove it, the *δωτοί*

τοὺς εὐθὺν καιροῖς Ἀλεξανδρεῖσι καὶ ἰσῆς πολιτείας
παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων τετευχότας, καθὼς φανερὸν

were those citizens who were enrolled in tribes and demes, while the Ἀλεξανδρεῖς were citizens who were not thus enrolled (so M. Radin, *The Jews among the Greeks and Romans*, 1915, pp. 110-111), since, as Tcherikover, *ibid.*, has noted, such an enrolment was probably connected with certain pagan religious practices which would be repugnant to Jews.

^a Cf. *B.J.* ii. 487 and *Ap.* ii. 42, which record that Alexander the Great, as a reward for Jewish support against the Egyptians, granted the Jews permission to colonize Alexandria on terms of equality (ἐξ ἰσομοίρας, var. ἐξ ἰσομίας) with the Greeks.

^b Or perhaps "citizenship." There is a huge literature on the question as to whether or not the Jews were citizens of Alexandria. W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization*,³ 1952, p. 221, asserts that it is inconceivable that the Jews were citizens of Alexandria or of any other Greek city since full citizenship entailed worship of the city gods, and this meant apostasy to the Jews. Perhaps, though we have no evidence, the Jews were granted an exemption from this worship by the Ptolemies, just as in later times they were granted exemption by the Roman emperors from worship of the emperors as gods; and in any case, as I have indicated ("The Orthodoxy of the Jews of Hellenistic Egypt," *Jewish Soc. Stud.* xxii, 1960), the Jews of Alexandria were probably not as orthodox as was formerly thought, and we know from the papyri that there were some Jews at least who were citizens. Elsewhere (*Ant.* xiv. 188) Josephus says explicitly that Julius Caesar set up a bronze tablet for the Jews in Alexandria declaring that they were citizens (πολίται) of Alexandria. Moreover, Philo, *In Flacc.* 47, speaks of Jewish citizens; and in *In Flacc.* 78-80, while not explicitly stating that the Jews were citizens, he does say that the Jews were classed with the Alexandrians when it came to the method whereby they might be beaten. But the publication of London Papyrus 1912 has led most scholars to conclude that the Jews were not citizens. In this papyrus Claudius addresses the Alexandrians (Ἀλεξανδρεῖς μὲν, line 82) and the Jews (Ἰουδαίους δέ, line 88), with the contrast clearly marked by the μὲν and δέ; hence the Jews were not legally "Alexandrians," citizens of Alexandria. A

from the very earliest times ^a jointly with the Alexandrians and received equal civic rights ^b from the

crucial phrase in the letter (line 95) speaks of the Jews as living "in a city not their own" (ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ πόλει); and it is unlikely that Claudius, who appears impartial in the rest of the letter, would thus speak of the Jews if they were citizens of Alexandria. Finally, the letter forbids the Jews to participate in the athletic contests presided over by the gymnasiarchs and cosmetae, and it is probable (though admittedly somewhat doubtful: see S. Davis, *Race Relations in Ancient Egypt*, 1952, pp. 106-107) that participation in these games was restricted to citizens. It is possible that Claudius composed the edict quoted by Josephus under the influence of Agrippa and before he had really heard the arguments on both sides, and that later in the same year (41), when he had had an opportunity to review the evidence more thoroughly, he revised his views as to the Jewish rights. But the letter (lines 87-88) indicates that there had been an official hearing before the issuance of the edict. It is also possible that the situation in Alexandria, or Claudius' view of the situation, had changed between the time that he had issued the edict and the time that he sent the letter, and that perhaps, as indicated by Tcherikover, *Corpus*, i, pp. 72-73, he was particularly disgusted by new factors indicated in the letter, namely, the sending of delegations by two separate factions of the Jewish community (perhaps, though it is only a guess, those who were citizens and those who were not: so A. Momigliano, *Claudius*, 1934, p. 97), and the influx of Jews into Alexandria from the Egyptian countryside and from Palestine. It is more likely that Claudius, as Tcherikover, pp. 71-73, has indicated, was not hasty in issuing the edict, and that the letter did not contradict the edict. T. Zieliński, "L'Empereur Claude et l'idée de la domination mondiale des Juifs," *Rev. de l'Univ. de Brux.* xxxii, 1926-1927, pp. 128-148, wrongly assuming the identity of the edict and the letter, asserts that the former was completely forged. T. Reinach, "L'Empereur Claudius et les Juifs," *Rev. d. Ét. juives* lxxix, 1924, pp. 125-126, seeking to reconcile the two, proposes the elimination from the edict of the sentence on equality of rights. Tcherikover, pp. 70-71 n. 45, attempts to reconcile the two by asserting that parts of the edict are a forgery, namely, the reference to the Jews as Alexandrians,

ἐγένετο ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ
 282 τῶν διαταγμάτων, καὶ μετὰ τὸ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἡγεμο-
 νίᾳ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ὑποταχθῆναι
 πεφυλάχθαι αὐτοῖς τὰ δίκαια ὑπὸ τῶν πεμφθέντων
 ἐπαρχῶν κατὰ διαφόρους χρόνους μηδεμίαν τε
 ἀμφισβήτησιν περὶ τούτων γενομένην τῶν δικαίων
 283 αὐτοῖς, ἅμα καὶ καθ' ὃν καιρὸν Ἀκύλας ἦν ἐν
 Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τελευτήσαντος τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων
 ἐθνάρχου τὸν Σεβαστὸν μὴ κεκωλυκέναι ἐθνάρχας
 γίνεσθαι βουλόμενον ὑποτετάχθαι ἐκάστους ἐμμέ-
 νοντας τοῖς ἰδίῳις ἔθεσιν καὶ μὴ παραβαίνειν ἀναγ-
 284 καζομένους τὴν πάτριον θρησκείαν,¹ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς
 δὲ ἐπαρθῆναι κατὰ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἰουδαίων² ἐπὶ
 τῶν Γαίου Καίσαρος χρόνων τοῦ διὰ τὴν πολλὴν
 ἀπόνοιαν καὶ παραφροσύνην, ὅτι μὴ παραβῆναι

¹ ἐπιγνοῦς . . . θρησκείαν] om. E.

² ἴσης πολιτείας τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι τετυχηκότων post Ἰουδαίων add. E.

the statement that the Jews lived in Alexandria from the very earliest times, and the assertion that the Jews enjoyed ἴση πολιτεία with the Alexandrians. He suggests that the first passage in the edict ran perhaps as follows: ἐπιγνοῦς ἀνάκαθεν τοὺς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἰουδαίους, συγκατοικισθέντας ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι καὶ ἰδίας πολιτείας παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων τετυχότας, etc. But there is no necessary contradiction: (1) The Jews claim that they are Alexandrians, whereas Claudius does not commit himself on the question; (2) It is not unduly biased for Claudius to assert that the Jews were residents of Alexandria from the earliest times—in the letter he says that they have been inhabitants from olden times (ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων)—since this does not mean that they are entitled to citizenship; (3) The term ἴση πολιτεία may mean not “equal citizen status” but equal status as a community (πολιτεῦμα: see Davis, *op. cit.* pp. 101-104); and we know that the Jewish community of Alexandria was autonomous

kings.⁴ as is manifest from the documents in their possession and from the edicts; and that after Alexandria was made subject to our empire by Augustus their rights were preserved by the prefects sent from time to time, and that these rights of theirs have never been disputed; moreover, that at the time when Aquila was at Alexandria, on the death of the ethnarch of the Jews, Augustus did not prevent the continued appointment of ethnarchs,⁵ desiring that the several subject nations should abide by their own customs and not be compelled to violate the religion of their fathers; and learning that the Alexandrians rose up in insurrection against the Jews in their midst in the time of Gaius Caesar, who through his great folly and madness humiliated the Jews because they re-

under its own ethnarchs, as is indicated by the edict, § 283. H. Stuart Jones, “Claudius and the Jewish Question in Alexandria,” *Jour. of Rom. Stud.* xvi, 1926, p. 28, suggests that the members of a πολιτεῦμα no doubt called each other πολῖται and referred to the bestowal of their πολιτεία on entering members of the community. In any case, Philo and Josephus, particularly the latter, since he was removed from the scene, may well be guilty of wishful thinking in their apologetics; and their legal and technical terminology is likely to be looser than that of the emperor Claudius, whose letter on papyrus is, after all, first-hand evidence of what the emperor actually said.

⁴ The Ptolemies. So also *B.J.* ii. 488.

⁵ Philo, *In Flacc.* 74, apparently contradicts Josephus when he says that a council of elders (γερονσία) was appointed by Augustus to manage Jewish affairs after the death of the genarch (who must be the same as the ethnarch: see H. Box, *Philonis Alexandrini In Flaccum*, 1939, p. 102). Reimach, *op. cit.* p. 124 n. 5, suggests that the text of Josephus has probably been altered and that ἀρχοντας should be read for ἐθνάρχας. Box, p. 103, however, suggests that the discrepancy may be resolved by supposing that Augustus established a γερονσία, over which the ethnarch was to preside.

ἠθέλησεν τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος τὴν πάτριον θρησκείαν
καὶ θεὸν προσαγορεύειν αὐτόν, ταπεινώσαντος
286 αὐτούς· βούλομαι μηδὲν διὰ τὴν Γαίου παραφρο-
σύνην τῶν δικαίων τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνει παραπε-
πτωκέσαι, φυλάσσεσθαι δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ πρότερον
δικαιώματα ἐμμένουσι τοῖς ἰδίοις¹ ἔθεσιν, ἀμφο-
τέροις τε διακελεύομαι τοῖς μέρεσι πλείστην ποιή-
σασθαι πρόνοιαν, ὅπως μηδεμία ταραχὴ γένηται
μετὰ τὸ προτεθῆναι μου τὸ διάταγμα."²

286 (3) Τὸ μὲν οὖν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰου-
δαίων διάταγμα τοῦτον ἦν τὸν τρόπον γεγραμ-
μένον· τὸ δ' εἰς τὴν ἄλλην οἰκουμένην εἶχεν οὕτως³.
287 "Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς
ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας ὑπατος
288 χειροτονηθεὶς τὸ δεύτερον λέγει. αἰτησαμένων με
βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα καὶ Ἡρώδου τῶν φιλτάτων
μοι, ὅπως συγχωρήσοιμι τὰ αὐτὰ δίκαια καὶ τοῖς
ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἡγεμονίᾳ Ἰουδαίοις
φυλάσσεσθαι, καθὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ,
ἤδιστα συνεχώρησα οὐ μόνον τοῦτο τοῖς αἰτησα-
289 μένοις με χαριζόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ὧν
παρεκλήθην ἀξίους κρίνας διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους
πίστιν καὶ φιλίαν, μάλιστα δὲ δίκαιον κρίνων μη-
δεμίαν μηδὲ Ἑλληνίδα πόλιν τῶν δικαίων τούτων
ἀποτυγχάνειν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θείου Σεβαστοῦ
290 αὐταῖς ἦν τετηρημένα. καλῶς οὖν ἔχεν⁴ καὶ
Ἰουδαίους· τοὺς ἐν παντὶ τῷ ὑφ' ἡμᾶς κόσμῳ τὰ
πάτρια ἔθνη ἀνεπικωλύτως φυλάσσειν, οἷς καὶ αὐτοῖς
ἤδη νῦν παραγγέλλω μου ταύτῃ τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ
ἐπιεικέστερον χρῆσθαι καὶ μὴ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων

fused to transgress the religion of their fathers by addressing him as a god; I desire that none of their rights should be lost to the Jews on account of the madness of Gaius, but that their former privileges also be preserved to them, while they abide by their own customs; and I enjoin upon both parties to take the greatest precaution to prevent any disturbance arising after the posting of my edict."

(3) Such was the tenor of the edict sent to Alexandria on behalf of the Jews. And that to the rest of the world ran as follows: "Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Pontifex Maximus, of tribunician power, elected consul for the second time, speaks: Kings Agrippa and Herod, my dearest friends, having petitioned me to permit the same privileges to be maintained for the Jews throughout the empire under the Romans as those in Alexandria enjoy, I very gladly consented, not merely in order to please those who petitioned me, but also because in my opinion the Jews deserve to obtain their request on account of their loyalty and friendship to the Romans. In particular, I did so because I hold it right that not even Greek cities should be deprived of these privileges, seeing that they were in fact guaranteed for them in the time of the divine Augustus. It is right, therefore, that the Jews throughout the whole world under our sway should also observe the customs of their fathers without let or hindrance. I enjoin upon them also by these presents to avail themselves of this kindness in a more reasonable spirit,

Claudius' edict to the rest of the world.

¹ A: Ἰουδαίων MWE.

² A: διάγραμμα MWE: dicta Lat.

³ τὸ μὲν . . . οὕτως] καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην οἰκουμένην ἔστειλε διάγραμμα ταῦτα φράζον E.

⁴ ἔχει conl. Niese.

- ἔθνων δεισιδαιμονίας ἐξουθενίσειν, τοὺς ἰδίους δὲ νόμους φυλάσσειν. τοῦτό μου τὸ διάταγμα τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν κολωνιῶν καὶ μουნი- κικιών τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἐκτός, βασιλεῖς τε καὶ δυνάστας διὰ τῶν ἰδίων πρεσβευτῶν ἐγ- γράφασθαι βούλομαι ἐκκειμένον τε ἔχειν οὐκ ἔλατ- τον ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα ὅθεν ἐξ ἐπιπέδου καλῶς ἀναγνωσθῆναι δύναται."
- 292 (vi. 1) Τούτοις μὲν δὴ τοῖς διατάγμασιν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειάν τε καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην πᾶσαν ἀπο- σταλείσιν ἐδήλωσεν ἦν περὶ Ἰουδαίων ἔχει γνώμη Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ· αὐτίκα δὲ Ἀγρίππαν κομίου- μενον τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπὶ τιμαῖς λαμπροτέραις ἐξέ- πεμψε τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ἡγεμόσιν καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις διὰ γραμμάτων ἐπιστείλας ἐράσιμον ἄγειν αὐτόν. ὁ δ', ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν τὸν ἐπὶ κρείττοσιν τύχαις ἀνερχόμενον, μετὰ τάχους ὑπέστρεψεν, εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα δ' ἔλθων χαριστηρίου ἐξεπλήρωσε
- 293 θυσίας οὐδὲν τῶν κατὰ νόμον παραλιπών. διὸ καὶ Ναζιραίων ξυρᾶσθαι διέταξε μάλα συχνούς, τὴν δὲ χρυσὴν ἄλυσιν τὴν δοθείσαν αὐτῷ ὑπὸ Γαῖου ἰσό- σταθμον τῇ σιδηρᾷ, ἣ τὰς ἡγεμονίδας χεῖρας ἐδέθη,

^a The last clause is practically identical with the Latin formula *ut de plano recte legi possit*, "so that it (they) can plainly be read from the ground," found abbreviated *u.d.p.r.l.p.* in a law concerning the nomination of municipal candidates (H. Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.*², ii. 1, no. 6089, li; cf. lxiii).

^b The joy that one of Agrippa's subjects felt at his safe return is to be seen in W. Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Inscr. Sel.* i, 1903, no. 41B, pp. 629-630.

^c Lit. "shaven." It is hardly likely, as Whiston and Mathieu-Herrmann translate the phrase, that Agrippa, who was scrupulously observant of the Jewish religion (§ 331), should have ordered the Nazirites to violate their vow of not

and not to set at nought the beliefs about the gods held by other peoples but to keep their own laws. It is my will that the ruling bodies of the cities and colonies and municipia in Italy and outside Italy, and the kings and other authorities through their own ambassadors, shall cause this edict of mine to be inscribed, and keep it posted for not less than thirty days in a place where it can plainly be read from the ground."^a

(vi. 1) By these edicts which were sent to Alex- Agrippa re- turns to Palestine and dedi- cates a golden chain.

andria and to the world at large Claudius Caesar showed what he had decided about the Jews. He forthwith sent Agrippa to take over his kingdom with more splendid honours than before, giving written instructions to the governors of the provinces and to the procurators to treat him as a special favourite. Agrippa naturally, since he was to go back with im- proved fortunes, turned quickly homewards. On entering Jerusalem, he offered sacrifices of thanks- giving, omitting none of the ritual enjoined by our law.^b Accordingly he also arranged for a very con- siderable number of Nazirites to be shorn.^c More- over, he hung up, within the sacred precincts, over the treasure-chamber,^d the golden chain which had cutting their hair (Num. vi. 5). And even if the reference here is to temporary Nazirites, there is no indication that the time limit of all these Nazirites had simultaneously expired. It seems best, therefore, to assume that Agrippa had should- ered the expenses for the offerings of poor Nazirites. The same expression, *le-galeah*, "to shave," is found several times in the Mishnah, *Nazir* ii. 5 and 6 in the sense of "to bring the offerings of a Nazirite." The phrase is similarly to be interpreted in Acts xxi. 24. For a discussion of the origin of the phrase and for other Talmudic references see J. N. Epstein, "On the Terms of Naziriteship" [in Hebrew], in *Magnes Anniversary Book*, 1938, pp. 15-16.

^d There were thirteen horn-shaped money-chests in the

τῆς στυγνῆς εἶναι τύχης ὑπόμνημα καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ
 κρείττω μαρτυρίαν μεταβολῆς τῶν ἱερῶν ἐντὸς
 ἀνεκρέμασεν περιβόλων ὑπὲρ τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον, ἢ
 ἢ δέγμα καὶ τοῦ τὰ μεγάλα δύνασθαι ποτε πεσεῖν
 295 καὶ τοῦ τὸν θεὸν ἐγείρειν τὰ πεπτωκότα· πᾶσι γὰρ
 τοῦτ' ἐνεφάνιζεν ἢ τῆς ἀλύσεως ἀνάθεσις, ὅτι βα-
 σιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας ἀπὸ μικρᾶς αἰτίας εἰς δεσμώτην
 ἀπέδωκε τὸ πρὶν ἀξίωμα καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον τῆς πέδης
 ἐκβὰς εἰς βασιλέα τοῦ πάλαι λαμπρότερον ἠγέρθη.
 296 διὰ τούτων ἔνοοῖσθαι, ὅτι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως
 καὶ πᾶσιν ὀλιοθάνειν τὰ μεγέθη καὶ τὰ κλιθέντα
 δύναται περιφανὲς λαβεῖν πάλιν ὕψος.
 297 (2) Ἐντελῶς δ' οὖν θρησκευσας τὸν θεὸν Ἀγρίπ-
 πας Θεόφιλον μὲν τὸν Ἀνάνου τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης
 μετέστησεν, τῷ δὲ Βοηθοῦ Σίμωνι, τούτῳ Κανθη-
 ρᾶς ἐπέκλησις ἦν, τὴν ἐκείνου προσέειπε τιμῆν.

¹ διὰ τούτων] propter hæc ergo Lat. : διὰ τοῦτ' οὖν Niese.

² MW : πεσεῖν A : spurium aut corruptum putat Niese.

forecourt ('azarah) of the temple, six of which were for various kinds of freewill offerings (Mishnah, *Shekalim* vi. 5). It is presumably over one of these six that Agrippa hung his golden chain. J. Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Palestine*, 1867, p. 209 n. 1, says that this chain is to be identified with the golden chains mentioned in Mishnah, *Middot* iii. 8; but this is unlikely since the chains mentioned in the Mishnah served as a ladder by which the young priests could ascend and view the ornaments set over the windows of the sanctuary, and it is improbable that Agrippa's chain was of such size.

³ *Ant.* xviii. 237.

⁴ *Cf. Ant.* xviii. 123.

⁵ *Cf. Ant.* xv. 320-322, xvii. 78, xviii. 109 and 136. He is perhaps to be identified (so H. Lichtenstein, "Die Fastenrolle," *Hebrew Union Coll. Ann.* viii-ix, 1931-1932, p. 300) with the Simon the Righteous who is reported in the Talmud (*Sotah* 33a) to have heard a voice from the Holy of Holies in

been presented to him by Gaius,^a equal in weight to the one of iron with which his royal hands had been bound, as a reminder of his bitter fortune and as a witness to his reversal for the better, in order that it might serve as a proof both that greatness may sometime crash and that God uplifts fallen fortunes. For the dedication of the chain was a symbol to show all men that King Agrippa had on trifling grounds been thrown into prison and been stripped of his former rank, and that, not long after, he had stepped out of his chains, and had been uplifted to rule as king with greater glory than before. These things may lead us to reflect that it lies in the nature of man for all grandeurs to glide away and for fallen fortunes to rise again to a resplendent eminence.

(2) Having thus fully discharged his service to God, Agrippa removed Theophilus^b son of Ananus from the high priesthood and bestowed his high office on Simon^c son of Boethus,^d surnamed Cantheras. Simon

Simon
Cantheras
is appointed
high priest.

the temple proclaiming "Annulled is the decree which the enemy intended to introduce into the temple." The reference is clearly to Caligula's order to have his statue brought into the temple, since the account continues: "Then was Gaius Caligula [the name is corrupted in the text] slain and his decrees were annulled." It appears from Josephus that Simon Cantheras was not appointed high priest until shortly after Gaius' death, but he was certainly active as a priest in the temple before then; or we may follow the suggestion of P. Winter, "Simeon der Gerechte und Caius Caligula," *Zeitsch. f. Rel.- u. Geistesgesch.* vi, 1954, p. 73 n. 6, that Agrippa was already exercising the functions of his office while still in Rome (so Philo, *Leg.* 35) and that he may have appointed Simon before his departure for Palestine, though Josephus in the present passage says that he appointed him after he had returned to Palestine and had expressed his thanks to God.

^a An Alexandrian. *Cf. Ant.* xv. 320, xvii. 78 and 339,

298 δύο δ' ἦσαν ἀδελφοὶ τῷ Σίμωνι καὶ πατὴρ Βοηθός, οὗ τῆ θυγατρὶ βασιλεὺς συνώκησεν Ἡρώδης, ὡς ἀνωτέρω δεδήλωται. σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς οὐν¹ τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἔσχεν ὁ Σίμων καὶ σὺν τῷ πατρί, καθὰ καὶ πρότερον ἔσχον οἱ Σίμωνος τοῦ Ὀνία παῖδες τρεῖς ἄντες ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀρχῆς, ὅπερ ἐν ταῖς προαγοῦσαις γραφαῖς παρέδομεν.

299 (3) Καταστησάμενος δὲ τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς οὕτως ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας ἡμίψατο τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας· ἀνῆκε γοῦν αὐτοῖς τὰ ὑπὲρ ἐκάστης² οἰκίας, ἐν καλῷ τιθέμενος ἀντιδοῦναι τοῖς ἡγαπηκόσιν στοργήν.³ ἔπαρχον⁴ δὲ ἀπέδειξεν παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος Σίλαν ἄνδρα πολλῶν αὐτῷ 300 πόνων συμμετασχόντα. παντάπασιν δὲ ὀλίγου χρόνου διελθόντος Δωρεῖται νεανίσκοι τῆς ὁσιότητος προτιθέμενοι τόλμαν καὶ πεφυκότες εἶναι παραβόλως θρασεῖς Καίσαρος ἀνδριάντα κομίσαντες εἰς 301 τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων συναγωγὴν ἀνέστησαν. σφόδρα τοῦτο Ἀγρίππαν παρώξυνεν· κατάλυσιν γὰρ τῶν πατρῶν αὐτοῦ νόμων ἐδύνατο. ἀμελλητὶ δὲ πρὸς Πούπλιον Πετρώνιον, ἡγεμῶν δὲ τῆς Συρίας οὗτος

¹ A: οὗ A¹MW.

² εἰς αὐτὸν . . . ἐκάστης] A: om. MW.

³ ἐν καλῷ . . . στοργήν] om. E.

⁴ A: ἱπαρχον MWE et i. marg. A: praefectum Lat.

xviii. 3. Niese, in the index to his edition, *s.v.* Βοηθός, says that the father of the Simon here mentioned seems to be different from the Boethus, father of the high priests Simon, Joazar, and Eleazar. Presumably Niese's suspicion is based on the long lapse of time between the two Simons, the first 356

had two brothers^a and his father Boethus. Simon's daughter was married to King Herod, as I explained earlier.^b Simon accordingly, as did his brothers and father, obtained the high priesthood, repeating the record of the three sons of Simon son of Onias under the Macedonian rule, as we reported in an earlier account.^c

(3) Having in this way taken care of the high priesthood, the king recompensed the inhabitants of Jerusalem for their goodwill to him by remitting to them the tax on every house,^d holding it right to repay the affection of his subjects with a corresponding fatherly love. He also appointed as commander of the entire army Silas, a man who had shared many hardships with him. A very short time after this, certain young men of Dora,^e who set a higher value on audacity than on holiness and were by nature recklessly bold, brought an image of Caesar into the synagogue of the Jews and set it up. This provoked Agrippa exceedingly, for it was tantamount to an overthrow of the laws of his fathers. Without delay he went to see Publius Petronius,^f the governor of

The men of Dora are rebuked for placing the emperor's statue in a synagogue.

having been appointed high priest about 24 B.C., the second in A.D. 41. But it is clear from Josephus' reference to his previous account of the marriage of Simon's daughter to King Herod that he regarded the two Simons as identical.

^a Joazar (*Ant.* xvii. 339, xviii. 3 and 26) and Eleazar (*Ant.* xvii. 339, 341).

^b *Ant.* xv. 320-322.

^c *Ant.* xii. 224-225, 237-238.

^d Cf. Mishnah *Baba Batra* i. 5, which mentions the apparently common practice whereby citizens of a town are compelled to contribute to the building of its walls.

^e A city in Phoenicia (Hebrew *Dor*), somewhat north of the modern village of *Tantura*, near Mount Carmel. Cf. *Ap.* ii. 116, *Vita* 31, etc.

^f Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 261 ff.

302 ἦν, παραγίνεται καὶ καταλέγει τῶν Δωριτῶν. ὁ δ' οὐχ ἤττον ἐπὶ τῷ πραχθέντι χαλεπήνας, καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔκρινεν ἀσέβειαν τὴν τῶν ἐνόμων παράβα-
 303 σιν,¹ τοῖς ἐπιστάσῃ τῶν Δωριτῶν σὺν ὀργῇ ταύτῃ ἔγραψεν. " Πούπλιος Πετρώνιος πρεσβευτῆς Τιβε-
 304 ριέων² τοῖς πρώτοις λέγει. ἐπειδὴ τοσαύτη τόλμη ἀπονοίας τινὲς ἐχρήσαντο ἐξ ὑμῶν, ὥστε μηδὲ διὰ τὸ προτεθῆναι διάταγμα Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ περὶ τοῦ ἐφίεσθαι Ἰουδαίους
 305 φυλάσσειν τὰ πάτρια πεισθῆναι ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ, τάναντια δὲ πάντα πράξαι, συναγωγὴν Ἰουδαίων κωλύοντας εἶναι διὰ τὸ μεταθεῖναι ἐν αὐτῇ τὸν Καίσαρος ἀνδριάντα, παρανομοῦντας οὐκ εἰς μόνους Ἰουδαίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, οὗ ὁ ἀνδριάς βέλτιον ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ ναῶ ἢ ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ ἐτίθετο καὶ ταῦτα ἐν τῷ τῆς συναγωγῆς τόπῳ, τοῦ φύσει δικαιοῦντος³ ἕνα ἕκαστον τῶν ἰδίων τόπων
 306 κυριεύειν κατὰ τὸ Καίσαρος ἐπίκριμα. τοῦ γὰρ ἑμοῦ ἐπικρίματος μμνήσκεσθαι γελοῖόν ἐστιν μετὰ τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος διάταγμα τοῦ ἐπιτρέψαντος Ἰουδαίοις τοῖς ἰδίοις ἔθεσι χρῆσθαι, ἔτι μέντοι γε καὶ συμπολιτεύεσθαι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν κεκελευκός.
 307 τοὺς μὲν παρὰ τὸ διάταγμα τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τοιαῦτα τετοληγκότας,⁴ ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἠγανάκτησαν οἱ δοκοῦντες αὐτῶν ἐξέχειν⁵ οὐ τῇ ἰδίᾳ προαιρέσει

¹ καὶ γὰρ . . . παράβασι] om. E.

² conī. Post: ἀποστᾶσι codd.: indisciplinatis Lat.: προεστῶσι conī. Niese.

³ A: Δωριαίων MW: γρ Δωριτῶν i. marg. A.

⁴ τοῦ φύσει δικαιοῦντος] τῇ φύσει δικαίου ὄντος Hudson.

⁵ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίων συναγωγὴν μεταθετικότητας τὸν ἀνδριάντα post τετοληγκότας add. E.

Syria, and denounced the people of Dora. Petronius was no less angry at the deed, for he too regarded the breach of law as sacrilege. He wrote in anger to the leaders^a of Dora as follows: " Publius Petronius, legate of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, to the leading men of Dora speaks: Inasmuch as certain of you have had such mad audacity, notwithstanding the issuance of an edict of Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus pertaining to the permission granted the Jews to observe the customs of their fathers, not to obey this edict, but to do the very reverse, in that you have prevented the Jews from having a synagogue by transferring to it an image of Caesar, you have thereby sinned not only against the law of the Jews, but also against the emperor, whose image was better placed in his own shrine than in that of another, especially in the synagogue; for by natural law each must be lord over his own place, in accordance with Caesar's decree. For it is ridiculous for me to refer to my own decree after making mention of the edict of the emperor which permits Jews to follow their own customs, yet also, be it noted, bids them to live as fellow citizens with the Greeks. As for those who have, in defiance of the edict of Augustus, been so rash as to act thus— at which deed even those who are regarded as eminent among the transgressors are indignant and assert that it was done not because anyone deliberately and

^a mss. "apostates." But it is clear from the address in § 303 and from § 307 that Petronius is speaking to the leaders and that he is making a distinction between these leaders and the irresponsible young men of Dora.

^b E et i. marg. A: ἐξεκείνου A: ἐξελεῖν MW; οἱ δοκοῦντες αὐτῶν ἐξέχειν] eorum iudices Lat.

γεγενῆσθαι λέγοντες ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ πλήθους ὀρμῇ,
 ὑπὸ ἑκατοντάρχου Πρόκλου Οὔιτελλίου¹ ἐκέλευσα
 ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἀναχθῆναι τῶν πεπραγμένων λόγον ἀπο-
 308 δώσοντας,² τοῖς δὲ πρώτοις ἄρχουσι παραινῶ, εἰ
 μὴ βούλονται δοκεῖν κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν προαίρεσιν
 γεγενῆσθαι τὸ ἀδίκημα, ἐπιδείξαι τοὺς αἰτίους τῷ
 ἑκατοντάρχη μηδεμιᾶς στάσεως μηδὲ μάχης ἔωντας
 ἀφορμὴν γενέσθαι, ἥνπερ δοκοῦσίν μοι θηρεῦσθαι
 309 διὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων, κάμου καὶ τοῦ τιμιωτά-
 του μοι βασιλέως Ἀγρίππου οὐδενὸς μᾶλλον³ προ-
 νοουμένων, ἢ ἵνα μὴ ἀφορμῆς δραξάμενοι τὸ τῶν
 Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμύνης προφάσει⁴ συν-
 310 αθροισθὲν εἰς ἀπόνοιαν χωρῆ. ἵνα δὲ γνωριμώτε-
 ρον ᾖ, τί καὶ ὁ Σεβαστὸς περὶ ὄλου τοῦ πράγματος
 ἐφρόνησε, τὰ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ αὐτοῦ διατάγματα
 προτεθέντα προσέθηκα,⁵ ἅπερ εἰ καὶ γνώριμα πᾶσιν
 εἶναι δοκεῖ, τότε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἀνέγνω ὁ
 τιμιώτατός μοι βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας δικαιολογη-
 σάμενος περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀφαιρεθῆναι τῆς
 311 τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ δωρεᾶς. εἷς τε οὖν τὸ λοιπὸν παραγ-
 γέλλω μηδεμίαν πρόφασιν στάσεως μηδὲ παραχῆς
 ζητεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκάστους τὰ ἴδια ἔθνη θρησκεύειν.”
 312 (4) Πετρώνιος μὲν οὖν οὕτω προὔνησε διορθώ-
 σεως μὲν τὸ παρανομηθὲν ἤδη τυχεῖν, γενέσθαι δὲ
 313 παραπλήσιον μηδὲν εἰς αὐτούς.⁶ Ἀγρίππας δὲ ὁ
 βασιλεὺς ἀφείλετο μὲν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην τὸν Καν-

¹ M: Οὔιτελλίου AW: Οὔιτενίου E.

personally proposed it, but by an impulse of the mob
 —I have given orders that they are to be brought
 before me by Proclus Vitellius the centurion to give
 an account of their actions. To the ranking magis-
 trates I give this warning: that, unless they wish to
 have it thought that the wrong was committed with
 their consent and intent, they must point out the
 guilty parties to the centurion, allowing no occasion
 to occur that could lead to strife or battle. For this,
 in my opinion, is precisely what they hope to achieve
 by such actions. For both King Agrippa, my most
 honoured friend, and I have no greater interest than
 that the Jews should not seize any occasion, under
 the pretext of self-defence, to gather in one place
 and proceed to desperate measures. And, that you
 may be better informed of His Imperial Majesty's
 policy concerning the whole matter, I have appended
 his edicts which were published at Alexandria. Al-
 though they seem to be universally known, my most
 honoured friend King Agrippa read them before my
 tribunal at the time when he pleaded that the Jews
 ought not to be despoiled of the privileges granted
 by Augustus. For the future, therefore, I charge
 you to seek no pretext for sedition or disturbance,
 but to practise severally each his own religion.”

(4) Such were the precautions taken by Petronius
 to rectify the breach of law that had already occurred
 and to prevent any similar offence against the Jews.
 King Agrippa deprived Simon Cantheras of the high

² παρανομούντας οὐκ εἰς μόνους Ἰουδαίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸν Agrippa
 αυτοκράτορα post ἀποδώσαντας add. E. proposes to
 replace

³ ἔττον E.
⁴ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμύνης προφάσει] ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀμύνης προφάσει E:
 ἀμύνης προφάσει Dindorf: ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμύνης προφάσεως ed. pr.

⁵ ed. pr.: προέθηκα codd.: praeposui Lat.
⁶ εἰς αὐτούς] εισαυθῖς con. Richards et Shut.

θηρᾶν¹ Σίμωνα, Ἰωνάθην δὲ πάλιν ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἤγεν τὸν Ἀνάου τοῦτον ἀξιώτερον τῆς τιμῆς ὁμολογῶν εἶναι. τῷ δὲ οὐκ ἄσμενιστὸν ἐφάνη τὴν τοσαύτην ἀπολαβεῖν τιμῆν, παρητήτετο δ' οὖν ταῦτα λέγων·

- 314 " σοὶ μὲν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τετιμημένος χαίρω διὰ ψυχῆς ἔχων τοῦθ' ὃ μοι γέρας δίδωσιν ἢ σὴ βουλή,² καὶ πρὸς οὐδέν με τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἄξιον ἔκρινεν ὁ θεός. ἄπαξ δ' ἐνδὺς στολισμὸν ἱερὸν ἀρκούμαι· τότε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἡμφιασάμην ὀσιώτερον ἢ νῦν ἀπολή-
315 φομαι. σὺ δ', εἰ βούλει τὸν ἀξιώτερον ἐμοῦ νῦν τὸ γέρας λαβεῖν, διδάχθητι· πάσης καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἁμαρτίας καὶ πρὸς σέ, βασιλεῦ, καθαρὸς ἀδελφὸς ἔστι μοι· πρέποντα τῇ τιμῇ τοῦτον συνίστημι."
316 τοῦτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἠσθεῖς τοῖς λόγοις τὸν Ἰωνάθην μὲν ἠγάασατο τῆς γνώμης, τὰδελφῶ δὲ αὐτοῦ Μαθθία³ τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἔδωκεν.⁴ καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ Πετρώνιον μὲν Μάρσος διεδέξατο καὶ διεῖπε Συρίαν.
317 (vii. 1) Σίλας δ' ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως ἑπαρχος⁵ ἐπέει

¹ E: Καθηρᾶ A: Καθηρα MW: Catharam Lat.: Καθηρᾶν Zonaras (cod. A).

² δίδωσιν ἢ σὴ βουλή] A: δίδωσι βουλήσει MW: σὴ δίδωσι βουλήσει E: σὴ δίδωται βουλήσει Lowthius; σοὶ μὲν . . . βουλή] tu quidem o rex meo honori congaudens hanc mihi restitutus proprio consilio dignitatem Lat.

³ τὸν Ἰωνάθην . . . Μαθθία] E: τῶι (ὦ ex corr.) Ἰωνάθην (ἡ ex ἦν corr.) μὲν γνώμη τὰδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Μαθθία, i. marg. γρ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἠγάασατο τῆς γνώμης τῷ ἀδελφῷ δὲ αὐτοῦ Μαθθία A: τὸν Ἰωνάθην μὲν ἠγάασατο τῆς γνώμης τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Μαθθία MW: τὸν Ἰωνάθην μὲν ἔασε, γνώμη δὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Μαθθία ed. pr.

⁴ τοῦτοις . . . ἔδωκεν] in his ergo sermonibus rex Agrippa collaudans Ionae voluntatem praebuit Mathiae eius fratri pontificatum Lat.

⁵ Dindorf: ἑπαρχος codd. E: praefectus Lat.

⁶ Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 95, 123. According to *Ant.* xx. 162-164, he was slain by brigands at the instigation of the procurator

priesthood, and proposed to restore it to Jonathan^a Simon as the son of Ananus,^b conceding that he was more high priest with Jonathan son of Ananus. worthy of the honour. Jonathan, however, regarded the resumption of such an honour as unwelcome and declined it in the following words: "I rejoice, O king, to be honoured by you, and heartily appreciate this high prize offered me by your will, although God has adjudged me in no way worthy of the high priesthood. But I am content to have put on the holy vestments once, for then I arrayed myself in them with more regard for sanctity than would be shown if I were to take them back. But if you desire that another, worthier than I, should receive the honour, be instructed by me. I have a brother, pure of all sin against God and against you, O king. Him I recommend as suitable for the honour." The king rejoiced at these words, respected Jonathan for his decision, and gave the high priesthood to his brother Matthias. Not long after this, Petronius was succeeded by Marsus^c as governor of Syria.

(vii. 1) Now Silas, the king's general,^d had been Silas, Agrippa's

Felix. Mathieu-Herrmann, in their note on this passage, assert that he is identical with Theophilus the son of Ananus (§ 297), since the names Jonathan in Hebrew and Theophilus in Greek have similar meanings. But the meanings are somewhat different, since Jonathan means "God gave" or "God's gift" and Theophilus means "loved by God." Moreover, in *Ant.* xviii. 123, we are told that Theophilus succeeded Jonathan; and it is unlikely that Josephus, who was himself a priest, would err in such a matter.

^a Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 26 and note.

^b C. Vibius Marsus, consul suffectus in 17. In 19 he was *legatus pro praetore* in Antioch in Syria. He succeeded Petronius as governor of Syria in 42. Cf. also *Ant.* xix. 326, 340-342, 363; xx. 1.

^d The mss. read "master of the horse," but it seems clear from § 299 that Silas was commander of the entire army.

διὰ πάσης αὐτῷ τύχης ἐγεγόνει πιστὸς οὐδένα κίνδυνόν ποτε κοινωεῖν ἀνηγάμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς σφαλερωτάτους ὑποδὺς πολλάκις πόνους, πεποιοθήσεως ἦν ἀνάπλεως, προσήκειν ὑπολαμβάνων ἰσοτιμίαν
 318 βεβαιότητι φιλίας. οὐδαμῇ τοίνυν ὑποκατεκλίνετο βασιλεῖ, παρρησίαν δὲ διὰ πάσης ὁμιλίας ἤγειν, κὰν ταῖς φιλοφρονήσεσιν ἐγίνετο φορτικὸς¹ σεμνύνων ἑαυτὸν ἀμέτρως καὶ πολλάκις τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ στυγνὰ τῆς τύχης ἄγων εἰς ἀνάμνησιν, ἵνα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τότε σπουδὴν παραδεικνύη, συνεχῶς δ' ἦν,
 319 ὡς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κάμοι, πολλὰ διεξιῶν.² τούτων οὖν τὸ πλεονάζον οὐνειδισμὸς ἐδόκει³. διὸ προσάντως ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐδέχετο τὴν ἀταμίευτον παρρησίαν τὰνδρός· οὐχ ἠδέεται γὰρ αἱ τῶν ἀδόξων χρόνων ἀναμνήσεις, εὐθήτης δὲ ὁ διηνεκῶς ἅ ποτε ὠφέλησεν
 320 προφέρων. τέλος γοῦν ἀνηρέθισε σφόδρα ὁ Σίλας τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν θυμὸν κάκεινος ὀργῇ πλέον ἢ λογισμῷ διδοὺς οὐ τῆς ἐπαρχίας⁴ μόνον μετέστησε τὸν Σίλαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρέδωκεν δεθησόμενον εἰς
 321 τὴν ἐκείνου πατρίδα πέμψας. χρόνῳ δὲ τὸν θυμὸν ἡμβλάνθη καὶ λογισμοῖς εἰλικρινέσει τὴν περὶ τὰνδρός κρίσιν ἐφήκεν ἐν νῷ λαμβάνων ὅσους ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ⁵ πόνους ἐκείνος ἀνέτλη. ἡμέραν οὖν ἑορτάζων αὐτοῦ γενέθλιον, ὅτε πᾶσιν ὧν ἦρχεν εὐφροσύνη

¹ παρρησίαν . . . φορτικὸς] ita ut maxima ab eo beneficia postulando onerosus esse videretur Lat.

² συνεχῶς . . . διεξιῶν] om. E.

³ τούτων . . . ἐδόκει] quod cum crebro faceret ut mihi videretur impropere beneficia noscebatur Lat.

⁴ Dindorf: a praefectura Lat.: ἱπαρχίας codd. E.

loyal to him through every vicissitude of fortune,^a and had never refused to share any danger, but had often undertaken the most hazardous tasks. He was full of self-confidence, for he assumed that there could be no solid friendship without equal standing. Accordingly, he never deferred to the king,^b but spoke frankly in all his conversation. Moreover, in convivial gatherings, he proved himself a nuisance by singing his own praises inordinately and by frequently reminding the king of the frowns of fortune in the past, which gave him an opportunity to display his own devotion at the time. He would incessantly relate at length how he had laboured on the king's behalf. The abundance of such talk gave the impression of a reproach, which accounts for the king's resentment in the face of the fellow's unstinted frankness. For it is unpleasant to be reminded of inglorious episodes; and one who perpetually brings up his former services is a simpleton. In the end, at any rate, Silas stirred the king to very great wrath; and the latter, more in passion than by calculation, not only removed Silas from his command, but sent him to his own country and consigned him to captivity. But in time his anger lost its edge, and he submitted his judgement on the man to dispassionate reflection, taking into consideration all the hardships that the man had borne for his sake. In consequence, when he was celebrating his birthday and all his

general, is dismissed for his presumption.

Silas declines Agrippa's offer to release him from prison.

^a Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 204, which records that he was among those who brought food and clothing and performed other services for Agrippa while the latter was imprisoned in Rome.
^b Or perhaps "he would not sit lower than the king at table" (Whiston).

⁵ Herwerden: ἐκείνου codd.

ἦν καὶ καθίσταντο θαλία,³ τὸν Σίλαν ἀνεκάλει παρ-
 322 αὐτίκα συνέστιον αὐτῷ γενησόμενον. τῷ δέ, τρόπος
 γὰρ ἐλευθέριος ἦν, ἐδόκει προσειληφέναι δικαίαν
 αἰτίαν ὀργῆς, ἦν οὐκ ἀπεκρύπτετο πρὸς τοὺς
 323 μετιόντας αὐτὸν⁴ λέγων· “ ἐπὶ ποίαν ὁ βασιλεὺς
 τιμὴν ἀνακαλεῖ με τὴν μετὰ μικρὸν ἀπολουμένην;⁴
 οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ πρῶτά μοι γέρα τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας
 324 ἐτήρησεν, ἀπεσύλησεν δ’ ὑβρίσας. ἢ πεπαύσθαι
 νενομικέ με τῆς παρρησίας, ἦν ἀπὸ ποίου συνειδότος
 ἔχων βοήσομαι μᾶλλον,⁵ ὅσων αὐτὸν ἐξελευσάμην
 δεινῶν, ὅσους ἤνεγκα πόνους ἐκείνῳ ποριζόμενος⁶
 σωτηρίαν τε καὶ τιμὴν, ὧν γέρας ἠνεγκάμην δεσμα
 325 καὶ σκότιον εἰρκτήν. οὐκ ἐγὼ ποτε τούτων λή-
 σομαι· τάχα μοι τὴν τῆς ἀριστείας συνεπιόσεται
 μνήμην καὶ μεταστᾶσα τῆς σαρκὸς ἢ ψυχῆ.” ταῦτα
 ἀνεβόα καὶ διετάττετο τῷ βασιλεῖ λέγειν. ὁ δ’ ὡς
 ἀνιάτως ἑώρα διακείμενον, πάλιν εἶασεν ἐν φρουρᾷ.
 326 (2) Τὰ δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τείχη τὰ πρὸς τὴν
 καινὴν νεύοντα πόλιν δημοσίαις ὠχύρου δαπάναις,
 τῆ⁷ μὲν εὐρύνων εἰς πλάτος τῆ⁸ δὲ εἰς ὕψος ἐξαίρων,
 κὰν ἐξευργάσατο ταῦτα πάσης ἀνθρωπίνης κρείτ-
 τονα βίας, εἰ μὴ Μάρσος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμῶν
 Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι διὰ γραμμάτων ἐδήλωσε τὸ
 327 πραττόμενον. καὶ νεωτερισμὸν τινα Κλαύδιος ὑπ-

¹ εὐφροσύνη ἦν καὶ] Post: εὐφροσύνη ἢ A (ἦν, i. i. ras.): εὐφροσύνη MW: εὐφροσύνη conl. Niese.

² ὅτε . . . θαλία] om. E.

³ τῷ δέ . . . αὐτὸν] ille vero modum libertatis quem iustum esse credebat venientibus ad se non tacuit Lat.

⁴ A: ἀπολλυμένη MW: ablaturus est Lat.

⁵ ἢ . . . μᾶλλον] cum qua ergo fiducia aut qua conscientia ad eum veniam Lat.

⁶ A: χαριζόμενος MW.

⁷ Hudson: τὴν codd. E.

⁸ Hudson: τὴν codd. E.

subjects were participating in the joyous festivities, he recalled Silas at a moment's notice to share his table. The latter, however, for he had an independent spirit, thought that he had had just cause for anger, and this he did not conceal from those who came to fetch him. "What honour is this," he said, "to which the king recalls me—an honour so soon to perish? He has not even let me keep my former rewards for the loyalty which I showed him, but has wantonly stripped me of them. Does he think that I have given up my habit of speaking my mind? No, I keep it and I shall shout the louder what I know in my heart, mentioning all the bad scrapes from which I rescued him and all the hardships that I bore in securing his safety and position—as a reward for which I received chains and a gloomy dungeon. I will never forget these things; perhaps my soul, even when severed from my body, will carry with it the memory of my prowess." These words he shouted out and commanded the messengers to repeat them to the king. The king, however, when he saw that his malady was beyond remedy, decided again to leave him in prison.

(2) ^a Agrippa fortified the walls of Jerusalem on the side of the New City ^b at the public expense, increasing both their breadth and height, and he would have made them too strong for any human force had not Marsus, the governor of Syria, reported by letter to Claudius Caesar what was being done. Claudius, suspecting that a revolution was on foot,

Agrippa is ordered to desist from restoring the walls of Jerusalem.

^a Cf. the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 218. The wall is also mentioned in *B.J.* v. 152.

^b Cf. *B.J.* v. 151, which notes that in the vernacular this district, which is to the north of Jerusalem, was known as Bezetha.

οπτεύσας ἐπέστειλεν Ἀγρίππα μετὰ σπουδῆς παύσασθαι τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἐξοικοδομήσεως· ὁ δ' ἀπειθεῖν οὐκ ἔκρινεν.¹

- 328 (3) Ἐπεφύκει δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος εὐεργετικὸς εἶναι ἐν δωρεαῖς καὶ μεγαλοφρονῆσαι ἕθνη² φιλότιμος καὶ πολλοῖς³ ἀθρόως δαπανήμασιν ἀνιστὰς αὐτὸν εἰς ἐπιφάνειαν ἠδόμενος τῷ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ τῷ βιοῦν ἐν εὐφημίᾳ χαίρων,⁴ κατ' οὐδὲν Ἡρώδῃ τῷ πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ βασιλεῖ τὸν τρόπον συμφερόμενος·
 329 ἐκείνῳ γὰρ πονηρὸν ἦν ἦθος ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ ἀπότομον καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀπηχηθῆμένων ἀταμίευτον, Ἑλληνισι πλεον ἢ Ἰουδαίοις οἰκείως ἔχειν ὁμολογούμενος· ἀλλοφύλων γέ τοι πόλεις ἐσέμνυνεν δόσει χρημάτων βαλανείων θεάτρων τε⁵ ἄλλοτε κατασκευαῖς, ἔστιν αἷς ναοὺς ἀνέστησε, στοὰς ἄλλαις, ἀλλὰ Ἰουδαίων οὐδεμίαν πόλιν οὐδ' ὀλίγης ἐπισκευῆς ἠξίωσεν οὐδέ
 330 δόσεως ἀξίας μνημονευθήναι. πρᾶς δ' ὁ τρόπος Ἀγρίππα καὶ πρὸς πάντας τὸ εὐεργετικὸν ὅμοιον. τοῖς ἀλλοεθνεῖσιν ἦν φιλόανθρωπος κακείνοις ἐνδεικνύμενος τὸ φιλόδωρον τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις ἀναλόγως
 331 χρηστὸς καὶ συμπαθὴς μᾶλλον. ἠδεῖα γοῦν αὐτῷ διαίτα καὶ συνεχῆς ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἦν καὶ τὰ πάτρια καθαρῶς ἐτήρει. διὰ πάσης γοῦν αὐτὸν

¹ ὁ δ' ἀπειθεῖν οὐκ ἔκρινεν] om. E.

² ἕθνη] <πρὸς τὰ> ἕθνη Richards et Shutt.

³ ed. pr.: πόλεις codd.: civitatem Lat.

⁴ καὶ πολλοῖς . . . χαίρων] om. E; καὶ τῷ . . . χαίρων] et favorabiliter suae vitae iura disponderet Lat.

⁵ ed. pr.: δὲ codd.: τε καὶ E.

^a Lit. "nations," but probably used, as in the Septuagint

earnestly charged Agrippa in a letter to desist from the building of the walls; and Agrippa thought it best not to disobey.

(3) Now King Agrippa was by nature generous in his gifts and made it a point of honour to be high-minded towards gentiles^a; and by expending massive sums he raised himself to high fame. He took pleasure in conferring favours and rejoiced in popularity, thus being in no way similar in character to Herod, who was king before him. The latter had an evil nature, relentless in punishment and unsparing in action against the objects of his hatred. It was generally admitted that he was on more friendly terms with Greeks than with Jews. For instance, he adorned the cities of foreigners by giving them money, building baths and theatres, erecting temples in some and porticoes in others, whereas there was not a single city of the Jews on which he deigned to bestow even minor restoration or any gift worth mentioning.^b Agrippa, on the contrary, had a gentle disposition and he was a benefactor to all alike. He was benevolent to those of other nations and exhibited his generosity to them also; but to his compatriots he was proportionately more generous and more compassionate. He enjoyed residing in Jerusalem and did so constantly; and he scrupulously observed the traditions of his people. He neglected no rite of

Agrippa contrasted with Herod the Great.

(e.g. Ps. ii. 1), as a translation of Hebrew *goyim*, in the sense of non-Jews.

^b Though it is true that Herod gave money for the erection of monuments in Rhodes, Athens, Sparta, and many other cities outside Palestine, it is not true that he neglected buildings in Jewish cities completely, since, of course, his most magnificent work was the restoration of the temple in Jerusalem.

ἦγεν ἀγνείας οὐδ' ἡμέρα τις παρώδευεν αὐτῷ τὰ νόμιμα χηρευούσα θυσίας.

332 (4) Καὶ δὴ τις ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀνὴρ ἐπιχώριος ἐξακριβάζειν δοκῶν τὰ νόμιμα, Σίμων ἦν ὄνομα τούτῳ, πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἀλίσας τηνικάδε τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς Καισάρειαν ἐκδεδημηκότος ἐτόλμησεν αὐτοῦ κατειπεῖν, ὡς οὐχ ὀσιος εἶη, δικαίως δ' ἂν εἴργοιτο τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς εἰσόδου¹ προσηκούσης
333 τοῖς εὐαγέσιν.² δηλοῦται μὲν δὴ διὰ γραμμάτων ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῆς πόλεως τῷ βασιλεῖ δημηγορήσας Σίμων ταῦτα, μεταπέμπεται δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ, καθέζετο γὰρ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τότε, καθεσθῆναι παρ' αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν. ἡρέμα τε καὶ πρῶτως, "εἰπέ μοι," φησὶν, "τί τῶν ἐνθάδε γινομένων

¹ ὡς . . . εἰσόδου] quasi non sanctum et iustum suadens uti rex prohiberetur a templi limine Lat.

² τοῖς εὐαγέσιν] conl. Niese: τοῖς εὐγενέσι (-σιν A²) AM: τοῖς ἐγγενέσιν. W: τῆς εὐγενέσι E: dignis Lat.

* His identity is otherwise unknown. There is no evidence supporting the guess of Z. Frankel, *Darke ha-Mishnah*, 1859, pp. 58-59, that he was perhaps the son of Hillel and father of Gamaliel I.

^b Lit. "unholy." But it is clear from § 331 and from the Talmudic sources (Mishnah, *Bikkurim* iii. 4, Bab. *Pesahim* 107 b, *Ketubot* 17 a, *Leviticus Rabbah* iii. 5) that Agrippa was scrupulously observant, at least in Jerusalem, and that he was praised for his piety by the rabbis. (It is not always certain, however, whether Agrippa I or II is meant in these rabbinic references.)

* I have adopted Niese's emendation. One of the mss. reads ἐγγενέσιν, "those who were natives," i.e. of Jewish stock. This reading has some appeal since Agrippa's ancestry was a source of embarrassment to him, as he was part Edomite, while the Torah demands that a king be "from among thy brethren" (Deut. xvii. 15). Indeed we hear (Mishnah, *Sotah* vii. 8: the reference, in all probability, is to

purification, and no day passed for him without the prescribed sacrifice.

(4) Here is a supreme example of his character. A native of Jerusalem named Simon ^a with a reputation for religious scrupulousness assembled the people in a public meeting at a time when the king was absent in Caesarea, and had the audacity to denounce him as unclean.^b He asserted that the king ought properly to be excluded from the temple, since the right of entrance was restricted to those who were ritually clean.^c The commanding officer in the city reported to the king by letter that Simon had made this harangue. The king thereupon sent for him, and, since he was sitting in the theatre at the time, bade Simon sit down beside him. "Tell me," he then said quietly and gently, "what is contrary to the law

An example of Agrippa's forgiving nature.

Agrippa I rather than Agrippa II) that when Agrippa reached this passage he burst into tears. But only a non-Jew (Mishnah, *Kelim* i. 8) was excluded from the temple; Agrippa (Mishnah, *Bikkurim* iii. 4) did enter the temple, bringing the first-fruits as far as the altar. We read, furthermore (Mishnah, *Sotah* vii. 8), that the rabbis approved of his standing rather than sitting in the temple while reading the selection from Deuteronomy pertaining to the institution of the king; hence they did not regard him as a non-Jew. He could not have been excluded as an Edomite since he was more than three generations removed from the Edomite Antipas, grandfather of Herod the Great, who was Agrippa's grandfather; and Edomites were prohibited to enter the house of Israel only until the third generation (Deut. xxiii. 8). Hence the only possible reason for claiming that Agrippa ought to have been excluded is that he was impure (Mishnah, *Kelim* i. 8). It is possible that Agrippa contacted such impurity at or on his way to or from the theatre and that this is the significance of Agrippa's summoning Simon to the theatre and asking him what he found contrary to the law there, the implication being that Agrippa had taken proper precautions to prevent contact with uncleanness there.

334 ἐστὶ παράνομον;” ὁ δὲ εἰπεῖν ἔχων οὐδὲν τυχεῖν ἔδειτο συγγνώμης. ἀλλὰ ὁ βασιλεὺς θᾶπτον¹ ἢ προσεδόκησεν τις διηλλάττετο² τὴν πραότητα κρίνων βασιλικωτέραν ὀργῆς καὶ πρόπειν εἰδὼς τοῖς μεγέθεσι θυμοῦ πλέον ἐπιείκειαν. τὸν Σίμωνα γοῦν καὶ δωρεᾶς τινοῦ ἀξιώσας ἀπεπέμπετο.

335 (5) Πολλοῖς δὲ κατασκευάσας πολλὰ Βηρυτιοῦς ἐξαιρέτως ἐτίμησεν· θέατρον γὰρ αὐτοῖς κατεσκεύασε πολυτελεῖα τε καὶ κάλλει πολλῶν διαφέρον ἀμφιθέατρον τε πολλῶν ἀναλωμάτων βαλανεῖα πρὸς τοῦτοις καὶ στοᾶς, ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν ἔργων στενότητι δαπανημάτων ἢ τὸ κάλλος ἀδικήσας ἢ τὸ μέγεθος.

336 ἐπεδαμφιλεύσατο δ' αὐτῶν τὴν καθιέρωσιν μεγαλοπρεπῶς, ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ μὲν θεωρίας ἐπιτελῶν πάνθ' ὅσα μουσικῆς ἔργα παράγων καὶ ποικίλης ποιητικᾶ τέρψεως, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀμφιθέατρῳ πλήθει μονομάχων

337 τὴν αὐτοῦ δεικνὺς μεγαλόνοιαν. ἔνθα καὶ τὴν κατὰ πλήθος ἀντίταξιν βουλευθεῖς γενέσθαι τῶν θεωμένων τέρψιν ἑπτακοσίου ἀνδρας ἑπτακοσίοις μαχησομένων εἰσέπεμψεν κακούργους ὅσους εἶχεν ἀποτάξας εἰς τήνδε τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἵν' οἱ μὲν κολασθῶσιν, τὸ πολέμου δ' ἔργον γένηται τέρψιν εἰρήνης. τούτους μὲν οὖν πασσυδι διέφθειρεν.³

338 (viii. 1) Ἐν Βηρυτῷ δὲ τελέσας τὰ προειρημένα μετήλθεν εἰς Τιβεριάδα πόλιν τῆς Γαλιλαίας. ἦν δὲ ἄρα τοῖς ἄλλοις βασιλεῦσιν περίβλεπτος. ἦκε γοῦν παρ' αὐτὸν Κομμαγηνῆς μὲν βασιλεὺς Ἀντί-

¹ θᾶπτον] Hudson: αὐτὸν codd.: αὐτῷ E.

² ἀλλὰ . . . διηλλάττετο] tunc rex in aliis circa eum placatus quam ab aliquo crederetur Lat.

³ τούτους . . . διέφθειρεν] om. E.

^a Modern *Beirut*.

^b Cf. § 276 and note.

in what is going on here? ” Simon, having nothing to say, begged pardon. Thereupon the king was reconciled to him more quickly than one would have expected, for he considered mildness a more royal trait than passion, and was convinced that considerate behaviour is more becoming in the great than wrath. He therefore even presented a gift to Simon before dismissing him.

(5) He erected many buildings in many other places but he conferred special favours on the people of Berytus.^a He built them a theatre surpassing many others in its costly beauty; he also built an amphitheatre at great expense, besides baths and porticoes; and in none of these works did he allow either the beauty or the size to suffer by stinting on the expenses. He was also magnificently lavish in his provision at the dedication of them; in the theatre he exhibited spectacles, introducing every kind of music and all that made for a varied entertainment, while in the amphitheatre he showed his noble generosity by the number of gladiators provided. On the latter occasion also, wishing to gratify the spectators by ranging a number of combatants against each other, he sent in seven hundred men to fight another seven hundred. All these men were malefactors set aside for this purpose, so that while they were receiving their punishment, the feats of war might be a source of entertainment in peace-time. In this way he brought about the utter annihilation of these men.

(viii. 1) Having completed the aforesaid ceremonies at Berytus, he went next to Tiberias, a city in Galilee. Now he was evidently admired by the other kings. At any rate, he was visited by Antiochus^b

Agrippa's
buildings
at Berytus.

Agrippa en-
tertains
certain
kings at
Tiberias.

οχος, Ἐμεσῶν¹ δὲ Σαμψιγέραμος καὶ Κότυς,² τῆς μικρᾶς Ἀρμενίας οὗτος ἐβασίλευσεν, καὶ Πολέμων τὴν Πόντου κεκτημένος δυναστείαν³ Ἡρώδης τε οὗτος ἀδελφὸς ἦν αὐτοῦ, ἤρχεν δὲ τῆς Χαλκίδος. 339 ὠμίλησε δὲ πᾶσι κατὰ τε τὰς ὑποδοχὰς καὶ φιλοφρονήσεις ὡς μάλιστα διαδείξας φρονήσεως ὕψος καὶ διὰ τοῦτό γε δοκεῖν δικαίως τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως⁴ 340 παρουσίᾳ⁵ τετιμηθῆναι. ἄλλα γὰρ τούτων διατριβόντων ἔτι παρ' αὐτῷ Μάρσος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμῶν παρεγένετο. πρὸς Ῥωμαίους οὖν τιμητικὸν τηρῶν ὑπαντησόμενος αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως ἀπωτέρω 341 σταδίου ἐπτά προῆλθεν ὁ βασιλεὺς. τοῦτο δὲ ἄρα ἔμελλεν τῆς πρὸς Μάρσον ἀρχὴ γενήσεσθαι διαφορᾶς· συγκαθεζόμενος γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπήνης ἐπήγετο τοὺς ἄλλους βασιλέας,⁶ Μάρσῳ δ' ἡ τούτων ὁμόνοια καὶ μέχρι τοσοῦδε φιλία πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπωπτεύθη συμφέρειν οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνοντι Ῥωμαίοις δυναστῶν

¹ Hudson ex Ant. xviii. 135: Δαμάσων codd. E: Damascorum Lat.

² AW: Κότης M.

³ καὶ Πολέμων . . . δυναστείαν] qui etiam in Ponto Polemico regnabat Lat.

⁴ τοῦ βασιλέως] τῆς βασιλείας E: τῶν βασιλέων Hudson ex cod. Voss.

⁵ A: παρουσίας MW: προσηγορία Cocceji: παρρησία conl. Niese.

⁶ ὠμίλησε . . . τετιμηθῆναι] habuitque colloquium apud eos susceptione et amicitia valde dignissimum, ita ut ostenderet suae sapientiae culmen et in praesenti eos videretur regaliter honorare Lat.

⁷ συγκαθεζόμενος . . . βασιλέας] sedens enim in tribunali Agrippa invitavit alios reges Lat.

^a His daughter Jotape was married to Agrippa's brother Aristobulus. Cf. Ant. xviii. 135.

king of Commagene, Sampsigeramus^a king of Emesa,^b and Cotys^c king of Armenia Minor,^d as well as by Polemo,^e who held sway over Pontus, and Herod^f his brother, who was ruler of Chalcis. His converse with all of them when he entertained and showed them courtesies was such as to demonstrate an elevation of sentiment that justified the honour done him by a visit of royalty. It so happened, however, that while he was still entertaining them, Marsus the governor of Syria arrived. The king therefore, to do honour to the Romans, advanced seven furlongs outside the city to meet him. Now this action, as events proved, was destined to be the beginning of a quarrel with Marsus; for Agrippa brought the other kings along with him and sat with them in his carriage; but Marsus was suspicious of such concord and intimate friendship among them. He took it for granted that a meeting of minds among so many chiefs of state was prejudicial to Roman interests.

Marsus, governor of Syria, orders the kings to depart.

^b Modern *Homs* in Syria Apamene on the Orontes River, just north-east of the Lebanese border.

^c Son of the identically named king of Thrace. Appointed by Gaius in 37 to be king of Armenia Minor (cf. Dio lix. 12. 2). Tacitus, *Ann.* xi. 9, reports that in 47 he was stopped by a dispatch from the emperor Claudius from opposing by force the return of Mithridates, who was under Roman sponsorship, as ruler of Armenia.

^d A small district west of Armenia proper.

^e Julius Polemo (see *Pap. Brit. Mus.* iii. 1178, line 22), brother of Cotys, king of Armenia Minor. He was king of Pontus from 37 to 63. Dio lx. 8. 2 confuses this Polemo with the Marcus Antonius Polemo who was king of Cilicia; but Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 145, rightly mentions the latter separately, as indicated by D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, ii, 1950, p. 1407 n. 26.

^f Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 133 ff. His kingdom of Chalcis was at the foot of Mount Lebanon (cf. *Ant.* xiv. 40).

τοσοῦτων συμφρόνησιν. εὐθὺς οὖν ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τιὰς πέμπων ἐπέστελλεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ
 342 δίχρα μελλήσεως ἀπέρχεσθαι. ταῦτα Ἀγρίππας ἀνιαρῶς ἐξεδέχετο· καὶ Μάρσῳ μὲν ἐκ τούτου δια-
 φόρως ἔσχεν. τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην δὲ Μαθθίαν ἀφελόμενος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ κατέστησεν ἀρχιερέα Ἐλιωναίου τὸν τοῦ Κανθηρᾶ¹ παῖδα.
 343 (2) Τρίτον δὲ ἔτος αὐτῷ βασιλεύοντι τῆς ὅλης² Ἰουδαίας πεπλήρωτο, καὶ παρῆν εἰς πόλιν Καισάρειαν, ἣ τὸ πρότερον Στράτωνος πύργος ἐκαλεῖτο. συνετέλει δ' ἐνταῦθα θεωρίας εἰς τὴν Καίσαρος τιμὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτηρίας ἑορτὴν τινα ταύτην ἐπιστάμενος,³ καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν ἤθροιστο τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἐν τέλει καὶ προβεβηκότων εἰς
 344 ἀξίαν πλῆθος. δευτέρα δὴ τῶν θεωριῶν ἡμέρα στολὴν ἐνδὺς ἐξ ἀργύρου πεποιημένην πᾶσαν, ὡς θαυμάσιον ὑφὴν εἶναι, παρῆλθεν εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας. ἔνθα ταῖς πρώταις τῶν ἡλιακῶν

¹ Ἐλιωναίου τὸν τοῦ Κανθηρᾶ] Hudson: Ἐλιωναίου τὸν τοῦ Κιθαίρου A: Ἐλιωναίου τὸν τοῦ Κιθαίου MW: γρ Δηλιωλαίου τὸν τοῦ Κανθαροῦ i. marg. A: Helionium Cantherae Lat.

² τῆς ὅλης] om. Lat.

³ ἐπιστάμενος Thackeray: ἐνιστάμενος Post.

^a This reading is found in the Latin version and in the margin of one of the mss. The mss. read Cithaerus, but in *Ant.* xx. 16, when the next change in the high priesthood is reported, we hear of the deposition of "the high priest surnamed Cantheras." The *Mishnah Parah* iii. 5 speaks of a high priest named Eliehonai (or Elieonai) ben Hakkof (or Hakkayaf); apparently Elionaeus is there regarded as the son of Joseph Caiaphas.

He therefore at once sent some of his associates with an order to each of the kings bidding him set off without delay to his own territory. Agrippa felt very much hurt by this and henceforth was at odds with Marsus. He also deprived Matthias of the high priesthood and appointed Elionaeus the son of Cantheras^a to be high priest in his stead.

(2) After the completion of the third year^b of his reign over the whole of Judaea, Agrippa came to the city of Caesarea,^c which had previously been called Strato's Tower.^d Here he celebrated spectacles in honour of Caesar,^e knowing that these had been instituted as a kind of festival on behalf of Caesar's well-being. For this occasion there were gathered a large number of men who held office or had advanced to some rank in the kingdom. On the second day of the spectacles, clad in a garment woven completely of silver so that its texture was indeed wondrous, he entered the theatre at daybreak. There the silver,

Agrippa is hailed as a god in the theatre at Caesarea.

^b So also in the parallel account, *B.J.* ii. 219.

^c Acts xii. 19-20 also places the scene which follows—Agrippa's death—in Caesarea; but there is no mention in Josephus of Agrippa's meeting with the ambassadors of Tyre and Sidon as reported in the narrative of Acts.

^d In Phoenicia between modern *Jaffa* and *Tantura*. Herod built a magnificent harbour there and renamed the city Caesarea in honour of Augustus. *Cf. Ant.* xv. 331-341 and *B.J.* i. 408-414. A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 1937, p. 231, speculates that the name may imply that it was founded by one of the Stratos who were kings of Sidon in the fourth century, or it may be a hellenization of *Migdol Astart*, lit. "Astarte's Tower," just as Strato itself represents *Abd Astart*.

^e Thackeray's emendation, "which he [*i.e.* Agrippa] had instituted," is unlikely because these were presumably the quinquennial games (*B.J.* i. 415) which Herod had instituted and named after Caesar.

ἀκτίνων ἐπιβολαῖς. ὁ ἄργυρος κατανασθεῖς θαν-
 345 μασίως ἀπέστιλβε μαρμαίρων τι φοβερὸν καὶ τοῖς
 τὰς οὐδὲ ἐκείνῳ πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ¹ ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν²
 φωνὰς ἀνεβόων, θεὸν προσαγορεύοντες, “ εὐμενὴς τε
 εἶης,” ἐπiléγοντες, “ εἰ καὶ μέχρι νῦν ὡς ἄνθρωπον
 ἐφοβήθημεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν τεύθεν κρείττονά σε θνητῆς
 346 φύσεως ὁμολογοῦμεν.” οὐκ ἐπέπληξεν τούτοις ὁ
 βασιλεὺς οὐδὲ τὴν κολακείαν ἀσεβοῦσαν³ ἀπετρί-
 ψατο. ἀνακύψας δ’ οὖν μετ’ ὀλίγον τὸν βουβῶνα
 τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλῆς ὑπερκαθιζόμενον εἶδεν ἐπὶ
 σχοινίου τινός. ἄγγελον τοῦτον εὐθὺς ἐνόησεν
 κακῶν εἶναι τὸν καὶ ποτε τῶν ἀγαθῶν γενόμενον,
 καὶ διακάρδιον ἔσχεν ὀδύνην, ἄθρουν δ’ αὐτῷ τῆς
 κοιλίας προσέφυσε⁴ ἄλγημα μετὰ σφοδρότητος

¹ ἀγαθοῦ] MW: ἀγαθοῦ ταῖς ἀληθείαις A; τὰς οὐδὲ . . . ἀγαθοῦ] om. E: quae nec illi bonae pro veritate videbantur Lat.

² τὰς οὐδὲ . . . ἄλλοθεν] i. ras. pressius scripta m. 2 A.

³ ἀσεβοῦσαν] ἀσεβῆ οὖσαν vel. <ὡς> ἀσεβοῦσαν conit. Richards et Shutt.

⁴ codd.: γρ προσεφοίτησεν i. marg. A: προσέφυ L. Dindorf: προσέθυσεν Bush.

* J. Morgenstern, “The Chanukkah Festival and the Calendar of Ancient Israel,” *Hebrew Union Coll. Ann.* xx, 1947, pp. 90-91, presents the extravagant suggestion that Agrippa was playing the rôle of a sun-god and that the festival was actually an equinoctial or solstitial New Year’s Day festival. He compares the festival with that celebrated by the Roman legions at Durostorum in Lower Moesia (cf. *Acta Dasiæ*) in which there is a human victim clothed in royal garments and playing the rôle of a divine king who is required to sacrifice himself after thirty days.

^b Acts xii. 21-22 similarly reports that after Herod [Agrippa], arrayed in royal apparel, had sat upon his throne

illuminated by the touch of the first rays of the sun,^a fear and awe in those who gazed intently upon it. Straightway his flatterers raised their voices from various directions—though hardly for his good—addressing him as a god.^b “May you be propitious to us,” they added, “and if we have hitherto feared you as a man, yet henceforth we agree that you are more than mortal in your being.” The king did not rebuke them nor did he reject their flattery as impious. But shortly thereafter he looked up and saw an owl perched on a rope over his head. At once, recognizing this as a harbinger of woes just as it had once been of good tidings,^c he felt a stab of pain in his heart. He was also gripped in his stomach by an ache that he felt everywhere at once and that was intense from the start.^d Leaping

Agrippa
sees an owl
and is
smitten
with illness.

and made an oration, the people shouted: “The voice of a god, and not of man!”

^a In *Ant.* xviii. 195, Josephus mentions that an owl alighted on the tree against which Agrippa was leaning after he had been imprisoned by Tiberius. Another prisoner, a German, interprets this as a portent of Agrippa’s speedy release from chains and of his advance to great power. Agrippa is told, however (*Ant.* xviii. 200), that when he sees the owl again, it will indicate that his death is to follow within five days.

^b Acts xii. 23 does not mention the owl, but says that immediately after the people had called Agrippa a god, “an angel of the Lord smote him, because he did not give God the glory; and he was eaten by worms and died.” Cf. also Eusebius, *Hist. Ecol.* ii. 10, in whose account it is not an owl but an angel that Agrippa sees above his head. A physician, E. M. Merrins, “The Deaths of Antiochus IV, Herod the Great, and Herod Agrippa I,” *Bibliotheca Sacra* lxi, 1904, pp. 561-562, says that the immediate cause of Agrippa’s death was surely peritonitis, and that Agrippa was afflicted with appendicitis, which is the most frequent cause of such abdominal pain as is here described. He thinks,

347 ἀρξάμενον. ἀναθορών¹ οὖν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, “ὁ θεὸς ὑμῖν ἐγώ,” φησὶν, “ἤδη καταστρέφειν ἐπιτάττομαι τὸν βίον, παραχρήμα τῆς εἰμαρμένης τὰς ἄρτι μου² κατεψευσμένας φωνὰς ἐλεγχούσης· ὁ κληθεὶς ἀθάνατος ὑφ’ ὑμῶν ἤδη θανεῖν ἀπάγομαι. δεκτέον δὲ τὴν πεπωμένην, ἣ θεὸς βεβούληται· καὶ γὰρ βεβιώκαμεν οὐδαμῆ φαύλως, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῆς
348 μακαρίζομένης λαμπρότητος.” ταῦθ’ ἅμα λέγων ἐπιτάσει τῆς ὀδύνης κατεπονείτο· μετὰ σπουδῆς οὖν εἰς τὸ βασιλεῖον ἐκομίσθη καὶ διῆξε λόγος εἰς πάντας, ὡς ἔχοι τοῦ τεθνάναι παντάπασι μετ’ ὀλίγον.
349 ἢ πληθὺς δ’ αὐτίκα σὺν γυναιξὶν καὶ παισὶν ἐπὶ σάκκων καθεσθείσα τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ τὸν θεὸν ἰκέτευεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὁμιωγῆς δὲ πάντ’ ἦν ἀνάπλευα καὶ θρήνων. ἐν ὑψηλῷ δ’ ὁ βασιλεὺς δωματίῳ κατακείμενος καὶ κάτω βλέπων αὐτοὺς πρηγεῖς καταπίπτοντας ἄδακρυς οὐδ’ αὐτὸς διέ-
350 μενεν. συνεχεῖς⁴ δ’ ἐφ’ ἡμέρας πέντε τῷ τῆς γαστρὸς ἀλγῆματι διεργασθεὶς τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν, ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἄγων πεντηκοστὸν ἔτος καὶ
351 τέταρτον, τῆς βασιλείας δ’ ἑβδομον. τέτταρας μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Γαίῳ Καίσαρος ἐβασίλευσεν ἑνιαυτοὺς τῆς Φιλίππου μὲν τετραρχίας εἰς τριετίαν ἄρξας, τῷ

¹ A: ἀναθεωρῶν MWE Eus.: respiciens Lat.

² ἄρτι μου] AW: ἀτίμους καὶ M.

³ παραχρήμα . . . ἐλεγχούσης] repente namque increpitu sum, cum mendaces ad me voces adclamarentur Lat.

⁴ συνεχῶς E. Eus. et i. marg. A.

following the account in Acts, that roundworms, so common in Eastern countries, may have hastened his death by becoming active in Agrippa's alimentary canal, since these worms become notably more destructive when any part of

up^a he said to his friends: “I, a god in your eyes, am now bidden to lay down my life, for fate brings immediate refutation of the lying words lately addressed to me. I, who was called immortal by you, am now under sentence of death. But I must accept my lot as God wills it. In fact I have lived in no ordinary fashion but in the grand style that is hailed as true bliss.” Even as he was speaking these words, he was overcome by more intense pain. They hastened, therefore, to convey him to the palace; and the word flashed about to everyone that he was on the very verge of death. Straightway the populace, including the women and children, sat in sackcloth in accordance with their ancestral custom and made entreaty to God on behalf of the king. The sound of wailing and lamentations prevailed everywhere. The king, as he lay in his lofty bedchamber and looked down on the people as they fell prostrate, was not dry-eyed himself. Exhausted after five
Death of Agrippa.
straight days by the pain^b in his abdomen, he departed this life in the fifty-fourth year of his life and the seventh of his reign. He had reigned for four years^c under Gaius Caesar, ruling during three of them over the tetrarchy of Philip, and adding that

the body is diseased. J. Meyshan, “The Coinage of Agrippa the First,” *Israel Explor. Jour.* iv, 1954, p. 187 n. 2, suggests that Agrippa was poisoned by arsenic, the standard poison of the era. A quantity of arsenic less than 0.1 gram is undetected in food and will bring about either sudden death or an agony extending over a few days and culminating in death.

^a Variant “looking up.”

^b Variant “Exhausted after five days by the unremitting pain.”

^c 37-41. Cf. the less precise statement in the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 219.

τετάρτῳ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου προσειληφώς, τρεῖς δ' ἐπιλαβὼν τῆς Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος αὐτοκρατορίας, ἐν οἷς τῶν τε προειρημένων ἐβασίλευσεν καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προσέλαβεν Σαμάρειαν τε καὶ Καισάρειαν. 352 προσωδέυσατο δ' ὅτι πλείστας¹ αὐτῶν προσφορὰς διακοσίας ἐπὶ χιλίαις μυριάδας,² πολλὰ μέντοι προσεδανείσατο· τῷ γὰρ φιλόδωρος εἶναι δαφιλέστερα τῶν προσιόντων ἀνήλισκεν,³ ἦν δὲ ἀφειδὲς αὐτοῦ τὸ φιλότιμον.

353 (3) Ἄγνουμένης γε μὴν τοῖς πλήθεσιν τῆς ἐκπνοῆς αὐτοῦ συμφρονήσαντες Ἡρώδης τε ὁ τῆς Χαλκίδος δυναστεύων καὶ Ἐλκίας ὁ ἐπαρχός⁴ καὶ φίλος τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀρίστωνα ἐπεμψαν τῶν ὑπηρέτων τὸν ἐπιτηδεῖον⁵ καὶ Σίλαν, ἐχθρὸς γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς, ἀπέσφαξαν ὡς δὴ τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσαντος.

354 (ix. 1) Ἀγρίππας μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ κατέστρεψεν τὸν βίον, γένει⁶ δὲ αὐτῷ κατελέειπτο υἱὸς μὲν Ἀγρίππας ἄγων ἔτος ἑπτακαίδέκατον, τρεῖς δὲ θυγατέρες, ἃν ἡ μὲν Ἡρώδη τοῦ πατρὸς ἀδελφῷ γεγάμητο Βερενίκη τὸ ἕκκα-

¹ ὅτι πλείστας] E: ὅτι πλείστους codd.: πλείστας conl. Post: innumera Lat. ² διακοσίας . . . μυριάδας] om. Lat.

³ δαφιλέστερα . . . ἀνήλισκεν] supplicantibus larga munera conferebat Lat. ⁴ ἐπαρχος Zonaras.

⁵ codd. E: fidelissimum Lat.: ἐπιτηδεϊότατον Ernesti.

⁶ γενεῆ Richards et Shutt.

^a Herod Antipas, who had come to Rome to seek rights equal to those accorded by Gaius to Agrippa, only to be deprived of his tetrarchy and sent into exile (*Ant.* xviii. 252).

^b 41-44.

^c About £1,157,143 or \$3,240,000. The word "drachmas" is not in the text, but it appears to be understood. If one reads πλείστας the meaning would be that the revenue that Agrippa

of Herod^a during the fourth year. He reigned further for three years^b under the emperor Claudius Caesar, during which time he ruled over the territory mentioned above and received in addition Judaea, Samaria, and Caesarea. He derived as much revenue as possible from these territories, amounting to twelve million drachmas,^c but he borrowed much, for, owing to his generosity, his expenditures were extravagant beyond his income, and his ambition knew no bounds of expense.^d

(3) While the populace was yet unaware that he had breathed his last, Herod^e the ruler of Chalcis, conspiring together with Helcias^f the prefect^g and friend of the king, sent Ariston, the most suitable of their attendants, and slew Silas,^h who was their enemy, pretending that they had had orders from the king.

(ix. 1) Such was the final scene of King Agrippa's life.ⁱ He left one son,^j Agrippa, in his seventeenth year, and three daughters. Of these, one, Berenice, who was sixteen years old, was married to Herod,^k

received from these territories amounted at the highest to twelve million drachmas.

^d Or "his ambition never counted the cost." A. Momigliano, *Camb. Anc. Hist.* x, 1934, p. 851 n. 1, speculates that the bad financial administration of Agrippa was one of the factors that helped to bring about the reabsorption of Judaea into the empire. ^e See above, § 338.

^f See *Ant.* xviii. 273 and note.

^g Presumably he held the position formerly filled by Silas, ἐπαρχος παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος, commander-in-chief of the entire army (so W. Otto, in Pauly-Wissowa, viii, 1913, p. 96).

^h Agrippa's general who was now in prison. Cf. §§ 299 and 317-325.

ⁱ Cf. the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 220.

^j Another son, Drusus, had died before reaching adolescence (*Ant.* xviii. 132).

^k The ruler of Chalcis.

δέκατον ἔτος γεγυυία, παρθένοι δ' ἦσαν αἱ δύο
 Μαριάμμη τε καὶ Δρούσιλλα, δεκαετῆς μὲν ἡ ἑτέρα,
 355 ἕξαετῆς δὲ Δρούσιλλα· καθωμολόγηγντο δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ
 πατρὸς πρὸς γάμον Ἰουλίῳ¹ μὲν Ἀρχελάῳ τοῦ
 Ἑλκίου² παιδὶ Μαριάμμη, Δρούσιλλα δὲ Ἐπιφανεί,
 τοῦ δὲ τῆς Κομμαγηνηῆς βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου³ υἱὸς
 356 ἦν οὗτος. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅτε ἐγνώσθη τὸν βίον ἐκλι-
 ποιῶν αὐτοῦ λαθόμενοι τὰ τῶν δυσμενεστάτων
 357 ἐποίησαν βλασφημίας τε γὰρ ἀπερρίπτουν εἰς τὸν
 κατοιχόμενον ἀπρεπεῖς λέγεσθαι καὶ ὅσοι στρατεού-
 μενοι τότε ἔτυχον, συχνοὶ δ' ἦσαν, οὐκαδε ἀπῆλθον
 καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρων
 ἀρπάσαντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐκόμισαν εἰς τὰ πορνεία
 καὶ στήσαντες ἐπὶ τῶν τεγῶν ὡς δυνατὸν ἦν ἀφύ-
 358 βριζον⁴ ἀσχημονέστερα διηγῆσεως δρῶντες, ἐπὶ τε
 τοῖς δημοσίοις κατακλινόμενοι τόποις πανδήμους
 ἐστιάσεις ἐπετέλουν στεφανούμενοι καὶ μυριζό-
 μενοι καὶ σπένδοντες τῷ Χάρωνι προπόσεις τῆς
 τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκπνοῆς ἀλλήλοις ἀνταποδιδόντες.⁵
 359 ἀμνήμονες δ' ἦσαν οὐκ Ἀγρίππα μόνον χρησα-
 μένου πολλαῖς εἰς αὐτοὺς φιλοτιμίαις, καὶ τοῦ πάπ-

¹ om. Lat.

² conl. (cf. Ant. xx. 140): Χελκίου codd.

³ A: om. MW.

⁴ AM: ἀφύβριζον W: ἐφύβριζον E.

⁵ καὶ σπένδοντες . . . ἀνταποδιδόντες] et orco sacrificia turpiter exhibentes prandiaque sibimet alterutri pro regia morte reddentes Lat.

^a Cf. Ant. xx. 140, 147. See also Ap. i. 51, where Josephus names him as one of those to whom he sold a copy of his *Bellum Judaicum*.

her father's brother, and two were unmarried, namely Mariamme and Drusilla, aged respectively ten and six years. They had been promised by their father in marriage, Mariamme to Julius Archelaus,^a son of Helcias,^b and Drusilla to Epiphanes,^c the son of Antiochus king of Commagene. But when it became known that Agrippa had departed this life, the people of Caesarea and of Sebaste,^d forgetting his benefactions, behaved in the most hostile fashion. They hurled insults, too foul to be mentioned, at the deceased; and all who were then on military service—and they were a considerable number—went off to their homes, and seizing the images^e of the king's daughters carried them with one accord to the brothels, where they set them up on the roofs and offered them every possible sort of insult, doing things too indecent to be reported. Moreover, they reclined in the public places and celebrated feasts for all the people, wearing garlands and using scented unguents; they poured libations to Charon,^f and exchanged toasts in celebration of the king's death. In this they were unmindful not only of Agrippa, who had treated them with much generosity, but

The people of Caesarea and Sebaste rejoice at his death.

^b mss. Chelcias, but in Ant. xx. 140 the name is given as Helcias.

^c The marriage never took place, since Epiphanes was unwilling to convert to the Jewish religion, though he had contracted with Agrippa to do this (Ant. xx. 139).

^d Samaria.

^e That one as pious as Agrippa (cf. § 331) should have erected images of his daughters seems remarkable. But Schürer, i, 1901, p. 161, well notes that on Agrippa's coins also there is the same inconsistency, for those minted in Jerusalem have no image, while those from other cities often have the image of Agrippa or of the emperor.

^f The mythical ferryman of the dead over the river Styx or Acheron in the Lower World.

πον δὲ Ἡρώδου τὰς πόλεις ἐκείνος αὐτοῖς ἔκτισεν λιμένας τε καὶ ναοὺς κατεσκευάσεν λαμπροῖς δαπανήμασιν.

360 (2) Ὁ δὲ τοῦ τεθνεώτος υἱὸς Ἀγρίππας ἐπὶ
 Ῥώμης ἦν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ τρεφόμενος παρὰ
 361 Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι. πυθόμενός γε μὴν Καῖσαρ, ὅτι
 τέθηκεν Ἀγρίππας, Σεβαστηνοὶ δὲ καὶ Καισαρεῖς
 ὑβρίκασιν εἰς αὐτόν, ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἤλγησεν, ἐπὶ δὲ
 362 τοὺς ἀχαριστήσαντας ὠργίσθη.¹ πέμπειν οὖν εὐ-
 θέως ὤρητο τὸν νεώτερον Ἀγρίππαν τὴν βασι-
 λείαν διαδεξόμενον ἅμα βουλόμενος ἐμπεδοῦν τοὺς
 ὁμωμοσμένους ὄρκους, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐξελευθέρων καὶ
 φίλων οἱ πολὺ παρ' αὐτῷ δυνάμενοι ἀπέτρεψαν,
 σφαλεῖρόν ναι λέγοντες κομιδῇ νέω μηδὲ τοὺς
 παιδὸς ἐκβεβηκότες χρόνους ἐπιτρέπειν βασιλείας
 τηλικούτου μέγεθος, ᾧ μὴ δυνατὸν τὰς τῆς διοική-
 σεως φροντίδας ἐνεγκεῖν, καὶ τελείῳ δ' οὖν εἶναι
 363 βαρὺ βάσταγμα βασιλείαν.² ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοὺς
 εἰκότα λέγειν ὁ Καῖσαρ. ἔπαρχον οὖν τῆς Ἰου-
 δαίας καὶ τῆς ἀπάσης βασιλείας ἀπέστειλεν Κού-
 σπιον Φάδον τῷ κατοικομένῳ διδοὺς τιμὴν τὸ μὴ
 Μάρσον ἐπαγαγεῖν εἰς βασιλείον³ αὐτῷ διάφορον.
 364 ἐγνώκει δὲ πρὸ πάντων ἐπιστεῖλαι⁴ τῷ Φάδῳ
 Καισαρεῦσιν καὶ Σεβαστηνοῖς ἐπιπλήξαι τῆς εἰς
 τὸν κατοιχόμενον ὑβρεως καὶ παρωίας εἰς τὰς ἔτι

¹ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ . . . ὠργίσθη] gravi dolore percussus est Lat.

² καὶ τελείῳ . . . βασιλείαν] om. E.

³ codd. E.; regnum Lat.: βασιλείαν Hudson.

⁴ εἰς βασιλείον . . . ἐπιστεῖλαι] εἰς τὸ βασιλείον αὐτῷ ἐπεὶ διάφορον τοῦτον ἐγνώκει. πρὸ πάντων δ' ἐπέστειλε E.

^a Cf. *Ant.* xv. 296-298.

^b A reference to the solemn treaty that Claudius had made with Agrippa in the Roman Forum (§ 275).

also of his grandfather Herod, who had built their cities and had erected harbours and temples at lavish expense.^a

(2) Agrippa, the son of the deceased, was at Rome at this time, where he was being brought up at the court of Claudius Caesar. Caesar, on hearing of the death of Agrippa, and of the insults heaped upon him by the people of Sebaste and Caesarea, was grieved for him and angry at his ungrateful subjects. He had accordingly resolved to send the younger Agrippa at once to take over the kingdom, wishing at the same time to maintain the sworn treaty^b with him. He was, however, dissuaded by those of his freedmen and friends who had great influence with him, who said that it was hazardous to entrust so important a kingdom to one who was quite young and had not even passed out of boyhood^c and who would find it impossible to sustain the cares of administration; even to a grown man, said they, a kingdom was a heavy responsibility. Caesar accordingly decided that their arguments were plausible. He therefore dispatched Cuspius Fadius^d as procurator of Judaea and of the whole kingdom, so far honouring the deceased as not to bring Marsus, who, he knew, had a quarrel with Agrippa, into his royal capital.^e Above all, he had resolved to instruct Fadius to rebuke the people of Caesarea and Sebaste for their insults to the deceased, and for their intemper-

Cuspius Fadius is appointed procurator of Judaea, since Agrippa II is still a minor.

^a The term used in Greek, *πάσις*, is hardly appropriate for one who was sixteen. He was now actually a *μειράκιον*, "a stripling."

^d A.D. 44.

^e According to Hudson's emendation, "into his kingdom"; *i.e.* Claudius honoured Agrippa's memory by not choosing Marsus to succeed him.

365 ζώσας, τὴν Ἴλην δὲ τῶν Καισαρέων καὶ τῶν Σε-
 βαστηνῶν καὶ τὰς πέντε σπείρας εἰς Πόντον μετα-
 γαγεῖν, ἵν' ἐκεῖ στρατεύουιτο, τῶν δ' ἐν Συρία
 Ῥωμαϊκῶν ταγμάτων ἐπιλέξαι στρατιώτας κατ'
 366 ἀριθμούς καὶ τὸν ἐκείνων ἀναπληρῶσαι τόπον. οὐ
 μὴν οἱ κελευσθέντες μετέστησαν· πρεσβευσάμενοι
 γὰρ Κλαύδιον ἀπεμειλίξαντο καὶ μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς
 Ἰουδαίας ἐπέτυχον, οἱ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιούσι χρόνοις τῶν
 μεγίστων Ἰουδαίους ἐγένοντο συμφορῶν ἀρχὴ τοῦ
 κατὰ Φλώρον πολέμου σπέρματα βαλόντες.¹ ὅθεν
 Οὔεσπασιανὸς κρατήσας, ὡς μετ' ὀλίγον ἐροῦμεν,
 ἐξήγαγεν² αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐπαρχίας.³

¹ Hudson: λαβόντος codd.: λαβόντες E.

² ἐξέβαλεν E.

³ A: ἀρχῆς MW: regione Lat.

^a Latin *ala*, numbering either 500 or 1000 men. These squadrons often bore titles, as here, indicating the country from which they had been enrolled.

^b The Sebastenian troops are frequently mentioned in Josephus (cf. *B.J.* ii. 52 and note, and *Ant.* xx. 122) and in inscriptions (listed by Schürer, i, p. 461 n. 51). They and the Caesareans made up one corps and were stationed together at Caesarea.

ate attack on his still living daughters, to transfer to Pontus the squadron^a of cavalry composed of men from Caesarea and Sebaste,^b together with the five cohorts,^c in order to do their service there, and to enrol a proportionate number of soldiers from the Roman legions in Syria to fill their place. The troops were not, however, transferred as they had been ordered, for they sent a deputation which appeased Claudius and obtained leave to remain in Judaea. These men, in the period that followed, proved to be a source of the greatest disasters to the Jews by sowing the seed of the war in Florus' time.^d For this reason Vespasian, on coming to the throne, as we shall shortly relate,^e deported them from the province.

^a Since a cohort had a strength of 500 to 600 men, this would amount to 2500 to 3000 men.

^b Procurator 64/65. Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 25, xx. 252-258, *B.J.* ii. 277 ff.

^c This account of the expulsion of the Sebasteni is not extant in any of the existing works of Josephus. H. Petersen, "Real and Alleged Literary Projects of Josephus," *Am. Jour. of Philol.* lxxix, 1958, pp. 273-274, has effectively pointed out that Josephus could easily have fulfilled this and his other promised treatments in his autobiography. That he did not do so indicates that he probably changed his plans.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON *ANT.* XVIII. 343, PAGE 195

The reading ἀνήρ . . . κτελίον, as Professor Abraham Schalit in a forthcoming article notes, reflects a common Aramaic phrase, *gavra kiila* ("slain man"), found several times in the Talmud (*Pesahim* 110 b, *Sanhedrin* 71 b, 81 a, and 85 a). According to it the brothers Anilaeus and Asinaeus declared the Parthian general a "dead man," i.e. one to be slain with impunity by anyone. Josephus' source for the episode of the Babylonian brothers may well have been in Aramaic, the language of the Jews of Babylonia.

APPENDIX A
AN ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS
BIBAION IH

α'.¹ 'Ὡς Κυρίνιος² ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐπέμφθη τιμη-
της Συρίας καὶ Ἰουδαίας καὶ ἀποδωσόμενος τὴν
'Αρχελάου οὐσίαν.³

β'. 'Ὡς Κωπώνιος ἐκ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ τάγματος ἐ-
πέμφθη ἑπαρχος Ἰουδαίας.

γ'. 'Ὡς Ἰούδας ὁ Γαλιλαῖος ἔπεισεν⁴ τὸ πλῆθος
μὴ ἀπογράψασθαι τὰς οὐσίας,⁵ μέχρις Ἰωζαρος⁶ ὁ
ἀρχιερεὺς ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον ὑπακοῦσαι Ῥω-
μαίοις.⁷

δ'. Τίνες αἰρέσεις καὶ ὀπόσαι παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις
φιλοσόφων καὶ τίνες οἱ νόμοι.

ε'. 'Ὡς Ἡρώδης καὶ Φίλιππος οἱ τετράρχαι πό-
λεις ἔκτισαν εἰς τιμὴν Καίσαρος.

¹ numeros hab. (α'-κβ' W, I-XXI Lat.) W Lat.

² P: Κυρήνιος AMW.

³ + μεταπεσούσης τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐκ βασιλείας εἰς ἐπαρχίαν
AMW Lat.

⁴ ἔπεισεν] P: καὶ τινες ἕτεροι ἔπεισαν AMW Lat.

⁵ + καὶ πολλοὶ ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῶν ταῖς γνώμαις AMW Lat.
(in Lat. numeratur hoc cap. IIII).

⁶ P: Ἰωάζαρος AMW: Iozarus Lat.

⁷ + καὶ ἀποτιμήσασθαι τοὺς βίους AMW Lat.

APPENDIX A
AN ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS
BOOK XVIII

	In this edition	
	SECTION	PAGE
(i) How Quirinius was sent by Caesar to make an assessment of Syria and Judaea and to liquidate the estate of Archelaus ^a	1	3
(ii) How Coponius, a man of equestrian rank, was sent to be procurator of Judaea	2	5
(iii) How Judas the Galilaean ^b persuaded the masses not to register their properties, ^c until Joazar the high priest induced them rather to give heed to the Romans ^d	4	5
(iv) What and how many were the philosophical schools among the Jews and what rules they had	11	9
(v) How Herod and Philip the tetrarchs founded cities in honour of Caesar ^e	27	23

^a Some mss. add "after Judaea had changed from a kingdom to a procuratorship."

^b Some mss. add "and certain others."

^c Some mss. add "and many followed their advice."

^d Some mss. add "and to give an evaluation of their properties."

^e Augustus.

ς'. Ὡς Σαμαρεῖς ὄστα νεκρῶν διαρρίψαντες εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν¹ τὸν λαὸν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἐμίαναν.

ζ'. Ὡς Σαλώμη ἡ ἀδελφὴ Ἡρώδου τελευτήσασα τὰ αὐτῆς² κατέλιπεν Ἰουλίᾳ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος γαμετῇ.

η'. Ὡς Πόντιος Πιλάτος ἠθέλησε κρύφα εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα εἰσενέγκαι προτομὰς Καίσαρος, ὁ δὲ λαὸς οὐ κατεδέξατο στασιάζας.³

θ'. Τὰ συμβάντα Ἰουδαίους ἐν Ῥώμῃ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμαρέων.⁴

ι'. Κατηγορία ὑπὸ Σαμαρέων Πιλάτου ἐπὶ Οὐιτελλίου καὶ⁵ ὡς Οὐιτέλλιος ἠνάγκασεν αὐτὸν ἀναβῆναι εἰς Ῥώμην λόγον τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀποδώσοντα.⁶

¹ + ἐορτῆς ἐνεστηκίας AMW Lat.

² τὰ αὐτῆς] P: Ἰάμνειαν (ei i. ras. A; Ἰαμνίαν W) καὶ τὴν τοπαρχίαν αὐτῆς καὶ Φασαηλῖδα (Faselidam Lat.) καὶ Ἀρχελαΐδα AMW Lat.

³ ὁ δὲ . . . στασιάζας] P: γνοὺς δὲ ὁ λαὸς ἐστασίασε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄχρι ἐξεκόμισεν αὐτὰς ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων εἰς Καισάρειαν AMW Lat.

⁴ ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμαρέων] P: παρὰ τῆς ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ καταφθορᾶς τοῦ πλήθους καὶ ὡς πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσε Πιλάτος AMW Lat.

⁵ καὶ] P: om. AMW Lat. novum caput incipientes.

⁶ λόγον . . . ἀποδώσοντα] P: πρὸς Καίσαρα καὶ ἀποδοῦναι λόγον περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων. Οὐιτελλίου (οὐ ἰουτελλίου W) ἀνάβασις εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τιμὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τούτοις παρεχώρησεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἱερὰν στολὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀντανίᾳ κειμένην ὑπὸ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐξουσίᾳ ὑφ' αὐτοῖς (ἐαυτοῖς MW) ἔχειν AMW Lat.

^a Some mss. add "during a festival."

^b For "her estate" some mss. have "Jamnia and its territory, together with Phasaëlis and Archelais."

	SECTION	PAGE
(vi) How the Samaritans scattered bones of the dead in the temple ^a and thus defiled the people for seven days	29	25
(vii) How Salome the sister of Herod died leaving her estate ^b to Julia the wife of Caesar ^c	31	27
(viii) How Pontius Pilate sought secretly to introduce busts of Caesar into Jerusalem, and how the people rose up against him and refused to permit it ^d	55	43
(ix) What happened to the Jews in Rome about this time at the instigation of the Samaritans ^e	81	59
(x) The bringing of charges against Pilate by the Samaritans before Vitellius, and how Vitellius compelled him to proceed to Rome to render an account of his actions ^f	88	63

^c The table omits special mention of the dynastic struggles in Parthia (§§ 39-52).

^d For "how the people rose up against him and refused to permit it" some mss. have "how the people, having learnt of it, rose up against him until he withdrew them from Jerusalem to Caesarea." The table omits special mention of Jesus and of Paulina (§§ 63-80).

^e Some mss. have, in place of "at the instigation of the Samaritans," "arising from the destruction in Samaria, and how Pilate slew many." Regardless of the reading, there is some confusion, since the troubles of the Jews in Rome arose not from the Samaritans but from certain unscrupulous Jews living in Rome who misled Fulvia, a Roman lady (§§ 81-84).

^f Some mss. add "The ascent of Vitellius to Jerusalem and the honour accorded him by the people, and how he thereupon permitted them to keep under their own control the sacred robe that lay in Antonia in custody of the Romans" (§§ 90-95).

- ια'. Πόλεμος Ἡρώδου τοῦ τετραράρχου πρὸς Ἀρέταν τὸν Ἀράβων βασιλέα καὶ ἤττα.¹
 ιβ'. Ὡς Τιβέριος Καίσαρ ἔγραψεν Οὐιτελλίῳ Ἀρταβάνῃ μὲν τὸν Πάρθον πείσαι ὀμήρους αὐτῷ πέμψαι, πρὸς Ἀρέταν δὲ πολεμῆν.
 ιγ'. Τελευτὴ Φιλίππου καὶ ὡς ἡ τετραρχία αὐτοῦ ἐπαρχία ἐγένετο.²
 ιδ'. Ἀπόπλους Ἀγρίππα εἰς Ῥώμην³ καὶ ὡς κατηγορηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ἀπελευθέρου ἐδέθη.
 ιε'. Ὅν τρόπον ἐλύθη ὑπὸ Γαίου μετὰ τὴν Τιβερίου τελευτὴν καὶ ἐγένετο βασιλεὺς τῆς Φιλίππου τετραρχίας.⁴
 ις'. Ὡς Ἡρώδης ἀναβὰς εἰς Ῥώμην⁵ ἐξωρίσθη καὶ ὡς τὴν τετραρχίαν αὐτοῦ ἔδωρῆσατο Γάιος Ἀγρίππα.
 ιζ'. Στάσις τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ πρεσβεία ἀφ' ἑκατέρων πρὸς Γάιον.
 ιη'. Κατηγορία Ἰουδαίων ὑπὸ Ἀπίωνος καὶ τῶν συμπρέσβων ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ἔχειν Καίσαρος ἀνδριάντα.
 ιθ'. Ὡς ἀγανακτήσας Γάιος πέμψει Πετρῶνιον

¹ πόλεμος . . . ἤττα] post ἐγένετο (ιγ') tr. MW, in Lat. antecedentibus continuo adiuncta sunt.

² + de baptista Iohanne Lat. (numero non adiecto).

³ + πρὸς Τιβέριον Καίσαρα AMW Lat.

⁴ ὄν τρόπον . . . τετραρχίας] om. Lat.

⁵ + κατηγορηθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀγρίππα AMW Lat.

^a The table omits special mention of the listing of Herod the Great's descendants (§§ 130-142) and of Agrippa's upbringing in Rome, his voyage to Judaea, and his proposed suicide (§§ 143-150).

^b This section and section xiii belong before section xi.

^c Artabanus in the text of this book (§§ 48 ff.).

^d The Latin version adds "Concerning John the Baptist" (§§ 116-119).

	SECTION	PAGE
(xi) The war of Herod the tetrarch with Aretas the king of the Arabians and Herod's defeat ^a		
(xii) ^b How Tiberius Caesar sent instructions to Vitellius to induce Artabanus ^c the Parthian to send hostages to him and make war on Aretas	109	77
(xiii) The death of Philip and how his tetrarchy became provincial territory ^d	96	69
(xiv) The voyage of Agrippa to Rome ^e and how, after being accused by his own freedman, he was thrown into chains ^f	106	75
(xv) How he was released by Gaius after the death of Tiberius and became king of the tetrarchy of Philip	155	101
(xvi) How Herod, upon making a trip to Rome, ^g was banished, and how Gaius presented his tetrarchy to Agrippa	237	143
(xvii) The civil strife of the Jews and Greeks in Alexandria and the dispatch of delegates by both groups to Gaius	240	145
(xviii) The charges brought against the Jews by Apion and his fellow delegates on the score of their permitting no image of Caesar	257	153
(xix) How Gaius in his resentment	257	153

^e Some mss. add "to Tiberius Caesar."

^f The table omits special mention of the thwarting of Tiberius' scheme to bestow the succession to the empire upon his grandson Gemellus (§§ 205-223).

^g Some mss. add "and after being accused by Agrippa."

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XVIII

ἡγεμόνα εἰς Συρίαν¹ πολεμήσαι Ἰουδαίους, εἰάν μὴ
 θελήσωσιν εἰσδέξασθαι αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀνδριάντα.

κ'. Τὴν συμβᾶσαν φθορὰν τοῖς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι
 Ἰουδαίοις δι' Ἀσιναῖον καὶ Ἀνιλαῖον τοὺς ἀδελ-
 φούς.

Περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν λβ'.

¹ + δούς ἐντολάς συναγαγόντα δύναμιν AMW Lat.

^a Some mss. add: "giving him orders to collect a force
 and . . ."

^b The table omits special mention of Agrippa's successful

ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

	SECTION	PAGE
sent Petronius to Syria as governor ^a to open hostilities against the Jews if they did not agree to accept an image of him ^b	261	155
(xx) The disaster that befell the Jews in Babylonia because of the brothers Asinaeus and Anilaeus	310	179

This book covers a period of thirty-two years.

plea with Gaius to give up the proposal of setting up the
 statue in the temple (§§ 289-301). It also omits Petronius'
 escape, through the intervention of Gaius' death, from the
 death penalty for insubordination.

α'.¹ Ὡς Γάιος Καίσαρ ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ Κασσίου Χαιρέου ἀνηρέθη καὶ ὡς² Κλαύδιος ὁ θεῖος αὐτοῦ βιασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν παρέλαβεν.

β'. Στάσις τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατεύματα.³

γ'. Πρεσβεία τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν, καὶ ὡς συνθέμενοι οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπεχώρησαν πρὸς Κλαύδιον καὶ κύριον αὐτὸν κατέστησαν τῶν πραγμάτων, ἣ δὲ βουλή μονωθεῖσα παρεκάλει Κλαύδιον αὐτῇ διαλλαγῆναι.

δ'. Ὡς Κλαύδιος Καίσαρ ἀποδίδωσιν Ἀγρίππα τὴν πατρῶαν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν ἅπασαν προσθεὶς αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν Λυσανίου τετραρχίαν.

ε'. Προγράμματα Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκεῖ Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἐν πάσῃ αὐτοῦ ἀρχῇ.⁴

ς'. Ἀπόπλους Ἀγρίππα τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς Ἰουδαίαν.

¹ numeros hab. (α'-ι' W, I-VIII Lat.) W Lat.

² καὶ ὡς] AW: ὡς M: qualiterque Lat. (capitulum indicant MW Lat.).

³ στάσις . . . στρατεύματα] antecedenti capiti adiungit Lat.

⁴ προγράμματα . . . ἀρχῇ] priori capiti adiungit Lat.

(i) How Gaius Caesar was the object of a plot and was slain by Cassius Chaerea and how the divine Claudius, compelled by the soldiers, succeeded him as emperor

(ii) The disagreement of the senate and the people in their attitude towards him and towards the armies that favoured him

(iii) The mission of King Agrippa to the senate, and how the soldiers who had been mustered on the side of the senate defected to Claudius and established him as master of the empire, and how the senate, being now isolated, appealed to Claudius to be reconciled with them

(iv) How Claudius Caesar restored to Agrippa all the lands that had been ruled by his line and added the tetrarchy of Lysanias

(v) The proclamations of Claudius Caesar in Alexandria on behalf of the Jews there and in all his empire

(vi) The homeward voyage of King Agrippa to Judaea

In this edition
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	239	325
	274	341
	279	345
	292	353

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIX

ζ'. Ἐπιστολή Πουπλίου Πετρωνίου τοῦ Συρίας ἡγεμόνος πρὸς Δωρίτας ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων.

η'. Ὡς βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας τὰ Ἱεροσολύμων τείχη πολυτελῶς κατασκευάζων ἀτελή τὴν σπουδὴν ἔσχεν μετὰ τελευτήσας.

θ'. Ὅσα ἔπραξεν ἐν τρισὶν ἔτεσιν ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὃν τρόπον τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν.

Περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν γ' μηνῶν ε'.

^a The table omits special mention of Silas' removal by Agrippa from his command of Agrippa's army (§§ 317-325).

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	SECTION	PAGE
(vii) The letter of Publius Petronius, the governor of Syria, to the people of Dora on behalf of the Jews ^a	302	359
(viii) How King Agrippa spent extravagant sums on the construction of walls for Jerusalem but died before he had brought his project to completion	326	367
(ix) What he did in the three years before his death and how he ended his life.	328	369

This book covers a period of three years and six months.

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(Ant. xviii. 1)

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^a In the following bibliographies a single asterisk indicates a work presenting an especially good introductory survey; a double asterisk indicates a work indispensable for specialists. This system has been adopted from R. Marcus, "Selected Bibliography (1920-1945) of the Jews in the Hellenistic-Roman Period," *Proc. of the Am. Acad. for Jew. Res.* 16 (1946-7), 87-181.

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APPENDIX C

SELECTED LITERATURE ON THE PHARISEES AND
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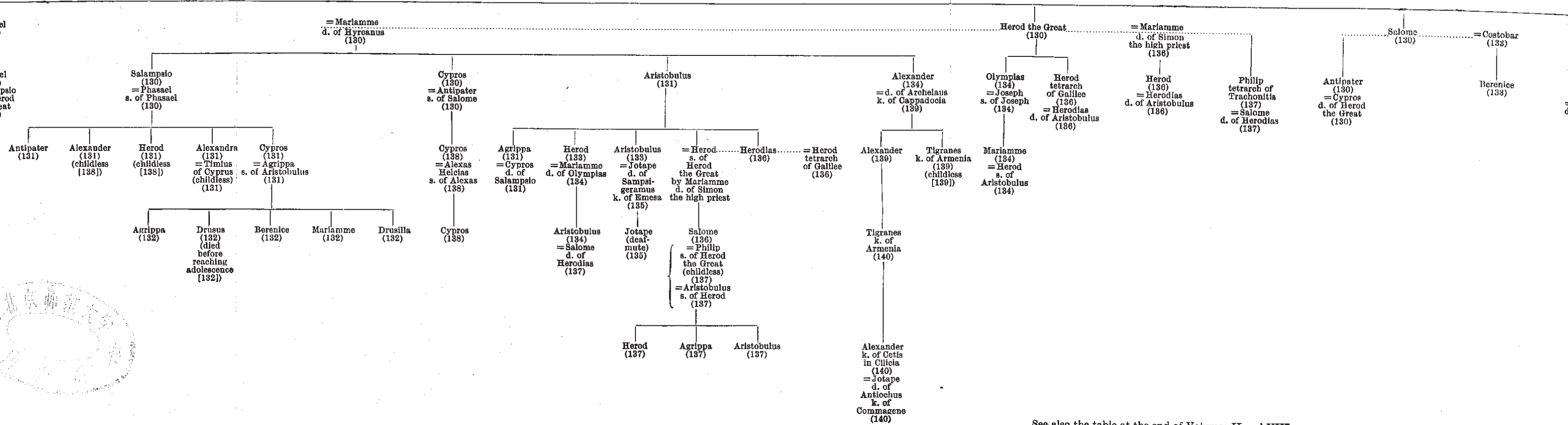
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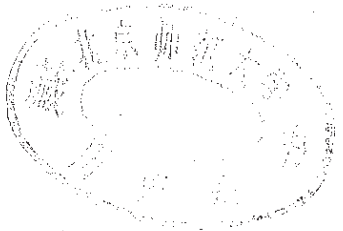
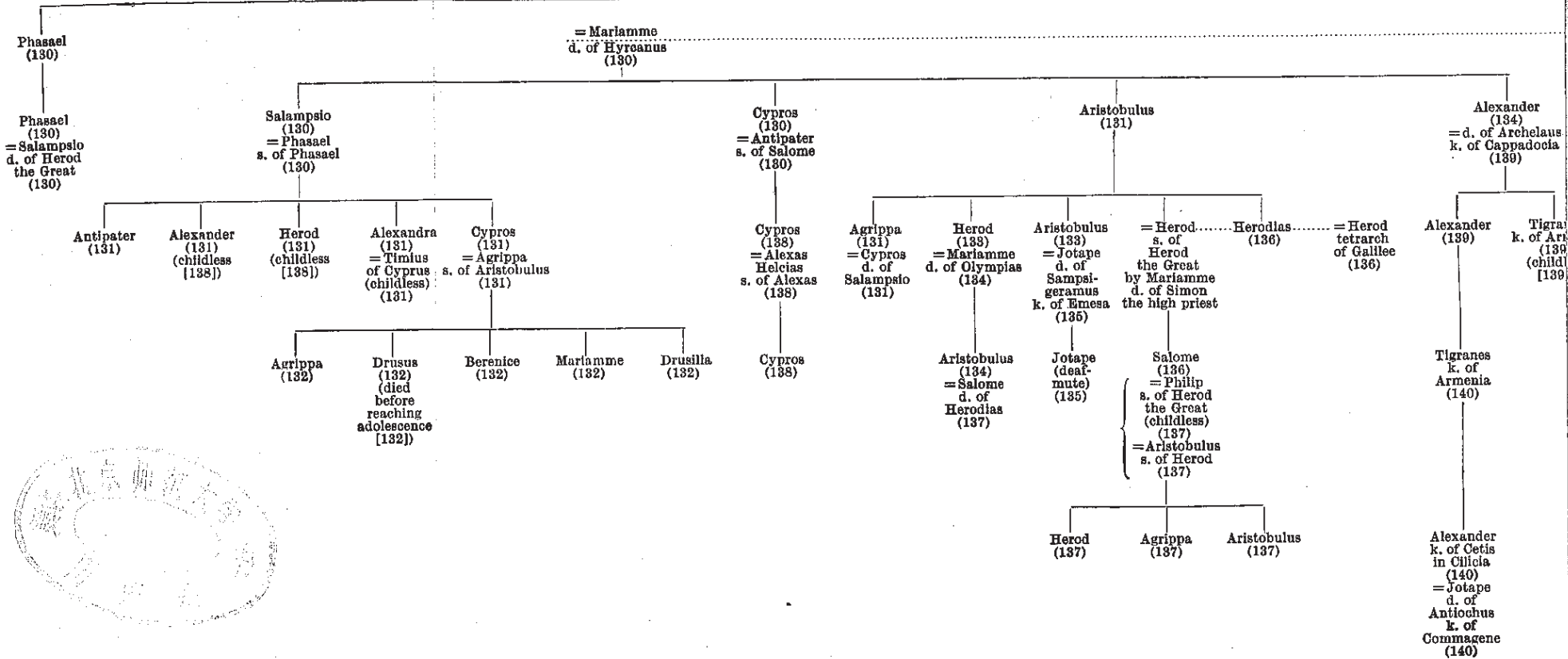
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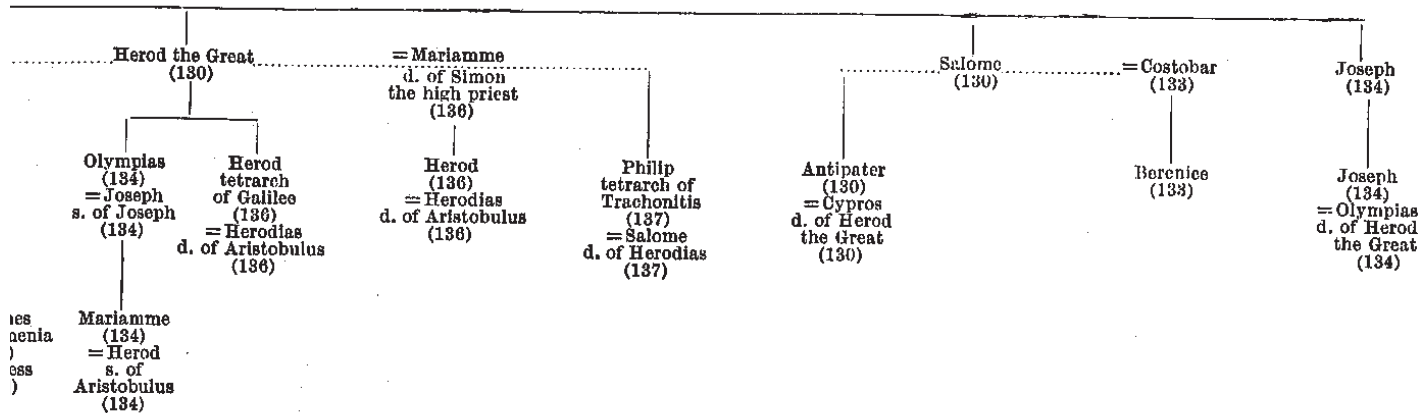
HEROD'S FAMILY AS PRESENTED IN BOOK XVIII. 130-140
 (Numbers in parentheses represent sections of Book XVIII.)



See also the table at the end of Volumes II and VIII.

HEROD'S FAMILY AS PRESENTED IN BOOK XVIII. 130
 (Numbers in parentheses represent sections of Book XVIII.)





See also the table at the end of Volumes II and VIII.