

Flavius Josephus

Translation and Commentary

Edited by Steve Mason



Volume 9

Life of Josephus

Translation and Commentary by

Steve Mason

BRILL

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VOLUME 9

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BY

STEVE MASON



BRILL
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I dedicate this volume to my esteemed colleague, Professor Paul Swarney.
His encouragement was early, enthusiastic, and unrelenting.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abbreviations	VIII
Series Preface	IX
Introduction to the <i>Life</i> of Josephus	XIII
Translation and Commentary	1
Appendix A: Galilean Archaeology	177
Appendix B: Josephus' Itinerary in the <i>Life</i>	211
Appendix C: <i>Life</i> / <i>War</i> Parallels	213
Appendix D: <i>Hapax Legomena</i> in the <i>Life</i>	223
Appendix E: Photius, <i>Bibliotheca</i> 33, on Iustus of Tiberias	225
Bibliography	229
Indices	240
Greek Words	241
Ancient Texts	257
Modern Authors	279
Persons and Places	281
Subject Index	285

ABBREVIATIONS

In general, this volume adopts the abbreviations of the *SBL Handbook of Style: For Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies*, ed. Patrick H. Alexander et al. (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1999). Additional abbreviations are as follows.

BJP	Brill Josephus Project. <i>Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary</i> , gen. ed. Steve Mason (Leiden: Brill, 2000–).
IGR	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Romanas Pertinentes</i> , ed. René Cagnat, 1964 [1911] (Rome: L’Erma).
ILS	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , ed. Hermann Dessau (Dublin: Weidmann, 1974 [1892]).
Plutarch	Essays from the <i>Moralia</i> are cited as <i>Mor.</i> nnnL, rather than by specific essay title as in the <i>SBL Handbook</i> .
RMD	<i>Roman Military Diplomas</i> , by Margaret M. Roxan (London: Institute of Archaeology, 1978–)
Schürer-Vermes	Emil Schürer, <i>The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ</i> . Revised edition, 3 vols. in 4, ed. Geza Vermes, Matthew Black, et al. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1979-87).

SERIES PREFACE

THE BRILL JOSEPHUS PROJECT

Titus (?) Flavius Josephus (37–ca. 100 CE) was born Joseph son of Mattathياهو, a priestly aristocrat in Judea. During the early stages of the war against Rome (66–74 CE), he found himself leading a part of the defense in Galilee, but by the spring of 67, his territory overrun, he had surrendered under circumstances that would furnish grounds for endless accusation. Taken to Rome by the Flavian conquerors, he spent the balance of his life writing about the war, Judean history and culture, and his own career. He composed four works in thirty volumes.

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

Although Josephus' name has been known continuously through nearly two millennia, and he has been cited extensively in support of any number of agendas, his writings have not always been valued as compositions. Readers have tended to look beyond them to the underlying historical facts or to Josephus' sources. Concentrated study in the standard academic forms—journals, scholarly seminars, or indeed commentaries devoted to Josephus—were lacking. The past two decades, however, have witnessed the birth and rapid growth of “Josephus studies” in the proper sense. Signs of the new environment include all of the vehicles and tools that were absent before, as well as K. H. Rengstorff's *Complete Concordance* (1983), Louis Feldman's annotated bibliographies, and now a proliferation of Josephus-related dissertations. The time is right, therefore, for the first comprehensive English commentary to Josephus.

The commentary format is ancient, and even in antiquity commentators differed in their aims and

methods. Philo's goals were not those of the author of Qumran's *Commentary on Nahum* or of the Church Father Origen. In order to assist the reader of this series, the Brill Project team would like to explain our general aims and principles. Our most basic premise is that we do not intend to provide the last word: an exhaustive exegesis of this rich corpus. Rather, since no commentary yet exists in English, we hope simply to provide a resource that will serve as an invitation to further exploration.

Although we began with the mandate to prepare a commentary alone, we soon realized that a new translation would also be helpful. Keeping another existing translation at hand would have been cumbersome for the reader. And since we must comment on particular Greek words and phrases, we would have been implicitly challenging such existing translations at every turn. Given that we needed to prepare a working translation for the commentary in any case, it seemed wisest to include it with the commentary as an efficient point of reference. A few words about the translation, then, are in order.

Granted that every translation is an interpretation, one can still imagine a spectrum of options. For example, the translator may set out to follow the contours of the original language more expressly or to place greater emphasis on idiomatic phrasing in the target language. There is much to be said for both of these options and for each interim stop in the spectrum. Accuracy is not necessarily a criterion in such choices, for one might gain precision in one respect (e.g., for a single word or form) only at the cost of accuracy elsewhere (e.g., in the sentence). Homer's epic poems provide a famous example of the problem: Does one render them in English dactylic hexameter, in looser verse, or even in prose to better convey the sense? One simply needs to make choices.

In our case, the course was suggested by the constraints of the commentary. If we were preparing a stand-alone translation for independent reading, we might have made other choices. And certainly if Josephus had been an Athenian poet,

other considerations might have weighed more heavily. But Greek was his second or third language. His narratives are not great literature, and they vary in quality considerably from one part to another. Since the commentary bases itself upon his particular Greek words and phrases, it seemed necessary in this case that we produce a translation to reflect the patterns of the Greek as closely as possible. We can perhaps tolerate somewhat less clarity in the translation itself, where the Greek is ambiguous, because we intend it to be read with the commentary.

We happily confess our admiration for the Loeb translation, which has been the standard for some time, begun by Henry St. John Thackeray in the 1920s and completed by our colleague on the Brill Project (responsible for *Ant.* 1-4) Louis H. Feldman in 1965. For us to undertake a new translation implies no criticism of the Loeb in its context. The older sections of it are somewhat dated now but it still reads well, often brilliantly.

The chief problem with the Loeb for our purpose is only that it does not suit the needs of the commentator. Like most translations, it makes idiomatic English the highest virtue. It renders terms that Josephus frequently uses by different English equivalents for variety's sake; it often injects explanatory items to enhance the narrative flow; it collapses two or more Greek clauses into a single English clause; it alters the parts of speech with considerable freedom; and it tends to homogenize Josephus' changing style to a single, elevated English level. Since we have undertaken to annotate words and phrases, however, we have required a different sort of foundation. Our goal has been to render individual Greek words with as much consistency as the context will allow, to preserve the parts of speech, letting adjectives be adjectives and participles be participles, to preserve phrases and clauses intact, and thus to reflect something of the particular stylistic level and tone of each section.

Needless to say, even a determined literalness must yield to the ultimate commandment of basic readability in English. Cases in which we have relinquished any effort to represent the Greek precisely include Josephus' preference for serial aorist-participle clauses. Given the frequency of complicated sentences in Josephus, as among most of his contemporaries, we have dealt quite freely with such clauses. We have often broken a series

into separate sentences and also varied the translation of the form, thus: "After X had done Y," "When [or Once] X had occurred," and so on. Again, although in a very few cases Josephus' "historical present" may find a passable parallel in colloquial English, we have generally substituted a past tense. Thus we have not pursued literalness at all costs, but have sought it where it seemed feasible.

In the case of Josephus' personal names, we have used the familiar English equivalent where it is close to his Greek form. Where his version differs significantly from the one familiar to Western readers, or where he varies his form within the same narrative, we have represented his Greek spelling in Roman characters. That is because his unusual forms may be of interest to some readers. In such cases we have supplied the familiar English equivalent in square brackets within the text or in a footnote. Similarly, we keep Josephus' units of measurement and titles, giving modern equivalents in the notes.

We do not pretend that this effort at literalness is always more accurate than an ostensibly freer rendering, since translation is such a complex phenomenon. Further, we have not always been able to realize our aims. Ultimately, the reader who cares deeply about the Greek text will want to study Greek. But we have endeavored to provide a translation that permits us to discuss what is happening in the Greek with all of its problems.

The commentary aims at a balance between what one might, for convenience, call historical and literary issues. "Literary" here would include matters most pertinent to the interpretation of the text itself. "Historical" would cover matters related to the hypothetical reconstruction of a reality outside the text. For example: How Josephus presented the causes of the war against Rome is a literary problem, whereas recovering the actual causes of the war is the task of historical reconstruction. Or, understanding Josephus' Essenes is a matter for the interpreter, whereas reconstructing the real Essenes and their possible relationship to Qumran is for the historian—perhaps the same person, but wearing a different hat. These are not hermetically sealed operations, of course, but some such classification helps us to remain aware of the various interests of our readers.

To assist the reader who is interested in recovering some sense of what Josephus might

have expected his first audience to understand, we have tried to observe some ways in which each part of his narrative relates to the whole. We point out apparently charged words and phrases in the narratives, which may also occur in such significant contexts as the prologues, speeches, and editorial asides. We look for parallels in some of the famous texts of the time, whether philosophical, historical, or dramatic, and whether Greco-Roman, Jewish, or Christian. We observe set pieces (*topoi*) and other rhetorical effects. Even apparently mundane but habitual features of Josephus' language and style are noted. Where puzzling language appears, we discuss possible explanations: rhetorical artifice, multiple editions, unassimilated vestiges of sources, the influence of a literary collaborator, and manuscript corruption.

A basic literary problem is the content of the text itself. Although we decided against preparing a new Greek edition as part of the project, we have paid close attention to textual problems in translation and commentary. The translation renders, essentially, Benedictus Niese's *editio maior*, since it remains the standard complete text with apparatus. But we have tried to take note of both the significant variants in Niese's own critical apparatus and other modern reconstructions where they are available. These include: the Loeb Greek text, the Michel-Bauernfeind edition of the *Judean War*, the current Münster project directed by Folker Siegert for Josephus's later works, and the ongoing French project led by Étienne Nodet. Niese's reconstructed text in the *editio maior* is famously conservative, and we have felt no particular loyalty to it where these others have proposed better readings.

Under the "historical" rubric fall a variety of subcategories. Most important perhaps are the impressive archaeological finds of recent decades in places mentioned by Josephus: building sites, coins, pottery, implements, inscriptions, and other items of material culture. Reading his stories of Masada or Herodium or Gamala is greatly enriched by observation of these newly identified sites, while in return, his narrative throws light on the history of those places. The commentary attempts to include systematic reference to the relevant archaeology. Other major historical categories include the problems of Josephus' own biography, his social context in Rome, and the historical reconstruction of persons, places, events, and social conditions mentioned by him. These issues can

only be explored by reference to outside texts and physical evidence. Alongside questions of interpretation, therefore, we routinely discuss such problems as they appear in particular passages.

In preparing a commentary on such a vast corpus, it is a challenge to achieve proportion. Some stretches of narrative naturally call for more comment than others, and yet the aesthetics of publication requires a measure of balance. We have attempted to maintain both flexibility and a broad consistency by aiming at a ratio between 4:1 and 8:1 of commentary to primary text. This commitment to a degree of symmetry (cf. *Ant.* 1.7!) has required us to avoid too-lengthy discussion of famous passages, such as those on Jesus or the Essenes, while giving due attention to easily neglected sections.

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

Thus uniformity is not among our goals. Committees do not create good translations or commentaries. We have striven rather for an appropriate balance between overall coherence and individual scholarly insight—the animating principle of humanistic scholarship. The simple Greek word *Ioudaios* affords an example of the diversity among us. Scholars in general differ as to whether the English "Judean" or "Jew" comes closest to what an ancient Greek or Roman heard

in this word, and our team members reflect that difference. Some of us have opted for “Judean” as a standard; some use both terms, depending upon the immediate context; and others use “Jew” almost exclusively. For the modern translator, as for Josephus himself, any particular phrase is part of an integrated world of discourse; to coerce agreement on any such point would violate that world. We hope that our readers will benefit from the range of expertise and perspective represented in these volumes.

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

Second, we are grateful to the editorial staff at Brill for initiating this project and seeing it through so professionally. Elisabeth Erdman, Elisabeth Venekamp, Job Lisman, and Sam Bruinsma have proven extremely flexible and supportive as the project has evolved into something much larger than originally anticipated. They have raised even our enthusiasm with their energetic attention.

In addition to expressing the group’s thanks to these fine representatives of a distinguished publishing house—not least in Josephan studies—I wish to record my personal gratitude to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for its generous funding through a research grant (1998-2001), and to the Faculty of Arts at York University for a research-leave fellowship (1999-2000) to facilitate my involvement with the project.

Steve Mason, York University
General Editor, Brill Josephus Project

INTRODUCTION TO THE *LIFE* OF JOSEPHUS

But if I should fail to win you over . . . , I shall perhaps be forced to do what some have frequently found fault with—namely, write about myself—notwithstanding the example of many distinguished men. But as you well know, there are drawbacks in this kind of composition: if there is something to be praised, authors are obliged to write about themselves with a certain reserve; if something is deserving of censure, they must pass over it. Besides which, it is less convincing, less impressive. . . .

(Cicero, *Fam.* 5.12.8; 56 BCE)

But in our fathers' times, just as it was easy, and there was more scope, to do deeds worth recording, so also there was inducement then to the most distinguished men of ability to publish such records of virtue. Partisanship or self-seeking was not the motive: a good conscience was its own reward; indeed, many men even counted it not presumption, but self-respect, to narrate their own lives. A Rutilius, a Scaurus, could do so without being disbelieved or provoking a sneer

(Tacitus, *Agr.* 1.2-3; ca. 97 CE; LCL trans. M. Hutton, R.M. Ogilvie)

Notwithstanding many partial precursors—memorial inscriptions of Oriental kings, Isocrates' speech (*Antidosis*) in pretended judicial defense, Plato's seventh epistle—, it was in the last century of the Roman republic that autobiographical memoirs came into their own. The Publius Rutilius Rufus (ca. 158-77 BCE) and Marcus Aemilius Scaurus (ca. 162-89 BCE) referred to by Tacitus appear to have been among the first to write accounts of their lives; yet their efforts were seldom read, and were lost within a generation (cf. Cicero, *Brut.* 29.110-30.116; 35.132). Cicero was fairly bursting to find a talented writer to tell his story, for which purpose he prepared ample material (*Att.* 1.19; 2.1; *Fam.* 5.12). Other writers, however, quietly began to attach autobiographical appendices to their poetry and prose, and public figures tried to shape their legacies by recalling their admirable careers (Misch 1950:1.177-338).

It is one of history's paradoxes that, out of all those skilled efforts, the fullest surviving example of Roman autobiography before Augustine should have been penned in Greek by that most peculiar of Roman citizens—albeit a world-class survivor himself: Flavius Josephus. In the fashion of the day, Josephus appended his autobiographical statement to his twenty-volume major work, the *Judean Antiquities*.

Josephus' *Life* has acquired an importance out of all proportion to its literary merits. Greek was his second or third language and, worse, he seems to have rattled off this personal history in great haste. His disturbing carelessness makes the question of his purpose that much more intriguing. Yet readers' interest in the *Life*, as in the rest of Josephus' compositions, has rarely depended upon scholarly judgments about its purpose. The autobiography has attracted attention because it appears to promise access to the personality of this controversial figure and, above all, because it offers unique sketches of moments in first-century Galilee—in the very hills walked by Jesus of Nazareth a generation before Josephus, by the founders of rabbinic Judaism a generation after.

In this essay, I try to provide the reader with a context (or set of contexts) for approaching Josephus' *Life* and with an orientation to the problems and possibilities noted by scholars who have studied this work. After a preliminary look at some basic literary questions (relation to the *Antiquities*, date, audience, content and structure), a review of the scholarship will help to isolate the issues needing attention. I shall try to bring all of this to bear in a new way on the central question of the book's purpose.

I. *Relationship to the Antiquities, Date, and Audience*

Of first importance for understanding the content of the *Life*, as well as its audience and date, is an assessment of its relationship to the twenty-volume *Antiquities*. Although scholars routinely acknowledge that the autobiography was written as an appendix to the *magnum opus*, they often neglect to explain the significance of this connection.

At the conclusion of his *Antiquities*, a task that had unnerved him at first (*Ant.* 1.8), Josephus allows himself a certain swagger over his achievement. In the midst of this boasting he introduces the supplementary autobiography. Since the *Life* itself lacks any prologue, even though Josephus elsewhere shows himself sensitive to the rhetorical need for such introductions (*War* 1.1-30; *Ant.* 1.1-26; *Apion* 1.1-5), we should probably treat these remarks as a surrogate prologue.

Ant. 20.262 Encouraged by the completion of what I had projected, I would now say plainly that no other person who had wished to do so, whether a Judean or a foreigner, would have been able to produce this work so precisely for Greek speakers. **263** For among my compatriots I am admitted to have an education in our country's customs that far surpasses theirs. And once I had consolidated my knowledge of Greek grammar, I worked very hard also to share in the learning of Greek letters and poetry, though my traditional habit has frustrated precision with respect to pronunciation. **264** Among us: they do not favor those who have mastered the accent of many nations and made their speech frilly with elegance of diction, because they consider such a pursuit to be common—not only among those who happen to be free, but even among domestic slaves who desire it. Rather, they acknowledge wisdom only among those who clearly understand the legal system and who are able to bring out the force of the sacred literature. **265** So, although many have worked hard at this discipline, barely two or maybe three have succeeded, and they have soon reaped the benefits of their labors.

266 Perhaps it will not be a provocation to jealousy, or strike ordinary folk as gauche, if I review briefly both my own ancestry (γένος) and the events of my life (τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πράξεων) while there are still those living who can offer refutation or corroboration. **267** With these matters I shall conclude (ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ καταπαύσω) the *Antiquities*, comprising twenty volumes and 60,000 lines, and should the deity permit I shall again make mention (ὑπομνήσω), cursorily, of both the war and what has happened to us until the present day, which belongs to the thirteenth year of the rule of Domitian Caesar and, in my case, the fifty-sixth year from birth.

Thus, Josephus' achievement as the historian of Judea leads him to celebrate his status as one of only two or three (!) who have mastered the national traditions. That celebration, in turn, spawns a desire to recount his ancestry and life-story as a fitting conclusion to his master-work—at the necessary risk of creating or exacerbating envy in others. If Josephus is not quite as bold as Isocrates, who wanted “to show the truth about myself, to make those who are ignorant about me know the sort of man I am and those who are afflicted with envy suffer a still more painful attack of this malady” (*Antid.* 13), we nevertheless find in his remarks that robust sense of self that was common among ancient writers. A Roman senator of very meager accomplishments memorialized himself with an inscription in Corinth, about 102 BCE, which concluded:

He who is upright praises, he who is not is envious;
let them envy, provided they see how seemly the deed.
(*ILLRP* 342; *ap.* Wiseman 1985: 6)

Without further introduction, the *Life* opens by fulfilling the envy-inducing promise of the surrogate prologue in *Ant.* 20: it describes Josephus' brilliant ancestry (§§ 1-6) and then proceeds to the outstanding events of his most virtuous life. Although scholars have seized upon the glaring lack of proportion, since most of the book (§§ 17-406) is devoted to a few months in Josephus' Galilean career (see below), Josephus assures readers that the volume has covered “the events of my whole life” (§ 430).

Indeed, there are many other direct correspondences between the prospectus at the end of the *Antiquities* and the concluding paragraphs of the *Life* (Barish 1978). Just as

Josephus dates the master-work to the thirteenth year of the emperor Domitian (93-94 CE), so he concludes the *Life* with reference to the benefits granted him by Domitian and the emperor's wife Domitia (§ 429). Just as the *Antiquities* contains an elaborate dedication to Josephus' patron Epaphroditus (1.8-9), so the *Life* closes with a further address to this man (§ 430). Most striking is Josephus' final sentence in the *Life* (§ 430): "Having repaid you, Epaphroditus most excellent of men, the entire record of the *Antiquities* up to the present, I conclude (καταπαύω) the narrative here." Lacking any title of its own, then, the *Life* is fully a part of the *Antiquities*, which continues "up to the present"—another phrase recalling *Ant.* 20.267. As if to drive the point home, Josephus uses here the very same verb (καταπαύω) as in *Ant.* 20.267: there it was in the future tense ("I shall conclude"), anticipating the *Life*; now it is in the present ("I conclude"). So the *Life* is programmatically introduced in, and engendered by, the *Antiquities*.

That the *Life* was also read as an integral part of the *Antiquities* is confirmed by the evidence of those who used and copied Josephus' texts in later centuries. Most impressive is the statement of the church father Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 3.10.8-11) in the early fourth century, who cites a passage from the *Life* (§§ 361-64) but identifies it as part of what Josephus "adds at the end of the *Antiquities*." Eusebius, who used Josephus' works extensively, evidently did not know the *Life* as a separate book. It was perhaps a token of the general disregard for autobiographies that only the *Life* did not benefit from the translation of Josephus' works into Latin in the fifth and sixth centuries. Nevertheless, four of the five principal Greek manuscripts (i.e., except R, which contains only the *War* and *Life*) include it together with the later volumes of the *Antiquities*. Manuscript A appends a notice after *Life* 430 to the effect that this marks the "end of Josephus' *Judean Antiquities*."

There are also more subtle connections between the end of the *Antiquities* and the *Life*. For example, Henry St. John Thackeray (1929:18-9) observed that the same inferior Greek style adopted by Josephus in *Ant.* 20—in sharp contrast to both the complex Thucydidean locutions of *Ant.* 17-19 and the polished prose of the later *Against Apion*—continues without interruption through the *Life*. In addition to the examples offered by Thackeray, *Ant.* 20 and the *Life* share expressions otherwise unattested in Josephus, such as: "the children of Asamoneus" (*Life* 2; *Ant.* 20.190, 347), "minor and incidental charge" (*Life* 13; *Ant.* 20.215), "run the risk that his action would come to trial" (*Life* 90; *Ant.* 20.47), "instigators of sedition" (*Life* 170, 340; *Ant.* 20.4, 127, 174), and "fraternize" (*Life* 242; *Ant.* 20.164-65). Further, Josephus appears to assume the audience's knowledge of matters that he has just discussed in *Ant.* 20: the emperor Nero and his wife Poppea (*Life* 16; *Ant.* 20.195), the Roman governor Felix (*Life* 13; *Ant.* 20.173-78), Agrippa II and his sister Berenice (*Life* 48; *Ant.* 20.145-46), the special status of Tiberias (*Life* 38; *Ant.* 20.159) and other territories (*Ant.* 20.138), priests and Levites (*Life* 43; *Ant.* 20.216-18), and much else.

Given the nearly complete loss of autobiographical writing from the early Roman period, even by such luminaries as Sulla, Augustus, and Agrippina the Younger, it may be that Josephus' *Life* owes its survival in large measure to this very close connection with his *magnum opus*.

Date

If we had only this internal evidence, we would confidently date the *Life* to the period immediately following the *Antiquities*, which Josephus places in the year 93-94 (*Ant.* 20.267).¹ Especially in view of its careless and unimaginative style, we would probably

¹ The standard date of 93-94 for the *Antiquities* assumes that Josephus calculates either by Greek/Jewish

assume that the *Life* followed *Ant.* 20 quickly, certainly before Domitian's assassination on September 18, 96. Josephus' language in *Life* 429, where he describes the unbroken chain of honors bestowed upon him by the imperial family, ends with Domitian. On the one hand, it is difficult to imagine how he could have failed to mention a subsequent ruler's benefactions if he was writing after Domitian's time. On the other hand, since the memory of the tyrannical Domitian was damned after his murder—with the energetic destruction of his monuments and images (cf. Pliny, *Paneg.* 52.4-5; Suetonius, *Dom.* 22; Cassius Dio 68.1.1)—it seems unthinkable that, if Josephus was writing after the tyrant's death, he would have closed with such an innocent tribute.

Although this internal evidence decisively links the *Antiquities* and *Life* together in the years 93 and 94 (perhaps 95), complications arise from the *Life*'s incidental reference to the death of Agrippa II. Josephus chides Iustus (Justus) of Tiberias for not having published his work when Agrippa was still alive (*Life* 359), although he had allegedly written it up much earlier (§ 360). It is not simply that Agrippa had died by the time that the *Life* was composed, then, but enough time had lapsed between the king's death and the *Life* for Iustus to have published his work *and* for Josephus to have responded. So when did Agrippa II die? A notice in the eclectic library of the ninth-century Patriarch Photius of Constantinople (*Bibliotheca* 33) puts his death and the completion of Iustus' narrative (Vincent 1911:379 n. 4; Barish 1978:71-2) in the third year of Trajan, thus in 100 CE. Yet if a date of 100 were correct for Agrippa's death, the *Life* would have to be shunted to at least 101 CE, which would force an eight-year gap between the *Antiquities* and the *Life*, making the close connections of theme and style hard to explain.

Scholars have responded to this problem in several ways. The most common solution, since at least Benedictus Niese (1896:226-27), has been to insist upon the *Antiquities*-*Life* bond against Photius, assuming that the Patriarch somehow made a mistake (Frankfort 1961; Rajak 1973:361; Cohen 1979:170-80; Smallwood 1981:572-74; Schürer-Vermes 1.481-82). Scholars have supported this conclusion by arguing that the later books of the *Antiquities* already presuppose the death of Agrippa (Luther 1910:55-8). Stories about his father's youthful indiscretions (*Ant.* 18.145-54) or about his own rumored incest with his sister, his sacrilegious activities in Jerusalem, and his preferred treatment for idolatrous

years, beginning in the spring or possibly autumn (cf. *Ant.* 1.81) or, more likely, by twelve-month intervals from one imperial anniversary (*dies imperii*) to the next. Since the first year of Domitian's rule was from September 14, 81 to September 13, 82, the "thirteenth year of Domitian" would be September 93 to September 94 on this reckoning. Josephus was born in Gaius' first year (March 18, 37 to March 17, 38), and so his fifty-sixth year of life would fall somewhere in the range from March 92 and March 94 (i.e., a birth in March 38 would extend his fifty-sixth year to March 94). The overlap between these two schemes produces the period from September 93 to March 94; hence the standard date. In my introduction to the *Antiquities* in this series (*BJP* 3. xvii), I proposed that a Roman audience might have understood such language ("the Nth year of the emperor") according to common civic/consular years in Rome, which began on January 1. In that case, the year of Gaius' accession would be 37, of Domitian's 81. Domitian's thirteenth year would be simply 93 CE and Josephus' fifty-sixth year would end on his fifty-sixth birthday in 93. I based this proposal on the pronounced annalistic tendency of Roman history (e.g., Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.55; 2.1; 3.31, who often uses the phrase "in the same year" in reference to these consular years: *Ann.* 1.53, 54, 72; 2.41; 3.20). Consider also the inscription from Auranitis dated to the "16th year of Domitian," which technically lasted only 5 days (Sept. 14-18, 96 CE): Suetonius (*Dom.* 17.3) claims that he died in his 15th year. The inscription (Dunand 1934: 49 no. 75) presumably counts civic years, where 81 was the first and 96 the 16th. On balance, however, I now concede that imperial years were well enough known that when historians in Rome, such as Josephus, spoke of an emperor's Nth year, they were trying to count more precisely from the date of accession. Thus, when Tacitus counts 23 years of Tiberius' reign (*Dial.* 17.2-3), he must be reckoning from his accession in August of 14 rather than counting inclusive years. The same holds when authors count precise years and months of a ruler's tenure (Suetonius, *Tib.* 73; *Gaius* 59). Josephus has the same tendency (*Ant.* 18.32, 224; 201), and so he seems to be thinking of imperial years—if we assume consistency in this matter.

foreigners (*Ant.* 20.143-46, 189-96, 211-18) could only have been written after Agrippa's death. And *Ant.* 17.28 indicates that "the Romans have succeeded [the Herodian dynasty] in the rule" of at least one significant region of Agrippa's territories: Batanea on the border of Trachonitis. Although these clues are not as decisive as the plain statement in *Life* 359, they might suggest that Agrippa had already died before the completion of the *Antiquities* in 93-94.

The strongest evidence comes at *Ant.* 18.128, where Josephus observes that "within a hundred years (ἐντὸς ἑκατὸν ἐτῶν) of Herod [the Great]'s departure, his descendants—and they were many—had perished, except for a few." Josephus is commenting moralistically on the decline of the law-breaker Herod's once-powerful dynasty. Given that 93 to 94 CE, the presumed period in which Josephus wrote this part of the *Antiquities*, would already mark between ninety-six and ninety-eight years from Herod's death in 4 BCE, it would make sense for him to use the phrase "*within* a hundred years" if the Herodian dynasty was effectively finished by his time of writing. Conversely, it would be hard to understand his moral lesson if the most famous descendant of Herod, the very successful Agrippa II,² was still ruling in 93-94 (*contra* Kokkinos 1998:396).

Another body of evidence comes from the coins and inscriptions that survive from Agrippa's reign. This is a complicated issue because the coins date themselves according to the years of his rule, and the king employed two different starting points for that calculation: the years corresponding roughly to 56 and 61 CE. Indeed, two of his coins and one inscription juxtapose two dates, one according to each of these eras. Since the latest Agrippan coins bear the inscription "Year 35 of King Agrippa," they must have been produced in either 90 or 95. Obviously, the latter is impossible if he died in 93.

The problem is that the coins in question belong to the Flavian series, bearing images of the imperial family, and Agrippa's Flavian coins otherwise appear to date from 61 (Meshorer 1982:2.65-73). This is indicated by the alignment of Agrippa's regnal years on some coins with Domitian's consulships (his twelfth consulship, in 86 CE, is identified with the twenty-sixth year of Agrippa) and with his assumption of the title "Germanicus" in 84 CE (= "Year 24" on the coins). If Agrippa was dead by 93, plainly, the Flavian coins from years 34 and 35 would need to be dated according to the era beginning in 56, and thus to the period 89-90 CE. To accommodate these latest coins with the earlier date for Agrippa's death suggested by other evidence would, therefore, require that the king's Flavian coins were inconsistently dated. But given the other errors and inconsistencies in his coinage (cf. Luther 1910:64-5; Meshorer 1982:2.71), this hypothesis does not seem entirely unreasonable (Seyrig 1964; Schürer-Vermes 1.480 n. 43; Smallwood 1981:573-74). Indeed, if the Year 34 and 35 coins were minted in 94-95 CE—counting from 61 for the sake of consistency—and if Agrippa lived to 100 as Photius indicates, it would be curious that no coins exist from his final years (Luther 1910:65).

As for the inscriptions from Agrippa's reign: the latest one that bears a clear date (*IGR* 3.1127), discovered in Batanea within royal territory, gives the years 32 and 37—thus 92-93 CE, counting from 61 and 56 respectively. Two other inscriptions from the nearby territories of Auranitis and Trachonitis, dated to 96 and 97 by their exclusive references to the emperors Domitian and Nerva, imply that Agrippa's rule, there at least, has now ended (Schürer-Vermes 1.482 n. 47.7). These all suit the hypothesis that Agrippa was dead before the completion of the *Antiquities* in 93-94. Iustus' account might have appeared as Josephus was completing the *Antiquities*, and the *Life* would have followed soon afterward.

Two other inscriptions give one pause, however. One of these, from Auranitis (Seyrig 1965:31-4), commemorates a soldier who "served King Agrippa as centurion for eighteen

² See Cassius Dio 65.15.3-5 and the bitter complaint of Juvenal, *Sat.* 6.158.

years, and Trajan as general for ten.” The natural presumption is that this soldier passed directly from Agrippa’s service to Trajan’s, for a total service of twenty-eight consecutive years. But that would require Agrippa to have lived until 98, when Trajan came to power (Kokkinos 1998:397). That is not a necessary interpretation, however. Auranitis is precisely the area where another inscription (above) has Agrippa removed before 96 (Schürer-Vermes 1.483 n. 47) and we do not know enough about auxiliary careers to exclude a hiatus. Second, an inscribed lead weight from Tiberias (*SEG* 38.1647) appears to some witnesses to date itself to “Year 43 of the Great Lord King Agrippa” (ΛΜΓ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ), which would be the year 98, even counting from 56 CE (Kokkinos 1998:397-98). But the weight has now been sold privately, precluding further analysis, and other experts who have examined the photograph suggest that the Greek letters representing “43” (ΜΓ) might also read “33” (ΛΓ).³

A final consideration raised by many of those who have supported the joint publication of *Antiquities-Life* in 93-94 concerns the identity of Josephus’ honoree in this unified composition: Epaphroditus (*Ant.* 1.8-9; *Life* 430). If we assume that this man was otherwise known in Roman society of the 90s, there are two candidates. The freedman Marcus Mettius Epaphroditus (*Suda* s.v.; d. 96-8), was a teacher of grammar and former tutor to the son of the Egyptian prefect Marcus Mettius Modestus. He was a literary critic specializing in Homer, Hesiod, and Callimachus. Upon his return to Rome and manumission, he amassed a large library and was recognized with a statue (*CIL* 6.9454). Many scholars favor him for the role of Josephus’ patron (Laqueur 1920:23-30; Thackeray 1929:53; Rajak 1983:223; S. Schwartz 1990:16-7; Sterling 1992:239-40 n. 66; Feldman BJP 3.5 n. 9). Others (Niese 1896:226-27; Luther 1910:61-3; Nodet 1990:4 n. 1; S. Mason 1998b:98-101) prefer Nero’s former secretary for petitions (*a libellis*), who helped expose the Pisonian conspiracy and then assisted in the emperor’s suicide (Suetonius, *Nero* 49; Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.55; Cassius Dio 63.29). Former master of the philosopher Epictetus (*Diatr.* 1.1.20, 19.19-20, 26.11-12), this Epaphroditus later appeared in Domitian’s court, where he was executed as a warning to other courtiers who might wish to assist an emperor in dying (d. 95/6; Suetonius, *Dom.* 14-5; Cassius Dio 67.14.4). His career seems better suited to the language of Josephus’ description in *Ant.* 1.8-9: “he himself has been associated with great events and diverse vicissitudes.”

If Josephus published the *Antiquities* and *Life* in 93 and 94, there would still—just—be time for him to have dedicated his last work, the *Against Apion* (1.1; 2.296), to either of these Epaphrodituses, by 95 or 96. If the *Apion* was written later, however, their candidacies would be in jeopardy. And it must be admitted that Epaphroditus was a fairly common name (cf., in the NT, Phil 2:25; 4:18), even an honorific nick-name (Plutarch, *Sulla* 34). Since we cannot identify Josephus’ patron with high probability, his identity does not furnish compelling evidence for dating the *Life*.

As to how Photius could have been so mistaken in dating Agrippa’s death to the third year of Trajan, if indeed the king had died in the eleventh or twelfth year of Domitian (91-92 CE): most critics feel no particular need to explain, given that the Patriarch was writing nearly 800 years after the event. There was plenty of time for him or his sources to have become confused. Although he appears to have read some of Iustus at first hand, it is not certain that his connection of the completion of Iustus’ book with Agrippa’s death in 100 is taken from Iustus. His critique of Iustus shows the influence of Josephus, and other writers had also affected his views. In particular, Photius learned much from the church father Jerome (ca. 347-420 CE), and Jerome’s *Lives of Illustrious Men* had dated Clement of Rome’s death to “the third year of Trajan”—immediately after his brief entry on Iustus of Tiberias (Schürer-Vermes 1.481-82 n. 47). If Photius read Jerome’s entries in

³ So a private communication from Dr. Alla Kushnir-Stein of Tel Aviv University, May 4, 2000.

order, it is plausible, though unprovable, that he conflated these two data.

Thus, the general trend in modern scholarship has been to privilege the bond between the *Antiquities* and *Life*, which is undeniable in the texts themselves and confirmed by much of the material evidence. This position is maintained in spite of Photius' date for Agrippa's death and some admittedly inconvenient items among the material remains, which are however not yet conclusive.

Not everyone has been comfortable with the outright dismissal of Photius' evidence for Agrippa's death, especially given its support in the coins of Year 34 and 35 if they are dated from 61. The original Schürer had simply divorced the *Life* from the *Antiquities* on this evidence, keeping the major work at 93-94 and shifting the autobiography after 100 (Schürer 1898-1901:1.77, 87-8). A more durable solution, in light of the strong evidence for the *Antiquities-Life* connection, was proposed by Richard Laqueur (1920:1-6), who argued that the *Antiquities* must have been published in two editions, the first in 93-94, without the *Life*, and the second after 100, with the *Life* attached. Scholars holding this view usually read *Ant.* 20.259-66 and 20.267-68 as two separate and somewhat awkwardly juxtaposed conclusions. They argued that the earlier one in the present text (20.259-66) was added for the second edition, to introduce the *Life* (e.g., Thackeray 1929:16-9; Gelzer 1952:67-90; cf. Kokkinos 1998:396).

This is not the place to resolve all of the attendant issues, which would involve us in detailed analysis of passages. Multiple revisions of documents are to be expected in the ancient publishing context, but they should not be invoked arbitrarily. A careful reading of *Ant.* 20.259-67 (Barish 1978) makes it unlikely, for example, that two different endings of the book are represented by 20.259-66 and 20.267-68. What does seem inescapable is that Josephus wrote the *Life* as an author's supplement to the *Antiquities*, maintaining the rough style he had adopted in *Ant.* 20. He intended the *Life* to be read as a natural partner to, and outgrowth of, the *Antiquities*. Whether one or both of these texts underwent revisions remains an open question.

Audience

Another consequence of this *Antiquities-Life* bond is that the audience of the one was the audience of the other. In my introductory essay for the *Antiquities* (BJP 3.xvii-xx), I argued that Josephus wrote his major work chiefly for non-Judeans who were keenly interested in his national traditions. He offered them a primer in Judean history and culture. That is what the *Antiquities*, as whole, represents. (The work as a whole cannot be explained as a defensive-apologetical, pro-rabbinic/Pharisaic, anti-Christian, or other similarly narrow appeal.)

The evidence for a Roman gentile audience may be briefly recalled. Josephus explicitly claims to write for a Greek audience (*Ant.* 1.5; 20.262); as in the *War* (1.3, 6, 16), these Greeks are also at Rome. The conditions of ancient book publication generally required that the author have a local constituency, which in Josephus' case seems to have gathered around Epaphroditus (*Ant.* 1.8-9), who may have provided reading venues and other assistance. Josephus' awareness of his non-Judean audience emerges in his effort to impart what seems to be new information about Judean history, even about the creation of the world, in dialogue with other nations' religious and philosophical traditions (*Ant.* 1.21-3; 10.277). This awareness also leads him to explain the most basic Judean customs with a marked sensitivity to the non-Judean reader (e.g., *Ant.* 1.33, 128-29; 3.317; 14.3; 17.254). His history takes the form of serial biography, which was favored by Roman historians as a vehicle for moral-rhetorical assessment. And his overriding "constitutional" theme intersects at conspicuous points with the concerns of educated, upper-class Romans, most obviously in *Ant.* 18-19 but implicitly throughout the work. He writes as a proud aristocrat.

crat, expecting some appreciation for the senatorial, non-monarchical style of government that he advocates. He also charts the plight of legitimate rulers in each generation who must deal with power-hungry demagogues and their pandering to the fickle masses.

As important as determining the nature of the audience is the recovery of Josephus' tone toward them. All signs indicate that the relationship between Josephus and his audience was one of eager mutual interest. This is evidenced first by the very fact that he wrote twenty (-one) sometimes tedious volumes for their reading pleasure. When Josephus describes Epaphroditus, at least, he presents him as constantly urging him to produce this work, in spite of Josephus' hesitancy at the scope of the challenge (*Ant.* 1.8-9). Josephus likens himself to the high priest Eleazar, who, reflecting his nation's "magnanimity" with its laws, had graciously obliged King Ptolemy II's request (third century BCE) for a translation of Judean law into Greek. In spite of the occasional defensive note (e.g., *Ant.* 14.186-88; 16.174-75), the vast bulk of the history is told in confident, celebratory tones. Writing it is a matter of generously sharing, not hoarding, the Judean nation's "good things" (*Ant.* 1.11). Thus, Josephus' primary readers are gentiles in Rome who desire from him a complete handbook of Judean history and culture.

Now, the *Life* offers just the same kinds of clues about its expected audience. Josephus assumes throughout their sympathy with the plight of the aristocratic public figure, using every tactic he knows to keep the fickle masses under his care quiescent. He does this out of genuine patronal concern for their welfare (§§ 77-84, 210-12), while fending off the relentless appeals of envious rivals, who seek power for themselves by manipulating the populace (§§ 40-2, 70).

Here too, from the opening sentences—continuing the style of *Ant.* 20.263-65—Josephus presents his culture over against that of his public: "among us" and "our nation" (§§ 1-2). He needs to explain to his readers who the Hasmoneans were (§ 2). Although he naturally assumes that his audience has heard of Jerusalem, he finds it helpful to emphasize that this is the greatest Judean city (§ 7). To help his readers, he offers a (probably feeble) comparison of Pharisees with Stoics (§ 12), reminds them that he has described the Judean schools elsewhere (§ 10), and in general presents his education (§§ 10-12) in familiar Greco-Roman terms. There is no in-house Judean vocabulary here. Admittedly, a gentile audience might have been uncertain about the meaning of the priestly "day-course" to which Josephus belonged (§ 2), but even here he explains that it was an "enormous distinction," which is all one really needs to know. Given the many arithmetical problems in his genealogy and the apparent implication that his mother connected him with the Hasmonean priesthood (see the commentary), one might easily infer that he does not expect readers with much knowledge of things Judean, who could be critical of his logical leaps.

In the body of the work, Josephus continues to assume the posture of a Judean explaining his national customs to outsiders. He repeatedly mentions that his people consider it impious to rob or fight compatriots (§§ 26, 128, 171, 321, 376). He pauses to clarify that the laws forbid the representation of animal forms (§ 65), that he was due tithes as a priest (§ 80), and that Judean custom ("law") requires one to prepare for the sabbath from the sixth hour of the preceding day (§ 279). He continues to assume the audience's ignorance of Judean-Galilean geography. To be sure, his account makes better sense with such knowledge, since it is set in Galilee, but he takes the trouble to explain the necessary points to his readers. He notes that Dora is a city of Phoenicia (§ 31), gives approximate distances between the main sites he visits, and most impressively, explains the relationship between Galilee, Samaria, and Jerusalem (§ 269).

So much for what the audience does not know. What they do seem to know is also telling. As the commentary shows, Josephus offers an autobiography that has many parallels with the social prejudices of Cicero, the military exploits and virtues of Caesar, and

the “stratagems” of his Roman contemporary Frontinus. His readers are quite familiar with the names and characters of Nero and Poppea (§§ 13-6), Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, and Domitia (§§ 407-29). He frequently uses standard Greek parallels for Latin terms, e.g.: *imperium*, *imperator*, *praefectus*, *commentarii*, *vir egregius*, *vulgus*, *latro*, *sententia*.⁴ Though writing in Greek, he even takes the opportunity to launch a characteristic attack on “the Greek sort of education”—a rhetorical training that allows its practitioner to manipulate the masses (§§ 40-2). This disparagement of Greek culture, accompanied by general borrowing from Greece, is widely paralleled in early Roman literature.⁵

These examples of what his Roman audience knew raise the question whether Josephus intends irony in the *Life*. Irony exists where author and audience know something that is not explicit in the text, but which the text calls forth from their shared understanding. For example, one wonders whether Josephus tells his story of gaining access to Nero’s notorious wife Poppea through one of the emperor’s infamous actor-friends (§§ 13-6) in part as a humorous story, relying upon the audience’s prior knowledge of Nero’s foibles.

We may conclude thus far by confirming what seemed antecedently probable: that Josephus writes the *Life* for the same audience that the *Antiquities* expected. His readers are, in the first instance, non-Judeans living in Rome who are fascinated by Judean culture, and interested enough in Josephus to stay aboard for this rough excursion through his career.

II. *Structure and Narrative Devices*

Although the *Life* includes details from Josephus’ youth through to the recent past, as he claims (§ 430), it focuses almost entirely (§§ 28-413) on the five or six months from his commission in the Galilee to the period before the siege of Iotapata (Yodfat), thus apparently from about December 66 to mid-May 67 (e.g., Levick 1999:40-1). Nikos Kokkinos (1998:387-95) has recently proposed that Josephus went to Galilee in December 65, which would allow seventeen or eighteen months for the events reported in the *Life*. I cannot review Kokkinos’ arguments in detail here.⁶ His point that Josephus’ activities as described in the *Life* would require more than five months, though apparently supported by §§ 81-2, 187-88, is perhaps not as strong as it seems (see the commentary to those passages). There is less activity in the *Life* than meets the eye. I continue to assume the standard dating without ruling out the possibility raised by Kokkinos.

In spite of its literary and historical shortcomings, the *Life* signals clearly enough its major narrative turning points. I shall propose that overlaid on the straightforward dramatic structure lies a concentric pattern typical of Josephus’ works.

Dramatic Structure

In its briefest outline, the dramatic structure of the *Life* looks like this:

1. Ancestry, Education, and Juvenile Honors (1-12a)
2. Public Life (12b-413)
3. Domestic Affairs (414-30)

The major turning points are clearly marked. First, after his period of intensive training

⁴ See, in turn, §§ 5, 342, 33, 342, 29, 31, 21, 22.

⁵ See the commentary to §§ 40-2.

⁶ For detailed interaction with Kokkinos’ other arguments—from correlated dates, the length of the siege at Gamala (*War* 4.4, 19), Nero’s dates in Achaea, the appearance of Halley’s comet, and the coins of the revolt—see Joseph Sievers’ review, forthcoming in *JSJ* (2001). I am grateful to Professor Sievers for allowing me to see the review ahead of publication. For Kokkinos’ use of numismatic evidence in his redating of the revolt, see Kushnir-Stein 1999:196-98.

and toughening in the desert with the teacher Bannus, Josephus returns to the city (πόλις) and begins to take part in civic or public life (πολιτεύεσθαι: § 12). Since the immediate sequel has him embarking on a diplomatic mission to Rome (§ 13), followed directly by his high-level diplomacy and military command/governorship of Galilee (§§ 17-413), we may be sure that “engaging in public life” is the meaning of the Greek verb, which can have other senses in different contexts (see commentary *ad loc.*). The transition from the desert to the city is abrupt. Near the end of the story (§§ 412-13), with similar clarity, he concludes his military and political career in the war period with a summary statement, referring the reader to the *Judean War* for details, and turning to details of his personal life (marriages, children, social relationships) that the earlier work had not covered (§§ 414-30).

Within the main body of the narrative, it is easy to identify the principal building blocks, which likewise have discrete markers: his mission and first successful efforts to prepare the region for war, in spite of challenges and conflicts (§§ 17-188), the delegation sent from Jerusalem to remove him (§§ 189-335), the sharply demarcated digression on Iustus of Tiberias (§§ 336-67), and the sequel for both the successful Josephus and his unfortunate opponents (§§ 368-413). In turn, most of these blocks lend themselves readily to further subdivision, thus:

1. Ancestry, Education, and Juvenile Honors (1-12)
 - Ancestry (1-6)
 - Education (7-12a)
2. Public Life (12b-413)
 - A. Beginnings of Public Life (12b-29)
 - Qualification for public life: embassy to Rome (13-6)
 - Basis of mission to Galilee (17-29)
 - B. Basic Fulfillment of Mission; Personal Opposition (30-188)
 - Survey of Galilean situation (30-63)
 - Confidence-building measures with the populace, fortifications, resistance to Josephus’ command, and revolt in various regions (64-188); Opposition led by Ioannes (John) of Gischala
 - C. The Delegation Sent to Replace Josephus (189-335)
 - The delegation’s basis and mandate (189-203)
 - Josephus’ quandary and dream (204-212)
 - First negotiations with the delegates (213-41)
 - Confrontation at Gabara (242-65)
 - Josephus’ counter-embassy to Jerusalem (266-70)
 - Confrontation at Tiberias (271-304)
 - Josephus confounds, captures, and expels the delegation (305-35)
 - D. The Unhappy Sequel for Josephus’ Opponents; His Successes (336-413)
 - Digression: Iustus of Tiberias, lying historian (336-67)
 - Ioannes of Gischala neutralized (368-72)
 - Sephoris humiliated (373-80)
 - Tiberias threatened (381-89)
 - Iustus of Tiberias, frustrated, flees (390-93)
 - Sephoris narrowly escapes as Romans arrive (394-97)
 - Royal troops held in check by Josephus’ army (398-406)
 - Philip son of Iacimus [virtuous] rescued from unjust punishment (407-9)
 - Iustus of Tiberias condemned by Vespasian (410)
 - Summary remarks (411-13)

3. Domestic Life (414-29)

In Alexandria and the Jerusalem area (414-22)

In Rome (423-29)

Epilogue (430)

It is worth noticing, and significant for determining the book's purpose, that Josephus faces vigorous opposition at every stage. Moreover, the opposition keeps evolving. In the first section of the Galilean narrative, it is Ioannes (John) of Gischala. In the second section, this personal rivalry yields to that of the official—though illegitimate—delegation led by Ionathes (Jonathan), which was arranged by Ioannes of Gischala. In the post-delegation section (from § 336), Iustus of Tiberias, a minor character in the preceding narrative, features most prominently. It is a crucial question, as we shall see, whether Josephus writes to refute one of these opponents in particular (Iustus) or whether his narrative structure reflects a more basic need to have some kind of opponents at every stage, to throw his claimed virtues into sharper relief.

Another device that Josephus uses to move the narrative along, besides his dramatic struggles with adversaries, is his practice of beginning a story and bringing it to a critical point, then leaving it for resolution later in the narrative. This technique operates at both micro- and macro-levels. Some of the more impressive examples involve: Philip son of Iacimus, whose life-threatening plight is introduced at §§ 46-61, though King Agrippa will not learn whether he is dead or alive until §§ 179-81, and the rumor about him created by Varus is only resolved at the end of the story (§§ 407-9); the goods plundered from Antipas' palace, which Josephus hands over to Capella's group for safe keeping, though we do not learn what has become of them until §§ 295-96; and the refugee dignitaries from King Agrippa's territory, whom Josephus defends at §§ 112-13, but whose fate is disclosed only in §§ 149-53.

Observing this technique leads naturally to the question whether Josephus builds concentric structures—matching panels revolving around a middle field—into the *Life*. Admittedly, searching for such structures, and related *chiasmus*, affects many scholars in much the same way as the search for hidden codes in the Bible: the discovered patterns often appear arbitrary. Yet in ancient Near Eastern, Greek, and Roman literature the technique of “ring composition,” whether on a small or large scale, was common enough (Whitman 1965 [Homer]; Myres 1953: 89-117; Wood 1972; Beck 1971 [Herodotus]; Duckworth 1962; Conte 1994: 266 [Virgil]; Welch 1981 [Mesopotamian literature and Bible]). We may not simply discount evidence if we find it.

As it happens, this arrangement is especially clear in the *Antiquities*, where the end of volume 10 marks the half-way point, the thematic center (proving God's watchful care for humanity; cf. 1.14, 20), and the end of the first temple. Around this fulcrum, volumes 1 and 20 both deal with conversions in Mesopotamia. The Judean constitution spelled out in volumes 3 and 4 contrasts with the Roman constitutional crisis of volumes 18 and 19. King Saul in volume 6 parallels King Herod in the middle volumes of the second half. The admirable King David in volume 7 matches John Hyrcanus in volume 13; and so on. See the outline below.

Now, if we pursue the same sort of structure in the *Life*, an appendix to the *Antiquities*, we find remarkable parallels. As in the *Antiquities*, they are not precise, but they seem compelling nonetheless.

Let us begin with the extremities. *Life* 1-12 and 414-30 both concern Josephus' family and personal relationships. His brother (§§ 8, 419) and children (§§ 5, 426-27), for example, appear only in these sections. Priesthood and temple come to the fore in both places (§§ 1-2, 418-19). Josephus mentions his anonymous accusers in both (§§ 6, 416-17, 424). If we extend the opening section to §§ 1-29, then both opening and closing take

Prologue (1.1-26)**PART I: First Temple (*Ant.* 1-10)****A. The Lawgiver's Establishment of the Constitution (1-4)**

Antecedents: Creation to the deaths of Isaac and Rebecca; Abraham the first convert (vol. 1)—in Mesopotamia
Antecedents: Jacob and Esau to the Exodus (vol. 2)

The Judean constitution: summary of priestly laws (vol. 3)

Forty years in desert, rebellion to the death of Moses; summary of the law as constitution (vol. 4)

B. First Phase: senate, kings, and high priests of Eli's descent (5-8)

Conquest of Canaan under Joshua (vol. 5)

Conflicts with Philistines under Samuel and Saul (vol. 6)

Zenith of the first monarchy: the reign of David (vol. 7)

The reign of Solomon and division of the kingdom (vol. 8)

C. Second Phase: decline through corruption of the constitution (9-10)

Problems with neighbors to the fall of the Northern Kingdom (vol. 9)

CENTRAL PANEL: Fall of the first Temple; the priest-prophet Jeremiah and prophet Daniel assert the Judean God's control of affairs and predict the Roman era. Decisive proof of the Judean code's effectiveness.

PART II: Second Temple (*Ant.* 11-20)**A. Re-establishment of the aristocracy through the glorious Hasmonean house; its decline (11-13)**

Return of Jews under Cyrus to Alexander the Great (vol. 11)

Successful interaction with the Ptolemaic world from the death of Alexander;
translation of the LXX; Tobiad story; the Hasmonean revolt (vol. 12)

Zenith of the Hasmonean dynasty with John Hyrcanus; monarchy and decline to the
death of Alexandra (vol. 13)

B. Monarchy writ large: Herod (14-17)

The end of the Hasmoneans; Roman intervention in Judea; Herod's rise to power;
benefits to the Judeans (vol. 14)

Herod's conquest of Jerusalem; building projects and dedication of Temple (vol. 15)

Herod at the peak of his power; his domestic conflicts (vol. 16)

The end of Herod's life; his son Archelaus (vol. 17)

C. World-wide effectiveness of the Judean constitution (18-20)

Judea becomes a province; Judeans in Rome; Roman rule to Agrippa I; Herod's descendants; Gaius' plan fails
and he is punished; Asinaeus and Anilaus in Babylonia (vol. 18);

Detailed description of Gaius' punishment; promotion of Claudius; career of Agrippa I; the Roman
constitutional crisis; Judeans in Alexandria (vol. 19)

From the death of Agrippa I to the eve of the revolt; the conversion of Adiabene's royal house in Mesopotamia;
causes of the revolt; concluding remarks (vol. 20)

Epilogue (20.259-68)

place in Jerusalem and Rome, whereas the intervening body of the work is set in Galilee. The only two occurrences of the phrase “render an account” (ὑπέχω λόγον) occur in the opening story of Josephus' political life (§§ 13-6) and in the last segment of that narrative (§§ 408-9). In both cases, Nero is the one to whom the account must be rendered, by persons whom Josephus favors. The adjective “last” or “ultimate” (ἔσχατος) appears only at §§ 18 and 409.

The noun “provision” (or “forethought, thoughtful care”: πρόνοια) is a thematic term in the *Life* as in the *Antiquities*. But normally in the *Life* it concerns Josephus' provision for the Galilee. Only twice—in bookend fashion—does it have a divine subject, referring to God's watchful care over Josephus. He is providentially rescued from the sea at § 15, and from his accusers at § 425. Josephus also speaks of the personal dangers he faced (with κινδυνεύω) at the beginning and end (§§ 14, 416), as occasionally elsewhere.

In the opening story of Josephus' political career (§§ 13-6), Josephus goes to Rome in behalf of his priestly colleagues, but never actually sees Nero. Instead, he receives the

requested benefit (εὐεργεσία) from the emperor's wife, Poppea (§ 16). This is remarkable in part because, although the noun "benefit" occurs in one other place (§ 60), the corresponding verb (εὐεργετέω) occurs only at the end of the narrative (§ 429), and in connection with the benefits of *another* emperor's wife: Domitia Longina. It is conspicuous that Josephus should deal with emperors' wives and their favors toward him at the beginning and end of his narrative.

At both the opening and close of the central story (§§ 27, 412), and only in those places, Josephus explicitly refers the audience to the *Judean War* for a precise account.

Josephus devotes two digressions to his literary adversary Iustus of Tiberias: near the beginning (§§ 36-42) and near the end (§§ 336-67) of the book. The first digression is informal and unannounced, but may count as a digression because it is noticeably disproportionate in his crisp summary of factions at Tiberias. The latter is a formal, announced digression. In Iustus' case, there are also secondary panels, so to speak, completing the story near the end of the book. Iustus' final actions in the revolt are described at §§ 390-93, 410. Josephus' language in the earlier and later Iustus passages has numerous thematic and verbal parallels: bent on "revolutionary activities" (§§ 36, 391: νεωτέρων πραγμάτων); Iustus' alleged bid to manufacture power for himself, to become Galilean general (§§ 36, 391-93); the Tiberians "proceed toward weapons" (ἐφ' ὅπλα χωρῆσαι) because of Iustus (a phrase occurring only at §§ 31, 391); Iustus' alleged conflict with King Agrippa II (§§ 39, 355-56); sarcasm concerning Iustus' education and literary talent (§§ 40, 336, 340); Iustus has written up an account "of these things" (§ 40: τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν πραγμάτων τούτων ἀναγράφειν; § 336: τὴν περὶ τούτων πραγματείαν γεγραφότα); and Iustus' attack on villages belonging to the Decapolis cities (§§ 42, 431-42; cf. 410).

Josephus' chief rival in the narrative, Ioannes of Gischala, is introduced at §§ 43-5, in a more or less favorable way, then at §§ 70-6, where he has turned rebel leader and begun to engage in mischievous opposition. His final bits of mischief come at §§ 315-16, where he advises that two of the Jerusalem delegates should go back to accuse Josephus, who has become alarmingly successful, in Jerusalem. Josephus leaves him outwitted and cowed, in his native Gischala (§ 372).

When Josephus first approaches Tiberias in the narrative, he establishes himself at a village "four stadia from Tiberias" called Bethmaus (§ 64). For his last major conflict with Tiberias, he again sets himself up at a village four stadia from Tiberias (§ 322).

Early on in the Galilean narrative, after he has surveyed the political situation, Josephus writes to Jerusalem for confirmation of his mandate (§§ 62-3). Near the end of his Galilean campaign, he writes again and receives confirmation of his mandate (§ 309; cf. 266-68).

An important episode in the early narrative involves the plundering and burning of Herod Antipas' palace in Tiberias, after which Josephus entrusts the plundered furnishings to Capella's group (§§ 64-9). The incident is recalled near the end of the narrative, when Josephus is interrogated—as a stalling tactic, convenient for the narrative—in Tiberias as to the whereabouts of the plunder, and Capella's group acknowledge their possession of it (§ 296).

Josephus offers moralistic summaries of his virtuous command at § 80 and at § 259, in both cases noting that he left women unmolested (ἀνύβριστος).

As Shaye Cohen (1979:81-2) has noted—with an entirely different conclusion, since he does not discuss this concentric structure—the *Life* includes two lengthy and strikingly similar accounts of a Tiberian revolt from Josephus' leadership: at §§ 85-103 and 271-308 (or -335, a continuation of the same struggle). These lengthy episodes are roughly one quarter and three quarters of the way through the narrative, thus serving as pillars of the concentric pattern. The first begins (§ 85) with Ioannes' arrival in Tiberias for "the care of the body," ostensibly, at the nearby springs (ἡ τοῦ σώματος θεραπεία). The only

other occurrence of this phrase comes at the end of the second revolt, when Josephus turns to the same diversion (§ 329). Both revolts depend upon Ioannes of Gischala (§§ 85-7, 292, 304). In both, Josephus is warned by one Silas, concerning whom he claims to have spoken earlier—even at the first occurrence (§§ 89, 272)! There are only two references to a stadium (in the sense of a place rather than as a measure) in the *Life*, one in the first Tiberian revolt (§ 92) and one in the second (§ 331). In both stories, Josephus addresses the people of Tiberias (§§ 93-4, 297) and then flees Tiberias by boat, via a secret passage to the lake, retreating to Tarichea (§§ 96, 304). Only twice does Josephus use the verb “select” (ἐπιλέγω) in the *Life*: both times it refers to choosing armed soldiers in Tiberias, once in each account (§§ 95, 321). At the conclusion of both stories, Josephus emphasizes that he had to dissuade the enraged Gaileans from attacking Ioannes (§§ 97-100, 305-8; cf. 368-89), who had retired to Gischala (§§ 101, 308).

A comparison with *War* 2.614-25, significantly, shows that the *Life* has divided among two or three distinct episodes what the *War* had presented as a single complex of events in Tiberias. The first part of *War*’s story (2.614-19) provides a fairly close match to the first Tiberian revolt in the *Life* (§§ 85-103). But in the conclusion of that story, Josephus deals with Ioannes’ threat by gathering the names of his followers and threatening their families and property if they would not yield to him (*War* 2.624-25). This produces thousands of defections from Ioannes and leads directly to the delegation episode (*War* 2.626): deprived of his following, Ioannes turns to Jerusalem for support against Josephus. The parallel story in the *Life*, concerning the rounding up of Ioannes’ followers, occurs only near the end (§§ 369-72), *after* the delegation from Jerusalem has come and failed, and long after the first Tiberian revolt (§§ 85-103). Here Josephus could not have dispensed with Ioannes’ followers as early as *Life* 103, after the first Tiberian revolt, because he has much more to say about this character in the *Life*. This bifurcation of a single conflict suggests that Josephus has deliberately created a concentric pattern.

The clearest test of the proposed concentric pattern must lie in the central panel itself. If we search around the middle section of the *Life*’s 430 paragraphs for a fulcrum, we find in §§ 208-9 the divine revelation to Josephus, in a dream, that keeps him in Galilee in spite of his desire to return to Jerusalem after the delegation has been sent. This is the only such revelation in the *Life*:

208 During that night I observed a wonderful sort of dream. For when I retired to bed, sorrowful and disturbed because of what had been written, **209** a certain one standing over me appeared to say: “Look, you who are hurting: calm your mind! Let go of all fear! For the matters about which you are now sorrowful will produce greatness and the highest fortune in every respect. You will set right not only these matters, but many others as well. Do not exhaust yourself, but remember that you must also make war against the Romans.”

It can hardly be a coincidence that this revelatory dream is so similar to the one at the end of *War* 3 (3.350-54), in which God prevents Josephus from taking his own life on the ground that he still has a grand mission remaining in his future. Since Josephus has a great investment in his ability to interpret revelatory dreams, this episode in the *Life* must be significant indeed.

The decisive proof that this panel serves as a fulcrum for the book lies in the paragraphs immediately preceding (§§ 204-7) and following (§§ 210-11) the dream. They are somewhat repetitive, both dealing with Josephus’ intention to leave Galilee (even after the revelation) and the hysterical reaction of the Galilean populace to this news. These paragraphs also use four key terms in chiasmic construction, that is: they occur in one order in the preceding section and in reverse order in the section following the dream. Working out from the center, the terms are: “women and children” (§§ 207, 210); “they were beg-

ging” (ἰκετεῖται, ἰκέτευον; §§ 206, 210); “leave them in the lurch” (ἐγκαταλιπεῖν; §§ 205, 210); and “their territory” (τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν; §§ 205, 210).

The conclusion seems unavoidable that Josephus has built into the *Life*, as the *Antiquities*, a concentric pattern. Admittedly, the matching pairs are not always in perfect sequence. Still, it is hard to deny that he has tried to enhance the symmetry of both compositions in this way.

III. *Survey of Scholarship and Issues*

When critical scholars of the late nineteenth century first considered the occasion and purpose of Josephus’ *Life*, they determined that Josephus wrote it because Iustus (Justus) of Tiberias had attacked him and his *Judean War* in a rival history of the period. Iustus’ work no longer exists, but it is mentioned by Josephus (*Life* 40-2, 336-67), by a number of church fathers dependent upon Josephus, and by the much later Patriarch of Constantinople mentioned above, Photius (ca. 820-900+ CE), who seems to have been among the last to know Josephus’ and Iustus’ works independently (*Bibl.* 33). Iustus was well educated in Greek language and culture (*Life* 40) and reputedly boasted that his account of the revolt was the more reliable (§ 359). Josephus felt compelled to respond, according to the theory, and so published his defensive autobiography as a supplement to his *Antiquities*. Over time, critics have refined this analysis, to account for the problems it creates. Nevertheless, it remains the starting point in almost all research. Some recent work suggests a new direction, however, which I shall develop after a consideration of Josephus’ literary context.

The basic hypothesis was sponsored by Emil Schürer (1890) and Benedictus Niese (1896:227), two late nineteenth-century giants in the field. It was worked out in detail by Niese’s student Heinrich Luther in a 1910 dissertation, and again by Hans Drexler (1921:293-312) and Abraham Schalit (1933:67-95). The hypothesis was followed in its essential features by, among others, Gustav Hölscher (1916:1994), Richard Laqueur (1920:78, 83), Henry St. John Thackeray (1929:16-7), Matthias Gelzer (1952:89), R. J. H. Shutt (1961:6), the earlier Tessa Rajak (1973), David A. Barish (1978:64), an earlier Steve Mason (1991:316-24), and Uriel Rappaport (Parente/Sievers 1994:280-82).

Although the historic support for this theory might suggest that it was self-evident, the scholars who developed it by no means thought that they were stating the obvious. Josephus does not say that Iustus’ account was his catalyst; he does not even confront Iustus until he is nearly finished his story, in a digression (*Life* 336). Rather, scholars thought that they had made a breakthrough by uncovering through ingenious detective work the ulterior motive that would best explain the peculiar features of the *Life*. These features were considered to be: the truncated scope of what claims to be an account of Josephus’ whole life (§ 430)—focusing, however, on the five or six months (December 66 to May 67) of his Galilean campaign before Iotapata (*Life* 30-406); what seemed to be irreconcilable contradictions within the *Life* between Josephus’ claims to peaceful intent and his violent, rebellious activities and statements; and the many new details or contradictions vis-à-vis the parallel material of *War* 2. All three phenomena seemed best explained as Josephus’ responses and concessions to his critic.

Concretely, the explanation works as follows. Josephus introduces Iustus early and at some length (*Life* 36-42). In that passage, he mentions Iustus’ competing account of the war, blames the Tiberian and his brother for most of the problems in Galilee, and promises to elaborate upon this “as the story unfolds” (§ 41). Not much later, Josephus’ chief opponent in Galilee, Ioannes of Gischala, wins over Iustus as his ally (§§ 87-8). One might hypothesize, therefore, that whenever Josephus attacks Ioannes and his associates, which

he does often, he is tacitly attacking Iustus' account, which would have told Ioannes' side of the story (Drexler 1925:304). When Josephus finally opens his formal digression on Iustus (§§ 336-67), and notes that Iustus' work concerned "these things" (i.e., the events of the foregoing narrative), we should understand that he has been implicitly responding to Iustus all along.

Scholars usually try to reconstruct Iustus' charges against Josephus by examining the digression first of all. In that digression (§§ 340, 350), Josephus mentions Iustus' accusation that he and the Galileans were responsible for Tiberias' revolt from King Agrippa II and Rome. Extrapolating from this charge, critics propose that in other passages where Josephus denies having been a tyrant (§§ 260, 302) or raises the specter of having betrayed his country (§§ 129, 132, 140), he is also responding to Iustus. Iustus' general charge was that, in spite of Josephus' claims in the *War* that he and the other aristocrats opposed the revolt, he was himself the chief rebel in the region (Luther 1910:7). Given that Iustus appears to have been a highly educated and well-placed writer, his (reconstructed) account seemed to many scholars more credible than Josephus'. So this discovery that the *Life* was Josephus' desperate response to him offered scholars a basis for reconstructing the historical Josephus, whose many protestations of peaceful intent now seemed like a whitewashing of his true rebel past after the fact.

Having established that Josephus wrote to refute Iustus, one was then free to read the entire *Life* as if in a mirror, reconstructing Iustus' other charges from what Josephus affirms and denies. For example, he now admits that he was ordered by the Jerusalem assembly to tear down the animal images in the palace of Herod Antipas, a rebellious action not mentioned in the *War*. He now concedes that at first he had good relations with the notorious rebel Ioannes of Gischala (§§ 43-4, 86), who had appeared as a complete knave in the *War*. He even allows that Ioannes was an old and close acquaintance of the eminent Jerusalem leader Simon son of Gamaliel (§§ 189-91). Iustus must have reported on Josephus' two priestly companions, sent with him to govern Galilee (§ 29), whom Josephus had conveniently neglected in *War*'s account of his appointment as general. Iustus must also have reported that the belligerent Josephus attacked neighboring Syrian cities (§ 81), that he authorized the building of Gischala's walls from the sale of stolen imperial grain (§§ 72-3), and even that he was a rapist—since Josephus insists that he left every woman unmolested (§ 80). Luther concludes that Iustus must have given Domitian a very bad impression of Josephus (Luther 1910:82), and that the emperor might even have executed him; we do not know how or when Josephus died.

Although the standard hypothesis might appear to make sense in general terms, a number of considerations undermine its persuasive power. First come the structural issues. Inasmuch as this reading provides an entirely new motive for the *Life*, it makes the relationship between that work and the *Antiquities* merely coincidental: they were published together only because they were completed at about the same time (so Luther 1910:7). Such a coincidence would not, however, do justice to the more organic connections we have observed above. Indeed, this hypothesis makes the actual shape of the *Life* a puzzle. For if Josephus had intended the work as a response to scurrilous attacks, we should have expected him (following his usual practice, e.g., *War* 1.1-30; *Ant.* 1.1-26; *Apion* 1.1-5) to say so in an introduction. That introduction, however, comes only in the late digression: "I want to go through a few points against Iustus" (*Life* 336). By contrast, the introduction that Josephus supplies for the entire *Life*, in *Ant.* 20.262-67, does not mention Iustus. Further, the standard hypothesis in most iterations (e.g., Schürer-Vermes 1.54; Rajak 1973:354) is forced to dismiss as mere window-dressing—added to create the illusion of a full life story—what Josephus himself signals as *crucial*: his ancestry (*Life* 1-12; cf. *Ant.* 20.266).

Josephus' historical situation in relation to Iustus poses equally difficult problems.

Above all: Why should Josephus, in Rome of the 90s, be concerned about a charge that he had instigated revolt in Galilee of the late 60s? His reputation as a historian of the war already rested upon the fact that he was a captured enemy general (*War* 1.3). Although he implies throughout the *War* that he had opposed the revolt, he makes no secret of his activities as a (brilliant and resourceful) general fighting against Rome. He had also been imprisoned by Vespasian for two years as a captured enemy, then released into Flavian patronage. So where is the threat to his reputation in the 90s? When scholars try to explain this point, they tend to become opaque (Shutt 1961:6):

Josephus was made out to be a traitor, a tyrant, and the cause of the outbreak of the war. Such a work needed refuting immediately, in view of the potential danger to Josephus' literary fame; moreover, in Domitian's principate, literary men were not very popular and had to be above suspicion.

This is difficult to match with the text or with probable conditions under Domitian. If Josephus had been a tyrant over—or a traitor to—the Judeans, why should the Romans have cared, especially if the Romans in question were the sympathetic audience who had read his *War* and stayed with him through the twenty volumes of the *Antiquities*? And how could Iustus have plausibly charged him as *both* a chief instigator of the war against Rome *and* a betrayer of the Judeans to Rome? Further, while it may be true that Domitian was suspicious of Roman “literary men,” it is hard to see how Josephus could have placed himself “above suspicion” by denying what was obviously true: that he had played a leading role in the Judean revolt.

Then there are specific problems of interpretation and rhetorical intent. I give three examples. First, when Josephus reports his claim to the Tiberians that he had been sent by the Jerusalem assembly to demolish the furnishings from Antipas' palace that contained animal forms (§ 65), scholars generally take this at face value, as a clue to his “rebel” aims. They do not observe that the preceding narrative contains no mention of such a command from the Jerusalem assembly, that this directive would be out of keeping with the spirit of what has gone before, and most importantly that Josephus prefaces this encounter with the phrase “I started saying that. . . .” I submit that he relates this incident deliberately (not as a concession to Iustus), to demonstrate his resourcefulness in cleverly winning over the mob by appealing to *their* sentiments (cf. §§ 22, 141-42). He invented this command. Note his uncomfortable dilemma when another faction pre-empts him (§§ 66-9). Second, whereas scholars generally assume that Josephus mentions the charges of tyranny (above) because he was compelled to do so by Iustus' account, it seems to me more likely that, knowing these to be stock charges against political figures, *he crafts them* for his opponents, just as he crafts plausible speeches even for opponents in the *War*, to create a plausible narrative. Similarly, third, tracing Josephus' insistence that he did not violate women (§ 80) to a charge made by Iustus ignores the context: Josephus himself raises the prospect of his “illicit yearnings” and boasts that he [sc. unlike any other military commander] was able to keep them in check. This appears to be positive boasting, against the general expectations of a young man with his power, not apologetic.

A final and fatal problem is that, in any case, the *Life* does not live up to the task of responding to Iustus. If the Tiberian had made accusations that placed Josephus in some jeopardy, and if this was Josephus' response, then he was in deep trouble. Rather than taking up contentious points from the *War* and arguing them closely, in the style of the *Apion*, he shows here a cavalier disregard for facts. This carelessness begins with his ancestry (§§ 1-6) and continues unabated. To make matters worse, the *Life* is filled with apparently gratuitous contradictions of the *War*. It seems rather that Josephus expects the same trusting audience that he had for the *Antiquities*, who are prepared to accept what he says without careful investigation. He shows no awareness of being subject to a criticism that truly threatens him.

Some of these concerns were addressed by Richard Laqueur in his intricate reconstruction of Josephus' life (1920). Laqueur's general aim was to overturn the source-critical extremism then current in classical studies by offering a new paradigm for understanding inconsistencies in Josephus and other authors: they are not the result of mindless source-copying but rather of ordinary human ("biographical") development. The first part of his book examined Josephus' different accounts of his own career in the *War* and *Life*, which had to be explained on the basis of personal growth and not sources (pp. 1-127); the second part applied this result to the relationship between *War* and *Ant.* 14. In both cases, it is a question of Josephus' own "coloring" according to his changing perspectives, not of new sources.

Laqueur's analysis of the *Life* began with the premise that this work must have served some pressing need, which could not be found in Josephus' Roman career long after the war. Iustus' detailed exposé of his Galilean activities would have been no threat in the 90s (Laqueur 1920:122). Laqueur reasoned, therefore, that the kernel of the *Life* must have been composed when Josephus' conduct *was* still a burning issue—namely: while he was still in Galilee in 67 CE. Rather than responding to Iustus' much later criticisms, this early report must have responded to complaints made by the Galileans under his control, led by his rival Ioannes of Gischala, to the Jerusalem authorities (Laqueur 1920:121). This Greek-language administrative report (*Rechenschaftsbericht*) began with what is now *Life* 28 and is still discernible in many other passages of the book. It is this base that gives our present *Life* its peculiar content: the original report had nothing to do with Iustus; the digression against Iustus and the other references to him were added in for the final edition of the *Life*, which appeared with a second edition of the *Antiquities*.

Having discovered this early source for the *Life*, as he thought, Laqueur concluded that a reconstruction of it would provide the best evidence for the historical Josephus. Through a detailed comparison of the *Life* and the *War*, he developed the following account of Josephus' biography (Laqueur 1920:79, 247-78):

1. The young aristocrat Josephus, supportive of peaceful Roman rule, was initially sent with a priestly team to Galilee in order to disarm and pacify rebellious anti-Jerusalemite—not yet anti-Roman—factions of the population (*Life* 29). But soon after his arrival in Galilee, the other two members of the team left and Josephus, quickly sensing an opportunity for personal power, remained. He first struck a diplomatic deal with the Galilean "bandits" to leave the populace alone (*Life* 77-8), but then gradually came to identify with their outlook. Within the space of a few months, he transformed himself into a rebel leader (hence the charges at *Life* 260, 302), with a personal bodyguard of some 3000 bandits (Laqueur 1920:109; cf. *Life* 213). As an aristocrat turned tyrant, he was now in much the same position as Ioannes of Gischala, who had become his chief competitor (Laqueur 1920:108-9).

2. Many Galileans were distressed by Josephus' tyranny. Most obviously, the Tiberians' various appeals for rescue—first to Ioannes of Gischala (*Life* 87), then to King Agrippa II (*Life* 155, 158), then to the Jerusalem authorities (*Life* 283, 331)—show that they were more concerned with removing Josephus than they were with any political program (Laqueur 1920:117-18). The Galileans complained to Jerusalem.

3. In response to the Galilean complaints and the delegation sent from Jerusalem to remove him, Josephus wrote the self-justifying statement of affairs mentioned above for the Jerusalem authorities, in which he tried to show that he had effectively pacified the Galilee. He wrote this somewhat before the Romans had arrived on the scene, therefore early in 67. In the end, he was confirmed in his post, but mainly because he was impossible to dislodge with the bandits at his disposal. Soon after his confirmation, the internal Galilean-Jerusalem struggle that he had been sent to resolve developed into full-fledged war with Rome, and Josephus promptly surrendered at Iotapata. There his sympathies

changed yet again as he naturally saw his best chances in supporting Rome.

4. Josephus first reworked his Galilean administrative report after the conclusion of the revolt for his propagandistic Greek *War*, the first edition of which he completed between 75 and 79 CE. He wrote this, according to Laqueur, as an instrument of imperial foreign policy, to dissuade the Parthians and their would-be allies from any thought of challenging Rome. While adapting the Galilean account for this new purpose, he adjusted many details. He now presented himself as an appointed general from the start, thus falsely implicating the Jerusalem leadership in the original prosecution of the war in order to protect his reputation (i.e., he had merely been a faithful servant of his government). He also took every opportunity to honor his new patrons King Agrippa II and Titus, for example by positively revising his view of Agrippa's favored city Tiberias (Laqueur 1920:79-81, 117).

5. By the time he came to write the *Antiquities*, which was completed at the height of Domitian's terror in 93, Josephus had allegedly long since lost his imperial favor and, now under the patronage of Epaphroditus, was free to criticize both Agrippa II and the city of Tiberias. Laqueur understands Epaphroditus' interest in Josephus to have been mainly commercial: after the war, there must have been much curiosity among the Romans about these defeated Judeans and so Epaphroditus backed Josephus as his chief authority on things Judean. In the very Jewish *Antiquities*, therefore, Josephus was free to revert to his nationalistic instincts after the prodigality of his Rome-loving period. It was at this same time that Josephus inserted such anti-Agrippan passages as *War* 2.602-8, while preparing a second edition of that work. Laqueur notes Josephus' apparent intention at the end of the *Antiquities* (20.259) to write about the war (Laqueur 1920:78).

6. Since, however, the *Life* as we have it presupposes the death of Agrippa, and since Laqueur accepted Photius' dating of that event to 100 CE, the *Life* could not have appeared with the first edition of *Antiquities*. Laqueur found a solution to this problem in the apparent double ending of *Antiquities* (20.259, 267), which he again saw as evidence of a second edition. It was only with this revised *Antiquities*, written after 100 CE, that Josephus published the extant *Life*—itself now a third or fourth edition of the original Galilean report. To introduce the *Life*, Josephus splices in a second ending to the *Antiquities* (20.259-66), which now appears first—just before the date of 93 CE (*Ant.* 20.267)!

7. According to this scenario, Josephus wrote the new *Life* because of Iustus' challenge, just as the traditional view holds. The work of that more capable writer was no doubt appealing to Epaphroditus and his circle, Laqueur argued, and so it put Josephus' livelihood in peril. In his vulnerable new circumstances, he had to present himself as the most authentic representative of Jewish tradition. Therefore, he not only takes over his old Galilean defense but prefaces it with strong statements about his deeply Jewish pedigree and education, which culminate in a statement of allegiance to the Pharisees (*Life* 1-12). Josephus also laces the new work with responses to Iustus, most obviously adding the digression (*Life* 336-67).

A proper response to Laqueur's ingenious work would require a volume commensurate with his own, and many others have done the job (see the summary in Cohen 1979:18-21). Without debating here his interpretations of individual passages, which he exploits without the burden of context, we simply note that his study creates more problems than it solves. Although he deals effectively with the need for a stimulus for Josephus to write about his career, he does so only at the cost of his otherwise prized principle of Josephus' intelligence as an author. Thackeray and Schalit have shown that the *Life* as we have it is a stylistic and conceptual unity, and I would insist on the same point (see "Structure" above). Finally, the entire substructure of Laqueur's analysis—*War* as Roman propaganda, Photius' dating of Agrippa's death, a late *Antiquities-Life* expressing new commitment to Judaism, a radical change of patronage between *War* and *Antiquities*, *Antiquities*' "double

ending,” Josephus’ putative embarrassment over the *War*—is at the very least open to serious doubt.

Most of these problems apply also to Thackeray’s and Gelzer’s efforts to refine Laqueur’s hypothesis: Thackeray by making the Galilean account Aramaic (1929:18-9), Gelzer by making it a preliminary sketch (ὑπόμνημα) written for the Romans while Josephus was their prisoner in Judea (Gelzer 1952:88).

If Laqueur’s reasons and detailed proposals have not won the day in subsequent scholarship, his astute critique of the standard theory still requires a response. One must explain the role that Iustus plays in the work as a whole and why Josephus wrote.

The other landmark study of the *Life* in the twentieth century was Shaye Cohen’s (1979). Cohen’s ultimate aim was to reconstruct Josephus’ career in Galilee (Cohen 1979:1). He tried to do so by first critically examining *War* and *Life* with a view to explaining the relationship between them. His work is marked by the sound historical principle that one can only use literary sources for historical reconstruction when one has a firm grasp of their aims and tendencies.

After an exemplary history of scholarship, Cohen turns to *Ant.* 1-12, to examine Josephus’ use of sources where his (biblical) originals—more or less—can be checked. He concludes that Josephus followed contemporary taste in recasting the language of his sources while preserving essential content, and in preferring thematic to chronological arrangement, although Josephus is inconsistent on all fronts. With respect to the parallels between *War* 1-2 and *Ant.* 13-20, Cohen finds various kinds of relationship: in *Ant.* 13-14, abundant verbal agreement shows that Josephus revises *War*, while also consulting again *War*’s original sources in places; in *Ant.* 15-16, however, Josephus mainly reverts to the chronological source for his thematic portrait in *War* without using *War* directly; in *Ant.* 17 he uses both the original source and the *War*; in *Ant.* 18-20 he incorporates much “extraneous material” to fill out the twenty volumes (Cohen 1979:59), while still consulting both the *War* and its sources.

Having charted the ways in which Josephus typically uses other sources, which match his re-use of his own material (Cohen 1979:65), Cohen finds in the *War-Life* parallels much the same relationship as between *War* and *Ant.* 15-16: *Life* is not a revision of *War* but reverts directly to a chronological account that *War* had already modified for thematic reasons. Cohen’s decisive arguments are as follows. The *War* and the *Life* exhibit almost no verbal agreement, and this counts against borrowing. The *Life* has “no thematic order of any kind” (Cohen 1979:70) and its arrangement “makes no sense on any grounds” (Cohen 1979:74), whereas *War* clearly orders its material according to the themes, “Josephus the ideal general” and Josephus as victor over all domestic opposition (*stasis*; Cohen 1979:69-73, 91-100). The sequence of the *War* can be explained as a thematic revision of a *Life*-like chronology, whereas the chronology of the *Life* cannot be explained as a methodical revision of *War* (Cohen 1979:76). And one can understand much of *War*’s content (e.g., Josephus’ huge standing army and stereotypical picture of the villainous Ioannes) as enhancements of a *Life*-like narrative much more easily than the reverse—*Life*’s reworking of *War* to create a small brigand-army for Josephus and a softer portrait of Ioannes (Cohen 1979:78).

One must choose, Cohen concludes, between a theory that Josephus simply retold the story of *War* with great carelessness fifteen years later and one that has him artfully adapting a written account with the sequence of the *Life* for the *War* and then reverting to the original annalistic sequence in the *Life* itself (Cohen 1979:77). Preferring the latter option on the analogy of *Ant.* 15-16, Cohen supports the hypothesis of an early kernel to the *Life*, a ὑπόμνημα composed—in typical historiographical fashion—as rough notes for the *War*. It was recalled into service after Iustus’ provocation. In positing an early core of the *Life*, therefore, Cohen agrees with Laqueur, Thackeray, and Gelzer, among others.

Why, then, did Josephus rewrite this ὑπόμνημα to accompany the *Antiquities* between 93 and 95? Cohen begins with the important observation that by Roman standards the *Life* would qualify as genuine autobiography in spite of its lack of proportion. Its presentation of Josephus' deeds and character (ἦθος) would fit with other known biographies and autobiographies of the period—by Nicolaus, Plutarch, Suetonius, Tacitus (*Agricola*)—which similarly focused on some period of the subject's public career in order to display his character (Cohen 1979:101-9). But why now, in conjunction with the *Antiquities*?

In accord with the common view, Cohen sees Iustus' provocation as the decisive stimulus for the *Life* (Cohen 1979:126-28). But he deduces from the digression that Josephus' character, more than the *War* narrative, was the object of Iustus' attack, which was grounded in Josephus' behavior toward Iustus' home city of Tiberias. Cohen proposes further that after Agrippa's death in 92, when Tiberias was added to the province of Judea, the Tiberians would naturally have moved to plead for a restoration of their city's former (pre-Agrippa) status, on a par with their old rival Sepphoris. The chief obstacle to such recognition would have been Tiberias' role in the revolt, in contrast to Sepphoris' submission. Loyal son Iustus would then have had good reason to publish his history of the war at just this point, *not* because he had feared contradiction by Agrippa as Josephus claims (*Life* 359-60) but in order to explain away Tiberias' behavior by blaming the famous Josephus. *He* was the one who incited the peaceful citizens to revolt (Cohen 1979:137-40)!

Largely because of his vanity, Cohen proposes, Josephus felt compelled to respond to Iustus' charge (Cohen 1979:139-40). Though his behavior in Galilee would have had no interest for most Roman readers, it might well have been important to the newly influential Yavnean rabbis, whom Iustus may have been trying to court simultaneously in Tiberias' behalf. This (putative) competition for rabbinic attention might have provided the real stimulus for Josephus' response, though Cohen admits uncertainty as to Josephus' exact motive (Cohen 1979:239).

A major contribution of Cohen's study is his insistence that, although Iustus' challenge provided an occasion for Josephus' response, Josephus had many other fish to fry in the *Life*. After locating numerous passages in which the themes of Josephus' response to Iustus are visible, Cohen identifies five other themes which "may or may not be" responses to Iustus (Cohen 1979:144) and turn out not to be (169-70). These are: Josephus' pedigree; Josephus and the Pharisees; Josephus fought the Romans; Josephus was pro-Roman; and Philip son of Iacimus. Cohen can see no way to unite all of these "disparate elements" in the *Life* (Cohen 1979:169).

Of these five extraneous themes, the most important—because Cohen sees it as the main link between *Life* and *Antiquities*—concerns Josephus and the Pharisees. Cohen supports his argument that the Yavnean rabbis were one audience for the *Life* with the claim that *Antiquities* already presents a "nationalistic" and "religious-Pharisaic viewpoint" (Cohen 1979:148-51), emphasizing both the importance of Torah piety and the peerless influence of the Pharisees. Cohen then understands Josephus' alleged commitment to the Pharisees in *Life* 12 and alleged praise of Simon son of Gamaliel in *Life* 192—both implicit appeals to the Yavnean rabbis—as the explanation of the pro-Pharisaic bias of *Antiquities*. Flatly rejecting Photius' dating of Agrippa's death (contrast Laqueur), Cohen needs to find a plausible connection between the *Antiquities* of 93 and the *Life* that appeared shortly after it; he finds the connection in this religious-Pharisaic appeal.

Cohen's reconstruction of Josephus' Galilean career need not detain us. Suffice it to say that he does not simply prefer either *War* or *Life*, even critically, but poses historical questions and then tries to find plausible solutions that explain both accounts.

Of the more recent attempts to explain the *Life*, I shall mention three. Tessa Rajak's

1983 book and 1987 essay (in Feldman/Hata 1987) revise her earlier, more conventional view—that *Life* was “cast in the form of a reply to Iustus” (1973: 354)—by proposing that only the digression replies to Iustus. She now thinks that the rest of the *Life* addresses the concerns of the surviving Jewish aristocracy in the diaspora. They would have wanted to know whether the revolt was necessary in the first place and, if it was, whether the moderates could not have maintained control (1983:154). Thus, Josephus’ conspicuous preoccupation with the delegation sent to replace him (*Life* 189-335) is understandable: his detailed treatment allows him to confront the question of his leadership, to show why the revolt took the course that it did in spite of the moderates’ best efforts.

Per Bilde’s 1988 study of all facets of Josephus takes the opposite view. Bilde forcefully supports the proposals of Cohen and especially Rajak, that the response to Iustus is of strictly limited concern in the *Life* (Bilde 1988:108-9). Bilde’s novelty lies in his common-sense proposition that the *Life* should be read first and foremost in its literary context, which presents it as an autobiography aimed at demonstrating the unique credentials of the author (Bilde 1988:110-11). This is the point from which I shall depart below.

A 1994 article by Jerome Neyrey examines the *Life* against the background of the rhetorical encomium. After surveying the prescriptions for creating encomia in the *progymnasmata*—handbooks for grammar school students about to enter the highest level of rhetorical education (Neyrey 1994:178-88)—Neyrey argues that the *Life* contains “all and only” the ingredients of encomium (Neyrey 1994:205). Because the *Life* aims at praise and blame, and because it presents the features of encomium in the same order as the *progymnasmata* (genealogy, birth, education, virtues), it is not merely encomiastic; it is a formal encomium (Neyrey 1994:205). Neyrey’s article contains much insight. The chief problem is that it does not connect the *Life* with the *Antiquities* or indeed with Josephus’ life and circumstances in general.

The history of scholarship on the *Life*, then, is mainly the story of a struggle to determine the role that Iustus of Tiberias played in Josephus’ composition. After a review of some relevant contexts for reading the *Life*, I shall take up again the question of the book’s purpose.

IV. *Historical and Literary Contexts*

To isolate even a few contexts for reading the *Life*, if they should appear to exclude others, would be to skew one’s interpretation. Here is an encomiastic autobiography set in Judean Galilee, written in Greek, published in Rome, concerning Josephus’ mandate from Jerusalem twenty-five years earlier, and filled with rhetorical commonplaces. As with most ancient texts, potentially illuminating parallels are limitless. Still, without some kind of contextual orientation the modern reader is apt to apply inappropriate criteria or anachronistic assumptions to this text.

A formally balanced account of Josephus’ context would cover numerous social-historical and literary fields. Relevant social-historical contexts include, first, that provided by the local hereditary aristocracies in Rome and the Eastern Mediterranean, to which Josephus belonged (cf. Gleason in Potter/Mattingly 1999:67-84). Whether a state was constitutionally democratic, monarchical, or oligarchic, one expected to find at its head a social élite readily identifiable as the “nobility” or “leading men.” These men mainly inherited their wealth and prestige, even if they had to campaign for specific offices, and they alone enjoyed a full education. There was no significant middle class in ancient economies: the vast majority of the population had little education or material base, although the possibilities of social climbing varied with times and places.

Because of this basic social structure, Greco-Roman education was not profession- or

task-oriented, but person-centered (Brunt 1975; Saller 1982:27-30, 99-103; Mattern 1999:1-23). The ideal in Rome⁷ seems to have been the cultivation of morally excellent public figures, who normally came from prestigious families. Their personal character would allow them to govern effectively in any necessary role. Such men would typically serve a brief stint in the military, where they might even achieve some glory, and they would then progress through a series of magistracies, governorships, priesthoods, and other high civic responsibilities. Along the way, they would have occasion to hear many authors and speakers, and ample opportunity to practice their own rhetorical skills, which were the common currency of their class. In retirement they might themselves turn to composing memoirs, historical, or philosophical studies. These characteristics of Josephus' aristocratic world were the very ones that Plato had found fault with in oligarchies, which always generated two distinct communities that hated and mistrusted each other: the rich leaders and the poor masses. Among the leaders there could be no proper training or specialization for specific tasks, "each wanting to be farmer, money-maker, and soldier all in one" (*Resp.* 8.552A).

When, therefore, Josephus portrays himself as a precocious intellect and youthful devotee of philosophy, a priest serving in the temple, a wise statesman and governor, a judge, a champion swimmer and wrestler, an expert builder, a brave and resourceful general, and finally an industrious writer of history and autobiography, he is only embodying the aristocrat's role in the world. This important observation runs counter to our assumption that a man would not be chosen as general unless he had some significant military training behind him. Indeed, there is something very "Roman" about Josephus' position according to the *Life*. Any official power (*potestas*) he may hold remains indistinct, its legal basis unarticulated. The struggle between him and Ioannes of Gischala is not settled on grounds remotely professional. The question is rather: Who has the trust (*fides*) of the people? The operative sentiment is that expressed by Virgil in relation to Augustus as Neptune (*Aen.* 1.157-62):

As often when civil dissension has stirred a great crowd
And the ignoble crowd grows ugly, its spirit roiled up,
And now stones and torches go flying, while rage supplies arms,
If by chance they lay eyes on a man of solid repute
And prestige, they fall silent and stand with their ears pricked up
Like dogs: he governs their anger and softens their wrath
With his words. . . . (trans. L. R. Lind)

Although Josephus most often refers to himself as a general (στρατηγός), he is plainly much more than that: governor, chief magistrate, teacher, and supreme patron (εὐεργέτης, § 244; προστάτης, § 250). He quickly evolves from membership in a triumvirate (§ 29) to sole mastery of the region (§§ 244, 259). Essentially, he is "the man," whose position is legitimized not by an office, but by the populace's overwhelming affirmation of his virtue, prestige, and authority (*auctoritas*, on which see Galinsky 1996:10-41).

Ideally, Roman aristocrats faced heavy responsibilities as patrons, who should exercise benevolent care for those in their charge on the model of the powerful father caring for his household. In the world of the upper class, friendship took on special significance,

⁷ When I speak of Roman "aristocrats" I use the term loosely, for even in the republic it was the popular assembly (*concilium plebis*) alone that could pass laws. The senate's aristocrats never ruled directly in the sense of holding the instruments of legislative power, but had to work by informal arrangement with the tribune of the people to introduce congenial legislation. This is quite different from the Judean situation, in which the priestly-aristocratic senate, according to Josephus, had sole responsibility for interpreting and applying a written constitution. Nevertheless, it is hard to find a better word than the commonly used "aristocrats" for the Roman upper class, with whom Josephus' class has much in common.

with more formal connotations than we would associate with the term (Konstan 1997). Cicero's *Laelius on Friendship* stresses the noble ideals of friendship against the background of this more utilitarian norm. In any case, powerful friends (*amici potentes*) were expected to concern themselves with the welfare of less fortunate associates (not the truly poor), who took on unavoidable reciprocal obligations. Networks of "friends" became major political forces: to be within the circle of one prominent figure might well lead one into difficulties with another. In the same way, Josephus claims to have encountered problems with the distinguished Simon son of Gamaliel *because* that man happened to be a close associate of Josephus' enemy Ioannes of Gischala at the time (§ 192). Indeed, enmity was taken as seriously as friendship: although clemency was a mark of aristocratic virtue, public figures had to ensure that enemies who might become a threat to the state were removed (Epstein 1982). These themes of friendship and enmity come through clearly in the letters of Cicero and Pliny, two Roman gentlemen a century and a half apart, and in Josephus' dealings with others in the *Life*.

Other social-historical contexts important for reading the *Life* include the complex phenomenon of "banditry" in the Roman world (Shaw 1984; Habinek 1998:69-87; Grünewald 1999), which is foreign to our experience but part of the backdrop to the *Life*. I refer the reader to the commentary on the relevant passages, beginning with *Life* 21. Finally, the particular historical geography of the Galilee, where Josephus' story takes place, obviously needs investigation. In partial fulfillment of that need, I am pleased to be able to include in this volume an itemized survey of sites in the region by Mordechai Aviam of the Israel Antiquities Authority and Peter Richardson of the University of Toronto (Appendix A). Fuller studies of the Galilee attempt historical-archaeological syntheses (Freyne 1980, Goodman 1983, Levine 1992, S. Schwartz in Parente/Sievers 1994, Horsley 1995, Meyers 1999).

Since most of these contextual concerns relate to the entire Mediterranean world and are well represented in the secondary literature, I leave the reader to explore that literature, a tiny fraction of which is cited *ad hoc* in the following commentary. Among the literary contexts relevant to Josephus' *Life*, one might explore, *inter alia*, ancient rhetoric, the rise of Roman autobiography, advice to the public figure or statesman, and models for the military leader. Even though the secondary scholarship on these subjects is also extensive, some issues that are germane for the reader of Josephus' *Life*, especially in view of the history of research, deserve attention here.

Rhetoric

Aristotle defined rhetoric as "the faculty of discovering the possible means of persuasion in reference to any subject whatever" (*Rhet.* 1.2.1.1355B)—in short, the art of persuasion (cf. Quintilian, *Inst.* 2.15.3). He identified three typical situations for rhetoric: persuading judges concerning what happened in the past, in a court trial (forensic or judicial rhetoric); persuading an assembly about what should be done in the future (deliberative rhetoric); and persuading an audience about what was worthy of blame or praise, for example in funeral orations (demonstrative or epideictic rhetoric). Each situation called for somewhat different emphases and techniques, though in all cases the goal was persuasion.

If we consider Josephus's relationship to rhetoric, four points need emphasis: the versatility of rhetorical argument; the ubiquity of rhetorical training, assumptions, and instincts; the importance of "character" in persuasion; and the role of antithesis or opposition.

Since rhetoric used every available means of persuasion "in reference to any subject whatever," it quickly became apparent in ancient Athens, where democratic experiments rewarded persuasive expertise, that skilled orators could make any position seem plau-

sible: they could “make the weaker case appear the stronger” (Isocrates, *Antid.* 15; Plato, *Apol.* 19B; Aristotle, *Rhet.* 2.24.11.1402A). This flexibility was inherent in the project itself. The best way to train students was to require them to make diametrically opposing cases with equal force. Among some practitioners (notably the sophists Protagoras, Hippias, and Gorgias), this practical skill combined with a degree of moral relativism: the ability to prove any case was a reflection of the underlying fact that there were no moral absolutes, but only changing values in different times and places. It was this changeable quality that ran into conflict with Plato’s quest for absolute truth. Though a skilled persuader himself, Plato forcefully repudiated the sophists’ rhetoric, particularly in the *Gorgias*, where his Socrates confronts a leading orator on the question of the reality that underlies his argumentation. Thus was entrenched the classic stand-off between those who claimed to be in search of objective truth (philosophers, historians, empirical scientists and physicians) and persuasive but entirely adaptable orators.

Rhetoric never lost this malleable character. From the late fifth century BCE we have the anonymous “Double Arguments” (*Dissoi Logoi*) and Antiphon’s *Tetralogies*, collections of cases both for and against certain propositions (Sprague 1972:279-93; Kennedy 1994:17, 24). Preliminary handbooks of rhetoric typically required students to take certain sayings or situations and change not only the grammatical features but also the moral lessons to be drawn (Kennedy 1994:202-8). Cicero’s necessarily shifting allegiances during the Roman civil war challenge his ability to make convincing cases for different leaders. In judicial contexts, he boasts that he was able to “inspire in the judge a feeling of angry indignation, or move him to tears, or in short (and this is the one supreme characteristic of the orator) sway his feelings in whatever direction the situation demanded” (*Brut.* 93.322). A perfect example is his speech in defense of Lucius Licinius Murena, who was removed from the consulship on a charge of corruption brought by his competitor Servius Sulpicius Rufus, among others. Although Cicero had supported Sulpicius in the election, for the sake of his defense of Murena he now turns sharply against him (e.g., *Mur.* 28). Other clear evidence of rhetoric’s flexibility is furnished by the elder Seneca’s *Controversiae* and *Suasoriae*, which record the impressive efforts of his élite circle to continue their school exercises in “declamation”: making practice-speeches on both sides of a complicated issue.

This attribute of rhetorical training is important for reading Josephus’ *Life* because it lays bare the ancient prejudice in favor of flexibility in story-telling. Rhetoric, which had also come to dominate Roman historiography, made a virtue of retelling the same incident or anecdote in different ways, to bring out different lessons. That value runs counter to our modern assumption that a true story should be retold *consistently*. Thus, modern readers have a tendency to assume, when faced with the numerous contradictions between the *Life* and the *War*, that Josephus must simply be lying in one place or the other (Rappaport in Parente/Sievers 1994:279-89). They commonly infer that if he changes his story, he is either trying to cover up something said before or divulging something new under compulsion. One problem with this line of reasoning is that, while changing the details of his stories, Josephus confidently refers the reader of the *Life* to the *War* for greater precision (*Life* 27, 412). We should reckon, therefore, with the likelihood that he changes his story deliberately, like Odysseus of old, in order to make new points with new language and so avoid boring his audience. Rather than feeling any embarrassment—for which there is no evidence—over these innovations, he may well have been pleased with his ability to tell similar stories in new ways.

Certainly, *Ant.* 13-20, where Josephus’ personal history is not in question, is filled with similar conflicts over against *War* 1-2: he freely changes both details and narrative roles to tell new stories. For example, the Queen Alexandra Salome of *War* 1.107-16, a gullible woman deceived by coldly calculating Pharisees, becomes in *Ant.* 13.400-32 a clever

schemer who manipulates the Pharisees' public standing to ensure her own power. Her sons Hyrcanus and Aristobulus also change roles. Herod the Great and his father Antipater, though still portrayed as brave and virtuous in some contexts, now appear as serious violators of the constitution. Again, the former high priest Ananus, highly praised in the *War* as a paragon of moderation and virtue, becomes in *Ant.* 20 a vindictive and brutal man. Thus, when Josephus' *Life*, in contrast to the *War*, supplies a couple of priestly colleagues for himself (§ 29), makes Ioannes of Gischala initially a friend of peace (§ 43), and dramatically rearranges the order of episodes, he is only practicing his general habit of rhetorical variation.

But does Josephus not denounce rhetoric as a Greek weakness (*War* 1.2, 16; *Life* 40-2; *Apion* 1.23-5)? This brings us to the second point, which is that rhetorical training and instincts were too deeply entrenched in Mediterranean society to be resisted. In both Greece and Rome, rhetorical training occupied the highest level of the educational system, and the lower levels mainly prepared for it. To be an effective public figure—the crowning fulfillment of an aristocrat's life—was to be an effective orator. Rhetoric was like Hellenism in this respect: it was much easier to decry than to avoid.

The place of rhetoric in historiography is complicated because many historians rejected the rhetorical project while exploiting all manner of rhetorical devices (Woodman 1988). Polybius, a model of critical history who denounced rhetorical historians, also incorporated numerous rhetorical features into his narrative (1.1.5; 1.4.7-9; 15.36.3; 38.1.2; Walbank 1972:34-40; Finley 1975:33). We also see the problem in Cicero. On the one hand, Cicero knows about “laws of history (*leges historiae*)” that preclude encomiastic flattery (*Fam.* 5.12). His character Atticus insists on the difference between history, which must be recounted as if one were in the witness box—and so should exclude even irony—and rhetoric, which permits all sorts of playfulness (*Brut.* 85.292-93). On the other hand, Cicero insists that the writing of history, which is after all aimed at providing exemplars for human conduct, is best left to orators (*De Orat.* 2.35-6; Cape 1997). Whatever battle there may have been to preserve a clean Thucydidean core in history was quickly lost to rhetoric, and Roman historiography in particular fully embraced rhetoric's moralizing propensity. Thus, although Josephus indeed claims to favor truth over rhetoric, from the long deliberative speeches and dramatic siege stories of the *War* to the programmatic moralizing of the *Antiquities*, the forensic digression of *Life* 336-67, and the encomium on the Judean constitution in *Apion* 2.145-296, his works are imbued with the rhetorical spirit. His evident purpose in the *Life*, similarly, is to impress the audience not with a clear picture of the *events* but with an enduring image of his virtue.

This should not surprise us given his first-century context. But it should caution us against anticipating simple truth anywhere in his writing, and against simplistic assessments of his “lies.” Like all ancient writers, Josephus was concerned not to tell the truth for the truth's sake but to make a point—in this case, about his character. We saw this concern in his surrogate prologue, and we find it most clearly in his concluding words (§ 430): “These, then, are the things that occurred throughout my entire life; from them let others judge my character (ἦθος) as they might wish.”

Character was crucial in all forms of persuasion. Aristotle identified three main sources of proof at the orator's disposal: logic or reason; emotion; and character. He remarks:

Now the proofs (πίστεις) furnished by the speech are of three kinds. The first depends upon the moral character (ἦθος) of the speaker. . . . The orator persuades by moral character when his speech is delivered in such a manner as to render him worthy of confidence (ἄξιόπιστον); for we feel confidence in a greater degree and more readily in persons of worth in regard to everything in general. (*Rhetoric* 1.2.1-15.1356A; LCL trans. J. H. Freese; cf. 2.1.2-3.1377B)

Eugene Garver (1994:6-15) has argued that character played a fundamental role in the substructure of Aristotle's thought about rhetoric, for it was the factor that prevented abuse of persuasive power, which could otherwise—notoriously—argue any case, promiscuously.

An important shift in the use of character came with the Roman appropriation of Greek rhetoric (Kennedy 1994:102-27). In the élite social circles of the Roman republic, character was thoroughly enmeshed with fundamental Roman categories of personal prestige (*auctoritas*), dignity (*dignitas*), and nobility (*nobilitas*; May 1988:6-7). Evolving Roman rhetoric reflected this environment by allowing the appeal to character even freer play than Greek rhetoric had done. So great was the prestige of Marcus Scaurus that he was allegedly able to refute a charge of treason merely by denying it and contrasting himself to his accuser (Quintilian, *Inst.* 5.12.10). It was not considered strange to defend oneself by reference to the deeds of one's ancestors, because character was thought to run in the family (May 1988: 6). Thus when Scipio Africanus was charged with accepting money, he simply recalled that it happened to be the anniversary of his defeat of Hannibal (Aulus Gellius, *Noct. att.* 4.18.3-5) and so persuaded the assembly to march off to the temple of Jupiter in order to give thanks. Cicero's speeches provide case studies in the positive and negative appeal to character, and he candidly reflects that "Feelings are won over by a man's dignity, achievements, and reputation" (*De or.* 2.182).

Part and parcel of this shift was the Roman tradition of advocacy: rather than speaking for oneself as in the democratic Athenian assemblies (even with the help of a speech-writer), Romans typically sought the assistance of a patron with the requisite skill and, above all, personal prestige (*auctoritas*; Kennedy 1994:103). When both plaintiff and defendant had their advocates, opportunities for the development of character stereotypes proliferated. Cicero frankly avers that the advocate's goal is to show the character of both himself and his client, while condemning the character of the other party and his advocate (*De or.* 2.182). Although some later critics disagreed, Josephus' renowned contemporary Quintilian insisted that the orator's own character was essential to successful rhetoric—that the orator be a good man (*vir bonus*). He argued that the whole training of the orator should produce virtue, the indispensable basis of true eloquence (1.praef.9).

How, then, should one demonstrate a subject's character? No single source defines the components of character for all cases, but the rhetorical handbooks and the actual practice of orators make the criteria clear enough. In his *On the Classification of Rhetoric*, for example, Cicero summarizes the virtues that an advocate might try to demonstrate: prudence, temperance, fortitude, patience in enduring evils, greatness of spirit—including "liberality in the use of money and also loftiness of mind in accepting unprofitable things and especially wrongs," justice, religion, filial piety, good faith or loyalty, leniency in punishment, and benevolence toward friends (*Part. or.* 75-80). Note especially the following (emphasis added):

But in the whole fabric of the speech the greatest attention is to be focussed on *the quality of a person's breeding and upbringing and education and character*; and on any important or startling occurrence that a man has encountered, especially if this can appear to be *due to the intervention of providence*; and then each individual's opinions and utterances and actions will be classified under the scheme of the virtues that has been propounded. (*Part. or.* 82; LCL trans. H. Rackham)

Cicero's other writings provide ample support for these categories, though with some differences of emphasis according to the context. In a military context, for example, his speech to the popular assembly on Pompey's command (*De imp. pomp.* 36-48) lists the virtues of the Roman general as: incorruptibility (*innocentia*), moderation (*temperantia*), good faith (*fides*), success or happiness (*felicitas*), brilliant genius (*ingenia*), and humanness (*humanitas*).

Quintilian offers both chronological and thematic alternatives for praising a person (*Inst.* 3.7.15; LCL trans. H. E. Butler):

It has sometimes proved the more effective course to trace a man's life and deeds in due chronological order, praising his natural gifts as a child, then his progress at school, and finally the whole course of his life, including words as well as deeds. At times, on the other hand it is well to divide our praises, dealing separately with the various virtues, fortitude, justice, self-control and the rest of them and to assign to each virtue the deeds performed under its influence.

Although Josephus' *Life* leaves all sorts of loose ends on the historical and literary levels, the entire book—virtually without remainder—works as a statement of these widely understood virtues, explicated through a more or less chronological review of his origins and public life.

Finally, since so much research on the *Life* has depended upon assessments of Josephus' opponents, it needs to be stressed that antithesis and personal opposition were integral parts of virtually all attempts at persuasion. In the first place, rhetoric was fundamentally dialectical. As soon as Plato has finished describing the just state and the just man in the *Republic*, he turns to the unjust counterparts (*Resp.* 7.543-45)—because “the understanding of anything is linked with the understanding of its opposite,” in Werner Jaeger's exegesis (Jaeger 1943:2.323). In Aristotle's wide-ranging attempts at systematic classification, this binary logic is pervasive, again because definition of one requires exclusion of the other. Thus:

Since becoming angry is the opposite of becoming mild, and anger of mildness, we must determine the state of mind which makes men mild. . . . Let us then define making mild as the quieting and appeasing of anger. (*Rhet.* 2.3.1-2.1380A; LCL trans. J. H. Freese)

So the pattern was set: to argue for A was to reject B; to imagine X, one had to be able to imagine its opposite, Y.

This dialectical pattern shows itself everywhere in ancient rhetoric, even in the basic structure of Greek thought and language with the popular “on the one hand . . . , but on the other hand” (μεν . . . δέ) construction (Kennedy 1994:25-6). We see it in Plato's and Cicero's preference for dialogues, which invite contrasting positions, and in the general tendency of such different speakers as Paul, Epictetus, and Quintilian to invoke imaginary interlocutors (“What shall we say, then?” “But, someone will say . . .”), to articulate positions with which the speaker may take issue. Among the many rhetorical exercises described in the manuals for beginning students (*progymnasmata*), several deal with refutation and contrast. Before he has students construct their own cases (κατασκευή), for example, Aphthonius would have them refute others (ἀνασκευή) (Kennedy 1994:204-6). Then they should learn how to criticize typical kinds of bad characters, through contradiction and comparison (σύγκρισις). Students should also use comparison and contrast with other characters while engaging in either praise or censure (Neyrey 1994:188).

It is not difficult to see the comparative principle at work in most ancient rhetoric. Cicero never hesitates to use contrasting figures in order to cast the character of his client, his adversary, or himself in sharper relief. In his senatorial speech against Piso, for instance, he brings in his own brilliant consulship, to make Piso's appear that much darker (*Pis.* 1-2). Another expression of the tendency to compare and contrast lives is Plutarch's enormous collection of parallel—Greek and Roman—biographies. Each pair normally concludes with a brief and pointed contrast (σύγκρισις). Even though Plutarch does not simplistically praise one and vilify the other, he uses comparison and contrast to help expose features in each life.

In praising one life, then, an author more or less required the foil of another life in order to sharpen the features of the honoree. In this context, Josephus' attacks on others—his fellow priestly emissaries, Ioannes of Gischala, Ionathes and the delegates from

Jerusalem, or Iustus of Tiberias—do not require that he actually felt threatened by active opposition from any of them. In the zero-sum game of prestige and authority (below), the more effectively he could belittle other potential leaders, the better he would appear by contrast. Indeed, he could only show his unique public standing by showing how his virtue towered over that of his contemporaries.

Autobiography

Because the *Life* is inescapably an autobiography (“one’s own writing about one’s life”), even if not in the modern sense, we need to keep in mind also the contours of ancient autobiography. The main point I wish to make here is that autobiography flourished with aristocracy, and so it is not surprising that the proud aristocrat Josephus embraces this genre.

Biography emerged from the Hellenistic period for reasons that are at least partly identifiable (Misch 1950:1.177-98). Aristotle had worked out a conception of human character as a static quality, something to be uncovered by examining the situations in which the subject found himself (Feldman 1998a:74-5). Writing about a life (βίος) became for his followers an exercise in exposing that character. At about the same time, Alexander the Great’s unprecedented exploits made him, and to a lesser degree his successors, natural subjects of this new kind of analysis (Fornara 1983:34-6). Again, Isocrates’ development of the encomium as a rhetorical form (Misch 1950:1.161) lent itself especially well to the study of individual human characters, since it provided typical categories for praise and blame. Thus, ancient biography was accommodated to the broader philosophical interest in character analysis, showing relatively little concern for the existential meaning of events to the subject, and none at all for his psychological evolution. The only transitions worth noting were generic: from the category “youth,” with its typical characteristics, to the prime of life, to old age, so on (e.g., Aristotle, *Rhet.* 2.12.1389A-14.1390B).

With the limited exceptions noted in the opening paragraph to this essay, however, Hellenism did not produce autobiography. The very things that made biography so compelling rendered autobiography unlikely. For how could one praise and blame one’s own character? Isocrates had to cast himself as a fictional defendant in order to have other witnesses say something about his life. Aristotle observed (*Rhet.* 3.17.16.1418B; LCL trans. J. H. Freese):

In regard to moral character, since sometimes, in speaking of ourselves, we render ourselves liable to envy, to the charge of prolixity, or to contradiction, or, when speaking of another, we may be accused of abuse or boorishness, we must make another speak in our place.

These were just the concerns that Cicero, who was thoroughly immersed in Hellenistic learning, invoked (see the quotation at the head of this essay) as he tried to find someone else to tell his story. Josephus, by contrast, seems to have had no qualms about attracting envy or trashing his rivals.

It appears to have been the peculiar configuration of social conditions in the Roman republic of the second century BCE that changed matters and produced a surge in individual self-expression. The decisive change was the rising power of individual aristocrats and their families, and the competition among them for pre-eminence. That competition has been vividly depicted in an essay by T. P. Wiseman (1985:3-19), which points out that it was not enough to be *good* in this period. Honor (*gloria*) was a zero-sum game. Since one could only have it at the expense of others, it was crucial to show that one was the *best* in all areas of life; hence the abundant superlatives in documents and inscriptions from this period. Even if an aristocrat had few accomplishments of note, his inscriptions made the most of his deeds, in the interests of both personal advancement and the family’s reputation.

It was evidently this highly competitive era of great men from great families that gave rise to autobiographical writing. The precursors were already there in abundance, and becoming increasingly autobiographical from the third century BCE. Georg Misch (1950:1.211-30) offers an analysis of the Roman-aristocratic assumptions and practices that prepared the ground for the Roman co-optation of rhetoric in the service of literary autobiography. Among these were: ancestor-worship, with the maintenance of the family busts (*imagines*), which gave men a constant awareness of the inherited standards; the inaugural speeches of consuls and other magistrates, which situated their own achievements in the context of their ancestors'; the funeral speech (*laudatio*), where the dead was praised while the family images were exhibited; the Roman funerary inscriptions, which departed from earlier practice by listing the achievements of the dead; and the military triumph, which again gave the individual aristocrat room to celebrate his accomplishments while evoking his family's memory. Then again, the political pamphlets and letters that became common in the early second century included a good deal of self-justifying retrospective, attempting to set the record of one's public deeds "straight" (Misch 1950:1.231-33).

It was a small step from all of this to the appropriation of rhetoric for full-fledged autobiography.

Both political figures and writers took up this new fashion of celebratory self-description. On the political side, after Scaurus and Rutilius (see opening paragraphs above) came the dictator Sulla (138-78 BCE), whose self-portrait was later used by the biographer Plutarch. His autobiography is interesting for several reasons. First, it was not a polished literary work, but a rough sketch in the form of *commentarii* or ὑπομνήματα (Plutarch, *Sulla* 23.2). Misch (1950:1.237) suggests that this "non-literary" form was adopted by Roman authors because it allowed them to avoid the stigma if a man of eminence should "sing his own praises" in writing. We have noted already that Josephus introduces his *Life* (*Ant.* 20.267) with the cognate verb ὑπομνήσκω: this too will be a rough sketch of his life. Second, in the course of his autobiography Sulla had to defend himself against the charge of double dealing because he had shown such conspicuous friendship with his enemy Mithridates' general (Plutarch, *Sulla* 23.2). Similarly, Josephus explains in his *Life* the complicated double game that he had to play. Roman political autobiography seems to have all but died out, however, from the time of Augustus, when the increasingly monarchical *princeps* pre-empted all other figures in both holding triumphs and writing memoirs. No one else could be "best."

In a less conspicuous and threatening way, writers continued to introduce themselves to their audiences, usually within one of their larger works. Cicero ended his *Brutus* with an account of his early life and training (*Brut.* 88.301-97.333). Sallust included a short autobiographical section at the beginning of his *Catilinarian War* (*Bell. Cat.* 3-4). Ovid appended a lengthy autobiographical poem to one book of his *Tristia* (1.10). Misch (1950:1.295-307) discusses other examples from Horace and Propertius, following Callimachus. Of greatest importance: Nicolaus of Damascus, aide to Herod the Great, biographer of Augustus, and one of Josephus' major sources, appears to have attached his autobiography, which is extant only in fragments, to the beginning of his 144-volume universal history.⁸ Evidently, his account of himself, written in the third person, focused upon his character: after describing his ancestry and upbringing, he interspersed the story of

⁸ Excerpts from Nicolaus were gathered, with those of other historians, for the collection (*Excerpta de Virtutibus et Vitiis*) sponsored by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (905-959 CE). They are included now in Jacoby 1964-69: 2.90, fr. 131-39. Most of this material (fr. 133-36) is given with translation and commentary by Stern 1974:1.246-60.

his actions with notices about his many virtues, and then he concluded the whole with a summary of his character (Misch 1950:1.307-13).

Josephus was an aristocratic writer, and he appended his *Life* to his major composition. Yet his account is not that of an intellectual but of a public figure—in Judea and Galilee.

Advice to the Public Figure

Since a successful career in political life was the ultimate goal of many aristocrats, advice to would-be public figures abounded in Greco-Roman literature. Direct and incidental guidance can be found in works by Plato (e.g., *Statesman*, *Republic*), Aristotle (ethical, rhetorical, and political treatises), Xenophon (*Cyropaedia*), in the *Handbook of Electioneering* attributed to Cicero's younger brother Quintus; also in many of Cicero's essays, letters, and speeches, in Dio Chrysostom's treatise *On Kingship*, and in Cassius Dio's presentation of advice to the new *princeps* Octavian from Maecenas and Agrippa.

As an efficient way of getting at the central concerns most relevant to Josephus' situation, however, I shall summarize the treatise by Plutarch on *The Precepts of Statecraft*. Plutarch was Josephus' contemporary, and had many things in common with him. He was a Greek from Chaeronea who succeeded brilliantly in both Greece and Rome. He was a pious man, committed to the ancient traditions of the shrine to Apollo at Delphi. In later life, he became a priest in Delphi's world-renowned temple. Plutarch's mature vision of political life in a Greek state under Roman hegemony is that of a Mediterranean aristocrat who sees the world much as Josephus does. It is helpful to observe some of Plutarch's assumptions, his prescriptions for political life, and even his language, which throw much light on the dilemmas faced by Josephus.

1. Make sure that you have a solid foundation for entry into public life (ἡ πολιτεία, τὰ κοινά), with a clear policy; do not enter hoping for glory or power (1.798-2.99A). Compare Josephus' entry into public life (πολιτεύεσθαι) at *Life* 12.
2. The statesman's first task is to learn, to listen, and to understand the character (ἦθος) of the people to be governed. Each populace has a distinctive character, a composite of its individual characters. The statesman will not be able to impose his will on the people. He must find out what pleases them and accommodate himself as far as possible to their desires, to win their confidence (3.799B-800A). Compare Josephus' first action in Galilee: to gather intelligence about the situation (*Life* 30-61).
3. Only when he has won the people's confidence can the statesman begin slowly to train their character, to bring them over gently to a better way. And in order to accomplish this, he must train his own character, conquering all passions and adopting a thoughtful, trustworthy bearing. The citizens judge a man for his private practices as much as his public behavior, and the statesman's success depends upon his character (4.800B-801C). Compare Josephus' summary of his incorruptible character at *Life* 80-4, 430.
4. Alongside unimpeachable character, the statesman must possess great oratorical skill (5.801A-9.804C) for "softening by persuasion and overcoming by charms the fierce and violent spirit of the people" (801E). Again: "The wolf, they say, cannot be held by the ears; but one must lead a people or a State chiefly by the ears" (802D). Josephus too makes extensive use of persuasive speeches to calm and direct the impulsive mob (e.g., §§ 31, 103, 141-44, 244, 262, 264-66, 305-8, 377-80, 386-88). For him as for Plutarch and other members of the élite, the masses are in constant need of persuasion: they will be led either by men of character such as himself or by malevolent demagogues (*Life* 40-2).
5. There are two avenues into public life: as a consequence of some impressive and sudden achievement or through a long period of apprenticeship to a mentor (10.804D-

12.806F). The former, especially a military victory such as Pompey's, will bring one a warmer reception among the populace, though the latter is the safer and superior course. Since there is not much opportunity for military glory under Roman rule, "there remain the public lawsuits and embassies to the Emperor, which demand a man of ardent temperament and one who possesses both courage and intellect" (10.805.A-B). This observation happens to match Josephus' career perfectly, for as soon as he declares his intention to enter public life (*Life* 12), he undertakes an embassy to Rome, in which he must survive a shipwreck and fend for himself in the capital (*Life* 13-6). On his return from this mission, he is immediately thrust into leadership of the revolt (*Life* 17-29).

6. One must be careful in a new position of leadership to choose one's friends (13.806F-809A). If a man rejects his élite friends for the sake of the office, he risks pandering to the masses in order to feel loved. Although it is wrong to make the state hostage to one's friendships, or to allow friends to benefit from special knowledge of new laws (cf. modern insider trading), it is entirely proper to reward them with government posts or other opportunities *if* this does not injure the state (13.808B). "For the administration of affairs frequently gives the man in public life this sort of chance to help his friends" (13.809A). Josephus cleverly makes the Galilean principal men his "friends," giving them the opportunity to try cases and share government with him in order to win their support (*Life* 79). He also uses his influence to help his real friends and family (*Life* 81, 419-21).
7. Treatment of one's enemies is as much of a test for the politician as behavior towards friends (14.809B-811A). Although it is assumed that a prominent man will have personal enmities, he must be willing to lay these aside for the sake of his unique role as a leader of the state. "For the statesman should not regard any fellow-citizen as an enemy, unless some man, such as Aristion, Nabis, or Catiline, should appear who is a pest and a running sore to the State" (14.809E). Thus, the long-suffering Josephus tries very hard to win over his enemies by persuasion, without violence (*Life* 101, 175-78), even though the Catiline-like Ioannes of Gischala, in particular, turns his private dispute with Josephus into a threat to the state (*Life* 189-91).
8. To run the state effectively, the politician must decide how much he will personally involve himself with affairs (15.811B-812F). He must neither micro-manage nor remove himself from the detailed issues, but should decide what he can do well and delegate the rest. Josephus too speaks often of tasks he has delegated to his associates (*Life* 79, 86, 163, 240, 319).
9. Of greatest importance for understanding Josephus is Plutarch's advice at 16.813A-C. Given the inevitability that the masses will dislike politicians, and the impossibility of allowing such hostility to continue, politicians must resort to clever schemes. For example, they might arrange for a few of their colleagues to pretend to speak against a measure in the assembly, and then be won over by the others, so that they bring the audience along with them. Josephus, of course, routinely engages in such double-speak, beginning at *Life* 22: "we *said* that we concurred with their opinions." Although he has frequently been blamed for such "lies" as if these were defects of his character, in fact he is doing what his first audience should have admired. Everyone understood that his duty was not to speak from the heart, but to steer the ship of state.
10. The leader of a state under Roman dominion must understand the limitations of his role (17.813C-814C). He cannot hope to be a hero of historic proportions but must adjust his sights downward, and check his pride, "since you see the boots [of Roman soldiers] just above your head" (17.813E). Josephus is as clear as he can be about the overwhelming power of the Romans and the futility of revolt (*Life* 17-9).
11. Although he recognizes this unavoidable submission to Rome, the statesman must not

become more subservient than is necessary, appealing to Rome to solve internal problems and thus destroying his nation's internal constitution (19.814F-816A). He must try at all costs "to cure and control whatever disturbs [the state] and causes sedition (στασιάζω)," keeping these problems inside, so that the problem does not require "physicians and medicine drawn from outside" (19.815B). The entire *Life* is in some respects the story of Josephus' struggle to keep the Romans away—after the failure of Cestius to quash the revolt (*Life* 23-4)—and avoid στάσις (see further below) by gently guiding the rebels to a safer course (cf. §§ 22, 29). This is also the policy attributed by Josephus to the chief priest Ananus in *War* 2.648-51; 4.320-21.

12. The statesman's primary challenge, then, is to maintain concord among all of his constituents, adding honors to others and declining them for himself as necessary to preserve harmony, and giving way in non-essential matters (20.816A-24.818E). His only concern must be "forethought" (πρόνοια) for the common good (23.817D). This appears also to be Josephus' assumption, as author at least, for he often mentions his efforts to exercise forethought (ποιέω πρόνοιαν) or "make provision" for the Galilee (*Life* 62, 68, 74, 77, 121, 169, 184, 369, 389, 423).
13. Maintaining concord will inevitably require a certain manipulation of the popular will (25.818E-819B). Given that the populace is impulsive, one must be ready to trick them. For example, one forestalls unwelcome calls for embassies by choosing those who would be unfit to go; for building projects, by calling for contributions. One does not oppose the populace directly, but effectively stymies their impulses through diversion. Josephus is a master of such diversion. He wins over the masses when they are ready to kill him by assuring them that he was planning to build walls for their communities (*Life* 140-43). He prevents the Galilean mob from wholesale slaughter of their enemies by diverting their attention (*Life* 265, 378-80, 386-87).
14. Although the next section of Plutarch's treatise has many minor parallels to Josephus' *Life*, I move to his final and principal point: the test of a statesman's success is the *tranquillity of the populace* (32.823F-824D). "But the best thing is to see to it in advance (προνοεῖν) that factional discord (στασιάζωσι) shall never arise among them and to regard this as the greatest and noblest function of what may be called the art of statesmanship" (32.824C). In virtually all classical discussions of the state, factional discord (Greek στάσις, Latin *sedition*) was identified as the chief threat (Thucydides 1.2.4-6; 3.82-4; Herodotus 1.59.3, 60.2, 150.1; 3.82.3; 5.28.1; 6.109.5; Plato, *Leg.* 1.628C, 629C-D; *Resp.* 4.470B; Aristotle, *Ath. pol.* 5.2-3; 13.1; *Pol.* 1265B; Diodorus Siculus 9.11.1; 11.72.2, 76.6, 86.3, 87.5). In all of Josephus' writings, he raises the same specter—for example, blaming the Judean revolt on such dissension (*War* 1.10; 2.418-19; cf. *Ant.* 4.12-3, 140; 13.291). In the *Life* too, his primary mission is to prevent or remove sedition (*Life* 17, 32, 35, 66, 87, 100, 143, 145, 170, 173, 177, 193, 264, 279, 298, 340, 353, 368). Plutarch resignedly observes (32.824D-825F) that there is no point in party strife or personal competition for glory because "fortune has left us no prize for competition" (32.824E). Since all Greek statesmen serve at the pleasure of their Roman overlords, the best thing they can achieve is quiet.

Plutarch's essay is germane for studying Josephus because it vividly conveys—even in the absence of a war such as Josephus faced—the tensions and paradoxes faced by members of the Mediterranean élite trying to govern under Roman rule. Even more than politicians in Rome, who also struggled to keep the masses happy, they had to engage in a constant "double game": appearing to support the most popular positions irrespective of their own views. Only so could they hope to win the people's trust, check their more extreme impulses, and gradually guide them to a profitable course. Josephus evidently expects his audience to appreciate his dilemma as a public figure and to admire the skill

with which he handled it. His double game does not result from an awkward attempt to hide his rebel past.

In this vein of clever politics often misread as confession, we should include the bargain that Josephus claims to have made with the bandits (*Life* 77-8), which is the probably the most important single item in Laqueur's reconstruction of Josephus' past (Laqueur 1920:107-9). Josephus in effect co-opts the troublesome bandits, requiring the Galileans to pay them to stay out of the region. Laqueur treats this passage as if it offered a glimmer of historical reality running counter to Josephus' claims: in fact, Josephus controlled the bandits and therefore became one of them! But that seems highly unlikely. In Cassius Dio's political pamphlet, containing the advice of Agrippa and Maecenas to Octavian at the outset of his rule (Dio 52.27.4-5), Maecenas explicitly advises the young ruler that the most vigorous men, who would otherwise devote themselves to banditry (ληστέια), are the ones whom the leader should bring into military service (cf. Shaw 1984:34-5). This is a tough-minded tactic for maintaining the tranquillity of the State. The whole tone of the story in the *Life*, similarly, confirms that Josephus is celebrating his cleverness as a public figure, not confessing something that Iustus forced upon him.

Double games and compromises, then, were (and are) the order of the day for politicians. I have mentioned above a noted deception by Sulla. Polybius tells of a double game played by Aratus, leader of the Achean league against Sparta in the third century BCE. We need not bother with the details, but Plutarch's summary is telling: "He was consequently compelled in public both to do and to say many things quite contrary to his real intention, so as to keep his design concealed by creating the exactly opposite impression" (2.47.8-10). This was also Josephus' situation. He makes it clear at the outset that he opposed war with Rome and wished also to maintain peace with king Agrippa II, but that he was compelled to give the opposite impression, or the rebels would not have tolerated him (*Life* 17-22).

In Josephus' aristocratic context, this predicament is perfectly plausible. It is a mistake for modern readers to assume that his open admission of tension between his peaceful intent and anti-Roman behavior is part of a retrospective cover-up, that he must be clumsily papering over his actual revolutionary past with pro-Roman platitudes. He was not *that* clumsy.

Models for the Military Leader

Josephus was not only a public figure; he also conceives of himself as a "general" (στρατηγός), if a reluctant one, in the initial phase of the war against Rome. This identification opens up another whole world of connections in Greco-Roman accounts of renowned military leaders. We need not, cannot, examine the potential parallels in any detail. But two works deserve special mention.

First, Josephus' *Life* contains many echoes of Iulius Caesar's *commentarii*: concerning the *Gallic War*, the *Civil Wars*, and the other campaigns in which he was involved. Caesar's accounts highlight his clemency towards opponents, a theme that also runs prominently through Josephus' autobiography. More particularly, a number of scenes in the *Life* recall, perhaps coincidentally, Caesar's exploits. Josephus' native opponents in Galilee, Ioannes of Gischala (*Life* 70) and Iustus of Tiberias (§§ 36-42), both fit the model of Dumnorix: though lacking in the official power, his liberality towards the masses and sheer audacity gave him an influence that enabled him to press for revolution (*Bell. Gall.* 1.18). Like Ioannes, he combined this popular influence with sharp business practices that produced ample funds for bribery (cf. *Life* 71-6, 189-96). The similarity between *Gallia* (Gaul) and *Galilaia* (Galilee), both far-off places where the masses "for sheer fickleness

and inconstancy were set upon a change of rule” (*Bell. Gall.* 2.1; cf. *Life* 40, 93, 139, 149-50, 171), might have consolidated the parallel. This need not mean that Josephus had read Caesar in Latin, though that is entirely possible. Caesar’s exploits were famous enough for Josephus to have known them.

Second, as a general, Josephus relishes the “general’s tricks” or stratagems (στρατηγήματα) he used to defeat his opponents “without bloodshed” (*Life* 148, 163, 169, 265, 379). As it happens, Sextus Iulius Frontinus (35-103 CE), a successful Roman military officer and public official, was writing a handbook of *Stratagems* for military officers at about the same time as Josephus was writing. Although he wrote in Latin, Frontinus used the Greek word for his subject (στρατηγήματα), indicating how common the usage was. Once again, though we do not need to assume that Josephus knew Frontinus’ work, the stratagems related by the Judean commander often reflect the principles presented systematically by his Roman contemporary.

V. *Constitution and Character: The Purpose of Josephus’ Life*

In light of this background in the many positive contributions of previous scholarship and in at least some of the relevant contexts, we should be able to find an appropriate starting point for understanding the *Life*. At the same time, we may now dispense with some old and unwarranted assumptions: that Josephus’ profession of peaceful sentiments and description of military actions are contradictory; that he would only have troubled to write about his life in self-defense; that his occasional criticism of others means that he wrote *in order to* respond to them; that *Life*’s focus on his only period of prominent public life (in Galilee) must have been forced on him by a critique of just that time; that *Life*’s changes vis-à-vis the *War* must be telling concessions to his critics—since otherwise he would not have contradicted himself; that the *Life* is a patchwork made of pieces and layers from different periods of Josephus’ career; and indeed that its tone is apologetic. In short, we have no reason to begin our analysis of the *Life*, which sits before us, with speculations about Iustus and his lost work. As Bilde most forcefully reminds us, we ought to start with the text.

We should begin with the programmatic indicators: the surrogate prologue in *Ant.* 20.262-67, the shape and content of the book itself, and the epilogue (§ 430). These passages all point in the same direction. Having completed his *magnum opus*, an exhilarated Josephus puts forward his own life and character for consideration: “from [the events of my life] let others judge my character as they might wish” (§ 430). In Rome, a man’s character had traditionally been thought to be deducible from his ancestry and from his career in military and public service. These are just the points that concern Josephus. His five months in public/military office, after his paradigmatic mission to Rome, afford the only plausible evidence he can cite for his public achievements. Before the trip to Rome, he was very young and perhaps relatively unknown; afterwards, he was first a prisoner and then a minor figure in the capital with no opportunity for public service. Brief though it was, the Galilean campaign was his period of glory as “general” and governor, and he must now make the most of it.

A genuine puzzle in the *Life* is its combination of extreme carelessness with respect to historical issues (names, dates, times, places, numbers, order of events), most obvious in contrast to *War* 2, with its resoundingly clear message about Josephus’ character. Almost every single paragraph in the *Life*, certainly every significant episode, confirms with no hint of subtlety either his virtues or his opponents’ vices (Mason 1998a:63-70). This is clearest in such summary statements as these:

79 I used to take them along in the trial of cases, and I used to render verdicts in accord with their

opinion, being determined not to pervert justice through haste, and to remain pure of any material profit in these matters. **80** I was now living my thirtieth year or so. At that age, even if one puts aside illicit yearnings, especially in a position of great authority it is hard to escape the accusations that come from envy. But I preserved every woman unmolested, and disdained all gifts as unnecessary; I did not even accept the tithes, which were due to me as a priest, from those who brought them.

Since these moral lessons are clear, whereas the history is thoroughly obfuscated, we should conclude that Josephus' intention has little to do with history and everything to do with his character. He has little to prove about the detailed events of the past. For *Antiquities*' receptive audience, he appends a celebratory statement on the author.

This preliminary conclusion leaves two questions to be resolved. First: What, after all, is the concrete relationship between the *Life*, concerning Josephus' character (ἦθος), and the *Antiquities*, which traces the development of the priestly-aristocratic constitution (πολιτεία) of the Judeans? Second: How did Josephus' opponents, and Iustus in particular, figure in the occasion for Josephus' writing?

In his classic study *Paideia*, Werner Jaeger includes a section entitled "Types of Constitution and Types of Character" (Jaeger 1943:2.320-47). The significance of this heading is that Jaeger takes up the eighth book of Plato's *Republic*, where Socrates, having just concluded his discussion of the ideal constitution led by a philosopher-king, turns to other less perfect constitutions *and* to the types of human character that they reflect. For in Plato's view, constitutions are but reflections of the individual humans who comprise the state:

Do you realize that there must necessarily be as many types of human personality as there are forms of government (πολιτεία)? Or do you imagine that governments spring from the proverbial oak or rock instead of from the inclinations that predominate among their citizens (*Resp.* 8.544D trans. R.W. Sterling, W.C. Scott)

Plato's Socrates then works through each type of inferior constitution and the kind of person associated with it: the Spartan, oligarchic, democratic, and tyrannical types of men (8.545-9.591). Right from the beginning of such constitutional analysis, the question of character—of a state and of the individuals who comprise it—is implied.

Analysis of constitutions through human character takes a somewhat different form in Cicero's *Republic* (bk. 2), where the evolution of the Roman constitution is described in and through its major representatives, whether good or bad: Romulus, Numa, Tarquinius Superbus, and the consuls. Cicero comments:

Now it is not without a definite purpose that I am reviewing events so ancient and remote, but I am taking my standards of character and action, to which the rest of my discourse must conform, from distinguished men and famous periods of our own history. (*Resp.* 2.31.55 LCL trans. C.W. Keyes)

And this is just the sort of constitutional analysis that Josephus provides in the *Antiquities*, through Israel's great figures from Abraham and Moses to the Herods (cf. S. Mason in BJP 3.xxiv-xxix, xxxii-xxxiv).

The link between the *Life* and the *Antiquities*, then, consists in more than simply the self-congratulatory introduction of an author after his greatest composition—though it is that too. Having described all the great figures from the remoter Judean past, he is now disarmingly frank about his own status: he is one of only two or three who have mastered the national traditions (*Ant.* 20.265). Thus, he will now offer his life as the final exhibit in his presentation of the Judean constitution. Precisely because he has always portrayed that constitution as priestly-aristocratic, he begins with what is for him the most important point (*Ant.* 20.266), the *basis* of his membership in that glorious heritage (*Life* 1):

Now in my case, my ancestry is rather distinguished, having originated with priests long ago. Just as the basis of noble birth is different among various [nations], so also among us membership in the priesthood is a certain proof of an ancestry's brilliance.

This notice picks up directly the overriding priestly-aristocratic theme of the *Antiquities*. The rest of the story is about his behavior *qua* priest-aristocrat and authorized leader: his dealings with peers, his benevolent patronage of the pathetically rudderless masses, his care for friends and dependants, and his determination to excise those running sores on the state who endeavor to mislead the mob for personal gain.

This interpretation of Josephus' *Life*, thus, completely displaces Iustus' provocation as the occasion for writing. Josephus wrote because he wished, positively, to present his own life as an example of the culture and tradition he was presenting to his eager audience. *All* of his opponents function in the narrative as foils for this portrayal of his character. First come his aristocratic colleagues in the triumvirate, who quickly turn out to be concerned with money and bribes alone (§§ 63, 73)—just the sort of typical leader that Josephus was not (§ 80). Then comes Ioannes of Gischala, already notorious in Rome as a captured leader of the Judean revolt (*War* 6.433; 7.118), who does everything in his power to dislodge Josephus in order to gain power for himself (§§ 75, 85, 87, 122, 189). Then Ioannes' envy drives him to enlist Simon son of Gamaliel to bribe leading members of the Jerusalem assembly to send a delegation to replace Josephus, led by Ionathes (§§ 195-96). All of these men attempt to lead the Galileans, but for the wrong reasons. They are, for example, prepared to use piety as a cloak for their greed and power-lust (§§ 75, 291), which Josephus would never do. Iustus of Tiberias figures among these opponents, but he is no more prominent than the others. He receives two dedicated sections, it is true (§§ 36-42, 336-67), but the delegation receives much more space (§§ 189-335). Iustus too fits the general pattern: a power-hungry, self-serving demagogue (§§ 40, 391-93).

One of Josephus' reasons for introducing all these characters, evidently, is so that he may contrast his ongoing success, which is due to divine favor as he repeatedly says (§§ 15-6, 83, 208-9, 425), with the miserable end of all his enemies (§§ 332, 372, 390-93, 410). These results provide the clearest proof of each person's character, in keeping with the program of the *Antiquities* (1.14, 20): the just prosper and the unjust fail. Always.

This analysis by no means excludes the possibility that Josephus was somewhat jealous of Iustus' literary skills or that he wove into his narrative some implicit responses to Iustus' rival work. It may be, for example, that he claimed to have been compelled to agree to the sale of imperial grain for Gischala's walls *because* Iustus had implicated him in that deal (§ 71-3). Since he does not mention such an accusation, however, we quickly enter the realm of ungovernable speculation. Nor should the foregoing analysis, if it is more or less correct, imply that we cannot recover some important information about Iustus of Tiberias from Josephus' assaults. Luther (1910), Drexler (1925), Schalit (1933), and Rajak (1973) have made valuable use of this material.

As for the study of Josephus' own work, the scholarly preoccupation with his alleged defensiveness toward Iustus may have prevented us from seeing more constructive influences. Writing from a position of confident strength, namely, Josephus may have quietly borrowed some of his new material from his articulate rival, just as in the *War* and *Antiquities* he had freely imported other sources even if he disagreed with their larger aims (cf. *Ant.* 16.184-87; cf. Wacholder 1987). For example, it is antecedently plausible that he retrieved from Iustus his detailed account of Philip son of Iacimus (§§ 46-61, 179-84, 407-9; see commentary). This appears to be new material over against the *War*, which has only vague and wholly contradictory parallels, and Iustus was after all a relative of Philip (§§ 177-78). Since Iustus based his work on his close association with Agrippa II, and since his relative Philip was Agrippa's loyal prefect, it stands to reason that Iustus would have included an account of Philip's activities.

However we assess Iustus' influence on the *Life*, none of the traces it has left in the text implies that Josephus felt particularly threatened by the rival account. Even when he comes to his pointed digression against Iustus (§§ 336-67), where he poses as an ag-

grieved victim of slander who simply must defend himself (§ 338), he actually devotes the space not to a defense of his actions but to a derisive attack on his old adversary, which would not have done much to assuage a critical audience. He tries to pre-empt Iustus' cherished relationship with Agrippa II (§§ 355-67) by insisting that *he* had Agrippa's support, whereas Iustus was in constant trouble with the king. This one-upmanship, based upon one's personal connections, is of the ordinary kind among ancient aristocrats. Rather than defending his actions in Tiberias, then, Josephus relishes the opportunity to assume his most condescending rhetorical posture against an opponent who is outside of Josephus' apparently protected circle.

Certainly, there is an element of self-defense in Josephus' *Life* (cf. § 6), as in all ancient (and probably modern) autobiography. But acknowledging that is different from supposing that Josephus was compelled to write because of a specific threat to his well-being. Given the ongoing imperial protection and other friendships of which he boasts (§ 429-30), there is no good reason to believe that the privileged Judean was vulnerable at this point in his life. To the contrary, the mammoth *Antiquities-Life* presupposes, I think, a supportive audience in Rome.

VI. Notes on the Text and Translation

It remains to comment briefly on the Greek text of the *Life* and on noteworthy features of the translation.

Text

Like the others in this series (see Series Preface), this translation begins with the *editio maior* of Benedictus Niese (Berlin: Weidmann, 1890 for the *Life*). We do not necessarily follow Niese's reconstructed text in that edition, which is notoriously conservative in its single-minded dependence upon manuscript P, over against the group AMW and sometimes R (see below). Niese himself improved the text for his *editio minor*, published in the same period. Still, in the absence of a new collation of manuscripts (Naber's edition of 1888-96 containing a faulty apparatus), we had little choice but to operate within the parameters of Niese's apparatus, if not always following his text. For further guidance about the preferable text in the *Life*, three developments since Niese are important.

First is the Loeb Classical Library edition by Henry St. John Thackeray, to whom all students of Josephus will remain indebted for a long time. Thackeray's translation was accompanied by a somewhat independent Greek text, on facing pages. Thackeray respected P, but not to the extreme that Niese had; he preferred a consensus reading of PRA. Thackeray's translation has not been as useful as his Greek text (see below). Second, André Pelletier's 1959 French translation with independent Greek text favored the manuscript R, against both Niese and Thackeray. I note it here for information, though it has not influenced my reading to a significant degree. The most important contribution is the new *editio minor* of the *Life* accompanied by a German translation from Münster, which takes an eclectic approach to the text. I am grateful to Prof. Dr. Folker Siegert, Director of the Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum, for generously making available the work of the Münster team even as I was writing. The Münster text often provided valuable guidance or confirmation for my textual choices, and occasionally emendations outside the scope of Niese's apparatus.

Definitive reference works for the text of Josephus are Heinz Schreckenberg's studies, especially *Die Flavius-Josephus-Tradition in Antike und Mittelalter* (Leiden: Brill, 1972). In his *Rezeptionsgeschichtliche und Textkritische Untersuchungen zu Flavius Josephus*

(Brill, 1977), 114-17, he evaluates the manuscripts of the *Life*. Schreckenberg begins with the principal manuscripts identified by Niese:

- P** Palatinus gr. 14, parchment, early fourteenth century; Bibliotheca Vaticana in Rome.
- R** Parisinus gr. 1423, parchment, thirteenth or fourteenth century; Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.
- A** Ambrosianus 370, parchment, eleventh century; Bibliotheca Ambrosiana in Milan.
- M** Marcianus 380, parchment, 1469; Biblioteca Nazionale di S. Marco in Venice.
- W** Vaticanus gr. 984, parchment, 1354; Bibliotheca Vaticana in Rome.

In addition, he brings forward as worthy of consideration the Yale Codex (Nr. 275, paper, fourteenth century; Yale University Library), which is a descendant of manuscript A. He is particularly interested, however, in manuscript B (Bononiensis gr. 3568, paper, fourteenth or fifteenth century; Biblioteca Universitaria in Bologna). The Münster team has worked into its critical apparatus the readings of B, which sometimes provide further support for P, sometimes offer a better reading, and occasionally confirm what had previously been unsubstantiated conjectures.⁹

As we noted earlier, only the *Life* among Josephus' works did not benefit from a Latin translation. This is unfortunate in part because elsewhere—notably in the second volume of the *Apion*—it is the Latin text that helps us fill in lacunae in the Greek manuscript tradition. In the *Life* we have a few apparently brief lacunae: §§ 47, 143, 411.

In short, my procedure was to translate Niese as a base text, in keeping with principles agreed to by the Brill Josephus team—somewhat before the Münster text became available. Since we had also agreed to seek illumination from any relevant recent texts, which were different for each of Josephus' works, I have freely consulted the reconstructions noted above, though I have not adopted them systematically. Because we are not providing a Greek text, I could not fully explore all variants, but I have noted what seemed to me the significant alternatives. It is a function of the ongoing evolution of Josephan textual studies that I cannot simply say: this translation renders *that* text.

Translation

In keeping with the Series guidelines, again, I have aimed at a “literal” translation. This goal was determined by the inclusion of the commentary, for the Greek must be rendered as transparently as possible if the translation is to serve as an anchor for the notes. Thackeray's translation for the Loeb was excellent, inspired in places. Sometimes, after I had struggled for the best English word or phrase, I would finally consult Thackeray and find that his choice, nearly eight decades ago, served the purpose admirably. In general, however, Thackeray's translation is not literal, and so would have caused problems for the commentator. To take but one example: although the word γένος occurs four times within *Life* 1-2, Thackeray renders it with four different English expressions (“family,” “line,” [omitted], “blood”). In all four cases, by contrast, I use “ancestry.” Thackeray's translation practice is no doubt more pleasing to ear and eye, in its variety, but it conceals features of Josephus' diction upon which I am required to comment.

Therefore, as far as possible I have tried both to represent the parts of speech (nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs) with English equivalents and to keep consistent translations of particular Greek word-groups. Here are a few examples of equivalents I have chosen as defaults for some common words in the *Life* and for terms that overlap in sense:

⁹ I depend here upon an unpublished paper, “Eine ‘neue’ Josephus-Handschrift: Kritischer Bericht über den Bologneser *Codex graecus* 3568,” kindly sent to me by the author, Prof. Dr. Folker Siegert.

ἀναιρέω	do away with, dispose of
(ἀπο)κτείνω	kill
προστάσσω	order
κελεύω	direct
ἐντέλλω	instruct
λέγω	say
φημί	declare
ἔρω	state
φράζω	indicate
ἐπιστολή	letter
γράμματα	documents
παρακελεύω	appeal to
οἱ περὶ τῶν Χ	X's group
πλῆθος	mob
δῆμος	populace
νεωτερισμός	revolution
στάσις	sedition
ἀποστασία	secession
ἀπόστασις	defection

There are, of course, limits to such attempts at consistency. A word such as ἀφικνέομαι occurs so frequently and in so many different contexts that no single verb in English would serve all purposes. At §§ 14, 16, and 20, Josephus uses it in three different senses within a short space: “reach” (a destination), “meet” (a person), and “incur” (an emotional reaction from others).

As Shutt (1961:74-5) observed in a different context, Josephus has the habit of taking up a word or phrase, using it intensively for a short space, and then dropping it. Consider these examples. In §§ 13 and 24-5, he uses the common noun αἰτία four times, twice in each block. In each pair of occurrences, the word has two distinct senses: “cause” or “reason” (for an action) and the judicial sense of cause: “charge.” The verb ἐπιβουλεύω occurs only four times in the *Life*, but two of these are in contiguous paragraphs (§§ 216-17). Josephus first notes that Ionathes was “plotting” to take him in an ambush, but then quotes a letter from Ionathes that acknowledges Ioannes’ plotting against Josephus. This is either a remarkable coincidence or, more likely, a word-play. Although the verb ἐπάγω occurs ten times in the *Life*, five of those appearances are between §§ 107 and 119, in the middle voice, and yet in quite different shades of meaning: “supply,” “enlist,” “procure,” “bring along (with).”

Then there are a number of words that appear only twice or three times in the *Life*, but close to each other. The adjective δεινός (“terrible”) occurs in §§ 100 and 101, but remarkably in its two opposite senses: “awful” (bad) and “awesome” (impressive). The verb δημοσιόω (“make public”), similarly, occurs only twice: in § 363 meaning “publish (a book)” and shortly thereafter (§ 370) meaning “confiscate.” In all such cases, I had no choice but to adopt different English translations for the same Greek word.

Josephus’ tendency to favor words for a short period is also apparent in the case of terms that retain precisely the same meaning, but occur only twice in the *Life*, within a few sentences of each other. Since there is no obvious need for this bunching of terms, it seems to reflect his experimentation with literary effects. I have two examples from the digression against Iustus: ἔχω ἀπεχθής (“harbor hostility”: §§ 375, 384) and παρατυχάνω (“chance to be present”: §§ 358, 362). In the same vein, Josephus uses three different compounds of νοέω (κατανοέω, διανοέω, and ἐννοέω) in one sentence (§ 72). Be-

cause of the preoccupations of scholarship on the *Life*, such language play has gone largely unexplored.

In spite of these efforts at linguistic playfulness, the overall impression of the *Life* is one of extreme repetitiveness and formulaic construction. By the time one has read half of the book, it sometimes appears that whole sentences are constructed of stock phrases, thus:

306 *The mob of the Galileans* [§§ 84, 102, 210], *becoming enraged at these things* [§ 307], *kept appealing to me* [§§ 97, 99, 204, 205, 333] to delay no longer in joining battle against them, but *to authorize them* [§§ 85, 263, 384] to come upon Ioannes and *to obliterate altogether* [§§ 102, 375, 384] both him and *Ionathes' group* [§§ 199, 201, 228, 231, etc.].

In spite of the aesthetic objection, I have opted to include somewhat repetitive notes to earlier comments on such favored phrases (e.g., “see the note to X at § N”) in order to highlight this feature of Josephus’ diction. It seemed that readers coming to a later section of the *Life* might wish to know where the main comment on a particular phrase was located. Further, attention to Josephus’ linguistic limitations and possibilities is all the more important because the *Life* probably represents his unassisted personal style. When he writes quickly and in his most natural Greek, he resorts to extensive repetition of favored phrases and grammatical forms. One reason for the digression against Iustus (§§ 336-67), it seems to me, is that it enables him to break up this repetitive narrative with a sharp infusion of new juridical vocabulary (“proof,” “witnesses,” “argumentation,” and so on).

A final observation concerns the use of the historical present in the *Life*. Since Josephus freely mixes the present with other tenses, he creates a dilemma for the translator. To retain his tenses in English would create considerable awkwardness; to adopt uniform past tenses would gloss over his usage. To be sure, since colloquial English also invites mixed tenses (“I was walking along the street, and I see an old friend”), an argument could be made for a truly literal translation. I have backed away from this particular brink, however, and opted to change Josephus’ presents to pasts, marking the adjustment with an asterisk.*

VII. *Acknowledgments*

I have incurred many debts while preparing this book. First, York University has provided support in countless ways. Its program structure, to begin with, facilitates regular contact with colleagues in classical studies and Roman history, which I might not have had in a departmental system. Over the years, Professors Paul Swarney, Jonathan Edmondson, and James Rives have proven endlessly patient and encouraging toward someone who began his career specializing in Christian origins. Professor Ross Arthur has shown continuing interest in my work, and offered ingenious modes of assistance from his peculiar brand of computing expertise. In the academic year 1999-2000, moreover, I was able to write up this manuscript because of the full release from teaching and administrative duties that comes with a Faculty of Arts Fellowship at York.

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When Ms. Rachel Urowitz, who is preparing a dissertation at the University of Toronto on Philip the tetrarch, willingly put aside some of her research time to assist with this project in its final stages, I was overjoyed. She eagerly took on aspects of the work that are most appreciated by readers but most dreaded by writers. With a keen eye, she performed bibliographical searches, checked the entire manuscript for documentation format, and compiled some of the indices.

Thanks to Dr. Honora Howell Chapman of Santa Clara University for reading through this introductory essay and offering valuable advice.

The value of this book has been immeasurably increased by the inclusion of an appendix on the archaeology of Galilee. This is the expert contribution of Professors Moti Aviam of the Israel Antiquities Authority / University of Rochester and Peter Richardson of the University of Toronto. I am sure that readers of Josephus will be as grateful to them as I am for allowing this survey to reside here.

Finally, I want to express my thanks to a number of colleagues in the growing Josephus community around the globe who have supported me in my developing work on Josephus, challenging my hypotheses in friendly dialogue with their own. Professor Louis Feldman has exceeded even his reputation with uniquely learned and energetic support. The Münster group led by Professor Siegert (above) have shown me warm hospitality. They first heard my effort to make sense of Josephus' *Life* at the 1997 Internationales Josephus-Kolloquium in Münster and later published it with the conference proceedings (1998). Dr. Manuel Vogel of Münster has been generous in securing research materials for me. Professor Hannah Cotton of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and Ms. Silvia Castelli, doctorand at the University of Pavia, have also helped find materials. Dr. Alla Kushnir-Stein of the University of Tel Aviv offered specialist help on a couple of numismatic issues. I am grateful to them all.

It is marvelous to live in a time when one may enjoy such international cooperation without leaving one's study.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, *LIFE*
TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY BY STEVE MASON

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INTRODUCTION TO THE *LIFE*: ANT. 20.262-66

262 Encouraged by the completion of what I had projected [sc. the *Antiquities*], I would now say plainly that no other person who had wished to do so, whether a Judean or a foreigner, would have been able to produce this work so precisely for Greek speakers. **263** For among my compatriots I am admitted to have an education in our country's customs that far surpasses theirs. And once I had consolidated my knowledge of Greek grammar, I worked very hard also to share in the learning of Greek letters and poetry, though my traditional habit has frustrated precision with respect to pronunciation. **264** Among us: they do not favor those who have mastered the accent of many nations and made their speech frilly with elegance of diction, because they consider such a pursuit to be common—not only among those who happen to be free citizens, but even among domestics if they desire it. They acknowledge wisdom only among those who clearly understand the legal system and who are able to bring out the force of the sacred literature. **265** So, although many have worked hard at this discipline, barely two or maybe three have succeeded, and they have soon reaped the benefits of their labors.

266 Perhaps it will not be a provocation to jealousy, or strike ordinary folk as gauche, if I review briefly both my own ancestry and the events of my life while there are still those living who can offer refutation or corroboration. **267** With these matters I shall conclude the *Antiquities*, comprising twenty volumes and 60,000 lines, and, should the deity permit, I shall again make mention, cursorily, of both the war and what has happened to us until the present day, which belongs to the thirteenth year of the rule of Domitian Caesar and, in my case, the fifty-sixth year from birth.

LIFE OF JOSEPHUS

(1) **1** Now¹ in my case, my ancestry² is rather distinguished,³ having originated with

*introduction to
Josephus' an-
cestry*

¹ I translate the δέ here in order to show the parallel with § 2, which opens with the same phrase: ἐμοὶ δέ. This opening δέ does not, however, carry its full (originally adverbial) weight as a conjunction. Josephus' inceptive usage here is paralleled in each of the last five books of the *Antiquities* (Ant. 16.1; 17.1; 18.1; 19.1; 20.1). Since he will also use δέ frequently in the opening sections of the *Life* (§§ 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 17, 24), even where he opens a new episode (compare Matt. 1:18; 2:1), the word should often be left untranslated or rendered with a comparable English spice word such as "now." Many scholars have observed that, lacking its own prologue, the *Life* directly continues from Ant. 20.262-67, and they have singled out this δέ as an index of that continuity (Luther 1910:60; Laqueur 1920:4; Rajak 1973:354 n.1; Barish 1978:69; Cohen 1979:175; S. Mason 1991:311). Although the observed connection stands in any case, on the basis of content, Josephus' liberal use of δέ should prevent us from placing too much weight on it here.

² Josephus uses the word γένος four times in these opening two sections. Thus he immediately fulfills the promise of Ant. 20.266 to describe his outstanding pedigree. For Josephus, as for all aristocrats and especially those in Rome, a distinguished ancestry (cf. Lat. *genus* and *gens*) was the normally expected source of a sterling character, since character was considered more or less fixed along blood lines (cf. §§ 3-6, 430; Polybius 6.53.9-54.2; 9.1.4-2.2; Cicero *Part. or.* 82; May 1988:6). Rhetorical handbooks identified the pedigree as the first item to consider when assessing a person's character. Accordingly, epic poets, historians, and biographers tended to begin with their subject's ancestry (Homer, *Il.* 6.123-231; *Od.* 19.165-84; Herodotus *Hist.* 4.147; 7.204; Virgil, *Aen.* 6.761-895; Tacitus, *Agr.* 4.1-2; Diogenes Laertius, 3.1-2 [Plato]; Plutarch, *Alex.* 2.1; Iamblichus, *Vita Pyth.* 3-4; γ. *Ta'an.* 4.68a [Hillel]; *Gen. Rab.* 33 [the rabbinic patriarch]; Matt. 1:2-17/Luke 3:23-38 [Jesus of Nazareth]). When noble genealogies could not be found, they were sometimes invented—as

priests⁴ long ago. Just as the basis of noble birth⁵ is different among various [nations], so also among us membership⁶ in the priesthood is a certain proof⁷ of an ancestry's brilliance.⁸ **2** Now in my case, my ancestry is not merely from priests; it is also from the first day-course of the twenty-four⁹—an enormous distinction, this¹⁰—and indeed, from

in many of these examples. On the invention of distinguished genealogies in late-republican Rome, see Wiseman 1987:207-18. For negative examples, compare Cicero's treatment of some opponents (e.g., in *Pis.* 1) and Tacitus' biting remark about Curtius Rufus, a man who had achieved high rank without the requisite pedigree: "As to the origin of Curtius Rufus, whom some have described as the son of a gladiator, I would not promulgate a falsehood and I am ashamed to investigate the truth" (*Ann.* 11.21; cf. Plass 1988:23). On ancestry in general, see Flower 1996 and Millar 1999:5-6.

³ Literally "not undistinguished (common, insignificant, obscure)": οὐκ ἄσημον. Josephus has consistently presented himself as well-born: in *War* 5.419 he similarly refers to his γένος οὐκ ἄσημον and "ancient, splendid house" (πάλαι λαμπρός οἶκος). In both cases he uses the Greek double negative to express a stronger positive (*litotes*). I do not translate with a double negative because in American English that might suggest a qualification (e.g., "X is not unfriendly") or defensiveness unsuited to his tone either in *War* 5 or here. Contrast § 35, where he dismisses a Tiberian rebel faction as constituted of "insignificant (ἄσημοι) people."

⁴ On the fundamental importance of the priesthood for Josephus' literary identity (at least), see e.g., *War* 1.3, 26; 3.352; *Ant.* 4.304; 10.151-53; 16.187; 20.224-51; *Life* 13, 29, 80; *Apion* 1.28-54; 2.184-93. Cf. S. Rappaport (1930: passim); Heller (1936:238-38); Lindner (1972:75-6); Blenkinsopp (1974); S. Mason (1988; BJP 3.xxvi-xxviii); S. Schwartz (1990:58-109). It appears that he was not only a hereditary priest but that he actually practiced in the temple service (Sanders 1992:60-98). Although hereditary aristocratic priesthood is usually associated with Judeans and other Orientals (cf. *Apion* 1.28), also in Rome there was an intimate connection between priesthood and nobility (cf. Polybius 6.56; Cicero, *Leg.* 2.12.31; *Resp.* 2.12-14; *Dom.* 1.1; Alföldy 1988:35-6). Augustus' revival of the priestly colleges, whatever its motivation, further strengthened this relationship (Syme 1939:381-82; Galinsky 1996:288-312; Potter in Potter/Mattingly 1999:140; Beard, North, and Price 1998:1.186-96). Whereas in Rome the priestly offices themselves were not hereditary, though they were largely restricted to the aristocracy, Josephus boasts here as elsewhere (*Apion* 2.185) that the Judeans perfectly integrate priesthood and aristocracy.

Although the following notes offer grounds for sus-

picion about the length of Josephus' priestly ancestry, the general circumstances of his life (e.g., his selection for the mission to Rome and for leadership in the Galilee), his thorough knowledge of priestly matters, and his profound attachment to the priesthood throughout his writings, in combination with the defectiveness of our knowledge about actual conditions in the first century, should incline us to accept that his family had *become* priestly at some point, even if in an irregular way. His situation may be analogous to that of the Roman aristocracy in which, alongside the ideal of a nobility from time immemorial, family trees were readily reconstructed (see note 2).

⁵ In the *Life*, the word εὐγένεια (cf. Lat. *nobilitas*) occurs only with respect to Josephus' family (cf. § 7) or—in the cognate adjective—his second wife's (§ 427).

⁶ The noun μετουσία occurs only here and at *Ant.* 2.27 in Josephus.

⁷ Josephus uses a technical rhetorical term (τεκμήριον). Cf. §§ 55, 344, 358. Aristotle establishes the use of this term for a necessary proof (*Rhet.* 1.2.16) and Quintilian, though writing Latin, quotes the word in Greek (*Inst.* 5.9.3) to characterize a compelling proof (*signum necessarium*): one from which there is no getting away, as distinct from an artful argument. Josephus is out to make an irrefutable—in rhetorical terms—case for his ancestry and character.

⁸ Or "splendor of ancestry." Cf. *Ant.* 14.490, where Josephus reflects upon the end of the "brilliant" Hasmonean house. The combination of γένος and λαμπρός is common in other authors of the period: Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. rom.* 10.41.5; Plutarch, *Per.* 7.2; *Sull.* 35.3; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 28.12; Appian, *Bell. civ.* 2.1.2; Diogenes Laertius 1.22; 9.21. Cf. Latin *genus clarum*, *gens clarissima* (Pliny, *Nat.* 7.186; 35.19; Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.43; 4.8; 6.9; 12.6; Pliny, *Pan.* 58.3; 69.4). It is a basic rhetorical feature of the *Life* that Josephus first establishes his own shining γένος and corresponding character (with, e.g., demonstrated σύνεσις, § 8) in order to expose his various opponents, whose similar reputations (§§ 191-92, 278) will be demolished by his narrative.

⁹ Josephus has explained the origin of the priestly day-course (ἐφημερίς) in *Ant.* 7.365-67, paraphrasing 1 Chr 24:1-19. According to the biblical story, near the end of his life King David recognized 24 clans among the priests descended from Aaron's sons Eleazar and Ithamar, for service in the sanctuary. The first clan rec-

the most élite¹¹ of the divisions¹² within this [course]. Further,¹³ I have a share of royal

ognized by lot was that of Jehoiarib (Ioarib)—the clan from which the Hasmoneans would later spring (*Ant.* 12.265; cf. 1 Macc 2:1). Although the Greek word ἡμερίς ordinarily signified a diary (Plutarch, *Caes.* 22.2) or daily account book (Diogenes Laertius 6.86), Josephus reserves the word for the priestly courses, using it only here and in the passages given above. The LXX (e.g., 1 Chr 9:33; 23:6) has ἡμερίς. In *Apion* 2.108, extant only in Latin, Josephus will assert that there are “four tribes (*tribus*) of priests.” Either he preserves there a recollection of the 4 priestly families who returned from exile (Ezra 2:36-39; Neh 7:39-42)—as *y. Ta’an.* 68a mentions both 4 and 24 courses—or the Latin reflects a textual corruption from 24.

By Josephus’ time, a weekly rotation was in place (*Ant.* 7.365). Each priestly course came up to Jerusalem from its home territory to serve from one sabbath to the next. Thus each course served twice per year in addition to the three pilgrimage festivals, when all eligible priests were required. References to this system are also found in Qumran texts (4Q320, 321: ET in Martinez, 1996:452-54), the NT (Luke 1:5-8), and rabbinic literature beginning with the Mishnah (e.g., *m. Sukkah* 5.6-8; *m. Tamid* 6.1-3; *m. Ta’an.* 5.6-7). For analysis, see Schürer-Vermes 2.245-50.

¹⁰ By asserting that the first priestly course is *ipso facto* the primary one, Josephus appears to thwart the Bible’s emphasis on their equality (1 Chr 24:5). Possibly the course of Ioarib had in fact achieved unquestioned prestige because of the glorious deeds of the Hasmoneans (from this course) in the intervening history. Indeed, 1 Chr 24, which places Ioarib first, may already reflect the Hasmonean success (Schürer-Vermes 2.250 n. 50). But presumably some of the subsequent high priests would have raised the standing of their courses also and, given the sequel, Josephus may simply be exaggerating. His implication that being first was *per se* a mark of distinction would match the Roman legion, for example, in which the centuries of the first cohort were of double size and honor (Le Bohec 1994:43-4).

¹¹ ὄριστος: otherwise “best” (§§ 10, 321).

¹² Greek: φυλαί. Although Josephus normally uses the word of a tribe or clan (*Ant.* 1.221; 3.49, 105 etc.), at *War* 4.155 as here he uses it of a clan-division of one of the 24 priestly courses. Also in Greco-Roman Egypt, the word φυλή could refer to a contingent or subdivision of priests (*P.Amh.* 2.112.7). Terminology varies, but in Mishnaic usage the larger priestly courses are called משמרות and the divisions within them are called בת־אבות (*m. Ta’an.* 2.6-7). According to the Jerusalem Talmud (*y. Ta’an.* 68a), each clan-division would be responsible for a day or two of the course’s assigned

week of temple duties. We know little about the divisions within priestly courses in Josephus’ day. It stands to reason that some would achieve or claim greater prestige than the others. But given the context here, Josephus’ claim to belong to the most distinguished clan, as if this were an objective fact, may be little more than bluster.

Greek and Roman readers were entirely familiar with the notion that citizen populations—if not exactly an aristocratic priesthood—should be divided into (partly fictional) “tribes.” In Athens (ca. 500 BCE), Cleisthenes had famously introduced a system of 10 tribes (φυλαί), reordering the more than 100 previous regional “demes.” By Josephus’ time the entire body of Roman citizens, no matter where an individual citizen actually originated or currently resided, had been divided into 35 tribes (*tribus*), each with a regional assignment in Italy (Finley 1983:39-49). As a Roman citizen (§ 423), Josephus too would have belonged to such a tribe, though he mentions only his Judean affiliations.

¹³ Or “in addition” (δὲ καί). The double conjunction appears to identify Josephus’ maternal descent and consequent royal connection as something additional to priesthood from his paternal line, such that only the royal side of his ancestry is the new term. Yet there is evidence here and elsewhere that his claim to priesthood itself depends the Hasmonean link, which comes from this “mother” (below). On the one hand, the Bible assumes that priesthood is passed from father to son (Exod 40:15; Num 18:1-20), and so does Josephus elsewhere (*Apion* 1.30-6). Both Tobias (*Ant.* 12.160) and Herod the Great (*Ant.* 14.300) married prominent women from high-priestly families, and yet neither the Tobiads nor the Herods became priests. On the other hand, in *Ant.* 16.187 Josephus plainly attributes (διὰ τοῦτο) his priestly status to his connection with the Hasmoneans, and here in the *Life* that Hasmonean heritage comes from this “mother.” Accordingly, he locates his priesthood in the priestly course of the Hasmoneans (Ioarib). He has given enough material for scholars to conclude that his prized membership in the priesthood derives only from a Hasmonean link through a maternal ancestor (Rajak 1983:17) and is therefore of dubious validity. In that case, one of his ancestors must somehow have assumed priestly status on the basis of Hasmonean connections. According to rabbinic literature (*’Abot R. Nathan* 35 [p.105]; *t. Yoma* 4.20; *y. Yoma* 1.38d; *b. Yoma* 47a; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 26.10 [p. 398]; cf. Stern 1987:608-9), the priestly family קמחית came from a maternal ancestor. Alternatively, it would be a remarkable coincidence if his father was heir to a paternal priestly line, from the Hasmonean course

ancestry from my mother¹⁴ because the children of Asamoneus,¹⁵ of whom she was a descendant,¹⁶ for a very long time served as high priests and exercised the kingship of our nation.¹⁷

Ioarib, and his mother was also a descendant of Hasmoneans. This would also create further problems, since his father's ancestry goes back to a female connection with the Hasmoneans. However his family came into the priesthood, Josephus was evidently a proud, practicing priest (see the note to "priesthood" in § 1).

A strikingly similar, rhetorical, blurring of the lines between paternal and maternal priestly descent is found in the letter of the non-priest King Agrippa I to Gaius Caligula, according to Philo (*Legat.* 278): "It fell to me to have for grandparents and ancestors kings, most of whom had the title of high priest, who considered their kingship inferior to the priesthood."

¹⁴ Cf. Iulius Caesar's address at his aunt's funeral: "The maternal side of my aunt Iulia's family took its origin from the kings, and the paternal one is linked with the immortal gods" (Suetonius, *Jul.* 6). It seems (cf. Misch 1950:1.265) that Augustus, in his autobiography, altogether downplayed his father's disputed ancestry (Suetonius, *Aug.* 2.3) while dwelling on that of his mother—the daughter of Iulius Caesar's sister (*Aug.* 4.1-2).

Josephus appears at first to refer to his own mother, because he does not qualify the term and especially in view of the *War* parallel (5.419), which mentions his mother and wife (not his still-living father: cf. *War* 5.533) alongside a reference to his distinguished ancestry (γένος). His mother is also featured later in the *War* (5.544-47). Nevertheless, here in the *Life* Josephus moves directly to his father's pedigree, which supplies the link with the Hasmoneans claimed for his mother, and he reiterates in § 7 that his *father* had a noble birth. Conceivably, both his mother and his father (through a female ancestor) had distinguished pedigrees; but that is unlikely given his failure to say so. The only woman mentioned in the genealogy is his father's great-grandmother, who indeed connects his father's line with the famous priestly dynasty of Asamoneus. Radin (1929:193-96) and Rajak (1983:15) argue, via parallel uses of "mother" in Hebrew and Aramaic literature (e.g., *m. Qidd.* 4.4), that Josephus' μήτηρ must be this ancestral *matriarch*: the daughter of the Hasmonean Ionathes mentioned in § 4. We may add that Josephus himself can use μήτηρ loosely, as when he calls Abraham's wife Sarah the "mother of our race/ancestry" (γένος: *War* 5.319). Perhaps, too, he did not know of an efficient term to describe this ancestor: προμόμμη is barely attested (six occurrences on the TLG-D CD-ROM) and not used by Josephus elsewhere; προμήτωρ is both rare and ambiguous as to gender (LSJ *s.v.*). Contrast πρόπαππος, which he uses at *Life* 2 and *Ant.*

8.315 (and which occurs 73 times in the TLG). If Josephus refers to his maternal ancestor here, as it seems, and if in fact she is the connection with nobility, then his reference to his mother in *War* 5.419 (above) must be unrelated to his ancestry claim in the same sentence.

It remains a problem that he should make no effort to clarify his usage of μήτηρ (cf. Cohen, 1979:107-8 n. 33). Perhaps the best solution, given the highly exaggerated tone of this entire opening section, is that he deliberately obfuscates, stretching the use of μήτηρ to make a verbal impact. That he should rhetorically conflate this ancestor with his own mother might at least fit the contemporary Roman elite's openness to claims of "maternal ancestry": Augustus appears to have featured his mother's connection with the Iulian family (Suetonius, *Aug.* 4.1-2); Nero's claim to an Augustan heritage was through his mother Agrippina; and other aristocrats of the period also appealed to their mothers' lines (cf. Barrett 1996:97-8, 113, 152, 154).

Significantly, even this woman, who is so important to Josephus' claim to nobility, is nowhere given a name. Nor are his three wives named. Yet his brother (§ 8), surviving sons (§§ 5, 427), and father are all named, though they are less significant in the narrative than either this "mother" or his current wife (§ 427). Josephus reflects the general lack of interest in women's names, exemplified in Rome where women simply bore the name of the *gens*.

¹⁵ Οἱ Ἀσαμωναίου παῖδες: one of Josephus' terms for the Hasmonean dynasty, which created and governed an independent Judean state from about 140 to 63 BCE (cf. *Ant.* 20.190, 347); elsewhere οἱ Ἀσαμωναῖοι (*War* 2.344; 5.139) or τό Ἀσαμωναίων γένος (*Ant.* 15.403). Some rabbinic literature uses an equivalent term: בְּנֵי חַשְׁמוֹנָאִי (*m. Mid.* 1.6). Although Josephus assumes that the family name comes from a patriarch named Asamonaeus, that name does not appear in the earlier texts—1 and 2 Maccabees—even in the family tree of Mattathias, the father of the 5 Hasmonean brothers (1 Macc 2.1). There, instead, Mattathias' grandfather is named Simeon (= Shim'on). Possibly Asamoneus (חַשְׁמוֹנִי) reflected the Hebrew original, corrupted to Shim'on (שִׁמְעוֹן) and so Simeon in our Greek texts (Wellhasen 1874:94 n.; Schürer-Vermes 1.194 n. 14). Another possibility is that חַשְׁמוֹנִי was a personal nickname (meaning unknown) of Mattathias in the Hebrew original, matching the nick-names of his sons (Goldstein 1976:17-19). Evidently, Josephus has access to traditions about the Hasmoneans other than those in 1 and 2 Maccabees.

3 I shall state¹⁸ the succession,¹⁹ then. Our patriarch was Simon, who was surnamed Psellus.²⁰ This man lived in the period when the son of the high priest Simon²¹ served as *Josephus' genealogy*

¹⁶ Mss. PRA, followed by Niese and Thackeray: ἔγγονος. Mss. MW read ἔκγονος, which is favored by Rajak (1983:15 n. 13) on the ground that it would make the woman an immediate “child” rather than descendant of the Hasmoneans. No doubt, the variants reflect the struggle of copyists to understand the role of Josephus’ “mother.” But the senses of these two Greek terms overlap so extensively (cf. LSJ and Rengstorff, *s.v.*) that reading ἔκγονος would not change much.

¹⁷ Josephus has displayed an abiding interest in the high priesthood and the kingship, both in his narrative of the *Antiquities* and in his summary lists of office-holders (*Ant.* 10.151-53; 20.224-51). He pointedly notes in concluding the *Antiquities* (20.261) that he has charted the succession of high priests and kings (as well as judges). But even by the standards of his own narrative, his statement here in the *Life* reflects the exaggeration of this section. In general, the *Antiquities* has rejected kingship in favor of aristocracy (*Ant.* 4.223; 6.36; 11.111; 14.91; 19.178). Josephus claims that the Hasmoneans eschewed the title of “king” until Aristobulus (104 BCE: *Ant.* 20.241), whose wearing of the diadem began the downward spiral of the dynasty (*Ant.* 13.300-301; cf. *War* 1.69-70). Thus formal Hasmonean kingship was in place for about 41 years (104-63 BCE), only slightly longer than the later single-handed reign of Herod (37-4 BCE). No doubt, Josephus thinks here of the entire period of Hasmonean hegemony, when they held the “rule of the people” without being kings. This period he elsewhere counts as 125 or 126 years (*Ant.* 14.490; 17.162), evidently including both the period of Judas Maccabee (from 167 or 166 BCE—though Judas was apparently not high priest, notwithstanding *Ant.* 12.414, 419, 434, which are contradicted by *Ant.* 20.237-38, *Life* 4, and 1 Macc 9:56-10:20) and that of Hyrcanus II, Aristobulus II (who, however, were *not* kings—*Ant.* 20.243-44), and Antigonus, between Pompey’s arrival in Judea in 63 and Herod’s effective reign from 37 BCE. In spite of the exaggeration here, Josephus’ reflection on the long glory of the Hasmonean house matches in tone his summary at *Ant.* 14.490-91.

¹⁸ Josephus uses the verb ἔρω only here and at § 338 in the *Life*. He seems to reserve it for the more solemn contexts of speaking, in which he appears as a legal advocate making a case (note its relatively high frequency in the *Apion*): hence “state” or “declare.”

¹⁹ The succession (διαδοχή) of Judean high priests (*Ant.* 20.16, 213, 255), kings (*Ant.* 10.231; 16.79; 17.238; 20.261), and prophets (*Apion* 1.41) is a basic theme in Josephus. Aside from helping to establish the antiquity of Judean culture, this term supports the philo-

sophical currents in his work (e.g., §§ 10-12 below), for philosophers too spoke about the succession of their various traditions (Diogenes Laertius 1.1, 20, 40, 107: note 1.2 on the Egyptian claim that priests and prophets represented that nation’s philosophical succession). See Turner (1918:197-99), Marrou (1956:207), Bickerman (1980:256-69), and S. Mason (1991:235-38; 1996:32). With this lofty language, Josephus connects himself with the succession of kings and high priests just mentioned.

Josephus’ pedigree is notoriously confusing at the logical, historical, and syntactical levels. Its rhetorical force, however, is unmistakable: many prominent high priests populate Josephus’ heritage. This rhetorical clarity might suggest that the *Life* was composed for oral presentation.

²⁰ Or “nick-named ‘The Stutterer’”—a figure otherwise unknown. Cf. Latin Balbus, a name that occurs frequently among senators (Kajanto 1965:240). To serve in the temple, priests were required to be free of physical blemish. Over time, the Bible’s list of disqualifying defects (Lev 21:16-23) was clarified and extended, partly by inference from what constitutes “blemish” in sacrificial animals (*m. Bek.* 6.12-7.7; cf. *m. Zebah.* 12.1). Philo (*Spec.* 1.80-81) and Josephus (*War* 5.228; *Ant.* 3.278; *Apion* 1.284) both emphasize this matter. Although stuttering does not appear in the extant lists of defects, even in the time of the Mishnah (ca. 200 CE) debates continued (*m. Bek.* 7.1, 6), and stuttering seems to be in the range of disqualifying conditions there. Apparently, non-serving priests often accreted nick-names identifying the fault that kept them from serving: Judah Maccabee (1 Macc 2.1—possibly “hammer-head”: cf. *m. Bek.* 7.1); Joseph son of Ellem (*Ant.* 17.166—possibly “son of the mute”; cf. Schürer-Vermes 2.229 n. 7, 243). Such a priestly tradition might explain the historical origin of Psellus as a nick-name. It is, however, unclear whether Simon Psellus was already a priest, for it was his son Matthias I who married a Hasmonean woman and so, apparently, brought Josephus’ paternal line into the priesthood (see the note to “Further” at § 2).

Josephus’ mention of an obviously revered ancestor with a name indicating a physical disability intersects remarkably well with the paradox of Roman *cognomina* (see Corbeill 1996:57-98). On the one hand, these third names originated among the nobility, so that they were *ipso facto* a mark of distinction. On the other hand, nearly half (44%) of them indicated some kind of physical peculiarity (Kajanto 1965:131; calculated by Corbeill 1996:58 n. 2)—just as most of the names that Josephus gives his ancestors. Corbeill (1996:63-4) pro-

high priest—he was the first of the high priests named Hyrcanus.²² 4 Simon Psellus had* nine children. [One] of these was* Matthias,²³ known as “of Epheus.”²⁴ This man took for himself²⁵ the daughter of the high priest Ionathes²⁶—the first of the children of Asamonaeus’ ancestry to serve as high priest and the brother of Simon the high priest²⁷ —

poses that the practice of mocking attributions occurred in second-century BCE Rome, in a context of fierce competition for positions of honor: the targets were the scions of large families, who created an uneven playing field. But the salient point is that these names were a peculiarly Roman (not Greek) phenomenon (Corbeill 1996:60). This raises the question whether Josephus is not deliberately Romanizing his ancestry; for, paradoxically, such names “actually became a mark of noble birth, and were consequently avoided in slaves’ nomenclature” (Kajanto 1965:68). Even though the labels of physical deformity probably had a different origin in Judean culture (e.g., in the priestly disqualifications, above), Josephus could borrow them for effect with his Roman audience. All the same, orators—and Josephus—did not forfeit their right to exploit the literal meaning of someone’s name for the purpose of a word-play, whether friendly or hostile (e.g., Horace, *Sat.* 1.7; further examples in Corbeill 1996:74-98). See further the notes to “Capellus” at § 32, “Varus” at § 48, and “Modius” at § 61.

It remains unclear why Josephus should have chosen Simon as the patriarch of his family, rather than one of Simon’s ancestors or Simon’s son Matthias, who actually married into the Hasmonean line. Perhaps the coincidence in name with the contemporary Hasmonean Simon provided a motive. If Simon Psellus was already a priest, then Josephus has spoken ambiguously at *Ant.* 16.187 in attributing his priestly heritage to the Hasmoneans.

²¹ The Hasmonean high priest Simon, brother of his predecessors Ioudas (Judah) and Ionathes (Jonathan), led the nation from about 143/2 to 135/4 BCE. See 1 Macc 13:1-16:17. It was apparently under Simon’s leadership that Judea gained full independence from the Seleucid regime, in 140 BCE (1 Macc 13:41-2). Cf. *War* 1.50-53; *Ant.* 13.196-229. Josephus’ introduction of the Hasmonean Simon, who is unnecessary for his genealogy, complicates the logical flow of his account. One must wonder whether this is deliberate. Perhaps he mentions Simon here and again in § 4 so that he may say “high priest” again and in order to reinforce the connection with his own ancestor of the same name.

²² Thus John Hyrcanus I (high priest: 135/4-104 BCE), the son and successor of Simon. Although 1 Maccabees ends with only a brief—albeit laudatory—notice of Hyrcanus’ term (1 Macc 16:16-24), Josephus presents his tenure as the apogee of Hasmonean administration and piety: *War* 1.54-69; *Ant.* 13.230-300. See Thoma (Parente/Sievers 127-40). It is no surprise that

Josephus should name his oldest son Hyrcanus (§ 5) or that he should wish to date his family’s ancestry from just this point. In the earlier narratives he clearly distinguishes this high priest from Hyrcanus II, whose unfortunate and irregular term after Alexandra Salome’s death was fraught with violence (*Ant.* 13.407; 14.170-79, 292-93, 365-66; 15.182).

²³ A recurring name in Josephus’ family, down to his own father and older brother (§§ 7-8). This is a form of Mattathias, the name of the man who began the Hasmonean revolt (1 Macc 2.1-70).

²⁴ As in the case of Simon Psellus, Josephus presumably supplies the *cognomen* (here Ἡφαίου) to distinguish men of the same name—in this case, from the 3 others named Matthias in this brief passage. But the meaning of the name is unknown. The attempts of the later mss. to provide alternatives (R: ἡφιλίου; AM: ἡφλίου; W: ἡφλίου)—also problems—shows that ms. P’s reading, adopted here, caused them difficulties. If the label means “son of Ephaeus,” it is puzzling since the father is already identified as Simon Psellus. The name seems to transliterate a Semitic root. There are precedents: three different persons in the Bible are known as מִפְּעֵ: in Gen 25:4 (head of the most prominent Midianite tribe); 1 Chr 2:46 (a concubine of Caleb), and 1 Chr 2:47 (a son of Iahdai). Since the first of these also represents an area (Midian), the name is possibly an archaic geographical label. An obscure ancestor of King Saul was named מִפְּעֵ (1 Sam. 9:1). In private correspondence, Louis H. Feldman suggests that the Hebrew root מִפְּ (handsome, used ironically of someone not handsome) would suit the context, in which physical attributes are noted. Since the reference would be to Simon Psellus, this would solve the problem of apparent double paternity, though the omission of initial ה in transliteration is hard to explain.

²⁵ It is characteristic of Josephus to speak of leading, carrying off, or taking for oneself (ἄγομαι) a woman in marriage; cf. §§ 415, 427. This language reflects widespread ancient social assumptions concerning the man’s prerogative in marriage; cf. Homer, *Od.* 14.211; Herodotus 1.59.

²⁶ Ionathes (Jonathan) led the Hasmonean resistance from 161 to 143/2 BCE, and was high priest—the first Hasmonean to hold the office, as Josephus confirms here (cf. *Ant.* 20.237-38; contrast *Ant.* 12.414, 419, 434)—from about 152. See 1 Macc 9:28-12:53; *War* 1.48-9; *Ant.* 13.1-200.

²⁷ Once again, Josephus appears eager to say “high priest” as often as possible, even if it means com-

into marriage. Then in the first year of Hyrcanus' rule,²⁸ he [Matthias] had* a child Matthias, surnamed Curtus.²⁹ 5 From this man came* Josephus,³⁰ in the ninth year of Alexandra's rule;³¹ from Josephus, Matthias, in the tenth year of Archelaus' reign;³² and I from Matthias, in the first year of Gaius Caesar's³³ *imperium*.³⁴ I have three sons: Hyrcanus,³⁵ the oldest, from the fourth year,³⁶ Iustus³⁷ from the eighth year,³⁸ and

plicating his narrative.

²⁸ Literally: "ruling." The year was 135 BCE. According to 1 Macc 16:14, Simon died and Hyrcanus succeeded him in the 177th Seleucid year (counting from 312 BCE).

²⁹ Or "nick-named 'The Swollen' (or 'Hump-Back')." In Greek the name means "rounded," "convex," "swollen," "stooped," or "hump-backed"; in Latin (less likely as the root of a Judean name in that period): "truncated," "mutilated," "defective." Josephus probably gives the surname to distinguish this Matthias from the others. Hunch-backs were disqualified from serving in the temple (Lev 21:20), and this may have been the origin of Matthias' nick-name. See the note to "Psellus" at § 3.

³⁰ Thus Josephus has the same name as his paternal grandfather: "Ioseph" written with a Greek masculine ending.

³¹ Thus in 68 BCE, since Queen Alexandra Salome began her rule at her husband Alexander Janneus' death in 76 BCE (*Ant.* 13.404). Her 9th year was also her last (*Ant.* 13.430). If Matthias II (Curtus) was born in 135 BCE (above) and produced a son Josephus I in 68 BCE, he was a father at about the age of 77. This would have been a remarkable feat, especially in view of ancient mortality rates: When Abraham fathered Ishmael at 86 (Gen 16:16) it was a charter miracle of Israel's history. Since Josephus does not draw attention either to this feat or to its counterpart in the next generation, it is unlikely that he notices, or expects his audience to notice, the chronological problem. More likely, he has accidentally omitted a couple of generations or fabricated much of the genealogy. Possibly our text is corrupt.

³² Thus in 6 CE, since Archelaus became ethnarch of Judea following his father Herod's death in 4 BCE, and there was no year 0. Archelaus' 10th year was also his last in office: he was removed for incompetence and replaced by a Roman prefect as Judea was annexed to the empire. See *War* 2.1-117; *Ant.* 17.200-344. In using the verb βασιλεύω ("rule as king") of Archelaus, Josephus is again speaking loosely, as he does at *Ant.* 20.251. In the passages above he stresses that Archelaus was not permitted by Augustus to be king, but governed rather as "ethnarch": the ruler of a nation (e.g., *Ant.* 17.317).

If Josephus I was born in 68 BCE and fathered Matthias III at age 73 or 74 (in 6 CE), we are once again

faced with a patriarchal feat unmentioned by Josephus. See previous note.

³³ Gaius Iulius Caesar Germanicus (12-41 CE), nick-named "bootsy" (Caligula) by the soldiers among whom he was raised (Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.41), was *princeps* (emperor) from March 18, 37 CE, to January 24, 41. For Gaius, "Caesar" was still a family name inherited from his father Germanicus, who had been adopted by Tiberius, who in turn had been adopted by Augustus; Augustus had been adopted by Iulius Caesar. Moreover, Caligula was a great-grandson of Augustus through a consistent maternal line. This young man's reign became notorious for its caprice and cruelty. For a more balanced assessment than that given by the hostile ancient sources, see Barrett 1989. That Josephus was born in 37 CE is incidentally confirmed by his remark (*Ant.* 20.268) that his 56th year was the 13th year of Domitian's rule (i.e., 93/94 CE).

³⁴ The Latin word *imperium*, of which Josephus gives a standard Greek equivalent (ἡγεμονία: cf. Cassius Dio 60.15.1, 6; 60.17.8; 60.25.6 etc., though ἐξουσία is also used; Augustus, *Res Gest.* 1.8; H.J. Mason 1974:144-51), is difficult to render by any single English word. Literally meaning something like "the power to command and be obeyed (> *imperare*)," it had an essential place in Roman political theory. *Imperium* first belonged to the ancient Roman kings, then to the consuls, other senior magistrates, and commanders, and in the empire to the *princeps* (emperor) and governors within their provinces. See Lintott (1993a:22, 41-2). In the *Life* Josephus reserves the word for Roman emperors (cf. § 423); elsewhere he uses it often of Rome in the abstract and of emperors and governors. Cf. *War* 1.3, 23, 355; 2.168, 205, 214, 248, 264, 284, 357, 360, 385, 555; 3.7; 4.499, 502, etc. In the *Antiquities* his usage is broader: *Ant.* 1.188, 215, 234; 2.175, etc. In the *Life* (183, 373, 398; 347, 424), however, he again reserves the cognates ἡγεμονεύω and ἡγεμών for Roman officials. For a full account of the concept in Roman parlance, see Lintott 1993.

³⁵ The only survivor of Josephus' three sons by his second or third wife, an Alexandrian woman from whom he is now divorced: §§ 414, 426. Etymologically, the son's name signifies "one from Hyrcania [on the Black Sea]," though that etymology hardly seems relevant here. Given the absence of this name in Josephus' genealogy, it seems likely that he called this son after his favorite Hasmonean prince: see note to § 3. While

Agrippa³⁹ from the ninth year⁴⁰ of the *imperium* of Vespasian Caesar.⁴¹ 6 I thus present the succession⁴² of our ancestry as I have found it recorded in the public registers,⁴³ sending a greeting⁴⁴ to those who try to malign us.⁴⁵

conceding that the name has mainly Hasmonean roots, S. Schwartz (1990:11 and n. 31) proposes that Josephus chose it “probably in order to flatter Julius Hyrcanus,” the son of Queen Berenice and Herod of Chalcis (*War* 2.221; *Ant.* 20.104).

³⁶ 72/73 CE, since Vespasian became *princeps* in December, 69 CE; Josephus was 35 or 36. This son is about 21 at Josephus’ time of writing.

³⁷ The name means “upright,” “just,” or “righteous”: a very common Latin *cognomen* (Kajanto 1965:252). In the Judean catacombs of Rome, Iustus is the Latin name that occurs most frequently and the second-most common name in any language (Leon 1995:95-107, 382). Josephus follows the community’s preference for Latin names (also with the next son’s surname), even though Greek was the more common language actually spoken among Roman Judeans (Leon 1995:108). Iustus is the older of the two sons born to Josephus’ third or fourth (and current) wife, a distinguished Cretan-Judean whom Josephus apparently met in Rome (§ 427).

³⁸ 76/77 CE, when Josephus was 39 or 40. This son is about 17 at Josephus’ time of writing.

³⁹ Simonides Agrippa, according to § 427. It is difficult to see the reason behind Josephus’ choice of Simonides, a Greek name that does not appear elsewhere in his corpus or among the Judean inscriptions of Rome. The most famous bearer of the name was a sixth-century BCE poet, Simonides of Ceos (cf. Herodotus *Hist.* 5.102). Given that this Simonides was well remembered among Josephus’ literate contemporaries (Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.1.64; Plutarch, *Mor.* 346F), that Josephus had devoted himself in Rome to the study of Greek poetry as well as prose (*Ant.* 20.263), and that Simonides was also revered as the inventor of mnemonic techniques (cf. Josephus’ alleged skill in memorization: § 8 below), it is conceivable that he named his son after the poet. The Latin surname Agrippa is easier to explain: the name of the famous Roman commander, Augustus’ son-in-law, had become a particular favorite of the Herodian family. Josephus’ contemporary King Agrippa II, who figures prominently in Josephus’ writings as a sympathetic figure who opposed the war (e.g., *War* 2.344-407, 523-26), who assisted Josephus in the preparation of his book on the conflict (*Life* 364-67), and who might very well have been his most important patron in Rome, seems the proximate namesake.

⁴⁰ 77/78 CE, when Josephus was 40 or 41. This son is about 16 at Josephus’ time of writing.

⁴¹ Titus Flavius Vespasianus (b. 9 CE; *princeps* 69-79 CE) was a rare “new man” in Roman politics: he and

his older brother (T. Flavius Sabinus) were the first in their family to reach the senate, and both attained the high office of consul. Largely on the basis of his proven military prowess in Britain (43-47 CE) and especially Judea (67-69 CE), along with the personal traits he demonstrated and the social ties he generated thereby, Vespasian rose to the principate after his armies had challenged Vitellius’ accession from the summer of 69 (Levick 1999:53-64). For him as for the emperors immediately preceding him, the name “Caesar” had become a title rather than a family name (from which ultimately came Kaiser, Csar, etc.)—to help insinuate them into the heritage of Augustus. It was to Vespasian that Josephus surrendered at Iotapata, when Vespasian and his son Titus were leading the Roman campaign in Judea. After his arrest, Josephus claims, he predicted the generals’ rise to imperial honor two years before the event (*War* 3.399-408). After the acclamation by his Alexandrian legions, Vespasian freed him (*War* 4.622-29) and later became his chief patron in Rome.

⁴² Josephus neatly closes by *inclusio* the “succession” theme opened in § 3.

⁴³ Or “tablets” or “plaques.” Josephus usually reserves the word δέλτος for an official tablet, often of copper or bronze, on which declarations are recorded: *War* 2.216; 7.110; *Ant.* 12.416; 14.191, 197, 219, 221, 266, 319; 16.48. Maintaining priestly genealogies was of practical as well as symbolic importance, and appears as a paramount concern after the return from exile (Ezra 2:61-3; Neh 7:63-5). Josephus’ access to such public registers (in Jerusalem?) after the devastation of 70 CE is often reasonably doubted (Cohen 1979:108 n. 33), though he anticipates the objection by insisting that *priestly* pedigrees were carefully preserved in the major Judean centers, and that after a war (including the recent one) the priestly survivors would quickly recreate (from fragments?) those records that had been destroyed (*Apion* 1.31-5). Of course, this claim invites questions about the resulting documents’ accuracy, and Josephus’ proffered genealogy (above), which either omits a couple of names or is corrupted in our texts, does not inspire confidence. In general, further, when Josephus appeals to inscriptions (as in the passages from *Ant.* 14.188-89 and references above; cf. Moehring 1975; Pucci 1998) or when he invites readers to consult an original text (*Ant.* 10.210; cf. S. Mason 1994:172-73), his appeal to sources is more of a rhetorical flourish than something he expects his audiences to pursue.

⁴⁴ Greek φράσας χαίρειν. In some contexts, the verb χαίρω (“rejoice”) can mean “put out of mind” or

(2) 7 My father Matthias⁴⁶ was distinguished not because of his noble birth alone,⁴⁷ but even more was he praised for his sense of justice,⁴⁸ being a very eminent man⁴⁹ among Josephus' father

“disregard.” It was also the common Greek term of greeting, as in § 217 below. Among the closest parallels to Josephus’ phrase is Aristophanes, *Nub.* 609, where it means essentially “say hello.” Josephus’ usage is obviously sarcastic.

⁴⁵ Who were Josephus’ accusers? And to what extent is the *Life*, including this opening genealogy, a response to their misrepresentations? Josephus often complains about opponents who cause him difficulty after the war—in general (*Life* 428) and sometimes mentioning specific cases (*War* 7.447-53; *Life* 424-25). He makes oblique reference to charges made against him (*War* 3.354, 439), some of which were perhaps current among Roman Judeans. Now, the claim to have many opponents could have a certain cachet for a writer (Martial 4.86.6-7; 7.26.9-10; Statius, *Silv.* 4.praef.43-5; White 1978:86): since opposition was attributed to envy, the mention of it reinforced one’s own success, and protection from opponents redounded to the glory of one’s patron—as explicitly in Josephus’ case (*Life* 424, 428). His laments perhaps exaggerate an undeniable core of animosity that was based on his defection from the war and subsequent success in Rome.

Although most scholars have read the entire *Life* as a response to Iustus of Tiberias (cf. §§ 40-2, 336), the genealogy being either part of that response or merely a stylized preamble (see Introduction), such a reading fails to explain either the specific content of the *Life* or its generally celebratory tone. It is hard to imagine that this muddled genealogy could have been intended to convince a critically minded adversary. Indeed, we have every reason (*War* 1.3; 3.352; 5.419; *Ant.* 20.266) to think that Josephus was proud enough of his ancestry to recount it without any specific provocation, as the basis of his *auctoritas*. In that case, this concluding reference to detractors is only an added rhetorical twist, not an indication that self-defense was his chief motivation.

Those who doubt Josephus’ claimed ancestry include modern scholars. Cohen (1979:108 n. 33) thinks that his entire appeal to Hasmonean ancestry is “probably bogus” because only in *Antiquities* and *Life* does he “suddenly” discover this ancestry. Cf. also Krieger 1994. Yet we have noted the close parallel between *War* 5.419, which already emphasizes Josephus’ distinguished pedigree, and *Life* 1. Further, if this heritage was unknown to Josephus in the *War*, it is harder to understand why he chose to begin his account of the recent Judean revolt with the glorious Hasmonean successes more than 200 years earlier. Admittedly, Josephus fails to mention any personal connection with

the Hasmoneans in his brief account of their dynasty in *War* 1, but he also omits such personal references in the much fuller account of the *Antiquities*. Even in the longer work, his Hasmonean connection emerges incidentally in his assessment of Herod (*Ant.* 16.187). In general, Josephus is circumspect about intruding his personal life into his narrative, outside the autobiography.

⁴⁶ Josephus’ father will appear in the narrative at §§ 204-5, where he secretly notifies Josephus from Jerusalem of the general assembly’s plan to remove him from the Galilee and requests a visit from his endangered son.

⁴⁷ Josephus thus meets the standard aristocratic expectation that a person’s character should fully match his or her breeding, a conviction forcefully articulated by Aristotle (*Rhet.* 2.15.2-3 [1390B]), Sallust (e.g., *Bell. Jug.* 85.38-43), and Juvenal in his eighth satire, e.g.: “For who can be called ‘noble’ who is unworthy of his ancestry, and distinguished in nothing but his famous name?” (*Sat.* 8.30-32). Again, “But if you are carried away headlong by ambition and by lust . . . , then the nobility of your own parents begins to rise up in judgment against you, and to hold a glaring torch over your misdeeds” (8.135-39). Incidentally, this notice about Josephus’ father’s noble birth implies that Josephus’ own nobility does not come (solely, at least) from his direct mother.

⁴⁸ Greek δικαιοσύνη; or “uprightness,” “legality,” “righteousness”; cf. Latin *iustitia*. The δίκαιος word group (354 occurrences in his corpus) constitutes a major theme in Josephus. Its basic meaning for him, as for other Greek writers, has to do with the trial of cases, especially the avoidance of partiality or corruption of judges (*Ant.* 4.214-18; 14.173; *Life* 79). It was assumed by Josephus and his audience that an aristocrat such as his father would serve *inter alia* as a judge: administering the law was not a profession (see Introduction). From a specifically legal sense, the meaning of this word group broadens to include fairness and propriety in general (*Ant.* 15.218; 16.264; 17.118). It was in this larger political-social sense that δικαιοσύνη/*iustitia*, one of Plato’s four cardinal virtues (cf. Jaeger 1967:2.61-2), was the highest virtue in Greco-Roman ethics (Plato, *Phaedr.* 69B-C; *Symp.* 196D; Aristotle, *Pol.* 1259B; Cicero, *Fin.* 65), and Plato devoted his *Republic* to its elaboration. Of the extensive literature for Plato and Aristotle, see: Hirzel (1907); Salomon (1937); Siegfried (1947); Trude (1955); Fireman (1957); Havelock (1978). Jaeger (1967), volume 1, is largely devoted to the development of the Greek-Hellenistic conception of justice within the larger framework of “virtue.”

the Jerusalemites⁵⁰—in the greatest city we have.⁵¹

early education

8 Though jointly educated⁵² with a brother named Matthias,⁵³ for he had been born my genuine⁵⁴ [brother] from both parents, I forged ahead⁵⁵ into a vast wealth of education,⁵⁶ being reputed to excel⁵⁷ in both memory⁵⁸ and insight.⁵⁹ 9 While still a boy,

In biblical and later Jewish and Christian literature the Greek δικαιοσύνη typically renders the Hebrew צדקה, which meant first of all obedience to the divine instruction (*Torah*) (cf. Dodd 1935:42-59; Sanders 1977:198-205; Ziesler 1972:52-176; Przybylski 1980:8-76). There is much overlap here, since the Hebrew “righteousness” necessarily issued in justice towards one’s fellows, and Greek philosophers also promoted the idea that justice had a divine center. Josephus too occasionally connects justice with obedience to the laws of God (*Ant.* 15.138; 16.177). He would bring justice and the other virtues (fortitude, moderation) under the direction of piety (*Apion* 2.170). But for him as for Greek and Latin writers in general, the emphasis of δικαιοσύνη is not immediately religious in the way that צדקה is. One might argue that the religious framework and the preoccupation of Josephus’ “justice” with a detailed knowledge of ancient laws and traditions (πάτρια ἔθη, *mos maiorum*) bring it closer to its Roman than its Greek counterpart (cf. Polybius 6.56.6; Marrou 1956:240-41, 289-91).

⁴⁹ Matthias’ eminence is borne out indirectly at §§ 204-5, where the former high priest Iesus son of Gamalas (Gamaliel) seeks out Josephus’ father to warn him of the plot against his son.

⁵⁰ Like other ancient authors, Josephus tends to think of geography in social terms: the Jerusalemites, the Tiberians, the Sepphorites.

⁵¹ Cf. the Roman Pliny, *Nat.* 5.70 on Jerusalem: “by far the most famous city of the East (*longe clarissima urbium Orientis*) and not of Judea only.” Jerusalem was well known in Rome, especially as a result of the recent revolt and the city’s destruction, with the consequent triumphal procession, commemorative coin issue, and erection of the Arch of Titus (early in Domitian’s rule)—portraying the temple furniture being carried off. Note Tacitus’ concern (*Hist.* 5.1-13) to describe the defeated city in detail. Josephus’ *War* (e.g., 1.11) begins from the unparalleled importance of Jerusalem and its temple. Of course, Josephus mentions Jerusalem’s fame here in the *Life* for rhetorical advantage: his family is among the most prominent in the most prominent place.

⁵² The only other occurrence of the compound verb συμπαιδεύω (cf. the common Latin *condisco* and *condiscipulus*) in Josephus is at *Ant.* 16.242, where it is used in the active voice of two teachers.

⁵³ Josephus’ brother Matthias, probably older (given the pluperfect verb and the fact that the brother bears

the father’s name), appears again only at § 419, where Josephus liberates him from the destroyed city.

⁵⁴ Or: “legitimate” (γνήσιος). Josephus appears to be offering an explanation as to why he, who was so brilliant, was required to be educated with Matthias. At the very least, he uses his brother as a convenient tool for contrast (σύγκρισις) or antithesis. He may also be attempting a minor word-play between γενόμεναι (“had been born”) and γνήσιος (“legitimate”).

⁵⁵ That is, ahead of his older brother Matthias.

⁵⁶ Greek: παιδεία. In the Greco-Roman world, παιδεία was a highly evocative term signifying both the totality of Greek culture and the indispensable avenue into it, namely: the education of the young (Jaeger 1973:esp. 1.xiii-xxix; Mendelson 1982:1-4). Students typically entered elementary school at age 7, and those who were able to do so moved on to secondary school at about 11 or 12. At 15 or 16, young élites proceeded to rhetoric, philosophy, or the general-studies “ephebate” in a Greek city (cf. Marrou 1956:143-291). Josephus consistently presents Judean παιδεία (culture and education into it) as parallel but superior to the Greek. It focuses on the inculcation of Judean laws, through both instruction and ethical practice (*Apion* 2.171-83). Perhaps Josephus means to suggest here in the *Life*, by emphasizing his father’s stature, that his father was his principal teacher through Josephus’ childhood. Elsewhere he indicates that adults learn the laws through weekly lectures (*Apion* 2.175), and it is clear from his narrative (e.g., § 11 below) and the gospels that some few adults also formed student groups around individual teachers (cf. Marrou 1956:207). He indicates that he did not receive the kind of Greek-language education enjoyed by others of his acquaintance (*Ant.* 20.263-66; *Life* 359).

There is a happy coincidence between the distinctive themes of Judean education as Josephus presents them (here and in the *Against Apion*) and those of the conservative Roman ideal (cf. Plutarch, *Cat. Maj.* 1-7; Marrou 1956:229-41). In both worlds education is: a paternal responsibility; grounded in ancient laws and customs (*Apion* 2.173-74); eminently practical (*Apion* 2.171-73); suffused with the bucolic virtues of simplicity, frugality, and honor (*Apion* 2.284, 294); and calculated to produce an effective public figure (*Life* 12-3). Above all, both Roman and Judean traditionalists define themselves to a large extent *over against the Greeks*. It is instructive to read Josephus’ various remarks upon

really, about fourteen years old,⁶⁰ I used to be praised by everyone because [I was] book-

Greek training (e.g., *War* 1.16; *Life* 40; *Apion* 1.6-7, 23-7, 42-6) against Balsdon's lively summary of evidence for conservative Roman views of the Greeks (1979:30-58). In the earlier period of direct cultural contact (early second century BCE), many Romans and Judeans had been offended by Greek values and institutions—especially the gymnasium with its nude, self-indulgent exercise (Plutarch, *Cat. Maj.* 12.4-5; 2 Macc 4:11-13), Greek sexual practices, and Greek dress. Throughout the late republic and early imperial period, representatives of both nations repudiated (increasingly popular) Greek ways as soft and unworthy of serious men (Polybius 31.25.4; Cicero, *Flac.* 9, 24, 31, 57; *Tusc.* 4.33.70; 5.20.58; Sallust, *Bell. Jug.* 85.32-3; Lucan 3.302; Tacitus, *Ann.* 14.20; *Dial.* 28.4-29.2; Josephus, *Apion* 2.228-35, 199, 215, 252). Gruen (1992:52-83, 223-71) probes behind the anti-Greek clichés to a more contextually refined analysis. He shows essentially that Cato and other leading figures acted from a position of confidence, rather than defensiveness, embracing much of Hellenistic culture but defining the Roman character by what they respected and what they rejected. This seems also to reflect Josephus' attitude—to be sure, much later than Cato.

We otherwise know little about Judean education in this period, though it *seems* to have been rather informal and familial (Cohen 1987a:120-23; Yarbrough 1993:41-9; cf. Deut 4:9; 6:7; 31:12-3; Prov 4:1-4; 22:6). Most of the relevant scholarly literature (e.g., Drazin 1940; Safrai and Stern 1987:945-70) depends chiefly on later rabbinic portraits (contrast Strack and Stemberger 1991:11), which do not sit easily with Josephus. For example, the Mishnah's reference to transitional ages—five for studying Bible, 10 for “mishnah,” and 12-13 for completion (*m. 'Abot* 5.21)—do not match Josephus. And indeed he leaves no room for a study of “mishnah” or yet oral tradition as something separate from the laws themselves (though his Pharisees perhaps do: *Ant.* 13.298-99; 18.12).

⁵⁷ Greek: δοκῶν διαφέρειν.

⁵⁸ Memory-work was a fundamental component of Greek, Roman, and rabbinic education—in preparation for public life in an oral culture (Marrou 1956:55, 166, 271; Clarke 1971:22, 27; Neusner 1973:3.143-63; Strack and Stemberger 1992:42-9; Harris 1989:30-33; Kennedy 1994:93, 123-24; Small 1997). A number of authors from Plato onward refer to the memorization of large sections of poetry (Plato, *Prot.* 325E; *Leg.* 7.810E-811A; Cicero, *Tusc.* 2.27). To become an effective orator, which was a primary goal of Roman education, one needed to rely upon one's memorization of a speech; hence, by the first century BCE memory had

become one of the five parts of rhetoric (*Ad Herren.* 3.16.28-24.40). Simonides of Ceos (a namesake of Josephus' second son, see note to § 5) was credited with having invented mnemonic techniques (Cicero, *De or.* 2.360), which subsequent Greek and Roman teachers imparted to their students (Quintilian, *Inst.* 11.2). Several authors tell remarkable stories of mnemonic prowess, whether their own or others' (e.g., Cicero, *Brut.* 301; *Tusc.* 1.24.59). Seneca the Elder recalls his years in school: “When two thousand names had been reeled off I would repeat them in the same order; and when my assembled school-fellows each supplied a line of poetry, up to the number of more than two hundred, I would recite them in reverse” (*Controv.* 1.2). The Elder Pliny would have us believe that older Romans and Greeks had memorized the names of all Romans or the contents of all books (*Nat.* 7.88-9). On the later rabbinic side, the very name *tanna* (“repeater, reciter”) draws attention to the skill of this teacher—a figure from the mid-second century CE—in memorizing vast stretches of *halakhah*. According to the idealizing, sixth-century *b. Qidd.* 49b, a *tanna* was expected to have memorized *halakhah*, *sifra*, *sifre*, and *tosefta*. Much rabbinic literature does, admittedly, bear the marks of oral transmission: fixed patterns, number-letter correlations, and other mnemonic devices.

⁵⁹ Josephus tends to make insight or understanding (σύνεσις) the proper complement to an illustrious ancestry (γένος): *War* 2.482; *Life* 191-92, 278. In particular, the military or public leader must have this quality (*War* 3.11, 144 [of Josephus' reputation]; 4.373, 45; *Ant.* 2.63 [Joseph]; 8.24, 49 [Solomon]). The paragon of insight—precocious and peerless—was the Judean lawgiver Moses: *Ant.* 2.230, 244; 3.12, 223; 4.328. Josephus' emphasis on his own insight here also serves to preclude the standard criticism of mnemonic prodigies: these “walking libraries” did not really understand what they had memorized (cf. *b. Sotah* 22a; Strack and Stemberger 1992:13-4; Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 1.7). In discussing the human-like mental qualities of animals, Plutarch (*Soll. an.* 975E) casually mentions σύνεσις, μνήμη, and κοινωνία as qualities probably also to be found among sea creatures.

⁶⁰ Some later rabbinic tradition (*m. 'Abot* 5.21) has a male take on legal responsibility at age 13. In the Roman world a boy assumed the toga of manhood (*toga virilis*) at 15 or 16. Josephus' remark derives its force from the assumption that he was, as he says, a mere boy (ἀντίπαις) at 14. For the Greek term see, e.g., *War* 5.460 [the only other occurrence in Josephus]; Polybius 15.33.12; 27.15.4; Lucian, *Somn.* 16. The whole plan of Josephus' education (cf. § 10) appears to match Greek

loving;⁶¹ the chief priests⁶² and principal men⁶³ of the city would often meet to understand the legal matters⁶⁴ more precisely⁶⁵ with my assistance.⁶⁶

and Roman expectations.

⁶¹ The adjective (φιλογράμματος) appears only here in Josephus.

⁶² The same Greek word (ἀρχιερεύς) is translated “high priest” when it appears in the singular, as in §§ 2-6. Since there could be only one serving high priest at a time, the plural indicates either former high priests or, more broadly, the exclusive high-priestly families (cf. *Ant.* 20.207; esp. *Acts* 4:6). Within the hereditary priestly caste, over time particular families naturally came to enjoy the prerogative of producing the high priest. By long-standing tradition, only descendants of Zadok (the high priest of David’s and Solomon’s time, thus the first high priest to serve in the Jerusalem temple; *Ezek* 40:46; 43:19; 44:15; 48:11; *Sir* 51:12) had this right. This arrangement changed with the usurper Menelaus (2 *Macc* 4:23; ca. 172 BCE) before the Hasmonean revolt, and since the Hasmoneans themselves were non-Zadokite priests, the chief-priestly families were dramatically realigned from that point on. The Hasmonean primacy appears to have generated several “Zadokite” reform movements—reflected in the DSS (e.g., CD 4.1), for example. Matters became even more complicated with Herod the Great, who systematically removed any potential challengers from the Hasmonean line and began to install his own choices as high priest. In the first century, the family of Ananus (served 6-15 CE; *War* 2.240) was one of the dominant ones, and Ananus II was Josephus’ contemporary (*Life* 193). See Stern 1987:600-12. Josephus claims to have been the close friend of another former high priest, Iesus son of Gamalas (*Life* 203). See further § 193 and notes. Josephus, predictably, who traces his lineage to the Hasmoneans, does not single out the Zadokite line for special privilege, but insists that all male descendants of Aaron are eligible (*Ant.* 20.225-26). Even though high priests could serve for terms of less than a year in the temple’s final days, a social and economic chasm still separated the privileged “high-priestly” families from the ordinary priests (*Ant.* 20.205-7).

⁶³ Josephus, like other aristocrats (cf. Finley 1983:2), employs a number of euphemisms for fellow members of the élite, the rich and well born, of any Mediterranean locale. Most frequent in the *Life* is simply οἱ πρῶτοι (“the principal [or first, pre-eminent] men”), as here: cf. §§ 21, 28, 56, 64, 66, 67, 69, 108, 131, 169, etc., 298, 410. Elsewhere he also uses the familiar οἱ δυνάτοί (e.g., *War* 1.31, 188, 218, 242; 2.199, 239, 245, 301, 648; 4.414), οἱ γνώριμοι (*War* 2.318, 322, 410, 533, 612), and οἱ ἄρχοντες (*War* 2.237, 333, 405, 612, 654; 4.229, 232, 516; *Ant.* 5.314;

6.13, 15). Cf. Latin *primi, boni, optimi*; Hebrew מַשְׁרָפִּים (ordinarily with a complement). As is indicated by both the interchangeability of Josephus’ terms and their applicability to different nations, they do not usually have a technical sense, though they might also be used as titles in particular contexts. Josephus’ élite audience would immediately grasp their general sense.

⁶⁴ Lit. “about the legal matters.” The phrase τὰ νόμιμα (“the legal matters”) is common in Josephus, often interchangeable with οἱ νόμοι (“the laws” [§ 198]), οἱ πάτριοι νόμοι (“the traditional laws” [§ 135]), τὰ πάτρια ἔθη (“the traditional customs” [§ 198]), τὰ πάτρια νόμιμα (“the traditional legal matters” [§ 191]), etc. He refers to the body of ancient, written law codified by Moses and its interpretation. Although modern scholars can easily find many non-biblical elements in his paraphrase of biblical law, he seems unaware that they are non-biblical. He includes much that is customary rather than prescribed, but without recognizing any explicit category (such as “oral tradition/law”) for such traditional material. Cf. S. Mason 1991:100-5.

⁶⁵ The ἀκρίβεια word group is important in Josephus, and turns up in many programmatic passages. Influenced by the Platonic tradition that precision (or accuracy) in the laws, or legal system, was the goal of the statesman’s philosophical education (παίδεια: *Resp.* 6.504B; *Leg.* 12.965B; cf. *Apion* 2.257), and by a Hellenistic historiographical tradition that required precision (Thucydides 1.20.3, 22.2, 97.2, 134.1; 5.20.2; Polybius 12.4d.1-2, 120.4-5, 26d.3, 27.1; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. rom.* 1.6.3), Josephus’ rhetoric places a premium on precision in the Judean laws as also in his historical reporting (*War* 1.2, 6, 9, 17, 22, 26; 7.454; *Ant.* 1.14; 4.309; *Apion* 1.29-36, 54; 2.144, 149, 175). He regularly attacks those who only seem or pretend to be precise (*Ant.* 17.41; 18.81; *Apion* 1.18, 67).

⁶⁶ Josephus thus accommodates his career to the commonplace of the precocious youth (cf. Feldman 1998a:90-1). Compare his portrait of Moses: “His intelligence (σύνεσις) did not grow comparably with his age, but it far exceeded this criterion, and he showed clearly its more mature superiority in his childish amusements” (*Ant.* 2.230; note the more elaborate parallel in Philo, *Mos.* 1.20-24). We meet such *Wunderkinder* in various kinds of literature: the 14-year-old Abram in *Jubilees* 11.18-24, Nicolaus of Damascus (*Suda*, s.v.), several subjects of Plutarch’s biographies (e.g., *Thes.* 6.2; *Sol.* 2.1; *Them.* 2.1; *Dion.* 4.5-7; *Cic.* 2.2; *Alex.* 5.1-6), Philostratus’ (3rd cent.) account of Josephus’ contemporary Apollonius of Tyana (*Vit. Apoll.* 1.7), and Iamblichus (4th cent.) concerning the young Pythagoras

10 When I was about sixteen years old,⁶⁷ I chose⁶⁸ to gain expertise in the philosophical schools⁶⁹ among us. There are three of these:⁷⁰ the first, Pharisees;⁷¹ the second, *philosophical education*

(*Vit. Pyth.* 3.10). Traditions concerning Jesus of Nazareth's youthful brilliance develop from Luke 2:40-50, where the 12-year-old Jesus amazes observers by his insight (σύνεσις, 2:47) in conversation with the teachers of Jerusalem, to the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* (second cent. CE), which describes Jesus' remarkable deeds at ages 5, 6, 8, and 12. See also Cohen 1979: 105-6.

⁶⁷ 53-54 CE. This was the age (16) at which a young aristocrat would have completed elementary (ages 7 to 11/12) and secondary courses (ages 11/12 to 15/16) in the Greek and Roman systems. In Rome, a male assumed the toga of manhood (*toga virilis*) at this juncture. Those who continued their education beyond this age—i.e., the very small social elite—chose advanced training in the *ephebia* (a one-year general course in Greek cities), in rhetoric (by far the most common route), or in philosophy (Marrou 1956:194).

⁶⁸ The choice between philosophy and rhetoric reflected to some extent one's values. According to the classic terms of the stand-off established by Plato (e.g., *Gorg* 454E-455A, 486A-D), which persevered into late antiquity, orators were seen as those who could adapt to any situation, arguing whatever case seemed necessary, whereas philosophers were exclusively concerned with finding the truth without regard for social consequences. In Rome, which was famously concerned with practical success rather than abstract ideas, and in spite of the efforts of a Cicero, philosophy was viewed with deep suspicion. Cicero divides his peers into a group that flatly rejects philosophy and one that calls for restraint in its practice (*Cicero, Fin.* 1.2-3). Philosophy was Greek, to begin with, and indulgent of interior interests: it tended to isolate individuals from the larger social goals and public service, often prompting withdrawal from public life (Quintilian, *Inst.* 11.1.35; 12.2.7). It even emboldened some practitioners to become vocal critics of Rome's leaders (MacMullen 1966:46-94). Ancient philosophy, like some forms of religion in our world, might claim one's whole allegiance—one's daily routine, diet, dress, values, and entertainments—through something like a "conversion" experience (Nock 1933: e.g., 185; Marrou 1956:206-7). On several occasions, Roman rulers banished philosophers, whether as individuals or as groups, from the city (Cassius Dio 62.24.1, 26.1; 65.12.2, 13.2; 67.13.23).

Josephus' claim to have chosen this less-traveled and more demanding form of higher education is not surprising in view of his larger self-representation. Judean culture had for a long time appeared to some outsiders as philosophical, because of its acceptance of a single invisible God, its lack of regional temples and sacrifice,

and its devotion to the study of authoritative texts; Josephus vigorously promotes this philosophical image (Theophrastus *ap.* Porphyry, *Abst.* 2.26; Megasthenes *ap.* Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 1.15.72; Diodorus Siculus, 40.3.4; Strabo *Geogr.* 16.2.35; *Apion* 1.179; Nock 1933:62). His consistent repudiation of Greek rhetorical education (n. 52 above) would also suit the presentation of his own training on the philosophical side.

⁶⁹ Greek: αἵρεσις. In earlier Greek, the noun αἵρεσις simply means choice, selection, or election, from the verb αἵρομαι ("choose"—cf. the end of § 10), thus: the object of one's choosing (Plato, *Phaedr.* 99B; *Soph.* 245B; *Phaedr.* 249B; Aristotle, *Ath. pol.* 3.6; *Eth. eud.* 1249B; Lucian, *Phal.* 1.9). But perhaps because the term was employed so frequently in philosophical/ethical discussion concerning one's choice of a way to live (Lucian, *Hermot.* 21, 28), it had become by Josephus' time also a technical term for a philosophical school or sect. Second-century authors such as Galen (*De Ord. Libr.* 19.50) and Lucian know this sense well (*Demon.* 13; *Hermot.* 48). In his overview of Hellenistic philosophy, Diogenes Laertius (early 3rd cent. CE) lists nine principal αἵρεσις in addition to the eclectic school, and he discusses what qualifies for this label: e.g., whether Skeptics, who are committed to an principle but do not espouse positive beliefs, are a school (1.18-21; cf. 2.47). He also notes that several others had written books "On the Schools" (περὶ αἵρέσεων) long before him (1.19; 2.65, 87).

Josephus too can use αἵρεσις in its broader senses: the "taking" or "capture" of a town (*Ant.* 7.160; 10.79, 133, 247; 12.363, etc.); a "choice" or "option" (*War* 1.99; 6.352; *Ant.* 1.69; 6.71, etc.). But in 13 of its 31 occurrences it means for him "philosophical school" (*War* 2.118, 122, 137, 142, 162; *Ant.* 13.171-73; *Life* 191, 197). Josephus freely interchanges φιλοσοφία and cognates (*War* 2.119, 166; *Ant.* 18.11, 23, 25). Thus he presents Judean culture as wholly comparable to Greek: it even has its own philosophies. Although Josephus has often been accused of dressing up Jewish realities in an alien Greek garb (notably Moore 1929:371-89), it should be remembered both that we know little about the concrete conditions of these groups in the first century and that the evidence rather supports Josephus. Even if the late 1st-century or early 2nd-century author of Luke-Acts depended partly upon Josephus (S. Mason 1992:185-229), he also did some independent research, and he too considered Pharisees and Sadducees αἵρεσις (Acts 5:17; 15:5; 26:5). Philosophical themes had been deeply ingrained in some Judean literature since at least the 2nd century BCE (Aristobulus *ap.* Eusebius,

Sadducees;⁷² and the third, Essenes,⁷³ as we have often said.⁷⁴ In this way I intended to

Praep. ev. 13.12.1, 4, 8; 4 Macc 1:1; 5:4, 8, 23; Philo *passim*). It is in keeping with this outlook that Josephus portrays Judaism as philosophy (S. Mason 1996; BJP 3.xxviii-xxxii). So even if he was the first to apply the term “philosophical school” to Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes, it was a tiny step and not a bold reinterpretation *ad hoc*.

⁷⁰ On Pharisees and Sadducees or all three schools together, see Lightstone (1975), Saldarini (1988), Sanders (1992), Grabbe (1992:2.463-554), Stemberger (1995), Baumgarten (1997).

Various attempts were made by ancient writers to categorize the Hellenistic philosophical schools for easier study. Diogenes Laertius plots the schools along two lines of “succession” from ancient masters (1.13) or between two metaphysical poles (affirmative/dogmatic and negative/skeptical, 1.16). More helpful for understanding Josephus is the Roman statesman Cicero (first cent. BCE), who describes the three main schools of his day for Roman readers: Epicurean (*Fin.* 1-2), Stoic (*Fin.* 3-4), and Platonist (*Fin.* 5), though he is aware of others. He ranges them across a spectrum, for example concerning their views of fate: “There were among the old philosophers two schools of thought: the one held the view that everything is determined by fate. . . . The others were of the conviction that the soul’s promptings are determined by the will, without any influence from fate. Between these contending options, Chrysippus [the Stoic] wanted to arbitrate by finding a middle way” (*Fat.* 39; cf. *Nat. d.* 1.1-2). Tacitus also identifies the fate/free will problem as basic to the schools’ disagreements. This is strikingly similar to Josephus’ arrangement of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes according to their views of fate—whether the first two provide the poles, and the Essenes are *sui generis* (*War* 2.162-66), or Essenes and Sadducees occupy the poles, with Stoic-like Pharisees in a middle position (*Ant.* 13.171-73).

⁷¹ Josephus has introduced the Pharisees in the *War* (1.110, 571; 2.119, 162) and again in the *Antiquities* (13.171-73, 288-98, 400-432; 17.41-5; 18.11-20). He has presented them, on the one hand, as one of the three philosophical schools among the Judeans: they believe in fate (or in the cooperation of fate and free will), afterlife, and rewards and punishments after death. Furthermore (13.297-98; 18.12), they especially value a “tradition from the fathers” alongside the laws of Moses. On the other hand, the Pharisees are actors in Josephus’ narrative at particular times and places. In each of these cases, they allegedly use their vast popular influence to manipulate or pose problems for those in lawful authority (esp. *War* 1.110; *Ant.* 13.288, 400-401, 430-32; 17.41; 18.15; cf. *Life* 189-98). On

Josephus’ Pharisees see S. Mason 1991, 1999.

Older scholarship assumed that historically the Pharisees were the direct heirs of the “pious,” who assisted in the Maccabean revolt but then parted company with its political aims (1 Macc 7:12-3), and the direct predecessors of the rabbinic movement: they were thus universally respected “sages” of their time, who upheld the rabbinic Oral Torah. On the basis of this assumption, we had copious primary sources for the Pharisees in rabbinic texts of the third to seventh centuries CE and in earlier (e.g., apocalyptic) literature arbitrarily identified as Pharisaic. Scholars differed about the meaning of the Pharisees’ name, their origins, and political views, but tended to agree that they had a *de facto* control of society through schools, synagogues, and Sanhedrin or court (cf. S. Mason 1993). Rivkin (1969, 1978) has shown, however, how difficult it is to identify the פְּרִישִׁים of rabbinic literature with the Φαρισαῖοι of the Greek texts. Far from claiming the פְּרִישִׁים as their forebears, the earlier rabbis often criticize them as a quite separate group (e.g., *m. Sotah* 3.4). Since the work of Jacob Neusner (1973a and 1973b), in particular, it is now widely accepted that we have only three pertinent source groups (NT, Josephus, and early rabbinic literature) and that each of these uses the “Pharisees” for its own, quite distinct, literary agenda. The fallout from this new methodological rigor has yet to coalesce into broadly accepted results. It is widely agreed, however, that certain leading first-century laymen were Pharisees (e.g., Hillel, Gamaliel, Simeon son of Gamaliel), that Pharisees in general believed in some sort of afterlife with post-mortem rewards and punishments, that they accepted angelology and demonology, and that they explicitly recognized a living tradition of teaching (though not yet in the formal terms of Oral Torah)—in addition to the Bible. From rabbinic literature and the gospels it appears that they wished to adopt in everyday life the purity requirements for priests and for others entering the temple. The current scholarly tendency is to minimize the Pharisees’ place in society, at least their official “power” as distinct from their “influence,” and to profess caution about most other issues, including the extent of their role in establishing the rabbinic movement or the degree to which one can recover their tenets and practices from rabbinic literature. See the works cited in the previous note.

⁷² Josephus has said little about the Sadducees. This dearth of information perhaps fits with his claim that their base lies in a subsection of the nation’s élite (*Ant.* 13.297-98; 18.17). According to his scheme, in which the Pharisees are like Stoics (*Life* 12) and the Essenes resemble Pythagoreans (*Ant.* 15.371), the Sadducees appear as Epicurean-like, though he does not say so ex-

choose the best [school]—if I might examine them all.⁷⁵ 11 So I toughened myself⁷⁶

plicitly, since they deny the afterlife and the role of fate in human actions (*Ant.* 13.173; 18.16; cf. 10.277-81). They also reject the Pharisees' ancestral tradition, adhering only to what stands written in the Mosaic laws (*Ant.* 13.297)—though they must have had some kind of interpretive tradition, even unacknowledged, if they were to put biblical law into practice—and they are more severe than others in prescriptions for punishment (*Ant.* 20.199). Even though Josephus is himself a proud aristocrat, who seems to accept only Mosaic law and who agrees that laws should be severe (*Apion* 2.276-78), his language in these passages makes it clear that he is no Sadducee.

The NT and rabbinic literature also say relatively little about the Sadducees. In the gospels they are mainly two-dimensional characters “who say there is no resurrection” (Mark 12:18). But Acts (4:1; 5:17) agrees with Josephus in locating their influence among the élite: chief priests and temple officials. Acts (23:8) also asserts without collaboration that they deny the existence of angels and spirits. Rabbinic literature contains a number of references to the צדוקים, a word whose etymology is uncertain. It is commonly traced to the high priest of David's time named Zadok: his descendants were authorized as the legitimate high-priestly family (1 Kgs 2:35; Ezek 40:46; cf. Sir 51:12) but lost the high priesthood under Antiochus IV. The צדוקים usually appear alongside the “Boethusians” in early rabbinic literature. They reject resurrection (*Abot R. Nat.* A.5), challenge the ritual and purity prescriptions of others (*m. Yad.* 4.6-7; *m. Parah* 3.3), hold to a different calendar for some festivals (*m. Hag.* 2.4, *m. Menah.* 10.3), and take a different position with respect to some areas of civil law (*m. Yad.* 4.7; *m. Mak.* 1.6). They do not appear as central priestly authorities, but can even be isolated by the rabbis from “Israel,” along with the Samaritans (*m. Nid.* 4.2). Schiffman (1994) has argued that the community behind the Qumran scroll 4QMMT was “proto-Sadducean.” On the Sadducees, see also LeMoyné 1972.

⁷³ Greek: ἑσσηνοί. Josephus typically uses this plural form but the singular ἑσσηνός when speaking of an individual (*War* 1.78; 2.113, 567; 3.11; *Ant.* 13.311; cf. 15.371-78). His fullest description of the group is in *War* 2.119-61 (cf. *Ant.* 18.18-22), where the Essenes appear as a tightly knit, Pythagorean-like group found in each Judean town (*War* 2.124). They live in quiet, peacable, and well-ordered communes. They are either celibate (*War* 2.120-21; *Ant.* 18.20-21) or reluctantly married for propagation (*War* 2.160-61); they share all property (*War* 2.2.122); and they otherwise practice a strict daily regimen of utter simplicity. Revering the sun

(*War* 2.128, 148), they also hold Greek-like views of the afterlife, in which the souls of the blessed ascend to the ether (*War* 2.154-58). Like the Pythagoreans, and Judeans in general according to Josephus (*Apion* 2.209-10), they protect the secrets of their group from outsiders (*War* 2.141). They are the school that Josephus most consistently favors as embodying Judean ideals (*War* 2.158; *Ant.* 18.19-20). Josephus has forgotten, or at least does not expect his readers to remember, his earlier notice that the Essenes require three years for full admission to the school (*War* 2.138), a datum that makes his 3-year period of study with all three schools as well as Bannus (for 3 years!)

Neither the NT nor the rabbinic literature mentions the Essenes explicitly, but Philo of Alexandria (early first century) describes them much as Josephus does, as the most admirable Judeans (*Prob.* 75-91; *Apologia pro Iudaeis*, ap. Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 8.6-7). Partly because of this kind of exposure, the Essenes may have been the most famous Judean philosophical school: the *Esseni* of Judea were also known to the Roman Pliny the Elder (*Nat.* 5.70), who mentions neither Pharisees nor Sadducees. See Vermes and Goodman 1989.

Since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls from 1947 onward, scholars have generally identified the intensely apocalyptic and dualistic community at Qumran that produced the DSS as either the Essene base or, as some have recently suggested, an Essene outpost (Stegemann 1992). The Qumran-Essene connection depends upon a number of individual correspondences between Josephus' Essenes and the community of the sectarian scrolls as well as a circular reading of Pliny, *Nat.* 5.70 (i.e., Pliny's location of the Essenes only becomes clear when one assumes the Qumran-Essene link). See Cross 1961:70-106; Dupont-Sommer 1961:21-61; Black 1961:25-47; Beall 1988: e.g., 3; VanderKam 1994:89; Sanders 1992:342; Grabbe 1992:494-95. Whatever the other merits of the identification may be, interpreting Josephus' Essenes in light of the DSS has tended to obfuscate his own descriptions (Goodman 1995; S. Mason 2000b).

⁷⁴ The three passages in which Josephus compares all three schools are *War* 2.119-66; *Ant.* 13.171-73; 18.11-20. In *Ant.* 13.297-98 he compares Pharisees and Sadducees only.

⁷⁵ Exposing oneself to all of the available philosophies rather than merely one, whether in order to find the truth or simply to prepare for public life, was a common experience in the Roman world. Cf. Plutarch (*Lib. ed.* 10.8A-B): “One must try, then, as well as one can, both to take part in public life (τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν), and to lay hold of philosophy [note the generic category] so

and, after considerable effort,⁷⁷ passed through the three of them. Yet I did not regard even the resulting expertise sufficient for me. When I discovered that a certain man by the name of Bannus⁷⁸ made his life⁷⁹ in the desert,⁸⁰ I became his devotee:⁸¹ wearing

far as the opportunity is granted. Such was the life of Pericles as a public man (ἐπολιτεύσατο [cf. *Life* 12]) . . .” MacMullen (1966:47) observes: “Specialization in one school . . . belonged to pedants, not to gentlemen.” Cicero’s intensive youthful training in philosophy (*Fam.* 13.1.2; *Fin.* 1.16; *Brut.* 89.306–91.316), establishing a basis for the polite social code of *humanitas* (Conte 1994:177), provided a model of the liberal philosophical education. Eclecticism became the dominant mode of philosophical study in the first and second centuries, so that it is now difficult to disentangle pure strains from the philosophies of Seneca, Epictetus, or Plutarch, irrespective of their school labels (e.g., Momigliano 1969:240; Meredith 1991:290). Like Josephus, other writers claim to have gone the round of the philosophies, seeking the truth; see Lucian, *Men.* 4–5; Justin, *Dial.* 2; Galen, *De Anim. Pecc. Dign. Cur.* 5.102. So common was this quest that Lucian could satirize it in his *Philosophies for Sale*. Cf. Rajak 1983:34–8.

⁷⁶ It was a basic goal of philosophical training to make one insensitive to all physical hardship, weakness, and desire, to the πόθη. The final test was whether one could face even death with equanimity (e.g., Epictetus, *Diatr.* 3.26.11–14, 21–39). Many philosophers, including Seneca’s teacher Attalus, prescribed harsh physical regimens with respect to food, drink, and sex; he also required his students to sit on hard seats (Seneca, *Ep.* 108.14; Clarke 1971:93). Lucian’s *Nigrinus* insists that whereas students of philosophy are commonly subjected by their teachers to whips, knives, and *cold baths* (see further below), to give them hardness and insusceptibility to pain (στέρπον καὶ ἀπαθές), these qualities should rather be developed in the soul. He asserts that many students expire from the physical exertions required by other philosophers (*Nigr.* 28). Significantly, the only other occurrence of the verb σκληραγωγέω (“toughen [oneself]”) in Josephus concerns the Pythagorean-like Daniel and his friends, who observe a vegetarian diet in Babylon so as to avoid eating non-kosher meat (*Ant.* 10.190). Josephus claims that these young men avoided making their bodies soft (μαλακώτερα). On diet, see the end of § 11 and § 14 below. Josephus has said nothing about such tough training elsewhere in his descriptions of the Judean schools, though his Essenes (*War* 2.122–23) and even his Pharisees (*Ant.* 18.12) practice a simple life.

⁷⁷ Greek: πολλὰ πονηθεῖς. Cf. Lucian’s (apparent) quotation of a slogan about philosophical training: πολλαῖς ἀνάγκαις καὶ πόνοις (*Nigr.* 27).

⁷⁸ A figure otherwise unknown. Mss. AMW have a single *v*. Possibly, this teacher’s name should evoke a word-play with the Latin *balneum* (“bath”) among a Roman audience. Others (Eisler 1929:1.xxxvi n. 3, 120 n. 1; Adam 1972:37) have argued that this form transliterates the man’s Aramaic nick-name, itself a corruption of the Greek βαλανεύς: “bath-man.” See the different assessments of Feldman (1984:82) and Cohen (1979:106 n. 25). Cohen sensibly prefers to understand the name as a version of the better-attested Βανναῖος. But the punning effect might work irrespective of the actual meaning of the man’s name.

Although Shutt (1961:2) and many others opine that Bannus lived “probably according to Essene ideals,” this observation appears to enjoy no better warrant—unless “Essene ideals” refers to a general determination to live simply and in purity—than the posthumous induction of Jesus, John the Baptist, and others as Essenes. Josephus’ narrative here obviously militates strongly against making Bannus an Essene (cf. Cohen 1979:106 n. 25).

⁷⁹ Josephus uses the verb διατρίβω quite casually in the *Life* to mean “live” or “stay” somewhere (§§ 86, 115, 118, 122, 145, 160, 207). But since this was also a charged term in philosophical contexts (esp. Cynic and Stoic), referring to dialectical interchange (cf. Kennedy 1994:93), it is possible that he intends a word-play here.

⁸⁰ This is a “desert” with available water and trees, thus the Judean wilderness, where some trees grow and where the winter brings water. As a place of contemplation, encounters with God, and dramatic change, the desert had a defining role in Judean self-understanding (Exod 3:22; 16:1–19:25; Isa 40:3; Matt 3:1–4:11). Prophetic hopes included the redemption of the desert (Isa 35:1, 6; 43:19–20), and the Qumran community took this very seriously (1QS 8.15). For Josephus’ Roman audience, his point seems to be to stress the severe hardships and hardening he endured as a student. Although it is true that the Judean desert was also the obvious hiding place for rebels, Rajak’s speculation (1983:38) that Bannus and some of his followers nurtured a political agenda—that the mention of a personal name “suggests that the allegiance of his followers was to him personally, and that they would expect some immediate change to be brought about by him”—seeks to extract blood from a stone. Josephus has crafted, or possibly even invented, this piece to support his claims to virtue. He presumably *mentions* the harsh desert conditions (irrespective of the underlying facts) for rhetorical reasons: to prove his imperviousness to hardship.

clothes [made] from trees,⁸² scavenging food that grew by itself,⁸³ and washing frequently for purification—with frigid water, day and night!⁸⁴ 12 When I had lived⁸⁵ with

⁸¹ Greek: ζηλωτής. As Hengel has shown (1989:59-66), Josephus' usage here is in the normal Hellenistic range, and has nothing to do with *War*'s more famous and distinctive portraits of a Zealot party (οἱ ζηλωταί) in the revolt against Rome (e.g., *War* 7.268-70; cf. Horsley and Hanson 1985:216-43). This is the only occurrence of the term in the *Life*. One often spoke, as Josephus does here, of a devotee or zealot for learning, for philosophy, for virtue, or for a particular teacher (Plato, *Prot.* 343A; Epictetus, *Diatr.* 3.24.40; Diogenes Laertius 9.38; Cf. Josephus, *War* 6.59; *Apion* 1.162). Nicolaus of Damascus claimed to have become a ζηλωτής of Aristotle (*Suda*, s.v.). On the Latin side compare Cicero, speaking of his youthful devotion to the Platonist teacher Philo: "Filled with enthusiasm for the study of philosophy I gave myself up wholly to him (*totum ei me tradidi*)" (*Brut.* 89.306).

⁸² Greek: ἐσθῆτι ἀπὸ δένδρων χρώμενον. Josephus thus makes his early training as exotic as the practices of Herodotus' Indians, who wear material that grows on trees (*Hist.* 3.106), and Scythians, each of whom lives under his own Pontic tree, whence he derives food and apparently clothing (*Hist.* 4.23).

⁸³ Greek: αὐτομάτως. In the closest internal parallels, Josephus explains that the Park of Eden was characterized by food that grew automatically (*Ant.* 1.46), which was conducive to long life (cf. 1.105-6). But God's punishment for Adam's sin included the cessation of automatic food and the need for strenuous cultivation, which would shorten life (*Ant.* 1.49). A little later, God prefers Abel's sacrifice to Cain's because God is "honored by things that grow automatically (αὐτομάτως) and in accordance with nature but not by those things that grow by the force of grasping man with craftiness (τοῖς κατ' ἐπίνοιαν ἀνθρώπου πλεονεκτου βίᾳ πεφυκόσιν)" (*Ant.* 1.54; trans. L. Feldman). Feldman (2000:20 n. 116) notes parallel Greco-Roman references to a golden age in which the earth produced food by itself (Hesiod, *Op.* 109ff.; Ovid, *Metam.* 1.101ff.). Thus the Edenic state in some respects paralleled the world before Prometheus. Since Abel's acceptable sacrifice consisted of milk and a first-born grazing animal (*Ant.* 1.54), Josephus' principle seems to have nothing to do with the meat/vegetarian distinction he employs elsewhere—in the context of eating in foreign lands (§ 14; *Ant.* 10.190-94). It is strictly a matter of avoiding cultivation, and this is *not* a principle that he advocates generally.

Evidently, Josephus is taking considerable romantic liberty. Unless he spent much of his time in oasis towns such as Jericho, which were cultivated, or he survived

chiefly on a meat/milk diet, he could not have found in the Judean desert the variety of natural food necessary to support life for years on end. Cf. John the Baptist's diet of locusts and wild honey, in the same region (Mark 1:6), which has much the same literary purpose: marking a man as a stranger to all luxury and a friend of virtue.

Although Josephus' reference to uncultivated food perhaps runs the risk of comparison with the most repulsive barbarian stereotypes, which began with Homer's Cyclopes (*Od.* 9.107-15—a description that still contains an element of idealism; Tacitus, *Germ.* 31.2.3; Shaw 1982-83; Garnsey 1999:65-8), in context he is rather clearly evoking the *philosophical* ideal of a return to natural simplicity. In his *Statesman* (*Pol.* 274C), Plato has Socrates' interlocutor refer to the time when cultivation began, when food that grew by itself (αὐτομάτη τροφή) had failed to be adequate. Diogenes the Cynic famously contended that it was both desirable and possible to return to the animal state, in which one would seek only such clothing, shelter, and food as grew of itself (αὐτόματος): see Dio Chrysostom *Tyr.* 28. In general, then, Josephus claims to have trained on the sort of highly disciplined diet that his contemporaries associated with the most rigorous philosophers. Pythagoras, who abstained from meat and other foods, was credited with making dietary regulation a prominent concern in philosophy (Diogenes Laertius 8.13, 19). He was followed most famously by the third-century CE neo-Platonist Porphyry (*Abst.* 2.12, 27; 4.2; *Vit. Pyth.* 14 *et passim*; discussion in Garnsey 1999:85-91).

⁸⁴ Greek: ψυχρῷ δὲ ὕδατι . . . λουόμενον πρὸς ἀγνείαν. Thus Bannus and Josephus go one better than the hardy Essenes, who also wash, but daily—around noon-time—in cold water for purification (ἀπολουονται τὸ σῶμα ψυχροῖς ὕδασιν; *War* 2.129), an act that he describes as a purification (ἀγνεία). Josephus' philosopher John the Baptist, for his part, requires that immersion (there the *hapax legomena* βάπτισις and βαπτισμός) be used exclusively as a purification of the body (ἐφ' ἀγνείᾳ τοῦ σώματος), whereas the soul must be purified by repentance (*Ant.* 18.117).

Josephus can use the term ἀγνεία of specifically *ritual* purity—the removal of impurity as required by the Mosaic code (Lev 15:31) for priests and for others who would enter the temple (e.g., *Ant.* 3.276; cf. 4.80;). Indeed he specifies a *cold bath* for some kinds of ritual impurity (*Ant.* 3.263; cf. Lev 14:8-9; 15:9, 13, 16; 22:4-6). For one type of impurity, the Bible specifies "living (i.e., running) water" (Lev 15:13), and this seems to have been extrapolated as the ideal from an early period

him⁸⁶ three years and so satisfied my longing, I returned⁸⁷ to the city.⁸⁸

*Josephus enters
public life*

Being now in my nineteenth year⁸⁹ I began to involve myself in public life,⁹⁰ deferring

(Taylor 1997:49-100). In the absence of running water, Judeans used rock-cut immersion pools (מִקְוֵה) filled mostly with rain water; many of these have been found by archaeologists in Israel (Sanders 1992:214-30). The rabbis graded the suitability of immersion-water along a scale that did not include the criterion of temperature (*m. Miqw.* 1.5-8), though as Taylor (1997:52) observes, the *Didache* (7.1-4) does propose cold water as next best to running water for Christian immersion.

But the frequency of washing suggests that Bannus' regimen is more a matter of cleansing than of ritual purity. This appears to be another area in which, for Josephus, Judean traditions conveniently intersect with Greco-Roman. The Romans had developed the culture of the bath (*balneae, thermae*) to a high degree (Yegül 1992:1-5; Fagan 1999:40-74). "Not to bathe would have been un-Roman" (Yegül 1992:4). Daily bathing was a custom for most, and the cold bath (*frigidarium*) was a standard and challenging part of the bathing sequence (Fagan 1999:10-11). The combination of physical cleanliness and spiritual/psychological lightness that one felt following the afternoon's bath (Yegül 1992:30-1) might have been particularly appropriate to certain kinds of philosophical discipline. Lucian's philosopher Nigrinus, however, excoriates the many (πολλοί) philosophers who order their students to take frigid baths (ψυχρολουτεῖν) (*Nigr.* 27) as a means of hardening themselves—also for the few who apply whips. Josephus appears to be evoking a type of philosopher known well to his readers.

⁸⁵ See the note to "made his life" at § 11.

⁸⁶ Although there is no manuscript evidence for it, Shutt (1961:2 n. 3) proposes reading "with them" (παρ' αὐτοῖς) rather than "with him" (παρ' αὐτῷ) in order to solve the arithmetical problem that Josephus fits three years with Bannus *and* full training with each of the schools between ages 16 and 19. But assuming such a distant antecedent for the pronoun would be awkward. In view of Josephus' problems with arithmetic already noted in §§ 3-6, we are faced again with the likelihood that he composed this section of his work rather quickly and presented it for—perhaps oral—effect, without intending that it should be carefully studied. If the problem should seem too glaring, consider an even more obvious contradiction preserved in the dictated letters of Paul (1 Cor 1.14-16).

⁸⁷ Josephus thus fits the profile of the aristocrat-statesman. After pursuing his youthful enthusiasm for the most rigorous philosophy available, he gives it up in favor of responsible political life. In this paragraph

Josephus shows that he has studied all of his culture's schools in depth, but avoided allegiance to any one of them, and he gave them all up at the appropriate time for public service. See n. 69 above. Compare Josephus' older contemporaries Seneca (Seneca, *Ep.* 108.22) and Agricola, who as young men were warned against becoming *too* interested in philosophy. Of the latter Tacitus writes: "Soon came reason and years to cool his blood: . . . he was a student, yet preserved a sense of proportion" (*Agr.* 4.3).

⁸⁸ Greek: πόλις, beginning a play with πολιτεύομαι ("participate in public life") in the next sentence.

⁸⁹ 55-56 CE. On the arithmetical problem created by Josephus' education, see the note to "with him" at § 12.

⁹⁰ Greek: πολιτεύεσθαι. Particularly in Jewish and Christian literature, the middle voice of πολιτεύω often means "conduct one's (private) life" or "behave" (2 Macc 11:25; *Let. Aris.* 31; Phil 1:27; Acts 23:1). Thackeray thus collapses the distinct clauses of this sentence to translate: "I began to govern my life by the rules of the Pharisees"—implying a kind of conversion or decisive move to the Pharisees. But in Greek literature generally, the verb has a meaning related to the root πόλις, thus: "live as a free citizen, take part in government, meddle with politics, hold public office" and so on (LSJ, *s.v.*). All other 15 occurrences of the middle form in Josephus relate to public figures, and most plainly refer to their measures as public leaders: to govern, enact policy, act as a public figure (*Ant.* 4.13; 13.432; 14.91; 15.263; 18.44; 20.251; *Life* 258, 262). In the immediate context here, with the noun πόλις preceding, it is obvious that Josephus means to flag the beginning of his public career (after relating his ancestry and training), which is the subject of his little book. He returned from his youthful adventures to the city and began to involve himself in civic life as a responsible adult. He will then relate one of his most conspicuous accomplishments as a public figure: the trip to Rome (§§ 13-16). It is from one's public life that one's character is known (contrast *Life* 344). This sentence is therefore the major transition in the *Life*, turning to the central topic of public life and character.

In Plutarch's *Precepts of Statecraft* he similarly uses οἱ πολιτευόμενοι interchangeably for those who practice δημόσια πράγματα or those πράττοντες τὰ κοινά (*Mor.* 798D-E, 800D, F, 813A). To "begin public life," also in Plutarch, requires some such phrase as Josephus uses, e.g.: ἀρχὴν ποιεῖν πολιτείας (*Mor.* 804 F).

to the philosophical school of the Pharisees,⁹¹ which is rather like the one called Stoic⁹² among the Greeks.

(3) 13 After my twenty-sixth year,⁹³ indeed, it fell to me to go up to Rome⁹⁴ for the reason that will be described. At the time when Felix was administering Judea,⁹⁵ he had journey to Rome

⁹¹ On the surface this is a puzzling remark, since Josephus has just said (§ 10) that he trained among the Pharisees and other schools *without* satisfying his goal, since his earlier narratives have been sharply critical of the group (*War* 1.110-14; *Ant.* 13.288-98, 400-32; 17.41-5), and since he gives no hint that he has had a change of heart (cf. *Life* 189-98). The solution to the puzzle may lie in the grammatical observation that this clause depends upon the preceding one, concerning his entry into public life. If he means, then, that it was his entry into public life that entailed a certain deference to or “following the lead of” (κατακολουθεῖω) the Pharisees, we would have a clear parallel in *Ant.* 18.17. There he has asserted that *anyone* who assumes public office, even a Sadducee, must defer to “what the Pharisee says.” Such is the public influence—alleged by this aristocrat—of the Pharisees (cf. also *Ant.* 13.288, 400). Although scholars have proposed that Josephus here declares either his decisive commitment to the Pharisees or his desire to be seen as a Pharisee for political reasons, his construction appears rather weak and dependent upon the preceding clause. See S. Mason 1991: 325-56.

⁹² Stoicism took its name from the Stoa Poikile (painted porch-way or colonnade) in Athens, where Zeno of Citium established a philosophical school in the late fourth century BCE. It was given its definitive form by Chrysippus a century later. Stoic metaphysics was monistic and materialistic; Stoics held that a single force or principle (conceived of as fire) animated all of life. Stoic ethics held that the only good was to act in accord with this universal Nature or Reason, and that external impressions giving rise to the passions were neither good nor bad; passions should simply be excluded from the life of the wise. Famous Stoics (influenced largely by other traditions as well) included Nero’s aide Seneca, the philosopher-freedman Epictetus, and the second-century CE emperor Marcus Aurelius. In the first century CE, Stoicism was the most popular school in the empire. See Rist 1969; Inwood 1985.

If we ask why Josephus compared Pharisees with Stoics, the answer is not hard to imagine. Stoics had famously tried to find room for both fate and free will (Cicero, *Fat.* 39), just as Josephus’ Pharisees do (*Ant.* 13.171-73). This was the central philosophical issue. The roles of the two schools in their respective societies—widely embraced ideas, even if the number of

committed members was small (*Ant.* 18.15)—might also have played a part in his comparison.

⁹³ After Josephus’ 26th birthday. Since he was born in Gaius’ first year (cf. § 5: March 18, 37 – March 17, 38), his 26th birthday fell between March 18, 63, and March 17, 64 CE. Josephus’ departure for Rome was, therefore, probably in the sailing season (spring to autumn) of either 63 or 64.

⁹⁴ Plutarch (*Mor.* 10.804C-12.806F) describes two avenues into public life (πολιτεία): a single glorious deed that brings one the requisite credibility, such as a youthful military conquest, or long training as an apprentice to a senior public figure, with whom one gradually cultivates the needed networks and skills. In the absence of opportunities for military glory under the *pax Romana*, he suggests as substitutes “lawsuits and embassies to the emperor, which require a fervent man, one who possesses both daring and intelligence.” Josephus’ paradigmatic account here displays this combination of qualities—courage and resourcefulness—and, presumably, his qualifications for public office.

⁹⁵ Antonius Felix according to Tacitus (*Hist.* 5.9), Claudius Felix according to the mss. of Josephus at *Ant.* 20.137. The Epitome there has “Claudius sent Felix” (see Schürer-Vermes 1.460 n. 19; but Kokkinos 1990). Felix was the brother of Marcus Antonius Pallas, the influential freedman of Claudius’ mother Antonia. Pallas served as the emperor Claudius’ financial secretary (*a rationibus*) and seems to have played a major role in the affairs of the imperial court (Suetonius, *Claud.* 28-9; Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.53). Although—and because—he was granted the exceptional honor for a freedman of receiving the insignia of a senior magistrate (praetor: Pliny, *Ep.* 8.6), Pallas created many aristocratic enemies: Pliny called him a “dirty rotten scoundrel” (*Ep.* 7.29). He was later put to death by Nero.

Near the end of the *Antiquities* Josephus has introduced Felix as the brother of this notorious official, evidently assuming an audience who know the name of Pallas: *Ant.* 20.137. Matching Tacitus’ description of Felix as a man who, “practicing every kind of cruelty and lust, wielded royal power with the instincts of a slave” (*Hist.* 5.9), Josephus first describes the successful freedman’s lust for the already-married but still teen-aged Judean princess Drusilla (daughter of Agrippa I and sister of Agrippa II), which led her to “violate the ancestral laws” and marry this gentile (*Ant.* 20.143-44). It was under Felix’ watch, according to Josephus, that

certain priests, close associates⁹⁶ of mine and gentlemen,⁹⁷ bound and sent to Rome on a minor and incidental charge,⁹⁸ to submit an account⁹⁹ to Caesar.¹⁰⁰ **14** Wanting to find

Judean political life deteriorated sharply. The governor's determination to do wrong drove him to introduce knife-wielding assassins (*sicarii*) into the city and to murder the former high priest Jonathan (20.162-64). He thus opened a Pandora's box, which he could not close even though he aggressively tried to stamp out militant and religious radicals (20.167-72). He also sided arbitrarily with the Syrian inhabitants of Caesarea Maritima against the Judeans there (20.173-78), creating further tensions. Cf. *War* 2.247-70 and Krieger 1994:141-71.

The dates of Felix's tenure as procurator are uncertain and depend on a large number of variables (see Schürer-Vermes 1.460 n. 17, 465-66 n. 42). Most scholars posit either 52 or 53 CE as his first year, though the matter is complicated by Tacitus' confident description (*Ann.* 12.54), not paralleled in Josephus, of an earlier sharing of power in Samaria and Judea by Cumanus and Felix. Estimates for the year of his recall range from 54 through 61 CE, with the majority view favoring 59 or 60. Kokkinos (1998:385-86) makes a case from the coinage for 58 CE.

⁹⁶ It is hard to translate the Greek *συνήθης*, which implies a certain intimacy, in a consistent way in the *Life*. Sometimes it is paired with "friend" or "old friend" (*φίλος παλαιός*), clearly implying a special closeness (§§ 180, 192, 204, 419). Yet Josephus finds no fewer than 190 *φίλοι* and *συνήθεις* among the women and children locked up in the temple (§ 419) and notices other *συνήθεις* on crosses near a small village (§ 420). It would seem absurd, in modern English usage, to give him so many "intimate friends" or "confidants." Yet such were the assumptions of his world that he *could* claim them. Thinking within the Latin vocabulary of patronage and friendship poses less of a problem than English, for Josephus' language here matches well the relationship assumed by Cicero between *amicus* and *familiaris* (*Balb.* 28.63): "among Caesar's large circle of friends, [Balbus] ranked with his closest intimates." But Cicero's volumes of letters to his own *familiares* show that, for a prominent public figure, even this smaller category could include scores of people. The more *amici* and *familiares* one could claim, the greater one's prestige.

⁹⁷ Greek: *καλοὶ κάγαθοί*, contracting (in the singular) *καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός*. This phrase was already proverbial in older Athenian authors. It could refer to someone who was simply honest and decent (e.g., Aristophanes, *Eq.* 184, 227, 735; *Lys.* 1060; Herodotus *Hist.* 1.30; 2.144; Isocrates, *Soph.* 13.6; *Antid.* 15.316; Lucian, *Patr. Enc.* 3), but among the philosophers it became charged with greater significance. Thus Aristotle (*Mag. Mor.* 1207b.2.9.2-5): "They say that a

man is 'noble and good' (*καλὸς κάγαθός*) when he is morally perfect" (cf. Plato, *Apol.* 21D; 25A). Socrates' challenge to Xenophon, "And where do men become *καλοὶ κάγαθοί*?" is alleged as the reason why Xenophon took up study with Socrates (Diogenes Laertius 2.48; cf. 6.8). Nevertheless, there was also a common view that this kind of innate virtue usually passed from parent to child. Under the rubric "nobility" (*εὐγένεια*), Diogenes' Plato (Diogenes Laertius 3.88) observes that those whose ancestors are *καλοὶ κάγαθοί* καὶ δίκαιοι are themselves called noble (*εὐγενεῖς*).

Josephus seems to assume something of this aristocratic sense. The phrase occurs three times in the *Life*, at least twice in reference to Josephus' aristocratic friends and associates (§§ 13, 29, 256). Otherwise it appears only once (*Ant.* 10.204), where Josephus' Daniel describes the wise Chaldeans at the Babylonian court.

⁹⁸ The same word (*αἰτία*) has been translated "reason" in the previous sentence; Josephus typically reuses a word, often with different nuances, in a short space (see Introduction). He will make a similar play in §§ 24-5 below, introducing the reason (*αἰτία*) for a larger phenomenon as an event as a false charge (*αἰτία*).

The entire phrase, "minor and incidental charge" (*μικρὰ καὶ τυχοῦσα αἰτία*), appears at *Ant.* 20.215, where it describes the charges against those who were released from prison by the governor Albinus in return for bribes, shortly before Gessius Florus' arrival. Those guilty of serious crimes, by contrast, he executed. The phrase appears to be part of common parlance: Philo, *Decal.* 151; cf. Lucian, *Fug.* 19. Cohen (1979:61-2) argues that these priestly friends of Josephus in Rome were in fact significant rebels. Otherwise, he proposes, they would not have been sent to Rome, and the similarity of language with *Ant.* 20.215 (above), where those so described are also called *λησταί*, makes the case. Although Cohen may be right, the parallel in Philo shows that the phrase "minor and incidental charge" is not some sort of Josephan code for rebels; it has no probative value. Josephus' main rhetorical point seems to be that Antonius Felix and emperor Nero had between them unjustly detained some Judean aristocrats in Rome, and that Josephus himself, at great personal cost and risk, had rectified the injustice. He thus proved his qualifications for public life. It seems that an aristocratic audience in Flavian Rome, given their sentiments about Nero and his influential freedmen, should have had no trouble believing Josephus. Significantly, Acts 25-28 tells of another trivial case—Paul's—that was tried by Felix and then languished in Nero's Rome.

⁹⁹ The phrase "to submit an account" (*ὑπέχω λόγον*;

some means of rescue for these men, especially when I discovered that even in wretched circumstances they had not abandoned piety toward the deity¹⁰¹ but were subsisting¹⁰² on figs and nuts,¹⁰³ I reached Rome after having faced many dangers at sea.¹⁰⁴ **15** For

cf. ὑπ. δίκην) is quasi-technical legal language (Plato, *Prot.* 338D; Xenophon, *Mem.* 4.4.9), used often by Josephus in various contexts (*War* 2.628; *Ant.* 14.180; 17.144; 20.131; *Life* 408). It is noteworthy (see Introduction) that the only other occurrence in the *Life* comes near the end, matching this one near the beginning.

¹⁰⁰ I.e., Nero (§ 16): Nero Claudius Caesar Drusus Germanicus, born Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus in December 37 CE, Josephus' nearly exact contemporary. Nero became *princeps* at age 17 and ruled from 54 to 68 CE. Josephus has introduced Nero and discussed his character in both *War* and *Antiquities*. The summary in *War* 2.250-51 is of the kind familiar from other aristocratic authors: his success drove him out of his mind, to acting in the theater and to murdering family members. Already in the 70s Josephus describes this perspective as thoroughly familiar to his readers. *Ant.* 20.153 also mentions Nero's heinous crimes, though, in keeping with Josephus' determination to make balanced moral assessments in the *Antiquities* (see S. Mason BJP 3.xxxii-xxxiii), he rejects both the fawning accounts of those well treated by Nero and the excessively hateful presentations by others (*Ant.* 20.154-57). That Josephus should know even a couple of Neronian histories raises again the question of his competence in Latin (cf. Feldman 1994:819-21, 836).

¹⁰¹ This is one half of Josephus' standard formulation of human moral obligation: piety toward the deity, justice toward one's fellows (*War* 2.139; *Ant.* 7.384; 9.236; 18.117; cf. 7.338, 342, 356, 374; 12.56). The piety side frequently stands on its own, as here: *War* 2.128; *Ant.* 9.2, 222, 236, 276; 10.45, 51, 68, etc. Although the pair "piety and justice" are found commonly enough in other authors (Isocrates, *De pace* 8.33, 34; 12.124, 183, 204; Aristotle, *Virt. vit.* 1250B; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. rom.* 1.4; 4.32; 8.2; 8.8, 28, 62; 9.44; 13.5; Philo, *Spec.* 2.63; Diogenes Laertius 3.83; 6.5; Cassius Dio 17.57.61), the pair is unusually prominent in Josephus. Perhaps he is influenced by Dionysius' preference for this language. No doubt he also wishes to preclude the common charge that Judeans are both atheistic and misanthropic (*Apion* 2.148).

¹⁰² A rare word in Josephus (διατρέφω), connoting a difficulty in securing nourishment. Elsewhere only at *Ant.* 2.316; 8.321, 325.

¹⁰³ The nuts (κάρυα) in question could be of any type, though in compounds the root word commonly refers to walnuts (see LSJ s.v.). The word occurs only

here in Josephus.

Why figs and nuts? The answer is not clear from any biblical prescription or from Josephus elsewhere. He implies that this act of dietary piety was freely chosen. It was already a vast improvement over standard prison food, however, which consisted of a small portion of bread and water, barely sustaining life (cf. Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 4.161.A, B), and given only (capriciously) when the prisoner's friends or family did not come to his aid with supplies as was expected (*Cod. Theod.* 9.3.7; Rapske 1994:209-19). Whatever the priests' form of custody—a city prison in Rome, detention in military barracks, or house arrest with soldiers attending—they were likely eating food brought by friends, if indeed this description of their diet has a basis in fact. We cannot be sure what sort of custody they faced. King Agrippa I, who was extraordinarily well connected, was given a humane military guard of centurion rank and allowed to eat his favorite foods and take regular baths; yet even he could only get a comfortable sleeping arrangement by connivance with the soldiers (*Ant.* 18.195-204). Then again, Agrippa had been sentenced by Tiberius himself and faced a potentially serious charge. The Paul of Acts, on the other hand, who had no significant status in Rome beyond citizenship, but was also facing a very minor charge (complicated by his own appeal to Caesar—Acts 25:11, 18-20), was granted house arrest in a room or small apartment, at his own expense, with relative freedom of movement (Acts 28:16-31). See Rapske 1994:9-35, 227-81. Josephus' friends probably had a higher status than Paul's, though nothing like Agrippa's. If their charge was trivial, as Josephus alleges, and given the life-threatening consequences of the baser forms of imprisonment in filthy city dungeons over a long period (five years or more, from 59 or earlier to 63/4 CE), they probably faced a relatively light form of custody.

Since Josephus' friends were priests, the figs and nuts may have been a token of their due as tithes, in the absence of the crops liable to the full tithing regime in Judea (cf. Schürer-Vermes 2.269-70). Nuts and especially figs appear prominently in the mishnaic tractate on (first) tithes: *m. Ma'as.* 1.2, 7; 2.1-8; 3.1-10 etc. These foods also have the advantage of extreme portability and durability as dry foods. Offering high nutritional value in relation to their size, the ingredients of this "hiker's mix" would make a sensible provision from friends or compatriots. For figs and nuts as a cure, along with exercise and vegetables, see Galen, *Pro Puer. Epil. Cons.* 11.371 (Kuehn).

when our ship was flooded in the middle of the Adriatic,¹⁰⁵ we—being about 600 in number—had to swim through the entire night.¹⁰⁶ And when by the provision of God¹⁰⁷ a Cyrenian ship appeared before us around daybreak, I and some others—about eighty altogether—overtook the rest and were taken on board. **16** After we had come safely to Dicaearcheia, which the Italians call Puteoli,¹⁰⁸ through a friendship I met¹⁰⁹ Aliturus:¹¹⁰

Although one might reasonably question whether figs and nuts could sustain life for the five years or more of the priests' imprisonment, Josephus' point seems to have more to do with what these priests did *not* eat. Like Daniel and his colleagues in Babylon (*Ant.* 10.190), who chose legumes and dates over meat dishes, the priests would not eat prepared food that might be subject to impurity. The implication is that they had a choice to eat other things.

¹⁰⁴ Ever since Homer's account of Odysseus' perils at sea (e.g., *Od.* 5.282-423), shipwreck stories had become standard fare in Greco-Roman literature (Virgil, *Aen.* 1.36-135; Catullus 68; Seneca, *Ep.* 22.12; Suetonius, *Aug.* 8.1; Dio Chrysostom *Ven.* 2; Propertius 3.7; Acts 27). As the large number of discovered shipwrecks from the first century demonstrates, the danger was not only literary but very real, even during the "safe" sailing season from May to October (Parker 1992:esp. 10-15). Josephus' younger contemporary Juvenal provides a moving account of a friend's survival of peril at sea (*Sat.* 12).

¹⁰⁵ In the absence of seagoing passenger ships, Josephus would have traveled with cargo bound for Rome. If he had 600 fellow-passengers, he must have found passage on a very large grain freighter, probably from Alexandria. The trip from Jerusalem to Rome would have taken him six weeks or more in each direction. Facing constant headwinds on the NW journey, his ship would likely have hugged the coastline as far as possible—rather than crossing the Mediterranean directly as the SE-bound ships did (Casson 1994:150-52). That might explain how he ended up in the "middle of the Adriatic"—perhaps in fact the 20 km opening between Brundisium (the major port for travelers to Rome in E Italy) and Dyrrhachium (W coast of Greece).

¹⁰⁶ This was another remarkable feat, especially for someone hailing from land-locked Jerusalem, who presumably did not have regular opportunities to swim: cf. Hata 1994:312. Without resolving the question of the story's factuality, we may note that swimming was a popular activity among the young Roman aristocracy, probably *de rigeur* in their education. Iulius Caesar (*Bell. Alex.* 21) famously saved himself from danger in Alexandria by swimming, and the teenaged Octavian proved his mettle by courageous actions following a shipwreck (Suetonius, *Aug.* 8.1). The elder Cato had established the paradigm by teaching his son to swim in difficult conditions (Plutarch, *Cat. Maj.* 20.4-5). Yegül

(1992:430 n. 50) notes further Cicero, *Cael.* 15.36; Horace, *Carm.* 3.7.25, 12.7; Ovid, *Trist.* 3.12.21; Seneca, *Ep.* 83.5; Suetonius, *Aug.* 64.3. Although the larger Roman baths of this period often included substantial swimming pools (the *natatio*: Dodge in Potter/Mattingly 1999:243-55), it seems that such pools were mainly for casual strokes, and that serious swimming took place in the Tiber and other rivers and lakes (Yegül 1992:37). In Judea, Herod's building projects often included large swimming pools, as at Jericho (*Ant.* 15.54-5) and Herodium (Netzer 1983:42).

¹⁰⁷ Greek: θεοῦ πρόνοια; cf. Latin *providentia*. For the value of recounting such an episode here, see Cicero (*Part. or.* 82): In praising a man, one should draw particular attention to "any important or startling occurrence that a man has encountered, especially if this can appear to be due to the intervention of providence (*divinitus accidisce*)."¹⁰⁷ Attridge (1976:67-107) has demonstrated the fundamental role that "providence" or "God's watchful care" over human affairs, to reward and punish, plays in *Ant.* 1-11. Although in the prologue the theme is introduced without the word πρόνοια (*Ant.* 1.14, 20), πρόνοια occurs frequently in the subsequent narrative (*Ant.* 1.46, 225; 2.24, 60, 219, 286, 330, 349; 3.19, 99; 4.47, 114, 117; 10.278, 280, etc.). Stoic philosophers of Josephus' time could also speak of the universal animating principle as πρόνοια and God (θεός): Epictetus, *Diatr.* 1.6, 16; 3.17. Yet πρόνοια can mean not only divine "providence," but also human "provision" and "forethought"—divine attributes in which mortals can share (e.g., *Ant.* 2.39, 104, 236; cf. 1.19, 23)—and it is the forethought of the statesman that Josephus usually intends with πρόνοια in the *Life*; see the note to "provision" at § 62. The present episode and its symmetrical match at the end of the story (§ 425) contain the only examples of *divine* πρόνοια (with the noun) in the *Life*. The verb occurs with this sense at § 301.

¹⁰⁸ The Greek city of Dicaearchia on the Bay of Naples (ca. 200 km. S of Rome), founded in the 6th century BCE, was colonized by the Romans as Puteoli in the early 2nd century BCE. Before 42 CE, Puteoli had been the main harbor for Rome because the city lacked a good natural harbor at Ostia, the closest seaport at the mouth of the Tiber. Seagoing ships supplying Rome's grain from Alexandria would typically transfer their cargo at Puteoli to boats that could approach the capital city up river. Even after the emperor Claudius had built

this man was a mime-actor,¹¹¹ especially dear to Nero's thoughts¹¹² and a Judean by

a massive artificial harbor at Portus near Ostia in 42 CE, many ship captains preferred to off-load at Puteoli. In *Ep.* 77 Seneca describes the arrival of Alexandrian ships in Puteoli—roughly at the time Josephus was there. By including both the older Greek name and the Italian, Josephus may be displaying his erudition. Cf. Plutarch, *Sull.* 37, who similarly uses the older Greek name. The Paul of Acts also disembarks at Puteoli en route to Rome (after a shipwreck): Acts 28:13.

¹⁰⁹ The same verb (ἀφικνέομαι) that Josephus uses in § 14: “I reached” Rome.

¹¹⁰ This unusual name is not clearly attested otherwise. Solin (1982:3.1147) followed by Leppin (1992: 247) guesses that Greek name was actually Halityros (Ἀλίτυρος), meaning “salt-cheese.” It would then resemble many other names taken from food, articles of clothing, or grooming.

¹¹¹ Greek μιμόλογος: probably either a mime-actor or mime-writer; the only occurrence of the word in Josephus. Greek mime (imitative acting, from μίμησις) had long since combined with and shaped the native Roman tradition. Maskless, barefoot actors who spoke and sang (they were *not* silent as our mime is) played out stock social themes—especially adultery and its attendant absurdities, but also kidnapping, shipwreck, or other sudden changes of fortune—in short sketches. Mime-plays were typically filled with crude, abusive language, which the crowd loved. Performing troupes ranged in size from 60 to a single actor, but casts of three were most common. Using very little in the way of props, they could play in regular theaters, as interludes in, or addenda to, the main performance, or they could easily set up in marketplaces and other public spaces. Although mime was often impromptu, some longer pieces were scripted with a plot (ὑπόθεσις) by “mime-writers”—this was one sense of μιμόλογος (LSJ s.v.)—such as Publilius Syrus or Decimus Laberius, contemporaries of Iulius Caesar, though these men were not given this label. But as a terracotta lamp painting from the Athenian acropolis of three ΜΙΜΟΛΟΓΟΙ (sic: third century BCE—“hypothesis: mother-in-law”; PWRE 15.2 [1932]:1739) and a much later Latin inscription from the Via Salaria (MYMOLOGO—third cent. CE; Ferrua 1987/8:223-24) confirm, the term could simply refer to mime-actors (cf. Leppin 1992:14).

Thackeray translates “pantomime actor,” but that seems unlikely. The pantomime (παντομίμος: “imitator of everything”) was a *silent dancer* who acted out famous situations and imitated renowned figures from the mythological tradition: especially Homer, Hesiod, and the tragedians. The dancer relied on his or her movements, along with masks and the narration or singing of

a background chorus or actor, to convey the story. Pantomime became extremely popular in first-century Rome: it was said to have been introduced by the Cilician Pylades and the Alexandrian Bathyllus early in Augustus' reign. In the second century CE Lucian wrote a valuable description in *On the Dance* (see esp. *Salt.* 37-85). It seems from Josephus' language, however, that Halityros was an actor or writer of *mimes*. See Beare 1950:141-50; Beacham 1991:129-53. Perhaps Josephus uses μιμόλογος to distinguish the mime-actor from the mime-play, for which he elsewhere uses ἄμιμος (*Ant.* 19.94).

¹¹² Show-people such as Halityros occupied a complicated position in Roman society (cf. Purcell in Bergmann/Kondoleon 1999:181-93). As the inscriptions and literary references prove, they were generally loved by the masses, and the stars among them were honored by the Italian cities (Leppin 1992:148-55). Since their *milieu* was the theater, where large and unruly crowds met without much inhibition, actors naturally acquired an influence that had to be reckoned with by the ruling class (Yavetz 1969:9-37). Their barbed comments from the stage, even if oblique in their contemporary reference, had the power to rouse popular sentiment quickly (Leppin 1992:60-70). No doubt this influence, coupled with their Eastern provenance and occasionally stunning financial success (Cicero, *Rosc. com.* 22-3), was part of the reason why actors were so generally despised by the aristocracy and its retainers, who tended to group them with prostitutes and pimps (Leppin 1992:135-47, 160-63; cf. Dio Chrysostom, *Alex.* 4 [of Alexandrian theater]). In the republican and Augustan periods they were prevented from holding municipal office, and they faced other social impediments as well (Leppin 1992:71-83, 106). Dictators and emperors could side with either popular or aristocratic sentiment, as political necessity suggested. They might expel actors from Rome for a while, or even execute individuals as an example (Suetonius, *Nero* 54; *Dom.* 10.1, 4), but in general it behooved them to cultivate the allegiance of show-people. A number of monarchs and aristocrats kept actors on their household staffs (Plutarch, *Sull.* 36; *Ant.* 21.1; Suetonius, *Aug.* 74; Suetonius, *Cal.* 36.1; 55.1; Pliny, *Ep.* 1.36; 9.17, 36), and our hostile reporters (at least) tend to include actors when they associate bad emperors with the excessive control of women and freedmen.

Nero was apparently fascinated by actors and acting. He sang and played the lyre, and insisted on joining (rigged) Greek competitions (Suetonius, *Nero* 20-24; Cassius Dio 62.9). He gave large financial gifts to actors and athletes (Suetonius, *Galb.* 15). He was especially fond of a pantomime named Paris, who acquired

ancestry.¹¹³ Through him I became known to Poppea,¹¹⁴ the wife of Caesar, and then

considerable power during his reign (Tacitus, *Ann.* 13.20-22), but whom he later executed, reportedly from jealousy (Cassius Dio 62.18.1).

The rhetorical force of Josephus' passage depends upon its intended audience. If the audience comprised members of the Roman élite, who despised both the memory of Nero and Poppea (below) and the couple's irksome association with actors, then we should reckon with a self-deprecating irony on Josephus' part (see Introduction). He sets up a typical situation, comparable in its typicality to everything else he has said thus far: a visiting Judean nobleman gains entry to the highest Roman circles—How else did one succeed with Nero?—through a Judean actor who was close to the infamous Poppea. In that case, Josephus would be winking at his audience as he spoke. It is even *possible* that Josephus invents the Judean actor so dear to Nero and Poppea, a man whom he must introduce, and who is neglected by other historians of Nero's reign, to create this typical scene.

¹¹³ Or "by birth." On the phrase *ῥουδαῖος τὸ γένος* see Cohen, Parente/Sievers 1994:23-38. Saller (1982: 135-36) discusses the importance of shared ethnic origins as a common basis for the dispensing of patronage; cf. e.g., Pliny, *Ep.* 1.19. A substantial number of actors came to Rome from the Greek East. Leppin (1992:31-2) identifies one M. Aurelius Pylades, who appears in inscriptions from Ostia a century later than Josephus, as the son of a Judean and a possible descendant of Halituros.

¹¹⁴ Poppea Sabina, the granddaughter of a consul (C. Poppaeus Sabinus), was married first to a praetorian prefect (Rufinus Crispus) and then to the future emperor Otho. During that second marriage she allegedly became Nero's lover (Tacitus, *Ann.* 13.45-6; Cassius Dio 61.2-3). According to gossip, it was at her insistence that Nero murdered both his mother Agrippina and his wife Octavia (Tacitus, *Ann.* 14.1, 60-64). Tacitus pithily remarks: "She was a woman possessed of all advantages, except character" (*honestum animum*; *Ann.* 13.45). Nero finally married Poppea in 62 CE. When she was pregnant for the second time, in 65 CE (their first daughter having died in infancy), he reportedly kicked her in such a way that she died (Cassius Dio 62.27.4-28.1). Nero is said to have lived with so much remorse that he had a boy freedman (Sporus) castrated to assume her role in his life, and he himself wore a mask of her while playing female roles in the theater (Cassius Dio 62.13.1; 63.26.3). Josephus' trip to Rome, in 63 or 64 CE, would have fallen during the height of Poppea's influence on the *princeps*.

Josephus has recently introduced Poppea in two con-

texts. First, she allegedly intervened on the side of a delegation from Jerusalem, including the high priest Ishmael and temple treasurer Helcias, who had petitioned Nero for permission to block King Agrippa II's view of the temple proceedings from his new *triclinium* (dining room). Strangely, however, she then kept these two distinguished men "hostage" in her house, requiring King Agrippa to appoint a new high priest (*Ant.* 20.189-96). But how could they be hostages for Agrippa's compliance? For the people's tranquillity? Perhaps (historically) this was more a compromise for Agrippa's benefit: his view of the temple would be spoiled, but he would benefit by mollifying public opinion *and* by being rid of some troublesome chief priests. Or does Josephus humorously insinuate a sexual intention on Poppea's part in keeping the two men with her? Second, on account of her friendship with Gessius Florus' wife Cleopatra, Poppea intervened to facilitate the appointment of Gessius, who allegedly then "inundated the Judeans with many evils," as governor of Judea (*Ant.* 20.252). Neither of these moves was unambiguously beneficial to the Judeans.

Notwithstanding the overwhelmingly hostile Roman tradition concerning Poppea, Josephus traces Nero's decision in favor of the delegation to the fact that "she was a worshipper of God (or God-fearer, θεοσεβής)" (*Ant.* 20.195). Much scholarly discussion has attended this term (cf. Siegert 1973; Kraabel 1981; Feldman 1993:342-82). Josephus uses it elsewhere simply of Judeans who are particularly pious (*Ant.* 7.130, 153; 12.284; cf. 14.308 and NT John 9:31), or even of faithful Egyptians (*Apion* 2.140). A close parallel (σεβόμενοι[σι]), however, occurs almost formulaically in the NT Acts as a tag for either proselytes to Judaism or gentile sympathizers (Acts 13:43, 50; 16:14; 17:4, 17; 18:7, 13; 19:27). Now a third-century CE synagogue inscription from Aphrodisias in Caria (modern Turkey) seems to confirm that θεοσεβής could have a quasi-technical meaning: gentile "sympathizers" who support the synagogue (Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987; Feldman 1993:362-68). In the case of Poppea, we seem to have a range of possibilities. (a) Although not necessarily possessed of spiritual longings (and in keeping with the conservative suspicion of her), Poppea was interested in other cultures, much as Nero was fascinated by Greek culture, and so extended her patronage to the exotic noblemen in *Ant.* 20 as also here to Josephus. The label "God-fearer" was Josephus' *ad hoc* description of her act of kindness, signifying nothing more than a certain "piety" or even superstition in view of this one helpful action—not an enduring, personal attraction to Judaism (Smallwood 1959; 1976:278-79 n. 79). But the syntax

very quickly arranged things,¹¹⁵ appealing to her to free the priests.¹¹⁶ Having succeeded,¹¹⁷ with enormous gifts¹¹⁸ from Poppea in addition to this benefit,¹¹⁹ I returned home.

(4) 17 Now¹²⁰ I was* surprised¹²¹ already to find the beginnings of revolutions,¹²² with *Josephus' initial response to*

above, in which she acts *because* she is a God-fearer, seems to call for something more. (b) She really was partial to this foreign Judean culture, and was personally committed to *some* of its practices (Feldman 1993:351-52). The problem there is the obvious one of understanding Poppea as committed to any religious discipline—unless the Roman tradition has misrepresented her entirely. (c) Josephus does *not* mean to contradict the hostile Roman aristocratic tradition concerning Poppea. His earlier reference to the notorious woman's being a God-fearer (perhaps in conjunction with her keeping the two priests in her home) is ironic, intended to provoke howls of laughter from his audience.

¹¹⁵ Greek *προνοέω*, matching the divine *πρόνοια* ("provision of God") in the preceding section. As soon as Josephus is mercifully rescued by God, he mercifully rescues his imperiled friends. See the note to "make provision" at § 62.

¹¹⁶ Since Josephus would presumably have mentioned an audience with the emperor as a major achievement, we are probably entitled to infer that he never actually met Nero.

¹¹⁷ This personal success, rather than the good character of Poppea or Nero, or indeed the good offices of Halituro, seems to be the thrust of Josephus' story. A prominent thesis in the *Life* is that Josephus, by virtue of his unimpeachable character, divine protection, and resourcefulness, was able to bring much good out of a situation that would have been untenable for lesser men. He continually faced unscrupulous and degenerate opponents, and yet he triumphed. This account of his first foray into public affairs illustrates the model perfectly. He was handed ("it fell to me") the unenviable task of freeing some fellow aristocrats held by the capricious emperor Nero, when Poppea was at the height of her influence, and without himself having any significant contacts in Rome. He nevertheless managed to take advantage of Nero's notorious weaknesses—for Poppea and for actors—to accomplish his noble aims. His success prepares him for a public role on return to Judea.

¹¹⁸ Many scholars have found it puzzling, or entirely unbelievable, that Josephus should have received gifts from, rather than giving them to, the emperor's wife (Shutt 1961:37; Feldman *ABD* 3.982; Hata 1994:315—"seems to be complete nonsense"). But note, first, that in the patronage relationship it was indeed the more powerful friend, the *amicus potens*, who was expected to provide gifts. The dependent client could offer only

gratitude and loyalty, as Saller so thoroughly demonstrates: the aristocrat's "honor and prestige derived from the power to give what others needed or wanted" (1982:126; cf. 11-22, 31, 41, 71-3, 120-33). This dispensing of largesse *from the top down* lay at the core of patronal thinking. Second, Josephus does not deny having offered gifts. But if the suppliant offered them, it was hardly worth mentioning; indeed such an offer might have raised the specter of bribery. It is only newsworthy if, as Josephus claims here, the more powerful figure warmly accepts an implied petition for patronage by offering gifts.

¹¹⁹ Greek: *εὐεργεσία*. The term describes a benefit that a client properly receives from a patron; cf. the Latin *beneficium*, which was a critical term in the ideology of the good aristocrat (Saller 1982:17-21, 41). From Martial's epigrams, Saller (1982:123) collects examples of Flavian imperial gifts ranging from a silver plate and cup to roof tiles, travel money, and an estate. Josephus uses this noun only one other time in the *Life*, of King Agrippa's benefactions (§ 60). Strikingly, the only occurrence of the cognate verb *εὐεργετέω* in the *Life* comes at the end of the narrative, where another emperor's wife treats him kindly (§ 429).

¹²⁰ The Greek preposition *δέ* does not emphasize the time ("now"). It is a vague conjunction: but, and, now. I translate it thus because of the main verb (next note).

¹²¹ The verb *καταλαμβάνω* in this context suggests "find on arrival" or "be surprised to find," as I have rendered it in view of the adverb "already." This construction poses another numerical problem for Josephus' story. According to *War* 2.284 (cf. 2.555; *Ant.* 20.259), the decisive triggers of the revolt occurred in the 12th year of Nero (October 13, 65–October 12, 66), and in the spring (Artemisius): thus May of 66. The latest Josephus could have departed for Rome, it seems (cf. § 13), was late summer of 64. Even if he remained in the capital until late summer of the following year (65 CE), to allow for his achievement of access to Nero's court (§ 16), his return to Judea by autumn of 65 would still be somewhat early for his claim that the nation was already in revolt. Possibly, he did not return until 66, though one would not otherwise infer a two-year stay from his brief account of a mission accomplished. If he went to Rome in the summer of 63, the problem is intensified.

Hata (in Parente/Sievers 1994:309-28) speculatively reconstructs this "dark" period, suggesting that Jose-

revolutionary
movement:
direct opposi-
tion

many [people] grandly contemplating defection¹²³ from the Romans. So I tried to restrain the insurgents¹²⁴ and charged¹²⁵ them to think again. They should first place before their eyes those against whom they would make war—for not only with respect to

phus trained in Alexandria as a Roman agent. Kokkinos (1998:387-95) makes a case, however, for redating the earliest stages of the revolt, including Josephus' move to the Galilee, to December 65 rather than 66 CE, using this very problem as one of his arguments. Were he correct, Josephus might have gone to Rome late in the sailing season of 64 and returned by autumn of 65 to a situation of upheaval that had begun in May of that year. In turn, the events of the *Life* could fill a more capacious 17-18 months rather than 5 months or so on the standard dating (December 66 to May 67). See the discussion in the Introduction. It should be noted, however, that there is rather less activity in the *Life* than meets the eye, since Josephus appears to have inflated and duplicated events.

¹²² Greek: νεωτερισμοί. Like Latin equivalents built from the verb *novare* [res] (Sallust, *Bell. Cat.* 39.3; Livy 1.52.1; 24.23.6; 32.38.9; Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.14; *Ann.* 4.18;), Greek νεω- words often connoted unwelcome change, upheaval, or revolution (Demosthenes, *Or.* 17.15; Plato, *Resp.* 8.555D; Diodorus Siculus. 11.87.4; 13.38.5; 15.57.3; Strabo, *Geogr.* 13.2.3, 4.1; Plutarch, *Mor.* 825B; *Thes.* 32.2; *Publ.* 2.3). Writers frequently paired νεωτερισμός with the στάσις word group (faction or sedition) as the principal threats to a state's well-being, as Josephus does here and elsewhere (*War* 1.198; 5.152; 6.342; *Ant.* 14.141; 17.314, 316; *Life* 134). Plutarch (*Num.* 20.5) recalls the ideal reign of Numa, when there was neither war (πόλεμος) nor sedition (στάσις) nor revolution (νεωτερισμός). Here in *Life* 17-29, Josephus uses νεωτερισμός and νεωτεριστής 4 times: §§ 17, 22, 23, 28, but only 3 times elsewhere in the *Life* (56, 134, 184). He thus vividly portrays at the outset his difficult straits, as a moderate aristocrat surrounded by revolutionaries.

Precluding disturbance was the greatest single concern of a leader, whether Roman or provincial. Cassius Dio's Maecenas (52.26.5) advises Augustus to ensure that young aristocrats are trained in the hard martial disciplines *because* no one thus educated would dare to foment revolt (νεώτερον). According to Plutarch, it was the chief aim of the Greek statesman, especially the one subject to Rome, to maintain the quietness (ἡσυχία) and tranquillity (πραότης) of the populace (*Mor.* 823F), free from all στάσις and νεωτερισμός (*Mor.* 825B)—not least so that outside forces would not impose peace (*Mor.* 824A-B). Josephus' presentation of his quandary assumes the sympathy of his audience with these concerns.

¹²³ Greek: ἀποστάσει μέγα φρονούντας. See the

similar phrase in § 43 (of Gischala). Whereas στάσις (see next note) describes an internal “standing” or sedition, ἀπόστασις implies a movement away from the main body, in this case Rome (cf. §§ 25, 39, 124, 125). Josephus can also use the word for defection from his own generalship (§§ 277, 331).

¹²⁴ Greek: στασιώδης, or “agent of sedition” (στάσις). Στάσις is a central theme of the *War*, where Josephus attributes the fall of Jerusalem to “domestic sedition” (στάσις οἰκεία; *War* 1.10, 25, 27, 31, 67, 88, 142; 2.418, 419, 434, etc.), and a minor theme of the *Antiquities*, where sedition led by demagogues is a constant threat to authorized aristocratic rulers (*Ant.* 4.12-3, 140; 13.291, 299; 18.8). Literally meaning “a standing,” the term may be used of either a particular faction (e.g., *Life* 32, 35) or the resulting state of factional strife. Many scholars have explored this theme in Josephus (e.g., Bilde 1978: 190-91; Rajak 1983:91-6; Goodman 1987:19-20; Feldman 1998a:140-48), noting his particular debt to the *locus classicus* in Thucydides (1.2.4-6; esp. 3.82-4). Yet Herodotus also frequently mentions the problem (*Hist.* 1.59.3, 60.2, 150.1; 3.82.3; 5.28.1; 6.109.5) as do many other political, rhetorical, and historical writers: Isocrates *Paneg.* 4.79, 114, 174; Plato, *Leg.* 1.628C, 629C-D; *Resp.* 4.470B; Aristotle, *Ath. pol.* 5.2-3; 13.1; *Pol.* 1265B; Diodorus Siculus, 11.72.2, 76.6, 86.3, 87.5. Diodorus Siculus (9.11.1), in whose narrative the theme is prominent, identifies the three greatest evils that can befall a state as tyranny (τυραννίς), sedition (στάσις), and war (πόλεμος)—the very themes of the prologue to Josephus' *War*. Contemporaries of Josephus such as Plutarch (*Mor.* 813A, 824A) and Dio Chrysostom (*I Regn.* 1.82) also spoke easily of the perils of στάσις (cf. Pausanias, *Descr.* 3.2.7; 4.18.3). Josephus' audience would have understood him perfectly well, whether they thought of Thucydides or not. See Lintott 1982; Lintott in Molyneux 1993; Gehrke 1985.

For the sake of variety, apparently, Josephus uses many variants of the στάσι- root for “agents of sedition”: οἱ στασιάζοντες (*War* 1.27), οἱ στασιασταί (*War* 1.10), οἱ στασιώδεις as here, and even once ὁ στασιοποιός (*Life* 134). These are conveniently indistinct terms, evoking a broad category familiar to his audience: trouble-makers.

¹²⁵ Greek; πείθω, which is ordinarily rendered “persuade” or “convince”—already at § 19, where Josephus admits that he did *not* persuade the rebels. So he must mean that he attempted persuasion. Cf. §§ 29, 31, 42, 55, 56, 60, etc.

war-related expertise¹²⁶ but also with respect to good fortune¹²⁷ were they disadvantaged in relation to the Romans—18 and they should not, rashly and quite foolishly, bring upon their native places, their families, and indeed themselves the risk of ultimate ruin.¹²⁸ 19 I said these things and was persistently engaged¹²⁹ in dissuasive pleading,¹³⁰ predicting that the outcome of the war would be utterly disastrous for us. I was not convincing, to be sure, because the frenzy¹³¹ of the desperadoes¹³² prevailed.

(5) 20 I became anxious¹³³ now that by saying these things constantly I might incur¹³⁴

The double game of

¹²⁶ Greek: ἐμπειρία πολεμική, used already by Thucydides' Corinthians to speak of the Peloponnesian League's alleged superiority to the Athenians (Thucydides. 1.121.2). The phrase had been used often since (Plato, *Resp.* 422C; Strabo, *Geog.* 10.4.10; Plutarch, *Alc.* 16.3; Diodorus Siculus. 11.75.3), and Josephus has employed it twice in other contexts: *War* 1.305; *Ant.* 17.270.

¹²⁷ Greek: εὐτυχία. Cf. *War* 2.373, 387, which also recognize an irresistible Roman fortune (τύχη) as something distinct from the nation's military might. The second-century BCE Polybius (e.g., 1.4.1-5) had presented the Romans' fortune (τύχη) as an important cause of their awesome power. Josephus too, especially in the *War*, frequently speaks of Roman fortune as irrefragable. But whereas for Polybius, Roman fortune is the zenith of historical development, the goal to which world affairs have moved, for Josephus it is a cyclical affair. Fortune, who has in the past sided with other empires, now supports Rome (*War* 2.360, 390; 3.368; 5.367; 6.409-13; cf. Lindner 1972:22-3, 42-8, 68). This leaves entirely open the possibility of Judean hegemony in the future (*Ant.* 4.114-16, 128; *Apion* 2.280-86).

¹²⁸ The Greek phrase (ἔσχατος κακός) and close variants of it are common: Antiphon, *Tetr.* 12.9; Herodotus 8.52.1; Sophocles, *Phil.* 56; Plato, *Apol.* 40A; *Gorg.* 482B, 522E. All of the themes presented here—the military might and fortune of the Romans, the certainty of reprisals against the Judeans, and their long-term suffering—recall the dissuasive speech that Josephus' *War* (2.345-404) had placed in the mouth of Agrippa II in the early stages of the revolt. See Lindner 1972:21-5; Rajak 1991. Philip son of Iacimus will have greater success with a similar appeal to realism at Gamala (§ 60).

¹²⁹ A signature Josephan phrase: λιπαρῶς ἔγκειμαι (*War* 7.108; *Ant.* 1.56; 4.107; 6.43; 15.31; 16.13).

¹³⁰ Greek: ἀποτρέπων. Of the three categories of rhetoric in which every educated person had been trained (judicial or forensic, deliberative, and epideictic or demonstrative), the deliberative kind involved advising audiences either in favor of a particular option (προτροπή, *suasio*) or against it (ἀποτροπή, *dissuasio*) (Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1.2.3.1358B; *Ad Herr.* 1.2.2). Josephus is in the classic deliberative situation for public leaders

here, since the issue is whether to proceed to war or not, and he speaks firmly on the side of dissuasion. According to the anonymous 1st-century BCE *Rhetorica Ad Herrenium* (3.2.3), there are two principal considerations in making a deliberative case: security (or safety) and honor. Whereas Josephus bases his argument on the former, we can imagine (as at *Ant.* 18.4) that his opponents made honor paramount. Josephus follows Aristotle's advice (*Rhet.* 1.4.9.1359B): "In regard to war and peace, the orator should be acquainted with the power of the state, how great it is already and how great it may possibly become. . . . These things he should be acquainted with, not only as far as his own state is concerned, but also in reference to the neighboring states, and particularly those with whom there is a likelihood of war, so that towards the stronger a pacific attitude may be maintained."

¹³¹ Or: delusion, madness. In keeping with his aristocratic perspective (see Introduction), Josephus easily associates political agitators with μανία: *War* 5.396 (μανία as ground of στάσις), 407; 6.328; *Ant.* 2.330; esp. 18.8. The closest verbal parallel to our passage comes in the summary at *War* 7.267: the ἀπόνοια of Simon bar Giora's faction was outdone by the μανία of the Idumeans. This term evokes the very opposite of the gentleman's virtues of *dignitas* and *gravitas*.

¹³² Although the cognate noun ἀπόνοια ("despair," "recklessness," "madness," "fanaticism") is a favored term of Josephus' for the rebel mentality in the *War* (3.354, 479; 4.80, 147, 241, 261, 362, 571; 5.34, 121, 287, 316, 424, 436, 566; 6.20, 39, 350; 7.213, 412), he uses the verb and participle—as here—rarely in the *Antiquities* (esp. 4.310). I translate thus to capture Josephus' tone of abuse as well as his attributed qualities of desperation and determination to do wrong.

¹³³ With a candor rare among ancient writers, Josephus spells out what his peers knew. Since the governing class, vastly outnumbered by the populace, must govern by suasion and not by force, periods in which the traditional social structure comes into question become extremely perilous for them. For the sake of self-preservation as well as the public good, they *must* appear to side with the masses, in order to lead them gently to a sound and safe outcome (Plutarch, *Mor.* 813A-C; 818A-819B). This well-understood predicament is

Josephus and the other aristocrats

hatred and suspicion, as conspiring¹³⁵ with the enemy, and I would risk being taken and done away with¹³⁶ by them. Since the Antonia, which was a fortress,¹³⁷ was already in their possession,¹³⁸ I retreated¹³⁹ into the inner temple.¹⁴⁰ **21** After the removal¹⁴¹ of

the basis for Josephus' actions in the subsequent narrative, which are characterized by his "double game" of claiming to think in one direction while acting and speaking publicly in another. See Introduction.

¹³⁴ The same Greek verb translated in § 14 as "reach" and in § 16 as "meet"; here with διὰ plus genitive.

¹³⁵ Greek: φρονέω, rendered "contemplate" at § 17.

¹³⁶ Or "disposed of, wasted" (Greek: ἀναίρεω), a standard euphemism for "killing" in Josephus and other authors, frequent in the *Life* (20, 25, 46, 52, 52, 61, 67, 95, 136, 140, 151, 177, 185, 186, 204, 302, 343, 396).

¹³⁷ The fortress Antonia stood on the NW corner of the temple mount, adjacent to the temple's porticoes. In the period of the Roman governors it was home to an auxiliary unit, possibly a double cohort of 1000 men (*War* 2.332; Schürer-Vermes 1.366), under a commandant (φρούραρχος; *Ant.* 15.408; cf. Acts 21:31, 37; 22:24, 29; 23:10, 15). Its enormous towers, especially the disproportionate SE tower, gave its occupants a complete view over the temple compound below (*War* 5.238-46). Josephus has referred often to this magnificent structure, and so may expect his audience to remember it. Tacitus (*Hist.* 5.11) also mentions it.

Josephus' introduction of the Antonia the *War* is marked by anachronisms. Having incidentally noted that "Antonia" would be the later name of the Hasmonean fortress called the Baris (*War* 1.75), he then names it "Antonia" while describing events in the 60s BCE—noting that it took its new name from the period of Marc Antony's supremacy (1.118). But Marc Antony reached the height of his power only in the 40s and died in 30 BCE. Then Josephus claims that Herod (ruled 37-4 BCE) renovated the fortress in the 15th year of his reign (thus 23-22 BCE: *War* 1.401)—splitting the difference between the 13th year for the restoration of Antonia and the 18th year for the restoration of the temple claimed by *Ant.* 15.292/299, 308. Herod supposedly named it in honor of Marc Antony in the 20s, many years after the latter's defeat (31 BCE) by the current *princeps*, who was allegedly Herod's intimate friend (1.400). Richardson (1996:197) sensibly dates the Antonia rather to Herod's earliest years on the throne (37-35 BCE), when Antony was still alive to be honored.

¹³⁸ If Josephus in fact resorted to the temple between the rebels' taking of Antonia and the death of Manaem, then either his elaborate account in *War* 2.408-40 is badly distorted or his claim here about his adamant opposition to anti-Roman activities is false. For the *War* parallel claims that the rebels led by Eleazar son of Ananias already held the temple before they took the

Antonia, and they kept it through the death of Manaem. The sequence in *War* 2 is as follows:

1. Some of the priests, led by the temple commander Eleazar son of Ananias, stop offering sacrifices on behalf of foreigners, which creates a crisis (*War* 2.408-30).

2. The chief priests and leading Pharisees assemble in the inner temple and try to dissuade both other priests and the populace from proceeding with this and other rebellious activity. Failing to convince them, they send word to both the governor Gessius Florus and King Agrippa II, requesting troops to put down the incipient rebellion. Agrippa II complies, providing 2000 cavalry, but Florus ignores the request in order to exacerbate the situation (2.411-21).

3. Encouraged nonetheless by the arrival of Agrippa's military support, the peace party occupies the upper city—the temple and lower city already being firmly held by the rebels. A week of intense fighting ensues as each side contends for the other's ground (2.422-24).

4. The rebels exclude their opponents from a festival in the temple at this time, but the *sicarii* force their way in and join the rebels in their temple base. With these extra forces, the rebels evict the dignitaries even from the upper city, where their homes are also located. The dignitaries flee to Herod's palace, which is the only remaining accessible fortress, or into underground hiding places (2.425-29).

5. Meanwhile, Eleazar's rebels attack the fortress Antonia from their temple base, killing the Roman auxiliary garrison there and burning the fortress. They then begin to besiege the dignitaries, royal soldiers, and Roman garrison in Herod's palace (2.430-32).

6. Manaem the son of Iudas the Galilean arrives with arms from the recently seized Masada and joins Eleazar's siege of the palace, which now comes to the brink of success with his help. He allows the Judeans and royal troops to flee unharmed, but traps the Roman garrison at the palace (2.433-40).

7. Manaem's forces find and kill the chief priests Ananias (Eleazar's father) and Ezechias on the palace grounds and take control of the complex's towers. But Eleazar's followers object to Manaem's rapid rise and arrogance, and plot to kill him. When Manaem goes up to the temple in royal robes, they ambush him and, with the support of the common people, murder him (2.441-48).

Where was Josephus in all of this? Since he does not intrude himself into *War*'s narrative until the point at which he is chosen general (*War* 2.568), the reader has

Manaem¹⁴² and the principal men of the bandit¹⁴³ brigade,¹⁴⁴ I came back out of the

no clear idea. But his obvious sympathies for the moderates (οἱ μέτριοι) and denunciation of the rebels (e.g., 2.245) lead the reader to assume that with the others he had been barred from the temple and ousted from the upper city. So his claim here in the *Life* that he withdrew into the inner temple cannot be correct—if he vehemently opposed the rebel movement. Since the early and detailed account in the *War* is inherently plausible, the main possibilities appear to be these. (a) 30 or more years after the fact, Josephus has forgotten what happened. He remembers that he went to the inner temple to confer with the chief priests and that he felt terrified by militants, but he displaces this meeting, which had happened *before* Manaem's rise and fall. (b) He remembers what happened in rough outline, but finds it cumbersome to relate here, where he is trying to describe vividly the plight shared by him and his peers, which in turn grounds his future strategy as a public figure. Since his audience does not know the terrain of Jerusalem, he mentions the inner part of the famous temple as a safe backdrop for his conference, aware that he is conflating incidents. (c) Unable to deny that he went into the Eleazar-held temple at this point because his audience (somehow) knew the story, he can only lie about the circumstances. Although in truth he was a part of Eleazar's priestly faction, he implies that the temple was not yet in rebel hands and that he was their opponent. (d) He freely told his story here, not under compulsion, and accidentally included the incriminating detail that he went into the (rebel-held) temple while also cleverly reconfiguring the context. Krieger (1994:227-29) and Cohen (1979:187, 194), respectively, prefer the last two options, but for reasons that are not clear. The underlying logic of (c)—that Josephus' first (Roman?) audience knew clearly the detail that he had been in the inner temple before Manaem's death, but were open to easy persuasion about his reason—is a difficult proposition. And (d) runs aground on the premise that Josephus would inadvertently incriminate himself with a detail while being alert enough to posit an explanation: Why not omit the incriminating detail itself? It seems easier to attribute this notice either to the same sloppiness that is widely paralleled in the *Life*, without any particular apologetic freight, or to Josephus' conscious disregard for factual recounting in the service of his rhetorical goals. Since his audience knows perfectly well that he was an enemy general 30 years earlier, as the *War* has enthusiastically shown, he has little to lose if any such details come to light now.

¹³⁹ In *War* 5.245 Josephus has explained that the temple itself was a virtual fortress over the city, and the Antonia a fortress guarding the temple. Since the

Antonia has been taken, he opts for the next most secure place. His description of the inner temple at *War* 5.190-214 (cf. *Ant.* 15.391-425) shows plainly why, with its high and thick walls, it would serve as a place of refuge in time of crisis.

¹⁴⁰ Greek: τὸ ἐνδοτέρω ἱερὸν. Josephus evidently moves from the huge, exposed outer courtyard of the temple to the well protected inner court, demarcated first by the short wall prohibiting gentile access (*War* 5.193-94), and then housing the massive buildings of the sanctuary proper. In the closest *War* parallel (*War* 2.411), the chief priests and Pharisees meet to address the people at the special gate of Corinthian bronze, on the E wall of the central complex (cf. *War* 5.201-5), which gave male Judeans access to the holy precincts. Josephus there describes this gate as part of the inner temple (τοῦ ἔνδον ἱεροῦ). So he probably does not refer here to the innermost and holiest parts of the temple, but only to that inner complex. See the plans in Sanders 1992:307-14.

¹⁴¹ I.e., assassination, cognate to the verb rendered "done away with" two sentences earlier.

¹⁴² Manaem, son of Iudas the Galilean. According to *War* 2.433-48 he had a short but memorable career in the early days of the revolt. See the note to "possession" at § 20. According to Josephus (*War* 2.447), Eleazar son of Ia'ir, who would become the Romans' last enemy at Masada (*War* 7.275-406), was a relative of Manaem's. See further *Life* 46-7.

¹⁴³ "Bandit" and its cognates (ληστής, ληστεία, ληστρικόν) are highly charged terms in Josephus' narratives, entirely in keeping with contemporary Roman usage (cf. Latin *latro*, *latrocinium*). Although he might seem to suggest here that there was only one bandit gang, led by Manaem, he elsewhere uses these words of many different leaders and their followers (*War* 2.57, 235, 253-54, 271, 425, 431, 541, 652-3; *Life* 106, 145, 175, 206). The political connotations of these words are confirmed by the ease with which he groups ληστ-words with those for insurgents (στασιασταί, στασιῶδες): *War* 2.235, 511; 5.53; 6.363, 417. Cf. *War* 2.264: The so-called bandits "incited many to defection (ἀπόστασις), exhorting them to independence, threatening death to those who submitted to the *imperium Romanum* and saying that they would remove by force those voluntarily choosing slavery."

On the complex topic of banditry in the Roman world, the seminal article is Shaw 1984. To summarize the most relevant points: (a) banditry was a constant threat throughout our period; (b) it was endemic in the mountainous regions around the Mediterranean (such as those of Upper Galilee), and shepherds were almost by

temple and held discussions with the chief priests and principal men of the Pharisees.¹⁴⁵ **22** Extreme¹⁴⁶ fear took hold of us as we saw the populace with weapons:¹⁴⁷ we were unsure what we should do ourselves and were unable to halt the revolutionaries. Given the clear and present danger¹⁴⁸ to ourselves, we said¹⁴⁹ that we concurred with their

definition considered bandits; (c) bandits typically operated in gangs connected vertically with local wealthy lords (they were not a horizontal social stratum or class); (d) banditry was a natural development from the volatile social order of the day, whether from mercenary armies displaced by professionals or from the losing side (even professional) in civil wars; (e) it was considered most desirable to incorporate entire bandit armies into the army of the state, thus neutralizing their threat; (f) Roman law did not know how to deal with such fundamental subversion of the social order but, since the bandits were outside that order, it dealt with them in extraordinary ways, giving full power to officials and even to ordinary citizens to remove them; (g) the term “bandit” had a powerful political currency during times of social upheaval and civil war, when some leaders tried to place their opponents beyond the pale of social order by labeling them bandits; but (h) this meant that banditry was often defined by the winning side of a power struggle. For example, Iulius Caesar and Octavian had both been called bandits at one time, even though (as Augustus) Octavian became the paradigmatic “anti-bandit.” All of this is paralleled in Josephus.

Like Cicero and Sallust (see Habinek 1998:69-87), Josephus uses “bandit” and “banditry” both for ordinary robbers and for political opponents, who were distinguished figures like himself (Hengel 1989:24-46; Grünwald 1999:esp. 143-49). Thus he labels Ioannes of Gischala a “bandit” (*War* 2.587), though he allows that Ioannes was a well-connected and initially moderate leader (*Life* 43) like Josephus, even a close friend of the dignitary Simon son of Gamaliel (*Life* 190-92). By calling his political opponents bandits, Josephus places them rhetorically beyond the threshold of civilized society, evoking the threat to public safety of a criminal “counterstate” (Habinek 1998:70). The potential involvement by men of high social standing in real violence, whether directly or through proxies, prevents us either from postulating a purely metaphorical bandit type or from seeing social banditry as primarily a class struggle (Shaw 1984, 2000, partly *contra* Horsley and Hanson 1985:esp.xi-87).

In view of *War*’s concern with temple purity and Josephus’ accusation there (5.402) that the rebels committed crimes in the temple, which happen to resemble the list in Jer 7.9, Josephus’ language may also be influenced by the LXX Jer 7:11: “Is my house, where my name is called upon, a den of bandits (ληστῶν)?” (S. Mason 1994:183-84).

¹⁴⁴ Greek: στίφος, a tight or hard-packed group. Although Josephus likes to speak of bandits and other undesirables with this term (*War* 1.204, 347; 2.258, 275, 643; 3.450; 4.135; *Ant.* 8.204; 14.259; 20.180), meaning something pejorative such as “swarm,” he can also use it neutrally of a military formation (*War* 1.42, 149, 210, 251, 292, 295, 670).

¹⁴⁵ Also at *War* 2.411, the chief priests and leading Pharisees combine to represent the Judean leadership, which sharply opposes the escalation of conflict with Rome. This inclusion of leading Pharisees with the hereditary aristocracy, to which Josephus otherwise entrusts legitimate authority (Mason, BJP 3.xxiv-xxix), not doubt arises—in his narrative world, at least—from the enormous popular support that he attributes to them (*War* 2.162; *Ant.* 13.288, 400-1; 17.41-5; 18.15, 17). Although the *War* says nothing more concerning Pharisees after 2.411, the *Life* names several individual Pharisees as members of the general assembly (τὸ κοινόν) in Jerusalem, which tries to manage the growing conflict with Rome. These are led by the eminent Simon son of Gamaliel (§§ 190-92) and include also three members of the delegation that will be sent to replace Josephus in the Galilee: Ionathes, Ananias, and Iozar (§ 197). See the notes to those passages.

¹⁴⁶ Or “immoderate”: Greek οὐτὶ μέτριος. In both the *War* and the *Antiquities*, the adjective μέτριος (“moderate”) and the related adverb are key terms indicating positive virtue. Only a few times in each work does Josephus negate the adjective (in *litotes*) to mean “extreme” (*War* 1.552; 2.631; 4.125—3 of 29 occurrences; *Ant.*—14 of 48 occurrences). In the *Antiquities*, this *litotes* is clustered in vols. 15-16 (e.g., 15.194, 276, 283; 16.81, 165, 222) and again in vols. 19-20 (19.221; 20.47). Yet in the *Life*, Josephus uses μέτριος only with such a prior negation to mean “extreme” (§§ 122, 148, 289, 313, 371).

¹⁴⁷ In a pre-industrial society, almost any instrument or implement, blunt or sharp, could serve as a weapon. But the fact that the aristocrats observed these arms with trepidation and sent Josephus to Galilee with a mission of disarmament (§ 29), indicates that purpose-built weapons are in view. These would include, in addition to protective gear, the swords and daggers that appear later in the narrative: §§ 138, 293. At § 215 Josephus’ men fire some sort of projectiles: rocks or arrows, presumably.

¹⁴⁸ For the phrase “clear danger” (κίνδυνος πρόδηλος) see § 212 and Isaeus 6.2; Aeschines 3.131, 152;

opinions.¹⁵⁰ But we counseled them to stand fast, even if the enemy soldiers had advanced,¹⁵¹ so that they should be given credit for justly taking up weapons in defense.¹⁵² 23 We did these things hoping that before long Cestius would come up with a large force and halt the revolution.¹⁵³

(6) 24 He came indeed, and engaged in battle, but he was defeated when many of the men with him fell.¹⁵⁴ And this mis-step of Cestius became* a misfortune for our entire

Cestius' debacle and its implications

Demosthenes, *Or.* 1.7; 3.3.

¹⁴⁹ In the *Life* Josephus often uses the verb “to say” (λέγω) to introduce patently false assertions, to characterize his or others’ deliberate deceptions. See §§ 22, 39, 71, 128-30, 141, 263, 273-74, 282, 287-88, 291. This is the language of his “double game”: see the following note and the Introduction.

¹⁵⁰ Greek γνώμαι (singular, “thought, intention, judgment, opinion, view, verdict”) is used often in the *Life* (see Index) and translated variously according to context. It overlaps almost completely with Latin *sententia(e)*.

This is the beginning of the “double game” that will characterize Josephus’ public career in the *Life*. Although he has made clear his opposition to the war, he realizes immediately that he will need to win over the populace gradually and gently (cf. Plutarch, *Mor.* 800B, 813A-C), by pretending at first to support their views. See further his conversation with Iustus and Pistus at §§ 175-76. Cf. also Josephus’ description of Ananus in *War* 2.651 and 4.230: Realizing that Roman power was irresistible, Ananus nevertheless hoped to manage the resistance, gradually bringing it back to a safe outcome.

¹⁵¹ Thus the ms. P: ἐπελθόντας. The majority of mss. (RAMW) read ἀπελθόντας (“[if the enemy] had withdrawn”), with the sense that the Judeans should not pursue the enemy but only fight in self-defense. This principle would contrast with the rebels’ pursuit and rout of Cestius Gallus’ retreating army (*War* 2.540-55), recalled without details in § 24.

¹⁵² Although Josephus presents this argument as a stalling tactic, it happens to overlap with the pacifism he expresses in the *War*, most extremely in his speech: “Thus invariably have arms been refused to our nation, and warfare has been the sure signal for defeat” (5.399). In that speech, Josephus does not even countenance a just defensive war, but rhetorically advocates total reliance upon God for protection. Here, however, the implication is that a defensive war is just. In the *War* taken as a whole, Josephus’ view aligns with the one he attributes to Ananus and Iesus, the former high priests. He sharply distinguishes them (and himself) both from those who were eager for revolt and from the “pro-Romans” (*War* 2.648): they are moderates (μέτριοι). Their strong preference is to avoid war altogether, and yet they are committed to leading their people’s cause if

necessary, out of duty, to ensure that any war be fought virtuously (*War* 4.177, 192, 249-51, 320). They hope, however, gradually to bring the rebels back to a more advantageous policy (*War* 2.649-51).

As for the Roman perspective, Shaw (1984:6 and n. 10) has rejected the notion that pre-Christian Rome had any concept of the just war. He notes that the Romans considered all their wars just, and that the phrase *iustum bellum* rather meant a proper or real war as distinct from a mere skirmish or police action. Rich (in Rich/Shipley 1993:61) takes a different approach, evoking the moral considerations that seem to have suffused the deliberative speeches concerning whether or not to go to war. Sidebottom (in Rich/Shipley 1993:241-64), in the same vein, considers the philosophers’ reflections on wars just and unjust. Note the discussion of the “rights of war” (*iura belli*) and the “just war” (*iustum bellum*) in Cicero, *Off.* 1.11.34-7: one should only go to war where it is necessary to being peace.

¹⁵³ The *War* has fully introduced (Gaius) Cestius Gallus as the Syrian governor (*legatus*): *War* 1.20-1; 2.280-83, 333-34, 341, 481. This notice about the hope for Cestius’ intervention seems to benefit from hindsight. In the earlier story, the Judean leaders had asked the Judean governor Gessius Florus and King Agrippa II, not Cestius, to put down the revolt (*War* 2.418-21). It was only when Cestius, uninvited, was outside Jerusalem that some leaders offered to open the gates for him (2.533).

¹⁵⁴ This extremely spare notice appears to reflect Josephus’ assumption that his audience has or had access to his *Judean War*, where the full story is told (2.499-555). Cestius Gallus’ campaign in the autumn of 65 or 66 CE (*War* 2.516) was by Josephus’ reckoning a major offensive, which came very close to ending the revolt early. With nearly 30,000 troops (cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.5 on the disposition of legions in Syria), more than a third of which were legionary, Cestius came from Antioch and systematically took the Judean coastal cities along with Galilee in a quick campaign, then turned inward from the coast to Jerusalem. For some inexplicable reason (Josephus alleges bribery by Gessius Florus—*War* 2.531-32), Cestius withdrew when he was at Jerusalem’s walls, even though some of the eminent citizens had offered to open the gates for him (*War* 2.533). On his retreat, his army suffered terrible casual-

nation, for those who had devoted themselves to the war were even more excited by this and, having defeated the Romans, hoped to the end.¹⁵⁵

*Syrian attacks
on Judeans,
Scythopolis, in
Damascus*

And another such cause¹⁵⁶ presented itself: **25** Those living in the cities throughout Syria,¹⁵⁷ arresting the Judeans among them, including women and children,¹⁵⁸ were disposing of them without citing any charge¹⁵⁹ against them. For they had not even contemplated some revolutionary activity towards defection from the Romans or hostility against [the Syrians] themselves; nor were they plotting.¹⁶⁰ **26** The Scythopolitans¹⁶¹ behaved in the most irreverent and lawless manner of all. For when Judean aggressors¹⁶² from outside attacked them,¹⁶³ they forced¹⁶⁴ the Judeans living among them to take up weapons

ties, losing about a fifth of its complement, when it was trapped in the Bet-Horon pass; Cestius himself barely escaped (*War* 2.540-55). This all happened in late November, 65 or 66 CE (*War* 2.555). The 12th Legion, which had supplied the core of the force (*War* 2.500), never recovered from the shame.

Krieger (1994:228-29) contends that Josephus must have participated in the battle against Cestius because otherwise he would not have been selected as general for such a critical region as the Galilee. It seems, however, that in Josephus' world men of aristocratic lineage and character were often deemed, *ipso facto*, leaders in virtually every field—without technical training. They were entitled by their breeding and rank to be magistrates, priests, financial administrators, governors, and even military commanders. Conversely, Eleazar son of Simon was reportedly judged ineligible for command at first, *in spite of his demonstrated military success* (which the others apparently lacked), because he was thought to have the character of a tyrant (*War* 2.564). The aristocratic system was person-centered rather than task- or skill-centered (cf. Brunt 1975; Saller 1982:27-30, 99-103; Mattern 1999:1-23). See Introduction.

¹⁵⁵ In *War* 2.562-63, Josephus claims that the rebels now brought over those “Romanizing” citizens who remained in Jerusalem (many had left by now) to their cause: “partly by persuasion, partly by force.” This intriguing notice appears to cover Josephus' own (otherwise puzzling) association with the rebels, for it immediately precedes his introduction of himself into the narrative and his appointment as general (*War* 2.562-68). Brief and suggestive though it is, this notice agrees with Josephus' claim in the *Life* that men such as himself found themselves in positions of leadership out of practical necessity.

¹⁵⁶ Greek αἰτία: a cause or motive for further conflict. Note the word-play that follows with “charge” below.

¹⁵⁷ *War* 2.458 names the Decapolis cities Philadelphia, Heshbon, Gerasa, Pella, Scythopolis, Gadara, Hippos, and Gaulanitis, as well as Kedasa (Kedesh Naphtali), Ptolemais, Gaba, and Caesarea.

¹⁵⁸ Josephus frequently mentions women and chil-

dren as a group in his narrative (§§ 84, 99), presumably to evoke an emotional response from the audience. Sometimes they are an indicator of the Galileans' sincerity—in exposing their loved ones to the fray (§§ 207, 230, 328, 419)

¹⁵⁹ Josephus seems to be attempting an artful play on the word αἰτία, which is translated in the previous sentence as “motive” and here as “charge.” He does the same thing in § 13 above.

¹⁶⁰ This is a significant reconfiguration of *War* 2.457-65. There, Josephus first mentions a terrible massacre of more than 20,000 Judeans in Caesarea Maritima and the expulsion of the rest. He claims there that this massacre provoked other Judeans to attack many of the neighboring Greek-Syrian cities, from the S of the Decapolis all the way N to Kedasa (Kedesh Naphtali) and W to Ptolemais. The atrocities of the Syrians he attributes there *both* to their long-standing hatred of their Judean residents *and to the new peril* (κίνδυνον) facing them from Judean attacks. Here in the *Life*, he has made the Syrian attacks entirely unprovoked (but note § 26). Even though he maintains a degree of consistency by saying that the Judean residents of Syria themselves had not given any cause for retaliation, his omission of *War*'s context necessarily changes the tone. This all serves his point here that the Judeans did not voluntarily enter hostilities (§ 27).

¹⁶¹ For Scythopolis (Bet She'an), a cosmopolitan city of the Decapolis, just W of the Jordan River and about 25 km S of Lake Gennesar (Sea of Galilee), at the crossroads of N-S and E-W transportation routes, see Appendix A; Fuks 1982.

¹⁶² Greek: πολέμιοι, elsewhere translated “enemy” or “enemies”; here parallel to “attackers” (ἐπέρχοντες) below.

¹⁶³ So *War* 2.457-58, 466: As a result of the massacre in Caesarea Maritima, Judeans took their revenge on many Syrian towns, over-running or invading (κατατρέχω) Scythopolis.

¹⁶⁴ Contrast *War* 2.466: the Judeans living in Scythopolis *ranged themselves* alongside the Scythopolitans, placing a concern for their immediate security (ἀσφάλεια) in the face of Judean attacks above blood

against compatriots, which is sacrilegious to us,¹⁶⁵ and by joining together with those [Judeans] they overcame the attackers.¹⁶⁶ Then as soon as they had won, deliberately forgetting about good faith towards neighbors¹⁶⁷ and allies, they got rid of them all—many tens of thousands.¹⁶⁸ 27 Those Judeans living in Damascus suffered similar things.¹⁶⁹ But we have explained these matters more precisely in the volumes *Concerning the Judean War*.¹⁷⁰ I recalled them here because I wanted to establish with readers

ties (συγγένεια). In view of their fate, Josephus calls their enthusiasm excessive (*War* 2.467). Once again, although the account here in the *Life* does not strictly contradict the *War* (since it is conceivable that the Judeans of Scythopolis also felt compelled to join their neighbors in defense), it moves in a different rhetorical direction: The Judeans had no choice but to respond to the unprovoked abuse of the surrounding towns.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. § 128 (even robbing an enemy is forbidden), § 171 (Josephus considers it impious to put to death a compatriot, so punishes him with the loss of a hand), § 321 (it would be impious to go into battle against fellow-citizens), and § 376-77 (the Galileans' ransacking of compatriots' homes is impious). A primary thesis of the *War* was that the downfall of Jerusalem was divine punishment for the sacrilege of civil war (στάσις οἰκεία: *War* 1.10). Aristobulus I establishes the theme when he commits the sacrilegious (ἀθέμιτος) act of murdering a kinsman (*War* 1.84), and then Herod plans the sacrilege of murdering the Judean senate (1.659). Josephus thematizes the pollution resulting from the rebels' mistreatment of compatriots (ὁμόφυλοι—as here in the *Life*) and contrasts the Romans' paradoxically generous treatment of aliens (ἀλλόφυλοι) (*War* 1.27, 150; 2.483; 4.16, 134, 178-84, 276; 5.381; 6.4, 122). Josephus himself, he claims, in the cave at Iotapata refused to “pollute his hands with the murder of a compatriot” (*War* 3.391). He cites an oracle to the effect that Jerusalem would fall when one person began the murder of a compatriot (6.109). At Masada, Eleazar finally recognizes the wrongs that he has inflicted on his compatriots (7.332).

¹⁶⁶ In *War* 2.469-76, Josephus tells a moving story of Judean aid to the Scythopolitan defense, but with quite a different nuance. Simon son of Saul fought the attacking Judeans vigorously alongside the Scythopolitans, his presence alone often turning the tide of battle, until he was overcome at the enormity of his heinous crime. Paying the due penalty (ἄξια ποινή—repeated) for his slaughter of fellow-Judeans (φόνος συγγενῶν), and anticipating the rebels of Masada, he drew his sword and killed both his entire family and himself. Whereas here it is the Scythopolitans who behave most irreverently (ἀσεβέστατα), there it was Simon who confessed having “committed the ultimate irreverence against my own” (ἡσεβήται δὲ εἰς ἑσχατά τὸ οἰκεῖον: *War* 2.472). Again, this is no outright con-

tradiction of the *War*, since the earlier work also accused the Scythopolitans of perfidy, but in rhetorical fashion he makes a new point from the same evidence.

¹⁶⁷ The first of five occurrences of ἑνοικος in the *Life*. Strangely, the word appears only once elsewhere in Josephus (*Ant.* 14.74).

¹⁶⁸ Or, less literally (Greek: πολλὰς μυριάδας): “many thousands.” *War* 2.468 gives “upwards of 13,000.”

¹⁶⁹ As in the *War* (2.559-61), Josephus distinguishes the massacre of Judeans in Damascus from atrocities elsewhere in Syria. This distinction *may* have to do with the ambiguous status of the city. Though Rome had controlled it firmly since the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra (30 BCE), Gaius Caligula appears to have allowed Aretas IV to administer it for a period from the mid-30s (cf. 2 Cor 11:32). Given the gap in dated coinage from Damascus extending from 33/4 through 65/6 CE (nothing from Gaius or Claudius), it is possible that the Nabatean administration continued for decades (Schürer-Vermes 1.129-30). But Bowersock (1983:67-9) and Millar (1993:56-7) incline to restrict Nabatean control to a short period in the 30s. The delay may simply result from Josephus' knowledge that this event occurred after Castius' defeat.

In the *War* parallel, Josephus claims that the Damascenes had locked up the resident Judeans in the gymnasium. They wanted to kill them after Cestius' defeat, but had to keep the deed from the Damascene wives, who had “all, but for a few, been led into the Judean worship” (2.560). Nevertheless, Josephus counts 10,500 Judeans killed in the end.

¹⁷⁰ Josephus refers specifically to *War* 2.457-98 and 2.559-61, which describe several outbreaks of anti-Judean violence, some in reaction to Judean reprisals for initial outrages committed against them (2.458). More broadly, this introductory section, *Life* 20-27 (8 Niese sections), which is the first part of the *Life* that overlaps with the *War*, represents a very sketchy summary, with somewhat different rhetorical intent, of *War* 2.408-555 (148 Niese sections). In terms of concentric structure, it more or less balances his only other decisive reference to the *War*, at § 412 (see Introduction). The language here (ἀκριβέστερον ἐν ταῖς περὶ τοῦ ἰουδαικοῦ πολέμου βίβλοις) and there (μετ' ἀκριβείας ἐν ταῖς περὶ τοῦ ἰουδαικοῦ πολέμου βίβλοις) is nearly identical. Josephus confirms at the

that war against the Romans was not the choice of the Judeans, but more of a necessity.¹⁷¹

*Josephus sent
to Galilee with
Ioazar and
Iudas*

(7) 28 When Cestius had been defeated, as we have related,¹⁷² the principal men of the Jerusalemites observed the bandits¹⁷³ together with the revolutionaries¹⁷⁴ well equipped with weapons. They became anxious that, standing unarmed themselves,¹⁷⁵ they might be left to the mercy¹⁷⁶ of their adversaries (which is what subsequently happened).¹⁷⁷ And they discovered that the Galilee had not yet entirely defected from the Romans, but that a part of it was still peaceful.¹⁷⁸ 29 So they sent* me and two other gentlemen¹⁷⁹

beginning and end of the *Life*'s main story that he does not wish to duplicate *War*'s familiar account here.

¹⁷¹ Cohen (1979:152-60, esp. 155) cites this notice in support of his argument (continuing the tradition of R. Laqueur [1920]) that the *Antiquities-Life* has a new nationalistic apologetic over against the *War*, which had served Roman interests. Whereas, on this reading, the *War* had assigned blame for the revolt to a few Judean trouble-makers (1979:155, "Only the tyrants and some of their unfortunate victims fought the war"), the *Antiquities-Life* reveals Josephus' new position that the Judeans as a nation were driven to revolt by Roman incompetence and brutality. Cohen connects Josephus' statement here about necessity (ἀνάγκη) rather than choice with one in the prologue to the *Antiquities* (1.5), which allows—after a recapitulation of Josephus' aims in writing the *War* (*Ant.* 1.1-4)—that the Judeans had fought unwillingly (ἄκοντες). Cohen notes that the *War* (1.10; 6.266) had called only the Romans, not the Judeans, unwilling fighters. But this systematization of what may be *ad hoc* remarks faces insuperable difficulties, partly acknowledged by Cohen (1979:155-56). Both *Ant.* 1.5 and *Life* 27 sit in contexts in which Josephus assumes the continuity of theme between the *War* and this later work. Accordingly, the *War* itself makes these points about the unwillingness of most Judeans, the serious malfeasance of the Roman officials, and the eventual involvement of the Judean nation—albeit against its will—even more eloquently than the *Antiquities-Life* does. Evidently, the *War* was written precisely to combat pro-Roman accounts of the conflict (1.2-8—N.B., it was "the Judeans" who fought), which blamed the revolt on a putative Judean national character of impiety and bellicose misanthropy. Josephus' plea that the nation as a whole had entered the war unwillingly, in spite of "intolerably harsh" Roman treatment (*War* 2.352; cf. 2.224, 228-30, 234, 237-40, 272-308, 315-17, 321-24, 333, 336, 342-44, dissuasive speech of Agrippa II [2.345-401] addressed to the people as a whole, not to the rebel leaders alone), the many misled by the few (*War* 2.562, 647-50; 5.243: "the nation armed to a man on behalf of notorious scoundrels"), comes through on almost every page. The *War* is largely about the struggle between the "moder-

ates" and the rebels for the people's trust, and unfortunately it is the rebels who prevail. Finally, it would not be easy to reconcile Josephus' alleged new position of national solidarity against Rome in the *Life* with one of this tract's much more prominent themes, namely: his (and his peers') unwavering commitment to peace with Rome (above). In the *Life* there is no common determination to fight. It is true that the rhetorical twists placed on particular episodes in the *Life* tend to be different from parallels in the *War*, and that is understandable in terms of ancient rhetorical assumptions (see Introduction). But we look in vain for a new political agenda here.

¹⁷² In § 24. The fuller story is in *War* 2.499-555. Josephus may be assuming his audience's memory of the highlights of his famous earlier work. He presumably does not expect them to recall the details, for in the parallel episodes he freely changes most of these.

¹⁷³ See note to § 21.

¹⁷⁴ See note to § 22.

¹⁷⁵ Josephus gives voice here to a typical aristocratic fear that is also one target of Plato's attack on oligarchy. Plato (*Resp.* 8.551D-E) notes that oligarchs cannot tolerate the common people in arms because they fear them more than they fear the enemy.

¹⁷⁶ Greek ὑποχείριος. This is one of Josephus' characteristic words in the *Life*. See §§ 82, 219, 247, 271, 274, 292, 387, 416.

¹⁷⁷ That is, many of the principal men of the nation would be killed by rebel elements: *War* 4.314-18 (Ananus); 4.316, 322, 325 (Iesus son of Gamalas).

¹⁷⁸ At this point in *War*'s narrative, Cestius Gallus has all but eliminated rebel elements in the Galilee (2.510-12). Nevertheless, Josephus later portrays a traditionally tough and war-ready Galilee (3.42), in which only Sepphoris was pro-Roman (3.31).

¹⁷⁹ See the note on this phrase in § 13. Since the phrase can have a broad application (cf. *Ant.* 10.204; *Life* 256), there is no basis for assuming that Ioazar and Iudas were the priests Josephus had earlier liberated from Roman imprisonment. Further, in view of Josephus' later attacks on the character of his colleagues, their preoccupation with money and openness to bribery (§§ 63, 73), we should perhaps take his

who were priests, Ioazar and Iudas,¹⁸⁰ to persuade the wretches to put down their weapons and to instruct them that it was preferable to reserve these for the nation's élite.¹⁸¹ It was agreed that these latter would hold the weapons constantly ready for the future, but would wait patiently to learn what the Romans would do.¹⁸²

(8) 30 Taking these instructions, then, I arrived¹⁸³ in Galilee.¹⁸⁴

arrival in
Galilee

phrase as more of a generic description of aristocratic gentlemen than as his endorsement of their character.

¹⁸⁰ These two men hardly figure in the following narrative, which focuses immediately upon Josephus—§ 30: “I arrived in Galilee.” After determining the state of affairs in Galilee, he writes to Jerusalem for further direction, and the assembly asks him to stay in Galilee with his colleagues (§ 62). Although they wish to return then, because (he says) they have amassed considerable wealth from their tithes—raising money being the understood reason why aristocrats accept such posts—Josephus prevails upon them to stay a while longer (§§ 63-4). These money-loving men then prove susceptible to bribery from Ioannes of Gischala, at which point Josephus happily releases them to Jerusalem (§§ 73-7). It is possible, though Josephus does not clarify the point, that this Ioazar was one of the four men sent later from Jerusalem to oust him from Galilee (§§ 197-98, 323-24, 332), called Ioesdrus in *War* 2.628.

The absence from *War* of companions in Josephus' initial mission has led to the widespread scholarly view that Josephus was forced by Iustus' rival account to admit that he was initially only part of a group (e.g., Luther 1910: 71-2). Laqueur uses this new information in the *Life* to support his theory that Josephus abandoned his originally pacific mission and turned tyrant (1920: 103-4). There are other reasons, however, why Josephus might have given these men greater play here than in the *War*. They illustrate his spirit of generosity and friendship, his forbearance when they turn out to be preoccupied with money, and his clemency in letting them go when they have sided with his enemy. In short, they serve as an effective foil, reminding the audience of what Josephus *could* have been as a priestly governor, but was not (§ 80). Finally, the Romans used boards of three men (*triumviri*) for various administrative tasks (*OCD*, “*triumviri*”). The presence of Josephus' two colleagues makes his early leadership in Galilee effectively a “triumvirate for restoring the state to order” (Suetonius, *Aug.* 27.1)—the form of emergency government best known to Romans from the final days of the republic (Antony, Octavian, and Lepidus in the 40s). Just as Augustus (Octavian) in his autobiography evidently blamed some of his dubious actions on the influence of his colleagues (see Misch 1950:2.262), so Josephus will pointedly blame his fel-

low-priests for some of his decisions (§ 73, 76).

¹⁸¹ Greek οἱ κράτιστοι: the most excellent men; i.e., the aristocrats. The singular is the standard equivalent of Latin *vir egregius*: most honored or excellent (H.J. Mason 1974:64). Cf. *Ant.* 18.273; 19.129; 20.12-3; *Life* 430; *Apion* 1.1. By the end of the second century, the singular would become a formal term of address for Roman knights, a direction already seen in Luke-Acts (ca. 100 CE): Luke 1:3; Acts 23:26; 24:3; 26:25.

¹⁸² It is thus inadvisable to draw as sharp a line between Josephus' pacific mission in the *Life* and his general's commission in the *War* (2.562-69) as most scholars do (e.g., Laqueur 1920:103-4; Thackeray 1929:10-11; Shutt 1961:3, 37-41). Here in the *Life*, the mission is not to disarm the nation entirely but to *organize the revolt under the control of the élite*. This is rather close to the aim that the *War* had attributed to Ananus, chief priest and leader of the Jerusalem assembly: “providing for the war under constraint (ὑπ' ἀνάγκης), so that, if the Judeans should not resolve it, it should at least be done properly and with distinction” (*War* 4.320).

¹⁸³ Josephus has used the same verb, ἀφικνέομαι, in several different senses thus far (§§ 14, 16, 20). Immediately, note, his priestly colleagues have fallen to the margin of this account of *his* public life. See the note to “Iudas” at § 29.

¹⁸⁴ Josephus does not say exactly where he went in Galilee. In § 62, he mentions *reporters* who informed him about conditions in Galilee. Much of the following information, especially the story of Philip and Gamala, must indeed have been reported to him (perhaps long after his Galilean career!), since it describes events retrospectively from the time before his appointment. But § 31 assumes that he personally went to Sepphoris (cf. § 64, which mentions his departure). Perhaps he went there, to the region's capital, and received reports from the other cities. It is an interesting question how the Sepphorites would have regarded this three-man team from Jerusalem sent to take charge of the revolt, if the city had decided firmly in favor of loyalty (§§ 30-31).

For an overview of Galilee's history and geography, in addition to Appendix A of the present volume by M. Aviam and P. Richardson, which offers a synopsis of current Galilean archaeology; also Freyne 1980; Horsley 1995; Edwards and McCollough 1997; Meyers 1999.

initial description of Sepphoris: pro-Roman

I found the Sepphorites¹⁸⁵ holding fast in a major struggle for their native place, the Galileans¹⁸⁶ having determined to take it as plunder on account of their [the Sepphorites'] friendship toward the Romans, and because they had offered a pledge and actual loyalty to the governor of Syria, Cestius Gallus.¹⁸⁷ **31** I freed all these from fear, however, by persuading the mobs¹⁸⁸ on their behalf¹⁸⁹ and by permitting them to communicate¹⁹⁰ as

¹⁸⁵ The *War* (1.170, 304) introduced Sepphoris early, as one of the five administrative centers established by the Roman Gabinius (mid-first-cent. BCE) and then as the home of the rebel Galilean Judas (2.56). Later, however, *War* 2.510-11 portrayed Sepphoris as the one Galilean city that was submissive to Rome already during Cestius' campaign, welcoming his general with open arms. Strangely, in the closest chronological parallel to this *Life* passage, Josephus allows Sepphoris to fortify its walls because the residents are affluent and, even without direction, *eager* (πρόθυμος) for the war (*War* 2.574). In the *Life* (§ 188), Josephus' fortification is mentioned later.

Meshorer (1982:2.167-69) points out that coins issued at Sepphoris up to and during the revolt confirm the city's pro-Roman stance. In 68 (the 14th year of Nero), two coin issues mention the general Vespasian (ΕΠΙ ΟΥΕΣΤΙΑΣΙΟΝΟΥ)—evidently a civic (not Roman) initiative, and describe Sepphoris as “city of peace” (ΕΙΡΗΝΟΠΟΛΙΣ) and ΝΕΡΟΝΙΑΣ—a name that the coins also dropped, in keeping with official Roman sentiment, immediately upon Nero's death that year. See also Cohen 1979:243-48.

As a natural fortress in central Galilee, Tzippori/Sepphoris was an obvious choice for both an administrative center and place of refuge in war. It had a commanding view of the Bet Netofa valley to the N. Its prominence was displaced for a while when Herod Antipas built Tiberias by the lake as his capital in the years following 14 CE. But then Tiberias was given to King Agrippa II in 54 CE, and Sepphoris reclaimed the role of Galilean capital (cf. § 37 below). Although many of the spectacular finds there *may* come from the second century CE or later (theater, wealthy residential district, intricate mosaic floors), it is likely that they replace similar features from before 70 CE. The first aqueduct system appears to come from the first century, as does the large public building. See Freyne 1980:122-28; Meyers, Netzer, and Meyers 1987; Netzer and Weiss 1992; Strange, Groh, and Longstaff 1994-95; Horsley 1995:77-8; Martin Nagy 1996; Appendix A of this volume.

¹⁸⁶ This is the first of 45 references to “the Galileans,” important players in the *Life*. As we begin to see here, Josephus' Galileans are those who cannot be identified as citizens of a πόλις: Sepphorites or Tiberians or Gabarenes. They come from the smaller villages of the countryside, and they typically detest the city dwellers.

§ 39 below, for example, has the Tiberians planning to enlist “the Galileans” against the Sepphorites, whom they hate. The alliance begins to succeed at § 66, but then Josephus realizes that he must somehow align the Galileans with him (§ 79). Much of the *Life* is about his diplomatic skill in winning and retaining the support of the Galileans as a check against the powerful cities and against his rival leaders: Ioannes of Gischala and the Jerusalem delegation (§§ 84, 99-100, 102-3, 107, 125, 143, 177, etc.: see Index to People and Places). At the same time, being essentially a mob, the Galileans impulsively press Josephus to retaliate, which affords him the opportunity to show his clemency and patience (e.g., §§ 99-103). Freyne (1980:156-66) has argued persuasively that the rural population consisted of many small landholders, alongside the tenant workers of large holdings more familiar from the gospels.

¹⁸⁷ See *War* 2.510-11.

¹⁸⁸ This is the first appearance of the “mob” (τὸ πλῆθος), here plural, which will occur 52 times in the *Life*: it is another crucial part of the narrative landscape. The term reflects Josephus' aristocratic perspective, for it designates those who are not part of the hereditary ruling class. Consistently throughout his works, this mass of uneducated and unsophisticated, impulsive people are the ones who need direction from the proper authorities (e.g., *Ant.* 3.24-7, 68-9, 295-315). See the notes to § 40 below. In Josephus' hands, the word has about the same range as *vulgus* in Latin authors: it is simply “the mass, throng, or crowd” or, pejoratively, “the rabble, the vulgar, the mob.” His attitude toward the masses displays not so much pure contempt as pity and *noblesse oblige*. In an attempt both to capture the collective-singular form of the word (not captured by “masses”) and to reflect the consistency of Josephus' vocabulary, I have almost always rendered the singular as “the mob.” Here, the context suggests that the mobs in question are the Galileans who have threatened the Sepphorites (§ 30).

For the phrase “persuade the mob” (πείθω τὸ πλῆθος) see Thucydides 3.43.2; 4.84.2, 126.1; 8.88.1; Plato, *Leg.* 689C; *Gorg.* 452E; Aristotle, *Pol.* 4.4.6.1292A; Plutarch, *Alc.* 26.5; Josephus, *War* 1.226-27; 2.259, 317, 406, 410; 6.330; *Ant.* 7.261; 9.91-2; 11.48; 12.300; 13.216-17; 20.120; *Life* 77, 103, 113, 140, 149, 271, 315, 388.

¹⁸⁹ That is, apparently, Josephus reaches some sort of agreement with the Galileans to relieve the Sep-

much as they liked with relatives in Dora¹⁹¹ who were hostages to Cestius.¹⁹² (Dora is a city in Phoenicia.)¹⁹³

But I found that those living in Tiberias¹⁹⁴ had already proceeded toward [securing] weapons,¹⁹⁵ for the following reason.

Tiberian description of Tiberian factions

(9) 32 Three factions¹⁹⁶ were in the city: one of refined men,¹⁹⁷ and it was headed by

the faction of refined men

phorites from fear; see further §§ 77-8 below, where Josephus reaches an accommodation with the Galilean bandits.

¹⁹⁰ Greek διαπέμπομαι: “send messages over” [to another place]. Exactly how Josephus permitted this is not clear, since the relatives were presumably held under guard. Communication with prisoners was normal in the Roman world, however, and he may mean that he supplied couriers for messages. Or does he mean only that he allowed Sepphorites to leave, implying that he had instituted martial law?

¹⁹¹ See Appendix A, Kasher (1990: s.v. [index]), Raveh and Kingsley 1991, Kingsley and Raveh 1996. Although it had a small Judean community (*Ant.* 19.300-12), Dor(a) was a busy Hellenistic port city now under the control of the Syrian governor.

¹⁹² This is new information over against the *War*. Evidently, when Cestius took Sepphoris in his ultimately failed campaign (*War* 2.511), he also removed some hostages (to ensure the continuing submission of the city) to a place where he could more easily secure them or remove them further.

¹⁹³ This aside reflects both Josephus’ concern to keep the audience’s attention by explaining crucial information and, given that the explanations are so cursory, his general lack of concern in the *Life* for historical detail.

¹⁹⁴ See Appendix A. Tiberias was built in honor of the *princeps* Tiberius by Antipas, the tetrarch of Galilee and Perea (lived ca. 25/20 BCE-after 39 CE; ruled 4 BCE-39 CE), in the years following Tiberius’ accession (14 CE); its official foundation was around 19 CE. Antipas’ new capital, on the W shore of Lake Gennesar (the Sea of Galilee), included an elaborate palace with (untypical) animal images (cf. § 65). The city had a stadium (§ 92) and other installations of a Greco-Roman city, including a theater. Josephus introduces Tiberias in *Ant.* 18.36-9 as a controversial site because it was built partly over tombs, placing those who lived there in a perpetual state of corpse uncleanness (cf. Num 19:11-6). Josephus claims that Antipas was forced to populate the city with people brought in from elsewhere, some under compulsion, many of whom were slaves or very poor. Even the new city’s magistrates were partly chosen from such people. Evidently, the city was given the standard sort of constitution of a Hellenistic *polis* (see notes to § 64 and following). From Josephus’ aristocratic perspective, these recent and shameful origins of the city may account for the wide range of factions about to be described, and for the generally volatile nature of the city—in contrast to established Sepphoris.

¹⁹⁵ This broad characterization (ἐφ’ ὅπλα κεχωρηκότας) of Tiberias is repeated, symmetrically (see Introduction), near the end of the book: Iustus persuades the Tiberians ἐφ’ ὅπλα χωρῆσαι (§ 391). There we are told that the Tiberians had in fact been committed to peace with Rome until Iustus convinced them otherwise.

¹⁹⁶ Greek: στάσεις. See the discussion in the note to “insurgents” at § 17. In political usage the noun στάσις can indicate either a particular faction or the resulting condition of civil strife; here it is the former.

The *War* parallel reports none of this internal strife. There (*War* 2.573-76) Josephus briefly mentions Tiberias among the many Galilean sites that he himself fortified. The following schematization—one pole, another pole, and a mediating position of some sort—should be treated with appropriate historical suspicion. Compare *Ant.* 13.171-73, where Josephus arranges the philosophical schools according to their views of fate (Sadducees negative, Essenes affirmative, and Pharisees in the middle); yet in *War* 2.162-66, where he had only the Pharisees and Sadducees left to discuss, he placed them on the opposite poles. Plainly, the schematization is more for rhetorical utility than historical precision. Here, it is antecedently improbable that the groups fell out so neatly. How could Pistus’ pro-war platform be attributable to his son Iustus’ influence when Iustus himself headed a *different* faction? After this notice, indeed, Pistus and Iustus think and act together (§§ 88, 175-78, 390). Could Iustus himself really lead a faction of *pretenders*? And how could that third faction be characterized as pretending doubt or caution (§ 36) when Iustus allegedly proceeds vigorously and openly to arouse the populace to war (§§ 37-42; see the note to “war” at § 36)? Josephus claims that it was Iustus who persuaded the mob to undertake rebellious activities (but see §§ 174-76). It appears, then, that the second faction is an empty category.

¹⁹⁷ Or “noble, honorable.” The phrase ἄνδρες εὐσχήμονες occurs only here in Josephus. But see Acts 17:12; Demosthenes, *Or.* 60.35. Curiously, Josephus’ obvious sympathies are with this group, even though his mission as a leader in the revolt is to oppose them; cf. §§ 65-6.

Iulius Capellus.¹⁹⁸ 33 This man certainly, and all those with him—Herod son of Miarus,¹⁹⁹ Herod son of Gamalus,²⁰⁰ and Compsus son of Compsus²⁰¹ (note: his brother Crispus,²⁰² who had formerly been prefect²⁰³ of the Great King,²⁰⁴ happened to be in his

¹⁹⁸ Josephus could hardly have invented a better name, which is Latin and distinguished-sounding, for the leader of the pro-Roman faction in Tiberias. Iulius was the ancient patrician name that came into its own with Iulius Caesar (cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 6.795-96), who adopted Octavius (later Augustus) and so founded the Julio-Claudian dynasty. It was, moreover, the adopted gentile name of the Herodian family (Schürer-Vermes 1.452 and n. 41), as of other vassal dynasties: Iulius Caesar had given Herod's father Antipater Roman citizenship (*War* 1.194). Perhaps, then, this Iulius Capella was related to the Herods. Capella was one of a number of Roman *cognomina* that, although feminine in both grammatical form and essential meaning (diminutive of *caper*, "female goat"), were often given to men (cf. Aquila, Dolabella, Pica, Capra, Scrofa; see Kajanto 1965:24). Indeed, the grammatically feminine form, which Josephus also uses later (§§ 66, 67, 69), is well attested: 17 men and 7 women (Kajanto 1965:326). The masculine ending (Capellus), which Josephus gives here, but which is barely attested elsewhere (*CIL* 13.11606; Kajanto 1965:326), may well result from his initial hesitancy to use what seemed a feminine form of the name (Capella) for a man, especially in immediate juxtaposition with Iulius. Later, without the pressure of the *nomen* Iulius, he reverts to the correct form.

Josephus appears to play with the names of some of his characters, as other authors did (cf. Paul, 1 Cor 1:19; Horace, *Sat.* 1.7, especially Corbeill 1996:74-98), and this may be the first occurrence in the *Life*. See also Pistus and Iustus (§§ 34-6), Varus (§ 48), and Aequus Modius (§ 61).

¹⁹⁹ This man appears only here in Josephus (unless at § 96). Since the audience would presumably not know him, Josephus perhaps mentions him in order to say "Herod" repeatedly while describing the Rome-friendly party, thus evoking the memory of Rome's great friend Herod the Great (ruled 37-4 BCE). The father's name Miaros (Greek spelling), meaning "polluted," is quite possibly a priestly nick-name, attaching to one disqualified from temple service. See the note to Psellus at § 3. It may be that such uncleanness resulted from residence in Tiberias: see note to §31. If this Herod's family was priestly, that would help to explain his position of leadership. Finally, it may be no coincidence that Miarus sounds very much like Marius, a distinguished Roman *nomen*.

²⁰⁰ This man appears only here in Josephus (unless at § 96). See the previous note. The father's name, meaning "camel" (the Greek here, Γάμαλος [cf. the

Gaulanite fortress-town of Gamala at § 46 below], as well as the standard Greek for camel, κάμηλος, come from the Aramaic term גמל; Hebrew גמל). As in the case of Miaros ("polluted"), Gamalos ("camel") may reflect the physical defect that kept a priest from serving in the temple (cf. the hump-back in § 4), in which case we would have another priestly family here.

²⁰¹ This man appears only here in Josephus. Since the Greek word κομψός means "nice, refined, gentlemanly, pleasant, smart, ingenious," Compsus son of Compsus provides yet another perfect name for the leader of the pro-Roman faction secretly (in the narrative) favored by Josephus.

²⁰² Crispus is a widely attested Latin *cognomen* (literally, "curly"; see note to § 3), made most famous by the historian Gaius Sallustius Crispus. See Kajanto 1965:223. This son of Compsus and brother of Compsus Jr. is probably not the man who figures later in the narrative as the chamberlain of Agrippa II (§ 382, 388, 393). Josephus perhaps mentions this Latin-named man with extensive land holdings, when there is no obvious narrative need (since Crispus is absent), in order to shore up his presentation of the pro-Roman group as comprising the more refined or noble Tiberians. Kokkinos (1998:293-94) speculates that the wealthy Iulia Crispina (fl. ca. 130 CE) known from the Babatha archive (cf. *P. Yadin* 20.5, 24, 43; 25.2, 24, 59) may have been a descendant of this prominent man.

²⁰³ Although the Greek ἐπαρχος literally means something like "commander," it is also the standard equivalent of the Latin *praefectus* (H.J. Mason 1974:45, 138-39). There were at least 15 kinds of Roman "prefect" (e.g., of a province—especially Egypt, of a legion, a cohort, a cavalry unit, a military camp, the praetorian guard, the city of Rome) and, outside of *Ant.* 11, where he uses the word for Persian officials, Josephus mainly reserves this word for such Roman officials (*War* 2.450, 544; 3.122, 310; 5.48). Often he uses it of the Judean governors (*War* 6.303, 305; *Ant.* 18.33; 19.363; 20.193, 197). In a few cases, as here, he attaches the term to officers of Agrippa I and II (cf. § 46; *Ant.* 19.353). Its meaning in such a context is indicated, at least in part, by *Ant.* 19.299 (conjectured from the Latin version, *praefectus*, for ἵππαρχος in the mss.) and 19.317 (Dindorf's conjecture against the ἵππαρχος of the mss.): Silas is appointed "commander of the entire army (ἐπαρχον παντός τοῦ στρατεύματος)" and is later killed by his (apparent) successor Helkias.

²⁰⁴ It is not entirely clear which king Josephus refers to here. Marcus Iulius Agrippa I (see note to "King

own estates beyond the Jordan)²⁰⁵ —34 at that time all of those mentioned counseled [the people] to stand firm in loyalty²⁰⁶ to the Romans and to the king.²⁰⁷

But Pistus²⁰⁸ did not concur with this opinion,²⁰⁹ being influenced by his son Iustus;²¹⁰ *Pistus' faction*

Agrippa [the father]" at § 37 below) styled himself in Oriental fashion (cf. *Ant.* 11.216, 273 [Persian]; 10.6 [Assyrian]; 12.36 [Ptolemaic]) "the Great King" (βασιλεύς μέγας). So much is clear from Agrippa's Claudian-era coins (βασιλεύς μέγας Ἀγρίππας φιλόκαισαρ; cf. Meshorer 1982:2.51-64) and his inscriptions (*OGIS* 419), as well as from several statements near the end of the *Antiquities* (17.28; 18.110, 142; 20.104). The natural assumption, therefore, is that Josephus uses this title in keeping with his established practice, here to distinguish Agrippa I from Agrippa II (see note to "the king" at § 34), who appears in § 34 as simply "the king." So Otto 1913:66 n.*; Thackeray, LCL *ad loc.* D. Schwartz (1990;114 n. 27, 136 n. 124) objects that: Crispus does not appear among Agrippa I's prefects in *Antiquities*; Agrippa II is also called "the Great" in some inscriptions (136 n.125); and it would make sense in Josephus' first reference to Agrippa II in the *Life* to call him by this title. Kokkinos (1998:292-93) assumes that Crispus was prefect to Agrippa I, noting that since ἐπαρχος can mean different things (cf. *praefectus*), it is no great problem that Crispus does not appear among Agrippa's supreme commanders in the *Antiquities*. On Agrippa I in general, see Schürer-Vermes 1.442-54; D. Schwartz 1990; Kokkinos 1998:271-304.

²⁰⁵ That is, in Perea. Nero had given the city of Iulias in Perea, with the 14 villages of its surrounding territory, to Agrippa II (*Ant.* 20.159). But Crispus may have had estates in the region for a longer time, perhaps inherited from the time when Perea belonged to his patron Agrippa I (*Ant.* 18.252). This is a seemingly irrelevant detail, if the audience has no idea who these people are, which seems likely in view of the fact that Josephus must introduce each one. The reference to land holdings in a nearby region, however, would serve to impress the audience with the social caliber of these pro-Romans, and that may be the sole purpose for this elaboration.

²⁰⁶ The Greek word is πίστις. Josephus creates a play with the name Pistus at the beginning of the next sentence.

²⁰⁷ Marcus Iulius Agrippa II (27/8-93/100 CE), born to Agrippa I and Kypros in Rome and also educated in the world capital, was only 17 when his father died in 44 CE. He did not succeed him as king of Judea but received the kingdom of Chalcis and possibly the right to appoint Judean high priests, when his uncle Herod of Chalcis died in 48 CE (*Ant.* 20.104; Kokkinos 1998:318-19). But he seems not to have left Rome for

several years, until Chalcis had been removed from his power and replaced by the former territories of Philip and Lysanias, N and E of Lake Gennesar (the Sea of Galilee) in 53 CE (*Ant.* 20.138). Following the accession of Nero the new *princeps* gave him some Perean and Galilean territories (including Tiberias and Tarichaeae): see *War* 2.252; *Ant.* 20.159; Kokkinos 1998:322; and §§ 37-8 below.

That Josephus should introduce Agrippa II so casually is best explained by his frequent reference to the king earlier, both in the *War*, where Agrippa II is given the definitive speech of dissuasion from revolt (*War* 2.344-407), and especially in the final volumes of the *Antiquities* (18.132, 194, 354; 19.360-62; 20.104, 135, 138-40, 159, 211-14), where Agrippa's youth and the gradual development of his kingdom have been charted.

²⁰⁸ Since the Greek word for loyalty, six words earlier, is *pistis*, Josephus appears to making a word play: Pistus (whose Greek name means "loyal, faithful") did not support *pistis* ("loyalty, faithfulness").

²⁰⁹ Greek γνώμη. See the note to "opinions" at § 22.

²¹⁰ Josephus thus introduces Iustus (Justus) of Tiberias, who will become a principal character in the *Life*, though he does not appear elsewhere in Josephus. *Iustus* is a Latin name meaning "upright, fair, just"; see the note at § 5. It is perhaps intentionally comical that Pistus and Iustus, whose names represent two of the principal social virtues, should be portrayed as leaders of the factions that would destroy social order (and πίστις—§ 34) in Tiberias.

Iustus of Tiberias was a well-educated (§ 40) Tiberian council member with good social connections. His was related by marriage to Philip son of Iacimus (§ 178), Agrippa's loyal prefect from a family of stalwart Herodian supporters (§ 46 and notes). In spite of what Josephus is about to say here, Iustus seems generally to have favored loyalty to Agrippa for Tiberias (§§ 155, 175-76, 343, 352, 381, 390), and it may well be that such loyalty was what cost his brother to be attacked by "the Galileans" (§ 177), who became Josephus' supporters. Quite early in the war, accordingly, Iustus was protected and given work by Agrippa and Berenice (§§ 343, 355-57, 390-93). Josephus will devote a special excursus (§§ 336-67), in partial symmetry with this passage, to the refutation of Iustus' rival book on the war (cf. § 40). For assessments of Iustus' role in providing the occasion for Josephus' writing, see the Introduction; also Luther 1910:34-82; Drexler 1925; Schalit 1933; Rajak 1973; Cohen 1979:144-70.

besides, he was by nature somewhat crazed.²¹¹ **35** So the second faction,²¹² comprising the most insignificant,²¹³ was determined to make war.

Iustus' faction

36 Iustus son of Pistus,²¹⁴ the principal man of the third bloc,²¹⁵ although he kept pretending to be in doubt about the war,²¹⁶ was actually longing for revolutionary activities,²¹⁷ intending to manufacture power²¹⁸ for himself out of the upheaval.²¹⁹ **37** So he came along

²¹¹ The word ἐπιμανής occurs only one other time in Josephus, to describe the allegedly woman-crazed Egyptians at *Ant.* 1.162. Polybius (26.1.1) had famously called the Seleucid King Antiochus IV Epiphanes “Epimanes” because of his eccentricities.

²¹² But see the note to “in the city” in § 32.

²¹³ Greek: οἱ ἄσημότατοι. Contrast Josephus’ proud status as οὐκ ἄσημον (“not insignificant” = “rather distinguished”; § 1). It is possible that the faction of sailors and the poor mentioned at § 66 further reflects this group. But there the faction is inexplicably led by Iesus son of Sapphias; see notes there.

²¹⁴ See the note at § 34.

²¹⁵ See the note to “factions” at § 32. This faction is much more plausibly connected with Iesus son of Sapphias, who appears out of nowhere at § 66 and who pursues a consistently militant agenda to the very end (§§ 134, 278, 294, 300; cf. *War* 2.450; 3.457, 497-98).

²¹⁶ It is hard to see how Iustus’ faction could be described as pretending to be dubious about the revolt while actually longing for revolution (see the note to “factions” at § 32). This is not a promising political platform, and in fact his following speech includes no sign of hesitancy. Given that so much other evidence supports Iustus’ basic loyalty to Agrippa II (see the notes to Iustus at § 34 and “activities” in this section), the pretense to hesitancy alleged by Josephus looks suspiciously like Josephus’ way of explaining away the impression others might have gathered—that Iustus was not at all eager for war.

²¹⁷ The Greek phrase (νεωτέρων δ’ ἐπεθύμει πραγμάτων) is partially reprised near the end of the book, § 391, in symmetrical parallel: Iustus was bent on revolutionary activities (νεωτέρων πραγμάτων). It evokes Isocrates’ defense (*Areop.* 7.59), in his argument for restoring the Areopagus, against such a charge (νεωτέρων πραγμάτων ἐπιθυμῆιν); also Xenophon, *Hell.* 5.9.2 (νεωτέρων τινὲς ἐπιθυμοῦντες πραγμάτων). Josephus particularly likes the phrase: *Ant.* 14.327; 20.109. Especially noteworthy is the recurrence of this phrase at § 87, where it describes those Tiberians (including Iustus and his father) who defect from Josephus’ leadership to that of Ioannes of Gischala, which is later supported by at least some in the Jerusalem assembly (§§ 189-98).

Josephus’ insistence here that Iustus was bent on revolution contradicts Iustus’ own apparent claim that

any ostensible revolutionary activity on his part came from pressure exerted by Josephus and the Galileans (§§ 340, 350). Indeed the circumstantial evidence of the Latin-named Iustus’ life and his social connections (see the note to Iustus at § 34), as well as some evidence within the *Life* (§ 155), suggest that he generally remained loyal to Agrippa II. In one place, we actually have a clear example of the general Josephus’ coercion of Iustus, who otherwise appears to prefer loyalty to Rome and the king (§§ 175-77).

²¹⁸ For the phrase περιποιέω δύναμιν see Thucydides 1.9.2; 5.4.5; Xenophon, *Anab.* 5.6.17. Here and in §§ 390-93 Josephus asserts that Iustus competed with him for leadership of the Galilee and was jealous of Josephus’ success.

²¹⁹ Iustus’ alleged double game is thus almost the precise reverse of the one Josephus claims for himself—in Josephus’ case, pretending war preparations but really desiring peace (§§ 22, 28-9, 175-76)—and both are accused by opponents of seeking their own power by misleading the masses (§§ 37-42, 260, 302; cf. 284). But the evidence of the *Life* does not bear out Josephus’ characterization of Iustus. Iustus next appears in the company of the Tiberian council, which was reluctant to burn the royal palace in Tiberias as Josephus was, he claims, charged to do (§65). Iustus’ own brother had lost his hands as a result of Galilean violence (§ 177), and other family members would be killed by militants (§§ 178, 186). Most important: Josephus has to explain to Iustus why he (Josephus) must pretend to be belligerent, even though he too—like Iustus—understands that the Romans are invincible (§§ 175-76). In his rival account, Iustus had accused Josephus of inciting Tiberias to revolt against Rome and King Agrippa II (§ 340). In all likelihood, then, Josephus and Iustus had little to distinguish their political inclinations, which would almost inevitably have been compromised by the revolt. They both claimed to be supporters of King Agrippa II. Iustus’ main crime, in Josephus’ view, may well have been his support for the leadership of Ioannes of Gischala (§ 87-8), another initially moderate leader (§ 43), who enjoyed substantial support in Jerusalem (§§ 189-92).

Although Josephus will take up Iustus’ charge against him only in the digression (§§ 336-67), here he tries to pre-empt it by forcefully accusing Iustus of being the chief disturber. Calling the other a would-be

into the [city] center²²⁰ and tried²²¹ to teach the mob²²² that the city²²³ had always been the capital of Galilee since the times of Herod the Tetrarch,²²⁴ who was its builder, and who had wanted the city of the Sepphorites to submit to that of the Tiberians.²²⁵ They had not relinquished this primacy under King Agrippa the father,²²⁶ but it remained until Felix was put in charge of Judea.²²⁷ **38** Now,²²⁸ he was saying:

“You yourselves just happen to have been given to the younger Agrippa²²⁹ as a gift²³⁰ from

rebel or tyrant was perhaps not so much a matter of assigning historical blame for the revolt (which was likely immaterial by Josephus’ time of writing) as it was a matter of *character* (§§ 344, 430). Whereas Josephus claims that he had always had the foresight to know that war with Rome was futile, he conveniently presents all of his chief opponents as foolish, short-sighted rebels. In their own writings, apparently, they return the favor.

²²⁰ Perhaps, “into the middle [of the crowd],” which would amount to much the same thing, since the logical place to address crowds was in the open central area known as the *agora* or *forum*. The phrase παρέρχομαι εἰς μέσους is characteristic of Josephus: *War* 4.216; *Ant.* 9.10; 19.261. Cf. Euripides, *Ion* 1170; Plutarch, *Sol.* 12.2. Several times he also uses φέρω εἰς μέσους (*Life* 334, 359; cf. *War* 2.300; *Ant.* 17.131), which is more common in other authors (Demosthenes, *Or.* 18.139; 19.250; Euripides, *Suppl.* 439; Herodotus 4.97.5) and particularly favored by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. rom.* 3.8.5, 15.3, 16.2, 23.21; 4.29.1, 34.5; 5.71.3; 6.72.3, 74.2; 8.2.4, 70.5; 10.10.1). See also the similar phrases at *Life* 134, 251, 255.

²²¹ As we see below (§§ 40-42) this is a purely contrived argument, fitting to speaker and occasion but only seemingly plausible. It is calculated to win over the mob by pandering to sentiment. Some obvious weaknesses are: that Sepphoris had by far the more ancient claim to supremacy in Galilee, and that if Tiberias had not been ceded to Agrippa II, it would not have become a free city but would have remained under the Roman governor Felix’s direct control (*War* 2.253); its transition to the “native” king’s hands was arguably a benefit for both king and residents.

²²² On persuading the mob, see note to § 40.

²²³ I.e., Tiberias.

²²⁴ (Herod) Antipas was the son of Herod the Great and Malthace (*War* 1.562; *Ant.* 17.20). Born in about 25 BCE (Kokkinos 1998:225, challenging Hoehner 1972:12) and educated in Rome with his brothers, at his father’s death in 4 BCE he became tetrarch of Galilee and Perea (*War* 2.94-5; *Ant.* 17.318). Antipas died some time after Gaius exiled him to Spain in 39 CE (*War* 2.181-83). In the Herodian tradition of showing conspicuous respect to Roman leaders, Antipas first re-founded Sepphoris in honor of Augustus and then, after Tiberius assumed the principate in 14 CE, built the new

city of Tiberias (*War* 2.168; *Ant.* 18.36-9). See the note to “Tiberias” at § 31. This city, housing his new palace and a stadium, displaced Sepphoris as Galilean capital. On Herod Antipas, see Schürer-Vermes 1.340-53; Hoehner 1972; Kokkinos 1998:225-35.

²²⁵ By extrapolating Antipas’ motives, Josephus emphasizes Iustus’ venality: this man is willing to appeal to the Tiberians’ basest desire for supremacy over Sepphoris only in order to stir up actions that will bring him power. The obvious weakness in Iustus’ argument is that the Sepphorites could claim a primacy of much longer standing. See note to “Sepphorites” at § 30.

²²⁶ Marcus Iulius Agrippa (11/10 BCE-44 CE), son of Herod’s son Aristobulus and Berenice, the only king to rule Judea (41-44 CE) after his grandfather Herod the Great. See note to “the Great King” at § 33; also Schürer-Vermes 1.442-54; D. R. Schwartz 1990.

Josephus probably intends irony here, given what he has said near the end of the *Antiquities* about Agrippa I and his unfortunate association with Tiberias. An incorrigible spendthrift who even became suicidal over his debts and obligations—so Josephus has portrayed him at some length (*Ant.* 18.144-47, 154-67)—the young, Roman-educated Agrippa was given by his uncle Antipas a rather unglamorous job as commissioner of markets (ἀγορανόμος; cf. Roman *aedile*) in Tiberias (*Ant.* 18.149), which he could not tolerate for long. By suggestively recalling here the father’s inglorious connection with Tiberias, Iustus intensifies the scandal that Tiberias should be given as a present to the son, Agrippa II, and justifies Josephus’ comment that he was speaking “against King Agrippa [II]” (§ 39).

²²⁷ 52/3 CE (Kokkinos 1998:385-86). See the note Felix at § 13.

²²⁸ I.e., a little more than a decade before Iustus’ speech; see further below.

²²⁹ Marcus Iulius Agrippa II. See the note to “the king” at § 34. The rhetorical force is clear: If Roman rule were not bad enough, it is scandalous that their once prominent city should be given as a token to such an absentee owner, especially that it should go to the son of such a notorious wastrel as Agrippa I. None of this reflects Josephus’ (literary) view, of course: it is an anti-Agrippan speech (§ 39) crafted by Josephus for Iustus, through which this character hopes to stir up a resentful populace.

Nero!²³¹ And because it submitted to Rome,²³² Sepphoris immediately became the capital of Galilee,²³³ and both the royal bank²³⁴ and the archives,²³⁵ having been dismantled, are with them.”²³⁶

39 These and many other things against King Agrippa²³⁷ he said to them, for the sake of provoking the populace to defection. He added:

“Now is the time to take up weapons, after welcoming the Galileans²³⁸ as allies—for they are willing to begin, because of the hatred they have toward the Sepphorites for maintaining loyalty to the Romans²³⁹—and with a large force²⁴⁰ to execute vengeance because of them.”

²³⁰ According to *War* 2.252-53 and *Ant.* 20.159, the new *princeps* Nero (54-68 CE) separated out from the Roman governor’s jurisdiction, for Agrippa II, Tiberias and Tarichaeae with their surrounding districts and some parts of Perea. Their transition to Agrippa II’s territory coincided with—or caused—the beginning of a new era in his coinage, from 56 CE (see Seyrig 1964; Barag 1978; Meshorer 1982:2.65-8; Kokkinos 1998:322, 397-98).

²³¹ See the note to “Caesar” at § 13.

²³² See § 30. Presumably, this refers to Sepphoris’ first submission to Rome, during Cestius Gallus’ initial campaign, when the Sepphorites alone opened their gates to his general Caesennius Gallus (*War* 2.511). The *War* does not mention that the royal bank and archives were removed to Sepphoris.

²³³ This appears to mean that, because Agrippa II was firmly supportive of the Romans against the revolt, and because Sepphoris declared for Rome early on whereas his own Tiberias was at best ambiguous, he transferred his Galilean headquarters to the older capital.

²³⁴ This phrase (βασιλικὴ τράπεζα) also occurs at *Ant.* 12.28, where it denotes the royal treasury or exchequer of Ptolemy II. At *Ant.* 10.190, it could conceivably have the same meaning (food provided from the “royal fund”), though it is usually translated as “the king’s table” in a more literal sense. Somewhat curiously, a similar phrase will be used at § 68, but in the plural (τράπεζαι τῶν βασιλικῶν), of the “[ordinary] tables belonging to the royals” that were later plundered from the palace at Tiberias.

In the first-century Mediterranean world, there was no single system of banking; nor was there a concept of borrowing to invest. Money-lending, which was extremely important to the economy, took place in many different contexts: among aristocratic friends in Rome (without interest), from private money-lenders, whether professional or amateur, or from more public banks associated with temples (e.g., Apollo on Delos, Castor and Pollux at Rome, the temple at Jerusalem) and states—especially in formerly Ptolemaic Egypt. Often, the money deposited for safe-keeping with individuals, temples, or treasuries was not itself lent out. Because of

the wide range of currencies operating in the Roman world, private and public money-changing was an important activity, to be found in the agora, forum, or temple precincts of a major city. In the Greek world, accordingly, τράπεζα often referred to the money-changer’s table. In speaking of Tiberias’ royal τράπεζα, Josephus appears to envision a state-run bank. Although the range of its functions is beyond our grasp, we may guess from the conjunction with “archives” or “records” here that lending money at interest was a principal task. Pliny (*Ep.* 10.54) incidentally remarks that a municipality in his province of Pontus-Bithynia lent money at 9%, though it found few borrowers. Interest rates varied widely, though 12% p.a. was common in places (Cicero, *Att.* 6.1). See, e.g., *OCD* 3, “Banks,” “Interest, rates of”; Finley 1985:53-7, 115-19; Stambaugh 1988:106, 111, 117.

²³⁵ Greek τὰ ἀρχεῖα, possibly the “administrative machinery” in view of the cognate ἄρχει (“to be capital”) earlier in the sentence, picking up the sense of ἄρχω as “to rule.” But Josephus normally uses the plural of “archives” (*War* 2.427; 6.354; 7.55; *Ant.* 8.144; 9.283, 287) in the sense of ἄρχω as “to be first.” The importance of such archives is clear from the case of Jerusalem. Among other documentation, they contained records of debts (*War* 2.427); hence their conjunction with the bank here.

²³⁶ This information is unparalleled elsewhere. Josephus continues to highlight both the shameless populist appeal and the logical difficulty of Iustus’ argument. Having just complained that Tiberias was given to the king a decade earlier, Iustus now laments the loss of royal status.

²³⁷ By crafting this speech for Iustus and also summarizing it thus (“against Agrippa”), Josephus anticipates his later, forthright attack on Iustus’ claim to have remained loyal to Agrippa (§§ 340-56).

²³⁸ See the note to § 30.

²³⁹ Indeed, Josephus has already claimed (§ 30) that the Galileans began attacking the Sepphorites when the latter declared for Rome during Cestius’ campaign.

²⁴⁰ For this figurative use of “mighty hand,” see Herodotus *Hist.* 5.72; 7.157.

40 By saying these things, he won over the mob.²⁴¹ For he was rather good at manipulating the populace²⁴² and at overcoming the better arguments of disputants by craftiness²⁴³ and a kind of guile through words.²⁴⁴ In fact, he was well trained in the Greek sort of education,²⁴⁵ on the basis of which he audaciously took it upon himself²⁴⁶ to record also

*more on Iustus,
the demagogue*

²⁴¹ The aristocrat Josephus characteristically sees the mob (τὸ πλῆθος) as a vast helpless body, needing—and vulnerable to—direction from others. See the following note and that to “mobs” at § 31.

²⁴² Or “demagoguery,” Greek δημαγωγεῖν. All of Josephus’ works reveal the classic aristocratic problem of finding the best way to keep the masses in order. According to the *War* (e.g., 2.234, 259-60, 321-32, 399, 406, 411-17, 427, 523-26; 5.527-28), the Judean revolt erupted largely because the legitimate rulers could not maintain their hold on the mob, which was swayed (for short-term goals such as debt relief or on account of naïve religious dreams) by unscrupulous demagogues. In the *Antiquities*, the nation’s founders face the same perennial struggle, as early as the demagogue Nimrod (Nebrodes), who persuaded the mob that submission to God was slavery and so built the tower of Babel (*Ant.* 1.115). The problem continues with such demagogues as Korah, Absalom, and the Pharisees (4.14-58; 7.196; 13.288, 402; 18.17; 19). The emperor Gaius, notorious among Josephus’ Roman audience as well as among Judeans, is connected with this theme: he was dangerous because of his persuasiveness with the mob (*Ant.* 19.202).

In the *Life*, where the scene is Galilee, the mob includes both the “the Galileans” (see § 30) and the lower-class city-dwellers. Here the contest for winning popular confidence is between Ioannes of Gischala and Josephus at first, but then it evolves into a life-and-death struggle between Josephus and the Jerusalem delegation. Persuasion of the fickle mob is an especially prominent theme in the *Life*; see §§ 50, 76, 77, 103, 113, 149, 264, 271, 315, 388. Plutarch (*Mor.* 801C-802E) deals at length with the importance of speech in persuading the mob: “The wolf, they say, cannot be held by the ears; but one must lead a people or a State chiefly by the ears” (*Mor.* 802 D). The fear of mob rule and of unscrupulous demagoguery was perfectly familiar to an élite audience in the Roman world (Plato, *Leg.* 689B; Aristotle, *Pol.* 4.4.4-7.1292A; Polybius 6.9.8-9; Cicero, *Resp.* 1.42.65).

²⁴³ This was a standard complaint about the sophists, the hired teachers of rhetoric. Isocrates (*Antid.* 15) indignantly rejected Lysimachus’ charge, “that I am able to make the weaker argument appear the stronger.” Plato’s Socrates was absurdly charged with “making the weaker argument the stronger” (*Apol.* 19B). Aristotle (*Rhet.* 2.24.11.1402A) cited with disgust the promise of the renowned sophist Protagoras to “make the weaker

argument appear the stronger (τὸ τὸν ἥττω δὲ λόγον κρείττω ποιεῖν).” Rhetoric, as everyone knew, trained its practitioners to value persuasion, praise, and blame at the expense of truth. As the rhetorical exercises of the *progymnasmata*, the Greek Δύσσοι Λόγοι, and the *Controversiae* of the elder Seneca show, orators were trained to argue any case to a compelling conclusion. Cicero boasts of his ability as an advocate to “inspire in the judge a feeling of angry indignation, or move him to tears, or in short (and this is the one supreme characteristic of the orator) sway his feelings in whatever direction the situation demanded” (*Brut.* 93.322). In the Roman republic, such persuasiveness came from the authority and status of the speaker as well as from the charm or elegance of his speech, in any case *not* from simple cogency of argument. The tension between rigorous logic and merely persuasive speech had been classically expressed by Plato (e.g., *Gorgias*), as a function of his fundamental distinction between appearance and reality, between holding a mere opinion (δόξα) and having true knowledge (ἐπιστήμη) (*Resp.* 5.477-78; 6.506C). On the historian’s repudiation of artful speech in favor of the simple truth, see Thucydides 1.20-22; Polybius 12.7-8; 12-3.

Josephus evokes here, then, the traditional stand-off between philosophers, historians, and other truth-tellers, on the one side, and sophists and orators on the other. He often disavows rhetoric (*War* 1.13-6; *Ant.* 20.263-64 [above]; *Apion* 1.27)—although the most effective speakers made the same demurrals (Isocrates, *Antid.* 10; Plato’s Socrates, *Apol.* 17; Paul, 1 Cor 1.18-30), and his own writing is full of rhetorical devices. Since Greek was a hard-learned second language for him, Josephus was in part making a virtue of necessity. But it is striking that, rather than posing explicitly as a historian or philosopher against the rhetoricians, he typically characterizes rhetoric as a *Greek* national trait, which allows him (though writing Greek) to posture as a non-Greek—in solidarity with the Romans. See the note to “Greek education” below.

²⁴⁴ Greek ἀπάτη τῇ διὰ λόγων. Note Josephus’ similar description of Ioannes of Gischala at *War* 4.391: “for he was formidable in attracting followers through guile and speech-craft (ἀπάτη καὶ λόγῳ)”; cf. Demosthenes, *Or.* 10.76.

²⁴⁵ Iustus thus enters the dubious company of the emperor Gaius (*Ant.* 19.208) and the Egyptian Manetho (*Apion* 1.73), both of whom also excelled in “Greek” (i.e., rhetorical) learning. Although Josephus picks up

the history of these events²⁴⁷—as if he could overcome the truth itself by means of this speech-craft.²⁴⁸ **41** But concerning this man—how sordid his life became and how he was, with his brother,²⁴⁹ the cause of almost complete ruin—we shall explain as the story unfolds.²⁵⁰ **42** At that time, when he had persuaded the citizens to take up weapons and compelled many who did not so desire,²⁵¹ Iustus came out with all of these men and set

the clichés of Greek philosophers and historians speaking of Greek rhetoricians, he specifically attacks “the Greeks” from the vantage-point of a non-Greek (see notes to “craftiness” in this section and “education” at § 8). Cf. Cicero (*Brut.* 70.247) on Lucretius’ patron C. Memmius: “highly trained in letters, but only Greek, for he scorned Latin, was an orator of the subtle ingenious type with a pleasing diction, but averse to the labour not only of speaking, but even of thinking” (trans. G.L. Hendrickson, LCL). Josephus’ anti-rhetorical gambit is all the more striking because Roman education in Josephus’ day was probably given more completely to rhetoric than Greek education ever was, and he himself is fully immersed in rhetorical assumptions (see Introduction). Romans interested in philosophy, by contrast, had still to travel to Athens or Rhodes (Marrou 1956:274-91), and philosophy was viewed with great suspicion among the Roman aristocracy (Cicero, *Fin.* 1.2; MacMullen 1992:46-94). By (rhetorically) characterizing rhetoric as *Greek*, over against a more sober concern for the truth, Josephus aligns himself and the Judeans with the Romans and their traditional preference for unadorned speech (cf. Balsdon 1979:30-54 and the note to “education” at § 8).

As Rajak (1973:345) observes, Iustus’ Greek must in fact have been of a high standard, since Agrippa II chose him as correspondence secretary (cf. § 356).

²⁴⁶ The reference to Iustus’ audacity shows that Josephus uses the verb ἐπιχειρέω pejoratively; hence “take upon oneself.” Cf. the use of this word with respect to Iustus’ work again in § 338 and the similar pejorative tone in Luke 1:1; Acts 9:29; 19:13.

²⁴⁷ See the digression on Iustus in §§ 336-67, which takes up the claims of Iustus’ book that Josephus finds most troublesome. Josephus’ Greek here (ἐπεχείρησεν καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν πραγμάτων τούτων ἀναγράψειν) was to have a curious *Nachleben*: Jerome (*Vir. ill.* 14 [in Sophronius’ Greek translation) and the *Suda* lexicon (s.v. λουστος) both borrowed it verbatim for their perfunctory descriptions of Iustus; see Luther 1910:50.

²⁴⁸ The learned Patriarch of Constantinople, Photius (*Bibl.* 33), describes Iustus’ work *On the Judean Kings* as “most concise” in style. Even though Iustus seems to have been a highly competent author, for Josephus’ Roman audience he attempts to arouse the old ghost of “Greek learning” against Iustus.

²⁴⁹ Josephus does not fulfill his promise to show how Iustus’ brother became a cause of ruin, though he

devotes considerable space to Iustus (see the following note). Iustus’ unnamed brother remains one of the most mysterious figures in the *Life*. He is next mentioned retrospectively, at § 177, where Josephus recalls in conversation with Iustus that, before Josephus’ arrival in Galilee, the Galileans cut off both of the man’s hands on a charge of forging documents. In the next sentence (§ 178), he recalls that Iustus’ brother-in-law Iesous as well as Chares had been killed by the Gamalites. But then in § 186 he recalls this incident again and claims that the Gamalites had killed Chares and Iesous *and* Iustus’ sister (according to some mss.) or *who was* Iustus’ “brother.” It seems here that Josephus uses the term “brother” (assuming that to be the correct reading) loosely at § 186, for brother-in-law, which adds to the confusion. His role is no clearer than that of Josephus’ own brother.

²⁵⁰ Namely: §§ 65 (Iustus is part of the Tiberian council instructed by Josephus to burn Antipas’ palace), 88 (Iustus tries to defect to Josephus’ rival Ioannes of Gischala), 155-73 (Tiberians try to defect to Agrippa II), 175-78 (Iustus and his father are warned to accept Josephus’ generalship), 186 (a brother of Iustus killed by the men of another Josephus), 279 (Iustus urges people to defect from Josephus to the Jerusalem delegation), 336-367 (the digression devoted to Iustus), 390-93 (Iustus flees to King Agrippa II from fear of Josephus), 410 (Iustus order executed by Vespasian, but is spared). The present passage forms a symmetrical counterpart to §§ 390-93, which is also a summary of Iustus’ malign activities, almost exactly the same distance from the end (§ 430) as this passage is from the beginning.

Iustus is a looming presence in the *Life*: not only are his activities in Josephus’ Galilee (marked by the *inclusio* of §§ 36-42 // 390-93) a constant threat, but his book challenging Josephus’ *War* also lies in the background (§§ 40, 336-67). This prominence has led the majority of scholars to conclude that the *Life* is in essence a response to Iustus’ book. But that theory faces many, perhaps overwhelming, obstacles: see Introduction.

²⁵¹ This combination of persuasion and coercion is also attributed by Josephus to the Jerusalem rebels after Cestius’ defeat at *War* 2.562. Although Josephus has just represented Iustus as one who gave confusing signals about his intentions (§ 36), feigning uncertainty about the war, we are to believe that he single-handedly

fire to the villages²⁵² of the Gadarenes and also of the Hippenes,²⁵³ which happened to lie on the frontier between Tiberias and the territory of the Scythopolitans.²⁵⁴

(10) 43. So Tiberias was in such straits as these.²⁵⁵

summary:
Tiberias

At Gischala,²⁵⁶ matters took this turn. Ioannes²⁵⁷ son of Levis,²⁵⁸ when he saw some of

initial description of

caused Tiberias' movement to arms through his rhetorical brilliance.

²⁵² These raids will become an important component of Josephus' literary attack on Iustus at §§ 341-42.

²⁵³ I.e., not Hippos and Gadara themselves, which were substantial and cultured Greek cities (πόλεις) rather than villages, well defended by their natural terrain, and which did not lie on the route from Tiberias to Scythopolis. Hippos and Gadara were both on the E side of Lake Gennesar and Jordan River, whereas Tiberias and Scythopolis were on the W. See Appendix A. Rather, Iustus attacked small villages (κώμαι) *belonging to* the great Decapolis cities as part of their regions (χώραι). In the Greek tradition of free cities, each city controlled a number of villages. Cf. § 340, where Josephus claims that Iustus had made war on the Decapolis cities early on *by* attacking their villages. That the ethnically Judean cities of the region also dominated their surrounding villages as formal or informal toparchies, notwithstanding a degree of self-maintenance within those villages, has been shown by Cotton 1999:81-91. See also the note to villages at § 119.

²⁵⁴ We might imagine that Iustus' sallies in the direction of Scythopolis, to the S, were motivated by the Scythopolitans' cruelty toward their Judean inhabitants, already mentioned by Josephus (§ 26).

²⁵⁵ In spite of the alleged existence of three factions, then, and the prestigious leadership of the first, Josephus claims that Iustus carried the city with his belligerent program.

²⁵⁶ Gush Halav, modern El-Jish, the largest Judean center of the Upper Galilee in Josephus' day. It is not yet excavated, but see Appendix A for finds on the site.

²⁵⁷ This paragraph on Ioannes is formally matched near the end of the *Life* by his final appearance: §§ 368-72. Having evolved into Josephus' principal opponent in the meantime, whose animosity leads to the sending of the delegation from Jerusalem (§§ 189-90), Ioannes is ultimately left cowering in Gischala, deserted by his followers, and beaten by Josephus. This is quite different from *War's* portrait, and highlights Josephus' different aims in this work.

In the *War*, Ioannes appears two-dimensionally as the most relentless prosecutor of the revolt. From the beginning of Josephus' command in the Galilee, Ioannes competes with him for the support of the populace as general (2.590-94), and assumes that role after

Josephus is captured. But when he finds himself besieged by the Romans in his native town, the last Galilean hold-out, he flees by night to Jerusalem (4.92-120). Once there, he quickly gathers a group of youthful followers and begins a contest with the other rebel leaders for supremacy. Cunningly pretending to support the former high priest Ananus, who is the formal leader of the revolt, Ioannes actually betrays him to the Idumeans, who then murder Ananus (4.314-25). Ioannes now becomes leader of the Jerusalem revolt, until he is forced to surrender to the Romans (6.433-34) and become part of the conquering generals' triumph (7.118). In Josephus' concluding rogues' gallery, he names Ioannes first—and, curiously, singles out his eating of non-kosher food as an offense (7.263-64). Throughout the *War*, Josephus maintains his simple portrait of Ioannes (*War* 2.575) as one of the most depraved "bandits" ever (2.585-87): an unscrupulous schemer and greedy liar, compensating for mean origins.

The *Life* presents a somewhat different portrait. In part, this has to do with Josephus' biographically centered historiography in the *Antiquities-Life*, which requires from him a more rounded picture of his characters (cf. S. Mason BJP 3.xxxii-xxxiv). In this passage, thus, Ioannes is introduced as an *opponent* of rebellion against Rome, appearing for the moment as a moderate of Josephus' ilk. Later Josephus will claim that Ioannes was a close friend of the distinguished member of the Jerusalem council, Simon son of Gamaliel (§§ 189-92). The common scholarly view is that Josephus was forced to concede Ioannes' good connections here because Ioannes' friend Iustus of Tiberias (§§ 87-8) had pointed this out in his rival account. Although there may be some truth in that, virtually every story with a parallel in the *War* is told differently here, and many of the differences cannot plausibly be traced to Iustus' challenge (see Introduction). The more balanced picture of Ioannes fits with Josephus' biographical tendency already noted. Laqueur (1920:42) wryly notes that scholars of his day should, for consistency, attribute this pro-Ioannes passage to some other source. Laqueur himself argues that because it does not fit the themes of the current *Life*, it must come from Josephus' (hypothetized) earlier *Rechenschaftsbericht*.

The other difference in the *Life* over against the *War* is that this demonstration of Josephus' character, and of

Gischala

the citizens grandly contemplating secession from the Romans,²⁵⁹ kept trying to restrain them and urging them to maintain loyalty.²⁶⁰ 44 In spite of being very determined, however, he was not able. For the surrounding nations—Gadarenes,²⁶¹ Aganeans,²⁶² and Tyrians²⁶³—amassed a great force, fell upon the Gischalans, and took* Gischala by storm.²⁶⁴ Having wasted it with fire²⁶⁵ and then undermined it,²⁶⁶ they decamped²⁶⁷ to

the folly of his opponents, must conclude with the Galilean campaign (§ 372). So he must close with Ioannes' failure vis-à-vis Josephus, even before the main part of the war with Rome.

Ioannes is mentioned by Tacitus as one of the three generals in Jerusalem during the siege (*Hist.* 5.12). Since he was such an important figure also in Josephus' *War*, and since he was part of the triumph, condemned to perpetual imprisonment, it is likely that he was known in Rome as one of the chief culprits. This notoriety has implications for Josephus' use of him in the narrative: anyone whom Josephus can associate with Ioannes (including Iustus [§§ 87-88] and Simon the Pharisee [§ 192]), a known evil, is to some extent tarred by the association.

²⁵⁸ This is one of many curious changes from the *War* to the *Life*. In *War* 2.575, 585; 4.85, the father's name is Λήιος: related to grain-fields (λήιον) or possibly plunder (λεία). In *Life* 43 (here), 122, 189, however, the father's name becomes Ληουεῖς. Introducing an *upsilon* assimilates the name to that of the patriarch, Jacob's son Levi (Λευῖς in Josephus), who founded the tribe of Levites (Gen 46:11; 49:5): Ληούται or Λευόται. Just before the beginning of the *Life* (*Ant.* 20.216-18), significantly, Josephus has emphasized the critical distinction between priests and Levites by expressing his outrage that Agrippa II permitted Levites to wear the same linen clothes as priests. He cites this innovation in the laws as a transgression that inevitably led to divine punishment. It seems entirely plausible, then, that Josephus alters the name of Ioannes' father in order to connect the son with the Levites—always grasping after what belongs to the priests. Such a link would lend even greater force to the following narrative, which portrays Ioannes' envy of the priest Josephus' power. Perhaps the proper role for Levites, in his view, is that of assisting a priest such as himself (cf. §§ 131, 171, 319). For other such word plays with names, see the notes to §§ 32-34 and "Aequus Modius" at § 61.

²⁵⁹ This phrase recalls Josephus' own assessment of his compatriots (§ 17), and so serves to link him with Ioannes in their initial outlook.

²⁶⁰ Greek πίστιν διαφυλάττω ("keep the faith"), a characteristic word group in Josephus (*Ant.* 12.8; *Life* 39; *Apion* 2.134).

²⁶¹ We have just learned (§ 42) that Iustus' followers allegedly set fire to villages belonging to Gadara, and so this should perhaps be understood as a retaliation

strike.

²⁶² The mss. read "Baraganeans", which makes no sense. Some critics have emended it to read either Gabarenes (*editio princeps*) or Gabarenes and Soganeans (Gagnierus and Hudson). Schalit (*Concordance*, s.v.), however, points out that Gabara and Sogane appear to have been wholly Jewish towns and so would not have joined Tyre and Gadara in an attack on Gischala. He argues that the first syllable of the name (bar) corrupts the Hebrew *kaphar* ("village"), so that those in view are inhabitants of "the village of Aganaia," which was apparently not far from Gischala (cf. *y. Megillah* 70a, 62; also the צַעֲנִיָּם of Josh 19:33).

²⁶³ Although Tyre itself, a large and ancient Phoenician coastal city mentioned often in the *Antiquities* (e.g., 7.56; 8.50, 76), was more than 30 km. NW of Gischala over rough terrain, the "Tyrian village" of Kedasa (Kedesh-Naphtali; cf. *War* 2.459; 4.105) was quite close, about 10 km. to the NE. Since Kedasa had a long history of antagonistic relations with Judean Galilee (*War* 4.105), and was one of the gentile sites targeted by the Judeans (*War* 2.459), it may well have been the "Tyrian" attackers' base. Although Tyre's own relationships with Israel had begun well (cf. the *Antiquities* passages above), they deteriorated badly through the post-exilic period. Several of the Roman edicts in favor of Judean rights were addressed to the Tyrians (*Ant.* 14.197, 288, 290, 297-98, 305, 314, 319), and Josephus singles out the Tyrians among all Phoenicians as the bitterest enemies of the Judeans (*Apion* 1.70). An unusually large number of Tyrian coins have been found at Gischala, however, suggesting cultural links; see Appendix A. Curiously, Josephus will eventually claim that Ioannes had about 1 500 Tyrian followers (§ 372), from the city of Tyre itself.

²⁶⁴ The Greek phrase [λαμβάνω / αἰρέω] κατὰ κράτος is a particular favorite of Josephus': *War* 1.19, 21, 32, 127; 6.329; 7.113; *Ant.* 3.54; 5.180; 6.136, 356; 7.62, 105, 160, 161; 8.151, 284, 310; 9.42, 105, 217, 230, 253; 10.271; 11.91; 13.92, 156, 337, 347, 357; 15.1; 20.254; *Life* 45, 82, 84, 99, 328, 350, 352, 374, 417. Although the phrase is used by a number of Athenian writers (e.g., Isocrates *Phil.* 5.58, 112 and Demosthenes, *Or.* 19.61; 59.103), Josephus may well be indebted to Thucydides (1.64.3, 118.3; 2.30.1, 54.4; 2.68.7, 100.3; 3.18.5, 97.2, 103.1; 4.23.2, 130.6, *et passim*), for whom the phrase is also common. Then again, the compact Latin equivalent *expugno* and cog-

home territory.²⁶⁸ **45** At this, Ioannes became furious,²⁶⁹ and armed all those who were with him. After he had brought them together against the aforementioned nations²⁷⁰ and rebuilt a stronger Gischala, he fortified its walls²⁷¹ for the sake of security in a sequel.

(11) 46 Gamala²⁷² stood firm in loyalty to the Romans²⁷³ for the following reason.

*initial description of Gamala
Philip son of Iacimus escapes from*

Philip, son of Iacimus²⁷⁴ and prefect²⁷⁵ of King Agrippa, was rescued²⁷⁶ beyond expecta-

nates (*expugnatio, expugnator*) are also very common (Caesar, *Bell. gall.* 1.11; 2.9, 10, 12; 3.14; Sallust, *Bell. Jug.* 23.1; Livy 2.12.1, 50.11; 4.9.1).

²⁶⁵ The Greek verb πυρπολέω is one of Josephus' favorites (*War* 2.460; 3.176; *Ant.* 7.191; 9.159; 13.104; 20.123, 250; *Apion* 2.213) though it is not common in other historians (Homer, *Od.* 10.1.29; Herodotus *Hist.* 8.50; Xenophon, *Cyr.* 3.3.25; Polybius 38.8.9, 20.11; Lucian, *Bacch.* 3.9; *Quom. hist. conscr.* 1.16; *Alex.* 47.9).

²⁶⁶ Or "destroy besides (or against)." Josephus uses the exceedingly rare compound verb προσκατασκάπτω only here. Indeed, it appears to be found otherwise only in the Byzantine "poetic recension" of the *History of Alexander the Great* (*Hist. Alex. Magni* 2291, 2357; cod. Marcianus 408). Since he has already mentioned setting fire to the city, and since he will next speak of Ioannes' efforts to rebuild and fortify the town, he seems to refer to a complete undermining of the walls. Undermining was a standard siege technique for ancient (walled) cities. The usual procedure from Assyrian times was to burrow under a wall while maintaining a wooden structure for support, and then setting fire to the wood for a sudden collapse (see Kern 1999:51 and *War* 2.435).

²⁶⁷ Greek ἀναξεύνημι, another distinctively favored term of Josephus'. He accounts for 30 of the 42 occurrences in the Perseus corpus (www.perseus-tufts.edu).

²⁶⁸ Given that Tyre and Gadara were far away and in opposite directions, it is not clear where the attackers fled—perhaps to Kedasa (see note to "Tyrians" in this section).

²⁶⁹ Greek παροξύνω, another conspicuous favorite in Josephus' vocabulary. Of the 198 occurrences in the Perseus collection of Greek texts, Josephus accounts for 112. This is a frequency of 2.32 per 10,000 words in contrast to the average 0.52 per 10,000 words, a major difference.

²⁷⁰ One ms. (R) adds here "he conquered them by storm." The fact that Ioannes could not have attacked Tyre itself confirms that his attack on "Tyrians" involved confronting them in Tyrian villages such as Kedasa: see note to "Tyrians" at § 44.

²⁷¹ See Appendix A: it is possible that a section of Ioannes' fortification has been found on the W slope of Gush Halav.

²⁷² Gamala lay in Gaulanitis, about 11 km. E of Bethsaida-Julias (at the junction of the Jordan River with the N end of Lake Gennesar). Josephus' descriptions of the fortress-town (*War* 4.5-10) in the shape of a camel's back (Greek κάμηλος; Hebrew כַּמֶּלֶךְ; Aramaic כַּמֶּלֶךְ), with steeply inclined terraced housing, even his portrayal of the fortification of its walls and the manner of the Roman attack, have been confirmed by excavation. The discovery of several ritual baths indicates the presence of at least some residents concerned about ritual purity. See Syon 1992 and Appendix A. If this story of Gamala has a formal counterpart near the end of the *Life*, it comes at §§ 398-410, which would break the sequence of ring composition noted in many other cases; see Introduction.

²⁷³ The following story about Gamala and Philip son of Iacimus is entirely new in the *Life*. The *War* (2.568, 574) simply introduced Gamala at the time of the revolt as part of Josephus' brief, and as a place that he fortified (apparently, immediately upon going to the Galilee; cf. 4.9-10), which remained hostile to Rome and Agrippa II throughout (*War* 4.3-4). *War* 4.11-54, 62-83 tells in gripping detail the story of the siege and capture of Gamala.

²⁷⁴ In *War* 2.421; 4.81, Philip was introduced as a distinguished man (ἐπίσημος), the general (στρατηγός) or commander-in-chief (στραταρχέω) of Agrippa's armies in Hauran and vicinity, who was sent to Jerusalem at the request of the pro-Roman aristocrats when the junior priests halted the sacrifice on behalf of foreigners. On his controversial activities there, see the note to "Jerusalem" in this section. After Cestius' defeat, Philip is said to have fled Jerusalem to join Cestius' forces (2.556); Cestius permitted him and his companions to visit Nero in Achaea, in order to blame Florus—and not Cestius—for the present turmoil in Judea (2.256-58).

Ant. 17.23-30 gives Philip's illuminating family history, the audience's knowledge of which seems assumed here in the *Life* (Laqueur 1920:43). Namely: late in King Herod's reign (ended 4 BCE), Herod established in Batanea a new tax-free city called Bathyra for a group of some 600 Babylonian Judeans who had come to Judea. Expert archers and horsemen, under the leadership of one Zamaris, they were to serve as a buffer between Judea and Trachonitis to the NE. Be-

*Jerusalem to
region near
Gamala*

tion²⁷⁷ from the besieged royal palace in Jerusalem.²⁷⁸ After fleeing [from there], he fell

cause of the tax-free status of their regions, many other Judeans joined them. Later, Zamaris' son Iacimus, and then Iacimus' son Philip, served the kings of the Herodian dynasty in succession as masters of the bodyguard. Evidently Philip, Zamaris' grandson, has ascended from head of the bodyguard to commander of Agrippa II's entire army.

At no point in the *Life* does Philip join Cestius' forces, in spite of *War* 2.556. After the following story about Gamala, Philip figures a number of times in this narrative: some of his relatives are said to have been killed by Gamalites (§ 177, 186); he flees to Agrippa II (§§ 179-84); and he is finally sent by *Agrippa II* to Nero in Rome to answer a charge that he betrayed the Roman garrison and the royal palace in Jerusalem; but he arrives when the Roman civil strife prevents contact with Nero (§§ 407-10). Thus the two accounts differ in many respects, large and small. Price (1991) offers a sound analysis of the differences, concluding that a reasonably coherent picture of the historical Philip, as loyal to the king, emerges from conflicting details that are mainly attributable to Josephus' carelessness. In the main, he prefers *Life*'s account, arguing that in the *War* Josephus tendentiously put Philip on the trip to Nero with Costobar and Saul because he was in dire need of aristocrats who did not support the war (1991:89-90). This need for a motive on Josephus' part, however, presupposes both that almost all aristocrats supported the revolt (Price 1991:77) and that Josephus knew an alternative account of Philip's career (such as that of the *Life*), which he suppressed when he wrote the *War*. On the latter: Laqueur (1920:48-50) argues that *Life*'s new material about Philip only came to Josephus' attention long after the *War* was completed.

As Laqueur (1920:43) and Cohen (1979:160) point out, it is not easy to see the relevance of *Life* 46-61, which is strikingly disproportionate to Josephus' preceding brief reports on the major centers under his purview: "The simple demand for background information to the history of Gamala cannot explain the extraordinary amount of detail" (Cohen 1979:168). Josephus appears to expect some mileage from retailing this story, and yet it is hard to explain either as a response to Iustus (cf. §§ 336-67) or as support for Philip's patron Agrippa II, who is now dead (§ 359). Laqueur (1920:42-5) argues, and Cohen (1979:168-69) seems cautiously to agree, that Josephus had written a separate account of affairs in at least parts of Agrippa's kingdom, and that his scavenging of that material in the *Life* to fill out his remarks on Gamala and other sections would explain some of the internal tensions within the *Life* (e.g., between §§ 177 and 186). But this still does not explain why Josephus introduced the material on Philip. Price

(1991:78 n. 5) points out that ancient and modern authors often ramble, presenting the results of their researches whether they fit a clear narrative point or not.

A simpler solution may be at hand in the rhetorical context of the *Life*. Although this little adventure story about Philip is disproportionately indulged, it also displays many characteristic features of the surrounding narrative in language and theme—especially in the theme of letters sent, intercepted, and forged: see the note to "letters" at § 48. It does not appear to have been inserted bodily from a source, even a Josephan one. Indeed, there is no reason to think that Josephus knew any of this story when he wrote the *War*, which gives a small role to Philip and even then contradicts most of the details here. Since Philip had a marriage connection to Iustus (§ 177), it is entirely plausible that Iustus had related something of Philip's story and that Josephus learned it from Iustus. Why, then, would Josephus include his own version of a story related by Iustus? Some obvious reasons: to show another honorable and heroic pro-Agrippan figure who was caught in extremely difficult circumstances, who survived by clever resourcefulness aided by divine favor, just as Josephus did, who nonetheless faced preposterous accusations from enemies but was saved from them by wise patrons, and whose exploits heighten the dramatic element of the narrative. Philip also provides a powerful negative foil for Iustus himself—the bad seed among Agrippa's clients. Whereas Philip was a good man maligned, Iustus was for Josephus a lucky man who, especially in light of his recent publication, still needed an accuser (§§ 336-67).

Finally, it is characteristic of Josephus' narrative technique in the *Life* to introduce stories, then leave them for a bit before resuming them, in order to heighten the tension. This story is a good example of that device: Philip is a compelling figure whose fate is left unresolved until §§ 179-84, 407-9.

²⁷⁵ See the note to this word at § 33.

²⁷⁶ Since this happened before Cestius' defeat in the chronology of *War* (2.433-40), and since Josephus has already mentioned Cestius' defeat (§§ 23-4, 28) and the brief appearance and death of Manaem and his bandits (§ 21), whom he will recall again in the next sentence, this must be a flashback. Philip's remarkable "rescue" from the royal palace, like Josephus' own marvelous escape from Iotapata, will in fact become a source of considerable controversy: §§ 50, 182-84, 407-10 and notes.

²⁷⁷ Greek παρὰ δόξαν, a term especially favored by Josephus: *War* 1.95, 614; 3.289, 518; 4.529; *Ant.* 2.280; 3.210; 5.40; 11.158; 15.255, 316, 388; 16.268; 17.330; 18.129, 219, 286; 19.243; *Life* 96. Cf. Herodotus 1.79.2;

into another kind of danger:²⁷⁹ he would have been disposed of by Manaem and the bandits²⁸⁰ with him. 47 But some Babylonian relatives²⁸¹ of his who were in Jerusalem prevented the bandits from doing anything.²⁸² Philip stayed on for four days, and then on the fifth he fled*,²⁸³ making use of a disguise²⁸⁴ so as not be too obvious. And after he had reached a certain one of his own villages²⁸⁵ in the hills, lying near the fortress Gamala, he sent* to some of those under him, commanding them to meet him²⁸⁶

48 Although he was making these plans, the deity thwarted²⁸⁷ them to his advantage: if this had not happened, he would certainly have died.

Philip catches fever

Suddenly catching a fever, he wrote letters²⁸⁸ for the children²⁸⁹ Agrippa and Berenice,²⁹⁰

Philip's correspondence

8.4.1, 11.3; Plato, *Resp.* 346A; 467D; 473E; Thucydides 1.41.5; 2.49.6; 3.37.5, 39.4, 93.1; 4.106.1; 8.42.3; Xenophon, *Hell.* 4.3.7; 7.5.22. For being rescued (σώζω) beyond hope or expectation, see *War* 1.331; *Ant.* 17.331.

²⁷⁸ That is, Herod's palace in W Jerusalem. Adorned with three magnificent towers, this was a huge complex of living quarters, gardens, canals, and ponds, protected by massive walls; see *War* 5.161-83. The pro-Roman aristocrats and supporters of the king had reportedly fled to the palace after their temporary success in securing the upper city, with the aid of Philip's troops, was reversed upon the reinforcement of Eleazar's rebels in the temple by the *sicarii* (*War* 2.427-29). There was also a Roman garrison in the palace, led by Metilius, the only one left in the city after Antonia was destroyed with its cohort (*War* 2.430-31). According to *War* 2.437, Manaem's forces allowed the royal contingent (οἱ βασιλικοί) and the aristocrats to escape their siege of the palace, but they treacherously killed the Romans. Since the royal force must have included Philip, this appears to be the paradoxical escape mentioned here by Josephus. Philip's remarkable escape, although the Roman contingent was then massacred, will become a point of great controversy in the *Life* (§§ 50, 182-84, 407-410).

²⁷⁹ This reference to a second jeopardy in Jerusalem, in the face of Manaem's force, is not paralleled in the *War*.

²⁸⁰ See the note to "bandits" at § 21: it was Manaem's bandits who had forced the siege of the Herodian palace.

²⁸¹ See the note to Iacimus at § 46.

²⁸² According to *Ant.* 17.23-30, Philip and his Babylonian relatives, settled in Batanea, were by tradition skilled fighters.

²⁸³ Whereas the *War* apparently leaves Philip in Jerusalem between the truce at the palace (6 Gorpaeus = Elul = some time in August) and the defeat of Cestius (*War* 2.555-56, 8 Dius = Marheshvan = late October), at which point he joins Cestius, Josephus here has him

remain for only five days after the palace escape before departing for the Golan. See Cohen 1979:162.

²⁸⁴ This is the only occurrence of περιθετός in Josephus. This rare word means vaguely "something put around [one]" and thus: a mask or perhaps even a mask with wig attached. Cf. Aristophanes, *Thesm.* 258.

²⁸⁵ That is: King Agrippa's territories, of which the Golan heights (Gaulanitis) and hence Gamala, as well as Batanea and Trachonitis, were a part (*Ant.* 20.138).

²⁸⁶ The mss. add here a mysterious την Φιλιππου, which suggests a lacuna.

²⁸⁷ Cf. Aristophanes, *Av.* 966: τὸ θεῖον ἐνεπόδιζέ με.

²⁸⁸ Much of the action and tension in the *Life* comes from the sending, interception, forging, and destruction of letters to or through enemies (§§ 89-90, 177-81, 220-23, 228-29, 241, 245, 254-55, 260, 272, 285-87, 311-12, 382-83). This episode firmly establishes the motif. On the insecurity of the ancient informal system for exchanging mail, Cicero's letters to Atticus, more than a century before Josephus, are illuminating. He repeatedly remarks on the problem of interception or unwanted perusal, and even speaks of others in code as a safeguard against this prospect (*Att.* 1.5, 13, 18).

²⁸⁹ That is: the younger Agrippa (II) and his sister Berenice, children of Agrippa I—even though they are now close to 40 years of age.

²⁹⁰ This is the first reference to (Iulia) Berenice (28-90s? CE) in the *Life*. Josephus has, however, fully introduced her in the *War* and again near the end of the *Antiquities*. Like Agrippa II, she was the child of Agrippa I and Kypros (*War* 2.217, 220-21). She reportedly attempted to prevent the revolt, appealing to the governor Gessius Florus, who treated her with contempt (*War* 2.310-14, 333). In the *Antiquities*, her three marriages are described (*Ant.* 19.276-77, 354; 20.145-46) and Josephus also notes the rumor that she was having an affair with her brother Agrippa II (20.145). Berenice was well known to Josephus' audience because in the 70s she had scandalized Roman society by becoming the foreign lover of Titus before his assumption of the principate (Suetonius, *Tit.* 7).

thwarted by
Varus

and gave them to one of his freedmen to bring to Varus.²⁹¹ **49** This man was governing²⁹² the kingdom at that time,²⁹³ since the royals had delegated him; they themselves had gone off to²⁹⁴ Berytus²⁹⁵ because they wanted to meet with Cestius. **50** On receiving the letters from Philip and discovering that he had escaped, Varus became depressed, supposing that once Philip had arrived,²⁹⁶ he himself would seem redundant to the royals for the duration.²⁹⁷ So he led out to the mob²⁹⁸ the man who had brought the letters, charged [him with] forgery, further alleged that the man was lying in reporting that Philip had fought the Romans in Jerusalem alongside the Judeans,²⁹⁹ and thus had him killed. **51** When the freedman did not return, Philip was puzzled as to the cause; he dispatched a second man with letters, to report back to him what had happened to the [former] messenger, because he had delayed so long.³⁰⁰ **52** But when this man arrived, Varus again made mischievous allegations and had him done away with.

In fact, he [Varus] was aroused by the Syrians in Caesarea³⁰¹ to contemplate grand

²⁹¹ That Josephus introduces this man here (§ 49) indicates that he does not expect the audience to remember him from earlier narratives. In the *War* (2.481-83) he was called Noarus—a slight difference in Greek, but perhaps indicating his native name—and briefly mentioned as a brutal administrator in the absence of Agrippa II, who was visiting Cestius in *Antioch*. Because of his immoderate love of money, Noarus reportedly arranged for the murder of a delegation of 70 countrymen who had come from Batanaea. A relative of King Soaemus of Emesa, he was spared execution by Agrippa II because of that familial connection. The details of the story are all different here. As to the name, it may well be that Josephus changes it to “Varus” in order to get some mileage from the literal meaning—“knock-kneed,” but more generally “warped, bent, twisted”—in contrast to Aequus Modius (“fair measure”; cf. § 61). Varus is a widely attested *cognomen* (cf. Kajanto 1965:242). As Corbeill (1996:95-6) points out, such alteration of names for rhetorical purposes (e.g., calling a sharp-tempered Placidus “Acidus”) was considered somewhat lame by Quintilian (*Inst.* 6.3.53).

²⁹² Greek διοικέω often represents the Latin “to be *praeses* [‘chief, head,’ thus ‘governor, protector’]” (H.J. Mason 1974:38), not least in Josephus’ own descriptions of Roman governors (*War* 7.420; *Ant.* 15.406; 20.105). See the note to “protector” at § 250.

²⁹³ Varus was in coastal Caesarea, as the sequel (§§ 52-3) makes clear.

²⁹⁴ This is the same verb (ἀφικνέομαι) as at §§ 14, 16, 20, 30, 47, translated in many different ways according to context.

²⁹⁵ In 16/15 BCE, Augustus had established a large Roman colony (*Colonia Iulia Augusta Felix Berytus*) in this ancient city (modern Beirut), populated by the veterans of two legions. Josephus has recently explained (*Ant.* 20.211-12) that Berytus had become a serious bone of contention between Agrippa and his subject: he

had allegedly spent huge sums of money building a theater and adorning the gentile city with expensive statuary. According to *War* 2.481, Agrippa had gone to meet with Cestius in Antioch. This would no doubt be a safe and comfortable place of retreat for the king.

²⁹⁶ Greek ἀφικνέομαι; see “gone off to” in the previous section.

²⁹⁷ It seems, then, that Varus had been entrusted with the affairs of the kingdom precisely because Philip had been unavailable, his whereabouts unknown after his involvement in Jerusalem. Philip’s return would then mean Varus’ demotion. For the perception that one leader’s promotion must come at the expense of another, cf. Josephus’ characterization of Ioannes of Gischala (§ 122).

²⁹⁸ Persuasion of the mob (τὸ πλῆθος) is a major theme in Josephus and in the *Life*: see the notes to § 40.

²⁹⁹ Josephus appears to suggest, then, that Varus was the one who initiated this durable rumor and slander against Philip (see §§ 46, 182-84, 407-10 and notes). Varus’ mischief lay not in calling what was true (that Philip had fought against the Romans) a lie, but in *seeming* to support Philip—and the absent Agrippa II—by creating the rumor about Philip’s involvement with the Romans *and* attributing it to the messenger as a lie (Greek: ψεύδεσθαι τε φήσας αὐτὸν ἀπαγγεῖλαντα—the lie was in the very reporting). Thus, Varus could at once initiate the rumor and appear to deny it out of loyalty. He uses the same tactic in § 55 below.

³⁰⁰ The story of the murdered messengers, who were representing the just claims of a master before unscrupulous usurpers, is familiar from Jesus’ parable of the wicked tenants: Mark 12:1-12.

³⁰¹ Outside of Jerusalem, no city plays a more important role in Josephus’ narratives than Caesarea Maritima. He has often spoken of this magnificent foundation by Herod the Great on the site of Strato’s Tower (*War* 1.80, 156). He has described its remarkable, na-

things:³⁰² they were saying that Agrippa would be done away with by the Romans because of the crimes committed by the Judeans, and that he [Varus] would receive the rule, being a descendant of kings.³⁰³ Varus was, admittedly, of royal ancestry—an heir³⁰⁴ of the Soaemus who had been tetrarch³⁰⁵ of Libanus.³⁰⁶ 53 So for this reason Varus, deluded,

Varus' ambition and attacks on Caesarean Judeans

ture-defying artificial harbor, colossal statues and temples, houses, streets, and amphitheater (*War* 1.408-16). See Appendix A. But the very fact that Caesarea had been built by a Judean king, yet dedicated by him to the Roman emperor with all the accoutrements of a gentile city, created serious problems. As the natural (coastal) home of prefects and procurators, a symbol of the Roman regime, it became the scene of much protest and pleading (*War* 2.171, 230, 236, 241), a flash point for Judean-Roman tensions. See Levine 1974, 1975, and articles cited in Price 1991:87 n. 38.

Most instructive as background to this scene in the *Life* is *War* 2.266-70 (cf. *Ant.* 20.173-78). Josephus claims there that a few years before the revolt broke out, when Felix was governor (mid-50s), a disturbance arose in Caesarea between its Judean inhabitants and the others. Significantly, in *War* 2.266 he first calls those others "Syrians," as here in the *Life*, and then "Greeks"—indicating that he uses both terms loosely and interchangeably for the non-Judeans (who were mainly of local ancestry but Greek-speaking; in 2.284-92, he calls them "Caesareans" over against the Judeans). In that episode, the issue was precisely the city's identity: Judean or Greek/Syrian. Violence ensued (*War* 2.267-70). A few years later, according to Josephus (*War* 2.284-92), it was the emperor Nero's decision to confirm Caesarea as a Greek city that precipitated the great revolt. That decision emboldened the gentile residents not to cooperate with requests by Judeans for land purchase. In one incident, a Greek sat sacrificing birds while the Judeans were forced to file close by him on their way to synagogue (2.289). The resulting riots and the perceived role of the governor as a catalyst to disorder marked the beginning of a chain reaction that ended in war with the Romans.

As soon as the revolt had begun in earnest, according to *War* 2.457, Caesarea was the first city to massacre its Judean population, more than 20,000 in one hour, emptying the city of Judeans. Here in the *Life*, by contrast, Josephus says that Varus killed *many* of the Judeans at Caesarea (§ 53), but was prevented from killing tens of thousands more—in a single day—by his removal (§ 61).

³⁰² For the same phrase (Greek μέγα φρονεῖν), see already §§ 17, 43.

³⁰³ Of Varus' ancestors we know only the name of Soaemus, mentioned by Josephus in the next sentence. It is possible, however, that Varus' ancestry went back further to the first-century BCE Iturean kings Ptolemy

Mennaëus and Lysanias (see Schürer-Vermes 1.563-65). As the following notes indicate, Varus appears to assess the situation thus: Although he has been given a place in Agrippa's kingdom that is second to Philip son of Iacimus, so that he can only take a leading role when Philip is out of the picture, he considers himself not only superior to Philip, a mere soldier, but the equal of Agrippa, a fellow descendant of royalty. Josephus presents a compelling novelistic backdrop, brief though it is, for Varus' envy and ambition.

³⁰⁴ Although the Greek ἑγγονος most properly means "grandson," we should not insist upon that meaning here in view of: its ambiguity at § 2; a parallel vagueness in other ancient texts (cf. LSJ, *s.v.*); and the improbability that this Varus of the mid-60s was already the grandson of the Soaemus who died in 49 CE. According to *War* 2.247, Claudius gave "the former tetrarchy of Varus" to Agrippa II in about 53 CE. It seems likeliest that this Varus, who inherited the tetrarchy from his father in 49 CE and lost it to Agrippa after five years, is the same one who was active as Agrippa's senior aide in 66 CE. See the following notes.

³⁰⁵ According to *War* 2.487, Varus (Noarus) was simply "related by ancestry" to a King Soaemus. Shortly afterward, Josephus mentions a King Soaemus of Emesa (*War* 2.501), who contributed 4000 troops to Cestius' initial effort at quashing the Judean revolt. Located in inland Syria on the Orontes River, Emesa was the former capital of a post-Seleucid Arabian kingdom, now allied with Rome, and future source of two emperors (Elagabalus and Severus Alexander in the early third century CE). According to *Ant.* 20.158, Soaemus became overlord or king (cf. 20.139) of Emesa in 54 CE, when King Azizus—who had submitted to circumcision in order to marry Drusilla, sister of Agrippa II—died. This Soaemus would serve well for Varus' living royal relative in the *War*.

But that living relative is evidently a different Soaemus from the person named here as Varus' progenitor and the basis of his claim to royalty. Tacitus (*Ann.* 12.23) and Cassius Dio (59.12.2) mention a client king (*rex*) Soaemus who was a contemporary of Agrippa I (d. 44 CE), who received "Iturea" from Gaius Caligula in about 38 CE, and whose territory passed back to the Roman province of Syria upon his death, apparently in 49 CE. Josephus claims further (*War* 2.247) that in about 53 CE, Claudius expanded the kingdom of Agrippa II by giving him the "former tetrarchy of Varus." Since the Varus of this passage in the *Life* is

kept the letters to himself, contriving that the king would not peruse the documents. He set about having all the exits patrolled, so that no one might escape and report to the king what was taking place. And now, obliging the Syrians in Caesarea,³⁰⁷ he killed many of the Judeans.³⁰⁸

Varus plans to attack Ecbatana; the "Babylonian Judeans" flee

54 He further planned to take up weapons, with those of Trachonitis³⁰⁹ in Batanea,³¹⁰ and attack the "Babylonian Judeans"³¹¹—for this is how they are called—³¹² of Ecbatana.³¹³

55 So he summoned the twelve most respected Judeans in Caesarea and commanded them to go off to³¹⁴ Ecbatana, to their residents³¹⁵ there, and to say:

identified as the offspring of Soaemus the tetrarch, and since Soaemus the tetrarch of Iturea died in 49 CE, the pieces would fit together if this Varus continued to hold a portion of his father Soaemus' tetrarchy for a short period (49-53 CE) after the tetrarchy as a whole had reverted to Rome (so Schürer-Vermes 1.570). That standing might also explain why Agrippa II, who absorbed Varus' tetrarchy into his kingdom, would entrust Varus with administering his kingdom, and why Varus would be so eager to govern—if there is some truth behind this point of agreement in Josephus' two different stories: *War* 2.481-83 and *Life* 48-58. Josephus' Roman audience would not need to know much specific background in order to recognize the pathetic figure of a native Eastern ruler dislodged by Roman intervention, bitter and ambitious to recover his former status. And perhaps the name of the Iturean Soaemus was even vaguely familiar to them.

³⁰⁶ Josephus' reference here to a tetrarchy of Libanus (Mt. Lebanon) seems to reveal accurate knowledge. After the collapse of the Seleucid regime (early second century BCE), the Iturean Arabs based in Mt. Lebanon and the Beka'a valley had come to control vast stretches of land throughout Syria. Their fame as expert archers would persist for centuries (Schürer-Vermes 1.562 and notes). Although most of their territory was formally incorporated by Pompey into the province of Syria in 64 BCE, for much of the new province the situation on the ground appears to have remained uncertain. A valuable inscription from the time of Quirinius' governorship in Syria (from 6 CE) commemorates the campaign of his prefect Q. Aemilius Secundus against "the Itureans on Mt. Lebanon (*adversus Ituraeos in Libano monte*)" (*CIL* 3.6687). Some of the province was evidently still restive long after its creation (cf. Strabo, *Geogr.* 16.2.18-20 [755-56]). In the new Schürer-Vermes (1.569), M. Wilcox speculates: that only this successful Roman challenge brought an end to the rump kingdom of the Itureans (which had already been divided into four pieces); that the area of the new tetrarchy granted by Gaius to Soaemus in 38 CE represented only a small section of the former kingdom, following the Orontes from its source N to Laodicea ad Libanum; and that the capital of Soaemus' tetrarchy was Arca

(Caesarea ad Libanum), W of the river. See Schürer-Vermes 1.561-73; Millar 1993:35-6, 273-74, 310-11, 506.

³⁰⁷ See the note to this phrase in § 52.

³⁰⁸ See the note to "Caesarea" in § 52.

³⁰⁹ Literally "rough area," Trachonitis was the uneven field of broken lava some 40 km S of Damascus, in the area now known as the Leja, NW of Auranitis and E/NE of Batanea proper, in spite of this statement of Josephus' that it was in Batanea (see Schürer-Vermes 1.337-38; Millar 1993:36-7). A traditional home of robbers, it was the region against which Herod would establish Ecbatana as a defense (see following notes). Given to Herod by Augustus (*War* 1.398-400), then to Philip (*War* 1.668; *Ant.* 17.189, 319; 18.106), it passed into the Kingdom of Agrippa I in about 53 CE (*Ant.* 20.138).

³¹⁰ The remnant of the biblical Bashan, but more confined in scope: essentially the region E and NE of Gaulanitis, which was immediately E of Lake Gennesar. See Schürer-Vermes 1.336-37 n.2.

³¹¹ Varus' plan is not gratuitous: these are precisely the people of Philip son of Iacimus, Varus' rival. They are descendants of the Babylonian fighters settled in Batanea by Herod the Great to protect Judea from Trachonitis (*Ant.* 17.23). See the note to "Iacimus" at § 46. Varus wishes finally to undo the Herodian primacy in the region, which has been so detrimental to his own family's interests, by openly attacking Philip's base and undermining Agrippa II's authority.

³¹² Josephus signals his awareness that the name may sound odd to his audience, but also that he does not wish to explain it further here. See previous note.

³¹³ Recalling the famous Median city, evidently, the Babylonian Judeans of Batanea gave the name Ecbatana to one of their own towns. The name, is, however, otherwise unattested in this region and the site has not been identified. According to *Ant.* 17.26, the original transplanted Babylonians had named their settlement Bathyra, the location of which is also uncertain.

³¹⁴ Greek ἀφικνέομαι, translated differently at §§ 14, 16, 20, 30, 47, 49.

³¹⁵ See note to "neighbors" at § 26.

“Varus has heard that you are going to attack the king. But because he does not believe it,³¹⁶ he has sent us to persuade you to lay down your weapons. For this will serve as certain proof to him that he was right not to believe those who are talking about you.”

*from there to
Gamala*

56 He also ordered that their principals should send seventy men to defend them against the charge that had been alleged.³¹⁷ So the twelve came to their compatriots in Ecbatana and, when they found on arrival that they were not contemplating revolution, persuaded them to send the seventy. **57** They [the townsfolk] sent them off, not suspecting how this would turn out. These men went down to Caesarea with the twelve envoys. Coming out to meet them with the royal force, then, Varus had them all killed along with the envoys;³¹⁸ he now began to make his way toward the Judeans of Ecbatana.³¹⁹ **58** But one of the seventy men who had escaped overtook him and reported this to them. So they took up weapons and, with their wives and children, withdrew to the fortress Gamala,³²⁰ leaving behind villages filled with many good things and stocked with many tens of thousands of cattle.

59 When he discovered these things, Philip also came to the fortress Gamala. Upon his arrival, the mob cried out, appealing to him to become their leader and to make war on Varus and the Syrians in Caesarea.³²¹ For it was widely believed that the king had been killed by these men.³²² **60** Philip tried to restrain their impulses, however.³²³ Recalling some of the king's benefactions towards them, and describing in detail the magnitude of the Romans' power—it would not be productive, he said, to undertake a war with these³²⁴—, he finally convinced them. **61** Now when the king discovered that in a single

*Philip comes to
Gamala and
maintains
peace*

³¹⁶ This is the same tactic as Varus had used at § 50: both inventing a lie and then seeming to deny it as a pretext for unjust behavior.

³¹⁷ According to *War* 2.482 by contrast, the 70 noblemen from Batanea came of their own accord, to request a royal force in order to suppress any insurgency in their region.

³¹⁸ According to *War* 2.483, Varus sent out a squad of armed soldiers by night to massacre the delegation.

³¹⁹ According to *War* 2.483, rather than proceeding to Batanea, Varus continues to mistreat his countrymen where he is, until Agrippa intervenes.

³²⁰ In *War* 2.481-83, the parallel story has no connection whatsoever to Gamala, which remains anti-Roman and anti-Agrippan (*War* 4.2-4) under Josephus' control as general.

³²¹ See the note to this phrase at § 52. The logic of Josephus' account falters a little here, for he now assumes that the characters in the story are aware of his own narrative connections—that it was the Syrians of Caesarea who had incited Varus to kill the Judeans there (§ 50). It is perhaps his realization of this flaw that leads him to the following explanatory sentence, to provide an *immediate* motive for attacking the Caesareans. But that sentence does not fit particularly well with what follows. See n. 324.

³²² See the previous note. This sentence appears as an afterthought on Josephus' part, to give the Bataneans

some urgent reason for complaint against the Caesarean gentiles. It is not clear, however, how a burning desire of the pro-Roman Bataneans to attack the Caesareans out of *loyalty* to the presumably slain king should have been assuaged by the following appeal (§ 60), which recalls the king's benefactions and the insuperable power of the Romans. This appeal seems to urge loyalty to the king and to Rome in the face of some desire to defect. See n. 324.

³²³ Thus Philip is an ideal general, exhibiting self-control and clemency in spite of the mob's impulses, much like Josephus himself (§§ 169, 307, 329, 375, 385, 388) and Titus (§ 417).

³²⁴ See the note to “men” at § 59. At this point in the narrative it is hard to see how Philip's effort to dissuade the mob from opposing the king and the Romans fits with the preceding section (§ 59), in which they wish to attack Varus and the Syrians out of *loyalty* to the king—in the belief that they have killed him. One might conceivably understand it in a convoluted way, viz.: The loyal Bataneans who have fled to Gamala hear that the king has been killed and so wish to wreak vengeance on the Syrians of Caesarea. Philip persuades them that this would be seen, irrespective of its motive, as an attack on Rome and that it would also be a blot on the memory of the king, who had been good to them. But this reading would not fully explain Philip's tone, which seems to oppose some movement toward rebel-

day Varus was* about to dispose of the Judeans living in Caesarea,³²⁵ who were* many tens of thousands including their wives and children, he summoned* him, having sent Aequus Modius³²⁶ as his successor, as we have explained elsewhere.³²⁷

summary:
Philip at
Gamala

So Philip kept the fortress Gamala and the surrounding countryside standing firm in loyalty to the Romans.³²⁸

Josephus and
colleagues
receive confir-
mation of their

(12) 62 After I had arrived in Galilee and learned these things³²⁹ from those who reported them,³³⁰ I wrote* to the congress³³¹ of the Jerusalemites and I asked* what they instructed* me to do. They appealed to³³² me to remain there, retaining my fellow envoys³³³

lion (why did loyal Bataneans need convincing of Rome's power of the king's benefactions?). More probably, Josephus has failed here to separate out the two quite different constituencies that he will identify at §§ 183 and 185 below: the native Gamalites (= the "mob" in § 59?), who indeed are bent on revolt (cf. *War* 4.2-4), and the Batanean refugees from Varus, who are loyal to Agrippa II and therefore eager to avenge him on Varus. Josephus cannot be very concerned that his audience follow the details here.

³²⁵ See the note to § 51: *War* 2.457 asserts that the Caesareans killed 20,000 Judeans in one hour at the outset of the revolt, emptying the city of Judeans.

³²⁶ Nothing is known of this man outside of the *Life*, though he appears here as an old and close friend of Philip's (§ 180). In §§ 180-81 he will be called "Modius Aequus" and simply Modius, indicating that Modius is the *nomen* and Aequus the *cognomen*. In support of this conclusion, *ILS* 246 evinces Aequus as a *cognomen*, and the *nomen* Modius occurs 15 times in that corpus (index s.v.). Kajanto (1964:255) identifies six men and four women with the *cognomen* Aequus or Aequa. Yet here and at § 114 the order is reversed. If we ask why Josephus should reverse the names at this first occurrence, the reason may lie in their literal meaning: "fair [*aequus*] measure [*modius*]," which suits the character's role as a trustworthy "white knight," finally bringing justice to repair the damage done by Varus (literally: "twisted, knock-kneed, warped, bent"). On the use of names to score rhetorical points, see Cicero, *Att.* 2.1 (where Cicero's nemesis P. Clodius Pulcher is called Pulchelli, "that little beauty") and Corbeill 1996:57-98.

³²⁷ Although *War* 2.483 mentioned Agrippa's deposing Varus, it made no mention of his successor. By withholding for quite some time (cf. § 179-80) the story of Agrippa's discovery that Philip is still alive and loyal, and by having Agrippa even appoint a successor, Josephus builds suspense in the narrative.

³²⁸ With this phrase, Josephus closes the scene at Gamala by recalling the topic sentence of § 46. This alleged pro-Romanism of Gamala in the period following the defeat of Cestius does not, however, match

War's claim (4.3-4) that the town had been consistently resistant to Roman rule under Josephus' command as general of the revolt.

³²⁹ Thus Josephus has now completed the initial investigative phase recommended by Plutarch (*Mor.* 798B-F), wherein the new public official seeks first to understand the character of the citizens who are to be governed. He must determine their character so that he can aim to satisfy their expectations in order to win over their trust. Just as Plutarch lists several different states with different characters as examples, Josephus has introduced a number of cities and individuals with quite different traits. Now he is in a position to win their favor and gently lead them towards his goals.

³³⁰ Thus Josephus has not so much been travelling around Galilee as gathering intelligence (at Sepphoris: § 64) from various places through informants.

³³¹ Greek τὸ συνέδριον. Although this is the Greek term from which the Hebrew סנהדרין (Sanhedrin) is borrowed, Josephus does not normally use the Greek word in a technical way, of a standing parliament, council, or supreme court (see Goodman 1987:113-16; McLaren 1991:188-222; Sanders 1992:472-90). Usually the word is anarthrous, signifying an ad hoc meeting, of a king's or ruler's "friends" (see the note to "friends" at § 72). In a couple of other cases, Josephus includes the article, as if referring to a known deliberative body (*Ant.* 14.167-80; 15.173). But normally, such a standing body is the senate (ἡ γερουσία) or council (ἡ βουλή; cf. S. Mason 1995:142-77). In the *Life*, the latter of these terms is reserved for the city council of the πόλις Tiberias, except at § 204 where the reference is to Jerusalem. Here in the *Life*, in any case, τὸ συνέδριον (with article) plainly indicates the group of leaders in Jerusalem to whom Josephus is responsible, elsewhere called "the principal men" (οἱ πρόωτοι) at § 28, "the general assembly" (see the note at § 65), the "chief priests and principal men of the Pharisees" (§ 21), and once the "council" (§ 204). The relationship between this war-time assembly and the ordinary standing council remains unclear.

³³² One of Josephus' favorite verbs in the *Life* is παρακαλέω, which is difficult to translate consistently

if the latter so desired, and to make provision³³⁴ for the Galilee. **63** But having realized considerable wealth from the tithes³³⁵ given to them, which they collected as their due because they were priests,³³⁶ my fellow envoys determined to return home. When I had appealed to them, however, to remain until we should establish matters,³³⁷ they are persuaded.

mission from Jerusalem

64 So with them I took up from the city of the Sepphorites³³⁸ and came* to a certain village called Bethmaus,³³⁹ four stadia³⁴⁰ away from Tiberias. From there I sent to the

Josephus announces plan to

because of its many applications: invite, exhort (with a degree of moral force), require. “Invite” is suggested here by “if they so desired,” and by the fact that the delegates only stayed for a time because they were *persuaded*. In any case, the fact that Josephus was called upon to stay no matter what the others did (also that he wrote the letter) indicates that he understands himself as the leader of this group, even in the minds of the Jerusalemite leaders.

³³³ That is, the priests Ioazar and Iudas mentioned at § 29, who have dropped from the story in the meantime. It will soon turn out (§§ 63, 73) that they, like the stereotypical Roman official sent to govern a province (*Ant.* 18.172), are chiefly concerned with amassing personal fortunes. Of course these motives for entering public life are denounced by Plutarch (*Mor.* 798E).

³³⁴ Only twice (§§ 15, 425) in the *Life* does Josephus predicate πρόνοια (“providence, provision, forethought, watchful care”) of the deity, in keeping with the major theme of the *Antiquities* identified by Attridge (see the note to “provision of God” at § 15). Otherwise, and beginning with this passage, he normally uses the word of his own virtue in “making provision” (ποιέω πρόνοιαν) for those under his care in the Galilee (*Life* 62, 68, 74, 77, 121, 160, 184, 369, 389). The Latin *providentia* has the same possibilities for divine and human application. Josephus anticipates this theme of his public life when he speaks of providing for his colleagues imprisoned at Rome (§ 16). Compare Plutarch’s concern (*Mor.* 824C; cf. 817D) that the chief occupation of the statesman is to make provision, or exercise forethought (προνοεῖν), for the prevention of disturbance, factionalism (στάσις), or revolution.

³³⁵ The Bible mandates that the tribe of Levi (including the hereditary priesthood), since it was not permitted to own land, derive its sustenance from a tenth share (here δέκατη) of the nation’s produce (Num 18:21-6). The priests receive a tenth of the Levites’ tenth (Num 18:26). But Deuteronomy conceives of the tithe as an offering to be consumed in Jerusalem (Deut 12:17-18) in two of every three years, reserving the third year’s offering for the support of the landless (Levites, foreigners, widows, and orphans) in one’s home town (Deut 14:28-9; 26:12). To reconcile these disparate requirements, later tradition distinguished a

first tithe (for the Levites and priests anywhere) from an additional second (eaten in Jerusalem) and third (for the landless, every third year). See the Mishnaic order *Zera’im* (“seeds”) with its various tractates on aspects of tithing. All of the staple foods (grain, wine, and oil) were subject to these taxes, as were seeds and animals of both herd and flock (Deut 14:22-7). The tithe in question here, then, would be the “first tithe.” Josephus describes the tithes at *Ant.* 4.68, 205, 240-43 and reports terrible abuses of the system at *Ant.* 20.205-7.

The concept of tithing would not have been strange to Josephus’ Roman audience. The Roman tithe (*decuma*) was assessed on the E provinces until the late republic, and persisted in Sicily at least after that (*CAH* 10.313, 437, 602).

³³⁶ Contrast Josephus’ own behavior as he reports it in § 80: so far did he remain from any unseemliness that he did not even accept the tithes due him as a priest.

³³⁷ In fact, their lingering only means (so Josephus) that they will have further opportunities for financial enrichment (§ 73).

³³⁸ It seems, then, that Josephus has simply come to Sepphoris and there received intelligence reports concerning the rest of Galilee. See note to “Galilee” at § 30. Only now will he begin to make the round of the cities trying gently to establish his leadership and policies.

³³⁹ Modern Naser e-Din, a small village NW of Tiberias. See Appendix A.

³⁴⁰ Roughly 0.5 miles, 0.8 km. The Greek στάδιον, originally the length of a single plough furrow, signified both the athletic stadium facility (§§ 92, 331) and a measure of distance on which it was based, as here. As a measure, the στάδιον was 600 feet, though the crucial definition of a “foot” (πούς or *pes*, based on the human foot) varied from place to place: from the Attic and Roman feet (11.64 and 11.65 in.) to their Olympic (12.6 in.) and Aeginetan (13.1 in.) counterparts. Because of this basic difference, *stadia* differed regionally by as much as 75 English ft. To complicate matters further, in Judea and the Near East, such Greco-Roman measures were often adjusted to suit older Mesopotamian standards; so a στάδιον might be as short as 180 m. See Powell 1992. Finally, Josephus’ *stadia* are almost always given as multiples of 10 (§§ 115, 118, 157, 214, 234, 265, 281, 349, 395), for sites in the Galilean

destroy
Herodian pal-
ace in Tiberias

Tiberian council³⁴¹ and appealed to the principal men³⁴² of the populace to join me. **65** When they arrived—and Iustus had come along with them³⁴³—I started saying³⁴⁴ that I had been sent to them along with these men³⁴⁵ by the general assembly³⁴⁶ of the

heartland, suggesting that he does not mean to be exact. Distances around Lake Gennesar, perhaps more familiar and easier to measure, are given more precisely (here and §§ 322, 398, 399).

Gauging Josephus' *stadion* is not easy, then, because of his round numbers and because of the hilly terrain throughout much of Galilee: our aerial measures may not correspond well to the ground actually traveled, over routes that we cannot recover precisely. One of the surest controls is the distance between Tiberias and Tarichea on the W side of Lake Gennesar. Both ancient sites are known through archaeology, and Josephus must have known the route very well, since he traveled it often. Moreover, the ground is level. We measure this distance as about 6 km and Josephus gives it as 30 *stadia* (§ 157). Thus, his στάδιον is about 200 meters or 0.2 km. Dividing his distances by 8 produces a rough equivalent in miles. This system works remarkably well for some distances in central Lower Galilee. Thus, he gives 60 *stadia* from Chabul to Ptolemais (§ 214), whereas we measure 13-14 km (depending upon where he draws the limit of the latter). He gives 40 *stadia* from Iotapata to Gabara (§ 234), a distance that measures 7 km aurally. And he has 20 *stadia* between Sogane and Gabara (§ 265), a distance of 4.5 km aurally. His figure for Tiberias – Scythopolis (120 *stadia*; § 349) is far too short, however, as is his 30 *stadia* for Tiberias—Hippos (§ 349), which is about 8 km (40 *stadia*) even from shore to shore. It is understandable that these numbers would be mistaken, however, since Josephus was not in a position to make the trips to these Greek cities during the revolt.

³⁴¹ Greek βουλή. As Avi-Yonah (1950:160-9) and Schürer-Vermes (2.179-80) show (cf. A. H. M. Jones 1971:275-76), Tiberias had a fairly typical Hellenistic constitution with a council (*Life* 169, 284, 300, 313, 381), a council president or ἄρχων (§§ 134, 271, 278, 294, 300), a board of 10 (§§ 33, 69, 168, 296), and various magistracies (*Ant.* 18.149). According to *War* 2.641, this council numbered 600—larger than the Athenian council of 400 (under Solon) or 500 (under Cleisthenes), so perhaps an overestimation by Josephus.

³⁴² Greek οἱ πρότεροι τοῦ δήμου. It is unclear whether these principal men overlap with the council members (expegetically) or whether they are a separate group. The more natural reading here probably suggests a distinction, which is supported by § 169: Josephus makes prisoners first of “the entire council” of the Tiberians and *then* of at least as many “principal men of the people.” If the council numbered 600 (so *War*

2.641), then there were at least 600 principal men besides. Indeed, the *War* parallel (2.641) numbers 2,000 arrested citizens in addition to the council. On the other hand, in §§ 64, 66, and 69, although Josephus continues to make a slight distinction between the council (or Capella's group, or Capella) and the principal men, it becomes increasingly harder to see the difference, for Capella leads both. Moreover, at the end of this section (§ 69) Josephus refers to “the 10 principal men of the council” (οἱ τῆς βουλῆς πρότεροι δέκα) led by Capella, and at § 296 to “the ten principal men of the Tiberians” led by Capella, which must be the same group. On balance, it seems safest to identify the 10-man board, led by Capella, as an executive subcommittee of the council, which came to see Josephus along with a few other “principal men” including Iustus. On the board of 10, see further the note to “principal men” at § 69.

³⁴³ Iustus' relationship to “the principal men” is left slightly ambiguous here, though the language suggests that he is an *ad hoc* addition rather than a member of the 10-man board. Clearly, he was a man of high standing in the Tiberian community (§ 40) and thus would belong among the principal men in the larger sense (see previous note). In §§ 169 and 175, where Josephus distinguishes the Tiberian council from “the principal men of the people,” rather than making the latter a subset of the former as here (cf. §§ 69, 296), Iustus and his father appear among the latter group (§ 175: “the mob”) and not even among the councilors.

³⁴⁴ See the note to “said” at § 22.

³⁴⁵ That is, Josephus' colleagues Ioazar and Iudas (§ 29).

³⁴⁶ This is the first occurrence in the *Life* of τὸ κοινόν, a term that Josephus will use often to describe Jerusalem's governing body during the revolt: §§ 72, 190, 254, 267, 309, 341, 393. He has rarely used the word in this sense elsewhere (*Ant.* 6.17). From its most literal meaning (“the common or shared [something]”) we might infer that Josephus wishes to stress “coalition government,” “junta” (in the archaic Spanish sense), “federation,” or the like. Herodotus (3.80, 84, 156: τὰ κοινά) and Thucydides (1.90.5, 91.7; 2.12.2; 4.58.1), however, sometimes use this term for the governing assembly, which seems to be Josephus' main sense here. For all of these writers, the term easily shades into “the general public” or “the commonwealth” (e.g., *Ant.* 17.285; 18.300), which in Josephus' case adds legitimacy to his appointment. He appears to use the term interchangeably with τὸ συνέδριον (here: “the congress”) at § 62. It may be that he reserves τὸ κοινόν

Jerusalemites, to persuade them that the house³⁴⁷ of Herod the tetrarch,³⁴⁸ which had been constructed containing animal forms (the laws forbid such construction),³⁴⁹ should be demolished.³⁵⁰ I appealed to them as to whether we might deal with this matter quickly. **66** Although for a long time the group around Capella³⁵¹ and their [the Tiberians'] principal men³⁵² did not wish to yield,³⁵³ under pressure from us they fell into line*.³⁵⁴

for the war-time situation because the revolt represented, to some degree, the repudiation of traditional aristocratic government, which had lost its credibility and effectiveness (*War* 2.417, 426-29, 455-56). The governing body now, as Josephus everywhere says, comprised both the chief priests *and other leaders* (*War* 2.240, 243, 301, 316, 318, 331, 336, 410, 422, 428, 648; *Life* 194: "many of the chief priests and prominent members of the mob"). Leaders of the Pharisees are singled out for mention (*War* 2.411; *Life* 21). Cf. Price 1992:63-7.

³⁴⁷ It appears that Josephus refers only to the personal residence (Greek οἶκος) of the tetrarch or king, rather than the larger palace complex: he becomes infuriated when Iesus' men burn down "the entire palace" (§ 66) on the ground that many of the buildings (οἶκοι) have golden roofs.

³⁴⁸ See the notes to "Tiberias" at § 31 and to "Tetrarch" at § 37. The palace built by Antipas would have become Agrippa II's residence when he was in Tiberias, and so the most easily accessible symbol of Roman and royal power for the Tiberians to attack. It would also have been a relatively safe target, with Agrippa away in Berytus or elsewhere and in the absence of a Roman force. If Josephus wished to choose a target that would bring him considerable respect from the rebellious masses but without much in the way of consequences (if he managed the demolition and quietly preserved the expensive contents for the king; cf. § 68), this would probably be it.

³⁴⁹ This explanation again reflects Josephus' awareness of his gentile audience. The law in question is the second commandment of the decalogue (Exod. 20:4-6; cf. *Ant.* 3.91). Judeans were renowned throughout the ancient world for their reverence of an imageless God (Tacitus, *Ann.* 5.5; Juvenal, *Sat.* 14.96), which intersected neatly with the Greco-Roman philosophers' critique of anthropomorphism (Xenophanes, frags. 10, 19-20; Theophrastus *ap.* Porphyry, *Abst.* 2.26; Megasthenes *ap.* Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 1.15.72; Diodorus Siculus, 40.3.4; Strabo, *Geogr.* 16.2.35; *Apion* 1.179; Diogenes Laertius 1.6; Momigliano 1971:85-94; Mélèze-Modrzejewski 1990; Feldman 1993:201-4). Although Antipas' known coins do not bear animal or human images, but only a reed or wreath (Meshorer 1982:2.35-41) out of deference to the Judean sector of the populace, it was to be expected that his palace would contain such images. Even his father's temple

construction in Jerusalem, though otherwise restrained in this respect, bore the golden sculpture of an eagle over its main gate, and this had caused serious opposition generations before Josephus' time (*War* 1.649-55; *Ant.* 17.151).

³⁵⁰ Since Josephus has nowhere mentioned to the audience such a charge from Jerusalem; since he introduces this mission with the same verb (λέγω) that he often uses for deceits (see note to "saying" and to "said" at §22); since he appears to propose the destruction of the palace in conjunction with the presence of Iustus, who has been successful in whipping the mob into an anti-Agrippan and anti-Roman fervor (§§ 37-9; contrast Laqueur 1920:47; Cohen 1979:137); since we should otherwise expect Josephus to side secretly with Iulius Capella's group (cf. § 34, 67, 69); and since, after proposing speedy action on this front, he immediately leaves town (§67), we should perhaps infer that this is but the first of Josephus' many clever deceits, intended to ingratiate himself with popular sentiment in order to win the people's trust. He only *appears* to be opposing the group (Capella's) with which he is actually in the closest sympathy.

³⁵¹ Mss. RAMW read "Capellus," consistently with § 32. But see the note at § 32: Capella is the more likely form of the Latin name. Presumably this is the same Iulius Capella, since Josephus mentions him without further introduction. Capella's connection with the principal men (here a 10-man sub-group of the council—§ 69) is left ambiguous. He is always mentioned in addition to the board (§§ 67, 69, 269): either he was separate from it or he was its most conspicuous member. Certainly, he seems to control the board (§§ 66, 69). This fits with Josephus' description of the eminence of Capella and his associates at § 32. Note, however, that Iesus son of Sapphias (see the note in this section) is the president (ᾠρχων) of the Tiberian council as a whole.

³⁵² See the note to "principal men" at § 64.

³⁵³ According to §§ 33-4, Capella's group had declared firmly for loyalty to Rome and King Agrippa.

³⁵⁴ In view of Josephus' immediate departure after reaching this agreement and outrage at Iesus' preemptive action (§ 66-7), it appears either that the agreement with Capella was merely for show (and that nothing was in fact to be done) or—more probably—that Josephus had persuaded Capella that his group, as the authorized local leaders, should manage the demolition

Iesous son of Sapphias' group pre-empt Josephus, burning the palace and stealing its treasures

But Iesous the son of Sapphias,³⁵⁵ whom we first identified³⁵⁶ at the head of a rebel faction of sailors and ingrates,³⁵⁷ pre-empted* us.³⁵⁸ Taking along some Galileans,³⁵⁹ he set fire to the entire palace,³⁶⁰ intending to realize considerable wealth³⁶¹ from this action, for he observed that the roofs³⁶² of some buildings³⁶³ had been made of gold.³⁶⁴ 67 Having acted contrary to our intention,³⁶⁵ they seized a great deal of plunder. For we, after our conversation with Capella³⁶⁶ and the principal men³⁶⁷ of the Tiberians, had withdrawn from Bethmaus into upper Galilee.³⁶⁸ Further, Iesous' group disposed* of all the resident Greeks³⁶⁹ and everyone else who had been their adversaries before the war.³⁷⁰

as a public spectacle to placate the masses, with the secret understanding that the plunder would in any case be kept for the king (§ 68).

³⁵⁵ This man has not yet been mentioned in the *Life*. *War* 2.599 identifies him as the council president (ἄρχων) of Tiberias who opposed Josephus. In *War* 3.450-52, Iesous son of Saphat (or Toupha!), apparently the same man, leads the resistance against Vespasian and Titus in the otherwise placid Tiberias. He is called there “the ringleader of the bandit gang” (2.450). Iesous is forced to flee to Tarichea when the city surrenders to Vespasian (3.457), then disappears into the countryside when Tarichea is taken by Titus (3.497-98). Outside of the present passage, Iesous appears also in the *Life* in the rather distinguished role of council president (ἄρχων): §§ 134, 278, 294, 300.

³⁵⁶ The verb is φημί, common in the *Life* and necessarily translated in different ways (see Index to Greek Words). For the phrase, ὃν ἔφαμεν + infinitive, see *War* 4.208 (with respect to Ioannes of Gischala); *Ant.* 5.235; 20.199; *Life* 122.

³⁵⁷ Josephus has not in fact mentioned this faction in the *Life*. Conceivably it is connected with the briefly mentioned party of “the insignificant” in § 35, said there to be headed by Iustus' father Pistus, or more distantly with the conveniently vague Tiberian “bandit gang” of *War* 3.450-52 (headed by Iesous). There is a general problem with Josephus' repeated reference to non-existent antecedents in his descriptions of Tiberian affairs; cf. §§ 86, 89, 168. In any case, Josephus here misleads his audience about Iesous' status: see the note to “Sapphias” in this section. Given that Josephus implausibly places Iustus at the head of the militant faction (§§ 36-42, 391), it is possible that he has edited out Iesous from that first description of the Tiberian factions in order to slander Iustus by substituting a description of him there.

Luther (1910:39) dismisses Josephus' description of Iesous' following as mere slander, whereas Rajak (1973:347) takes it as evidence that Iesous held his office of ἄρχων by democratic vote: this would then be Josephus' condescending characterization of Iesous' actual constituency.

³⁵⁸ Even though he was council president (see note to “Sapphias” in this section), Iesous was evidently not part

of the 10-man board with whom Josephus conferred about demolishing the palace. For although Josephus entrusted the spoils of the palace to that board, under Capella (§ 69), later in the *Life* Iesous does not know what has become of them. He is invited by Josephus to question Capella and the 10-man board (§§ 295-96). Iesous' action thus appears entirely independent. This incidentally confirms Josephus' identification of the palace as the ideal target for the leader who would win popular support (see note to “demolished” at § 65): Iesous beat him to it, but with much greater vigor.

³⁵⁹ Thus Iesous fulfills Iustus' plan to enlist the rural Galileans in their anti-royal campaign (cf. § 39).

³⁶⁰ See the note to “house” in § 65.

³⁶¹ Josephus uses very similar phrasing of his priestly colleagues at § 63.

³⁶² Or: ceilings.

³⁶³ See the note to “house” in § 65.

³⁶⁴ Thus, whereas Josephus had at least represented the Jerusalem assembly's motive as piety, Iesous (as Josephus' opponents typically) is driven by greed.

³⁶⁵ Greek γνώμη. See the note to “opinions” at § 22.

³⁶⁶ Mss. RAMW read “Capellus,” consistently with § 32. See the note there.

³⁶⁷ See the note to “principal men” at § 64.

³⁶⁸ That is: the uplands of Galilee, which happen also to be the N region. See the introduction to Appendix A. See the note to “line” at § 66: it appears that Josephus had left the demolition of Herod's personal residence to Capella and the 10-man board.

³⁶⁹ Describing the foundation of Tiberias, *Ant.* 18.37 mentions only a “promiscuous rabble” comprised of Galileans, slaves, and forced immigrants from other territory subject to Antipas. That other territory would be chiefly Perea (*Ant.* 17.318; 18.240). “Greeks” may have come to the city from there at its founding, and no doubt a number of others came for business-related reasons when Tiberias became the tetrarch's capital.

³⁷⁰ By noting that these victims had been opponents *before* the war, Josephus removes any conceivable justification for Iesous' action; rather than fighting nobly, he was taking the opportunity to redress old grievances. Iesous thus exceeds the bounds of even basic justice, behaving just as the Greek majorities had done in other cities (§§ 24-7).

(13) 68 When I found out about³⁷¹ these events, I became utterly furious.³⁷² I went down³⁷³ to Tiberias to provide care for the royal furnishings—to secure as much as possible from the plunderers. There were Corinthian candelabra, tables belonging to the royals, and a large stash of uncoined silver.³⁷⁴ All of it, whatever I took, I determined to keep for the king.³⁷⁵ 69 So I sent for the ten principal men³⁷⁶ of the [Tiberian] council and³⁷⁷ Capella³⁷⁸ son of Antyllus,³⁷⁹ and handed over the furnishings, charging³⁸⁰ them to give them to no one else but me.³⁸¹

Josephus recovers the plunder, gives it to Capella's group

70 From there I proceeded to Gischala with my fellow envoys, to see Ioannes, because I wanted to know what he was* now thinking.³⁸² I found him suddenly bent on revolutionary activities³⁸³ and harboring a powerful desire for rule.³⁸⁴ 71 For he requested that I

Ioannes at Gischala turns rebel, raises money through

³⁷¹ Greek πυνθάνομαι, elsewhere “discover.”

³⁷² A favorite expression of Josephus’ (παροξύνω σφόδρα), but only in the final books of the *Antiquities* and the *Life* (*Ant.* 19.301; 20.3; *Life* 97, 262, 309). For the verb alone, see the note to “furious” at § 45.

³⁷³ That is, down from the heights of Upper Galilee, which reach 1000 m. above sea level, to Tiberias, which is about 200 m. below sea level.

³⁷⁴ The term is probably used loosely of unformed silver. Antipas had established a mint at Tiberias, producing four denominations of coin, but all of the extant examples are in a poor alloy (Meshorer 1982:2.37-8).

³⁷⁵ This is part of Josephus’ real (literary) agenda of loyalty to the Romans and Agrippa II, as distinct from the image he must create, for popular consumption, of the rebel general (§§ 22-3). Thus he gives the goods to Capella’s group, which had declared loyalty to the king (§§ 33-4).

³⁷⁶ The δεκάπρωτοι. See the note to “principal men” at § 64. Although Josephus does not clarify the matter here, it seems that this 10-man subcommittee of the Tiberian council, led by Capella, is essentially the group that went to see Josephus in § 64—with a few others. Note also the 10 principal men of the populace at § 269, and Josephus’ call for the 10 “foremost men of the mob” at § 168, with notes there. In any case, it seems (Schürer-Vermes 2.180 n. 518; cf. *OCD* 3: “*decaproti*”) that the 10 principal men of Tiberias were among the first manifestations of the δεκάπρωτοι who would become prominent in Greek cities of the second and third centuries, whose chief responsibility was the collection of imperial taxes—guaranteed against their own property (*OCD* 3: “*decaproti*”). Cf. the *decemprini* of a Latin *municipium*.

³⁷⁷ On the relationship of Capella to the 10-man board, see the note to “Capella” at § 66.

³⁷⁸ Mss. AMW have Capellus; ms. R has Capyllus (apparently indicating the copyist’s view that this is not the Capellus/Capella mentioned in §§ 32, 66-7).

³⁷⁹ This relatively rare Greek name, known from a second century CE Pneumatist physician among others, is unattested among the Judeans of Rome, Italy, and

Egypt. Solin (1982:2.1078-79) cites three examples of the masculine name (Ant[h]yllus) and one of the feminine (Ant[h]ylla) of the first and second centuries CE, under “plant names.” Kajanto (1965:38, 128) finds in Antullus the diminutive of the archaic Latin *praenomen* Anto (*CIL* 1.2.2555; cf. Lucullus and Tertullus from Lucius and Tertius). He counts 30 men and women with this *cognomen* (1965:175). The Latin derivation would fit with Iulius Capella’s very Latin name (§ 32). It seems to be the same Capella because in both cases he is a prominent member of Tiberian board of 10 principal men.

³⁸⁰ Greek παραγγέλλω. Although the word literally means only “to pass along information,” it is commonly employed by other authors of a superior’s instructions to his subordinates (Aeschylus, *Pers.* 469; Herodotus 3.147.1; Xenophon, *Anab.* 1.8.3; Plato, *Phaed.* 116C). This is how Josephus uses the verb consistently in the *Life*: §§ 78, 108, 184, 229, 243, 245.

³⁸¹ The story is completed at § 296, where Josephus is accused of having taken the palace furnishings; he responds, and proves, that Capella and the 10 men still possess them.

³⁸² Cf. §§ 43-5. In the *Life*, Ioannes has been introduced as an initial opponent of rebellious actions, who reacted to the sack of Gischala at the hands of neighboring towns by rebuilding and fortifying the town. In this story, Josephus now wishes to see what Ioannes has become as master of a newly fortified and offended town and, not surprisingly, he has become bent on revolution. In *War* 2.583-90, by contrast, Ioannes’ overweening ambition was but the necessary function of his base character.

³⁸³ Cf. Plutarch’s description of Peisistratus at *Sol.* 29.3.

³⁸⁴ Greek τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχοντα. Cf. Josephus’ moralizing assessment of Herod the Great at *Ant.* 16.396: περιττὸν ὄντα περὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς ἀρχῆς. Thus begins the contest between the warlord Ioannes and the legitimate aristocrat Josephus for the “rule of the Galileans,” which will first be settled in Ioannes’ favor as the result of corruption (§ 190) but will ulti-

sale of imperial grain

grant him authority to make off with the grain belonging to Caesar³⁸⁵ that was lying in the villages of upper Galilee—because, he said,³⁸⁶ he wanted to spend it on the repair of the walls of his native place.³⁸⁷ **72** But since I had figured out³⁸⁸ his design and what he intended³⁸⁹ to do,³⁹⁰ I did not give him my consent. For I had in mind³⁹¹ to reserve the grain either for the Romans³⁹² or for my own use,³⁹³ by virtue of the fact that I myself had been entrusted with authority over activities there by the general assembly³⁹⁴ of the Jerusalemites.³⁹⁵ **73** When he was unable to persuade me about these matters, he turned to my fellow envoys. In fact, they were careless about the consequences and quite prepared to take [gifts].³⁹⁶ So he corrupted* them with goods³⁹⁷ to vote that all the grain lying within his purview³⁹⁸ should be handed over to him. Alone and defeated by two,³⁹⁹ I kept quiet.⁴⁰⁰

mately be won by Josephus (§ 310) on account of his towering virtue and prestige.

Of all Josephus' opponents in the *Life*, Ioannes most closely matches the type of the local, popular anti-Roman strongman Dumnorix in Caesar's *Gallic War* (*Bell. gall.* 1.18).

³⁸⁵ Ever since Augustus, the Roman emperors had assumed responsibility for the grain supply (*cura annonae*). Cf. *CAH* 10.88; Garnsey and Saller 1987:83-103; Aldrete and Mattingly in Potter/Mattingly 1999. Although Rome's needs were usually met by the established import from African and Egyptian granaries, the central power maintained storehouses elsewhere for military and local use and as an alternative supply. Such stores would typically contain a one- or two-year supply. One sees the fundamental importance of securing a grain supply for an army on the march in Caesar's *Gallic War: Bell. gall.* 1.16, 23, 26, 37, 40; 2.2. Cf. further *Life* 119, 188.

³⁸⁶ See the note to "said" at § 22: Josephus often uses the verb to signal a contrast between alleged and real motives. Here likewise the contrast appears to be with Ioannes' "scheme" and "intention" in the next sentence (§ 72).

³⁸⁷ In *War* 2.590, which seems to be a reprise of 2.275, no mention is made of the imperial grain supply. Josephus simply claims that Ioannes made a large profit from the wealthier citizens in his campaign to rebuild the walls. If we put these accounts together, we might conclude that Ioannes sold the imperial grain to the wealthy (at no cost to him) and used the massive profits for the walls, keeping a substantial surplus for himself.

³⁸⁸ Greek κατανοέω: the first of three -νοέω verbs in this Greek sentence.

³⁸⁹ Greek διανοέω: the second of three -νοέω verbs in this Greek sentence.

³⁹⁰ Josephus does not explain exactly what Ioannes' ulterior motive was. If Ioannes merely wished to sell the grain and use the profits for Gischala's walls, that would not be a *scheme* such as Josephus implies. Given that Ioannes has already been said to have rebuilt Gischala and fortified its walls (§ 45), one might con-

clude that the entire alleged project was a mere cover: Ioannes, unaware of Josephus' intelligence report that Gischala had been fortified already, proposed this as a pretext for taking the grain money. But the *War* parallel (2.590) has Ioannes profiting from the wealthy citizens while rebuilding the walls (see previous note).

³⁹¹ Greek ἐννοέω: the last of the three -νοέω verbs in this Greek sentence.

³⁹² See the note to "the king" at § 68.

³⁹³ See § 119, where Josephus will take grain from royal territory (Besara), and § 188, where Josephus stockpiles grain for his own campaigns.

³⁹⁴ See the note to this phrase at § 65.

³⁹⁵ Josephus thus consistently presents himself as the authorized commander of the Galilee, along with his aristocratic but inferior colleagues. Ioannes' scheme is gradually to achieve some independent power, first by amassing sufficient funds through scheming, though even he recognizes the need to get Josephus' permission. Such conditions would be familiar to Josephus' Roman readers: even a new princeps faced challenges from other generals and aristocratic conspirators, some of whom (e.g., Vespasian) had used control of the vital grain supply to gain power (cf. Levick 1999: 47).

³⁹⁶ See § 63 and notes. Josephus' colleagues are presented as having taken the assignment only for their personal enrichment.

³⁹⁷ Greek φθείρει χρήμασιν. The much more common phrase in Josephus and other authors has a prefix on the verb: διαφθείρω χρήμασιν. See the note to this phrase at § 196 below, where Ioannes' agent Simon son of Gamaliel again resorts to bribing influential priests.

³⁹⁸ Or, more formally, "prefecture" (ἐπαρχία)—if Josephus' language reflects the viewpoint of Ioannes himself, who views Gischala and environs as his own territory in spite of Josephus.

³⁹⁹ The mss: "alone and defeated, I yielded (ὑποδύς) and kept quiet." I follow here the *editio princeps* and Thackeray (ὑπὸ δύο).

⁴⁰⁰ In the *War*, Josephus had first said that he directed Ioannes to rebuild Gischala's walls at Ioannes' expense (2.575), then that Ioannes had induced him to

74 Ioannes complemented this with a second bit of mischief.⁴⁰¹ For he claimed that the Judeans living in Philip's Caesarea,⁴⁰² who had been confined⁴⁰³ at the order of the king—by Modius,⁴⁰⁴ who was administering the [royal] power⁴⁰⁵—since they had no pure olive oil⁴⁰⁶ that they could use,⁴⁰⁷ had sent to him [Ioannes] requesting that he make provision⁴⁰⁸

Ioannes raises money through his olive oil monopoly, selling to the

allow the rebuilding, knowing that Josephus admired his energy (2.590). It is possible that Iustus' book had challenged *War's* earlier hostility toward Ioannes by pointing out that Josephus had fully cooperated with him and authorized this seizure and sale of imperial grain (so Luther 1910:76-8). Josephus would then be apologetically explaining that perceived consent. But it is hard to see how Josephus' actions as an enemy general 30 years earlier, even if he had authorized the expropriation of the imperial grain stores, could damage him now in Rome. It is also entirely possible that Josephus simply wishes to highlight the struggles he faced as a leader dealing with an unscrupulous rival and colleagues vulnerable to bribery, to show how he eventually overcame these liabilities.

⁴⁰¹ This story was told in *War* 2.591-92 with, as we have come to expect, significant differences. There, Ioannes sets out to supply "all the Judeans throughout Syria" with oil, which he gets from all Galilee. Caesarea Philippi does not enter the story. For other differences, see the following notes. Luther (1910:78) proposes that this change was forced upon Josephus by Iustus' narrative, which had challenged Josephus. The problem is that almost every event is retold differently in the *Life*, and in most cases it is difficult to see how the differences have an apologetic value.

⁴⁰² That is: Pnias (Banyas), a Hellenistic settlement from at least the third century BCE (Polybius 16.18.2) near the source of the Jordan River, populated by Itureans it seems, and centered in a grotto to the god Pan. The city was rebuilt and renamed Caesarea in honor of Augustus by the tetrarch Philip in about 3 BCE, as coins from the city reveal. Then Agrippa II renamed it Neronias, in honor of Nero, after 53 CE. By the middle of the first century CE, a minority Judean community had established itself in the city, perhaps from the time of Herod the Great, the Judean king. But archaeology has tended to confirm its essentially gentile character, with what seem to be temples to Pan and Zeus (see Appendix A). Although the city was popularly called "Philip's Caesarea" to distinguish it from other places named Caesarea (Mark 8:27; *War* 3.443; *Ant.* 20.211), this does not seem to have been an official name, especially long after Philip's death in 34 CE. The ancient name Pnias reasserted itself from the fourth century CE. See Schürer-Vermes 2.169-71.

⁴⁰³ It is unclear why King Agrippa or his agent Modius should have confined the Judean community at Pnias. Presumably, since this is offered as the reason

why they could not purchase pure oil in the customary way, they were kept inside the city rather than confined in their homes. Goodman (1990:238) doubts Josephus' claim, on the ground that, if Ioannes' oil could get in, people could get out. But this is not necessarily so. Earlier in the narrative (§ 31), Josephus mentions two groups of confined people: those at Dora (confined by Cestius) and those at Sepphoris. He graciously permits those at Sepphoris to communicate with those at Dora (over whom he has no control). Those at Dora, at least, could not leave even though they could receive communications.

⁴⁰⁴ Holwerda's emendation (ὕπὸ Μοδίου); the mss. read "liable to judgment" (ὕποδίκου), which would make the syntax and meaning hard to decipher.

⁴⁰⁵ Josephus recalls § 61, where Aequus Modius replaced Varus as Agrippa II's viceroy (the whereabouts of Philip son of Iacimus being still unknown to the king). In the phrase τὴν δυναστείαν δοκοιοῦντος, the noun refers to supreme power and the verb often stands independently with the meaning "to govern, be chief, be protector" (see the note to "governing" at § 49).

⁴⁰⁶ Olive oil was an extremely important commodity throughout the Mediterranean world. In addition to its use in food (it provided as much as 1/3 of the average person's caloric intake—Tyree and Stefanoudaki 1996:171), it served for lighting fuel, hygienic and cosmetic products, and medicines. Romans customarily washed by anointing themselves with oil, rubbing it in, and then scraping it off (along with the grime) with an implement known as a strigil. Josephus cites it as a remarkable feature of Essene life that they kept a dry skin and did without such applied oil (*War* 2.123). Large rotary olive presses and accompanying squeezing centers continue to be found even in smaller Galilean towns and other remote areas (Hestrin and Yeivin 1977; Goodman 1990:227). This episode assumes the audience's understanding that olive oil was more or less indispensable (Garnsey 1999:12-14; Tyree and Stefanoudaki 1996).

The question of purity with respect to olive oil presents a puzzle. That the purity of oil *was* an issue in the first century is clear already from *Ant.* 12.119-20, where Josephus refers to the privilege given by the Seleucids to Judeans living in the Greek cities (second century BCE) to be compensated if they chose not to use local oil in the gymnasium. Josephus claims there that the Antiochenes tried to rescind this privilege during the

*Judeans of
Caesarea
Philippi*

by furnishing a solution for them, so that they would not violate the legal standards⁴⁰⁹ by having to use the Greek kind [of oil]. **75** Yet Ioannes was not saying these things in the service of piety,⁴¹⁰ but on account of the most blatant, disgusting greed.⁴¹¹ Knowing that among those in Caesarea [Philippi] one would sell two pitchers⁴¹² for one drachma,⁴¹³ whereas in Gischala it was eighty pitchers for four drachmas,⁴¹⁴ he sent for as much oil as was there! He had ostensibly received authority from me. **76** It was not willingly that I agreed, but through fear of the mob—so as not to be stoned to death by them if I refused.⁴¹⁵ So with my consent, Ioannes realized considerable wealth from this sordid business.⁴¹⁶

Judean revolt against Rome, but that the Roman governor Mucianus required its continuation. Mishnah *‘Abodah Zarah* 2.6, published about 200 CE, lists olive oil among the things of gentiles forbidden to be used (though profit from gentile oil is not forbidden). That same passage claims, however, that Rabbi Judah and his circle in the early third century CE “permitted the oil.” The gemara in *b. ‘Abodah Zarah* 35b-36a attributes the relaxing of the prohibition (or the ratification of the relaxation—Goodman 1990:232) to Judah’s grandson.

So we are faced with explaining two peculiarities: that this ban on gentile oil was introduced after the Bible and that it was rescinded 500 years later. Both the talmudic passage just cited and its counterpart in the Jerusalem Talmud (y. *‘Abodah Zarah* 2.8, 41d) discuss both sides of the issue: e.g., if Daniel instituted the ban (this based on a fanciful reading of Dan 1:8), how can it be that Judah’s court rescinded it? Hoenig (1970/71) proposes that the use of oil in pagan sacrifice was the problem. Steinfeld (1980) argues that it was the possibility of additives (wine and vinegar) to the gentiles’ oil that rendered it impure. Goodman (1990:239-43) considers these possibilities but argues persuasively that the ban was based more on religious *instinct* than biblical exegesis, accompanying a general recoil from gentile foods. In that case, he continues, the relaxation of the ban would have resulted from Judah the Patriarch’s recognition that it had no legal support.

⁴⁰⁷ Goodman (1990:231) prefers the reading of ms. R: “with which to anoint themselves” (χρίσονται rather than χρήσονται), though he offers no reason for narrowing the application of the oil to bathing. The parallel at the end of this sentence (“use the Greek kind”) suggests “use” here also.

⁴⁰⁸ The same phrase as in § 62; similar to that in § 68. Whereas Josephus really was concerned to make provision (πρόνοια) for his charges, he implies that Ioannes, when asked to do so, only used the opportunity for base gain.

⁴⁰⁹ See the notes to “olive oil” earlier in this section and to “legal matters” at § 9.

⁴¹⁰ Cohen (1979:89, 146, 165, 218) notes that only the *Life* includes a religious polemic against Ioannes on

this point. Perhaps it is not so much a religious polemic as a narrative device: in contrast to his own spontaneous and genuine acts of piety, Josephus’ opponents will regularly abuse the claims of piety through contrivance in order to undermine him. See also §§ 275, 290.

⁴¹¹ Ioannes’ sharp business practice parallels that of the Aeduan warlord Dumnorix, who according to Caesar (*Bell. gall.* 1.18) monopolized the collection of local customs and taxes so that he would have a large fund for his rebellious activities.

⁴¹² Josephus’ Greek transliterates the Latin *sextarius*, a measure slightly less than a pint. But the term could also be used more loosely.

⁴¹³ The *drachma* was a standard silver Greek denomination, roughly equal in value to the Roman *denarius*, and to one quarter of the Tyrian *shekel*. The *drachma* could be considered a generous daily wage for a laborer in Judea (cf. Matt 20:2). Domitian would raise the annual salary of legionary soldiers, who were relatively privileged, to 300 *denarii* per annum.

⁴¹⁴ Thus: the free-market rate (at which Ioannes bought) was 1 pitcher for .05 *drachma*, whereas his monopolistic selling rate was 1 pitcher for .5 *drachma*: a 900% profit. According to *War* 2.592, Ioannes could buy at the Galilean free-market rate of 1 amphora for 1 *drachma*, whereas his cartel charged the Caesareans 4 *drachmas* for a mere half an amphora, a 700% profit. Moreover, Ioannes demanded Tyrian silver coin, which was purer than other silver coinage of similar value and necessary for use in the temple (cf. Meshorer 1982: 2.98).

⁴¹⁵ See the note to “quiet” at § 73: Josephus may be apologetically responding to Iustus’ charge that he authorized this extortion or he may simply be highlighting the struggles with the mob that a good leader always faced. Ioannes had persuaded the mob of his scheme on the basis of its apparent piety. For Josephus to challenge him would have appeared impious. On persuading the mob and its consequences, see the notes to “mob(s)” and “people” at §§ 31 and 40.

⁴¹⁶ For other forms of the root *κακουργ-* (“wrongdoing,” “malicious,” “malevolent”) see §§ 107, 177, 290, 356.

(14) 77 After releasing my fellow envoys⁴¹⁷ from Gischala⁴¹⁸ to Jerusalem, I began to make provision⁴¹⁹ for weapons and for the preparation of strong cities.⁴²⁰ I sent for the most intimidating of the bandits⁴²¹ and, having realized that removing their weapons was out of the question, persuaded the mob⁴²² to provide them with a pay-off.⁴²³ It was better, I said, to give a little bit voluntarily than helplessly to stand watching their possessions being plundered by them.⁴²⁴ 78 After I had taken oaths from them not to come back into the region—unless they were summoned or in the event that they did not receive their pay—I released them, having charged them not to make war either on the Romans or on the neighboring towns.⁴²⁵ For above all else, I was concerned to keep the Galilee peaceful.⁴²⁶

Josephus, now alone, pacifies the bandits with payment

⁴¹⁷ Josephus had magnanimously urged his colleagues to remain when they, satisfied with their incomes thus far, had been eager to leave the countryside (§ 63)—thus demonstrating his utter superiority to any lust for personal power. But having now been (allegedly) confounded by their susceptibility to bribery, he is finally willing to be rid of them. They have served his narrative purposes.

⁴¹⁸ Given that Josephus' colleagues left him (he says that he *released* them) at Gischala, Ioannes' stronghold, that they had sided twice with Ioannes against Josephus (he claims that Ioannes *bribed* them), and that not long after their return a delegation will be sent from Jerusalem to replace Josephus, through Ioannes' connections with Jerusalem (§ 189), it would be easy to imagine that Josephus' colleagues were rather more impressed with Ioannes' claim to leadership than they were with Josephus'. One of his colleagues was named Ioazar (§ 29) and a priest from the Jerusalem delegation had a similar or identical name (§ 197), though it is difficult to see why Josephus would have failed to make the connection if these were the same men.

⁴¹⁹ See the note to this phrase at § 62.

⁴²⁰ Thus, having gathered his intelligence, Josephus now begins to fulfill his team's original mission: to arrange that weapons and defenses be under the control of the nobility (§§ 28-29). Although *War* 2.572-74 lists the cities and villages that he fortified at the outset of his command, here in the *Life* he will explain that he only came to fortify Tarichea when his plot to restore the goods stolen from the wife of one of the king's employees (§§ 126ff.) was exposed—as a way of saving his life (§ 142). Then he had to promise to fortify other sites when their residents complained of unequal treatment (§ 144). Thus, he only comes to list his fortifications at §§ 187-88.

⁴²¹ See the note to "bandits" at § 21.

⁴²² On the fickle mob and its openness to persuasion, see the notes to "mobs" at § 31 and "people" at § 40.

⁴²³ Greek μισθοφορά. In a rough *War* parallel (2.583-84), Josephus claims to have raised a citizen

army of 60,000 (!) infantry and 350 cavalry, plus 4500 mercenaries (μισθοφόροι) and a bodyguard of 600, though he does not there make this explicit arrangement with the bandits. See Cohen 1979:211-13.

⁴²⁴ For obvious reasons, this passage has been important for those scholars (Laqueur 1920:105-12; Cohen 1979:11-3) who would reconstruct a "real" past for Josephus as Galilean warlord or bandit chief: he controlled Galilee's bandits! But as Shaw (1984:34-5) points out, one of the cleverest strategies for dealing with a vigorous local banditry, recommended to Augustus by Maecenas in Cassius Dio's political pamphlet (52.27.4), was to second them into the service of the state. Cf. also *SHA, Marcus Antoninus* (Aurelius) 21.7. Josephus does not appear in the least apologetic about this action, as if he were trying to disguise a bandit past; to the contrary, he appears proud of his resourcefulness in dealing with the ubiquitous problem of bandits. He is not *admitting* his association with the bandits; he celebrates it as a diplomatic achievement. Handling the bandits was well understood to be a basic security problem, entirely of a piece with (and a principal reason for) the fortification of walls mentioned in the previous sentence. See Shaw 1984:3-24.

⁴²⁵ Thus Josephus has (according to the story) brilliantly neutralized the bandits of Galilee, serving his ultimate goal of peace with Rome and the Judeans' neighbors but at the same time keeping them in his service as a force of intimidation should that be necessary. See § 175. His generalship is assured because without him there, the people would resume their fear of the bandits (§ 206).

⁴²⁶ An oft-cited passage from Justinian's *Digest* (1.18.13) declares: "It is the duty of a good and serious governor to see that the province he governs remains peaceful and quiet. This is not a difficult task if he scrupulously rids the province of evil men, and assiduously hunts them down." Similarly, Plutarch (*Mor.* 823F): the statesman will judge the happiness (εὐδαιμονία) of the masses chiefly "by the quietness and tranquillity of the people."

*Josephus makes
70 leading
Galileans his
“friends”*

79 Since I wanted to hold the ranking Galileans—about seventy in all⁴²⁷—as guarantors of loyalty, albeit on a pretext of friendship, I designated them my friends⁴²⁸ and even travel companions.⁴²⁹ I used to take them along in the trial of cases,⁴³⁰ and I used to render verdicts in accord with their opinion,⁴³¹ being determined not to pervert justice through haste, and to remain pure of any material profit in these matters.

*summary and
forecast of
Josephus’ vir-
tues; the*

(15) 80⁴³² I was now living my thirtieth year or so.⁴³³ At that age, even if one puts aside illicit yearnings,⁴³⁴ especially in a position of great authority it is hard to escape the accusations that come from envy.⁴³⁵ But I preserved every woman unmolested,⁴³⁶ and dis-

⁴²⁷ The *War* parallel (2.570-71) simply has Josephus choosing 70 of the wisest senior men as a board of magistrates for all Galilee, in addition to a board of 7 for settling small claims in each town. He gives no hint there that this was a ploy to neutralize potential threats, and it may not have been so in fact.

⁴²⁸ In Hellenistic and Roman usage, “friends” (φίλοι, *amici*) of leading men had a more or less formal role as an inner circle of trusted advisors. Josephus often speaks, also in the *Life*, of a ruler’s or governor’s striking an advisory meeting (συνέδριον: see the note to “congress” at § 62) of such friends: *War* 1.537, 571, 620; *Ant.* 17.46, 301; *Life* 236, 368. Most famously, the Roman *princeps* maintained a circle of *amici*, whom he consulted for political advice. See Crook 1955; Millar 1977:110-22; and, for Domitian, B.W. Jones 1992:50-8.

⁴²⁹ Just as in the case of the bandits, Josephus neutralizes potential opponents by bringing them close. He anticipates the advice of Cassius Dio’s Maecenas to Augustus, to include in the senate the most powerful men from around the empire: “In this way you will have many assistants for yourself and will have in safe keeping (ἐν ἀσφαλείῃ ποιήσῃ) the leading men from all the provinces; thus the provinces, having no leaders of established repute, will not begin rebellions, and their prominent men will regard you with affection because they have made sharers in your rule (φιλήσουσι σε ὅτε καὶ κοινωνοί σοι τῆς ἀρχῆς γεγονότες)” (Cassius Dio 52.19.3). This would surely qualify as one of the ploys recommended by Plutarch for keeping stability.

⁴³⁰ Josephus shows once again his versatility as a thoroughly educated aristocrat: this priest, author, and military general as also a magistrate. On the general competence of aristocrats, see the Introduction. Recall that already when he was 14, Josephus claims, his legal opinions were sought out (§ 9).

⁴³¹ Greek γνώμη. See the note to “opinions” at § 22.

⁴³² The following paragraph serves an important function as a summary aside and as a new introduction to the themes of Josephus’ remaining career in Galilee. His narrative in the *Antiquities* includes periodic moralistic assessments of his main characters (e.g., 1.53, 60-1, 66, 72, 256, 346; 2.198-204; 4.327-31; 5.117-18,

253; 6.292-94, 343-50; 7.37-8, 390-91). This is much the same, except that he is the subject. The key ingredients of the standard profile of the good statesman are all here; cf. Cicero, *Off.* 1.11.33, 14.42-3, 25.85, 28.98, 29.102; 2.12.41 et passim. Josephus’ self-description here is closely paralleled at § 259 by words he puts in the mouths of the Galileans en masse after he has appealed to them to defend him from the charges of the Jerusalem delegation.

⁴³³ Thus, by our calendar: 66/7 CE; cf. § 5.

⁴³⁴ For the phrase (παρὰ νόμοι ἐπιθυμία) see also Plato, *Resp.* 9.571B-C.

⁴³⁵ That envy produces malicious accusations was a commonplace in moral philosophy. Cf. Plato, *Epid.* 316E; Isocrates, *Demon.* 7.26; *Panath.* 12.21; *Antid.* 15.23; Xenophon, *Mem.* 3.9.8; Josephus, *War* 1.634; *Ant.* 13.310. See also the note to “envy” at § 122.

⁴³⁶ Greek γυναῖκα πᾶσαν ἀνύβριστον ἐφύλαξα. Cf. the testimony of the Galileans in his behalf at § 259: ὧμυον ἀνύβριστους ἔχειν τὰς γυναῖκας. Evidently Josephus intends this as a telling criterion. The usual assumption was, and perhaps still is, that any man in a position of authority, especially in a military context, would violate women at will. Josephus notes (*Apion* 1.34-5) that any Judean woman taken captive during war becomes ineligible for marriage to a priest because of the presumption that she has had frequent intercourse with foreigners. One of the arguments in favor of collective suicide that he places in the mouth of Eleazar son of Ia’ir at Masada (*War* 7.334) is that this action will leave their women unmolested (γυναῖκες ἀνύβριστοι). Similarly, only a painful disease prevents King Abimelech from having his way with Abraham’s wife Sarah when they move to Gerar (*Ant.* 1.208-9): God thus preserves her unmolested (φυλάσσων ἀνύβριστον τὴν γυναῖκα). Ammianus Marcellinus (24.4.27; late fourth cent. CE) holds it out as a great virtue of Julian’s that, in spite of the beauty of the Persian women he captured, “he refused to touch a single one or even to look on her, following the example of Alexander [the Great] and [P. Cornelius Scipio] Africanus.” Polybius (10.19.3-7) establishes Scipio’s behavior as a model for the ideal general, a model that Josephus likely knew. According to Cassius Dio

dained all gifts as unnecessary;⁴³⁷ I did not even accept the tithes, which were due to me as a priest, from those who brought them.⁴³⁸ **81** Nevertheless I did take a share of the spoils after I defeated the Syrians⁴³⁹ residing in the surrounding cities; I confess to having sent these to my relatives in Jerusalem.⁴⁴⁰ **82** But though I had captured the Sepphorites by storm⁴⁴¹ twice,⁴⁴² the Tiberians four times,⁴⁴³ and the Gabarenes⁴⁴⁴ once,⁴⁴⁵

Galileans' loyalty

(36.2.4), similarly, it was all that Lucullus could do, when he attacked Tigranocerta, to preserve “many of the wives of the principal men” from violation by his soldiers. Significantly, Xiphilinus; *Epitome of Dio* (Dindorf-Stephanus page 2, line 17) has almost the same language as Josephus, but with respect to Lucullus: τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἀνυβρίστους ἐφύλαξεν. Although Luther (1910:79-80) infers that Iustus must have accused Josephus of rape in order for him to stress his restraint with women, this hardly seems necessary in light of the well-established ideal: see Introduction.

⁴³⁷ According to the social logic of patronage, gifts were normally given by the more powerful friend, here Josephus, to the one of lesser status. For him to have *received* gifts (unless from superiors: Poppea, § 16, Vespasian and Titus, §§ 414-23) would have created the appearance of bribery.

⁴³⁸ Contrast the behavior of Josephus' former priestly colleagues (§ 63).

⁴³⁹ On Josephus' use of “Syrians” as an equivalent to “Greeks,” to describe the non-Judean residents of the surrounding towns, see the note to “Syrians” at § 52.

⁴⁴⁰ Josephus' admission of a minor and forgivable fault—if it is a fault at all—thus allows him to claim two surpassing virtues: military victory and devotion to family. His family in Jerusalem included his father (§ 204) and brother (§ 419), both of whom were named Matthias (§§ 7-8).

⁴⁴¹ See the note to this phrase at § 44. Far from taking these places “by storm,” Josephus barely hurt their feelings according to the following narrative. He exaggerates the power at his disposal in order to sharpen his point that he extended mercy when he did not need to.

⁴⁴² At §§ 104-11 Josephus will intercept and defeat a mercenary force hired by the Sepphorites to keep him out, though he does not take the city by an assault. At §§ 373-80, he does take the city by storm.

⁴⁴³ Josephus has five episodes of conflict with the Tiberians in the *Life*, none of which involves his taking the city by storm. In the first Tiberian revolt, engineered by Ioannes of Gischala with the alleged support of Iustus and Pistus (§§ 85-103), Josephus merely escapes with his life to Tarichea, where he explicitly rejects the appeal to take Tiberias by storm (§§ 99-100). In the second episode, Tiberias appeals for Agrippa II's protection against Josephus (§ 155) and Josephus is forced to intervene, with only seven of his soldiers, by the stratagem of the fake navy (§§ 163-66). It is not clear

that his virtual force ever leave their boats (§§ 167-77). In the third episode (§§ 277-304), Josephus again barely escapes with his life to Tarichea (§ 304). In the fourth incident (§§ 321-35), Josephus first sends the bulk of his force into ambush in the surrounding hills—because he will not strike against Tiberias directly in order to extract the Jerusalem delegates (§ 321). When he does, nevertheless, finally try to attack the city, most of his soldiers flee the scene (§ 327), leaving him again with the necessity of using a trick to force the Tiberians' submission (§§ 327-28). Finally, when the Tiberians once again appeal for a royal garrison, and the Galileans once again wish to sack their city (§§ 381-84), Josephus once again diverts his followers from taking the city by storm, and they disband (§§ 386-88). In those passages, Josephus wants to present himself as merciful and therefore *opposed* to taking Galilean cities by storm. But the theme of clemency leads him here to overstate the extent of his power, as the background to his mercy.

⁴⁴⁴ All of the mss. except the earliest, P, read “Gadarenes” (Γαδαρῆς). P has Γαβαρῆς, which is interesting because Gabara is now identified with the site of ‘Arabeh. Niese reasonably conjectures Γαβαρῆς (Gabarenes), since Gabara will figure significantly in the narrative, and indeed as one of the three main Galilean centers alongside Tiberias and Sepphoris (§§ 123-24, 203, 233, 240). Josephus at least has conflicts with these places; he does not come close to the major Greek-Decapolis city of Gadara.

Although the site has not been excavated, Gabara is usually identified with the modern village of ‘Arabeh (עֲרַבְיָה) in the Yatvat range just N of the Bet Netofa valley, about 7 km. NE of Iotapata; see Appendix A. The prominence of the town is confirmed in the *War*, where it is first mentioned among the four places that immediately went over to the Jerusalem delegation against Josephus—along with Tiberias, Sepphoris, and Gischala (*War* 2.629)—and especially in *War* 3.132-33, where Vespasian chooses Gabara as his first major target on his march inland from Ptolemais. After burning Gabara, he destroys the villages and small towns in the area; this confirms that Gabara itself was a town or “city” of some importance.

It is peculiar that, although Josephus attributes such importance to Gabara (also at § 123 and 203), he should mention it incidentally here for the first time; it was not part of his original survey of the Galilean centers (§§ 30-62). The reason for this silence appears to be that

and although I had Ioannes at my mercy⁴⁴⁶ after he had repeatedly plotted against me, I did not punish either him or any of the communities mentioned, as the following account will establish.⁴⁴⁷ **83** It was for this reason, I suppose, that God delivered⁴⁴⁸ me from their hands—for those who fulfill their obligations do not escape his notice⁴⁴⁹—and, after these things had happened to me, brought me safely through many other dangers, about which we shall report later. **(16) 84** Such were the good will and loyalty of the Galilean mob towards me that, when their cities were taken by storm⁴⁵⁰ and their women and children⁴⁵¹ sold into slavery, even still they did not focus on their own misfortunes, but were concerned for my safety.⁴⁵²

Josephus accepts Ioannes' appeal to come to Tiberias to use baths

85⁴⁵³ When Ioannes saw this state of affairs,⁴⁵⁴ he grew envious.⁴⁵⁵ So he wrote* to me, requesting that I allow him to go down and make use of the hot baths⁴⁵⁶ at Tiberias, for the sake of physical therapy.⁴⁵⁷ **86** Not suspecting that he would do anything malicious, I did not prevent him. Indeed, I wrote* to those entrusted by me with the administration of Tiberias,⁴⁵⁸ each by name, to prepare lodging for Ioannes and those arriving with him,

Gabara was a determined center of resistance to Josephus from beginning to end. It later sides with Ioannes (§ 124) and supports him under direction from Jerusalem (§ 203); it warmly receives the delegation and Ioannes (§§ 229, 233, 313), which is why Josephus refuses to meet his opponents there (§ 235). Of the 204 towns and villages of Galilee, Josephus excludes only Gischala (Ioannes' native place) and Gabara (his "friend and ally") as places where he is unwilling to meet the delegation.

⁴⁴⁵ The *Life* does not record a capture of Gabara by Josephus. To the contrary, he and his Galilean followers camp in the plain outside the city. When the Galileans prepare to storm the house where the Jerusalem delegation are staying in Gabara, Josephus diverts them to Sogane so as to avoid the charge of having initiated civil war (§§ 263-65).

⁴⁴⁶ Greek ὑποχείριος, one of Josephus' favorite words. Josephus has Ioannes in his hands, e.g., at §§ 91, 101-3. See the note at § 28.

⁴⁴⁷ See the preceding notes for specific references in the remainder of the narrative. Josephus here confirms that this moralistic summary is a secondary introduction to what lies ahead in the narrative. He uses the same technique of secondary transition-introductions in *Apion* 1.57-9, 161, 219.

⁴⁴⁹ God's watchful care over humanity is a major theme of the *Antiquities* (cf. *Ant.* 1.14, 20; 10.275-81), to which this book is an appendix. See the note to "provision of God" at § 15.

⁴⁵⁰ See the note to this phrase at § 44. Here, evidently, Josephus refers to the Romans' capture of Galilean sites, in contrast to § 82, where he mentions his subjection of cities that were his responsibility as Galilean commander.

⁴⁵¹ See the note to this phrase at § 25.

⁴⁵² The phrase φροντίζω σωτηρίας is common-

place: *Ant.* 3.68; 12.221; *Life* 94, 206; also Demosthenes, *Or.* 1.2; *Ep.* 3.36; Isocrates *De pace* 8.38-9; *Plat.* 14.63. Although Josephus will indeed repeatedly claim that the Galileans were his zealous supporters, even he relates that when he wished to leave Galilee for his own safety, they were chiefly concerned about *their* safety (§§ 205-7).

⁴⁵³ As Cohen (1979:81-2) has observed, the following lengthy story about the aborted revolt at Tiberias under Ioannes of Gischala, falling roughly one quarter of the way through the *Life* (§§ 85-103), is matched quite closely by another story of Tiberias' revolt under Ioannes' influence, though directed by the delegation from Jerusalem, about three quarters of the way through the narrative (§§ 271-304). Since Cohen was seeking evidence for Josephus' use of a source in the *Life*, he did not notice that this structural parallel is an important part of the larger symmetry that Josephus builds into this text; see Introduction.

⁴⁵⁴ But this state of affairs is largely proleptic. Josephus has Ioannes being moved to action by Josephus' own literary construct!

⁴⁵⁵ Josephus thus resumes the theme of Ioannes' new-found desire for power at Josephus' expense (§ 70).

⁴⁵⁶ Josephus has noted, in describing the foundation of Tiberias (*Ant.* 18.36-7) that the site was chosen by Antipas for its ideal location, in part because it was close to the hot springs at "Ammathus." The reference is to Hammat, just S of Tiberias following the lakeshore.

⁴⁵⁷ This phrase (ἡ τοῦ σώματος [ἐνέκα] θεραπεία) occurs again only at § 329, forming a symmetrical pair. On the concentric architecture of the *Life*, see the Introduction.

⁴⁵⁸ Josephus has said nothing explicit in the *Life* about entrusting anyone with the administration of

and ungrudgingly to supply all suitable⁴⁵⁹ things. At that time, I was living in a village of Galilee that is known as Cana.⁴⁶⁰

(17) 87 But when Ioannes arrived in the city of the Tiberians, he set about persuading the people to defect from their loyalty to me and to join him! And many—ever longing for revolutionary activities,⁴⁶¹ by nature favorably disposed⁴⁶² toward upheavals,⁴⁶³ and taking joy in seditions⁴⁶⁴—gladly accepted the invitation. **88** Iustus and his father Pistus,⁴⁶⁵ in particular, were quick to defect from me and to be counted with Ioannes.⁴⁶⁶

Ioannes treacherously instigates revolt from Josephus at Tiberias

Tiberias. He has introduced three factions (§§ 32-6) and he has granted his recognition to the group led by Capella in the matter of guarding the royal furnishings (§ 69). A similar problem occurs in § 89, where he claims to have said earlier that he had installed Silas as general of Tiberias. Perhaps Silas is the one intended here.

⁴⁵⁹ Mss. MW omit “suitable,” Greek ἐπιτηδεῖος, which Josephus repeats in a different sense in the next sentence (see Introduction).

⁴⁶⁰ The clear implication of *War* 2.596-616 is that Josephus was at Tarichea, N of Tiberias, and that this episode occurred immediately after Josephus had thwarted attacks on himself at Tarichea (=Life 132-48!).

This is the only reference to Galilean Cana in Josephus. It is probably to be identified with the Cana of Galilee made famous by the gospel of John (2:1-11), but the location of that site has been disputed. The modern village preserving the name, Kefar Kana (כפר כנא), has been displaced in scholarly thinking by Khirbet Qanah (ח'רבת קנא), which rises about 100 meters above the Bet-Netofa valley on the N edge, about 2.5 km. E of Iotapata (Yodefat)—Josephus' preferred fortress (see note at § 188). This central location in Lower Galilee, with easy access routes, the nearby fortress, and a commanding view of both the main valley and the access to Iotapata, would have made Cana an ideal location for Josephus. He will also select Asochis/Shikhin (§ 207) as a base, about 7.5 km. across the Bet-Netofa valley to the SW, presumably for similar reasons. Excavations of Cana continue at the time of writing; see Appendix A.

⁴⁶¹ See the note to this phrase at § 36.

⁴⁶² Greek ἐπιτηδεῖως ἔχοντες; for the phrase see Thucydides 5.82.1; Aristotle, *Pol.* 7.4.2.1326A; Pausanias, *Descr.* 1.10.2; 3.9.3, 19.10; 5.23.4; 9.6.3. Cf. the note to “suitable” at § 86.

⁴⁶³ Cf. § 36, where Iustus is said to long for both revolutionary activities and upheaval (μεταβολή). See also Polybius 36.123.3: “The love of novelty that is natural among human beings is sufficient of itself to produce every upheaval (ὅτι αὐτὸ τὸ φύσει φιλόκαινον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἱκανὸν ἐστὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν μεταβολήν).”

⁴⁶⁴ Greek στάσει χαίροντες, a phrase that Jose-

phus likes: cf. his description of the trouble-maker Eleazar at Ioannes Hyrcanus' banquet: κακορήθης ὧν φύσει καὶ στάσει χαίρων (*Ant.* 13.291; cf. 7.279). Since revolutionary activities, upheavals, and seditions all amount to the same thing, Josephus is waxing poetic here, trying to evoke the state of common humanity—the mob—and its demagogues, of which he speaks so often; cf. *Ant.* 4.37. On στάσις in Josephus, see the note to “insurgents” at § 17.

⁴⁶⁵ See §§ 32-5, where, however, Iustus and Pistus appear at the head of two distinct factions; cf. the note to “factions” at § 32. For the remainder of the story, as here, they appear together (cf. § 175).

⁴⁶⁶ This information was probably not supplied by Iustus' rival account (§§ 40, 336), since Ioannes was a notorious leader of the revolt (see the note at § 43), with whom Iustus might not wish to associate himself, given that and since Iustus was keen to present himself as friendly to Rome and Agrippa II (§§ 340-56). Further, since the assertion is not easy to reconcile with much of the narrative, one must wonder whether this personal connection has not been fabricated by Josephus. In § 155 the Tiberians, apparently led by Iustus among others, appeal to King Agrippa to be included again under his authority. At § 175 (in the wake of that “defection”: § 167), Josephus confronts Iustus' apparent desire for capitulation to Rome and the king. The Tiberians (under Iustus?) tried again to join the king (§381). When Josephus thwarted that effort again, Iustus personally escaped to the king's territory (§§ 390-93). Iustus was plainly well regarded by Agrippa II, at least for a time (§§ 343, 352, 355). By contrast, Ioannes was a notorious figure, one of the three major culprits in the war from the Roman perspective (Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.12), who had been exhibited in the Roman triumph (see the note to Ioannes at § 43). Since Josephus is out to damage Iustus' reputation (§§ 37-42, 336-67), he has every reason to link him with the infamous Ioannes here. It is, to be sure, possible that Iustus did support Ioannes for a time: perhaps on an “anyone-but-Josephus” argument, perhaps out of immediate political expediency. He does appear to have favored the Jerusalem delegation's government (§ 279—if Josephus can be believed here), and Josephus connects the delegation with Ioannes (§§ 189-

Josephus comes to Tiberias, surprises Ioannes, who comes to meet him

89 But I, having anticipated this, prevented them. For a messenger had come to me from Silas,⁴⁶⁷ whom I had installed as general⁴⁶⁸ of Tiberias as I said earlier,⁴⁶⁹ reporting the sentiment⁴⁷⁰ of the Tiberians and requesting that I come quickly, for the city was gradually falling under the others'⁴⁷¹ authority. **90** So, having perused the letters from Silas, I gathered two hundred men and went on my way, through an entire night.⁴⁷² I sent a messenger ahead to signal my imminent arrival to those in Tiberias. **91** Next morning, as I neared the city, the mob came out to meet me, and Ioannes was with them. He greeted me in a very perplexed way, having become anxious that, once his behavior had come to trial,⁴⁷³ he would run the risk of being killed.⁴⁷⁴ So he quickly withdrew to his own lodging.

Josephus begins speech at stadium of Tiberias

92 After I had come down to the stadium⁴⁷⁵ and dismissed my bodyguard⁴⁷⁶ except for one man, retaining ten armed soldiers⁴⁷⁷ along with him, I was persuaded by the mob of the Tiberians to make a public speech. So I stood on a certain high wall⁴⁷⁸ and appealed to them not to defect so quickly. **93** For the upheaval would bring them a poor reputation, and the one set over them afterwards would have a justifiable suspicion that they would not maintain their loyalty to him either.⁴⁷⁹

98), though it is even conceivable (or likely, in view of the details above) that this entire connection is fabricated.

⁴⁶⁷ Silas is a Roman *cognomen* connected with the forest—a form of Sila (the forest of the Bruttii), *silva* (woods), or Silvanus (the god of forests). The name also belongs to one of Paul's companions in the NT. A comparison of Paul's letters (Silvanus at 1 Thess 1.1; 2 Thess 1.1) with Acts (Silas at 15:22, 27, 32; 16:19, etc.) suggests that Silas abbreviates Silvanus.

⁴⁶⁸ Greek στρατηγός. Josephus uses a limited military vocabulary in the *Life*. If we translate this word as general, then when it applies to Josephus—most often (see note at § 97)—we should read it as “supreme general” or “commandant.”

⁴⁶⁹ Only in *War* 2.616 has Josephus noted that he had installed Silas as commander of Tiberias. See further § 272, the symmetrical counterpart to this story (see Introduction). Otherwise, Silas is unknown.

⁴⁷⁰ Greek γνώμη. See the note to “opinions” at § 22.

⁴⁷¹ Presumably, under the authority of Iustus and Pistus, Tiberian leaders who allegedly favored Ioannes.

⁴⁷² The trip is close to 25 km. aerially, longer by ground. Night travel was no doubt feasible (not easy) because much of the route was through the flatter terrain of the Bet-Netofa and Arbel valleys, though these are separated by a range of hills.

⁴⁷³ Greek ἔλεγχος: “examination, proof, investigation, exposure.” This is the only occurrence of the noun in the *Life*. Outside of the *Life*, the noun is heavily concentrated (22 of 27 occurrences) in the Herodian material of *War* 1 and *Ant.* 16-17. Josephus uses the verb frequently in his quasi-forensic digression on Iustus' book (§§ 339, 356, 360), also at §§ 255, 385.

⁴⁷⁴ Greek δέσας μὴ εἰς ἔλεγχον αὐτοῦ τῆς πράξεως ἀφικομένης ἀπολέσθαι κινδυνεύσῃ. See the strikingly similar phrase in Josephus' story of the conversion of the royal house of Adiabene. After Izates undergoes circumcision, his mother and teacher become afraid that his action would come to trial and he would lose the throne: [ἔλαβεν καὶ φόβος οὐτι μέτριος] μὴ τῆς πράξεως εἰς ἔλεγχον ἐλθούσης κινδυνεύσειεν . . . ἀποβάλλειν (*Ant.* 20.47).

⁴⁷⁵ Although the stadium has not been found in excavations, traces of other Greco-Roman installations in Antipas' capital have been identified. See Appendix A. Lämmer (1976:43-54) has an excellent discussion of Tiberias' stadium, which he locates to the N of the city, about half-way to Bet-Maon.

⁴⁷⁶ According to § 90, Josephus brought 200 men with him. According to *War* 2.583, Josephus had a bodyguard of 600 élite troops.

⁴⁷⁷ Or heavy infantry: ὀπίλοι. It is unclear how these 10 should be understood in relation to the 200 or the “one man” present from that force.

⁴⁷⁸ As Lämmer (1976:45-6) observes, the *War* parallel (2.618-19) describes the wall as a bank of earth (βουνός), which Pausanias (γῆς χῶμα, 2.27.5; 9.23.1) reports as typical of Greek stadia, rather than a stone construction. The *War* parallel also specifies that the bank was about 6 cubits (nearly 3 m. or 9 ft.) in height, which makes Josephus' leap down a courageous act by itself.

⁴⁷⁹ Striking in this context of vehement struggle is Josephus' cool rationality. He does not resort to appeals on the basis of either emotion (πάθος)—contrast the emotional appeals of an aggrieved Paul to his wandering followers (1 Cor 3:10-15; 2 Cor 10:12-21:29; Gal

(18) 94 I had not yet said everything when I heard one of my attendants directing me to come down: this was no time for me to be concerned with the good will of the Tiberians, but about my own safety⁴⁸⁰ and how I should elude my adversaries. 95 For out of the armed soldiers surrounding him, Ioannes had selected and sent the most trusted of the thousands who were with him. After discovering that I had been isolated with my attendants, he commanded those who had been sent to dispose of me. 96 Those who had been sent came, and would have accomplished their mission if I had not more quickly sprung down from the wall with my bodyguard Iacob,⁴⁸¹ supported by a Tiberian named Herod.⁴⁸² Led by this man to the lake,⁴⁸³ I seized a boat and embarked. Thus escaping from my adversaries beyond expectation,⁴⁸⁴ I made it to Tarichea.⁴⁸⁵

Josephus escapes attack from Ioannes' force, to Tarichea

(19) 97 The residents of that city, when they found out about⁴⁸⁶ the Tiberians' disloyalty, became utterly furious.⁴⁸⁷ They seized their weapons and kept appealing to me to lead themselves against them.⁴⁸⁸ For, they said, they wanted to exact justice⁴⁸⁹ from them for the sake of⁴⁹⁰ their general.⁴⁹¹ 98 They were also reporting to those living throughout the entire Galilee what had transpired, having [in mind] to incite also these against the

Josephus calms Galileans' rage, prevents civil war

4:13-20)—or his own character (ἦθος), but rather logic (λόγος): it is not reasonable to think that a future leader would consider them faithful if they had such a reputation for fickleness. Josephus thus demonstrates again his philosopher's mastery of the passions. On the three sources of proof, see Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1.2.3-6.1856A.

⁴⁸⁰ For the phrase φροντίζω σωτηρίας, see the note to "safety" at § 84.

⁴⁸¹ Usually rendered in English as James. At § 240, his only other appearance, Iacob is described as among the most faithful of Josephus' armed soldiers, whom Josephus delegates to supervise a 200-man contingent.

⁴⁸² Two Tiberians named Herod appear at § 33, the sons of Gamalos and Miaros, though it is uncertain whether either is intended here.

⁴⁸³ Similarly at § 304, at the end of the parallel episode near the end of the *Life*, Josephus is safely conducted to the lake and escapes in a boat to Tarichea. There he travels through a concealed alley-way (στενωπός); the reference to Herod's guidance here also suggests that he follows a secret route. Cf. also § 153, where Josephus claims to have dug a passageway of some kind in order to spirit the refugees to the lake at Tarichea.

⁴⁸⁴ Cf. the same phrase at § 46, where it is used of Philip son of Iacimus.

⁴⁸⁵ This is the first appearance of the city 6 km N of old Tiberias along the shore of Lake Gennesar (at Migdal). It will become an important alternative base for Josephus in the lake region when Tiberias is untenable for him, which is most of the time (§§ 143, 168-69, 174, 276, 304, 404). Like Tiberias, Tarichea was added to the territory of Agrippa II by Nero (*Ant.* 20.159). It must have been a settlement of some size and importance. Excavations have turned up shops, streets, and a residential area. It was on the shore of

Tarichea that the intact hull of a first century boat was discovered (Wachsmann 1988). See Appendix A. It used to be thought, because of a notice in Pliny (*Nat.* 5.71) that Tarichea was on the S end of Lake Gennesar (cf. the map in the LCL edition of the *Life*), but excavations and more careful study of Josephus have properly located it.

⁴⁸⁶ Greek πυνθάνομαι, elsewhere translated "discover."

⁴⁸⁷ For this phrase, see §§ 68, 262.

⁴⁸⁸ Greek παρεκάλουν σφᾶς ἄγειν ἐπ' αὐτούς. See the nearly identical phrase at § 102.

⁴⁸⁹ The phrase is extremely common in Greek literature, but in the vast majority of cases authors use the singular: δίκην λαμβάνω. Josephus also uses that form (*Ant.* 5.268; 6.288; 8.15 ["for the sake of the two generals"]; 9.99; 13.19, 149, 200). In *Ant.* 20.203 and *Life* 97, 111, 368, however, he uses the much rarer plural: δίκας λαμβάνω (cf. Plutarch, *Per.* 25.1). Frequently the phrase is used with ὑπέρ: "for the sake of . . ." (Demosthenes, *Or.* 10.59; 12.12; 19.313; 21.219; 22.1, 53; 24.125; 59.12; Isaeus 11.28; Lysias 12.100; Plutarch, *Sol.* 18.5).

⁴⁹⁰ By emphasizing the intensity of the Galileans' anger, Josephus highlights his own clemency.

⁴⁹¹ Josephus is very fond of the "general" (Greek: στρατηγ-) word group in the *Life*. Forms of the word (translated, depending upon prefix and part of speech as: general, maneuver [or "general-like behavior"], outmaneuver, outwit) occur 34 times in this text. Of these, the vast majority are predicated of Josephus himself. In a few cases, he refers to one of his own appointees (§§ 89, 399) or a military delegate of Agrippa II (§ 114) or Vespasian (§ 411) as a general. None of his Galilean rivals, however, merits this designation.

Tiberians with all speed. They appealed to vast numbers to unite and join them, so that with the assent⁴⁹² of their general they might do what seemed right.⁴⁹³ **99** Accordingly, many Galileans⁴⁹⁴ came from everywhere with their weapons. They kept appealing to me to strike Tiberias, to capture it by storm⁴⁹⁵ and, having brought it entirely to its foundation, to sell its residents with their women and children⁴⁹⁶ into slavery. Even those of my friends⁴⁹⁷ who had been rescued from Tiberias counseled these things.⁴⁹⁸ **100** I, however, could not give my consent, as I considered it awful⁴⁹⁹ to initiate civil war;⁵⁰⁰ I thought that this struggle should go only as far as words. Indeed, I told them that doing this would be counter-productive: the Romans were keen to see them destroyed by conflicts with each other!⁵⁰¹ By saying these things, I managed to still the Galileans' rage.⁵⁰²

*Ioannes begs
for pardon*

(20) 101 Now Ioannes became anxious for himself, after his plot had proven ineffective, and so he packed up the armed soldiers around him⁵⁰³ and took off from Tiberias to

⁴⁹² Greek γνώμη. See the note to “opinions” at § 22.

⁴⁹³ Greek ἵνα πράττωσιν τὸ δόξαν. For this phrase, see also Plutarch, *Brut.* 45.9.

⁴⁹⁴ See the note to “Galileans” at § 30.

⁴⁹⁵ See the note to “storm” at § 44.

⁴⁹⁶ See the note to this phrase at § 25.

⁴⁹⁷ See the note to “friends” at § 79: It is not clear how personal these friends were; they may have been closer to advisors.

⁴⁹⁸ By stressing the intensity of the Galileans' anger, Josephus again creates a foil for his clemency.

⁴⁹⁹ Greek δεινός. Meaning “inspiring awe” (cf. French *terrible*), the adjective means both “terrible” and “wonderful.” It is characteristic of Josephus that he will use it again in the very next section (§ 101: “awesome”) in quite a different sense. At § 340, the only other occurrence in the *Life*, he will take full advantage of the word's ambiguity.

⁵⁰⁰ Greek ἐμφυλίου πολέμου κατάρχειν. Indeed, at § 265 Josephus will give practical proof of his determination not to seem to initiate civil war (with the same phrase). Greek ἐμφύλιος πόλεμος corresponds to the Latin *bellum domesticum* or *bellum civile* and these are all set phrases in Josephus as in many other ancient authors. The Greek phrase falls in the same semantic field as his major theme of “sedition” (στάσις), on which see the note to “insurgents” at § 17. Of the 31 occurrences of ἐμφύλιος in his corpus, 17 modify πόλεμος (*War* 1.216; 2.620; 4.131, 375, 441, 495, 545; 5.19; 6.343; *Ant.* 7.20, 22; 14.283; 19.184; *Life* 100, 265, 409) and four modify στάσις (*War* 2.638; *Ant.* 4.294; 5.231; 7.337). In several places. Josephus juxtaposes the categories: [Titus speaking] “seditions, contentions of tyrants, and civil war—the only things befitting men so base” (*War* 6.343); [Josephus on Herod] “for the sedition in the palace was like a civil war” (*Ant.* 16.389). Most interestingly, Josephus reaches out to his Roman audience by speaking also of civil war in Rome—a much discussed and feared phenomenon there (*Ant.*

19.184: Cassius and Brutus “only fanned into fresh life the fires of sedition [στάσις] and civil war [ἐμφύλιος πόλεμος].” See also *Life* 409 on the turmoil of Nero's last days in Rome during that “civil war.” Cf. Plutarch, *Arist.* 20.2; *Cim.* 3.1; 18.1-2.

⁵⁰¹ This is an ironic allusion to the major theme of Josephus' *War*: it was internal discord (στάσις οἰκεία—1.10) that had destroyed Jerusalem. Most concretely, this means that the Roman general Titus could take advantage of the Judeans' internal squabbling while he lay siege to Jerusalem (*War* 5.495; cf. 5.74, 257, 439-41). Vespasian had debated the arguments for aggressive action against those for a protracted siege: “by waiting he would find fewer enemies, when they had wasted their numbers in sedition. God was a better general than he” (*War* 4.369-70). “The Judeans were not busying themselves with the preparation of weapons or walls, or with the training of auxiliaries . . . but were risking their necks in civil war (ἐμφύλιος πόλεμος—above) and dissension” (4.375). Such lessons had been seared into the Roman military consciousness by their storied conflicts with the Veii (fifth century BCE), in which the Romans' own internal dissensions were held responsible for early defeats (Livy 4.31.2-5; 5.6.11-27; cf. Kern 1999: 253).

⁵⁰² Or “stop the Galileans from their rage” (ἐπαύσα τῆς ὀργῆς τοὺς Γαλιλαίους). Josephus often finds himself trying to still the rage of the masses (cf. §§ 146, 262, 388). The phrase παύω (causative) or παύομαι τῆς ὀργῆς was a commonplace used by Josephus elsewhere (*Ant.* 1.101; 5.159, 256; 7.144, 259; 13.405) and by many others (Isocrates *Demon.* 1.31; Thucydides 2.65.3; Xenophon, *Cyn.* 6.5.10). Aristotle (*Rhet.* 2.3.1380A-B) discusses in some detail the ways in which an orator both excites and calms anger (ὀργή). This ability was basic to the public speaker's mandate, and Josephus repeatedly demonstrates his skill.

⁵⁰³ See § 95: the most trusted of the thousands at Ioannes' disposal. In § 233, Josephus gives Ioannes at least 3 000.

Gischala.⁵⁰⁴ And he wrote* to me concerning what had been done, defending himself as if it had not happened with his assent.⁵⁰⁵ He begged* me not to be suspicious about him, adducing oaths and some awesome⁵⁰⁶ vows,⁵⁰⁷ through which he thought he would be trusted in what he expressed.

(21) 102 The Galileans⁵⁰⁸—for many others too, from the whole region, had now been arrayed with weapons—when they perceived that the man was a wretch and a breaker of oaths, appealed to me to lead them against him,⁵⁰⁹ offering to obliterate altogether⁵¹⁰ both him and Gischala itself.⁵¹¹ **103** So I confessed to feeling gratitude for their eagerness and offered⁵¹² to surpass their good will, but I appealed to them all the same to restrain themselves, insisting that they co-operate⁵¹³ with me, for I had resolved to put down the disturbances without bloodshed.⁵¹⁴

*Josephus
dissuades the
Galilean mob
from vengeance*

And having persuaded the mob⁵¹⁵ of Galileans, I went to Sepphoris.⁵¹⁶ **(22) 104** The men residing in this city had determined to stand firm in loyalty to the Romans and so had been anxious about my arrival.⁵¹⁷ They tried to remain unafraid concerning themselves by distracting me with a different matter. **105** In fact, they had sent [word] to the bandit chief⁵¹⁸ Iesus,⁵¹⁹ at the frontier of Ptolemais,⁵²⁰ promising to give him many goods if he would strike up a battle⁵²¹ against us with the force that was with him—they were 800 in number. **106** After he accepted the promises,⁵²² he wanted to attack us unprepared, without prior warning. So he sent [word] to me, asking to receive license⁵²³ to meet and greet

*The Sepphorites
hire the bandit
Iesus to
protect them*

⁵⁰⁴ Ioannes' departures back home to Gischala, after unsuccessful efforts to unseat Josephus, become something of a comical theme in the *Life*: cf. §§ 271, 308, 317, 372.

⁵⁰⁵ Greek γνώμη. See the note to "opinions" at § 22.

⁵⁰⁶ Greek δεινός. See the note to "awful" at § 100.

⁵⁰⁷ Ironically, the more oaths Ioannes swears, the less trustworthy he appears. Josephus has already made it clear that the Judean constitution limits the swearing of oaths to important things (*Ant.* 3.92), and his exemplary Essenes "avoid swearing on the ground that every word of theirs is stronger than an oath" (*War* 2.135). Cf. Matt 5:33-7. This episode is paralleled by § 275, where Ionathes, at the head of the Jerusalem delegation, swears dreadful oaths to try to win Josephus' trust.

⁵⁰⁸ See the note to "Galileans" at § 30.

⁵⁰⁹ Greek παρεκάλουν ἀγάγειν σφᾶς ἐπ' αὐτόν. The phrase is very similar to that in § 97.

⁵¹⁰ The phrase "altogether obliterate" (ἄρδην ἀφανίζω) is favored by Josephus in the *Life*. It occurs four times in this short work (§§ 102, 306, 375, 384) and only once in the rest of his corpus (*Ant.* 9.278). The adverb only occurs in Josephus in this phrase and, in the *Life*, the verb occurs only once without the adverb (§ 389). The phrase may come from Demosthenes (*Or.* 27.26, 33).

⁵¹¹ By spelling out the good reason for the Galileans' anger, Josephus again emphasizes his own clemency.

⁵¹² This same verb is translated "offer" in the preceding section.

⁵¹³ Greek συγγινώσκω; see the note to "pardon" at § 110.

⁵¹⁴ This entire phrase (τὰς ταραχὰς χωρὶς φόνων καταστέλλειν), found only in the *Life*, recurs in a remarkably formulaic pattern at §§ 244, 369; cf. § 174 for χωρὶς φόνων.

⁵¹⁵ See the notes to "mobs" at § 31 and "people" at § 40.

⁵¹⁶ See the note to "Sepphorites" at § 30. The following episode has a symmetrical parallel at §§ 373-80, where the Sepphorites attempt to revolt from Josephus by inviting a garrison from Cestius Gallus.

⁵¹⁷ That is: although Josephus claims to have been a pro-Roman at heart (§§ 22-3, 175), he was ostensibly commanding the rebel forces. Strangely, it appears from §§ 31-2 and 64 that Josephus had first gone to pro-Roman Sepphoris and remained there without incident while he gathered intelligence on the other cities.

⁵¹⁸ Greek ἀρχιληστής, used only here in the *Life*. See note to "bandits" § 21.

⁵¹⁹ This is the only story in Josephus in which this Iesus appears, unless he is the same Galilean Iesus who goes to Jerusalem with 600 men and then escorts the Jerusalem delegation to Galilee (§ 200).

⁵²⁰ That is, the outer territory of the large Greek coastal city lying just W of Galilee (cf. *War* 2.188 and Appendix A). Thus, Iesus was not (yet) part of the agreement that Josephus had made with the other Galilean bandits: §§ 77-8.

⁵²¹ Greek πόλεμος; elsewhere "war."

⁵²² Greek ὑποσχέσεις, cognate to the verb (ὑπισχνέομαι) translated "offer" in § 105.

⁵²³ Greek ἐξουσία, rendered "authority" elsewhere.

me. When I gave my consent, because I had no prior knowledge of the plot, he gathered up his gang of bandits⁵²⁴ and hurried against me.

Josephus intercepts Iesous and compels his submission

107 This sordid project did not, however, get past me so as to realize its purpose. For when he was already approaching, one of the men with him deserted⁵²⁵ and came to me, indicating his design. On discovering these things, I went ahead into the marketplace, pretending to be ignorant of the plot. I brought along⁵²⁶ many armed Galileans⁵²⁷ and even some Tiberians.⁵²⁸ **108** I then ordered that all the roads be patrolled with the utmost security⁵²⁹ and charged those at the gates to allow only Iesous, whenever he appeared, to enter with his principals, but to lock the others out,⁵³⁰ beating back any who tried to force their way. **109** After they had done what was commanded, Iesous entered with a few men. When I then ordered him to discard his weapons immediately—for if he disobeyed he would be killed—and when he saw the armed soldiers come around him from every direction, he became afraid and submitted.⁵³¹ Those of his followers who had been locked out fled when they found out about⁵³² his arrest. **110** Now I called Iesous aside privately and told him that I was fully aware of the plot that had been hatched against me, and of those by whom he had been sent. Nevertheless, I would grant pardon⁵³³ for what had been done if he would change his thinking⁵³⁴ and become loyal to me. **111** When he promised⁵³⁵ to do all of that, I released him, allowing him to reassemble those men whom he had formerly led.⁵³⁶ Then I threatened the Sepphorites that if they did not quit their foolishness⁵³⁷ I would exact justice.⁵³⁸

⁵²⁴ See the note to “bandits” at § 21.

⁵²⁵ Implausible though it may seem, Josephus relies on such spontaneous desertions and betrayals (cf. §§ 89, 158, 239), along with his carefully orchestrated interception of correspondence (see the note to “letters” at § 48), for his intelligence. In these respects as in many others, he resembles the great Roman statesman Cicero, during a period of comparable civil strife in Rome (Plutarch, *Cic.* 15.2; 16.2). Shaw (1984:16-20) points out that betrayal was understood as the standard means by which bandits were caught in the Roman world. Cf. also Judas in the case of Jesus of Nazareth (Matt 26:14-16). Josephus may simply be supplying a commonplace scenario for his narrative.

⁵²⁶ The middle voice of ἐπαύγω, which Josephus will use repeatedly with different nuances at §§ 112, 115, 118, 119.

⁵²⁷ See the note to “Galileans” at § 30.

⁵²⁸ Although Tiberias has proven largely hostile to Josephus’ influence, a response that he attributes to the manipulation of the populace by Iustus and Ioannes, Josephus has some supporters there (§§ 69, 86, 89).

⁵²⁹ See the similar phrase at § 118.

⁵³⁰ Isolating a ringleader from his mob, for a terrifying interview, will become Josephus’ standard tactic for accomplishing his aims without significant bloodshed: §§ 146-48, 175-78. His opponents do the same thing, but in the hope of killing him without having to deal with his (putative) massive popular support: §§ 246-47, 294.

⁵³¹ The word “submit” here (ὑπακούω) is the same as that rendered “accept” in § 106.

⁵³² Greek πυνθάνομαι, elsewhere rendered “discover.”

⁵³³ Greek: middle voice of συγγινώσκω. In § 103, the active voice of this verb is translated “cooperate.”

⁵³⁴ Greek μετανοέω: rethink, repent.

⁵³⁵ A form of the same verb (ὑπισχνέομαι) occurs at § 105; the related noun appears in § 106. Thus the recipient of grand promises is caught out by Josephus, and forced to make promises of his own.

⁵³⁶ This man is not heard from again unless he is the Galilean Iesous who accompanies the Jerusalem delegation to Galilee with an escort of 600 (§ 200). In that case, he would have gone back on his agreement with Josephus. But Iesous was a common name in the period, and so there is no compelling reason to make the identification.

⁵³⁷ Josephus’ choice of word for the Sepphorites’ fault (ἄγνωμοσύνη: folly, insensitivity; not insanity or madness) reflects his and their predicament. It is not that they are wrong in wishing to remain pro-Roman, for Josephus (according to his story) wishes the same thing (§§ 21-3). But he has the practical wisdom to see that one must seem to appear to prosecute the revolt in keeping with the wishes of the Galilean masses (§§ 175-76). The Sepphorites are foolish because they fail to understand this and even attack Josephus, who is in fact a kindred spirit. Nor do they quit their “foolishness” as he requests. In the following narrative they remain resolutely pro-Roman (§§ 123-24, 232), even after Josephus

(23) 112 At about this time,⁵³⁹ two dignitaries⁵⁴⁰ from the region of the Trachonitans,⁵⁴¹ who were under the authority of the king,⁵⁴² came to me, supplying their own horses and weapons⁵⁴³ and bringing along some money too. 113 The Judeans kept pressuring these men to be circumcised⁵⁴⁴ if they wished to live among them. But I would not allow them to be forced, declaring, “Each person must revere God in keeping with his own chosen way,⁵⁴⁵ but not by force, and these men, who are fleeing to us expecting security,⁵⁴⁶ ought

Josephus protects Trachonitan refugees from forced conversion

storms their city in §§ 373-80, until they finally receive a garrison from the Syrian governor Cestius Gallus (§ 394).

⁵³⁸ See the note to this phrase at § 97. Josephus once again illustrates his virtue of long suffering.

⁵³⁹ Such loose chronological markers—κατὰ τοῦτον (ἐκείνον / αὐτόν) τὸν καιρὸν (χρόνον)—occur nearly 100 times in Josephus. Most tellingly, while paraphrasing the biblical story, he often uses these more historical terms instead of the biblical καὶ ἐγένετο, ἐγένετο δέ, and so forth: *Ant.* 1.71; 5.352; 6.30, 213, 271, 292, etc. His usage is especially noteworthy when he has rearranged the biblical narrative somewhat, and so wants to re-establish a chronological scheme: *Ant.* 1.194; 8.176; 9.28, 258; 13.18; 16.36. Here in the *Life*, the phrase highlights the episodic nature of a narrative that is not concerned with precise chronology: §§ 216, 271, 373, 398.

⁵⁴⁰ In the *Life*, Josephus reserves this fairly rare term (οἱ μεγιστᾶνες) for these Trachonitans (cf. §§ 149, 151, 153); elsewhere he uses it only of Oriental nobility: *Ant.* 11.37; 20.26, 66, 76, 79, 81.

⁵⁴¹ See the note to Trachonitis at § 54.

⁵⁴² Agrippa II: see *Ant.* 20.138. Since the king had remained loyal to Rome, while the Galilean countryside at least was ostensibly in revolt, these gentiles have opted to join the revolt. We should probably understand that they had their own nationalistic reasons for doing so—without implying any commitment to the Judean cause.

⁵⁴³ The Trachonitans were particularly renowned as archers (*War* 2.58); perhaps they hoped to supply a unique military asset to the Judeans. But Josephus does not clarify the point.

⁵⁴⁴ Circumcision and conversion to Judaism are prominent issues in Josephus, much discussed in the scholarship with respect to three related issues: whether some varieties of Hellenistic Judaism neglected or spiritualized circumcision for born Judeans; whether conversion of males invariably required circumcision; and whether there was a recognizable group of sympathizers (or “God-fearers”) who stopped short of circumcision and full conversion. See McEleney 1974; Collins 1985; Cohen 1987a; Segal 1990:99-101. These questions are typically posed as background to understanding problems in the study of Christian origins. This passage in particular (along with the story of the Adiabe-

nian prince Izates’ conversion in *Ant.* 20.17-96) has been thought to raise the issue whether Josephus would require circumcision of converts. Cohen (1987:423) argues from the present passage that Josephus must have opposed the Hasmoneans’ forced conversions (and circumcision) of neighboring peoples (*Ant.* 13.257-58, 318-19, 397).

As far as Josephus is concerned, we may observe the following. First, he assumes that circumcision is the mark of the Judean male, because it has been ordained by God (*Ant.* 1.192-93, 214). Second, he appears to assume that circumcision is the proper transitional rite for a male converting to Judaism. The Hasmonean conversions of neighboring peoples are told in highly laudatory sections of the narrative (*Ant.* 13.282, 284, 288, 299-300, 319). He is sharply critical of the lustful Felix, who could not be bothered to undergo circumcision in order to marry the Herodian princess Drusilla, thus violating the laws, in contrast to her legitimate husband Azizus (*Ant.* 20.139, 143). In the story of Izates Josephus makes it clear that, although circumcision is necessary if he is to become a Judean (*Ant.* 20.38), the prince has every reason not to undergo circumcision and convert (*Ant.* 20.42). But when Izates goes ahead with the circumcision, Josephus celebrates his decision as one that earned God’s special favor (*Ant.* 20.48-9, 85). So Josephus expects circumcision of Judean males, whether natives or converts.

Cohen (above) may be right that there is some logical tension between Josephus’ refusal to require circumcision here in *Life* 113 and his celebration of the Hasmonean conquests, but the rhetorical situation is different. The Hasmoneans were adding territory to Judea, and always gave the conquered the choice of leaving if they would not convert (*Ant.* 13.319). That was a much larger political issue: Josephus reveres his Hasmonean ancestors for achieving a strong and independent state. Circumcision was an ancillary issue. Here, where individuals have come freely to offer their services as military allies, Josephus postures as the philosopher, leaving it open to each person to make his own choice about a way of life (see the following note). Similarly, he abhors the way in which Judean rebels forced Metilius, the commander of the Roman garrison at Herod’s palace, to be circumcised in order to live (*War* 2.453-54).

⁵⁴⁵ Greek δεῖν ἕκαστον κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ προαίρεσιν τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβεῖν. The Roman consul Iulius Antonius,

not to have second thoughts.”⁵⁴⁷ When the mob had been persuaded,⁵⁴⁸ I generously provided the men who had come with all [amenities] for their familiar way of life.⁵⁴⁹

*Agrippa sends
Modius Aequus
to take Gamala*

(24) 114 Now King Agrippa sent* a force, with the general Aequus Modius⁵⁵⁰ over it, to take out the fortress Gamala.⁵⁵¹ Although those who had been sent were insufficient to encircle the fortress,⁵⁵² by setting up watches in the open terrain they were able to besiege Gamala.

*Josephus en-
gages Aebutius
the decurion,
successfully*

115 Aebutius⁵⁵³ the decurion⁵⁵⁴ had been entrusted with the protection⁵⁵⁵ of the Great Plain,⁵⁵⁶ and he heard that I was now in Simonias,⁵⁵⁷ a village lying on the frontier of Galilee sixty stadia⁵⁵⁸ away from him. So at night-time, he drew up 100 cavalry, whom he

son of Marc Antony, is said by Josephus to have used strikingly similar language of the Judeans living in Ephesus: they are permitted to follow their own laws and customs and to bring the offerings, which “each of them makes out of his own free choice of piety toward the deity (ἅς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας προαιρέσεως εὐσεβείας ἔνεκα πρὸς τὸ θεῖον)” (*Ant.* 16.172). In general, Josephus appears to be adopting a typically generous Roman stance toward the cults of the world. The Greek noun προαίρεσις was also commonly used of a chosen philosophical path or way: Aristotle, *Eth. eud.* 1.2.1.1214B; Lucian, *Hermot.* 34, 47, 75. On the significance of “purposive choice,” see Aristotle, *Eth. eud.* 2.7.1223A.

⁵⁴⁶ Greek δι’ ἀσφάλειαν. Like προαίρεσις, ἀσφάλεια could have philosophical connotations: the way that is secure (Plutarch, *Mor.* 171E).

⁵⁴⁷ Greek μετανοέω, translated in § 110 as “change his thinking.”

⁵⁴⁸ See the notes to “mobs” at § 31 and “people” at § 40.

⁵⁴⁹ For the sequel, see §§ 149-54 below. Characteristically (see Introduction), Josephus builds suspense by opening a story but then leaving the conclusion pending.

⁵⁵⁰ Introduced in § 61 as the replacement for Varus, the Iturean who had first been elevated in the absence of Philip son of Iacimus, and who then tried to reassert his claim to royal power in Agrippa’s absence. On his name, see the note there.

⁵⁵¹ See the note to “Gamala” at § 46. Josephus continues to build narrative tension concerning the important issue of Philip son of Iacimus and Gamala. The last we heard (§ 60-1), Philip had reached Gamala, where Iturean refugees from Varus’ attack on Little Babylonia (the Ecbatana region) had also fled. Josephus claims that in spite of a strong sentiment there for an attack on Varus and Caesarea (from the displaced Itureans?) and perhaps revolt from the king (by the natives?), Philip kept Gamala at peace with Rome. Here, King Agrippa still does not know that Philip is alive, let alone still

supportive (see § 180 below). Presumably, we are to surmise that he has heard rumors of restiveness at this major fortress.

⁵⁵² Although standard Roman siege techniques, which called for a at least one wall (*vallum*) to encircle the besieged site, could not be executed because of the terrain and lack of manpower, the force was sufficient to secure the perimeter with a series of bases and patrols.

⁵⁵³ The name of a Roman *gens*: see L&S s.v.

⁵⁵⁴ A decurion (Greek δεκάδραρχος; cf. H.J. Mason 1974:33) was normally an officer commanding a squadron (*turma*) of only 30-32 auxiliary cavalry. There were 16 squadrons to an auxiliary *ala* or cavalry “wing,” under the command of a prefect, until in the late first century, it appears, 24-squadron wings (of 800-1000 men) developed. (Legionary cavalry units were commanded by centurions.) Typically, Roman officers with legionary experience commanded auxiliary forces. See Le Bohec 1994:26, 46. It appears that Aebutius was in the service of Agrippa II, though possibly he serves under Cestius Gallus, legate of Syria. In the *War*, he is not introduced until after Vespasian’s arrival in Galilee (cf. *Life* 407), when he is sent with the tribune Placidus and 1000 cavalry to take Josephus’ stronghold at Iotapata (*War* 3.144). He dies later in the battle for Gamala (*War* 4.36). In both of the *War* passages, Josephus emphasizes Aebutius’ courage and ability.

⁵⁵⁵ Greek προστασία; cf. Latin *praesidium*. Both terms involve all the qualities that a *praeses* should ideally exhibit: care, protection, aid, direction, command. Cf. “protector” (προστάτης) at § 250.

⁵⁵⁶ That is, the Plain of Esdraelon, immediately S of Galilee (*War* 3.39), running from the region around Scythopolis near the Jordan River NW to the coast between Mt. Carmel and Ptolemais. It makes sense for a cavalry officer to have command of the plain—a circumstance that Josephus will now use to his advantage.

⁵⁵⁷ A village at the SW extremity of Galilee, near Bet Shearim or Besara (§ 118), in low hills adjoining the plain.

⁵⁵⁸ About 7.5 miles, 12 km. See note to § 64.

had with him, along with some 200 infantry, enlisting⁵⁵⁹ also the residents of the city of Gaba⁵⁶⁰ as allies; he guided them by night and came to the village where I was living. **116** Since I too had prepared for battle with a large force,⁵⁶¹ Aebutius tried to lure us down into the plain, for with his cavalry he had been very potent. We did not oblige him, however. Understanding well the superiority that he would have with his cavalry if we should descend to the plain,⁵⁶² for we were infantry exclusively, I knew how to engage his combatants.⁵⁶³ **117** For a while, Aebutius held out valiantly with those around him, but when he saw that his cavalry force was unsuited to this terrain, he decamped,⁵⁶⁴ ineffective, to the city of Gaba. He had lost three men in the fight.

118 I pursued on foot,⁵⁶⁵ bringing along⁵⁶⁶ 2,000 armed soldiers. When I came near the city of Besara⁵⁶⁷ where Aebutius was living, which lies on the frontier of Ptolemais, twenty stadia⁵⁶⁸ away from Gaba, I stationed the armed soldiers outside the village. After commanding them to patrol the roads with security so that the enemy would not harass us before we could carry out the grain— **119** for Queen Berenice⁵⁶⁹ had gathered it from the surrounding villages⁵⁷⁰ and stored much there⁵⁷¹—by loading the camels and donkeys, I procured⁵⁷² a vast amount, and sent the grain off into Galilee.⁵⁷³ **120** After I had done this, I challenged Aebutius to battle. When he would not oblige, for he was intimidated by our preparedness and daring,⁵⁷⁴ I turned against Neopolitanus; for I had heard that the

*Josephus' force
steals
Berenice's
grain*

⁵⁵⁹ This verb (middle of ἐπαύγω) appears in § 112 as “supplying.”

⁵⁶⁰ According to Josephus, Gaba was just on the outside of Galilee, and adjacent to Mt. Carmel (*War* 3.35). Gaba (Geba in Pliny, *Nat.* 5.19) was known as the “city of cavalry” (πόλις ἵππέων) because Herod had established the site for his élite cavalry veterans (*Ant.* 15.294). The site is not yet certainly identified. There was one Gaba at Tell Abu-Shush on the SW fringe of Galilee, where inscriptions and coins bearing the name have been found; but there may have been another town of the same name (the one founded by Herod) at el-Hartiah on the edge of the Akko-Ptolemais plain. See Appendix A.

⁵⁶¹ At least 2 000, in view of § 118.

⁵⁶² It was general knowledge that cavalry forces, mainly staffed by auxiliaries in the Roman army, had an enormous advantage in the open plain, and that infantry were best suited to hillier country (or flat land if the enemy had no cavalry). See further § 397 and Frontinus, *Strat.* 2.18.

⁵⁶³ Greek πολέμιοι, elsewhere translated as “enemy.” This is Josephus’ first military engagement in the *Life*. It illustrates the main theme of his generalship: resourcefulness triumphs over superior force.

⁵⁶⁴ See the note to this word at § 44.

⁵⁶⁵ Because Josephus had only infantry in his force (§ 116).

⁵⁶⁶ The same verb (middle of ἐπαύγω) is used in different senses at §§ 107, 112, 115, 119.

⁵⁶⁷ Identified by a stone inscription mentioning Besara as Bet Shearim (see Appendix A), which would become a center of rabbinic Judaism under the rabbis of the third and fourth centuries CE. Less than 3 miles/5

km W of Gaba, it marked the extremity of coastal Ptolemais’ territorial reach. Although the site is mentioned only here in Josephus, we may conclude from Aebutius’ residence there and the presence of royal grain stores that Besara had been given to Berenice (if not Agrippa II).

⁵⁶⁸ About 2.5 miles, 4 km. See note at § 64.

⁵⁶⁹ Thus Besara appears to have been given to Berenice.

⁵⁷⁰ On the meaning of such phrases—indicating that the villages were dominated by the head village or town in a toparchy—see Cotton 1999:86-7; *War* 2.252; *Ant.* 18.31; 20.159. Cf. the note to “Hippenes” at § 42.

⁵⁷¹ On grain storehouses, see the note to “belong to Caesar” at § 71, also § 188, where Josephus stockpiles grain for the Galilean campaign.

⁵⁷² The same verb (middle of ἐπαύγω) appears in §§ 107 and 118 as “bring along,” in § 115 as “enlist” and in § 112 as “supply.”

⁵⁷³ Paradoxically, while in Galilee Josephus reserves imperial and royal possessions for their rightful owners (§§ 68-9, 71-2, 128); while fighting outside his territory, he plays the role of opposing general and takes the enemy’s supplies for his own people.

⁵⁷⁴ If Josephus had 2000 men against Aebutius’ squadron of 30 or so horsemen (see the note to “decurion” at § 115), Aebutius might well have considered it a mismatch. Note, however, that Josephus consistently claims that he intimidated royal and Roman troops into avoiding confrontation with him (§§ 121, 215, 406). It is easy to imagine that Aebutius was barely aware of Josephus’ grain-gathering activities, and simply did not bother with him; compare the cases of Neopolitanus and Placidus in the passages mentioned here.

territory⁵⁷⁵ of the Tiberians was being plundered by him.

*Josephus
checks
Neapolitanus
near Tiberias*

121 Neapolitanus⁵⁷⁶ was the prefect⁵⁷⁷ of a wing,⁵⁷⁸ and he had assumed responsibility for the protection of Scythopolis⁵⁷⁹ from the enemy. Once I had prevented this fellow from devastating the Tiberians' land any further,⁵⁸⁰ I made provision⁵⁸¹ for the Galilee.⁵⁸²

*Ioannes' efforts
to create defec-
tion from
Josephus: only
Gabara obliges*

(25) 122⁵⁸³ Now the son of Levis,⁵⁸⁴ Ioannes, whom we described as living in Gischala,⁵⁸⁵ when he discovered that everything was proceeding according to my purpose,⁵⁸⁶ that I was acting from good will towards my supporters but with terror towards the enemy,⁵⁸⁷ was not well disposed in his opinion.⁵⁸⁸ Supposing that my success implied his destruction, he drifted⁵⁸⁹ into extreme⁵⁹⁰ envy.⁵⁹¹ **123** Hoping to arrest my good fortune if he could incite

⁵⁷⁵ That is, not Tiberias itself but the territory (χώρα), including villages, dependent upon the city.

⁵⁷⁶ A Neapolitanus (from Neapolis [Naples])—probably the famous Italian city of this name) is introduced in *War* 2.335-41 as a fair-minded tribune (χιλίαρχος) of the Syrian governor Cestius Gallus, who is sent to Jerusalem to assess the temper of the populace. Finding them aggrieved but peaceful, he encourages them to remain loyal, pays his respects at the temple, and returns. It is not clear whether this tribune is the same man as Josephus' cavalry-prefect opponent here. If so, Josephus has mistaken his rank in one place, or wrongly dated it. Each legion had six tribunes, the most senior of whom (*tribunus laticlavus*) was second-in-command to the legionary legate. Although it was common enough for a cavalry prefect to become a tribune eventually, the order here would be reversed, since Cestius sends the tribune before Josephus is sent to Galilee. Since it is difficult to see how Josephus could be mistaken in either place (Cestius would not have sent a cavalry prefect for such a mission, and Josephus would not likely be wrong about his opponent's position), it seems safest to suppose that these are two different men.

⁵⁷⁷ As we have seen (note to "prefect" at § 33), Greek ἑπαρχος and Latin *praefectus* have many different applications in the Roman administrative world. One use of the term attested on inscriptions (*IGR* 1.1183; 3.1201-2) is for the commander of a cavalry wing (H. J. Mason 1974:139).

⁵⁷⁸ Greek ἄλῃ transliterates the Latin *ala*, technically an auxiliary cavalry force of 16 squadrons (*turmae*) of 30-32 soldiers each (or, from the Flavian period, 24 squadrons): see Le Bohec 1994:26. Whereas the decurion Aebutius (preceding paragraph) commanded one squadron (*turma*), the prefect Neapolitanus here commands an entire wing or *ala*. Nevertheless, we should not assume that Josephus uses this term technically, for in Greek writers: "[ἄλῃ] tends to mean little more than 'a unit of horse' and it is up to the reader to deduce the Roman unit involved" (H.J. Mason 1974:165).

⁵⁷⁹ See the note to "Scythopolitans" at § 26.

⁵⁸⁰ Given that Josephus obviously wishes to demon-

strate his military prowess, he is remarkably vague here about the means by which he checked Neapolitanus' activities. It would be interesting to know to what extent Neapolitanus felt threatened by Josephus' police actions. See also §§ 120, 215, 406.

⁵⁸¹ After his first military skirmishes, Josephus returns to a prominent theme: §§ 62, 74, 77.

⁵⁸² Josephus appears to return to Tarichea at this point (see § 127 below).

⁵⁸³ This paragraph (§§ 122-25) has a summary function, for Ioannes of Gischala, much as §§ 80-4 summarized Josephus' accomplishments. In both cases, the specific city-related events referred to create a number of problems for the reader who wishes to follow Josephus' point. They would arguably function much better in oral presentation, making moralistic assertions with supporting evidence that is best not pursued.

⁵⁸⁴ See the notes to "Ioannes" and "Levis" at § 43.

⁵⁸⁵ Ioannes has been introduced at *Life* 43-5 as a prominent figure at Gischala, who first tried to restrain his citizens from anti-Roman activity but then responded to attacks from gentile towns by launching his own raids and fortifying his town. In §§ 70-6, Josephus visits Ioannes at Gischala and finds him now eager for both revolution and personal power. It is this personal rivalry, as Josephus presents it, that will evolve into the major conflict of his Galilean career: against the delegation sent from Jerusalem (§§ 189-92).

⁵⁸⁶ A similar phrase appears in *Ant.* 5.319.

⁵⁸⁷ Josephus used a similar phrase (τοῖς πολεμίοις . . . πρὸς ἐπιπλήξιν) of Vespasian at *War* 3.146.

⁵⁸⁸ Greek οὐκ εὖ τὴν γνώμην διετέθη. Although the mss. read the verb as τίθημι rather than διατίθημι, I follow Niese's conjecture, followed by Thackeray and the Münster team. See the note to "opinions" at § 22.

⁵⁸⁹ In a moralizing tone here, Josephus presents jealousy as the rock on which an aimless ship has foundered. Although he began with honorable intentions, according to Josephus (§§ 43-44), Ioannes is now pictured as having lost the ability to steer his character.

⁵⁹⁰ See the note to "extreme" at § 22.

⁵⁹¹ It is a characteristic theme of Josephus' narratives

hatred⁵⁹² among my supporters, he tried to persuade the residents of Tiberias, those of Sepphoris along with them, and also those of Gabara⁵⁹³—these cities⁵⁹⁴ are the greatest throughout Galilee⁵⁹⁵—to defect from loyalty to me⁵⁹⁶ and to join him. For he claimed that he would be a better general for them than I was.⁵⁹⁷ **124** But the Sepphorites, since they would not devote themselves to either one of us on account of having chosen the Romans as masters, did not give their approval to him;⁵⁹⁸ the Tiberians, although they did not embrace the defection, agreed to become his friends;⁵⁹⁹ whereas the residents of Gabara joined themselves to Ioannes.⁶⁰⁰ Simon,⁶⁰¹ the leading man⁶⁰² of the city,⁶⁰³ was the one who appealed to them, apparently treating Ioannes as a friend and companion.⁶⁰⁴ **125** Yet they did not openly endorse the defection, for they had become terribly afraid of the Galileans,⁶⁰⁵ since they had often enough had occasion to experience their [the Galileans'] goodwill towards us.⁶⁰⁶ Secretly watching for an opportune moment, they [the Gabarans] kept plotting, and I certainly came into the greatest danger for such a reason as this.⁶⁰⁷

that success (εὐπραγία) brings with it envy (φθόνος). See *War* 1.67 and *Ant.* 13.288, concerning John Hyrcanus' success and consequent problems, and Josephus' editorial comment: "It is impossible in success (εὐπραγία) to avoid envy (φθόνος)" (*War* 1.208). Cf. S. Mason 1991:225-27. See also the note to "envy" at § 80.

⁵⁹² The parallels with Josephus' hero John Hyrcanus (see previous note) continue. Also in Hyrcanus' case, his success (εὐπραγία), which is also called good fortune (εὐτυχία—*Ant.* 13.300), is the cause for his opponents to incite hatred (μῖσος) among the mob (*Ant.* 13.296).

⁵⁹³ See the note to Gabarenes at § 82.

⁵⁹⁴ See the note to "city" at § 124.

⁵⁹⁵ Cf. § 203, where the three cities are mentioned together by the Jerusalem authorities as the major centers. Characteristically, Josephus assumes no knowledge of Palestinian geography on the part of his readers.

⁵⁹⁶ It is not clear that any of these places had ever been loyal to Josephus: Sepphoris was pro-Roman and fearful of him (§§ 30-1, 104, 124); Josephus had fled Tiberias in fear for his life, since the city had largely supported Ioannes already (§§ 87-96); and although we know nothing yet of the Gabarenes, they will turn out to be solid supporters of Ioannes (see note to "Gabarenes" at § 82).

⁵⁹⁷ Ever since § 70 Josephus has charged Ioannes with longing for the command (ἀρχή) of Galilee. It is this longing that makes him envious of Josephus' success (§§ 84-5) and drives him to bid for the Tiberians' allegiance (§§ 87-8).

⁵⁹⁸ Nor did they support Josephus (§ 104), a fact that he blurs here.

⁵⁹⁹ According to §§ 87-88, the influential leaders Iustus and Pistus had already sided with Ioannes and largely persuaded the Tiberian populace, such that Josephus had to flee the city (§ 96). Although there does not seem to be much practical difference between them and the Gabarenes, Josephus will single out the latter

for their hostility (see next note).

⁶⁰⁰ Gabara will now support Ioannes under direction from Jerusalem (§ 203) and receive both the Jerusalem delegation and Ioannes warmly (§§ 229, 233, 313). This is why Josephus will refuse to meet his opponents there, placing Gabara on a par with only Gischala in its hostility toward him (§ 235).

⁶⁰¹ This is the only appearance of this character in Josephus' corpus. His name is extremely common among Josephus' contemporaries.

⁶⁰² Greek [ὁ] πρωτεύων. At § 313 Josephus speaks of the "leading men" of Gabara (οἱ πρωτεύοντες).

⁶⁰³ Greek πόλις as in § 123. But at § 242 he calls Gabaroth, which appears to be the same place (cf. § 242), a village (κώμη), which is probably a fairer categorization. See Appendix A.

⁶⁰⁴ For the phrase, see also *Ant.* 7.24.

⁶⁰⁵ This is puzzling language, given the Gabarenes' subsequent actions (see note to Ioannes at § 124). Cf. § 36, where Josephus claims that Iustus pretended to be ambivalent about revolutionary actions and then (§§ 37-40) makes an impassioned speech for revolutionary actions. Josephus appears to trap himself in conflicting motives: to show that towns opposing him were reprehensible and bent on revolution, but that they really feared him and his forces because he was such a force to be reckoned with, and so they pretended not to defy him.

⁶⁰⁶ None of this has yet been described, though Gabara will play a prominent role in the Galileans' public demonstration of loyalty to Josephus at §§ 242-65.

⁶⁰⁷ Josephus once again prepares the audience for a story yet to come. But in this case, unlike the other episodes that he begins and interrupts (re: the furnishings from the Tiberian palace, or Philip son of Iacimus; see Introduction), there is no clear sequel. Gabara features most importantly as a place where Josephus successfully confronts the delegation: §§ 235, 242-65.

Although Thackeray renders "under the following

*Dabarittan
youth rob a
royal official's
wife*

(26) 126⁶⁰⁸ Some audacious young men⁶⁰⁹ of Dabarittan⁶¹⁰ origin,⁶¹¹ having closely observed the wife⁶¹² of the king's administrator Ptolemy⁶¹³ making her way through the Great Plain,⁶¹⁴ from territory subject to the royals into that occupied by the Romans,⁶¹⁵ with considerable equipment⁶¹⁶ and some mounted soldiers attending her for the sake of security, suddenly fell upon them. 127 They compelled the woman to flee, but seized everything that she was transporting and came into Tarichea,⁶¹⁷ leading to me⁶¹⁸ four mules⁶¹⁹ loaded with clothes and gear. There was also a considerable stash of silver⁶²⁰ and some 500⁶²¹ gold pieces.

*Josephus inter-
venes, restores
plunder to
Agrippa via
Dassion and
Ianneus*

128 Wanting to preserve these things for Ptolemy, since he was a compatriot—and even robbing adversaries is proscribed by our laws⁶²²—, I said⁶²³ to those who had brought them that it was necessary to keep them so that the walls of Jerusalem might be repaired from their sale.⁶²⁴ 129 But the young fellows had a hard time accepting that they would

circumstances,” Josephus’ word τοιαύτη (“such as this”) is not so specific, and the following story does not in fact illustrate the Gabarans’ plotting. Since the order of episodes is quite different in *War* 2.583-95, we seem to have here rather a loose connection of stories, associated by common themes and words.

⁶⁰⁸ The Dabarittan affair comes in *War* 2.595-613, immediately following Ioannes’ two money-making schemes (cf. *Life* 70-6) but well before Ioannes leads the revolt at Tiberias (*War* 2.614-25), which has already occurred in the *Life* (84-103).

⁶⁰⁹ In this episode, Josephus withholds any explicit denunciation, apparently demonstrating his wise and charitable indulgence of youthful excesses.

⁶¹⁰ Mentioned only here, in *Life* 318, and in the *War* parallel to this passage (*War* 2.595), Dabaritta was the biblical Daverat, at the W base of Mt. Tabor (Josh 19:12), thus adjoining the Plain of Esdraelon as Josephus observes at § 318.

⁶¹¹ This word (γένος) is elsewhere rendered “ancestry.”

⁶¹² According to *War* 2.595, Ptolemy himself was attacked. This seems to be one of the countless details that Josephus changes for no discernible reason, perhaps deliberately to vary his story.

⁶¹³ This procurator (ἐπίτροπος—see H.J. Mason 1974:142-43) of Agrippa II appears only here and in the parallel at *War* 2.595, where he is procurator of Agrippa II and Berenice.

⁶¹⁴ The Plain of Esdraelon. See note at § 115.

⁶¹⁵ The extreme vagueness of this statement suggests that Josephus does not expect his readers to follow the historical or geographical details as much as to catch his moral lessons. In principle, everything outside of Agrippa II’s territory (N and E of Lake Gennesar and the cities of Tiberias and Tarichea—*Ant.* 20.159; *Life* 38) and the free Greek cities of the Decapolis was under direct Roman control. Now, however, much of the Galilee was in revolt. Perhaps, then, Ptolemy’s wife was

headed from E of the lake (less likely from Tiberias or Tarichea, given their turmoil) via the Decapolis to the Roman coastal stronghold of Caesarea. No matter where she had begun, this westward journey across the rebellious Galilee would have been treacherous.

⁶¹⁶ Literally “provision” (Greek παρασκευή) but often used in a military context for an armed escort. It is not clear whether Josephus intends to emphasize the logistical challenge faced by the daring young men or the abundance of goods in question (Thackeray: “in great state”). *War* 2.595 features the large amount of gold and silver (of Ptolemy himself).

⁶¹⁷ Evidently, Josephus has returned to Tarichea after checking Neapolitanus near Tiberias (§ 121). He is apparently not welcome in Tiberias (§ 96).

⁶¹⁸ In *War* 2.596 Josephus adduces a psychological motive, in keeping with the later complaint of the men: they only brought the plunder to him because they could not hope to dispose of such riches otherwise.

⁶¹⁹ There are no mules in the *War* parallel.

⁶²⁰ For the phrase (ἀργυρίου σταθμός), see *Life* 68, 296, where the silver in question is uncoined. In the *War* parallel (2.595), however, the robbers bring back silver goblets.

⁶²¹ According to *War* 2.595: 600 gold pieces.

⁶²² See the note to “sacrilegious to us” at § 26. Josephus maintains his posture as a Judean writing for gentiles, praising the Judean laws at every opportunity. In this case, Exod. 23:4 explicitly requires the return of an enemy’s donkey gone astray.

⁶²³ See the note to “said” at § 22.

⁶²⁴ According to *War* 2.596-98, Josephus forthrightly censures the robbers and declares that the goods must be held in trust for Ptolemy. This apparent *non sequitur* in the *Life*—“Wanting to preserve them for Ptolemy . . . , I said that it was necessary to keep them so that the walls of Jerusalem might be repaired”—highlights Josephus’ eagerness to show himself the clever trickster. He is not embarrassed about this dupli-

not receive a share of the spoils as they had expected,⁶²⁵ and so they went into the villages around Tiberias and said that I was about to betray the territory to the Romans.⁶²⁶ **130** in claiming to keep what had been procured by the raid for the repair of the city walls of the Jerusalemites, I had employed a clever trick⁶²⁷ against them; I had really planned to return the seized goods to “the master.”⁶²⁸ **131** In this respect, they did not mistake my intention.⁶²⁹ For once they had been released,⁶³⁰ I sent for the two principal men, Dassion and Ianneus the son of Levis,⁶³¹ who were established friends⁶³² of the king at the highest level, and instructed them to take the gear from the raid and to conduct it to him. I threatened death as the penalty if they should report these matters to another person.⁶³³

(27) **132** Once the rumor had taken hold of the entire Galilee that their territory was about to be betrayed to the Romans by me,⁶³⁴ everyone was stirred up for my punishment. When the residents of Tarichea themselves supposed the young fellows to be telling the truth, they persuaded* my bodyguards and armed soldiers to leave me sleeping and to go quickly to the hippodrome: there, with everyone, they would deliberate concerning the general. **133** A large crowd⁶³⁵ had already assembled beforehand when these men⁶³⁶ were persuaded and joined in. They were all making one sound: to discipline the man who had become a wretched traitor⁶³⁷ in relation to them. **134** Iesus the son of Sapphias,⁶³⁸ then

massive revolt at Tarichea, led by Iesus son of Sapphias, over perception that Josephus would betray Galilee to Romans

ity, but relishes his resourceful deceptions. See Introduction. Later (§ 142) Josephus will change stories again to suit the mob’s wishes, and claim that he was saving the plunder for the walls of Tarichea.

⁶²⁵ In this episode, Josephus withholds any explicit denunciation (contrast *War* 2.597: “he censured them for this act of violence”), showing his wise understanding of the young men’s predictable complaint. This is not to say that he condones their behavior, but in keeping with his general manner of rounded characterization in the *Antiquities-Life* (S. Mason, BJP 3.xxxii-xxxiv), he brings to the fore their youthful impulsiveness rather than simply condemning them.

⁶²⁶ So also *War* 2.598.

⁶²⁷ Greek σόφισμα. Of the 6 occurrences of the word in Josephus, 2 appear in the *Life* (cf. § 280).

⁶²⁸ Josephus’ word δεσπότης usually signifies either the master of the house or an absolute ruler. In summaries and speeches, he typically tries to reflect the sentiments of the speakers. It is unclear whether the young men view Agrippa II as simply the owner of the property or, more sarcastically, as the master of both the property and Josephus himself.

⁶²⁹ Greek γνώμη. See the note to “opinions” at § 22.

⁶³⁰ Josephus’ verb, ἀπαλλάσσω, suggests the idea of getting away free or escaping. Perhaps he uses it to reinforce the theme of his clemency toward the hot-headed young men, whom he was entitled to discipline. In *War* 2.597, by contrast, it is Josephus’ immediate handing of the goods over to Agrippa’s friend, in front of the young men, that causes their anger.

⁶³¹ According to *War* 2.597, Josephus publicly entrusted the goods to one man named Anneus, the most powerful or prominent (ὁ δυνατώτατος) man in Tari-

chea. These two friends of the king are otherwise unknown, unless Ianneus is the Anneus of *War*’s version. Ianneus represents the Hebrew Yannai, itself an abbreviation of יהונתן, the name of the famous Hasmonean king (*War* 1.85; *Ant.* 13.320; cf. Schürer-Vermes 1.227). On Levis (here Ληούης), see the note at § 43.

⁶³² See the note to “friends” at § 79: Josephus often uses the term in its more political sense of “close advisers.”

⁶³³ The secrecy command is absent from the *War* version, where it would be meaningless since Josephus has publicly given the goods to Anneus.

⁶³⁴ That is, the rumor spread by the young men in § 129. The accusation of Rome-friendliness is plausible, given Josephus’ expressed sentiments (§§ 17-9) and behavior (§§ 68, 130). In his own self-portrait, however, he was committed to doing his duty as general nonetheless, like Ananus (*War* 2.648-51).

⁶³⁵ *War* 2.598 claims that 100,000 men in arms had gathered in the hippodrome by daybreak. The *Life* does not assume such a large crowd. Now it is an issue that his bodyguard and relatively small troop have left him, swelling the crowd of opponents—a factor not mentioned in the *War* and hardly relevant there given the alleged size of the opposition.

⁶³⁶ That is: Josephus’ bodyguard and armed soldiers.

⁶³⁷ For this conjunction (προδοτής πονηρός), see also Aeschines 3.81; Demosthenes, *Or.* 15.23; Dinarchus, *Demosth.* 1.52.

⁶³⁸ Although the mss. here read “son of Sapithas,” the parallel in *War* 2.599 has Iesus son of Sapphias, the same Tiberian leader who is mentioned at *Life* 66. Josephus has introduced him at *Life* 66 at the head of a faction of sailors and ingrates, who burned down the

the council-president⁶³⁹ in Tiberias, a wretched person whose nature was to disrupt large affairs,⁶⁴⁰ a sedition-fomenter⁶⁴¹ and revolutionary⁶⁴² like no other, especially incited them.⁶⁴³ At that time⁶⁴⁴ he actually took the laws of Moses into his hands⁶⁴⁵ and, having come forward into the [city] center,⁶⁴⁶ declared: **135** “If you are not able to hate Josephus for your own sakes,⁶⁴⁷ citizens, turn your attention to the ancestral laws,⁶⁴⁸ of which your foremost⁶⁴⁹ general was about to become a traitor. For the sake of these [laws], hate evil⁶⁵⁰ and punish such an insolent⁶⁵¹ man!” **(28) 136** When he had said these things, the mob applauded him.⁶⁵² He gathered up some armed soldiers and hurried towards the house in which I was lodging, to dispose of me.⁶⁵³

*Josephus
rushes to hip-
podrome to
address masses
in his defense*

Not detecting anything in advance, before the disturbance I had turned in⁶⁵⁴ because of fatigue. **137** Now Simon, who had been entrusted with the protection of my person, and the only one who had stayed behind,⁶⁵⁵ when he saw the rush of the citizens, woke me up and apprised me of the impending danger. He thought it fitting that I should die nobly⁶⁵⁶

royal palace in Tiberias. That Josephus fails to recall that introduction here, while providing a new one filled with rhetorical commonplaces, illustrates further his haphazard arrangement of episodes. Recall that in § 66 he referred to a previous introduction of Iesus that is not to be found.

⁶³⁹ Greek ἄρχων. Also at §§ 278, 294, 300 (cf. *War* 2.599), Iesus appears the council president (cf. “mayor”) of Tiberias. See the note to “Sapphias” at § 66.

⁶⁴⁰ Remarkably, Josephus uses this same lengthy phrase (ταράξαι μεγάλα πράγματα φύσιν ἔχων) of the unnamed man who assisted the “false Alexander” in making a bid for Herod’s legacy (*Ant.* 17.325). A distant parallel is in Herodotus 5.124.1: ταράξας . . . , καὶ ἐγκερασάμενος πρήγματα μεγάλα.

⁶⁴¹ This rare Greek word (στασιοποιός) appears only here in all of Josephus. The cognate verb (στασιοποιέω) appears at *Ant.* 17.117, in Nicolaus’ denunciation of Herod’s son Antipater for intrigue.

⁶⁴² Greek νεωτεριστής. For the coupling of this word with another στάσις-compound, see *Ant.* 14.141.

⁶⁴³ According to *War* 2.599, Ioannes, who is not even mentioned here, was the chief instigator; Iesus accompanied him.

⁶⁴⁴ Greek τότε, translated “then” earlier in this same section (§ 134).

⁶⁴⁵ Since each of the books of Moses would have had its own scroll, Josephus probably does not mean that Iesus came carrying the five scrolls. But he must have had something of the laws in his hands. Given that Josephus considers the physical copies of the laws sacrosanct (*War* 228-31), his language here seems to imply that Iesus’ action belies his claim to piety. It is typical of his opponents, in *Life*’s portrayal, to use piety as a cloak for their misdeeds (§§ 74-6, 275).

⁶⁴⁶ Or “into the middle [of the crowd].” See the note to this phrase at § 37.

⁶⁴⁷ Josephus thus has Iesus admit that the Taricheans have no real quarrel with Josephus. Iesus must resort to manipulation to divert them toward his aims.

⁶⁴⁸ Greek οἱ πάτριοι νόμοι. See the note to “legal matters” at § 9.

⁶⁴⁹ Or “first” (Greek πρῶτος).

⁶⁵⁰ Or “hate the wretch(ed)” (Greek μισοπονηρέω), in keeping with the translation of the same root as “wretched” at §§ 133, 134.

⁶⁵¹ Here and at § 263 (in the phrase τοιαῦτα τολμήσαντα) I translate the verb τολμάω as “be insolent,” elsewhere as “dare.”

⁶⁵² On the vulnerability of the mob to persuasive speakers, see the notes to “mobs” at § 31 and “people” at § 40.

⁶⁵³ While Cicero was consul in 63 BCE, his enemy Catiline had similarly sent an armed band to his house to kill him; Cicero, forewarned, escaped to the base of the Palatine hill, where he condemned Catiline (Plutarch, *Cic.* 16.1-6).

⁶⁵⁴ The verb κατέχω does not convey a very clear sense here, although a reference to sleep is required by the context. If we supplied ὕπνω on the analogy of *Ant.* 5.148, supposing that this has dropped out of the ms. tradition, we might read (cf. Thackeray), “I had settled into sleep.”

⁶⁵⁵ Cf. § 132, where Josephus’ bodyguard and army leave him. In the parallel at *War* 2.601, Josephus’ four remaining colleagues urge him to flee.

⁶⁵⁶ Greek θνήσκω γενναίως. It was a direct consequence of Stoic ethics, which insisted upon the utter internal freedom of the individual, that suicide was always a final option for the virtuous—as a way of avoiding any forced compromise of virtue or other exceptional circumstances. See Diogenes Laertius 7.130 (on Zeno) and Marcus Aurelius, *Med.* 3.1; 5.29; 8.47; 9.2; Droge and Tabor 1992; also next note.

by my own hand, as a general,⁶⁵⁷ before my adversaries came to compel me or to kill me [themselves]. **138** Although he was saying these things, I, having entrusted my affairs to God,⁶⁵⁸ set out to meet the mob in advance. I put on black clothes,⁶⁵⁹ hung my sword from my neck,⁶⁶⁰ and went into the hippodrome—by a different route, on which I did not think any of the enemy would encounter me. When I suddenly appeared and fell face-down, wetting the dry ground with my tears,⁶⁶¹ I seemed to everyone an object of pity. **139** Perceiving the mob's reversal,⁶⁶² I tried to strengthen the disagreement in their opinions⁶⁶³ before the armed soldiers returned from the house.⁶⁶⁴ I conceded that I had committed an injustice⁶⁶⁵—as they at least imagined⁶⁶⁶—but I begged first to teach them for what purpose I was reserving the goods procured in the raid. Then I would die, if they should direct it.⁶⁶⁷ **140** As the mob was directing⁶⁶⁸ me to speak, however, the armed soldiers arrived and, when they observed me, they ran towards me to kill me. But the mob directed them to hold off, and they were persuaded—expecting that I would confess to them that I had kept the goods for the king,⁶⁶⁹ and that, after I had confessed the betrayal, they would dispose of me.

⁶⁵⁷ Cohen (1982:386-92) has conveniently assembled numerous examples of: (a) the suicide of dignitaries precluding capture; (b) defeated soldiers taking their lives to prevent capture; (c) warriors killing their families in anticipation of defeat; and (d) the inhabitants of besieged towns or fortresses committing suicide to avoid capture. On (b), the most relevant here, see e.g. Cassius Dio 40.25.2; 56.21.5. In the *War*, Josephus has made such suicide a prominent theme. First, when his fortress at Iotapata is under final attack by the Romans, he is pressed by his fellow soldiers to take his own life; there he gives a vigorous speech against suicide (*War* 3.355-82). Indeed, Josephus claims to know a “law of the Judeans” that generals should die (*War* 3.400), a law that was apparently known also to his colleagues, who are eager to help him die as a Judean general (*War* 3.359). Near the end of that narrative, famously, the militants hopelessly besieged at Masada take their own lives to preclude capture, and in that context Josephus displays his rhetorical ability by giving Eleazar a compelling speech in favor of suicide (7.320-88). See also the note to “Jerusalem” at *Life* 407, in relation to Philip son of Iacimus.

Especially in light of the fact that Josephus here modifies the *War* (2.601) account by having one remaining guard counsel suicide, rather than having four recommend flight, it is hard to avoid the impression that he intends an ironic allusion to his defining moment in the *War*.

⁶⁵⁸ Greek τῷ θεῷ τὰ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἐπιτρέψας. Josephus appears to continue his ironic allusion to the *War*, where he similarly entrusts himself to God rather than committing suicide at Iotapata (3.389), and where his speech outside Jerusalem (5.382, 390, 400) repeatedly calls upon the rebels to entrust themselves to God (ἐπιτρέπω . . . θεῷ). For the phrase, see also Aristophanes, *Ran.* 530-1.

⁶⁵⁹ *War* 2.601 has torn clothes with ashes on the

head, in keeping with the biblical tradition of torn clothes, sackcloth (perhaps represented here by Josephus' black clothes), and ashes (Esth 4:1). Ordinarily, Mediterranean men wore light-colored outer clothes (white or yellow cloth with darker stripes for borders): see Douglas R. Edwards, *ABD* 2.236.

⁶⁶⁰ Josephus thus demonstrated both that the sword was not concealed (cf. § 293) and that he could not easily use it without injuring himself. *War* 2.601 adds that he kept his hands behind his back.

⁶⁶¹ These more extreme histrionics are absent from the *War* parallel (2.601-2).

⁶⁶² Josephus continues his theme of the mob's fickleness; cf. § 136. See the notes to “mobs” at § 31 and “people” at § 40.

⁶⁶³ Greek διστάναι τὰς γνώμας αὐτῶν. See the note to “opinions” at § 22. For the strategy of creating dissent (στάσις) amongst one's accusers, cf. Acts 23:6-10.

⁶⁶⁴ That is, the soldiers (§ 136) who had gone to Josephus' house to kill him.

⁶⁶⁵ Presumably, Josephus' alleged injustice was the withholding of the plunder from the plunderers (cf. § 129).

⁶⁶⁶ This seems to be an ironic aside to the audience, reminding them of Josephus' double game: see the note to “views” at § 22.

⁶⁶⁷ Greek κελεύω, a verb normally reserved for Josephus or others in authority. By using it here, he puts himself (rhetorically) at their mercy.

⁶⁶⁸ Greek κελεύω. See the previous note.

⁶⁶⁹ The mob's expectation accords with what Josephus has already confessed (§§ 130-31): the young men had figured it out and spread the word; he actually did secretly return the goods; and he has confided it to his literary audience. That admission shows that he is quite deliberately lying here in order to persuade the fickle mob.

Josephus promises to spend proceeds on walls of Tarichea

(29) 141 When silence had come to everyone, then, I said:⁶⁷⁰

Men, compatriots! I do not beg to avoid dying, if that is just. But at the same time I do want, before I should end my life, to indicate the truth⁶⁷¹ to you. **142** For because I understood well that this city, so hospitable toward foreigners,⁶⁷² was eagerly accommodating such men as these, who have left behind their native places⁶⁷³ and made common cause with our fortune,⁶⁷⁴ I wanted to construct walls from those goods⁶⁷⁵ about which there is such anger among us, spending thus on their building.⁶⁷⁶

Josephus promises walls for other sites to placate crowds

143 At this, a noise went up from the Taricheans and their [resident] foreigners,⁶⁷⁷ who confessed their feelings of gratitude and gave themselves to cheering, whereas the Galileans and Tiberians continued in their feelings of anger. So a rift⁶⁷⁸ appeared* among them,⁶⁷⁹ some promising⁶⁸⁰ to discipline me, but others to disregard. . . .⁶⁸¹ **144** When I then announced that I would construct walls also for Tiberias⁶⁸² and the other cities of theirs that needed them, and they had thus come to trust me,⁶⁸³ each person departed to

⁶⁷⁰ This speech is significantly different from the parallel at *War* 2.605-7. There, Josephus explicitly denies that he had countenanced returning the goods to the king (their enemy), appeals to the desperate need for secure walls to protect against the Tiberians, who have their eyes on the plunder, and offers not to die but to produce the goods if they would prefer to have them. NB: here in the *Life*, he cannot make such an offer because the goods have already been secretly returned (§ 131). Since the *War* account does a much better job of creating dissension between the Taricheans on the one side and the Tiberians and Galileans on the other, which is what Josephus has stated as his intention here (§ 139), it appears that he has the *War* account in mind but freely changes it to make a new story.

⁶⁷¹ Josephus emphasizes the irony; this is not the truth at all, of course, but Odysseus-like he is making up his story as he goes along.

⁶⁷² Greek: superlative of φιλόξενος, which appears only here in Josephus. Among the highest social virtues of the Greco-Roman, biblical, and Mesopotamian worlds was the provision of food and shelter to strangers in an unfamiliar, potentially hostile environment. Cf. Homer, *Od.* 4.225-34; 6.245-46; Gen 18:1-15; 19:1-11; 24:1-49; Plutarch, *Thes.* 14.3; 23.3. The abstract noun (φιλοξενία) occurs in Josephus only at *Ant.* 1.250, where Abraham's servant, seeking a wife for Isaac, receives warm hospitality. On the one hand, in §§ 143 and 162 Josephus will indeed refer to the resident aliens of Tarichea. On the other hand, the refugee dignitaries from Agrippa's territory have come to Tarichea, and Josephus makes quite an issue of the Taricheans' lack of hospitality towards them (§§ 149-54; cf. 112-13). Josephus thus advertises his rhetorical flattery of the Taricheans in order to achieve his ends.

⁶⁷³ Although he has not explained this clearly in the *Life*, we may surmise from §§ 129-30, 132 that much of the crowd at the hippodrome had come in from Tiberias and the surrounding towns and villages; Iesus

is also there from Tiberias (§ 134). This is more clearly explained in *War* 2.598, where the disappointed young men roam through the towns and villages of Galilee gathering 100,000 men (!) in the Tarichean hippodrome by the next morning.

⁶⁷⁴ Greek τύχη. Josephus continues the rather cynical irony, for he has made it perfectly clear in the *War* that fortune was with the Romans and against the Judean rebels: *War* 2.373, 387; 3.354, 359; 5.122, 367; 7.203.

⁶⁷⁵ The absurdity of the argument—that the hospitality of the Taricheans (toward Josephus' accusers) makes them especially deserving of secure walls—highlights Josephus' rhetorical command of the situation: he can say anything persuasively enough to win over a segment of the mob (§ 143). He characteristically shows thereby his contempt for popular opinion, which can be so easily manipulated.

⁶⁷⁶ Greek δαπανωμένων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν αὐτῶν.

⁶⁷⁷ Cf. § 162, where Josephus again mentions these resident aliens, and § 142, where he notes their hospitality toward strangers.

⁶⁷⁸ Greek στάσις. See the notes to "insurgents" at § 17 and "factions" at § 32.

⁶⁷⁹ Josephus thus succeeds in creating dissension amongst his accusers (§ 139).

⁶⁸⁰ Greek ἀπειλέω means both to promise and to threaten, depending upon context. Josephus takes advantage of both senses here with opposing infinitives.

⁶⁸¹ Possibly: "to reconsider." Or there may be a lacuna in the text.

⁶⁸² This flatly contradicts *War* 3.465, where Josephus expressly states that the walls of Tarichea were not nearly as strong as Tiberias' walls, which had been built at the outset of the conflict, when his resources had been more plentiful. Luther (1910:28) rightly judges this a free construction for Josephus' present rhetorical purposes.

⁶⁸³ Although it was momentarily useful for Josephus

his own home.⁶⁸⁴ And I too, having beyond all hope escaped the danger that I have described, returned home with my friends and twenty armed soldiers.

(30) 145 But now again the bandits⁶⁸⁵ and instigators of sedition⁶⁸⁶ began to fear for themselves, that they might suffer justice⁶⁸⁷ from me because of what they had done, and so they gathered up 600 armed soldiers⁶⁸⁸ and came to the house where I was living, to set fire to it.⁶⁸⁹ **146** When this impending assault was reported to me, I considered it undignified to run, but decided to venture a rather courageous course of action. So, after ordering that the doors of the house be locked, I myself went up to the upper level⁶⁹⁰ and invited them to send in those who would receive the goods;⁶⁹¹ for in this way, I allowed, they would still their rage.⁶⁹² **147** But when they had sent in their most audacious man,⁶⁹³ I tortured him with the use of whips⁶⁹⁴ and also directed him to cut off his other hand⁶⁹⁵ and hang it from his neck.⁶⁹⁶ I then threw him back out in this condition to those who had selected him for the mission. **148** Terror and extreme⁶⁹⁷ fear took hold of them. Becoming anxious, then, that they themselves might suffer the same if they remained, for they figured that I had inside more men than they,⁶⁹⁸ they rushed to escape. And I, using such a maneuver⁶⁹⁹ as this, escaped the second plot.

Josephus thwarts further attack by making an example of one man

to create discord (στάσις) among the masses, to divert their attention from killing him, he cannot leave his charges in that condition of disunity (see Introduction). By offering to build walls for all who need them, he reunites them—but now in support of his leadership.

⁶⁸⁴The parallel at *War* 2.609-10 leaves things rather less settled, for 2 000 of the mob now pursue him to his house.

⁶⁸⁵Note the ease with which Josephus labels his opponents “bandits.” In this case, he must be referring chiefly to Iesus, the president of the Tiberian council (§ 134), who has led the move to punish Josephus. See the note to “bandit” at § 21.

⁶⁸⁶Greek: στάσεως αἵτιοι. See the notes to “insurgents” at § 17 and “sedition-fomenters” at § 134. This particular phrase is characteristic of Josephus only in *Ant.* 20 (4, 127, 174) and the *Life* (§§ 170, 340, 368). Elsewhere he prefers ἀποστάσεως αἵτιοι (*War* 2.642; 3.455; 7.113; *Ant.* 17.295; 20.135).

⁶⁸⁷For the use of “justice” for “punishment,” see the note to “justice” at § 97.

⁶⁸⁸According to *War* 2.610, 2 000 armed soldiers pursued Josephus to his house.

⁶⁸⁹A motive added in the *Life* that was unnecessary in the *War* (2.610) because there the aggressors had simply pursued Josephus home from the hippodrome.

⁶⁹⁰This was probably an open roof, as *War* 2.611 (τέγος) plainly says, from which Josephus called out to the people.

⁶⁹¹That is, the young men of Dabarittan origin who had conducted the raid (§ 126) and who were upset not to have received any spoils (§ 129). Josephus promises them a share now, as a ruse. In *War* 2.611-12, Josephus simply invites a delegation from the crowd.

⁶⁹²This is a set phrase. See the note to “rage” at § 100.

⁶⁹³In *War* 2.612, however, a group comprising the most prominent members (οἱ γνώριμοι) and heads (οἱ ἄρχοντες) enter the house.

⁶⁹⁴According to *War* 2.612, Josephus had the prominent members of the group flayed to the bone. No hands were, however, cut off.

⁶⁹⁵That is, the one not doing the cutting. Cutting off hands is a surprisingly common theme in the *Life*; cf. §§ 171-73, 177. In § 171-73, as here, the victim (Cleitus) is required to cut off his own hand. Outside of the parallel to the Cleitus passage in the *War* (2.642), parallels in other literature have to do mainly with acts in the heat of battle or as an immediate consequence of battle (cf. Herodotus 6.91.2, 114.1; Xenophon, *Cyr.* 7.3.8; *Hell.* 2.1.31; Josephus, *War* 3.378; 3.527; 1 Macc 7:47). In biblical law, cutting off a hand is chiefly required in the case of woman who grabs the genitals of a man who is in a fight with her husband (Deut 25:12), but cf. also Exod 21:24.

⁶⁹⁶Presumably for the purpose of obvious display (§ 138). But this could not have been an easy thing to do with one hand. Especially in view of §§ 171-73, where Cleitus is ordered at first to cut off both of his own hands, one must wonder whether Josephus intends some dark humor here.

⁶⁹⁷See the note to “extreme” at § 22.

⁶⁹⁸For Josephus to have more than 600 men (cf. § 145) in a Tarichean house would be quite a feat in itself, even if, as we may assume, he would occupy the home of one of the wealthiest citizens.

⁶⁹⁹Greek στρατήγημα, “general’s behavior”; see the note to “general” at § 97. Josephus’ contemporary Sextus Iulius Frontinus compiled a practical manual of such behaviors, during Domitian’s reign, for other generals. Although Frontinus writes in Latin, significantly, he borrows the Greek word for the theme and title of

*renewed anger
against
Trachonitan
refugees*

(31) 149 But again certain ones kept provoking the crowd to anger, saying that those royally-connected dignitaries⁷⁰⁰ who had reached me ought not to live, because they did not want to conform to the customs⁷⁰¹ prevailing among those with whom they were present so as to be safe. They also began to malign⁷⁰² them, saying that they were sorcerers⁷⁰³ and preventers of succeeding⁷⁰⁴ against the Romans. And the mob was quickly convinced, being deceived by the very persuasive words spoken to win their favor.⁷⁰⁵ 150 When I discovered these things, I once again tried to educate the populace to the effect that those who had fled to them should not be harassed.⁷⁰⁶ And I ridiculed the nonsense of any arguments about charms, noting that the Romans would not be maintaining so many tens of thousands of soldiers if it were possible to defeat one's enemies by means of sorcerers!⁷⁰⁷ 151 Although these things that I said were persuasive for a moment, once they had gone away they were again provoked to anger by the wretches against the dignitaries.⁷⁰⁸

*Josephus
thwarts attack
on the refugees
by helping
them to escape
to Hippos*

Subsequently,⁷⁰⁹ they went off with armed soldiers against their [the dignitaries'] home in Tarichea, in order to dispose of them. 152 When I discovered this, I became anxious that if such an atrocity were to reach its conclusion, [the place] would become unavailable to those who wished to flee to it. 153 So with some others I went into the house of the dignitaries. Once I had made it secure, I made a trench⁷¹⁰ leading from there to the lake. I then sent for a boat and embarked with them, and we crossed over to the frontier of the Hippenes.⁷¹¹ I gave them the cost of their horses, because I was unable to bring those along in making such an escape as this, and then departed, having encouraged them at length to bear nobly the fate that was to befall them.⁷¹² 154 I myself was profoundly dis-

his work (*Strat.* 1.1), defining στρατηγήματα as skills displayed by generals (*sollertia ducum facta*). Cicero also seems to prefer the Greek word, for which the Latin has only the adjective *imperatorium* (*Nat. d.* 3.6.15). It is entirely plausible that Josephus knew Frontinus' work directly or at second hand, since many of his στρατηγήματα correspond to Frontinus' recommended techniques.

⁷⁰⁰ Josephus thus resumes his story of the prominent men who had fled to his protection from territory controlled by King Agrippa II (see §§ 112-13).

⁷⁰¹ According to § 113, the central issue was circumcision.

⁷⁰² Greek διαβάλλω. See § 6.

⁷⁰³ The word for a male sorcerer (φαρμακεύς) appears only here in Josephus. From the Judean side, (female) sorcery is prohibited by the laws on pain of death (Exod 22:18; Deut 18:10; cf. 2 Kgs 9:22; Isa 47:9, 12). For sorcery in the Roman world, see e.g. Graf 1997:36-60.

⁷⁰⁴ This awkward English phrasing is itself based upon Thackeray's conjectural reconstruction of a difficult text, followed by the Münster team. Ms. P omits "preventers," whereas mss. MW have it in participial form. I follow mss. RA. Then, if "preventers/preventing" is present, one requires a complement not provided by P: [the Romans] "to be near." The emendation reads περιγίνομαι ("succeed") rather than παραγίνομαι ("be near").

⁷⁰⁵ On the fickleness of the mob, see the notes to "mobs" at § 31 and to "people" at § 40. This theme is reinforced by Josephus' earlier note (§ 113) that he had already convinced the mob to allow the dignitaries to live in peace.

⁷⁰⁶ As he had said in § 113. Josephus assumes here his prerogative, as a priest-aristocrat, to teach the people.

⁷⁰⁷ So mss. AMW. P reads "charms" again.

⁷⁰⁸ Yet again the mob follows the most recent persuasive speaker; see note to "favor" at § 149.

⁷⁰⁹ Josephus uses a vague chronological connector (ποτε); this is a separate incident, therefore, of which he learns only later (cf. § 152).

⁷¹⁰ Greek διώρυξ; possibly a tunnel or a canal, except that he does not need a boat until he reaches the lake. If much digging is involved, the story is not overwhelmingly probable in view of the time required. Cf. the secret passageway (στενωπός) Josephus uses to reach the lake in Tiberias: § 304 and possibly § 96.

⁷¹¹ That is, not to Hippos itself, which sat on the crest of a prominent hill, but to its port village on Lake Gennesar, across the lake from Tiberias and Tarichea.

⁷¹² Greek τὴν προσπεσοῦσαν ἀνάγκην γενναίως ἐνεγκεῖν. In this nugget of classical Stoic wisdom lies a word play between the aorist infinitive "to bear" (ἐνεγκεῖν) and the noun "fate" in the accusative case (ἀνάγκην). For the sentiment about accepting one's fate nobly (γενναίως) see also § 137.

tressed at having been forced to put the refugees back into the enemy [territory]; but I considered that it was better for them to die, if that should befall them, among the Romans⁷¹³ rather than in my territory.⁷¹⁴ In the event they survived, however, because King Agrippa was mild concerning their failings.⁷¹⁵ This marked the completion of the affair involving those men.

(32) 155⁷¹⁶ Now the residents of the city of the Tiberians wrote* to the king,⁷¹⁷ appealing to him to send a force that would protect their territory,⁷¹⁸ for they wished to be included with him.⁷¹⁹ Although they were writing these things to him, **156** when I came to them they appealed to me to construct walls for them,⁷²⁰ as I had promised;⁷²¹ and they had heard that Tarichea was already walled. So I agreed and, after I had prepared everything necessary for the building project, I directed the supervising tradesmen⁷²² into action. **157** After the third day [of this],⁷²³ I was making my way off⁷²⁴ to Tarichea, thirty stadia⁷²⁵

Tiberians appeal for support from Agrippa, reject Josephus

⁷¹³ Although the men were from territory subject to Agrippa II (§ 112), the Greek city of Hippos to which Josephus took them was ultimately subject to Roman control; further, in this time of war Agrippa II was allied with the Romans and his forces subject to Roman command.

⁷¹⁴ Presumably, Josephus refers to the question of responsibility for their deaths and not to the likely manner of death.

⁷¹⁵ The dignitaries were introduced in § 112 as Trachonitans, from territory subject to Agrippa II.

⁷¹⁶ Here begins an episode paralleled in *War* 2.632-45. There, however, the story comes after Ioannes of Gischala's decisive effort to remove Josephus by securing a delegation from Jerusalem, the detailed story of which will not come in the *Life* until §§ 189-335. Whereas in the *War* (2.632) Ioannes is removed from the scene for the duration of Josephus' public career, here in the *Life* he has not yet made his strongest push. Within the *Life*, this episode has a close parallel in §§ 381-89, where the Tiberians again appeal to the king but are thwarted by Josephus.

⁷¹⁷ Agrippa II, to whom Tiberias had belonged before the revolt (*Ant.* 20.159; *Life* 38-9).

⁷¹⁸ That is, not the city alone but the surrounding villages (Greek: χώρα). See §§ 42, 64, 119, and especially 129.

⁷¹⁹ If the Tiberians were to be allied with the royal and Roman forces, they would need protection chiefly against Josephus and his Galileans. Laqueur (1920:117-19) astutely observes that the only consistent factor in Tiberias' behavior was its determination to be free of Josephus, and that is why they turned to such different leaders as Iustus and Ioannes of Gischala, Iesus son of Sapphias, and now King Agrippa. Although that principle of freedom from Josephus may have some historical basis, it is of course not the literary point that Josephus wishes to make. Within the narrative, given his prominent theme of the mob's fickleness, we should

probably understand that public opinion has now shifted against Iesus (as well as against Iustus, Pistus, and Ioannes) because of Josephus' demonstrated ability to dominate them all. The Tiberians are simply giving up the fight and returning to their proper loyalty to the king (§§ 38-9). This royalist movement is led not by any of the factional heads mentioned at §§ 32-6 but (according to the mob, at least) by an unfortunate young man named Cleitus: see further § 170. Although Josephus should in principle be happy about this move toward loyalty and peace, given the views he expresses (§§ 17-9, 28, 72, 128-31), he seems to be upset by the Tiberians' duplicity in using his promise to construct walls for them while they are also requesting royal and Roman troops. Moreover, Josephus is caught in a bind by his professed double game: whereas he should be pleased at pro-Roman and royalist leanings, his role as general requires him to attack those forces and their Judean allies. Cf. §§ 114-21 and his ambiguous dealings with Sepphoris (§§ 104-11).

⁷²⁰ In the *War* parallel (2.632-33), there is no request for walls, since Josephus has already fortified Tiberias (2.573), a fact that he recalls in the corresponding passage (2.638). In that passage, then, the issue is simply defection from Josephus' generalship to the protection of Agrippa II.

⁷²¹ Josephus had made this promise in order to deflect the Tiberians' hostility when he had promised to build walls for Tarichea at § 144.

⁷²² Greek ἀρχιτέκτονες: master builders, head builders.

⁷²³ Laqueur (1920:93-4) argues through a comparison with *War* 2.632 ff. that this phrase actually—i.e., in the underlying *Rechenschaftsbericht*—refers to a three-day period from the Tiberians' sending of their letter to Agrippa II. In *War* 2.633-34, indeed, it is the appearance of the Roman cavalry on the date agreed upon for Agrippa's arrival that fuels the Tiberians' hopes.

⁷²⁴ According to *War* 2.634, Josephus was at

away from Tiberias, when it happened that some Roman cavalry⁷²⁶ were sighted on the march in the vicinity of the city [Tiberias]. They created the impression⁷²⁷ that the force from the king⁷²⁸ had arrived. **158** Well, immediately they [the Tiberians] let loose cries full of praises for the king, but slanders of me.⁷²⁹ A certain fellow ran over⁷³⁰ and reported their sentiment to me, that they had determined to defect from me.

Josephus ponders effective response with minimal military support

159 When I heard this, I was very disturbed.⁷³¹ As it happened, I had dismissed the armed soldiers to their homes from Tarichea,⁷³² because the following day was a sabbath⁷³³ and I did not want those living in Tarichea to be harassed by a military mob.⁷³⁴ **160** In fact, as often as I had lived among them I had never made provision for the protection of my person;⁷³⁵ I had often had occasion to test their loyalty toward me. **161** But having only seven of the armed soldiers around me along with some friends, I was now at a loss as to what I should do. I did not think it proper to send for my force, since the current day was already waning. Nor, if it [the force] arrived, could it have taken up weapons into the following day, because the laws prevented us—even if some extreme necessity should seem to impose itself.⁷³⁶ **162** And if, with the Taricheans and the foreigners living among

Tarichea (since he had not been supervising any construction at Tiberias) when he received word of the revolt.

⁷²⁵ About 3.75 miles, 6 km N along the shoreline. See note to § 64.

⁷²⁶ Josephus has already observed (§ 120) that Neopolitanus, a cavalry prefect, had been leading sorties into the area near Tiberias from Scythopolis.

⁷²⁷ Greek δόξα; understand “false” impression.

⁷²⁸ These are not legionary forces, which will arrive in Galilee much later (*Life* 407). Since auxiliary forces were typically led by Roman officers, and since for the purposes of the war Agrippa’s troops were fully allied with the Romans, it would not be possible to distinguish “Roman” from allied auxiliary forces.

⁷²⁹ Josephus once again highlights the fickleness of the masses. See the notes to “mobs” at § 31 and “people” at § 40. The Tiberians have proven particularly labile in their affections: §§ 40, 68-9, 87-8, 123-24, 134, 143, 144, 155, 156. In *War* 2.633, at this point the Tiberians proclaim Josephus banned from the city.

⁷³⁰ Josephus has exceptionally good luck with such random informers. See the note to “deserted” at § 107.

⁷³¹ Josephus’ immediate problem is simply that Tiberias has turned on him when he has no troops to recover the territory. His underlying concern is not entirely clear: whether it is Tiberias’ new-found loyalty to the king and desertion of Josephus (so *War* 2.632-34) or their duplicity in dealing with him; see the note to “included with him” at § 155.

⁷³² Although he has not yet clarified the point (but see §§ 30, 84, 100, 107, 125), it will become increasingly clearer that Josephus’ army comprises mainly rural Galileans who detest the Sepphorites and Tiberians (e.g., §§ 190, 198, 206, 220, 228, 237, 242, 250, 253, 262, 306, 340, 375, 381). Josephus nowhere clarifies, in

particular, the relationship between his army and the “bandits” whom he has cleverly seconded into his service, paying them to stay away unless called for (§§ 77-8). It seems likely that these men in fact became the core of his force. See the notes to § 77.

⁷³³ According to *War* 2.634, Josephus had no troops at hand because he had sent them to scout for grain supplies. There he mentions the impending sabbath only as a concern for the following day.

The sabbath plays an important role in Josephus’ narratives, especially in times of conflict. Because of the well-known law that the Judeans must observe a sabbath rest (Exod 20:8-11; *Ant.* 1.33; 3.91, 143; 14.241-46, 263-64; 16.163; cf. Feldman 1993:158-67, citing Agatharchides *ap. Apion* 2.209-10; Meleager, *Anth. Graec.* 5.160; Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.4; Plutarch, *Mor.* 169C), foreign generals often attacked them on the sabbath (*War* 1.146; 7.362-63; *Ant.* 12.274-75; cf. Strabo, *Geogr.* 16.2.40.763; Frontinus, *Strat.* 2.1.17). Further, some unscrupulous Judean rebels used the sabbath as a pretext to gain advantage (*War* 2.456; 4.99-103). On sabbath combat, see the note to “itself” at § 161 below.

⁷³⁴ The indignities typically suffered by a Galilean populace billeting soldiers are evoked also by Luke 3:14.

⁷³⁵ This is a typically optimistic assessment on Josephus’ part. His own narrative shows him repeatedly warding off the Taricheans’ insults and attempted assaults by persuasive speech, threat, and stratagem: §§ 132-43, 145-48, 149-54. It is noteworthy, however, that Josephus has thus far used Tarichea as a safe haven—safer than nearby Tiberias (§ 96).

⁷³⁶ The subject of sabbath combat comes up several times in Josephus, with consequences that are less than perfectly clear. According to 1 Macc 2:41, after initial

them,⁷³⁷ I should have turned back to seize the city [Tiberias], I would have found the force insufficient. I would also have found my delay far too long, because the force from the king would have arrived to preclude me, and I imagined that I would be excluded from the city.

163 So I was deliberating the use of some sort of maneuver⁷³⁸ against them. Right away, in fact, as soon as I had posted my most trusted friends at Tarichea's gates, to guard securely against those who wanted to leave,⁷³⁹ I summoned the heads of households and ordered each of them to launch a boat,⁷⁴⁰ to embark along with a pilot,⁷⁴¹ and to follow me to the city of the Tiberians. **164** And I myself embarked, along with my friends and the armed soldiers, the number of whom was seven as I said,⁷⁴² and I sailed against Tiberias. **(33) 165** The Tiberians, as they realized that the force from the king had not arrived, now saw the entire lake full of boats.⁷⁴³ Becoming anxious about their city, and

Josephus' stratagem of the empty boats intimidates Tiberians to beg forgiveness

losses against sabbath attacks, the Hasmonean Mattathias authorized his army to fight in self-defense on the sabbath. In paraphrasing that story, Josephus (*Ant.* 12.276) editorializes to the effect that this principle of fighting in self-defense still holds "to this day" among his compatriots. Accordingly, in *Ant.* 13.12-4, when the Seleucid Bacchides thinks that he can attack the Judeans on the sabbath with impunity, Jonathan surprises him by fighting successfully. Near the beginning of the *War* (1.145-51), Josephus describes Pompey's capture of the Temple in 63 BCE: he praises the priests for calmly continuing their pious services while the enemy cut them down. Even though he notes there that Judeans may fight on the sabbath, (only) to defend their bodies (1.146), they make no effort to fight in this case. Then in *War* 2.392 Josephus has Agrippa II warn the people that if they prosecute the revolt they will necessarily violate the laws *because* they will need to fight on sabbaths. In *War* 2.517, fulfilling this prediction, some Jerusalemite Judeans abandon their sabbath rest to fight Cestius Gallus, a skirmish in which they are successful although Josephus points out their violation of the laws. When Josephus quotes the pro-Judean decrees of Asia Minor, one reason explicitly given for their appeal for exemption from military service is that they may not "bear arms or march" on the sabbath (*Ant.* 14.223-27). The Judean brother-warlords Anileus and Asineus in Babylonia have no qualms about fighting on the sabbath, in a pre-emptive strike against attacking forces, but Josephus declares that they violated the laws—in this respect as in many others (*Ant.* 18.319-24).

What to make of all this? It is hard to avoid the conclusion that Josephus (as author; we have no direct access to his mind) considered it permissible on the sabbath to defend oneself in the strictest sense—when one was under direct attack, as in the Hasmonean examples. Much of the fighting that he describes as a violation would not meet this criterion: serving in Roman auxiliary armies or undertaking a revolt against Rome,

which might indeed create situations of self-defense, but these could have been avoided. Most important, it seems that Josephus uses the sabbath-combat issue, as so many others, for his rhetorical ends. He and Agrippa II can plead sabbath observance when speaking against the rebels, and yet he can admire the glorious Hasmoneans for defending themselves on the sabbath. The rebels and the Babylonian brothers are certain to get negative verdicts no matter what they do. And Josephus can appeal to sabbath restrictions here in the *Life* to illustrate his own piety.

⁷³⁷ Cf. § 142, where Josephus praises the Taricheans' hospitality toward strangers.

⁷³⁸ See the notes to "general" at § 97 and "maneuver" at § 148. For this particular stratagem, see the note to "marines" at § 165.

⁷³⁹ According to the parallel at *War* 2.635, Josephus wants to prevent any information about his plan getting out to Tiberias. Just as he is often the beneficiary of deserters and traitors (see the note to "deserted" at § 107), he takes precautions against becoming a victim. Frontinus would approve: his contemporary manual of general's behaviors (στρατηγήματα) makes the concealment of one's plans the first principle in preparing for conflict (*Strat.* 1.1). See also §§ 228, 242, 261.

⁷⁴⁰ In the *War* parallel (2.635), Josephus finds boats already on the lake.

⁷⁴¹ In the *War* parallel (2.635), Josephus limits the boat crews to four each.

⁷⁴² In § 161; cf. also *War* 2.636. It is curious that this number should be one of the few consistent details from *War* to *Life*, and that Josephus should mention it again here. He likes the number seven (*War* 2.570-71) and no doubt he means to emphasize the greatness of his feat: intimidating an entire city with only seven soldiers.

⁷⁴³ According to *War* 2.636 there were 230 boats. Remarkably, the hull of a first-century boat has been found on the coast off Tarichea, which might well have taken part in Josephus' trick. See Wachsmann 1988.

intimidated as if the ships were full of marines,⁷⁴⁴ they completely changed their opinions.⁷⁴⁵ **166** So they discarded their weapons and, together with their women and children,⁷⁴⁶ came out to meet me,⁷⁴⁷ letting loose many cries of praise toward me. For they figured that I had not already discovered their sentiment, and so appealed that their city be spared.⁷⁴⁸

Josephus removes the council and principal men of Tiberias to Tarichea as prisoners

167 Once I had come near, I ordered the pilots to drop anchor while still a way off from land, so that it would not be obvious to the Tiberians that the boats were empty of marines. Then I came closer myself in a particular boat and began to put their foolishness to shame—that they had become so blatantly reckless while lacking any fair excuse for defecting from loyalty towards me. **168** Even still, I allowed that I would be steadfastly cooperative toward them in the sequel,⁷⁴⁹ if they would send⁷⁵⁰ ten foremost [men] of the mob.⁷⁵¹ When they readily submitted, and sent the men whom I mentioned earlier,⁷⁵² I took them aboard and sent them off to be kept under guard at Tarichea.⁷⁵³ **(34) 169** By means of this maneuver,⁷⁵⁴ I took the entire council⁷⁵⁵ to the aforementioned city [Tarichea] part by part, and I also sent away with them the principal men of the populace—who were no fewer than the others.⁷⁵⁶

⁷⁴⁴ This particular “general’s trick” (see note to § 97) was anticipated and perhaps inspired by Iulius Caesar (*Bell. gall.* 7.45). Wishing to intimidate Vercingetorix’ forces, he had his muleteers remove baggage from the mules and put on helmets to ride around the hills, kicking up dust. They were supplemented by enough real cavalry to make the threat seem genuine.

⁷⁴⁵ Greek γνώμαι. See the note to “opinions” at § 22.

⁷⁴⁶ See the note to this phrase at § 25.

⁷⁴⁷ Evidently the Tiberians approached Josephus only as far as the shore, not in boats, as the sequel (§ 167) indicates.

⁷⁴⁸ Again in § 328 the Tiberians, fooled by one of Josephus’ tricks, will plead that their city be spared.

⁷⁴⁹ On Josephus’ determined clemency, see the Introduction.

⁷⁵⁰ According to the *War* parallel (2.639), the 10 most powerful men of the city volunteer themselves when Josephus demands an apology.

⁷⁵¹ Greek τοῦ πλήθους προεστώτες, as at § 194. Josephus speaks elsewhere of a 10-man board within the Tiberian council, the δεκάπρωτοι: see the notes to “principal men” at §§ 64, 69. Since the *War* parallel (2.639-41) has “the most powerful” men (δυνατώτατοι) of Tiberias, and since in this passage in the *Life* Josephus proceeds (as in the *War* parallel) from these 10 to take the “entire council” (§ 169) of 600 (cf. *War* 2.641), we should naturally infer that these 10 were none other than the δεκάπρωτοι mentioned earlier, led by Iulius Capella, a subcommittee of the council (§§ 32-3, 68-9). Josephus does not wish to advertise the fact that even these men have defected from him. But such a move on their part would be entirely consistent with Capella’s loyalty toward Rome and King Agrippa (*loc.*

cit.). It is not hard to see why they would now seek royal support against Josephus’ effort to lead the revolt (notwithstanding his real motives, as he portrays them) after witnessing his treatment of pro-Roman Sepphoris (§§ 104-11).

⁷⁵² The reference is puzzling, perhaps deliberately so in light of the previous note. But if these are the 10 men of the Tiberian board, as all signs indicate, then Josephus has indeed mentioned them at §§ 32-3, 69: they are led by Iulius Capella. Josephus prefers not to explain that these distinguished leaders, his erstwhile confidants, have now forsaken him. Although Cohen (1979:110) asserts that this reference “is incomprehensible” without the *War* parallel, it seems to make tolerable sense on the reading given here. It remains true, however, that Josephus has a habit of mentioning Tiberians as if he has introduced them before when he has not (§§ 67 [Iesus son of Sapphias], 86 [those entrusted with the administration of Tiberias], 89 [Silas as Tiberian general])—and the *War* is of little help.

⁷⁵³ According to *War* 2.640-41, Josephus waits until the 230 boats are filled before conveying the entire party (600 council members plus about 920 crew members plus at least 600 others [§ 169], thus: an average of 9 on each boat) to Tarichea.

⁷⁵⁴ See the notes to “general” at § 97 and “maneuver” at § 148.

⁷⁵⁵ 600 according to *War* 2.641. See the notes to “council” and “principal men” at § 64, to “Tiberias” at § 32.

⁷⁵⁶ Thus Josephus does not mean by “principal men” here what he means at §§ 64, 296: the 10-man board or δεκάπρωτοι. *War* 2.641 mentions “about 2000” other members of the populace.

170 Now the mob, when they saw to what great ruin they had come, appealed to me to take vengeance⁷⁵⁷ upon the instigator of the sedition.⁷⁵⁸ Cleitus⁷⁵⁹ was this man's name, a audacious and reckless⁷⁶⁰ young man.⁷⁶¹ **171** Not considering it pious to kill a man who was a compatriot,⁷⁶² yet facing the necessity of discipline, I commanded one of the bodyguards around me, named Levis,⁷⁶³ to step forward⁷⁶⁴ and cut off one of Cleitus' hands.⁷⁶⁵ **172** But he became anxious at being ordered to step forward alone into such a mob.⁷⁶⁶ I did not want the soldier's cowardice to be obvious to the Tiberians, and so I called to Cleitus⁷⁶⁷ himself: "Since it is fitting," I said, "that it should fall to you, who have been so ungrateful to me, to cut off both your hands,⁷⁶⁸ be your own public enforcer, so that you do not suffer a more terrible vengeance." **173** When he repeatedly implored me to be mild towards him in respect of his other hand,⁷⁶⁹ I grudgingly nodded my assent. Very pleased at not having to discard both his hands,⁷⁷⁰ that fellow drew* his sword and cut off* his left hand. This quelled the sedition.

Tiberians offer up Cleitus as instigator; he loses one hand

(35) 174 Now the Tiberians, once I arrived in Tarichea and they had come to understand the generalship⁷⁷¹ that I had employed against them, were awestruck that I had ended their foolishness without bloodshed.⁷⁷²

Josephus' bloodless resolution of conflict

175 I sent for those of the mob of the Tiberians who were in prison—Iustus and his father Pistus were among them⁷⁷³—and made them my dinner guests. After the banquet I said:

Josephus' dinner-time advice to Iustus and

⁷⁵⁷ Josephus highlights again the fickleness of the mob. See the notes to "mobs" at § 31 and "people" at § 40.

⁷⁵⁸ See the note to this phrase at § 145.

⁷⁵⁹ This Greek name (κλειτός) means "renowned, famed." Cleitus appears only here and in the *War* parallel (2.642), and it is possible that Josephus intends irony: Mr. Famous was selected by the mob as a scapegoat, and lost his hand in the bargain. The reader cannot be sure that Cleitus had anything to do with the sedition, since it appears that the 10-man board, the council, and the hundreds of other Tiberian citizens already removed as prisoners bore significant responsibility. Perhaps we should understand the crowd's offering up of Cleitus as typically fickle mob-behavior, driven by fear and obsequiousness, not as a fair indictment.

⁷⁶⁰ For this pair of attributes, see Demosthenes, *Or.* 54.42; Aristotle, *Eth. nic.* 3.7.12.1116A; Josephus, *Ant.* 16.359.

⁷⁶¹ This brief elaboration, which is absent from *War* 2.642, may be Josephus' signal that Cleitus was a scapegoat offered up by the mob rather than the real culprit. In §§ 126, 129 Josephus appears to regard the youth of the Dabarittan robbers as grounds for understanding.

⁷⁶² See the note to "sacrilegious to us" at § 26; also § 128.

⁷⁶³ See the note to Levis (here, as there, Ληουεῖς) at § 43.

⁷⁶⁴ Greek προέρχομαι, in contrast to ἐξέρχομαι at *War* 2.642, where the context (2.643) has Josephus and Levis still on a boat in the water, speaking to the

Tiberians on the shore.

⁷⁶⁵ On the severing of hands in the *Life*, see the note to "hand" at § 147; also § 177.

⁷⁶⁶ At this point the situation becomes ripe for dark humor. Josephus is committed to cutting off the man's hand(s), but his own soldier refuses to perform the task.

⁷⁶⁷ According to *War* 2.643, Cleitus spontaneously called out to Josephus on the boat, asking him to spare one hand.

⁷⁶⁸ If the story is taken seriously, it is "near nonsense" as Cohen (1979:110) says. How can the man have been expect to cut off both of his hands? The alternative is to read it as a sort of black humor. Josephus routinely makes fun of the hopelessly fickle crowd, of his hapless opponents, and of human foibles in general.

⁷⁶⁹ According to *War* 2.643-44, Cleitus asked Josephus to spare one hand; Josephus agreed to do so only if Cleitus did the cutting. Here in the *Life* Josephus first commands him to cut off both his hands and then allows him to keep one out of mildness.

⁷⁷⁰ The story can, then, be read as cruel humor based on the emotions of a captive: Josephus' victim ends up being grateful to lose only one hand because he feared that he was going to lose two.

⁷⁷¹ Greek στρατηγία. See further §§ 205, 251, 260, 389 and the notes to "general" at § 97 and "maneuver" at § 148.

⁷⁷² See the note to "without bloodshed" at § 103.

⁷⁷³ From the context here it is impossible to tell whether Iustus and his father Pistus were members of the 10-man board (principal men of the council; cf. the note at § 64), the entire council (of 600), or the large

Pistus: submit to my mild command

“I myself know very well that the power of the Romans is utterly overwhelming;⁷⁷⁴ but I have kept quiet about it because of the bandits.”⁷⁷⁵ **176** I counseled them to do the same, to wait patiently for the necessary amount of time and not become upset with me as general,⁷⁷⁶ for they would not easily find the opportunity to meet someone else who was similarly mild. **177** I also reminded Iustus that before I came along from Jerusalem,⁷⁷⁷ the Galileans had cut off his brother’s hands,⁷⁷⁸ adducing wrongdoing prior to the war in the form of forged letters by him, and that after Philip’s withdrawal⁷⁷⁹ the Gamalites had risen against the Babylonians and disposed of Chares⁷⁸⁰—he was Philip’s relative⁷⁸¹—**178** and how they had with no greater consideration disciplined⁷⁸² Iesus, that man’s⁷⁸³ brother and

number of other principal men (§§ 168-69). They were introduced at §§ 34-42 as leaders of anti-Roman factions, advocating revolt. At §§ 64-5 Iustus was found in the company of the 10-man board, apparently a subset of the council.

⁷⁷⁴ Or “surpassing everything” (Greek πᾶσιν διαφέρουσα), a common Greek phrase. In Josephus, curiously, the closest parallels to this formulation have to do with the beauty of Bathsheba (*Ant.* 7.130) and Drusilla (*Ant.* 20.241).

Josephus’ language here clearly implies that Iustus and his father were among those who advocated submission to Rome and to the king. This is in sharp tension with Josephus’ elaborate portrait at §§ 34-42, according to which they were revolutionaries (“determined to make war”; “longed for revolutionary activities”). Admittedly, Iustus was said there to be feigning hesitation about revolt (§ 36), but that still would not make sense of Josephus’ comments here, which assume that they oppose Josephus because they recognize the invincibility of the Romans whereas he does not. That, historically, Iustus considered himself pro-Roman and pro-royal, while seeing Josephus as the revolutionary, is supported by the digression against Iustus (§§ 336-376), where the principal charge leveled against Josephus is that he incited Tiberias to revolt (§§ 340, 350). Either Josephus really was a revolutionary at heart or he was forced to play the role, as he claims, for political reasons. Either way, he convinced Iustus that he was a rebel leader.

⁷⁷⁵ See the note to “bandits” at § 21. This is one of the clearest statements in the *Life* about Josephus’ deliberate “double game”: he fervently hopes for peace with Rome but must satisfy the populace and especially the armed “bandits,” about his willingness to confront Rome—while he tries gently to bring them over to his way of thinking. See the notes to “said” and “views” at § 22.

⁷⁷⁶ See the note to “general” at § 97.

⁷⁷⁷ That is, at § 30. This is new information about the period before Josephus’ arrival.

⁷⁷⁸ On the severing of hands, see also §§ 147, 171. In context this seems not so much a threat as a justification for Josephus’ position of seeming to follow the

wishes of the mob. It is the *argumentum ad baculum*: one must appear to be supporting the rebel cause or one will suffer from the Galileans and their bandits the physical consequences: execution or maiming.

Iustus’ brother here is unknown. At § 186, Josephus will identify Iesus, who was killed by the Gamalites, as Iustus’ brother; but immediately below (§ 177-78), Iesus appears as Iustus’ brother-in-law.

⁷⁷⁹ Somewhat awkwardly, Josephus anticipates the next episode (§ 179-86). His narrative has so far left Philip son of Iacimus in Gamala, along with the “Babylonian” refugees from Ecbatana in Batanea (§ 60), trying to restrain them—or more likely the native Gamalites—from rebellious actions against the king and the Romans. At § 179-86, he will describe how Philip has meanwhile been escorted out of Gamala by royal soldiers, how he then prepares to attack Gamala and repatriate the Babylonians there to Batanea, and how in the interval between his departure and his return the native Gamalites become militant, attacking relatives of both Philip and Iustus who are staying at Gamala.

⁷⁸⁰ This relative of Philip, killed by the Gamalites, appears only here and at § 186. Obviously he is not the same Chares as the Gamalite leader mentioned at *War* 4.18, 68, who later defended Gamala against the Romans and died in that conflict.

⁷⁸¹ So also, retrospectively, § 186. The Gamalites do away with Philip’s relative Chares because they have become militantly anti-Roman and anti-royal, whereas presumably Philip’s relative is a symbol of loyalty to Rome and Agrippa. Chares is a relative of both Philip and Iesus, who is either Iustus’ brother-in-law or brother (§ 186).

⁷⁸² Although the mss. and Niese have σωφρόνως κολάσειαν (“they had with greater consideration punished”), this seems to make little sense: in § 186 Josephus will confirm that the Gamalite mob actually killed this Iesus, and in this context it would have been odd for Josephus to credit them with thoughtfulness. Thackeray and the Münster team follow Naber’s emendation of the adverb to ὠμόφρόνως, which produces in translation “savagely murdered” (Thackeray) or “grausam bestraft” (Münster). Although the conjectured scribal error seems plausible, the resulting sense is per-

the husband of Iustus' sister.⁷⁸⁴ These were the things I discussed with Iustus' group after the banquet. Early the next day I gave orders that everyone under guard be released.

(36) 179 Now before these things,⁷⁸⁵ it turned out that Philip son of Iacimus had departed from the fortress Gamala for the following reason.⁷⁸⁶ **180** When Philip discovered that Varus had been replaced by King Agrippa, and that his successor Modius Aequus⁷⁸⁷ had arrived⁷⁸⁸—a man who was his friend and long-time associate⁷⁸⁹—he wrote* to this man, reporting his own fortunes and appealing to him [Modius] to dispatch to the royals the documents that had been sent from him.⁷⁹⁰ **181** When Modius received the letters, he was very pleased indeed once he realized from them that Philip had escaped. He sent the documents to the royals, who were in the vicinity of Berytus.⁷⁹¹

Philip son of Iacimus contacts Modius Aequus

182 Now, as soon as he realized that the rumor about Philip was false—for word had spread that he had become a general of the Judeans, prosecuting the war against the Romans⁷⁹²—King Agrippa sent cavalry to escort Philip [to Berytus]. **183** He welcomed* the newcomer warm-heartedly, and kept demonstrating to the Roman commanders that this was* indeed Philip, concerning whom word was circulating that he had defected from the

Agrippa welcomes Philip, sends him back to Gamala to escort Babylonian Judeans back to Ecbatana

haps extreme, given that the main verb itself (“discipline, correct, punish”) does not fit easily with savagery. I have opted for Jost’s conjectural addition of a simple negative before “with greater moderation.” The verb would then be used with ironic understatement, typical in the *Life*, and this reading would remove the jarring connection with savagery.

⁷⁸³ The antecedent appears to be Philip (son of Iacimus). Although § 186 claims that he was Iustus’ brother, the next phrase here makes him a brother-in-law. Possibly the antecedent is Chares, but § 186 says only that he was a relative (συγγενής) of Chares. In any case, we learn for the first time of a familial connection by marriage between Iustus of Tiberias and Philip son of Iacimus: if Philip is the antecedent as it seems, his brother was married to Iustus’ sister. See further the notes to § 186.

⁷⁸⁴ According to § 186, Iesus was the brother (not brother-in-law) of Iustus.

⁷⁸⁵ This loose chronological notice highlights the spontaneity of Josephus’ compositional technique in the *Life*. Having reached the point at which he is explaining to Iustus and Pistus the necessity of pandering to the Galileans, a point that he illustrates with examples of Galilean brutality toward Iustus’ own brother, it occurs to him to mention also the more recent problems at Gamala involving some of Iustus’ family. But that reference now requires him to fill in the background. That he chooses to do this rather than rewriting the narrative in a more logical order demonstrates again the hastiness with which he has written. So the following story, which antedates by some interval the preceding paragraph, picks up the story of Philip son of Iacimus that was left suspended at § 60-1, with Philip in Gamala trying to prevent revolution there.

⁷⁸⁶ Literally, “such a cause as this having occurred.”

⁷⁸⁷ Here for the first time Josephus uses the proper order of names: *nomen* followed by *cognomen*. On his possible reasons for changing the order earlier, see the note to “Aequus Modius” at § 61.

⁷⁸⁸ Josephus here recalls § 61. Varus, the royal representative, had sought power for himself by concealing letters and killing messengers from Philip. He was also planning to kill the Judeans of Caesarea when Agrippa replaced him with Modius Aequus.

⁷⁸⁹ Cf. Latin *amicus* and *familiaris*. For the pair φίλος καὶ συνήθης, see also *Life* 192, 204 (cf. 419-20); *War* 1.544; *Ant.* 6.367; 7.233; 15.350; Aristotle, *Pol.* 7.6.3.1328A; Plutarch, *Alc.* 20.4; 21.2; *Nic.* 13.6; *Them.* 32.5. For συνήθης, see the note to “associate” at § 13.

⁷⁹⁰ That is, as § 181 clarifies, the letters that Philip is now writing.

⁷⁹¹ So § 49. See the note there.

⁷⁹² As far as the reader knows, this accusation was invented by Agrippa II’s mischievous viceroy Varus, who falsely accused a messenger from Philip of having said this in order that he could have the man killed (§ 50)—while also publishing the accusation! In §§ 407-9 (see the notes there), this will become the basis of the Tyrians’ charge of anti-Romanism against both Philip and Agrippa II. The underlying issue was the safe conduct granted to Philip’s royal force at the siege of Herod’s palace in Jerusalem (by Manaem), after which the Roman garrison in the palace was faithlessly slaughtered by Eleazar’s rebels (*War* 2.437-38, 450-54). Philip need not have been involved in any rebellious activities for the word to have spread that, since he survived and then disappeared, he *must* have betrayed the Roman garrison. Josephus consistently presents this charge as a slander (cf. § 407).

Romans.⁷⁹³ Then he directed* him to take some cavalry and proceed quickly to the fortress Gamala, to escort all members of the household⁷⁹⁴ out of there to him, and to settle the Babylonians once again in Batanea.⁷⁹⁵ **184** He also charged him to make every provision⁷⁹⁶ so that there would be no hint of revolution⁷⁹⁷ among the subjects.⁷⁹⁸ When the king had enjoined these things, Philip was eager to do what he had commanded.

Gamalites join revolt under Josephus son of Iairus, persuade Josephus to fortify walls

(37) 185 Now⁷⁹⁹ Josephus the son of Iairus,⁸⁰⁰ having won over many audacious young men⁸⁰¹ to help him, and having also exerted pressure upon the principal men at Gamala, persuaded them to defect from the king⁸⁰² and to take up weapons, so that with these they might take back their rightful liberty.⁸⁰³ Some they coerced, whereas those who did not concur with their opinions⁸⁰⁴ they disposed of.⁸⁰⁵ **186** Further, they killed* Chares,⁸⁰⁶ and along with him they disposed of* Iesous, one of his relatives and the brother of Iustus of Tiberias, as we have already said.⁸⁰⁷ And now they wrote* to me, appealing to me to send them both a force of armed soldiers and those who would rebuild the walls of their city.⁸⁰⁸ For my part, I did not dispute either of the items they requested.⁸⁰⁹

⁷⁹³ See the note to “Romans” at § 182.

⁷⁹⁴ Greek οἱ οἰκέοι; possibly “his friends” (Thackeray), but also possibly the members of the imperial household in the larger sense: relatives, freedmen, and slaves.

⁷⁹⁵ See the notes to “Iacimus” at § 46, to “Batanea” and “Ecbatana” at § 54.

⁷⁹⁶ Greek ποίεω πρόνοιαν: see the notes to “provision” at §§ 15 and 62.

⁷⁹⁷ Greek ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι τινὰ νεωτερισμόν.

⁷⁹⁸ This is an ironic hope, since the reader already knows from § 60 that there was a rebellious group at Gamala, and from Josephus’ proleptic notice in §§ 177–78 that some Gamalites will turn militant. The king evidently does not know these things as he speaks.

⁷⁹⁹ Josephus continues to avoid concrete chronological indicators. But this episode must have occurred somewhat before § 177; cf. 179. Thackeray inserts “Not long after this” in brackets.

⁸⁰⁰ Although the mss. have different feminine forms of “physician” here (thus: “woman doctor” or “midwife”), from the root ἰατήρ, there is merit in A. Schlatter’s conjecture (cf. the Münster text) that this Josephus was the “son of Ia’ir,” which medieval copyists might easily have misread for the more familiar Greek word. It seems unlikely that Josephus expected his readers to know who this Josephus was, and so the added name would serve as a minimal identifier. Such vague language confirms that he writes the *Life* not so much to explain historical circumstances in detail as to convey broad impressions, through abundant examples, of his own character.

⁸⁰¹ See Josephus’ characterization of the Dabaritan young men above (§ 126), which is almost the same, and the similar description of Cleitus (§ 170).

⁸⁰² But see § 160 (and notes there), where Philip appears already to be dissuading the Gamalites from defection.

⁸⁰³ Josephus appears deliberately to be inventing a desperate argument for the Gamalites. Their loss of “liberty” is already many generations old (*Ant.* 17.189).

⁸⁰⁴ Greek γνώμαι. See the note to “opinions” at § 22.

⁸⁰⁵ Cf. *War* 2.562.

⁸⁰⁶ Identified at § 177 as Philip’s relative; see the note there.

⁸⁰⁷ But what Josephus “already said” (§ 178) was that Iesous was the *husband of Iustus’ sister* (thus: brother-in-law). Iesous cannot have been both Iustus’ brother and the husband of Iustus’ sister. See the note to “man’s” at § 178. Further, Josephus did mention Iustus’ brother at § 177, but as someone whose hands had earlier been cut off by the Galileans. This was apparently a different man from Iesous at § 178. Some mss. here (AR) would solve the problem by reading [Iustus’] “sister” instead of “brother” (ἀδελφήν rather than ἀδελφόν) a difference of one letter. This would mean that the Gamalite mob had killed Iustus’ sister as well as her husband Iesous and Philip’s relative Chares, which would make some sense of both passages. But the very convenience of that solution makes it seem like a scribal “correction,” for it leaves the reading of the earliest ms. P (“brother”) that much more difficult to explain. Further, Josephus refers to § 177–78 as if he were now simply repeating himself (“as we have already said”), and so it seems implausible that he would introduce such important new information about Iustus’ sister—which would have been germane at the dinner conversation—here. More likely, and in keeping with the general character of the *Life*, he is simply being careless. So also Schalit (1933:81 n. 1): “die übliche Nachlässigkeit.” He evidently does not expect his audience to scrutinize the details.

⁸⁰⁸ Fortified segments of the wall of Gamala have been exposed by archaeologists. See Appendix A.

⁸⁰⁹ This sentence jolts the audience into remembering that Josephus was, in spite of his avowed pro-

187⁸¹⁰ The region of Gaulanitis⁸¹¹ also defected* from the king,⁸¹² as far as the village of Solymas.⁸¹³ I built walls for both Seleucia⁸¹⁴ and Sogane,⁸¹⁵ villages that were by their nature already very secure, and I similarly walled the villages throughout Upper Galilee⁸¹⁶—even those that were all rocks.⁸¹⁷ **188** Their names were Iamnia,⁸¹⁸ Ameroth,⁸¹⁹ Acharabe.⁸²⁰ In the Lower Galilee⁸²¹ I secured the cities⁸²² Tarichea,⁸²³

summary of Josephus' fortifications in Galilee and Gaulanitis

Romanism and friendliness toward the king, a leader of the revolt. It was his duty (accepted, he claims, because of the impossibility of confronting Galileans and bandits) to arrange fortifications and troops for the areas in revolt.

⁸¹⁰ This summary paragraph forms a major transition in the *Life*, before the delegation episode. Josephus' commissioned work in Galilee is already finished in essence. For the rest, he will be mainly occupied with fending off the attack from Jerusalem. It is noteworthy that Josephus concentrates what must have been the bulk of his actual work in this brief paragraph, while he devotes considerable space to particular episodes of clever escapes and negotiations. This arrangement highlights the main theme of the narrative: his character (see Introduction).

In the *War*, a similar summary comes at the very outset of Josephus' Galilean command (*War* 2.572-76), before his conflicts with Ioannes and others. This narrative displacement changes entirely the significance of the summary. Whereas in the *War* he deliberately fortifies the Galilee as his first military responsibility, here in the *Life* he has only agreed to provide new walls for Tarichea as a tactic for saving his life, when his plan to return the goods stolen from the wife of the royal administrator was discovered (§ 142). Then he had to promise to fortify other Galilean villages in order to mollify the visitors from those places (§ 144).

⁸¹¹ Although Gamala lies within Gaulanitis (e.g., *Ant.* 18.4), Josephus may be distinguishing them here on the ground that his province as general had included the extraterritorial fortress Gamala (but not Gaulanitis)—as an addition to Upper and Lower Galilee (*War* 2.568).

⁸¹² That is: Gaulanitis now joined the revolt led by Josephus. The region had once been part of Philip's tetrarchy (*Ant.* 18.106), which had eventually fallen to Agrippa II (*Ant.* 20.138).

⁸¹³ This is the only mention of this village in Josephus, which happens to bear the ancient name of Jerusalem (*War* 6.438; *Ant.* 1.180). See Appendix A.

⁸¹⁴ As at *War* 2.574. This site appears again in the *Life* as the other major stronghold in Gaulanitis, besides Gamala: § 398. It was one of a considerable number of sites with the same name spread across the former Seleucid empire, under which it had been founded. That it was a natural fortress is confirmed by Josephus' notice that Alexander Janneus had destroyed an earlier settlement here (*War* 1.105; *Ant.* 13.393). The identifi-

cation of the site remains uncertain (Appendix A), although Seluqiyeh, 16 km. NE of Iulias (at the intersection of the Jordan River and the N end of Lake Gennesar), preserves the name.

⁸¹⁵ Here probably Σωγάνη, though the mss. give several different spellings. At *War* 2.574: Σωγαναία. Although the site identification is uncertain, Yehudiyye in the Lower Golan is a leading candidate: a thick wall has been found there (Appendix A). It is not to be confused with the Sogane in Lower Galilee (§ 188).

⁸¹⁶ Upper Galilee, in Josephus' reckoning (*War* 3.39-40), begins from Galilean Beer-Sheva (Bersabe) at the E end of the Bet-Kerem valley. It is both N Galilee and, what accounts for the terminology (ἄνω), much higher in elevation than Lower Galilee.

Josephus leaves Gischala out of his accounting here, which was a major settlement in Upper Galilee, although *War* 2.575 had Ioannes fortify Gischala at Josephus' direction. This difference is no doubt a function of the different locations of this summary of fortifications in each work. Since here in the *Life* (70-2) Josephus has already made a point of Ioannes' subterfuge in fortifying Gischala against his will, he can hardly claim it as his own accomplishment. In the *War*, by contrast, the summary comes at the beginning of Josephus' description of his actions as general.

⁸¹⁷ Josephus' repeated emphasis on the natural defenses of the Gaulanite sites, an emphasis that is absent from the *War* parallel, seems to indicate something of his character: as general, he took nothing for granted but expended enormous labor in order to make provision for his territory (§ 62).

⁸¹⁸ *War* 2.573: Iamnit (Ἰαμνείθ). Probably identified as Khirbet Jamnit, N of Safed (Appendix A).

⁸¹⁹ *War* 2.573: Mero. The site (Meroth, as ms. R) has now been identified as the former Arab village of Maruss in Upper Galilee, near Qaṣon at the N extremity of Galilee (see Appendix A).

⁸²⁰ *War* 2.573: Acchabaron (Ἀκχαβάρων). Mss. AMW have forms without the initial α; ms. R has χωρώβη. The site in question appears to comprise the cliffs facing the Arab village of Akhbara in Upper Galilee (Appendix A).

⁸²¹ According to *War* 3.38-9, Lower (κάτω) Galilee extends from Tiberias (so, Lake Gennesar) to Chabolos (cf. § 213) in the (N)W, and from Xaloth (cf. § 227) in the S, adjoining the Plain of Esdraelon, to Bersabe (Galilean Beer-Sheva) in the N, adjoining the Bet-

Tiberias,⁸²⁴ and Sepphoris,⁸²⁵ and these villages: the Cave of Arbela,⁸²⁶ Bersoubai,⁸²⁷ Selame,⁸²⁸ Iotapata,⁸²⁹ Capharath,⁸³⁰ Komos,⁸³¹ Soganae,⁸³² Iapha,⁸³³ and Mount Itaby-

Kerem valley. Lower Galilee may be imagined as four ranges of hills (Nazareth, Yatvat, Tir'an, Shagor) rising from three valleys (Bet Netofa, Sachnin, Bet Kerem).

Of the sites in Lower Galilee mentioned by Josephus, several are missing from this list of fortified places, notably: Chabolos (§ 213), Asochis (§§ 207, 233, 384), Xaloth (§ 227), Cana (§ 86), and especially Gabara. The last is important because Josephus has identified it as one of the three largest cities in Galilee (§ 123). But it is omitted presumably for the same reasons that Gischala does not appear in the Upper Galilean sites: because it is staunchly loyal to Ioannes (§ 124; cf. § 235).

⁸²² Josephus' sharp distinction between cities (πόλεις) and villages (κώμαι), which he continues (cf. § 235, 237), seems peculiar to the modern reader because it omits any middle category (e.g., towns). Given the ancient preference for describing groups of people rather than inanimate things, however, this distinction may be part of the same social analysis that leads him to distinguish Galileans from city-folk (see the note to "Galileans" at § 30). Each of the affluent cities has its distinctive character (§§ 30-45), whereas the rural populace, which generally dislikes the city-folk, has one "Galilean" voice.

Josephus is by no means consistent in his usage of "city" and "village," however. Gabara is a large city at § 123 but a mere village at § 229.

⁸²³ See the note to "Tarichea" at § 96. Josephus has promised to build new walls for Tarichea (§ 142) as a result of the threat on his life, resulting from his disposal of the goods stolen from Agrippa's administrator's wife (§§ 126ff.).

⁸²⁴ See the notes to "Tiberias" at § 31. Josephus has promised new walls for Tiberias because they demanded this when he offered to build them for Tarichea (§ 144; but see the note to "Tiberias" there).

⁸²⁵ See the note to "Sepphoris" at § 30. According to *War* 2.574, the Sepphorites alone were allowed to build their own walls because of their affluence. Of course, the other problem for Josephus is that in the *Life* they remain resolutely pro-Roman and opposed to his command (§§ 30-31, 39, 232, 373, 394, 411). It is unclear how he could have built their walls.

⁸²⁶ The Galilean village of Arbel, just inland from Lake Gennesar, up the shoreline NW of Tiberias, has been mentioned in the earlier narratives precisely in connection with its caves, where bandits tried to hide from the Seleucid general Bacchides (*Ant.* 12.421) and then from the new king Herod (*War* 1.304-6; *Ant.* 14.415). See Appendix A. This site is missing from Josephus' parallel list at *War* 2.573.

⁸²⁷ *War* 2.573: Bersabe. The mss. here in the *Life* show great confusion over the proper spelling. The site is Galilean Beer-Sheva, just N of Kefar Hananiah at the E end of the Bet-Kerem valley, used by Josephus (*War* 3.39) to mark the N extremity of Lower Galilee. See Appendix A.

⁸²⁸ As at *War* 2.573. These are the only references to Selame in Josephus, identified as the site of the village Salameh on the W bank of the Zalmon River, roughly half-way on a diagonal line from Gabara to Kefar Hananiah (or Bersabe just to the N). See Appendix A.

⁸²⁹ As at *War* 2.573. Iotapata (Yodefat) was a site of major importance in Josephus' career: it was the fortified town where he was finally besieged by, and then surrendered to, Vespasian. The most formidable of the Galilean towns fortified by Josephus, it first drew an unsuccessful attack from the tribune Placidus (*War* 3.111-14). But when Josephus himself fled to Iotapata and Vespasian besieged it, there was no escape (*War* 3.141-339). Here in the *Life*, long before Vespasian's arrival (*Life* 407), Josephus will resort to Iotapata as a safe haven from which to confront the Jerusalem delegation (§§ 234). The site, about 2 km N of the Bet Netofa valley just beyond Mt. 'Atzmon and about 2.5 km W of Cana (Khirbet Qana), has been excavated for several seasons, though much remains to be done. See Appendix A and the preliminary report: Adan-Bayewitz and Aviam 1997.

⁸³⁰ *War* 2.573: Caphareccho (Καφαρεκχώ). The mss. show great confusion about this name and the following two, some of them (AMW) running two or more of the three names together. This appears to be the village of Kefar ("village") Ata. The site appears only in these parallel passages in Josephus. See Appendix A.

⁸³¹ The text is almost certainly corrupt. This name (κωμος), which is absent from the *War* parallel and otherwise unattested, is however very close to the Greek word for village (κώμη), just as the previous name is close to the Hebrew word for village (כפר). The confusion of the ms. tradition (see previous note) probably results from scribal efforts to clear up this anomaly. The Münster translation reads these two together as Hebrew construct (Capharat-) and absolute (Komos). Reading them together is also indicated by the *War* parallel Καφαρεκχώ, the last syllable of which matches the first syllable of this word. So we have one site (probably Kefar Ata) rather than two.

⁸³² Greek Σωγαναι. Mss. AMW run a form of this name together with Komos and (MW) the next name (Papha). *War* 2.573 has instead Sigoph. This site is commonly identified with the modern village of

tion.⁸³⁴ In these places I also stored plenty of grain⁸³⁵ and weapons for security in the sequel.⁸³⁶

(38) 189⁸³⁷ Now the hatred that Ioannes son of Levis⁸³⁸ bore towards me because of my success⁸³⁹ grew oppressively. Having set himself the goal of getting me out of his way by any means, therefore, he constructed* walls for his native Gischala.⁸⁴⁰ **190** He also sent* his brother Simon,⁸⁴¹ with Ionathes son of Sisenna⁸⁴² and about 100 armed soldiers,⁸⁴³ to Simon son of Gamaliel,⁸⁴⁴ so that they would appeal to him to persuade the general as-

Ioannes appeals to Simon son of Gamaliel for help against Josephus

Sachnin. But see Bar-Kochva 1974:108-16, who located it SW of Iotapata.

⁸³³ Although all of the mss. read Papha (παφα) here, Iapha is to be preferred because (a) that is in the *War* parallel (2.573) and (b) Iapha will be a significant town in the story of the *Life*: §§ 230, 233, 270. It would be strange if it were not mentioned here. It is easy to imagine that Ι was corrupted to Π in the process of copying. Iapha is identified with the modern Arab village of Yaphi'a near Nazareth. See Appendix A. First-century finds include pottery and coins.

⁸³⁴ As at *War* 2.573. This is Josephus' name for Mount Tabor (the LXX has Θαβωρ). This is the only occurrence of the site in the *Life*, though *War* 4.1 mentions it as the last Galilean fortress (along with Gischala) to hold out against Vespasian. *War* 4.54-61 tells the story of Placidus' capture of the site for Vespasian, though its description of Tabor's measurements is wildly inaccurate in view of Josephus' claim to have fortified the mountain.

⁸³⁵ See § 119: Josephus took some of his grain from the storehouses of Berenice near Besara. On the importance of storing grain, see the note to "belonging to Caesar" at § 71.

⁸³⁶ Thus Josephus completes his initial mission, which was to disarm the radical rebels and bring the military situation under his control (§ 29).

⁸³⁷ The next major section, §§ 189-335, which represents more than a third (148 Niese sections) of the *Life*, corresponds to a mere 6 Niese sections in the *War* parallel (2.626-31), a ratio of nearly 25:1. The *War* passage mentions only: the envious Ioannes' role in securing the delegation (2.626); the (unnamed) Jerusalem leaders' secret plot to support Ioannes against Josephus, as well as their public call for his removal (2.627); the sending of a prestigious delegation (somewhat differently named!) to effect the order (2.628); the immediate defection of the four major Galilean sites to the delegation (2.629); Josephus' quick reversal of the situation by clever ploy (2.630); and the delegates' rapid return, unsuccessful, to Jerusalem (2.631).

⁸³⁸ Introduced as an initially moderate figure (§ 43-5: see notes there, also to "Levis"), Ioannes has become a growing threat to Josephus' command in the Galilee (§§ 70-76, 85-103, 122-25). Here we meet a familiar

scenario, anticipated by Plutarch (*Mor.* 825A), in which an unchecked interpersonal squabble becomes a major political conflict, a civil war in effect. Roman history, especially that of the last two generations of the republic, provided numerous examples of such escalations.

⁸³⁹ Ioannes' envy has been steadily growing: §§ 85, 122. That success breeds hatred among one's opponents is a standard theme in Josephus: see the note to "envy" at § 122.

⁸⁴⁰ Josephus has made repeated mention of Ioannes' fortification of Gischala (§§ 45, 71), and it seems to be a sore point. Here in the *Life* it appears as an act of defiant independence against Josephus (§§ 71-2), and he omits Gischala from the places that he has fortified (§§ 187-88). In *War* 2.575, by contrast, Josephus takes full credit for the fortification: Ioannes did it at his own expense, but under the direction (κελεύω) of Josephus, notwithstanding the later *War* 2.590.

⁸⁴¹ This man appears only here in Josephus. The name Simon, both Greek (Diogenes Laertius 2.122) and accepted Hebrew (שִׁמְעוֹן), was common among Palestinian and Diaspora Judeans (Noy 1992:330; 1995:525).

⁸⁴² This man appears only here in Josephus. Curiously, the father's name was a well-known Latin *cognomen* (cf. the Roman historian L. Cornelius Sisenna [Cicero, *Brut.* 64.228] and Gabinius' officer of this name, *War* 1.171; *Ant.* 14.92), though Kajanto (1965: 156) suggests that it was once a *nomen*, explaining the *cognomen* Sisennianus. It remains unclear whether this man with a Judean name but a Roman father should be understood as illegitimate.

⁸⁴³ Although Josephus did not mention any armed escort for himself and his priestly colleagues (§§ 29-30), every other group travelling between Jerusalem and Galilee will have such protection: a force of 100 (§ 316), 500 (§ 268), or more (§§ 200-1).

⁸⁴⁴ In the *War*, Simon plays no role in the effort to have Josephus removed from Galilee. Outside of the *Life* he has been introduced only in *War* 4.159, where he (called there Συμεών) represents the moderate Jerusalem leadership that, with the people, is appalled at the rebels' installation of an ignorant rustic (in Josephus' language) as high priest. Although not identified there as a Pharisee, Simon does appear among "those reputed to be outstanding" (οἱ προύχειν αὐτῶν

ssembly⁸⁴⁵ of the Jerusalemites to deprive me of the rule of the Galileans⁸⁴⁶ and to vote the authority⁸⁴⁷ over these to him [Ioannes].

Simon's positive response, tries to persuade chief priests

191 Now this Simon⁸⁴⁸ was from the city of Jerusalem,⁸⁴⁹ from an exceedingly brilliant ancestry,⁸⁵⁰ and from the school of the Pharisees, who have the reputation of excelling others in their precision with respect to the traditional legal matters.⁸⁵¹ **192** This was a man full of insight and reason, able to rectify matters that were sitting badly⁸⁵² by virtue of his own practical wisdom.⁸⁵³

δοκοῦντες), in the company of the chief priests Ananus and Iesus as here. And we had been told at *War* 2.411 that the ranking Pharisees joined with the chief priests in trying to provide leadership to the nation.

Simon was the son of the eminent teacher Gamaliel, the first authority to receive (from later rabbinic tradition) the honorific title *Rabban*. Gamaliel flourished in the middle of the first century, and finds mention even in Acts 5:34; 22:3. For an assessment of the difficult rabbinic traditions about Gamaliel, see Neusner 1971: 1.341-76. For the rabbinic traditions about Gamaliel's son Simon, the man in question here, which are equally difficult to isolate because of other traditions about his grandson with the same name (Simon son of Gamaliel II), see Neusner 1971:1.377-88. Simon was remembered for a saying in *m. 'Abot* 1.17 advocating deeds over words, as well as for advocating points of view on various matters, but his legal rulings are not preserved. Neusner notes (1973:388) that Josephus' Simon is somewhat more of a politician than the rabbinic Simon.

⁸⁴⁵ See the note at § 65, also § 72. In the following story, however, a few influential leaders only will support Ioannes' move (§§ 192-96). In § 309 Josephus will confirm, for the purposes of the story, that the general assembly as a whole was not a party to the effort to remove him.

⁸⁴⁶ In the development of the narrative, Ioannes' growing desire for rule (ἀρχή) of the Galilee (§ 70) looks as though it is about to be realized through corruption. But see § 310.

⁸⁴⁷ Authority (ἐξουσία) over Galilee has been a central issue in the growing conflict between Josephus and Ioannes: §§ 71-73, 89.

⁸⁴⁸ That is, the son of Gamaliel.

⁸⁴⁹ See the note to "have" at § 7, where Josephus assumes that his own family's distinguished origin in the most renowned Judean city already says a lot about his standing.

⁸⁵⁰ Josephus uses a similar phrase in *Life* 1.

⁸⁵¹ Greek οἱ περὶ τὰ πάτρια νόμιμα δοκοῦσιν τῶν ἄλλων ἀκριβεῖα διαφέρειν. This is Josephus' standard refrain about the Pharisees: *War* 1.110; 2.162; *Ant.* 17.41. Elsewhere (and in keeping with his larger use of the theme "seeming and being; appearance and reality"), Josephus mentions this reputation (δοκέω, δόξα) of the Pharisees in immediate juxtaposition with a nar-

rative that undermines it (*War* 1.111-14; 2.119-61 [i.e., his Essenes obviously excel in precision]; *Ant.* 17.41-5). In the present passage, too, the following narrative seems to cast doubt on Simon's perfection as a teacher of the laws. For true precision in the legal matters, in the *Life*, there is Josephus himself (§ 9). Josephus uses the combination "seeming/reputed to be precise" (δοκέω . . . ἀκριβῶς) of several parties (*War* 1.648; *Ant.* 19.332; 20.43, 201; *Apion* 1.18, 67), and only the context enables the reader to determine whether that appearance reflects reality. See S. Mason 1991:106-13.

⁸⁵² Greek πράγματα κακῶς κείμενα. Cf. πράγματα κακῶς ἔχειν ἤρχετο at *Ant.* 8.203.

⁸⁵³ Greek φρονήσει τῇ ἑαυτοῦ διορθώσασθαι. The closest parallel is ironic: at *Ant.* 2.46 Potiphar's wife implores Joseph to set things right for himself (διορθοῦμαι) by using his practical wisdom (φρόνησις)—and seduce her.

Cohen (1979:145) argues that this praise of Simon constitutes a sharp increase in Simon's "stock" over against the *War* parallel, which had not even found him worthy of mention. He proposes that Josephus means to catch the eyes of Yavnean rabbis with this pro-Pharisaic bid. I (S. Mason 1991:362-65) have responded that in view of the immediate sequel (next sentence) this cannot be heartfelt praise on Josephus' part, but a mere concession to Iustus. I might suggest now that Cohen and I were both mistaken. In general, Josephus' omission of Simon from the delegation business in the *War* (and including him there only to receive praise for his moderation; see note to "Simon" at § 189) helped Simon's image in the *War. Life's* detailed delegation episode, implicating Simon as the principal force behind it, is a substantial criticism of him. Nevertheless, there is no reason to doubt that Josephus' opening praise of Simon is deliberate. It is an outstanding feature of his character portraits in *Antiquities-Life* that he attempts to offer rounded and balanced assessments, somewhat in the spirit of Plutarch's *Lives*. This concern for balance is most obvious in the case of King Herod (*Ant.* 14.430, 442, 462, 482; but 15.267-76; 16.1-4, 180-81, 395-404), but also colors his images of Saul (6.166, 378; but 6.344-50), the brutal Alexander Janneus (13.380-83), Alexandra Salome (13.430-32), even Gaius Caligula (19.208-9). See S. Mason BJP 3.xxxii-xxxiii.

Being a long-time friend and associate⁸⁵⁴ of Ioannes,⁸⁵⁵ however, he was then at odds with me.⁸⁵⁶ **193** As soon as he received the appeal, therefore, he tried to persuade⁸⁵⁷ the chief priests Ananus⁸⁵⁸ and Iesus son of Gamalas,⁸⁵⁹ along with some others of the same faction,⁸⁶⁰ that those men should thwart my progress, not permitting the growth of my reputation to its fullest. He told them that it would be best if I were removed from the Galilee. He further appealed* to those of Ananus' group not to delay; otherwise I might learn of all this in advance and march against the city with a force.⁸⁶¹

194 Whereas Simon counseled⁸⁶² these things, the chief priest Ananus declared his view that the deed would not be easy to accomplish—for many of the chief priests and fore-

Ananus' rejection of Simon's appeal

⁸⁵⁴ See the note to the similar phrase at § 180 and the parallel with Latin *amicus* and *familiaris*.

⁸⁵⁵ This is no compliment to Simon. Ioannes was a notorious criminal in Roman eyes, remembered by Tacitus (*Hist.* 5.12) as one of the three generals in rebel Jerusalem, known by Romans generally, especially readers of Josephus' *War*, as a prominent captive exhibited in the triumph of Vespasian and Titus. See the note to "Ioannes" at § 43. For Josephus' disparaging connection of others with Ioannes, see §§ 87-8. It is common in scholarship to see the *Life* as a concession of Ioannes' good connections (in light of Iustus' account; see Introduction), which he had been loath to admit in the *War*. But since Josephus gains nothing from trying to enhance Ioannes' reputation, which is beyond all remedy, the opposite conclusion seems easier to draw: he uses the *Life* to connect all of his opponents with the criminal Ioannes.

⁸⁵⁶ Greek τότε διαφόρως εἶχεν. According to Cohen (1979:145), by using τότε Josephus emphasizes that his difficulty with the leading Pharisee has long since been over—by his time of writing in the 90s, when the Pharisees are coming to prominence at Yavneh. Although τότε certainly limits the rupture to the past, however, there is nothing in the context to evoke Josephus' present interest in the Yavnean movement. Rather, the sentence structure makes the rupture a function of Simon's friendship with Ioannes. In the narrative context, where Josephus began as fully in support of the Jerusalem leaders (e.g., §§ 21, 43), he seems to emphasize that his rupture with Simon, caused by Ioannes, was an aberration "at that time." Nothing so particular as rapprochement with Yavnean rabbinism, a movement that was likely unknown to Josephus' Roman readers in any case (Grabbe 1992:2.593; Levine in Shanks 1992:138 and n.*; Cohen in Shanks 1992:105-112, 221; Lightstone 1994), need be at stake here.

⁸⁵⁷ Note Josephus' assumption here that, notwithstanding the presence of leading Pharisees such as Simon in the assembly (also § 21; cf. *War* 2.411), the chief priests in some way hold the executive power: Simon can only try to persuade them; he cannot act on his own. Although this view of priestly hegemony fits

with Josephus' consistently articulated agenda (see the note to "priests" at § 1), here it appears quite incidentally. Priestly authority is thus assumed by him at some deep level—in spite of his grumbling about Pharisaic influence (cf. *Ant.* 13.197-98, 400-1; 18:15, 17). For all we know, this incident with Simon may have been the episode that led him to complain elsewhere about the Pharisees' influence.

⁸⁵⁸ Ananus son of Ananus had been high priest for a short period in 62 CE. His term was ended abruptly when he (a Sadducee) executed a number of people, including Jesus' brother Iacob (James), in the interval between governors (*Ant.* 20.197-203). In the *War*, he is first named as co-commander of the war effort (with Ioseph son of Gorion; *War* 2.563). Josephus describes his policy as one of willingly leading the war but gradually cooling the preparations for war and winning over the belligerents (*War* 2.647-51). Josephus is full of praise for Ananus and Iesus (see the next note) as courageous, moderate leaders who tried unsuccessfully to win over the masses. After their murder at the hands of the Idumeans, he offers a moving eulogy (*War* 4.314-25). On the tensions between *War* and *Antiquities* on Ananus, see also Krieger 1994:178-79.

⁸⁵⁹ Iesus son of Gamalas is introduced in *War* 4.238 as second among the chief priests (or high priests, ἀρχιερεῖς) in seniority to Ananus. This connection makes it likely that this Iesus should be identified with Iesus son of Gamaliel at *Ant.* 20.213, who was high priest for a brief period in 64-5 CE (both fathers' names from יְהוֹשֻׁעַ according to Schalit 1968, s.v.). *Ant.* 20.213 is not particularly flattering of Iesus son of Gamaliel, but there is a similar contrast in the case of Ananus (see previous note). The *War* praises Iesus as a moderate who did not seek war but was willing to pursue it nobly (4.248-50).

⁸⁶⁰ Greek στάσις; see the note to "factions" at § 32.

⁸⁶¹ The logic, more concisely expressed in *War* 2.626, is that Josephus' support was growing so great that he might simply appear in Jerusalem with his army to take over.

⁸⁶² See the note to "persuade" at § 193.

most men of the mob⁸⁶³ would testify that I was performing* the role of general well—and that to make an accusation about a man against whom they were unable to say anything just was the action of sordid men.⁸⁶⁴

*Simon resorts
to bribery, wins
Ananus' ap-
proval*

(39) 195 When he heard these things from Ananus, Simon requested those men [from Ioannes] to keep silent and not to bring these discussions out into the public. He declared that he himself would make provision⁸⁶⁵ that I should be speedily removed from Galilee.⁸⁶⁶ So he summoned Ioannes' brother⁸⁶⁷ and commanded him to send gifts⁸⁶⁸ to Ananus' group, for he said that in this way he would quickly persuade them to revise their opinions.⁸⁶⁹ **196** In the end, Simon accomplished what he had set for himself: Ananus and those with him⁸⁷⁰ were corrupted by the goods,⁸⁷¹ and so conspired to expel me from the Galilee—without anyone else in the city knowing this.⁸⁷²

*a delegation of
four, led by*

They thought it necessary, in fact, to send men who, although they differed with respect to ancestry,⁸⁷³ were similar with respect to education.⁸⁷⁴ **197** Two of them, Ionathes⁸⁷⁵ and

⁸⁶³ For the combination of chief priests and popular lay leaders, see *War* 2.411 and *Life* 21.

⁸⁶⁴ Greek φαύλων ἔργον εἶναι. Cf. Demosthenes, *Ep.* 3.9: ὁ πάντες ἄν εἶναι φαύλων ἀνθρώπων [ἔργον] φήσαιεν. This is a rather strong verdict against the leading Pharisee.

⁸⁶⁵ Greek προνοέω. The usage is ironic, since it is the legitimate task of public officials to “make provision” for their territories. See the note to “provision” at § 62.

⁸⁶⁶ Thus, Ioannes' hope to have a decision of the entire general assembly (§ 190) has fallen through: this will be a more or less private effort through the use of personal influence (cf. § 309).

⁸⁶⁷ Ioannes' brother is also named Simon: § 190.

⁸⁶⁸ In Josephus' world, generally speaking, gift-giving was legitimate for those who could afford such largesse—for the wealthier “friend” or patron (see the note to “gifts” at § 16). At §§ 16 and 425, thus, Josephus receives gifts (δωρεά) from members of the imperial family. When those in a position of power and responsibility receive gifts from their subordinates, one suspects an attempt at corruption. Thus Josephus claims to have avoided all such gifts, even the tithes that were due him as a priest (§ 80), while he accuses his priestly colleagues of having been bought off by Ioannes (§ 73).

⁸⁶⁹ Greek γνώμαι. See the note to “opinions” at § 22.

⁸⁷⁰ This would seem to include Ananus' closest colleague Iesus (§ 193); but see § 204, where Iesus remains Josephus' friend and informant. Was Iesus a party to the decision, who later felt ashamed, or did he only hear about it afterwards? See § 309, where Josephus insists that the general assembly as a whole had not been part of this move.

⁸⁷¹ Greek τοῖς χρήμασιν διαφθαρέντες. This is essentially the same phrase as Josephus used of Ioannes' earlier bribery of his priestly colleagues (§ 73): φθείρει

χρήμασιν αὐτούς. It is a common phrase in other Greek authors (Aeschines, *Ctes.* 3.113; Xenophon, *Hell.* 7.3.9; Demosthenes, *Or.* 18.45, 247; Plutarch, *Lys.* 27.1; *Per.* 22.2; Pausanias 1.37.5; 4.17.2, 28.4; 5.21.3) and especially in Josephus (*War* 1.226, 291, 470, 576, 603; 2.615; *Ant.* 4.278; 11.20; 14.327, 395, 435; 16.231).

⁸⁷² See the discussion at § 309, where Josephus' envoys later report that the general assembly as a whole had not been a party to this decision, and became furious when they found out about it.

If no one in Jerusalem knew about this bribery, and Josephus was in Galilee at the time, how did *he* know? He claims that the chief priest Iesus son of Gamalas, a friend, divulged these things (§ 204). But then, presumably, others' friends could similarly have told them. And does this mean that Iesus admitted to having been bribed himself (“Ananus and those who were with him were corrupted. . .”)? Iesus' personal relationship to this decision remains unclear (cf. §§ 204, 309). Josephus' claim to have unique information here, as in all cases (cf. § 357), paradoxically weakens his argument because it leaves open the possibility of invention on his part. In this case, the only ones who *could* deny the accusation are those who *would* deny it (being guilty themselves of accepting bribes).

⁸⁷³ Greek γένος. See the note to this word at § 1. Josephus' gives his own ancestry in §§ 1-6.

⁸⁷⁴ Greek παιδεία. Josephus' own stellar education (παιδεία) is described in §§ 7-12. Thus, the delegation members constitute a negative foil for the presentation of his character. They begin with ostensibly similar qualifications (§ 198—among the four of them!), but the test lies in their behavior. Josephus incidentally confirms that the lay Pharisees, who were reputed to be legal experts (*War* 1.110; *Ant.* 17.41), indeed had an education not unlike that of the priests—the traditional teachers of the laws.

Ananias,⁸⁷⁶ were from the ordinary citizens⁸⁷⁷ and Pharisees by philosophical school;⁸⁷⁸ the third, Iozar,⁸⁷⁹ was of priestly ancestry, and he too was a Pharisee; Simon, the youngest of them,⁸⁸⁰ was from the chief priests.⁸⁸¹ **198** These⁸⁸² they directed to go to the mob⁸⁸³ of the Galileans and to discover from them the reason why they loved* me.⁸⁸⁴ If they [the Galileans] should say that I was from the city of Jerusalem, certainly all four of them were as well. If it was a matter of expertise in the laws,⁸⁸⁵ they should declare that they too were thoroughly conversant with⁸⁸⁶ the traditional customs.⁸⁸⁷ If, finally, they should say that they loved me because of the priesthood, they should answer that two of them were also priests.⁸⁸⁸

Ionathes, charged to win Galilean support away from Josephus

(40) 199 Once they had established these terms, they gave to Ionathes' group⁸⁸⁹ 40,000

preparations for the delega-

⁸⁷⁵ Curiously, although Ionathes is mentioned first here and subsequently appears as the leader of the delegation (§§ 199-201, 216-17, 181-82, 284, 310-12, 318-20, etc.), at *War* 2.628 there is no Ionathes in the delegation. But the two men named last there, Simon and Iudas, are identified as the sons of Ionathes.

⁸⁷⁶ Hebrew הַנְּזִי. According to *War* 2.628, he is Ananias the son of Sadok.

⁸⁷⁷ Greek δημοτικοί. That is: non-aristocrats (cf. § 284) and so in the Judean context (cf. § 1) non-priests.

⁸⁷⁸ Greek τὴν αἰρεσιν. For the Pharisees as a philosophical school, see the notes to § 10.

⁸⁷⁹ The mss. read Gozor (Γόζορος) here, but this man appears as Iozar later in the story: § 328. At *War* 2.628 he is mentioned first and named "Ioesdrus son of Nomicus" (Νομικός = the "legalist" or "legist"). That is the only place where Josephus uses the word νομικός, but the Gospel of Luke regularly places νομικοί in the company of Pharisees (Luke 7:30; 11:53; 14:3). Although Ioesdrus in the *War* is not identified as a Pharisee, then, his connection with the Legist is intriguing.

⁸⁸⁰ Josephus thus gives Simon and Ionathes different parents, though at *War* 2.628 Simon and Iudas are both sons of Ionathes.

⁸⁸¹ For the distinction between priests and chief priests, see the note to "chief priests" at § 9.

⁸⁸² It is difficult to understand how, if this episode had played an important part in Josephus' Galilean career, already by the 70s (when he wrote the *War*) he could have forgotten the name of the chief antagonist in the delegation (see preceding notes). The problem cannot be resolved by supposing that Ionathes and Iudas were two names of the same man, because in that case Josephus should still know here that Ionathes/Iudas and Simon were brothers, whereas he makes Ionathes a commoner and Simon from a chief-priestly family. We are driven to conclude that he feels extremely free to reshape and invent even basic details for his immediate rhetorical purposes: here to stress the variety of the delegates' backgrounds as a match for his own. The change of names, which seems to have no rhetorical

pay-off, remains a puzzle.

⁸⁸³ The aristocrats' innate disdain for the gullible masses comes to the fore again here: the plotters assume that they can easily manipulate the people. Josephus generally shares this assumption, though in this case it will suit his purposes to make an exception: even the mass of the people will support him in the end.

⁸⁸⁴ Conveniently fulfilling this plan to match Josephus' assets, at § 278 Iesus the son of Sapphias will argue that it is preferable to have four men of brilliant ancestry and renowned insight rather than one. In *War* 2.628, Josephus had said of the delegates' credentials only that the four men were eminent (ἐπιφανοί) and very powerful speakers (εἰπεῖν δυνατώτατοι). Here he is setting up a different kind of narrative sequel. The appeal of the four will be successful, they hope, because of the variety of their talents. Most important, their number will allow them to concoct the *prima facie* charge of tyranny against the ostensible renegade priest Josephus (§§ 260, 302).

⁸⁸⁵ Greek ἐμπειρία τῶν νόμων—a generic category. The closest parallel is at *Apion* 2.177, where Josephus claims that members of other nations, who do not know their laws, require others, who provide expertise in the laws, to advise them. The Judeans, by contrast, do not need such experts because they all know their laws (*Apion* 2.178). The present passage exposes the rhetorical exaggerations there, because Josephus indicates that the Galilean masses do in fact require experts in the laws, whether him or the delegates.

⁸⁸⁶ Literally, "neither were they ignorant concerning": *litotes*.

⁸⁸⁷ The interchangeability of laws (νόμοι) and ancestral or traditional customs (ἔθη) implied here is characteristic of Josephus. See the note to "legal matters" at § 9.

⁸⁸⁸ Namely, Iozar and Simon. But according to *War* 2.628, Simon and Iudas (not mentioned here) were brothers.

⁸⁸⁹ From now on, the delegation will appear as the Pharisee Ionathes' group (§§ 216-17, 226-32, 236, 245,

tion's departure; escort by the Galilean Iesous

pieces of silver from public funds.⁸⁹⁰ **200** When they heard that a certain Galilean by the name of Iesous,⁸⁹¹ who was staying in Jerusalem, had a company of 600 armed soldiers around him, they summoned this man, gave him three months' pay, and directed him to escort Ionathes' group,⁸⁹² submitting to them.⁸⁹³ They also gave silver to 300 men of the citizens,⁸⁹⁴ for the food of all [units],⁸⁹⁵ and ordered them to follow the envoys. **201** Once these men had been persuaded and arrayed for departure, Ionathes' group moved out with them, taking along Ioannes' brother⁸⁹⁶ and 100 armed soldiers.⁸⁹⁷

mission of the delegates: bring Josephus or kill him

202 They had received instructions from those who sent them that, if I should willingly lay down my weapons, they were to send me alive to the city of the Jerusalemites. If I should resist, they were to kill me without becoming anxious; for the order had come from them [the Jerusalem authorities].⁸⁹⁸ **203** They had even written to Ioannes, that he should prepare for war against me, and they had ordered the residents of Sepphoris, Gabara, and Tiberias⁸⁹⁹ that they should send military support to Ioannes.

etc.). This is all the more puzzling because Ionathes was not even mentioned as a participant in *War's* (2.628) version of the story.

⁸⁹⁰ The exact value of these pieces, which is impossible to determine because of uncertainty about which silver denominations are in question (*tetradrachmas*, *denarii*, Tyrian *shekel*; *didrachmas*; *drachmas*), is evidently not as important for Josephus' point as the sheer size of the number and the scandal that such an enormous expenditure, occasioned by bribery, should have been taken from public funds. Misuse of public funds was a major issue in Roman law, especially in the case of provincial governors. The standing court *quaestio de rebus repetundis* had been established long before to handle such cases, and Cicero had defended Flaccus before it (*Flac.*). Although that court was more or less defunct by Josephus' time, the theme of governors' financial misdeeds remained a commonplace (e.g., *Ant.* 18.172-76). Josephus employs the standard narrative technique of portraying one's unjust adversaries as careless with public money. See further the charge against Josephus at § 297. Like his Hasmonean forebears, he must now rely on divine providence and his own resourcefulness to defeat such overwhelming material resources (e.g., *War* 1.34-7).

⁸⁹¹ It is possible that this man is the Iesous, "head bandit" operating out of the W Galilee near Ptolemais' hinterland, who hired himself out to protect the pro-Roman Sepphorites in the debacle at §§ 104-11. There he was said to have 800 men at his disposal (§ 105) and ultimately to have promised to remain loyal to Josephus (§ 111). Since Iesous is a common name, and Josephus does not clarify any connection between this man and the head bandit of the earlier episode, which would presumably have served his purposes, we have no solid basis for making the connection. Further, if this Iesous is the one who owns a fortress-like house at Gabara

(§ 246), as seems more plausible, then he is not likely the bandit chief of the W Galilee.

⁸⁹² See the note to "soldiers" at § 190.

⁸⁹³ Like the pro-Roman Sepphorites (§§ 104-11) and Josephus (§§ 77-8), the Jerusalem authorities are willing to hire mercenaries for their purposes. They must insist, however (perhaps nervously), on complete submission to the directives of their envoys.

⁸⁹⁴ That is: Jerusalemites as distinct from Galileans; possibly, citizens as distinct from bandits. In spite of some rough parallels of language (such as this one) and institutions, it appears that Jerusalem was not organized as a proper Greek city (πόλις) until it became Aelia Capitolina under Hadrian. See Tcherikover 1964 and Schürer-Vermes 2.197-98.

⁸⁹⁵ Greek εἰς τροφήν τῶν ὄλων: precise meaning uncertain. Perhaps the citizens are to arrange for the mercenaries' food, for reasons of public safety.

⁸⁹⁶ Simon, according to § 190.

⁸⁹⁷ That is, the troop that had originally come from Gischala (§ 190). Thus the combined escort for the distinguished delegation was a force of 1000. *War* 2.628, however, has 2500.

⁸⁹⁸ These instructions, dependent upon Josephus' reaction, are similarly stated at *War* 2.628.

⁸⁹⁹ Thus Ioannes is finally getting his wish. According to §§ 122-24, he had long before tried to persuade these three cities ("the greatest throughout Galilee") to defect to him from Josephus—with mixed results. Now the Jerusalem authorities, as the result of corruption (allegedly), are ordering his plan into existence. In the earlier passage (§ 124), Gabara was already said to support Ioannes whole-heartedly (cf. §§ 229, 233, 235, 313), whereas pro-Roman Sepphoris had rejected both Josephus and Ioannes, and Tiberias had only become friendly with Ioannes.

(41) 204 After my father⁹⁰⁰ wrote to me about these matters⁹⁰¹—Iesous son of Gamalas,⁹⁰² who had been one of that same council⁹⁰³ and who was my friend and associate,⁹⁰⁴ had divulged it to him—I was deeply hurt⁹⁰⁵ when I realized that because of envy⁹⁰⁶ the citizens⁹⁰⁷ had become so ungrateful concerning me that they would order me to be disposed of; further, that my father through his writings kept appealing for me to come to him. For he stated that he longed to gaze on⁹⁰⁸ his son before he died.⁹⁰⁹ 205 I said these things to my friends, also that after the third day I would leave⁹¹⁰ their territory behind⁹¹¹ and proceed to my native place.⁹¹²

Josephus hears of the plot from father, plans to leave Galilee

Now sorrow gripped all those who heard and, wailing, they kept appealing to me not to leave them in the lurch⁹¹³—if my generalship⁹¹⁴ should be withdrawn⁹¹⁵—like something washed off.⁹¹⁶ 206 When I did not acknowledge their pleas,⁹¹⁷ but was concerned for my own safety,⁹¹⁸ the Galileans grew anxious that on my departure they might become easy pickings⁹¹⁹ for the bandits.⁹²⁰ So they sent* into the entire Galilee men who were

Galileans become fearful at Josephus' imminent departure

⁹⁰⁰ Matthias: see § 7, where Josephus claims that he was a very eminent man in Jerusalem. This claim fits with this notice that the former high priest Iesous sought out Matthias to warn him.

⁹⁰¹ According to *War* 2.629, “the friends” of Josephus relayed this plot to him.

⁹⁰² At § 193, Iesous has been introduced as co-leader of the chief-priestly faction in the general assembly. See the note there. The obvious question arises, whether Iesous was among those (“Ananus and those who were with him”) corrupted by goods at § 196.

⁹⁰³ Greek βουλή. Otherwise in the *Life*, this word is used of the Hellenistic-style Tiberian council of 600 (§§ 64, 69, 169, 279, 284, 300, 313, 381), whereas the Jerusalem assembly is called τὸ κοινόν (§§ 65, 72, 190, 254, 267, 309, 341, 393). See also the note to “congress” at § 62. It is difficult to gain an impression of the size of this council, though it seems to be relatively small in view of the bribery alleged. Perhaps we should understand it as an executive committee of the general assembly (κοινόν).

⁹⁰⁴ See the note to the similar phrase at § 180. Here, then, is an implied contrast between Iesous son of Gamalas and Simon son of Gamaliel, who has just been introduced as Ioannes’ “friend and associate” in the assembly (§ 192). Each of the rivals in Galilee thus has a powerful friend in Jerusalem, though Josephus’ friend is of course the more powerful and, as former high priest, a more legitimate ruler.

⁹⁰⁵ Greek σφόδρα περιήλγησα. Emotional introspection was not a standard feature of autobiography in Josephus’ day; Augustine’s *Confessions* are usually considered a watershed in that respect. This is one of the few passages in which Josephus even mentions personal emotions—rather than social virtues. The issue is picked up in the following dream vision: § 209.

⁹⁰⁶ Presumably, the envy of Ioannes: the cause of this effort to remove Josephus (§ 189; cf. §§ 85, 122).

⁹⁰⁷ That is, the Jerusalemites. See the note at § 200.

⁹⁰⁸ Greek θεάομαι; elsewhere “observe.”

⁹⁰⁹ Josephus’ father Matthias was apparently born in 6 CE, so he would now be about 60 (*Life* 5); Josephus was about 30 (§ 80).

⁹¹⁰ It seems a commonplace in Josephus that one prepares for a departure through two days and then departs on the third (§§ 229, 268). Note the curious parallel in Luke 13:32-3 concerning Jesus’ departure from Galilee for Jerusalem after a three-day period.

⁹¹¹ Greek καταλείπω. But note the sequel at “lurch” in this section.

⁹¹² That is: Jerusalem. Josephus’ tone is not merely descriptive but piqued. He has left his home to give himself for their welfare, and now it has come to this. He will happily return home.

⁹¹³ Greek ἐγκαταλείπω. Josephus seems to be making a compelling play on words. Whereas his intention was merely to “leave behind” (καταλείπω) the *territory*, the Galileans object that this will actually leave *them* in the lurch.

⁹¹⁴ See the note to “general” at § 97.

⁹¹⁵ The language in this section is very similar to that of *War* 3.193-204, where Josephus has determined to flee the besieged Iotapata in order to save his life, but the populace pleads with him to remain.

⁹¹⁶ Contrast § 84, where Josephus claims that the Galileans thought only of his safety.

⁹¹⁷ Greek ἵκεταίαι. For the matching verb, see “begging” at § 210.

⁹¹⁸ Greek φροντίζω σωτηρίας. A set phrase: see the note to “safety” at § 84. For the verb, note the play at “pickings” in this sentence. Throughout this passage, Josephus is disarmingly frank about his own motives and those of the Galileans.

⁹¹⁹ Greek εὐκαταφρόνητοι (“things easily disdained, disregarded”), which plays against φροντίζω (“to be concerned [about]”) earlier in the sentence: whereas

signaling⁹²¹ my intention⁹²² about an escape. **207** Once they had heard, many gathered from every place with women and children.⁹²³ They did this not so much because of longing for me, I think, but out of anxiety for themselves;⁹²⁴ they assumed that as long as I remained, they would suffer no harm.⁹²⁵ So they all came into the great plain where I was living; its name is Asochis.⁹²⁶

Josephus' dream

(42) 208⁹²⁷ During that night I witnessed a wonderful⁹²⁸ sort of dream.⁹²⁹ For when I retired to bed, sorrowful and disturbed because of what had been written,⁹³⁰ **209** a certain

Josephus is concerned only for his safety, they will become *a matter of slight concern* to the bandits.

⁹²⁰ This concern has a specific application, for Josephus (alone) has dealt with the problem of bandits by removing them from Galilee (§§ 77-8). See the note to "bandits" at § 21. His departure will presumably give them free rein.

⁹²¹ Greek σημαίνω. The verb can have a literal or figurative meaning. It is entirely possible that Josephus refers to a literal chain of signal-men established to convey news quickly from hill-top to hill-top; cf. § 276, where he uses such a chain (over a relatively short distance).

⁹²² Greek γνώμη. See the note to "opinions" at § 22.

⁹²³ See the note to this phrase at § 25.

⁹²⁴ A plausible appraisal, in sharp contrast to Josephus' claim at § 84 that the Galileans thought only of *his* safety. The contrast illustrates well Josephus' rhetorical versatility: in the other passage he wants to show the Galileans' love for him; here he stresses their dependence upon him.

⁹²⁵ Cf. *War* 3.202: "as long as Josephus remained, they were convinced that nothing terrible could befall them." One could infer from *Life* 77-8 that this dependence upon Josephus was deliberately planned by him: the bandits would only re-enter the towns if their pay was in arrears or they were summoned.

⁹²⁶ Not to be confused, then, with the Great Plain (of Esdraelon) mentioned earlier (§ 126), but rather the Bet Netofa valley: the major plain within Lower Galilee. The town of Asochis, which gives its name to this valley here, was the Greek name of the pottery-producing center Kefar-Shikhin of rabbinic literature (*b. Sabb.* 120b), now definitively located on two small hills just NW (down the slope) of Sepphoris (see Strange, Groh, and Longstaff 1994-95). Josephus could no longer stay in Sepphoris itself, presumably, because of the capital's pro-Roman stance. At Asochis he was in the next best strategic place: monitoring the capital, centrally located, and right by the E-W valley for ease of travel. See Appendix A.

⁹²⁷ It is remarkable that this dream of divine reassurance and commission falls roughly at the mid-point of the *Life*. Until this point, Josephus has been struggling to fulfill his mandate against various opponents, a struggle that appears to fail with the sending of the

Jerusalem delegation and his defeat. But after this revelation he will take the initiative once again, contrasting the success of his just and divine mission with the self-serving and futile efforts of his adversaries. Similarly in the *War*, Josephus' energetic efforts were about to end in his death at Iotapata when he experienced a life-changing dream and divine commission. This also occurred at the half-way point (3.350-408) of the first six volumes, which seem to have been written as a unit. Again, the *Antiquities* is built around the remarkable divine revelations of volume 10 (to Daniel), which Josephus views as the key to understanding human history (*Ant.* 10.277-81). See S. Mason BJP 3.xx-xxii.

⁹²⁸ Greek θαυμάσιον οἶον ὄνειρον. On wonderful dreams, see *Ant.* 2.82; 10.195; Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 12-3; Pindar, *Pyth.* 4.163.

⁹²⁹ Greek ὄνειρος. On Josephus' outlook and language concerning dreams and the historical context, see e.g., Lewis 1976; Gray 1993:58-79; S. Mason 1994: 169-70; Gnuse 1996; S.R.F. Price, *OCD* 3:496-97; Feldman, BJP 3.133-34. In the ancient Near-Eastern and Greco-Roman worlds, dreams elicited considerable discussion and analysis (already Homer, *Il.* 1.63-4; Aeschylus, *Prom.* 485; Plato, *Symp.* 203A). It was common to distinguish true from misleading dreams (Homer, *Od.* 19.560-69; Virgil, *Aen.* 6.893-908) and, among more scientific authors, those that were merely physical expressions from those that revealed divine or demonic insight. In the only surviving manual of oneirocriticism, the second-century CE Artemidorus (1.1.1, 6) calls a symbolic dream ὄνειρος and the merely physical kind ἐνύπνιον. Josephus too was fascinated with dreams, incorporating some 54 such episodes (so Feldman, BJP 3.134 n. 57). Like his patriarchal namesake Joseph[us] (*Ant.* 2.11-7, 63-87), his most admired prophet Daniel (*Ant.* 10.195-210, 216), and his beloved Essenes (e.g., *War* 2.112-13), he claims for himself the ongoing ability to interpret dreams (*War* 3.352, 407). Josephus observes Artemidorus' distinction, preserving ἐνύπνιον a few times from his Greek source (*Ant.* 2.75; 10.196, 198, 202, 217), but otherwise using it pejoratively (*Apion* 1.207, 211, 294, 298, 312), substituting ὄνειρος (and ὄναρ) throughout his narratives.

⁹³⁰ Namely, the letters from his father concerning the plot and his father's desire to see him (§ 204).

one standing over me appeared to say: “Look, you who are hurting:⁹³¹ calm your mind! Let go of all fear! For the matters about which you are now sorrowful will produce greatness and the highest fortune in every respect. You will set right not only these matters, but many others as well. Do not exhaust yourself, but remember that you must also make war against the Romans.”⁹³²

210⁹³³ After witnessing this dream, I got up*, feeling eager to go down into the plain.⁹³⁴ At my appearance, the whole mob of the Galileans—women and even children were among them⁹³⁵—threw themselves face down. Crying, they were begging⁹³⁶ me not to leave them in the lurch⁹³⁷ for the enemy; not to go away and permit their territory⁹³⁸ to become an object of humiliation⁹³⁹ at the hands of their adversaries.⁹⁴⁰ **211** As they were not persuading me with their requests, they kept trying to coerce me with oaths to stay among them;⁹⁴¹ and they lamented that the populace of the Jerusalemites would not allow their territory to remain peaceful. **(43) 212** Listening to these things from them and seeing the despondency of the mob, I was inclined towards pity,⁹⁴² considering it to be worthwhile to endure even the obvious dangers for the sake of such a mob as this. In fact, I consented* to stay and, after directing 5,000 armed soldiers⁹⁴³ from among them to come back bearing their own food supplies, I dismissed the rest to their homes.

Josephus capitulates to Galilean pleas, decides to remain

213 When the 5,000 arrived, I drew them up together with 3,000 of my own soldiers⁹⁴⁴

⁹³¹ Greek ἄλγῶν. See the note to “hurt” at § 204.

⁹³² Unlike most of the dreams in Josephus’ narratives (see the note to “dream” at § 209), then, this one is not symbolic, requiring further interpretation, but a direct divine message.

⁹³³ This paragraph creates a ring composition, with §§ 204-7, around the central dream episode. There, Josephus had mentioned (a) “their territory,” (b) “leave in the lurch,” (c) “begging/ pleas,” and (d) “women and children” (τέκνα). In this paragraph, he will use the same terms in the reverse order: d (though with παῖδες), c, b, a.

⁹³⁴ That is, the Bet Netofa valley, to which Asochis gave its name. See the note to “Asochis” at § 207.

⁹³⁵ See the note at § 207, where the women and children arrive. This is the nearest strand in the ring composition that Josephus creates around the dream episode.

⁹³⁶ Greek ἱκέτευον. See the matching noun at § 206 above. This is another strand in the ring composition around the dream episode.

⁹³⁷ See the note to the same phrase at § 205. This is another matching term contributing to the ring composition around the dream episode (§§ 208-9).

⁹³⁸ This is another element of the ring composition around the dream episode, §§ 208-9. Josephus has intended simply to leave “their territory” (§ 205). Here, the protest that his leaving would mean the violation of their territory.

⁹³⁹ Greek ἐνύβρισμα: something outraged or violated. The word occurs only here in Josephus.

⁹⁴⁰ At § 206, Josephus has indicated that the Galilean

bandits (kept away by Josephus’ resourcefulness: §§ 77-8) were the enemy feared.

⁹⁴¹ Logically, these remarks are puzzling because Josephus has already experienced a divine revelation assuring him that he will fight the Romans (§ 209), and he has seemed “eager” to tell the Galileans. How, then, can he remain unpersuaded by the Galileans’ pleas? Perhaps the answer is to be sought in literary art rather than logic. In order to form a ring composition around the dream episode (§§ 208-9), with §§ 204-7 and §§ 210-11 somewhat parallel, it is helpful for him to reiterate the same themes and language.

⁹⁴² The motive of pity does not logically fit with the decisive revelation just experienced by Josephus, but see the note to “them” at § 212.

⁹⁴³ See the note to “soldiers” at § 213.

⁹⁴⁴ This is the first clear indication of Josephus’ military strength. Although *War* 2.576 claims that he amassed an army in excess of 100,000 soon after his arrival in Galilee, which he trained along Roman lines, that number (equivalent to the infantry complement of 20 legions, whereas the Romans under Tiberius had 25 legions in the entire empire; cf. Le Bohec 1994:34-5) is preposterous. The scale here is much more plausible. At § 90, he mentions a bodyguard of 200, at § 118 an infantry of 2000. Ioannes of Gischala commands thousands, we learn (§ 95), at least 3000 according to § 233, 4000 (plus Gischalans and mercenaries?) according to § 371; and Iesus the mercenary has about 800 (§ 105). Even Aebutius, the decurion of Agrippa II, has only 200 infantry and 100 cavalry (§ 115). Thus, Josephus’ aim in recruiting 5000 Galileans—the equivalent of a legion

Josephus takes a force to Chabolos, to check Placidus near Ptolemais

and eighty cavalry, and made my way into Chabolos,⁹⁴⁵ a village lying on the frontier of Ptolemais.⁹⁴⁶ There I assembled my forces, pretending⁹⁴⁷ to be preparing for war with Placidus.⁹⁴⁸ **214** This man, who had been sent by Cestius Gallus to set fire to the villages of Galilee that were close to Ptolemais,⁹⁴⁹ had arrived with two cohorts of infantry⁹⁵⁰ and one wing of cavalry.⁹⁵¹ While he was digging a fenced camp⁹⁵² before the city of

in size, though not in training—alongside his existing 3000 (perhaps including the co-opted bandits of §§ 77-8) must be to create the overwhelming force in the region. In all such considerations, of course, one must bear in mind that numbers are easily corrupted in the manuscript tradition.

⁹⁴⁵ This town, identified with the modern Arab village of Kabul, lies in the foothills of W Galilee near the Acco Plain, about 14 km SE of Acco-Ptolemais. See Appendix A. Chabolos was introduced in *War* 2.503-4 as the first Galilean settlement to fall to Cestius Gallus' massive (but ultimately humiliated) joint expedition. It was the first Judean settlement the Romans encountered as they moved out from Ptolemais. The beautiful town, deserted in advance by its inhabitants, was burned by a detachment of Cestius' force.

⁹⁴⁶ Why Josephus should now head directly for a confrontation with the Romans is left a puzzle for the moment, to create some tension in the narrative. Admittedly, it fulfills his divine mandate just given (§ 209) that he must make war on the Romans. Second, it might vindicate his generalship in the face of the delegation's challenge: if he can raise such an army and successfully challenge the Romans, then his command will be beyond cavil. Third, he is challenging the Romans precisely at the point where Cestius had easily defeated the Judeans earlier on his march toward Jerusalem (*War* 2.503-4). So Josephus appears daringly to be drawing "a line in the sand" at the W extremity of his territory, showing the closest Roman contingent (in Ptolemais) that he has a superior force and will. Given his freedom with the facts, however, it is not entirely certain that we should assume the events of *War* 2 here. He will go on to identify Placidus as the one sent by Cestius to burn the villages of W Galilee. Is this a subsequent action to the burning described in *War* 2.503-4 or a displacement of the same episode?

It will turn out that the most important reason for Josephus to occupy himself immediately with Placidus at the Acco plain is to create a pretext for his failure to meet the Jerusalem delegation when they come to Xaloth (§ 227).

⁹⁴⁷ Thus Josephus has no intention of going to war with his new conscripts, but cleverly engages in a show of force to please his own constituency and, perhaps more importantly, to confound the newly arrived Jerusalem delegation. See the note to "itself" at § 215.

⁹⁴⁸ Placidus ("gentile, tranquil") was a popular Latin

cognomen (Kajanto 1965:262). Although the *War* (3.59) introduces him only after Vespasian's arrival, in the *Life*, beginning here, he is active under Cestius before Vespasian arrives (at *Life* 407). He is a Roman tribune (χιλίαρχέω: "commands 1 000")—one of five within a legion, normally responsible for two cohorts: see § 214. In the *War*, he first camps at Sepphoris with 6000 infantry and 1000 cavalry, whence he mercilessly harasses the surrounding area (3.59-63). When he realizes that his intended Galilean victims are taking refuge in Josephus' well-fortified towns, he sets out to destroy the strongest of these, Iotapata, but is forced to retreat in humiliation (3.111-14). When Josephus himself subsequently enters Iotapata, Vespasian sends Placidus again to the scene with an advance force, for the final confrontation (3.144), and he is one of the first to enter the town with Titus (3.325). The ubiquitous tribune then successfully takes the Judean defenders at Mt. Tabor during the siege of Gamala (*War* 4.54-61) and makes his final appearance as the one responsible for brutally subduing Perea (4.419-39).

⁹⁴⁹ See the note to "Ptolemais" at § 213. If this was indeed Placidus' mission, then it was yet another strike against these villages: between Cestius' expedition a few months earlier, when Chabolos was already burned (*War* 2.503-4), and the concerted efforts that began after Vespasian's arrival (*War* 3.59-63, 110-14). Although that is possible, it seems unlikely that Placidus would be expected to venture into the Galilean hills with such a small force (largely cavalry, unsuited to fighting in the hills), even if Josephus' force were not there. Why not wait for Vespasian's arrival—in keeping with *War*'s account? Given Josephus' often drastic rearrangement of *War*'s narrative in the *Life*, it is entirely possible (proof is unavailable) that this episode conflates the earlier village-burning under Cestius with Placidus' later sorties under Vespasian in order to give Josephus a chance to intimidate the tribune. More important in the narrative, it provides him with a compelling reason to decline the delegation's request that he come down to meet them at Xaloth (§ 227).

⁹⁵⁰ Thus, about 1000 infantry.

⁹⁵¹ See the note to "wing" at § 121. This would be about 500 cavalry, for a total force of 1500 against Josephus' 8000 infantry and 80 cavalry.

⁹⁵² Greek βάλλομαι χάρακα. In this context, χάραξ is equivalent to Latin *vallum*, and with verbs such as βάλλω or τίθημι indicates the digging of a fenced mili-

Ptolemais, I too made a base⁹⁵³ of the village, which was about sixty stadia⁹⁵⁴ away. **215** So we repeatedly led our forces around, as if going into battle, though we did no more than fire some projectiles.⁹⁵⁵ For as soon as Placidus understood that I was eager for battle, he was intimidated and checked his activities.⁹⁵⁶ Still, he did not withdraw from Ptolemais itself.⁹⁵⁷

(44) 216 At about this time,⁹⁵⁸ Ionathes arrived⁹⁵⁹ with his fellow envoys⁹⁶⁰—of whom we have said that they were sent from Jerusalem by those around Simon and Ananus the high priest⁹⁶¹—and he was plotting⁹⁶² to take me in an ambush,⁹⁶³ for he did not dare⁹⁶⁴

*delegation
arrives, re-
quests meeting
with Josephus
[at Xaloth]*

tary camp (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. rom.* 6.29.2; Plutarch, *Aem.* 17.5) or *castra*. The Roman army was much admired, not least by Josephus (*War* 3.76-92; see also Livy 31.34.8), for its discipline in building fenced camps—even for a single night while on the march. The soldiers would dig a V-shaped trench in a square, and use the excavated soil to build a wall on the inner side, perhaps supplementing it with stakes. On all of this, see Le Bohec 1994:131-33, 155-63, which includes diagrams of different camp styles. Although Roman soldiers would build such camps even to be dismantled after a day, Placidus' effort here seems more permanent in view of his mission, thus *castra hiberna* rather than the temporary *castra aestiva*.

⁹⁵³ Greek τίθεμαι στρατόπεδον. This στρατόπεδον is the standard Greek equivalent for Latin *castra*, and could as well be translated “camp.” Although I use “base” to distinguish this word from χάραξ (previous note), they are often used of the same installation (e.g., Plutarch, *Aem.* 17.5); but χάραξ draws attention to the “digging in” of a fortification. It is unlikely that Josephus had to do much digging when he used Chabolos as his base. He does not mention the site in his lists of fortifications (*War* 2.572-76; *Life* 187-88), though he notes that it had been fortified when Cestius marched against it (*War* 2.503).

⁹⁵⁴ About 7.5 miles, 12 km: thus, a considerable distance in the Galilean context.

⁹⁵⁵ The word ἀκροβολισμός suggests trajectories, the launching of rocks, arrows, or other missiles.

⁹⁵⁶ This attribution of a motive to Placidus is of course impossible either to prove or disprove. It is, however, difficult to see how Josephus could have known Placidus' state of mind. See the following note.

⁹⁵⁷ Indeed, it would have been quite a feat for Josephus and his irregulars to drive a Roman tribune with two cohorts of infantry and a cavalry wing, in open country, from their fortified camp. This entire episode may be little more than Josephus' literary revenge on his old nemesis (see the note to “Placidus” at § 213). Given that there is no actual military engagement and that the two forces remain a good distance apart, the image of Josephus' successful confrontation of Placidus depends upon the audience's willingness to believe him

about (a) Placidus' mission (to burn the Galilean villages) and (b) the tribune's feeling of intimidation by Josephus' irregular (albeit larger) force. If Chabolos and other villages had already been burned during Cestius' expedition (*War* 2.503-4), and Placidus was stationed outside Ptolemais primarily to protect that city before the arrival of Vespasian and Titus, when aggressive action against Galilee would resume in earnest (*War* 3.59-63, 110-14), then Josephus' successful confrontation is largely in his mind. It is even possible that he tells this story in a playful spirit, intending the audience to see that he had no desperate need to challenge Placidus but rather to set up his clever avoidance of the delegation—by appealing to the (fabricated) urgency of his work here. See § 227.

⁹⁵⁸ See the note to this phrase at § 112.

⁹⁵⁹ Curiously, Josephus does not yet say *where* Ionathes' group has arrived in Galilee, though he will incidentally refer to Xaloth in § 227: the southern-most Galilean site, adjoining the Great Plain of Esdraelon (*War* 3.39), and thus quite far (23 km measured aerially, closer to 30 km by land) from his present location in NW Galilee, by the coastal plain of Acco. See the note to § 227. It could only have helped his narrative to mention this here, since the delegates' location highlights their plotting. If he had gone to them, they would have had him at their mercy far from the Galilean heartland, near level ground for avoiding ambushes, and as close as possible to Jerusalem.

⁹⁶⁰ Ananias, Iozar, and Simon (§§ 197-98). See the note to “Ionathes' group” at § 199.

⁹⁶¹ This reminder of §§ 189-99, before Josephus' dream (§§ 208-9), seems to confirm the concentric arrangement of the text, after the interruption created by Josephus' challenge to Placidus. This configuration of the Jerusalem leadership is noteworthy because Josephus has earlier made the chief priests Ananus and Iesus son of Gamalas the principal figures. Presumably he includes Simon here because of the leading Pharisee's critical role (through bribery) in commissioning the delegation.

⁹⁶² Greek ἐπιβουλεύω. Note Josephus' use of the same verb in Ionathes' letter (§ 217).

⁹⁶³ Ambushes (ἐνέδρα, sing.) will figure prominently

to take me in hand⁹⁶⁵ openly. **217** So he wrote* me such a letter as this:⁹⁶⁶

Ionathes and those with him,
who have been sent by the Jerusalemites,
To Josephus,
Greetings!

We were sent by the principal men in Jerusalem, when they heard that Ioannes from Gischala had often plotted⁹⁶⁷ against you, to reprimand him and to exhort him to submit to you for the duration.⁹⁶⁸ **218** Because we want to deliberate together with you about what still needs to be done, we invite⁹⁶⁹ you to come to us quickly—but not with many others, for the village⁹⁷⁰ would not be able to accommodate a mass of soldiers.⁹⁷¹

219 Now, they wrote these things expecting one of two outcomes: either I would come without weapons and they would have me at their mercy,⁹⁷² or I would bring along many others, and they could judge me an enemy.⁹⁷³

*cavalryman
arrives with the
letter; Josephus
invites him to
dinner*

220 A cavalryman came to me, bringing the letter;⁹⁷⁴ he was a strangely audacious youngster, one of those who had formerly soldiered with the king.⁹⁷⁵ It was already the second hour of the night,⁹⁷⁶ at which time I happened to be entertaining some friends⁹⁷⁷ and the principal men of the Galileans.⁹⁷⁸ **221** When my attendant had announced to me that a certain Judean cavalryman had come and I had directed him to be called in, this fellow offered no greeting at all but held out the letter: “Those who have come from Jerusalem,” he said, “have sent this to you. Now you quickly write back, because I am under pressure to return to them.” **222** Those who were lying back⁹⁷⁹ were astonished at the soldier’s

in the story of the *Life* (cf. §§ 308, 324, 325, 401, 406). For “ambush-detachment” Josephus uses λόχος. One of the two longest sections in Frontinus’ book of generals’ exemplars concerns ambushes (*Strat.* 2.5—with 47 examples); the other is on discipline (*Strat.* 4.1).

⁹⁶⁴ Greek οὐκ ἐτόλμα. See the note to “insolent” at § 135.

⁹⁶⁵ Greek ἐπιχειρέω. Or figuratively, “to attempt it” (i.e., “take it in hand”): see the note to “himself” at § 40.

⁹⁶⁶ Josephus is getting ahead of himself, for only at § 220 will he begin to tell the story of his receiving the letter. The same thing has happened at §§ 174-78: the story took him to a certain point at which he needed to stop and fill in the background (§§ 179-88).

⁹⁶⁷ Greek ἐπιβουλεύω. This is an ironic juxtaposition with the same verb in the preceding sentence: Josephus has identified *Ionathes*’ plot against him (§ 216), but that plot takes the form of *Ionathes*’ disingenuous assurance that he wishes to remedy *Ioannes*’ plotting against Josephus.

⁹⁶⁸ As the literary audience knows well, this alleged mission is a complete fabrication, though the envoys will try it again in § 274 (adding that they esteem Josephus as their pupil!). Everyone in the *Life* is playing a double game: *Ioannes*, *Iustus*, the delegation, and above all Josephus (see the note to “said” at § 22). Josephus will respond in kind (§§ 226-27), saying the exact opposite of what he actually intends. There is no suggestion here that he faults the delegation for this tac-

tic, which is expected: the fault lies in the basis of their entire mission (§§ 189-98).

⁹⁶⁹ The verb is παρακαλέω, one of Josephus’ favorites in this book, usually translated “appeal to.”

⁹⁷⁰ That is, Xaloth: see § 227.

⁹⁷¹ Yet the reader knows that the delegates have come with about 1 000 of their own soldiers (§§ 199-201).

⁹⁷² Greek ὑποχείριος, one of Josephus’ favorite words. See the note at § 28.

⁹⁷³ For the advantageous location of the delegates, see the notes to “arrived” at § 216 and “Xaloth” at § 227.

⁹⁷⁴ Thus the following episode is a flashback, much as at §§ 179-88.

⁹⁷⁵ That is, he had deserted from the auxiliary army of King Agrippa II. Presumably, Josephus found this out over drinks: see the following narrative.

⁹⁷⁶ The second hour of darkness, thus: after about 8:00 p.m.

⁹⁷⁷ See the note to “friends” at § 79.

⁹⁷⁸ Recall § 79, where Josephus appoints the principal Galileans his “friends” and companions (to ensure their loyalty).

⁹⁷⁹ Greek κατάκειμαι. This is one of several words used for reclining at dinner (Herodotus 3.121; Plato, *Symp.* 185D; Mark 14:3). In Greco-Roman custom, the wealthy would stretch out on couches to eat, three to a couch, leaning in the left elbow and taking food from a table with the right hand. The aristocrat-general Jose-

boldness, but I invited⁹⁸⁰ him to take a seat and join us for dinner. While ignoring the letter, which I held in my hands as I had received it, I made conversation with the friends about entirely different matters.

223 A while later I got up and dismissed the others to bed, having directed only the necessary four friends to remain there with me and having ordered wine to be prepared for the lad. I had unrolled the letter and, without studying it all, had quickly come to grasp the plan of it and sealed⁹⁸¹ it again. **224** Now, as if I had read nothing⁹⁸² but was still just holding it in my hand, I ordered that twenty drachmas⁹⁸³ travel money⁹⁸⁴ be given to the soldier. After he had received this and expressed his gratitude, I took note of his shameful greed and how, by this act, he had made himself an easy target. So I said, “But if you drink with us, if you wish you could take one drachma for each ladle.”⁹⁸⁵ **225** He very happily obliged and, with much wine being provided to him so that he could get more silver, he became drunk. He was no longer able to conceal his secrets, but indicated without being asked the contrived plot, and how I had been condemned to death by them.⁹⁸⁶

Josephus tricks the messenger into disclosing the delegates' plot

When I heard these things, I wrote* back in this manner:

226 Josephus,

To Ionathes and those with him,

Greetings!

I am pleased to discover that you have arrived in Galilee in good health, especially because I shall now be able to pass over to you the care of local affairs as I return to my native city.

Josephus invites delegates to Chabolos

227 I have been wanting to do this for a long time!⁹⁸⁷ I would have come to you not only at

phus would naturally be entitled to the finest accommodation, large enough to include a dining room with couches (*triclinium*), wherever he was staying. At Chabolos, in particular, there were many beautiful houses “in the style of those at Tyre, Sidon, and Berytus” (*War* 2.504).

⁹⁸⁰ Greek παρακαλέω, one of the most common verbs in the *Life*, usually translated “appeal to.”

⁹⁸¹ Greek σημαίνω more usually has to do with sending “signals,” also in the *Life* (90, 206, 276, 287). But Josephus also uses it of (re-) affixing a seal (sign: e.g., made by a ring) to a letter: *Ant.* 7.136; 11.271.

⁹⁸² It is not clear why Josephus should go to such great lengths to pretend that he has not read the letter—except in order to add to the suspense. The soldier had asked him to read it immediately (§ 221) and there is nothing in its content that would seem to have changed Josephus’ tactics. Perhaps he simply wants to show that he would not oblige the soldier because he wished to retain the position of power; perhaps he affords a glimpse into his own weakness, that he could not wait to read it. He is, after all, surprisingly candid about his fears (§§ 20, 175, 206, 304) and certain other weaknesses (§§ 81).

⁹⁸³ This was a very attractive sum, roughly equivalent to 20 Roman *denarii*. A few years after this episode, at about Josephus’ time of writing, Domitian would increase the pay of legionary soldiers to 300 *denarii* per annum, so almost 1 *denarius* per day. But

the legions were relatively well paid, and this man would presumably have received far less while he had been in Agrippa’s army—perhaps a third or a half, even less now as a rebel soldier. We may guess that 20 drachmas amounted to at least a month’s pay, perhaps considerably more.

⁹⁸⁴ Greek ἐφόδιον. Cf. the Latin *viaticum*.

⁹⁸⁵ Ladles (sg. κύαθος) were used to apportion wine from the κρατήρ, the large bowl in which the wine and water were mixed. The word occurs only here in Josephus.

⁹⁸⁶ Josephus already suspected, at the very least, that the delegation had been sent to kill him (§ 204), in spite of the assembly’s directive to return him alive to Jerusalem if he co-operated (§ 202), for that was precisely the news that had disturbed him before his dream. Cf. § 234, which confirms that he had understood their plot from “the letter,” presumably his father’s letter in § 204. The soldier’s confession only confirms what Josephus had known. This story is valuable nonetheless for literary entertainment and because it gives Josephus an immediate pretext for replying as he does.

⁹⁸⁷ Josephus uses clever irony: Just as the delegation have avowed the opposite of their real intention (§§ 217-18), so he declares the opposite of his, signaling thus that he has understood their game. It was indeed Josephus’ intention to return to Jerusalem (§ 205), but that was before his dream and firm decision to remain (§ 212).

Xaloth,⁹⁸⁸ but further,⁹⁸⁹ and without being directed to so; but I beg your understanding that I am not able to do this because I am closely guarding Placidus in Chabolos.⁹⁹⁰ He has a plan to go up into Galilee.⁹⁹¹ So, you come to *me* when you have read the letter.⁹⁹² Be well!

Josephus sends his letter with cavalryman and escort

(45) 228 When I had written this and given it to the soldier to carry, I sent with him thirty of the most proven Galileans; I charged them to greet those men, but to say nothing else. I also arranged for a chaperon to accompany each of those trusted armed soldiers, so that no conversation would develop between those sent by me and Ionathes' group.⁹⁹³ So they went on their way.

delegates demand that Josephus come to Gabara

229 Ionathes' group, having failed in their first attempt, sent another letter to me, thus:

Ionathes and those with him,
To Josephus,
Greetings!

We charge⁹⁹⁴ you to come three days from now,⁹⁹⁵ without armed soldiers, to the village⁹⁹⁶ of Gabaroth,⁹⁹⁷ so that we can hear fully the complaints that you have made against Ioannes.⁹⁹⁸

delegates unsuccessfully try

230 After they had written these things and greeted the Galileans,⁹⁹⁹ whom they sent off,

⁹⁸⁸ The only other mention of this village in Josephus is at *War* 3.39, where he uses it as a marker of the S extremity of Galilee, bordering the Great Plain of Esdraelon. That silence in itself is telling: it is far from the center of action. The site has been identified with the modern village of Iksal, which indeed marks the first rise from the plain, about 6 km W of Mt. Tabor, facing it across an incursion of the plain. See Appendix A. The delegation has only barely entered Galilee: they remain on the fringe, where they can either whisk Josephus away or kill him with impunity.

⁹⁸⁹ This appears to be a sarcastic comment, for the delegates have chosen the farthest possible point from him in Galilee (*War* 3.39): he *could not* go any further without leaving Galilee.

⁹⁹⁰ Thus we now see the literary reason for Josephus' insertion of §§ 213-15: he headed to the far W of Galilee, with a large force and for an ostensibly noble purpose, so that when the delegates arrived he could claim to be engaged in urgent business.

⁹⁹¹ So § 214.

⁹⁹² Josephus knows that the delegates will not likely enter his stronghold in W Galilee. In the event (§ 229), they will cleverly propose Gabara, which is quite close to Chabolos, but solidly within Ioannes' sphere of influence.

⁹⁹³ Frontinus (*Strat.* 1.1) makes the maintenance of secrecy about one's military plans the first principle in preparing for conflict, and it is characteristic of Josephus to take strong measures for this purpose (e.g., §§ 163, 242, 261). Nevertheless, it is not entirely clear what secrets he is concerned about here. He is indeed at Chabolos checking Placidus as he says, and so the audience is unaware of any secret that needs to be kept—

unless he assumes the audience's general presumption that he would have some plan up his sleeve.

⁹⁹⁴ Greek παραγγέλλω. See the note to "charging" at § 69. Ionathes has changed his tone dramatically from the first letter (§ 218): there he had invited (παρακελεύω) Josephus to join him; now he is giving an order as to a subordinate.

⁹⁹⁵ See the note to "leave" at § 205.

⁹⁹⁶ Gabara is called a city (πόλις), indeed one of the largest, at § 123.

⁹⁹⁷ From §§ 240-43 it is clear that for Josephus Gabaroth (Hebrew plural) is interchangeable with Gabara (singular). On the site, see the note to "Gabarenes" at § 82. Gabara is a clever choice for the delegation in their battle of wits with Josephus. He has diplomatically refused to meet them at Xaloth, where he would have been far from his base of support, but has invited them to come to him at Chabolos. They now offer Gabara, which means a 19-km march N into the heart of Galilee for them, and only a 12.5 km march E for Josephus from Chabolos, so that they seem to be compromising generously. But Gabara is a larger town than Josephus' headquarters at Chabolos (according to § 123: one of the three largest cities in Galilee, with Sepphoris and Tiberias) and, more important, one that has been consistently friendly to Ioannes of Gischala—and will warmly welcome them under his influence: §§ 123-24, 233-34, 313.

⁹⁹⁸ Notice the evolving tone from the first letter, which had generously taken Josephus' side. Now the delegation is only interested in *hearing* Josephus' complaints. See also the note to "charge" in this section.

⁹⁹⁹ These are the 30 Galileans sent by Josephus to escort the soldier as well as the 30 chaperons sent to es-

they went off to Iapha,¹⁰⁰⁰ being the largest village of those in Galilee.¹⁰⁰¹ It had very strong walls¹⁰⁰² and was completely full of inhabitants.¹⁰⁰³ The mob came out to meet them and, with women and children,¹⁰⁰⁴ kept crying out, directing¹⁰⁰⁵ them to leave, and not to begrudge them their fine general.¹⁰⁰⁶ **231** Now Ionathes' group were very irritated by these shouts, yet they did not dare¹⁰⁰⁷ to reveal their anger. Without requiring an opinion from them, they went on their way to the other villages.¹⁰⁰⁸ But similar outcries¹⁰⁰⁹ met them on all sides, [the people] crying that no one could change their minds about having Josephus as general.¹⁰¹⁰

*to gain support
in S Galilee*

232 Ineffective among these folk, Ionathes' group departed and went off* to Sepphoris,¹⁰¹¹ the largest city of those in Galilee.¹⁰¹² Now the people from here, being oriented toward the Romans in their opinions,¹⁰¹³ met those men but neither praised nor insulted me.¹⁰¹⁴

*delegates un-
successful at
Sepphoris and
Asochis*

cort the escort (§ 228). They will bring the delegates' letter back to Josephus.

¹⁰⁰⁰ See the note at § 188, where Iapha seems to appear (cf. *War* 2.573) among the sites fortified by Josephus, even though the mss. read "Papha." Thus the delegates have moved about 5 km to the W, still very close to the Great Plain and a route of emergency escape. Rather than penetrating deep into the Galilee, perhaps because they do not know the extent of loyalty to Josephus, they are cautiously testing their support at the S extremity of Galilee. At the same time, they can hope to win over the largest of the villages immediately.

¹⁰⁰¹ Greek ἀφίκοντο εἰς Ἰαφάν κώμην μεγίστην οὖσαν τῶν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ. See the strikingly similar description of Sepphoris at § 232. At § 188 Josephus distinguishes between the few cities (πόλεις) and the many villages (κώμαι) of Galilee. At § 235 he will claim that there are 204 *cities and villages* in Galilee, maintaining this classification. His statement that Iapha was the greatest of the villages remains subject to archaeological verification. But he seems to have strong literary reasons for making the claim here, related to the obvious parallel with Sepphoris below (§ 232). The strategy of Josephus' opponents, namely, backfires terribly. They move quickly to shore up support at the largest village and the largest city, respectively, but they are disappointed, even humiliated, in both places.

¹⁰⁰² This was apparently a result of Josephus' fortification (§ 188; cf. *War* 2.573).

¹⁰⁰³ See the notes to "Galilee" and "directing" in this section.

¹⁰⁰⁴ See the note to this phrase at § 25.

¹⁰⁰⁵ An ironic inversion. Josephus uses the verb κελεύω often (some 50 times) in this narrative: those in power, such as himself as general, issue directives to their subordinates. Although the delegation of eminent men on a mission from the Jerusalem assembly could not have had greater formal power, here it is comically powerless, resigned to taking direction from poor villagers. The inversion infuriates them, but they are

powerless to affect it.

¹⁰⁰⁶ See the note to "general" at § 97.

¹⁰⁰⁷ See the notes to "insolent" at § 135 and "dare" at § 216.

¹⁰⁰⁸ We do not know what other villages Josephus has in mind, but Nazareth (nowhere mentioned by Josephus) is a very likely possibility, since it lies about 3 km. NE of Iapha.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Surprisingly, the noun καταβόησις occurs only in the *Life* (cf. also §§ 286, 384, 416), although the related noun καταβολή appears in the later volumes of the *Antiquities*, and the cognate verb is found throughout *War* and *Antiquities*.

¹⁰¹⁰ Josephus' repeated use of the word "general" (see § 230 and note at § 97) is characteristic of his simple narrative technique: he drives home his main points by simple repetition. Cf. the notes to "Simon" at § 3 and "high priest" at § 4.

¹⁰¹¹ Thus, the delegates move about 7 km. N from Iapha, where they were so unsuccessful. Since they move from the largest village (§ 230) to the largest city, their strategy seems to be to win over the largest centers first as a base. See the note to "Sepphorites" at § 30.

¹⁰¹² Greek εἰς Σέπφοριν μεγίστην τῶν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ πόλιν ἀφικνοῦνται. The striking similarity with § 230 forces the conclusion that Josephus has a literary point: the largest centers in Galilee were at best cool toward them.

¹⁰¹³ Greek γνώμαι. See the note to "opinions" at § 22. On this pro-Romanism, see the note to "Sepphorites" at § 30 and §§ 104-6.

¹⁰¹⁴ The audience knows well Ioannes' prior effort to win over the Sepphorites, and Josephus' verdict on that experiment: "since they would not devote themselves to either one of us on account of having chosen the Romans as masters, did not give their approval to him." (§ 124). The delegates appear rather pathetic for even attempting to gain their support.

233 Yet when they went down from the Sepphorites to Asochis,¹⁰¹⁵ those who were from there kept crying out¹⁰¹⁶ against them, much like the Iaphenes. No longer restraining their anger, they ordered* the armed soldiers accompanying them¹⁰¹⁷ to beat with clubs those who were crying out.¹⁰¹⁸

received at Gabara, by Ioannes

When they now showed up at Gabara,¹⁰¹⁹ Ioannes came out to meet* them with 3,000 armed soldiers.

Josephus moves to Iotapata, offers to meet delegation anywhere but Gabara and Gischala

234 Because I had long since understood—from the letter¹⁰²⁰—that they had resolved to make war against me, I moved up¹⁰²¹ from Chabolos with 3,000 armed soldiers,¹⁰²² leaving the most trusted of my friends in charge of the base.¹⁰²³ Because I wanted to be near them, I went to Iotapata,¹⁰²⁴ which is forty stadia away,¹⁰²⁵ and here I wrote* to them:

235 If you want me to come to you at all costs, there are 204 cities and villages¹⁰²⁶ throughout the Galilee. I will come to any of these you desire, except Gabara and Gischala: the one is Ioannes' native place,¹⁰²⁷ and the other his ally and friend.¹⁰²⁸

delegates plot to gather Josephus' op-

(46) 236 When they received these letters, Ionathes' group no longer wrote* back. A meeting¹⁰²⁹ of the friends¹⁰³⁰ convened and, after inviting Ioannes to join them, they deliber-

¹⁰¹⁵ That is, about 2 km down hill to the NW. See the note to "Asochis" at § 207. It was at Asochis that Josephus had decided to return to Jerusalem, been besieged by Galilean supporters who had arrived from everywhere (§ 207), and experienced his revelatory dream (§ 208). So he presents it as a primary support base.

¹⁰¹⁶ Indeed, at § 230 the Iaphenes also "kept crying out" (κατεβόων).

¹⁰¹⁷ According to §§ 200-1, the delegates have 600 armed soldiers from the mercenary Iesus and 100 that originally accompanied Ioannes' brother Simon to Jerusalem; they have also 300 citizens of Jerusalem.

¹⁰¹⁸ Josephus may be making a play on "no longer restraining" (οὐκέτι κατασχόντες) and "those who were crying out" (τοὺς καταβόωντας).

¹⁰¹⁹ According to Ionathes' letter (§ 229), this is where they were headed all along. They will meet Josephus in territory that is safely held by their sponsor Ioannes (see the note to "Gabaroth" at § 229).

¹⁰²⁰ Presumably, Josephus refers to his father's letter (§ 204), since the letters from the delegates (§§ 217-18, 229) have not suggested any such thing; it was the drunken soldier (§ 225) who revealed their plans.

¹⁰²¹ Chabolos, where Josephus was guarding Placidus, lay at the E edge of the Acco plain, the W extremity of Galilee, about 70 meters above sea level. To move towards Gabara (about 270 meters above sea level) was an uphill march.

¹⁰²² According to § 213, Josephus had 3000 armed soldiers at his disposal, to which he added 5000 recruits.

¹⁰²³ See the note to this word at § 214, where Josephus established his base at Chabolos.

¹⁰²⁴ Iotapata cuts Josephus' distance from Gabara in

half, and it is a secure site that is friendly to him (§§ 188, 332, 412).

¹⁰²⁵ About 5 miles or 8 km; see the note to "stadia" at § 64. Although the distance from Chabolos to Iotapata is in fact about 8 km (measured aerially), it seems from the context that Josephus means that Iotapata was 40 stadia from Gabara. That distance is about 4 miles or 6.5 km measured aerially, but the terrain is very hilly.

¹⁰²⁶ See the note to "cities" at § 188. This is Josephus' standard distinction of settlements. The number is not improbable in itself, but it would become virtually impossible if read in conjunction with *War* 3.43, which claims that the smallest of the villages had more than 15,000 inhabitants. That figure would produce a minimum of 3,800,000 inhabitants of Galilee alone—closer to 4 million to account for larger sites—and is for that reason unlikely. (Recall that Rome had perhaps one million, Jerusalem fewer than 100,000.) Since the *Life* so routinely contradicts the *War*, and fails here to mention the 15,000-person minimum, and since that figure fits with *War*'s goal of magnifying the size of the conflict (*War* 1.1-2), it seems unlikely that Josephus intends the reader to factor the two sets of figures together; each serves the rhetorical need of the moment.

¹⁰²⁷ That is, Gischala: §§ 43-5, 70. Josephus now drops all pretense of innocence, indicating that he knows the delegates to be partisans of Ioannes.

¹⁰²⁸ For Gabara as Ioannes' ally, see § 124. Note Josephus' instinct for chiasmus: Gabara, Gischala; Gischala, Gabara.

¹⁰²⁹ See the note to "congress" at § 62.

¹⁰³⁰ See the note to "friends" at § 79. Just as Josephus had his circle of political advisors, we should

ated the manner in which they would take me in hand.¹⁰³¹ **237** It occurred to Ioannes to write to all the cities and villages¹⁰³² in Galilee, for in each one there were bound to be at least one person and a second who were at odds with me, and to summon these as against an enemy. He directed that this declaration¹⁰³³ be sent also to the city of the Jerusalemites so that they, once they knew that I had been judged an enemy by the Galileans, would themselves vote likewise.¹⁰³⁴ He asserted that, once this had happened, the Galileans, who thought so highly of me, would become afraid of being left in the lurch.¹⁰³⁵

*ponents, notify
Jerusalem*

238 When Ioannes had eagerly counseled these things, what had been said pleased the others as well. **239** About the third hour of the night,¹⁰³⁶ these matters also came to my attention:¹⁰³⁷ a certain Saccheus,¹⁰³⁸ who was with them, deserted¹⁰³⁹ to me and reported their design. Clearly, I could no longer postpone the time [for action]. **240** Determining that a trusted armed soldier of those around me, Iacob,¹⁰⁴⁰ was worthy, I ordered* him to take 200 armed soldiers, to patrol the exits leading from Gabara into the Galilee,¹⁰⁴¹ and to arrest and send to me those who came out,¹⁰⁴² especially those caught with documents. **241** Another one of my friends, Ieremiah,¹⁰⁴³ I sent to the frontier of Galilee¹⁰⁴⁴ with 600 armed soldiers, to guard closely the roads leading from there to the city of the Jerusalemites;¹⁰⁴⁵ I had also given him the order to arrest those travelling with letters, to

*Josephus estab-
lishes patrol on
Galilean bor-
der to prevent
delegates'
communication
with Jerusalem*

assume that the delegates did also.

¹⁰³¹ Greek ἐπιχειρέω μοι. Josephus also uses this word figuratively: see the note to “himself” at § 40 and the parallel at § 338. At § 216 the sense is probably literal as here, but the case is less certain.

¹⁰³² See the note to this phrase at § 235.

¹⁰³³ Greek δόγμα. The declaration in question, apparently, is the designation of Josephus as a public enemy. Ioannes’ proposal is to make this declaration as if it were a submission from all Galilee—even if in fact he could find only one or two in each town to accept it.

¹⁰³⁴ According to §§ 196-202, the inner circle in Jerusalem (Ananus’ group) had already decided, as a result of bribery, that Josephus should be removed. But apparently the general assembly in Jerusalem as a whole did not even know of this plan (§ 196), let alone approve of it (§§ 309-12). Josephus’ father only discovered it by friendly intelligence (§ 204). Since the delegates have a secretive mission, it will help them if they can now get a full public vote of the Jerusalem general assembly (κοινόν).

¹⁰³⁵ Greek ἐγκαταλείπω. See the note to this word at § 205: the Galileans need a protector from the bandits, and so far they trust Josephus. Ioannes’ plan to break this tie seems to be an elementary confidence game: persuading party B on the basis of the (alleged) unanimity of party A, and then using the agreement of party B to persuade party A. Paul admits to the same tactic in 2 Cor 8:1-7; 9:1-5. He tries to persuade Achaean churches to participate in a grand collection, using the example of the Macedonian churches’ generosity as encouragement. But then, he concedes that it was his earlier claims about the Achaean churches’ generosity that had spurred the Macedonian churches in the

first place. Here, Ioannes will use the Galilean verdict on Josephus to extract a firm vote from Jerusalem, and then use that firm vote from Jerusalem to persuade the Galileans.

¹⁰³⁶ The third hour of darkness: perhaps about 9:00 p.m.

¹⁰³⁷ Josephus is at Iotapata (§ 234).

¹⁰³⁸ This man appears only here in Josephus. His name is the Greek form of Hebrew Zakkai (זכאי): “guiltless,” “innocent.” Cf. the eminent rabbi Yohanan ben Zakkai (*b. Ber.* 17a, 25b, etc.) and Zaccheus in Luke 19:1-10. The name is not attested in the Diaspora inscriptions.

¹⁰³⁹ See the note to “deserted” at § 107. Josephus has remarkably good luck with deserter-informants.

¹⁰⁴⁰ See § 96, where Iacob is introduced—his only other appearance in Josephus. He helps Josephus escape from the angry mob at Tiberias. One might infer from § 92 that he was one of Josephus’ most trusted aides.

¹⁰⁴¹ Note again Josephus’ assumption that “Galilee” comprises the countryside with its villages; the cities have a distinctive character, not the cities (see the note to “Galileans” at § 30). Gabara’s central location would presumably mean that there were several exits (at least three or four?) to guard; we do not know.

¹⁰⁴² See the note to “on site” at § 241.

¹⁰⁴³ This friend, named after one of Josephus’ two favorite biblical prophets (*War* 5.391-92; *Ant.* 10.78ff.), appears again only at § 399 in Josephus’ writings.

¹⁰⁴⁴ That is: the E-W line along which the Galilean hills fall away into the Plain of Esdraelon (Yezreel). Ieremiah’s force could not guard the entire frontier, but only the roads leading S. See the following note.

¹⁰⁴⁵ There were two main routes between Jerusalem

guard such men in chains on site,¹⁰⁴⁶ but to forward the documents to me.

Josephus arranges force before Gabara

(47) 242 After giving these instructions to those being sent, I sent word to the Galileans,¹⁰⁴⁷ directing that on the following day they should take up weapons and three days' food,¹⁰⁴⁸ and enter the village of Gabaroth¹⁰⁴⁹ to meet me. From the armed soldiers about me,¹⁰⁵⁰ I apportioned four units¹⁰⁵¹ and detailed the most trustworthy of them to the protection of my person.¹⁰⁵² I appointed heads for each detail¹⁰⁵³ and directed them to exercise concern so that no unfamiliar soldier fraternized¹⁰⁵⁴ with them.¹⁰⁵⁵ **243** On the following day at the fifth hour,¹⁰⁵⁶ having come to Gabaroth I found* the entire plain in front of the village¹⁰⁵⁷ filled with armed soldiers from Galilee, on hand for the alliance just as I had charged them.¹⁰⁵⁸ In fact, another large crowd from the villages was also accumulating.

Josephus admonishes soldiers to virtue

244 When I had situated myself among them, I began to speak; they were all shouting, calling me the patron and rescuer¹⁰⁵⁹ of their country. Yet I, after acknowledging the gratitude that I had toward them, counseled them neither to make war against anyone nor to

and Galilee (or at least, the Great Plain): one passed through Samaria, much quicker but often hazardous (§ 269; cf. *War* 2.232-44), and the other one through the rift valley along the Jordan River (Mark 10:46; 11:1). Across the Galilean frontier itself, however, there were numerous points of egress into the Great Plain. From § 245 it appears that the soldiers were patrolling in pairs, indicating fairly broad coverage (even allowing for changing shifts).

¹⁰⁴⁶ The difference in plan for those arrested outside Gabara is no doubt related to the distances involved. Gabarenes could be sent to Josephus for questioning because he was only about 7 km away at Iotapata, and was advancing to Gabara himself. Those patrolling the Galilean frontier, by contrast were some 16-20 km. away, over substantial hills. Letters could still be sent quickly, however, by mounted courier.

¹⁰⁴⁷ See the note to "Galileans" at § 30.

¹⁰⁴⁸ The noble purpose behind this instruction appears at § 244 below: bringing their own supplies should prevent them from plundering Gabara. Josephus flags his virtue.

¹⁰⁴⁹ That is, Gabara: see § 240.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Josephus brought 3000 troops with him from Chabolos to Iotapata (§ 234), but he has detailed 800 of these for sentry duties (§§ 240-41), leaving him with about 2200.

¹⁰⁵¹ Greek μοῖραι. In keeping with the general flexibility of this term in military applications (H.J. Mason 1974:163-64), Josephus does not use it with any fixed meaning (e.g., *War* 2.501, 507; 3.116). Here, however, it corresponds roughly to the 500-man cohort.

¹⁰⁵² In the style of a senior Roman magistrate or princeps, Josephus chooses the élite soldiers for his personal protection, a kind of praetorian cohort (see Le Bohec 1994:20).

¹⁰⁵³ Greek ταξίρχοι. Like μοῖρα (see the note to "units"), ταξίρχος is a malleable term, corresponding to the many uses of τάξις (*legio, cohors, centuria, ordo*; cf. H.J. Mason 1974:163-64). Here, in view of the unit's size, the designation corresponds roughly to the Roman *praefectus cohortis*.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Or "mingled closely" (συναναμίγνυμι). Josephus uses this word only here and at *Ant.* 20.164-65 of the *sicarii*, who mingled in the crowds and then drew their concealed daggers.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Josephus continues to follow text-book military practice. He has already shown himself concerned to keep his own plans secret (§§ 163, 228; cf. 261), in keeping with Frontinus' first principle (*Strat.* 1.1). Here he protects himself against his opponents' possible use of Frontinus' second principle: discovering the enemy's plans through spying and especially infiltration (*Strat.* 1.2).

¹⁰⁵⁶ Nearing mid-day: about 11:00 a.m. Apparently, then, Josephus' force traveled (in the story) from Iotapata to Gabara, 7.5 km or so, that morning.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Presumably, then, Josephus has approached the village via the valley between Sogane and Gabara (and between Tell Morsan and Khirbet Mishtach) emerging into the Sachnin valley just to the N of Gabara.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Josephus emphasizes the obedience of those under his authority, also at § 245.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Greek εὐεργέτης καὶ σωτήρ. This pair, which is found in other authors (Demosthenes, *Or.* 18.43; Plutarch, *Thes.* 33.1), is a particular favorite of Josephus': *War* 1.530; 3.459; 4.146; 7.71; *Ant.* 11.278; 12.261; *Life* 259. These honorific titles were among the most popular epithets for the Ptolemaic and Seleucid kings: Ptolemy (III, VIII) Euergetes, Ptolemy IX Soter, and Antiochus I Soter.

dirty their hands by plunder, but to camp down in the plain and be content with their own travel provisions.¹⁰⁶⁰ For, I said, I wanted to quell the disturbances without bloodshed.¹⁰⁶¹

245 Now on that very day it happened that the men who had been sent from Ionathes with letters ran into the guards posted by me on the roads.¹⁰⁶² The men were guarded at the sites, as I had charged.¹⁰⁶³ After perusing these documents filled with slanders and lies,¹⁰⁶⁴ but indicating these matters to no one, I made my plans to move against them [Ionathes' force].

*delegates let-
ters to Jerusa-
lem seized*

(48) 246 When Ionathes' group heard about my arrival, they gathered up all of their own along with Ioannes and withdrew to the house of Iesus:¹⁰⁶⁵ this was a castle, not at all inferior to an acropolis.¹⁰⁶⁶ In this place, then, they concealed an ambush-detachment¹⁰⁶⁷ of armed soldiers, locked up all the other gates, leaving only one open, and invited me to come in off the road and greet them. **247** They gave clear orders to the armed soldiers to permit only me to go in when I arrived, while shutting out the others,¹⁰⁶⁸ for in this way they imagined that I would easily be at their mercy.¹⁰⁶⁹ **248** But they were deceived by the hope.¹⁰⁷⁰ Having detected the plot beforehand, I pretended to go to sleep directly opposite them,¹⁰⁷¹ as if I had put up for the night after arriving from the road.

*delegates plot
to invite
Josephus in,
but he pretends
to go to bed*

249 Ionathes' group, supposing that I was really resting and fast asleep, rushed down to the mob¹⁰⁷² to change their minds¹⁰⁷³ —as though I were performing badly as a general.¹⁰⁷⁴

*delegates try to
win over
Galileans while*

¹⁰⁶⁰ Greek ἐφόδια; cf. Latin *viaticum*. The provisions in question are presumably those he mentions at § 242: he directed them to come prepared so that they would have no need for plunder. All of these injunctions (avoid plunder, camp in the valley, be content) amount to the same thing: the virtuous general (cf. §§ 80-4) is trying to prevent the normal behavior of soldiers then and now; the victors take the spoils. The Greek phrase ἀρκουμένους τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐφοδίοις is quite similar to John the Baptist's instruction to a soldier at Luke 3:14: ἀρκεῖσθε τοῖς ὀψωνίοις ὑμῶν. See also § 159.

¹⁰⁶¹ See the note to this common Josephan phrase at § 103.

¹⁰⁶² See the note to "Jerusalemmites" at § 241.

¹⁰⁶³ See § 240-41. Because they are kept on site, away from Josephus, these men must have been caught at the frontier between Galilee and the Plain rather than at the exits from Gabara itself.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Greek πλήρεσι βλασφημιῶν καὶ ψευσμάτων. Cf. §§ 260-61, where Josephus further describes these letters: πολλῶν βλασφημιῶν καὶ καταψευδομένης . . . μηδὲν παραλιπόντων ἀναισχύντου ψευδολογίας.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Since Josephus makes no effort to clarify who this Iesus is, he may well be the one who accompanied the delegation back from Jerusalem to Galilee (§ 200). In that case, he is not a bandit but a prominent citizen of Gabara, and certainly not to be identified with the Iesus of §§ 104-11.

¹⁰⁶⁶ That is, a city or part of a city built on a prominent hill as in Athens and Corinth. Many other sites, especially in the hill country of Galilee such as Gabara,

had an acropolis, which was extremely valuable for defense. Josephus notes (§ 376) that the Sepphorites fled from the vulnerable lower city to their acropolis when they were attacked by Josephus' Galileans.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Greek λόχος. Cf. §§ 400, 405.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Isolating the ringleader is a favorite tactic in the *Life*, used by Josephus (§§ 108, 146-48, 175-78) and others (§ 294). See the note to "out" at § 108. How Josephus could have known about these orders remains unclear: the story owes a lot to his creativity.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Greek ὑποχείριος, one of Josephus' favorite words. See the note at § 28.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Greek ἐψεύσθησαν δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος. The phrase and its negation ("not deceived by the hope") are common in Greek literature: Sophocles, *Aj.* 1382; Aristophanes, *Thesm.* 870; Hoerdotus 1.141; 2.13; 9.61; Xenophon, *Hell.* 7.5.24; *Cyr.* 1.5.13; Isocrates *Paneg.* 4.58; *Archid.* 6.72, 108; *Hel. enc.* 10.41. Josephus employs similar phrases elsewhere: *Ant.* 18.227; 19.133.

¹⁰⁷¹ Contrast § 136, where Josephus *fails* to detect a plot beforehand (προαισθάνομαι there as here) and so *actually* goes to sleep. The scene has comic possibilities: if Josephus, down in the valley, is to be seen from the delegates' high perch, does he perhaps offer his observers a dramatic stretch and a stage yawn before entering his tent?

¹⁰⁷² So mss. MW (εἰς τὸ πλῆθος), preferred by Niese and Münster. The others (PRA) read "into the plain" (εἰς τὸ πεδῖον), preferred by Thackeray.

¹⁰⁷³ Greek μεταπεθεῖν αὐτούς. But see the note to "changed" at § 250.

Josephus sleeps

250 Yet the opposite happened to them. For when they appeared, immediately there was a shout from the Galileans expressing good will¹⁰⁷⁵ towards me as general.¹⁰⁷⁶ They were placing blame on Ionathes' group: Here they [the delegates] were*, without themselves having first suffered anything bad, yet having thrown their [the Galileans'] affairs into turmoil! They kept appealing to them to leave, for they would never have their minds changed¹⁰⁷⁷ to receive another protector¹⁰⁷⁸ in place of me.

Josephus thwarts the delegates by appearing, demonstrates Galilean support

251 When these things had been reported to me, I did not hesitate to go out into the fray.¹⁰⁷⁹ I went down immediately, so that I could hear what Ionathes' group would say. When I came forward, there was immediate applause accompanied by shouts of praise and adulation from the entire mob, who confessed their gratitude for my generalship.¹⁰⁸⁰ **(49) 252** As they heard these things, Ionathes' group began to fear that they were in danger of being killed if the Galileans should rush upon them out of gratitude¹⁰⁸¹ towards me: they were contemplating a sprint. Not being able to leave, however, because I required them to stay, they stood looking downward during [my] speech.¹⁰⁸² **253** Then I ordered the mob to restrain their adulation and posted the most trusted of the armed soldiers by the roads in order to patrol, so that Ioannes would not attack us¹⁰⁸³ unexpectedly. I also exhorted the Galileans to pick up their weapons,¹⁰⁸⁴ so that they would not be disturbed at the approach of the enemy soldiers if someone should suddenly appear.

Josephus confronts the delegation

254 To begin with, I reminded Ionathes' group about the letter:¹⁰⁸⁵ how they had written that they had been sent by the general assembly¹⁰⁸⁶ of the Jerusalemites to resolve my struggles with Ioannes, and how they had invited¹⁰⁸⁷ me to come to them. **255** While relating these things, I held the letter out in the middle¹⁰⁸⁸ so that they could deny nothing, the document exposing¹⁰⁸⁹ them.¹⁰⁹⁰

¹⁰⁷⁴ See the note to "general" at § 97.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Greek εὐνοίας ἀξία: "equivalent to good will."

¹⁰⁷⁶ Thus Ionathes' group gets the same response from these Galileans as they had from those at Iapha (§§ 230-31) and Asochis (§ 233). See the note to "general" at § 97.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Greek μὴ ἄν ποτε μεταπεισθῆναι: once again, the Galileans frustrate the firm intention of the powerful delegates (cf. "change their minds" at § 249).

¹⁰⁷⁸ Greek προστάτης. Although the *nomen agentis* occurs only here in the *Life*, the abstract noun προστασία, which I have rendered "protection," is more frequent (§§ 115, 312, 324, 393). The noun here is very close in meaning to the Latin *praeses* (H.J. Mason 1974:81): "one who stands before or over; chief; protector; governor." See the notes to "protection" at §§ 115, 312.

¹⁰⁷⁹ See the note to "center" at § 37.

¹⁰⁸⁰ See the note to "general" at § 97.

¹⁰⁸¹ Greek χάρις (cf. Latin *gratia*) describes the attitude of those in a reciprocal, patron-client relationship. Cf. Saller 1982:21-2.

¹⁰⁸² Josephus' vivid description of the human emotions in play (here: fear) seems calculated, once again, to entertain a sympathetic audience.

¹⁰⁸³ Since only the delegates are said to have rushed

down from Iesus' house in the village (§ 249), apparently Ioannes is still there.

¹⁰⁸⁴ The weapons are presumably swords, daggers, clubs, and perhaps shields. See the note to "weapons" at § 22.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Josephus describes the delegates' first letter, at §§ 217-18.

¹⁰⁸⁶ See the note at § 65.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Josephus uses the exact wording of the envoys' first letter: they invite (παρακαλέω) Josephus to join them (§ 218).

¹⁰⁸⁸ See the note to "center" at § 37.

¹⁰⁸⁹ The first occurrence of the verb ἐλέγχω ("prove, try, examine, expose, censure") in the *Life*, which Josephus reserves for quasi-legal contexts. He employs it especially in his judicial analysis (in the mode of self-defense) of Iustus' book (§§ 339, 356, 360). See the note to "trial" at § 91.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Josephus appears to be shifting his story according to his need at the moment. The envoys' original letter (§§ 217-18) had not in fact accused him: it claimed that they would reprimand *Ioannes* and direct him to submit to Josephus. Here and in the following paragraph, however, Josephus assumes that they have come to accuse him. Indeed they have, but their letter (even their second letter, § 229) does not say this. Per-

256 “Now look,” I declared: “If, while being judged¹⁰⁹¹ in relation to Ioannes, I had brought some two or three gentlemen¹⁰⁹² as witnesses with a view to marshaling a defense of my own life, you, Ionathes, and your fellow envoys would face the obvious necessity, after examining also the lives of such men,¹⁰⁹³ to acquit me of the charges. **257** So, in order that you may know that I have acted honorably throughout Galilee, I consider even three witnesses to my having lived honorably to be too few; instead, I give you all these. **258** So discover from these the manner in which I have lived, whether I have conducted affairs¹⁰⁹⁴ here with all dignity and all virtue.¹⁰⁹⁵ And certainly, Galileans, I bind you with an oath to conceal nothing of the truth, but to speak to these men as jurors¹⁰⁹⁶ if there is anything I have not done honorably.”¹⁰⁹⁷

Josephus’ speech to the delegates appeals to Galileans’ support

(50) 259 While I was still saying these things, there were numerous voices from all sides calling me patron and rescuer:¹⁰⁹⁸ concerning what had been done they were giving tes-

Galileans resoundingly

haps Josephus bends the story so that he can include the following speech in the mode of judicial self-defense.

¹⁰⁹¹ Josephus takes the opportunity to break up his narrative with a speech of forensic (judicial) rhetoric, as if he were in the dock. Alas, it is not a particularly good specimen of either reasoning (the invitation to inspect the character of his witnesses cannot hold for the masses present) or rhetoric (the style is lax and repetitive).

¹⁰⁹² Greek καλοὶ καγαθοί. See the note to this phrase at § 13. Josephus assumes his audience’s understanding that the character of one’s defense witnesses is the paramount consideration in legal cases. See the note to “men” in this section.

¹⁰⁹³ Josephus and his audience assume that the character (ἦθος) of defendant, defense witnesses, and advocates is critical to a judicial assessment. This assumption appears early in Greek literature, where the argument from probability (what a given character was capable of doing) gained currency: “moral character, so to speak, constitutes the most effective means of proof” (Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1.2.15.1356A). See Kennedy 1994:24-5. In Republican Rome, where defendants did not normally speak for themselves but relied upon the *auctoritas* of a powerful patron, the character of both defendant and advocate came to determine legal outcomes (May 1988:6-7; Kennedy 1994:103). See, e.g., Cicero, *De or.* 2.182 and his remarkable defense of Flaccus at *Flac.* 25; Aulus Gellius [re: Scipio Africanus], *Noct. att.* 4.18.3-5; [in the empire] Quintilian, *Inst.* 1.praef.9; 5.12.10.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Greek πολιτεύομαι. The issue of this entire book is Josephus’ public life, to which he turns after his education: ἡρξάμην πολιτεύεσθαι (§ 12). His public life and γένος together illustrate his character (§ 430). For the meaning of the verb, which Josephus will pick up again at § 262, see the note to “public life” at § 12.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Greek μετὰ πάσης σεμνότητος καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς. Greek σεμνότης overlaps in sense with the Latin *dignitas* and *gravitas*, which many Romans con-

sidered their distinctive virtues in contrast to the softer ways of the Greeks. J.P.V.D. Balsdon (1979:31) summarizes the Roman stereotype: “Greeks were lightweights, unreliable, irresponsible, flighty people—*leves* (playboys), *molles* (sloppy); their national character was in sharp contrast to Roman sturdiness, *gravitas*.” He cites Cicero (*Flac.* 9, 24, 31, 61), who asserts that Rome was the birthplace of *dignitas* and lofty character (*Sest.* 141). Dignity had indeed found a place among the expanded virtue lists of the Greek philosophers (e.g., Aristotle, *Eth. eud.* 2.3.4.1221A), but the Romans spoke of *dignitas* and *gravitas* much more easily, often together, as national virtues—as distinct, say, from virtues cultivated by philosophers (e.g., Cicero, *Fam.* 1.5a.4; 2.6.4; *Mur.* 6; *Phil.* 7; 11.21; *Verr.* 2; *Har. resp.* 41; *Sull.* 64). Josephus features these as *Judean* virtues, in contrast to Egyptian and even Greek ways: *Apion* 1.225; 2.223. The first and most notable attribute of his exemplary Essenes is their peerless dignity (*War* 2.119: σεμνότητα ἄσκειν). Their special virtue is self-control (ἐγκράτεια; 2.120). When the lawgiver Moses used allegory in crafting the Judean constitution, he did so with dignity (*Ant.* 1.24; contrast the “unseemly mythology” of 1.15). One of Josephus’ heroes, Joseph(us) the Tobiad, rescued the Judean nation from oblivion by the force of his rare dignity (*Ant.* 12.160).

¹⁰⁹⁶ This word (δικαστής) appears only here in the *Life*, though it occurs in *War* and *Ant.* several times. In the present context, it may have something of its technical meaning from democratic Athens: the self-conscious aristocrat Josephus magnanimously (and rhetorically!) invites these ordinary people to be his judges.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Josephus uses the adverb “honorably” (καλῶς) three times in this short speech, in addition to invoking “[honorable] gentlemen.” It is characteristic of him simply to repeat words that he wishes to emphasize. See the notes to “Simon” at § 3, “high priest” at § 4, and “general” at § 231.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Conveniently for Josephus, the masses used the same epithets at § 244. See the note there.

support
Josephus

timony, and concerning what remained to be done they were appealing [for more]. They all swore that I had preserved the women unmolested¹⁰⁹⁹ and that they had never been harmed by me in any way.

Josephus di-
vulges contents
of delegates'
letters to
Galileans

260 After this, I read out to the Galileans two of the letters that had been sent by Ionathes' group, which the men I had stationed as patrolmen had seized and dispatched to me,¹¹⁰⁰ filled with slanders and fabrications:¹¹⁰¹ that I was exercising more of a tyranny¹¹⁰² than a generalship over them. **261** He included many other things in addition to these, omitting nothing of shameful falsehood.¹¹⁰³ I let on to the mob that I had received the documents after they had willingly been given by their couriers,¹¹⁰⁴ because I did not want my opponents to know about the patrol's involvement¹¹⁰⁵—or they might become anxious and refrain from writing.

Galileans be-
come outraged;
Josephus shows
clemency and
diverts the
furious mob to
Sogane

(51) 262 When the mob heard these things, they became utterly furious.¹¹⁰⁶ They rushed against Ionathes and those present with him, as though they would destroy¹¹⁰⁷ them. They would have concluded the deed, except that I managed to still the Galileans' rage.¹¹⁰⁸ To Ionathes' group I declared that I would pardon what they had already done if they would now change their thinking, go back to their native city,¹¹⁰⁹ and tell those who had sent them¹¹¹⁰ the truth about my conduct of affairs.¹¹¹¹ **263** When I had said these things I dismissed them, though I knew full well that they would do nothing of what they had promised.¹¹¹² The mob was incited to rage over them, and they appealed to me to authorize

¹⁰⁹⁹ For the preservation of women's chastity as a signal test of the general's virtue, see also § 80.

¹¹⁰⁰ Josephus refers to the letters intercepted at § 245.

¹¹⁰¹ Greek πολλῶν βλασφημιῶν καὶ καταψευδομένης. Cf. § 245, where Josephus first encounters these letters (πλήρεσι βλασφημιῶν καὶ ψευσμάτων) and his further complaint in § 261.

¹¹⁰² Josephus introduces the tyranny or "monarchy" charge (here τυραννίς) as a clever concoction by the delegation from Jerusalem. Because they were four, they could make a *prima facie* case that the Galileans should prefer their conciliar government to Josephus as "monarch" (cf. §§ 197-98). The only other occurrence of the τυρανν- word group in the *Life* comes at § 302, where Ionathes once again accuses Josephus of behaving as a despotic monarch (τυραννέω). This was an old category with powerfully negative resonances in the context of constitutional discussions. Plato and Aristotle had established that tyranny was the worst form of government by far, for it "infects the state with a mortal illness" (Plato, *Resp.* 8.544D; Aristotle, *Pol.* 4.8.1295A). Plato lays out the typical evolution of the tyrant from beloved protector of the masses to monster created by this unchecked affection (*Resp.* 8.565-69). Given the obvious role that the charge of tyranny plays in Josephus' authorial hand, as he tries to give his opponents plausibly crafty schemes, it seems misguided to assume that mention of this accusation is a slip on Josephus' part, or a forced admission of his actual be-

havior in the Galilee, and therefore of definitive historical value (*contra* Laqueur 1920:108).

¹¹⁰³ Greek μηδὲν παραλιπόντων ἀναισχύντου ψευδολογίας. Cf. Josephus' similar characterizations of the letters at § 245 and § 260.

¹¹⁰⁴ This is a well-intentioned lie (§ 245) of the kind that Josephus constantly feeds both his adversaries and the masses in the *Life*. See the note to "said" at § 22.

¹¹⁰⁵ That is, the patrol set up along the Galilean frontier at § 241. On Josephus' concern for secrecy about his operations, see the note to "leave" at § 163. In this case, Josephus is laying the groundwork for his final strategic coup against the delegation, for in § 318 Ionathes and Ananias will be arrested as they try to leave Galilee for Jerusalem.

¹¹⁰⁶ See the note to this characteristic phrase at § 68.

¹¹⁰⁷ Greek διαφθείρω sometimes has the moral sense: "corrupt, spoil" (as at § 196).

¹¹⁰⁸ This is a set phrase. See the note to "rage" at § 100.

¹¹⁰⁹ That is, Jerusalem (§§ 196-98).

¹¹¹⁰ That is, the inner circle led by Ananus the former high priest, under the influence of the leading Pharisee Simon son of Gamaliel (§§ 189-96, 216).

¹¹¹¹ Greek περὶ τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπολιτευμένων, picking up Josephus' remark at § 258. See the note to this phrase there and to "public life" at § 12.

¹¹¹² Perhaps a gratuitous insult: in the narrative, Ionathes' group has not actually promised anything.

them to punish such insolent men.¹¹¹³ **264** By every possible means I began persuading them to spare the men, for I understood all sedition¹¹¹⁴ to be ruinous¹¹¹⁵ in its effects on the community.¹¹¹⁶ But the mob kept the rage toward them unmitigated, and they all rushed upon the house to which Ionathes' group were being led. **265** When I realized that the rush was unstoppable, I leapt up onto a horse and ordered the mobs to follow me to Sogane,¹¹¹⁷ a village twenty stadia¹¹¹⁸ away from Gabara. By making use of this maneuver,¹¹¹⁹ I provided a way for me to avoid seeming to initiate a civil war.¹¹²⁰

(52) 266 When I came near Sogane I halted the mob and, after delivering an exhortation¹¹²¹ about not being carried away abruptly by feelings of rage—in this case, involving irreparable acts of punishment¹¹²²—, I ordered 100 men, who were already advanced in age and principals among them, to prepare to travel to the city of the Jerualemites, to place blame on the citizenry¹¹²³ for generating factions¹¹²⁴ in the region.¹¹²⁵ **267** “And should they be moved by your words,” I declared, “appeal to the general assembly¹¹²⁶ to write to me, directing me to remain in Galilee, and Ionathes' group to withdraw from there.”¹¹²⁷ **268** After I had given them these instructions and they had quickly prepared themselves, on the third day¹¹²⁸ after the assembly I held the farewell, sending along 500 armed soldiers¹¹²⁹ as well. **269** Moreover, I wrote to friends in Samaria,¹¹³⁰ that they should provide safe passage for them.¹¹³¹ For Samaria was already subject to the Romans,¹¹³² yet it was

Josephus sends counter-delegation of 100 to Jerusalem via Samaria, moves to Iapha

¹¹¹³ See the note to “insolent” at § 135.

¹¹¹⁴ Greek στάσις, one of the key terms in Josephus' corpus. See the note to “insurgents” at § 17 and “factions” at § 32.

¹¹¹⁵ Following the reading of mss. P, R, and corrected A (ὀλέθριος). MW have the noun ὀλεθρος (“destruction”).

¹¹¹⁶ A succinct statement of Josephus' consistent repudiation of στάσις, on which see the notes to “insurgents” at § 17 and “factions” at § 32. Curiously, the Greek here (τοῦ κοινῇ συμφέροντος) has a precise parallel at *Ant.* 2.215, but in a different sense—where an unrelated ὀλεθρος also occurs.

¹¹¹⁷ Modern Sachnin. See the note at § 188, where Soganae is included among Josephus' fortifications in Lower Galilee.

¹¹¹⁸ About 2.5 miles, 4 km. Sachnin is a fairly level 4.5 km. (measured aerially) WNW of Gabara. See the note to “stadia” at § 64.

¹¹¹⁹ See the notes to “general” at § 97 and “maneuver” at § 148.

¹¹²⁰ Greek ἐμφυλίου πολέμου κατάρχειν (“to initiate a civil war”). At § 100, Josephus has used the same phrase, describing such an action as “terrible” (δεινός).

¹¹²¹ Greek χράομαι παραινέσει. For the phrase, see Thucydides 6.68.1. Josephus continues to present himself as a master of self-control.

¹¹²² That is: if they had killed the delegates, the damage would be irreparable.

¹¹²³ Greek ὁ δῆμος, elsewhere “the populace,” where the context is clearly of a particular city (Tiberias or Jerusalem; Tarichea at § 150). Here, the citizens of Jerusalem are intended. Josephus seems to reserve the

word for members of a πόλις, and his audience should understand that the Galileans here do not belong to a δῆμος.

¹¹²⁴ Greek στασιάζω. See the notes to “insurgents” at § 17 and “factions” at § 32.

¹¹²⁵ That is, in Galilee.

¹¹²⁶ See the note at § 65.

¹¹²⁷ This counter-embassy will report back to Josephus (supportively) at §§ 309-12.

¹¹²⁸ See the note to “leave” at § 205, also § 229. It is a commonplace in Josephus that one prepares for two days before leaving on the third.

¹¹²⁹ See the note to “soldiers” at § 190.

¹¹³⁰ Josephus briefly describes Samaria, between Galilee and Judea, at *War* 3.48-50. *Ant.* 9.188-91 tells, with considerable animosity, the story of their settlement.

¹¹³¹ The Roman garrisons in Samaria (next sentence) were only the most recent problem for Judeans traveling between Jerusalem and Galilee. Josephus tells the story of Galilean pilgrims murdered en route to Jerusalem around the year 50 (*War* 2.232-44; *Ant.* 20.118-24). His writings and other contemporary texts make clear the long-standing hatreds between Samaritans and Judeans (*Ant.* 9.290-91; 1 Macc 3:10; Luke 10:29-37; John 4:9; 8:48). The gospel of Luke has a striking parallel to this episode: headed S to Jerusalem, Jesus likewise sends messengers ahead to prepare his safe passage through Samaria, but the messengers are rebuffed in one village because Jesus is headed to Jerusalem (Luke 9:51-6). Note that embassies travelling this route normally have a substantial armed escort in Josephus' narrative (see the note to “soldiers” at § 190).

absolutely necessary for anyone who wanted to go quickly to proceed through that region.¹¹³³ from Galilee, it was possible in this way to be resting in Jerusalem within three days.¹¹³⁴ **270** I myself accompanied the envoys as far as the border of Galilee,¹¹³⁵ setting up guards on the roads¹¹³⁶ so that it would not be easy for someone to notice those who were escaping. When I had done these things, I made my residence in Iapha.¹¹³⁷

delegates proceed to Tiberias, invited by Iesous son of Sapphias; Josephus hears and rushes to Tiberias

(53) 271¹¹³⁸ Having failed miserably in their venture with me, Ionathes' group dismissed Ioannes to Gischala¹¹³⁹ as they themselves proceeded to the city of the Tiberians, fully expecting to have it at their mercy.¹¹⁴⁰ For at about this time¹¹⁴¹ Iesous¹¹⁴² had written to them announcing that he would persuade the mob to welcome them when they came, and to choose to be included with them. **272** Whereas they [Ionathes' group] departed with such hopes, Silas—whom I had left in charge of Tiberias, as I said¹¹⁴³—reported these things to me through letters, and requested that I hurry there.¹¹⁴⁴ I obliged him quickly

¹¹³² That is, Samaria had not been part of the rebellion against Roman rule and so was still part of the Roman province of Judea in good standing. Josephus describes, however, an incipient Samaritan revolt snuffed out by Vespasian's general Cerealis (*War* 3.308-15). As territory relatively friendly to the Romans, it was apparently one of the first regions garrisoned (*War* 3.309), providing a convenient base for campaigns in both Galilee and Judea.

¹¹³³ Indeed, the embassies of Josephus' narrative prefer the Samaritan route, travelling S via Xaloth (§ 227) or nearby Dabaritta (§ 318), where Galilee meets the central part of the Great Plain. Aside from this direct line S through Samaria, there had been a popular route for pilgrims via the rift valley, alongside the Jordan River, to avoid Samaria. It was the latter, longer and harder but mostly safer, route that Jesus took for his final Passover according to the Marcan tradition (Mark 10:46; 11:1). This longer route may have taken a week or more, for it required first a trip E and then, once past Jericho in the river valley, a difficult and dangerous trek back W, over the hills of the Judean desert and up to Jerusalem. It was in this dangerous leg that Jesus' famous parable of banditry (the Good Samaritan) is set: Luke 10:29-37. (John 4:4 claims that Jesus had to travel through Samaria; cf. Luke 9:51-6). It is likely that once the revolt had begun, the river route became even more dangerous than the trip through Samaria. One would need to pass through the villages and territory (χώρα) belonging to the major Decapolis cities of Gadara, Hippos, and especially Scythopolis, where anti-Judean sentiment was at a peak (§§ 26, 42, 121; *War* 2.457-58, 466).

¹¹³⁴ From Xaloth, the S-most point in Galilee (*War* 3.39) to Jerusalem is about 100 km measured aerially, further by ground: so the pace is about 35 km or more each day (to arrive on the third day).

¹¹³⁵ Apparently Josephus' envoys departed from somewhere near Xaloth, for he then went to stay at

nearby Iapha.

¹¹³⁶ Presumably, the roads from Sogane S to the Plain of Esdraelon. It is not clear how these men would shield the passage of the envoys—perhaps by scaring others off the roads.

¹¹³⁷ For Iapha, see the notes at §§ 188, 230. Josephus has traveled more than 21 km S from Sogane to see his delegation off to Jerusalem. Iapha was a convenient place for him to stay now, just over 2 km N of the Plain of Esdraelon.

¹¹³⁸ The following story of the revolt of Tiberias, §§ 271-304, is closely parallel in many of its features to the Tiberian revolt story of §§ 85-103. Since these two stories also occupy roughly corresponding positions in the narrative (one quarter of the way from the beginning and end, respectively), they appear to be major indicators of the *Life's* concentric structure (see Introduction).

¹¹³⁹ Gischala was Ioannes' native place: §§ 43, 70-7. His retreats there after failing to accomplish his plots form a comical theme in the *Life*: §§ 101, 308, 317, 372.

¹¹⁴⁰ Greek ὑποχείριος, one of Josephus' favorite words. See the note at § 28.

¹¹⁴¹ See the note to this phrase at § 112.

¹¹⁴² This Iesous, son of Sapphias, is identified at §§ 278-79 as the president (ἄρχων) of the Tiberian council (cf. §§ 294-95, 300). He has been introduced as council president at § 134, but (apparently) mentioned before that as a militant factional leader in Tiberias (§§ 66-7).

¹¹⁴³ Silas has been introduced at § 89, in the symmetrical parallel to this story, as Josephus' appointed general (στρατηγός) in Tiberias. Since the city hardly falls under Josephus' administration, however, the role seems more like that of an ambassador and spy. Curiously, when Silas is first introduced Josephus already says that he has mentioned him before—perhaps in *War* 2.616.

¹¹⁴⁴ Josephus is at Iapha, by the S border of Galilee (§ 270), about 22 km SW (aerially) of Tiberias—the

and, by being present there, exposed myself to the risk of destruction for the following reason.

273 After Ionathes' group had arrived among the Tiberians and persuaded many who were at odds with me to rebel, when they heard about my coming they¹¹⁴⁵ became anxious for themselves. They came to me and, greeting [me], began to say¹¹⁴⁶ that they considered it fortunate that I was thus involved in the Galilee, that indeed they rejoiced together [with me] at the honor in which I was held.¹¹⁴⁷ **274** For, they claimed,¹¹⁴⁸ my reputation made them look good,¹¹⁴⁹ since they had been my teachers¹¹⁵⁰ and were currently my fellow-citizens;¹¹⁵¹ in fact, they kept saying¹¹⁵² that my friendship was more appropriate to them than Ioannes'. Though eager to depart for home, they would wait patiently there until they should place Ioannes at my mercy.¹¹⁵³ **275** While saying¹¹⁵⁴ these things they swore in confirmation the most dreadful oaths¹¹⁵⁵ that we have, on account of which I considered it improper¹¹⁵⁶ to mistrust them.¹¹⁵⁷ Indeed, on account of the next day's being a sabbath,¹¹⁵⁸

anxious delegates appease and flatter Josephus, ask him to remove soldiers for sabbath

better part of a day's travel.

¹¹⁴⁵ Apparently, Ionathes' group, as the next sentence indicates.

¹¹⁴⁶ The constant repetition of verbs of *saying* and *claiming* in this paragraph highlights Josephus' point about the envoys' thorough-going duplicity. See the note to "said" at § 22.

¹¹⁴⁷ The reader knows that this profession is the opposite of the group's real views. But it is uncertain whether they say this in order to revert to their first tactic (§§ 217-18—pretending to be Josephus' supporters) or simply out of desperation in the moment. Given what has already happened at Gabara (§§ 249-65), it is difficult to imagine how Ionathes could now pretend to be Josephus' supporter and expect to be believed. Thus the reader might prefer to see this explanation as an appeal born of desperation. The astonishing thing, then, is that Josephus claims to believe Ionathes (§ 275).

¹¹⁴⁸ See the note to "say" at § 273.

¹¹⁴⁹ Literally: "was an adornment [or ornament: κόσμος] to them." Although the word κόσμος appears only here in the *Life*, Josephus uses it frequently in the *Antiquities* to speak of fine clothes and accoutrements (*Ant.* 1.250, 337; 3.78; 13.427; 15.61). Especially in view of his occasionally pejorative usage elsewhere (i.e., excessive finery), his choice of the unusual word here seems to serve his sarcastic tone.

¹¹⁵⁰ Greek ὡς ἂν διδασκάλων μου γενομένων. Although there is no good reason to believe that Ionathes' group actually said this, in view of the literary freedom Josephus demonstrates throughout, it is curious that Josephus should have put this remark in their mouths. When had they been Josephus' teachers? Had all of them taught him? Ionathes and Ananias, the leading delegates, were Pharisees and laymen; Iozar (also a Pharisee) and Simon were priests (§ 196). Their alleged education of Josephus seems (note the aorist participle γενομένοι) to have occurred prior to his full "citizen-

ship" (or entry into public life?), thus most likely during his higher education (§§ 10-12). It is important to remember, however, that neither that description of his education nor this portrayal of the delegates' words has a strong claim to factuality: Josephus is making their speech as artful as possible to show why he was persuaded to trust them (§ 275). Rajak (1983:30-1) finds here an incidental reference to Josephus' early upbringing as a Pharisee. This is unlikely, however. There is no other evidence that Josephus was raised a Pharisee, and if he had been, his decision to go and investigate their school (§ 10) would be hard to understand.

¹¹⁵¹ That is, of Jerusalem. See the note to "citizenry" at § 266.

¹¹⁵² See the note to "say" at § 273.

¹¹⁵³ Greek ὑποχείριος, one of Josephus' favorite words (see § 271). Cf. the note at § 28.

¹¹⁵⁴ See the note to "say" at § 273.

¹¹⁵⁵ The language recalls Ioannes' attempt to absolve himself of guilt in the first major Tiberian revolt. There and here the description is ironic, since those who swear great oaths to guarantee their word are already violating Judean standards. See the note to "vows" at § 101.

¹¹⁵⁶ See the note to "piety" at § 75. Josephus' opponents routinely contrive to misuse piety in order to undermine him.

¹¹⁵⁷ This is a remarkable statement on the face of it, given Josephus' recent experience with these men at Gabara (§§ 249-65) and his experience with others who swear big oaths (§§ 101-2). His determination to portray himself as relentlessly mild of temper—especially in the context of professed piety—goes some way toward an explanation. His magnanimity throws their callous abuse of piety, the most sacred refuge from issues of war, into sharper relief. But we should not discount the structural reason for Josephus' innocent willingness to believe: it creates a strong parallel with his "not suspecting" Ioannes at § 86.

they appealed* to me to make my lodging elsewhere: they asserted¹¹⁵⁹ that the city of the Tiberians ought not to be burdened.¹¹⁶⁰

in the prayer-house, Ionathes, Iesous, and Iustus try to persuade the mob, unsuccessfully

(54) 276 So I departed for Tarichea, having suspected nothing, but all the same having left behind in the city those who would pass along anything that they might say about us.¹¹⁶¹ And along the entire road from Tarichea to Tiberias¹¹⁶² I set up many others, so that they could signal me via relay about whatever those left behind in the city might discover.¹¹⁶³ **277** On the following day, then, everyone¹¹⁶⁴ came together into the prayer house,¹¹⁶⁵ the largest building and able to accommodate a large crowd. When Ionathes went in, although he did not dare¹¹⁶⁶ to speak openly of defection,¹¹⁶⁷ he did say that their city had need of a better general.¹¹⁶⁸ **278** The council-president Iesous,¹¹⁶⁹ holding back

¹¹⁵⁸ See the note to “sabbath” at § 159.

¹¹⁵⁹ See the note to “say” at § 273.

¹¹⁶⁰ See § 159, where Josephus himself keeps his soldiers out of Tarichea so that the inhabitants would not be harassed by them on the sabbath. There he uses a compound of the same verb (ἐνοχλέομαι).

¹¹⁶¹ Here Josephus’ claims to two major virtues run into awkward conflict. He wishes to be innocent of any mistrust, and yet he must also show himself a clever general. The result is confusing: Why would he post spies and sentries if he truly suspected nothing?

¹¹⁶² Ancient Tiberias and Tarichea were about 7 km. apart.

¹¹⁶³ Josephus follows the standard general’s practice of commissioning spies and infiltrators (cf. Frontinus, *Strat.* 1.2) to uncover the enemy’s plans.

¹¹⁶⁴ According to § 279, this was a “council” meeting, but then at § 300 Iesous, the council president, dismisses the δῆμος and keeps only the council there. See also § 169, where the Tiberian leaders comprise both the council (600 according to *War* 2.641) and the principal men of the people, to an equivalent number.

¹¹⁶⁵ Greek προσευχή: literally “prayer,” but widely attested in the Greek diaspora as “place of prayer” and thence “meeting house of the local Judean community.” Josephus is notoriously sparing with information about such meeting places. Several times he uses the word συναγωγή (literally “gathering” or “association”), apparently expecting his audience to understand it as a Judean meeting house in a city such as Caesarea or Antioch (*War* 2.285-89; 7.44; *Ant.* 19.300-5), though the word has other applications (*Ant.* 1.10; 15.346). Similarly, he uses προσευχή here and elsewhere to refer to such meeting houses (*Ant.* 14.258; *Apion* 2.10—both in quotation of other sources) here in conjunction with the verb συνάγω. Philo generally uses προσευχή, though he explains that the Essenes meet in “holy places that they call συναγωγαί” (*Prob.* 81). In the NT: the gospels and Acts always use συναγωγή for meeting houses, in both Palestine and the diaspora, except that Acts 16:13-6 refers to an open-air προσευχή

(cf. *Apion* 2.10) at Philippi. Inscriptions and papyri from the third century BCE and later attest προσευχή for built structures in Egypt and Delos (Horbury and Noy 1992:9, 13, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 117, 125, 126; cf. Schürer-Vermes 2.423-47; 3.1.46-7, 52, 55, 73). The word συναγωγή also appears occasionally (Horbury and Noy 1992:20), especially in Rome, where a number of “synagogues” have been identified (e.g., Noy 1995:96, 114, 117, 189, 542, 549, 562). The famous Theodotus inscription (*CIJ* 2.1404) is from a first century συναγωγή in Jerusalem. Compounds (e.g., ἀρχισυναγωγος) are also frequent in the inscriptions (Noy 1993:4, 14, 20, 53, 64, 70), though it is sometimes unclear whether these derive from the entire Judean community of a city or from a single group. For discussion, see Schürer-Vermes 2.423-47; S. Safrai in *CRINT* 1.2.908-44; Hengel 1971; Barclay 1996:26-7.

A substantial number of ancient synagogue structures have been discovered in Judea, Galilee, and the Golan, including those at Hammat-Tiberias and Sepphoris. Although the visible structures most often come from the third and fourth centuries (see Foerster 1992), Gamala and some Herodian sites (Masada, Herodium) have yielded pre-70 meeting places: large, rectangular, fairly simple structures (Meyers and Kraabel 1986). It remains an open question to what extent these structures should be understood as having a specifically religious purpose, and that depends in turn on the degree to which one may isolate religion as a phenomenon in ancient Judaism. Horsley (1995:222-37) argues, partly on the basis of this passage in the *Life*, that Galilean synagogues were really “village assemblies” with a multitude of uses. Even if one is inclined to agree with Horsley in general, Josephus here seems to make this an extraordinary meeting in the prayer house and, in context, a violation of its sanctity.

¹¹⁶⁶ See the notes to “insolent” at § 135 and “dare” at § 216.

¹¹⁶⁷ Greek ἀπόστασις. See the note at § 17.

¹¹⁶⁸ See the note to “general” at § 97.

¹¹⁶⁹ See § 134 and note there.

nothing, said plainly:¹¹⁷⁰ “It is preferable, citizens, for us to submit to four men rather than to one, especially those who are so brilliant with respect to ancestry and so renowned with respect to insight.”¹¹⁷¹ He indicated Ionathes’ group. **279** Now Iustus¹¹⁷² came forward and praised Iesus who had said these things; accordingly, he persuaded some of the populace.¹¹⁷³ But the mob was not pleased by what was said.¹¹⁷⁴ They would surely have proceeded to a riot¹¹⁷⁵ if the meeting had not dissolved at the arrival of the sixth hour,¹¹⁷⁶ at which time it is lawful¹¹⁷⁷ for us to take our luncheon¹¹⁷⁸ on sabbaths.¹¹⁷⁹ Ionathes’ group left, unsuccessful, having held over the council¹¹⁸⁰ until the following day.

280 When these things were immediately reported to me,¹¹⁸¹ I determined to go early [next day] to the city of the Tiberians. On the following day, I came at about the first hour¹¹⁸² from Tarichea and on my arrival found the mob already gathering into the prayer house.¹¹⁸³ Why there was even a meeting, those who were assembling did not know. **281** Now Ionathes’ group, when they unexpectedly observed me present, were quite disturbed. At that, they schemed to disseminate word that Roman cavalry were near,¹¹⁸⁴ on the frontier some thirty stadia¹¹⁸⁵ away from the city: they had been discovered at a place called Homonoia.¹¹⁸⁶ **282** When these things were announced, as a result of staging, Ionathes’

Josephus arrives; Tiberian leaders distract him with false rumor of threat from Roman cavalry

¹¹⁷⁰ Thus Iesus is an entirely different character from the devious Ionathes, who cannot speak plainly.

¹¹⁷¹ For the link between ancestry and insight, see also §§ 8, 192. Iesus’ words here conspicuously fulfill the aims of Josephus’ enemy Simon, who arranged the delegation precisely on the premise that the combined attributes of its members with respect to ancestry and training would outmatch Josephus’ qualities: § 196-98.

¹¹⁷² Iustus of Tiberias, introduced (§§ 36-9) as the leader of a Tiberian faction that was bent on revolt (though pretending to be hesitant), who quickly embraced Ioannes’ effort to oppose Josephus in the first Tiberian revolt (§§ 87-8), and who has received a stern lecture with implied threats from Josephus (§§ 177-78).

¹¹⁷³ This matches Josephus’ introduction of Iustus as a talented (and mischievous) orator: § 40.

¹¹⁷⁴ Whereas Iustus had at first been able to persuade “most citizens” (§ 42), he has now lost a good deal of his grip on the masses, in view of what has happened in the meantime: Josephus has (he says) proven a steadfast and reliable general, whereas Iustus has shown fickleness in supporting one leader or another.

¹¹⁷⁵ Greek στάσις: one of Josephus’ favored words (see the notes to “insurgents” at § 17 and “factions” at § 32). He uses it with many senses and on various levels. Here it is the immediate upheaval, or riot, that is in question. Cf. § 298.

¹¹⁷⁶ That is, the sixth hour of light: mid-day.

¹¹⁷⁷ In reality this was a matter of custom more than law. In Josephus’ world of discourse the boundary between the two is entirely fluid: see S. Mason 1991:96-110. It is not clear that he could or would make a distinction for his audience here. I translate “lawful” for consistency; cf. §§ 9, 74, 191, 295.

¹¹⁷⁸ Josephus uses the verb ἀριστοποιέω elsewhere

only at *War* 2.131, where he describes the Essene (daily) practice of working until the fifth hour, bathing, and eating their first meal: about the same time as here.

¹¹⁷⁹ Since ἄριστον can designate either breakfast or lunch (Thucydides 4.90; 7.81), Josephus may mean that breakfast was delayed until mid-day on the sabbath.

¹¹⁸⁰ Greek βουλή. Although § 277 had indicated that “everyone” came in for this meeting, at § 300 Iesus the council president will dismiss everyone except the council (600 according to *War* 2.641; see the note to “council” at § 64). The situation is, thus, that whereas Iesus is trying to manipulate the council and the “mob,” the mob will tend to support Josephus.

¹¹⁸¹ Josephus has set up a relay of soldiers to convey intelligence from Tiberias to Tarichea (§ 276).

¹¹⁸² The mss. MW, followed by Thackeray and Münster: “first hour” (ca. 6-7:00 a.m.); PRA have simply “the [set?] hour”; Niese conjectures “third hour” (ca. 9:00 a.m.).

¹¹⁸³ See the note to this phrase at § 277.

¹¹⁸⁴ Although Josephus knew this to be a decoy, it was a plausible one. Neapolitanus, prefect of a cavalry wing based in Scythopolis, had earlier harassed the villages around Tiberias and attracted Josephus’ attention (§§ 120-21).

¹¹⁸⁵ About 3.75 miles, 6 km; see the note to “stadia” at § 64. The frontier in question would be the limit of Tiberias’ territory or χώρα (cf. § 120). If the Roman cavalry was based in Scythopolis or the Great Plain, then the false rumor would probably take Josephus S or SW.

¹¹⁸⁶ The site is mentioned only here in Josephus and it is otherwise unknown. It is curious indeed that the place (τόπος—rather vague) should be called by a Greek name, and that this Greek name should signify

group kept appealing to me not to stand watching their land being plundered by the enemy. They said these things with this in mind: occupying me on the pretext of a call for urgent help, they themselves would set about changing things to establish the city as hostile to me.¹¹⁸⁷

Josephus quickly discharges fool's errand, returns to Tiberias

(55) 283 Even though I fully understood their design,¹¹⁸⁸ I nevertheless complied so that I would not create the impression before the Tiberians of failing to provide for their security. So I went out and when, upon arriving at the place, I found no trace of the enemy,¹¹⁸⁹ I returned by taking a short cut.

delegates fabricate charges against Josephus

284 Upon my arrival, I found the whole council¹¹⁹⁰ already assembled along with the crowd of citizens,¹¹⁹¹ and Ionathes' group fabricating a rich accusation against me as one who, while carelessly making light of the [costs of] war for them, was leading a life of luxury.¹¹⁹²

delegates again try, with forged letters, to remove Josephus for battle with Romans; Josephus cleverly thwarts their plan by requiring that

285 While saying these things, they produced four letters, as if written to them by those on the frontier of Galilee,¹¹⁹³ appealing to them to come and help—for a force of Roman cavalry¹¹⁹⁴ and also infantry was about to plunder their territory¹¹⁹⁵ on the third day¹¹⁹⁶—and begging them to hurry there, not to stand by watching.¹¹⁹⁷ **286** When the Tiberians heard these things, thinking them to be true they kept making outcries, saying that I should not be sitting down there, but should go off and give military assistance to their fellow-nationals.¹¹⁹⁸ **287** In response, because I perceived the plan of Ionathes' group, I said¹¹⁹⁹

the highest social virtue that Josephus attributes to the Judeans: “harmony,” the opposite of στάσις (*War* 1.457, 460-65; 5.72, 278; 6.216; *Ant.* 3.302; 4.50; 12.283; 13.67; 14.58; *Apion* 2.179-80, 283, 294). Given the paradox that it is the fomenters of sedition who send him off to Homonoia, one might wonder whether he has not invented the name in his narrative for the purpose of ironic humor. But see n. 1189 below.

¹¹⁸⁷ Tiberias has not been conspicuously supportive of Josephus to this point: §§ 85-103, 155-78.

¹¹⁸⁸ This is the only occurrence in Josephus of “enthymeme” (τὸ ἐνθύμημα), a term made famous by Aristotle for a rhetorical syllogism deriving from probable premises (*Rhet.* 1.1.11.1355A, 2.8.1356B, 2.20.1358A, 2.22.1358A; 2.22.1.1395B-96A). But it has a more general usage (LSJ *s.v.*) deriving from its etymology “something deeply held inside, something heartfelt”; therefore, a plan or design.

¹¹⁸⁹ Josephus cannot, then, have been sure that the mission was a mere ruse. If he had to leave merely to give the impression of concern for the Tiberians, and he knew that there was no Roman threat at Homonoia, he needed only to leave the city by a short distance.

¹¹⁹⁰ See the note to “council” at § 279.

¹¹⁹¹ See the note to “citizenry” at § 266.

¹¹⁹² There is nothing in the narrative to support this charge, since Josephus is at pains to live simply. The charge appears along with that of tyranny (§ 260: see note there) as a complete fabrication on the part of the

delegates. They are looking for any plausible means of stirring up animosity against Josephus. Since he is one man over against their four, the easy charge is that he seeks despotic control and personal luxury, a universally hated vice of the powerful.

¹¹⁹³ From Josephus' language it appears that the letters actually did appeal for help, but they were forged. Note that Iustus' brother has already been said to have lost his hands after being charged with forging letters (§ 177).

¹¹⁹⁴ See the note to “near” at § 281.

¹¹⁹⁵ Greek χώρα: the rural hinterland of a πόλις. See § 120.

¹¹⁹⁶ It is remarkably convenient that those requesting help should have three days' notice of the Roman attack, since three days is the preferred preparation time before a departure in Josephus' narrative (see the note to “leave” at § 205; also 157, 268). Apparently the reader is to assume that those on the border have received intelligence from their own spies in the Roman camp.

¹¹⁹⁷ Thus the delegates immediately try again to use the same tactics they have just tried (§ 281).

¹¹⁹⁸ Greek ὁμοεθνής occurs only here in the *Life*. Normally, Josephus uses ὁμόφυλος (§§ 26, 55, 56, 128, 171, 376, 377).

¹¹⁹⁹ See the note to “said” at § 22: a sign that Josephus is about to engage in resourceful deceit.

that I would readily comply, and announced that I would rush to battle without delay. All the same, I counseled, since the documents signaled* that the Romans would strike at four locations, they should divide the force into five units¹²⁰⁰ and appoint Ionathes' group,¹²⁰¹ his companions, over each of these. **288** It was fitting for good men not only to counsel, I said, but in case of pressing need to lead the way in providing help; for I myself would not be able to lead off more than one unit. **289** My counsel was entirely congenial¹²⁰² to the mob, and so they compelled those fellows to make off for the battle! The latter suffered extreme¹²⁰³ embarrassment when their intentions¹²⁰⁴ proved ineffective, when the things plotted by me outmaneuvered¹²⁰⁵ their undertakings.

they accompany him

(56) 290 Now a certain one of them by the name of Ananias,¹²⁰⁶ a vile and wretched man, proposed publicly to the masses that a fast before God¹²⁰⁷ be appointed for the following day.¹²⁰⁸ He directed that, having disarmed themselves, at about the same time and in the same place they should appear openly before God; for they understood that if they should not receive assistance from him, all weaponry would be useless.¹²⁰⁹ **291** Yet he was saying these things not out of piety,¹²¹⁰ but for the purpose of taking me and my [people] unarmed. And indeed I complied out of necessity, so that I should not appear¹²¹¹ to disdain this admonition concerning piety. **292** So as soon as we had withdrawn to our own places, Ionathes' group wrote* to Ioannes instructing him to come to them early the next day, with as many soldiers as possible.¹²¹² he could immediately have me at his mercy¹²¹³ and do whatever he had prayed for.¹²¹⁴

*delegate
Ananias calls
fast in order to
disarm
Josephus and
capture him*

293 On the following day, then, I directed* two of the bodyguards with me who were most esteemed with respect to courage and proven with respect to loyalty to conceal daggers

Josephus surreptitiously

¹²⁰⁰ Greek μοῖραι. See the note to “units” at § 242.

¹²⁰¹ That is: Ionathes, Ananias, Ioazar, and Simon (§§ 196-98).

¹²⁰² Greek συναρέσκω is rendered “concur” at §§ 34, 185.

¹²⁰³ See the note to “extreme” at § 22.

¹²⁰⁴ Greek γνώμαι. See the note to “opinions” at § 22.

¹²⁰⁵ Or “out-generated” (ἀντιστρατηγέω); see the note to “general” at § 97.

¹²⁰⁶ See § 197: a Pharisaic lay member of the delegation from Jerusalem, mentioned second after Ionathes.

¹²⁰⁷ The Judean constitution mandated only one annual fast (actually, a day of affliction and self-denial), on Yom Kippur (Lev 23:26-32; *Ant.* 3.240-43). Voluntary fasts were always possible, as the prophetic literature shows (2 Sam 12:23; 1 Kgs 21:9, 12; Ezra 8:21; Esth 4:16; 8:10; Isa 58:3-6; Jer 14:12; 36:6, 9; Joel 1:14; 2:15; Jonah 3:5; cf. 1 Esd 8:50; 2 Esd 5:13; Matt 6:16). The Mishnah tractate *Ta'anith* deals with public fasts for lack of rain, epidemic, and other calamity (e.g., 3.1-9). Perhaps Ananias invoked the general situation of war with the Romans or the particular problem of civil strife as the occasion for the fast.

¹²⁰⁸ See the note to “piety” at § 75. This is but another example of Josephus' enemies' willingness (he

says) to undertake the most heinous violations of true piety in order to dislodge him.

¹²⁰⁹ An ironic rhetorical flourish: this is the burden of Josephus' unsuccessful speech to the rebels before the walls of Jerusalem in *War* 5.390.

¹²¹⁰ Greek ταῦτα δ' ἔλεγεν οὐ δι' εὐσεβείαν. Cf. § 75 (re: Ioannes): ταῦτα δ' οὐχ ὑπ' εὐσεβείας ἔλεγεν Ἰωάννης.

¹²¹¹ See the very similar language in § 283: “I complied, not wishing to appear (unconcerned for their security or impious).” The delegates continue to trap him, though he has anticipated and outwitted them at § 289.

¹²¹² Ioannes will arrive at § 301. His army appears consistently as the main force behind the delegation, in spite of the 300 men from Jerusalem and the 600 mercenaries (§ 200), who may have left by now. Ioannes has several thousand soldiers at his disposal (§ 95), at least 3 000 (§ 233).

¹²¹³ Greek ὑποχείριος, one of Josephus' favorite words. See the note at § 28.

¹²¹⁴ In another context the sense might simply be “whatever he wished.” But Josephus' use of the word “prayer” in this context creates irony, for it is the impious delegation members who have been putting on a show of false piety in order to accomplish their ignoble aims.

arms two of his
companions

under their clothes¹²¹⁵—so that if there should be an attack by our adversaries we might have a means of defense—and to go forward with me. I myself took an armored vest¹²¹⁶ and strapped a sword underneath, but in such a way that it was inconspicuous,¹²¹⁷ and I went into the prayer house.¹²¹⁸

Josephus
caught and
interrogated in
prayer-house
with compan-
ions

(57) 294 Now the council-president Iesous,¹²¹⁹ for he had posted himself by the doors, gave instructions that all the men who were with me should be kept out;¹²²⁰ he allowed only me and the friends¹²²¹ to enter. 295 Just when we were performing our lawful¹²²² duties and directing ourselves to prayer, Iesous stood up and began interrogating¹²²³ me about the furnishings and¹²²⁴ the uncoined silver that had been taken from the burning of the royal palace.¹²²⁵ “With whom do they happen to have been left?” He was saying these things because he wanted to occupy the time until Ioannes came along.¹²²⁶ 296 For my part, I declared that Capella and the ten principal men¹²²⁷ of the Tiberians had everything.¹²²⁸ “Question them,” I declared; “I am not lying.” When they said that indeed [the goods] were with them, he said, “And the twenty gold pieces¹²²⁹ that you received when you sold a certain stash of uncoined [silver].¹²³⁰ What became of that?” 297 I declared that these had been given as travel money¹²³¹ to their envoys who had been sent to Jerusalem.¹²³²

¹²¹⁵ The plan suggests irony. As the attentive reader knows, this technique is borrowed from the *sicarii* (“dagger men, cut-throats, assassins”), whom Josephus has castigated at every opportunity in the *War* (2.254, 425) and *Antiquities* (20.186). He adopts his opponents’ methods and they disingenuously adopt his lofty themes (§ 290).

¹²¹⁶ Cf. Cicero’s famous use of such a breastplate under his toga, on the day of his election as consul, to protect himself against Catiline and his men (Plutarch, *Cic.* 14.7-8).

¹²¹⁷ Presumably, Josephus is wearing an ample cloak (ἱμάτιον) over his other clothes.

¹²¹⁸ See the note at § 277. The tension continues as the delegation seeks to accomplish its evil work in the very center of prayer and piety.

¹²¹⁹ See § 134 and note there.

¹²²⁰ Frequently in the *Life*, Josephus and his adversaries use the tactic of isolating their enemy from his support base; see the note to “out” at § 108.

¹²²¹ Presumably, these are the trusted and proven soldiers mentioned in § 293. The designation “friends” indicates Iesous’ rationale in letting them pass: he did not let them in because he knew that they were armed soldiers, but because Josephus was entitled to have a couple of advisors with him. Josephus thus uses “friend” in the sense of a political leader’s close advisors (cf. Latin *amici*); see the note at § 79. The irony is that now, the only two armed men of Josephus’ entourage (given the ban on weapons) are with him in the building, frustrating Iesous’ vigilance.

¹²²² See the note to “lawful” at § 279.

¹²²³ Greek πυνθάνομαι, elsewhere translated either “discover” or “find out [about].”

¹²²⁴ The mss. read: σκευῶν τοῦ ἀσήμου ἀργυρίου

(“furnishings [vessels, implements] of uncoined silver”). Consistency of language with §§ 68-69, however, requires a distinction between the furnishings and the uncoined silver. Therefore I follow Hudson’s emendation, which inserts καί before τοῦ.

¹²²⁵ The reference is to Iesous’ burning of Herod Antipas’ palace at Tiberias and Josephus’ confiscation of the plunder from the royal property: see §§ 66-69 above.

¹²²⁶ Perhaps. But if, as it appears, this Iesous was the very man who led the attack on Antipas’ palace (§ 66), then he also had a material interest in determining what had become of the goods confiscated by Josephus.

¹²²⁷ See the note to “principal men” at § 64.

¹²²⁸ See § 69, where indeed Josephus gave the goods to Capella son of Antyllus and the leading men of the Tiberian council.

¹²²⁹ Perhaps Roman *aurei* (see the note to “fund” at § 288)—the highest denomination, rare in Judea. If so, they would be worth about 2000 drachmas. See the note to “drachmas” at § 224.

¹²³⁰ The reference is to the silver of §§ 68, 295. There is no earlier reference to this transaction of selling the silver for gold pieces. But since Iesous takes the trouble to spell out that the gold came from the sale of the silver, this seems to be a self-conscious (rather than accidental) introduction of information by Josephus.

¹²³¹ Greek ἐφόδιον; cf. Latin *viaticum*.

¹²³² Apparently a reference to the delegation of 100 Galilean leaders that Josephus has recently sent to Jerusalem, asking the leaders there to clarify whose leadership was authorized; cf. §§ 266-70. Josephus has not, however, mentioned this payment earlier. We have no way to tell whether he is inventing it here as a clever lie.

At this, Ionathes' group declared that I had not acted properly in giving the envoys payment from the public [fund].¹²³³

298 Now as the mob had become agitated¹²³⁴ by these [remarks], because they perceived the wretchedness of these people, I realized that a riot¹²³⁵ was about to be ignited. Wanting to arouse the anger of the populace even more against these men, I said, "But if I did not act correctly in giving payment to your envoys from the public [fund], stop behaving angrily; I myself shall pay back the twenty gold pieces."¹²³⁶ **(58) 299** When I had said these things, Ionathes' group fell silent but the populace grew still more agitated¹²³⁷ against those who were so obviously demonstrating this unjust hostility toward me. **300** When he observed their transformation,¹²³⁸ Iesus directed the populace¹²³⁹ to withdraw but requested the council to wait there,¹²⁴⁰ for [he said] it was impossible to conduct a careful examination of such actions with an uproar going on.¹²⁴¹ **301** As the populace were crying out that they would not leave me behind alone with them, someone came secretly to Iesus' group reporting that Ioannes was approaching with the armed soldiers.¹²⁴²

Tiberian mob supports Josephus against delegates; Iesus directs the populace to leave the meeting

Now with Ionathes' group no longer restraining themselves—but with God quickly providing¹²⁴³ for my safety; had it not been for Him, I might have been completely destroyed by Ioannes—**302** he [Ionathes] said:

Ionathes' group blame Josephus and seize him

"Tiberians,¹²⁴⁴ stop this interrogation for the sake of twenty gold pieces! It is not because of these that Josephus deserves to die, but because he longed to be a tyrant¹²⁴⁵ and, when he had deceived the Galilean mobs with words, to seize the rule¹²⁴⁶ for himself."¹²⁴⁷

¹²³³ There is irony here, for Ananus and the Jerusalem leaders have given 40,000 pieces of silver from public funds to Ionathes' delegation. Josephus' alleged malfeasance is on a much smaller scale, even if we use a scale of 25:1 for the value of silver in relation to gold on the model of Roman coinage: one (gold) *aureus* = 25 (silver) *denarii*. A striking parallel is in Cicero, *Flac.* 18, where Flaccus wins over the ordinary people with the promise of travel money from the public fund (*viatico publico*)—though Cicero sees no crime in this.

¹²³⁴ Greek: passive of παροξύνω, otherwise rendered "become furious." See the notes at §§ 45, 68. Josephus will build on this reference in § 299, where the δῆμος becomes even more agitated.

¹²³⁵ Greek στάσις. See the notes to "insurgents" at § 17, "factions" at § 32, and "riot" at § 279.

¹²³⁶ Realizing that the charge is a pretext for Iesus' attempt to incite the mob against him, Josephus defuses his argument.

¹²³⁷ Greek ἔτι μάλλον παρωξύνθη, intensifying the verb from § 298.

¹²³⁸ Greek μεταβολή, usually rendered "upheaval."

¹²³⁹ Greek ὁ δῆμος. See the note to "citizenry" at § 266.

¹²⁴⁰ Thus the crowd comprised both the council (of 600: *War* 2.641) and many others. See the notes to "everyone" at § 277 and "council" at § 279.

¹²⁴¹ This likely story reverts to a theme very familiar from the Roman republic: deliberations in the forum

interrupted by the unruliness of the mob. Indeed, Cicero complains that it is the way of Greek city assemblies to be disorderly—a problem that now infects Rome because of immigrants (*Flac.* 15-7, 66). See in general Millar 1998.

¹²⁴² In § 292, Ionathes' group have written to Ioannes in Gischala (§ 271), urging him to come quickly with as many armed soldiers as possible, to take advantage of the general disarmament (for the contrived fast) and seize Josephus.

¹²⁴³ Greek προνοέω, evoking a major theme (πρόνοια θεοῦ) in Josephus. See the note to "provision of God" at § 15.

¹²⁴⁴ Only the council remains present, but it may have numbered 600 as *War* 2.641 claims.

¹²⁴⁵ According to Josephus, Ionathes' group fabricated the accusation that Josephus wished to be a despot (§ 260). It was the most plausible charge for a group of four aristocrats to bring against one apparently renegade priest (cf. §§ 196-98), and so it seems to be an integral part of Josephus' narrative development. Therefore, we should hesitate to put too much weight on the claim, as if it were a piece of simple historical fact slipping through unintentionally, as if Josephus acknowledges that he really had been seen as a despot. See the note to "tyranny" at § 260 and Introduction.

¹²⁴⁶ This is an ironic statement, since Josephus is the one originally authorized to govern the Galilee. Ionathes and his delegation were only sent as a result of

While he was saying these things, they¹²⁴⁸ suddenly laid their hands on me and kept trying to dispose of me.

Josephus' companions and Tiberian mob support him; he flees to harbor and Tarichea

303 When those who were with me¹²⁴⁹ saw what was happening, they drew their swords and threatened to strike if they were forced.¹²⁵⁰ While the populace had picked up stones and were rushing to throw them at Ionathes, they [the friends] snatched me away from the violence¹²⁵¹ of my enemies. **(59) 304** When I had proceeded a little, I was about to run into¹²⁵² Ioannes advancing with the armed soldiers.¹²⁵³ I anxiously moved away to avoid him and was safely conducted to the lake through a certain alley.¹²⁵⁴ I took a boat, embarked for Tarichea, was ferried across, and thus unexpectedly escaped the danger.¹²⁵⁵

Josephus informs Galilean leaders, who indignantly demand punishment of Ioannes and Ionathes' delegation; Josephus calms them

305 Right away I summoned* the leading men¹²⁵⁶ of the Galileans and indicated* how, after suffering a breach of faith by Ionathes' group and the Tiberians, I had very nearly been destroyed by them. **306** The mob of the Galileans, becoming enraged at these things, kept appealing to me¹²⁵⁷ to delay no longer in joining battle against them, but to authorize them to come upon Ioannes and to obliterate altogether¹²⁵⁸ both him and Ionathes' group. **307** Yet I kept holding them back, despite their becoming thus enraged, directing them to wait patiently until we should learn¹²⁵⁹ what those who had been sent by them¹²⁶⁰ to the city of the Jerusalemites should report. For I declared that the appropriate course was for them to act in accord with the opinion¹²⁶¹ of those [men].¹²⁶² **308** In saying these things, I was persuasive. At that point, also, Ioannes decamped to Gischala,¹²⁶³ having failed to realize his goal of an ambush.¹²⁶⁴

bribery, at the instigation of Ioannes son of Levis, who himself had a powerful desire for rule (ἀρχή) and so wished to usurp the lawful office-holder (§§ 70, 190).

¹²⁴⁷ Note the contrast here between the urban Tiberians of the council, with whom the speaker adopts a posture of rhetorical respect, and the Galilean masses, who are completely vulnerable to demagogues. Josephus thus puts a plausible speech into the mouth of his enemy.

¹²⁴⁸ Presumably, the council members and/or Ionathes' fellow-delegates.

¹²⁴⁹ These are Josephus' two armed companions of §§ 293-94.

¹²⁵⁰ Greek εἰ βιάζονται. See the note to "violence" later in this section.

¹²⁵¹ Greek βία: cognate to the verb translated "they were forced" earlier in this sentence. Josephus makes a similar switch from this verb to this noun at § 113.

¹²⁵² Greek ὑπαντιάζω, usually translated "meet."

¹²⁵³ See the note to this phrase at § 301.

¹²⁵⁴ Greek στενωπός: possibly a laneway or even trench. Cf. the similar scenes in §§ 96 and 153.

¹²⁵⁵ The first Tiberian revolt ended in almost precisely the same way (§ 96).

¹²⁵⁶ Whereas Josephus normally speaks of "the principals" (οἱ πρῶτοι), here he uses a participle, οἱ πρωτεύοντες ("those leading [taking the principal place]"). Outside of this passage, he uses the phrase only of Gabarene leaders, at §§ 124 and 313.

¹²⁵⁷ This is a replay of § 99, at the end of the first

Tiberian revolt, when the Galileans "keep appealing to" Josephus to destroy Tiberias. The parallel is driven home by Josephus' use of παρακελεύω in both places; it occurs elsewhere only at § 250.

¹²⁵⁸ Greek ἄρδην ἀφανίζω, reprising the Galilean mob's request after the first Tiberian revolt (§ 102). See the note to the phrase there. These are two of the four occurrences of the phrase in the *Life* (cf. §§ 375, 384). This particular phrase, preceded by ἐπιτρέπω ("authorize"), is matched in § 384.

¹²⁵⁹ For the phrase "wait patiently . . . to learn" (περιμένω . . . μανθάνω), see *Life* 29; also Demosthenes, *Or.* 2.16.3; *Ep.* 1.3; Plato, *Alc. maj.* 150D.

¹²⁶⁰ This is a generous rhetorical inclusion, since Josephus has made it clear at § 266 that it was he who personally ordered the 100-man Galilean delegation to Jerusalem.

¹²⁶¹ Greek γνώμη. See the note to "opinions" at § 22.

¹²⁶² That is, the Jerusalem assembly.

¹²⁶³ Ioannes' native place. See the note at § 43.

¹²⁶⁴ See the note to "ambush" at § 216. Ioannes' retreats to Gischala after failing to execute his plans against Josephus provide some comic relief in the *Life*: §§ 101, 317, 372. In the preceding narrative, the specific aim to ambush Josephus was more on the part of Ionathes' group, who created the conditions of an ambush by calling for a fast and then summoning Ioannes for assistance (§§ 290-92). The explicit talk of ambush (ἐνέδρα) so far has been attributed to Ionathes (§ 216).

(60) 309 A few days later, those whom we had sent¹²⁶⁵ arrived back. They reported that the [Jerusalemite] populace had been utterly furious¹²⁶⁶ with Ananus' group and Simon son of Gamaliel¹²⁶⁷ because without an opinion¹²⁶⁸ from the general assembly¹²⁶⁹ they had sent to Galilee and prepared for my departure from here.¹²⁷⁰ 310 The envoys declared that the populace had even rushed to set fire to their houses. Moreover, they were carrying documents in which the principal men of the Jerusalemites, much constrained by their own populace,¹²⁷¹ confirmed that the rule of the Galilee¹²⁷² was mine; they ordered Ionathes' group¹²⁷³ to return the more quickly to the home [front].

Josephus' counter-embassy returns, confirming his leadership and support of Jerusalemites

311 Having perused these letters, then, I went to the village of Arbela.¹²⁷⁴ There I arranged a meeting of the Galileans and directed the envoys¹²⁷⁵ to describe the anger and revulsion¹²⁷⁶ at what had been done by Ionathes' group, 312 how they¹²⁷⁷ had ratified¹²⁷⁸ my protection¹²⁷⁹ of their [the Galileans'] region, and what had been written to Ionathes' group concerning their recall. To the latter, indeed, I immediately sent around a letter,¹²⁸⁰ having directed the bearer to investigate thoroughly what they intended to do.

at Arbela, Josephus confers with Galilean leaders, sends ultimatum to Ionathes' delegates

Nevertheless, it appears that Ioannes came down from Gischala with the intention of executing the ambush (§ 292).

¹²⁶⁵ Cf. §§ 266-68, where Josephus sends a delegation of 100 leading men, with an escort of 500, to request confirmation of his authority in Galilee.

¹²⁶⁶ See the note to this characteristic phrase at § 68.

¹²⁶⁷ Simon, the friend of Ioannes, had initiated the delegation project by bribing Ananus, the former high priest, and his group. See the notes to these names at §§ 189-96.

¹²⁶⁸ Greek γνώμη. See the note to "opinions" at § 22.

¹²⁶⁹ Greek χωρὶς γνώμης τοῦ κοινοῦ. On the "general assembly," see the note at § 65. This is crucial information. In the original story of the delegation's creation (§§ 189-96), it was not clear how far the corruption begun by Simon son of Gamaliel had gone. At § 204, Iesus son of Gamalas is said to have known of the conspiracy because he was "one of those who had been in the same council" (τῶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ γενομένων εἰς). This would seem to suggest that the entire council or assembly had made the decision. But if we are to reconcile that notice with the present passage, we should perhaps assume either (a) that although the plot was executed by only a few within the council, someone of Iesus ben Gamalas' stature naturally discovered it, or (b) that the "council" in question was the small *ad hoc* group around Ananus, of which Iesus had been a part, not the general assembly (τὸ κοινόν).

¹²⁷⁰ Only ms. R includes "from here" (ταύτης).

¹²⁷¹ The influence of popular will upon "constitutional" aristocratic leaders is a pervasive theme throughout Josephus' works (e.g., §§ 21-2, 175-77; *Ant.* 13.297-98; 18.15, 17). It was also familiar to his aristocratic Roman readers, who were fully aware of the need

to placate the masses, as indeed were the emperors.

¹²⁷² Thus the sub-plot of the rightful rule (ἀρχή) of the Galileans, introduced when Ioannes son of Levis began to long for this privilege (§§ 70, 190; see the notes there), is finally resolved in Josephus' favor.

¹²⁷³ In the absence of a regular postal service and the dangers of sending letters by courier, it appears that this message was to be relayed to Ionathes' group via Josephus; cf. § 312, where Josephus sends word to the delegation, and § 313, where they receive the bad news from Josephus' courier.

¹²⁷⁴ Arbel(a) is about 7.5 km NW of ancient Tiberias. Near the village are steep cliffs famous as hiding places for bandits. See the note at § 188.

¹²⁷⁵ That is, the embassy from Josephus (and the Galileans), recently returned (§§ 266, 309).

¹²⁷⁶ Greek μισοπονηρία, only here in the *Life*. Cf. §§ 309-310, where Josephus has evoked the anger of the general assembly in Jerusalem.

¹²⁷⁷ The principals (οἱ πρόωτοι) in Jerusalem, under pressure from the populace (§ 310).

¹²⁷⁸ Or "decisively resolved." Greek κυρώω, only here in the *Life*—the privilege of the one (or those) with supreme command.

¹²⁷⁹ Or "patronage." Greek προστασία: see the note at § 115. I translate thus in order to bring out the patronal dimensions of this word group. Although the word is closely related to others indicating supremacy or primacy (such as ἀρχή), ancient social ideals and Josephus himself stress the need for the élite class to make provision (πρόνοια) of the masses.

¹²⁸⁰ See the note to "group" at § 310: it appears that Jerusalem's general assembly had written to their delegates only via Josephus.

council of Josephus' opponents; they decided to hold out against Josephus, sending Ionathes and Ananias back to Jerusalem to reverse decision in favor of Josephus

(61) 313 Now when those men had received the letter,¹²⁸¹ they became extremely¹²⁸² disturbed. They summoned* Ioannes¹²⁸³ as well as those from the council of the Tiberians¹²⁸⁴ and the leaders¹²⁸⁵ of the Gabarenes,¹²⁸⁶ and they convened* a council, directing it to explore what feasible option remained* for them. 314 To the Tiberians it seemed the better course of action to hold out. For they declared that the city, having once sided with those men,¹²⁸⁷ should not be left in the lurch¹²⁸⁸ by them; and in any case I was not going to hold myself back from them. (That I had threatened this,¹²⁸⁹ they were fabricating.) 315 Ioannes was not only pleased with these words; he further counseled that two of them should accuse me before the mob,¹²⁹⁰ to the effect that I was not managing affairs well¹²⁹¹ in the case of Galilee. He declared that they would easily be persuasive, both on account of their prestige¹²⁹² and because every mob behaves changeably.¹²⁹³ 316 So, when it

¹²⁸¹ Evidently, this is the letter that Josephus has just sent (§ 312), which means that the delegates only hear the general assembly's decision through the agency of Josephus. It is remarkable that they do not cry "forgery" or invention at this point. They appear to accept that Josephus has won over the Jerusalemite mob, and so they will now send their senior members to win them back (§ 315).

¹²⁸² See the note to "extreme" at § 22.

¹²⁸³ Josephus has made a point of Ioannes' recent departure (unsuccessful again!) back to Gischala: § 308.

¹²⁸⁴ It does not appear that the entire Tiberian council of 600 (*War* 2.641) was on the side of the delegation. The 10-man board (δεκάπρωτοι) led by Iulius Capella was both pro-Roman and apparently friendly with Josephus (§§ 32-4, 66-9, 296). But the council president (ἄρχων) Iesus, along with Iustus and Pistus, would presumably be quick to join with Ioannes and Ionathes' group (§§ 87-8, 295).

¹²⁸⁵ Curiously, Josephus uses the verb πρωτεύω only three times in the *Life*, in two cases of Gabarene leaders (§§ 124; cf. 305).

¹²⁸⁶ Gabara has always supported Ioannes and the Jerusalem delegates. See §§ 123-24, 236.

¹²⁸⁷ That is, with the Jerusalem delegates.

¹²⁸⁸ Greek: passive of ἐγκαταλείπω. See the note to this phrase at § 205. The assumption is that every settlement needs a protector—against bandits and enemies. Having opted to support Ioannes and the delegates, the urban Tiberians stand in the same relationship to them as the Galileans do to Josephus: they object to the protector's departure on the ground that they will suddenly become vulnerable (§§ 205-7, 210-12).

¹²⁸⁹ Josephus claims that he did not threaten to attack Tiberias. At § 82, note, he claims to have taken Tiberias "by storm" four times.

¹²⁹⁰ That is, in Jerusalem. The usual pejorative translation of τὸ πλῆθος is justified here by the following sentence, which emphasizes the fickleness of mobs and their susceptibility to persuasive speech.

¹²⁹¹ Cf. the similar construction at § 368. The phrase

διοικέω καλῶς is very common in the Greek civic orators, Demosthenes (*Or.* 9.13; 22.16, 69, 74; 24.176, 202; 38.8) and Isocrates (*Paneg.* 4.38, 101; *Archid.* 6.81; *Aerop.* 7.36, 67; *De pace* 8.49; *Hel. enc.* 10.37; *Panath.* 12.29, 164; *Antid.* 15.79). In Josephus, see *War* 1.68; 2.582 [of Josephus' speech to his army]. On διοικέω, see the note to "governing" at § 49.

¹²⁹² Greek ἀξίωμα, which is a standard counterpart to Latin *dignitas* (H.J. Mason 1974:23). The bases of the delegates' prestige are specified in §§ 196-98. As in Josephus' case (§§ 1-12), these have to do primarily with ancestry (γένος) and education (παίδεια): § 196. [Note, however, that the two men who go to Jerusalem (§ 316) are the two non-priests of the group (§ 197).] Their prestige will make them both convincing orators and obviously suited for the task of governing the Galilee. Note the absence of skill or task-specific training as an issue (Saller 1982:27-30, 99-103; Mattern 1999:1-23). See the note to "fell" at § 24.

¹²⁹³ Greek παντὸς πλήθους εὐτρέπτως ἔχοντος. So ms. R. Mss. AMW have εὐπρεπῶς ("attractively"); P has εὐτρεπῶς, similar in meaning to εὐτρέπτως, which (if accepted) occurs only here in Josephus.

In any case (discounting mss. AMW), this is a classic Josephan sentiment: the masses need direction from the élites, but they are pathetically vulnerable to persuasive speakers or demagogues (*Ant.* 4.11-35; *Life* 31, 37, 40, 113). See the notes to "mobs" at § 31 and "populace" at § 40. In the *Life* this fickleness is a recurring problem (§§ 50, 76, 77, 103, 113, 149, 264, 271, 315, 388), but Josephus wins over the mob by his demonstrated concern for their welfare (§§ 205-7, 210-12, 244, 259), in combination with his effective (and usually quite duplicitous) speeches. Note especially Josephus' direct confrontation of the issue of mob fickleness in a speech to the Tiberians (§ 93). Thus, Ioannes' view here that the delegates, although they did not bother to win over the Jerusalem populace before their departure, will easily do so now, fits closely with Josephus' own assumptions. That is why he must not allow them to reach Jerusalem.

seemed¹²⁹⁴ that Ioannes had introduced the most compelling thought,¹²⁹⁵ it seemed¹²⁹⁶ fitting to send off two men to the Jerusalemites, Ionathes and Ananias,¹²⁹⁷ but to leave the other two¹²⁹⁸ behind to remain in Tiberias. For a guard, they took 100 armed soldiers¹²⁹⁹ along with them.

(62) 317 The Tiberians made provision for securing¹³⁰⁰ the walls, and they directed the residents to take up weapons. From Ioannes they sent for a substantial number¹³⁰¹ of soldiers who would fight alongside¹³⁰² them, should the need arise, against me. Ioannes was in Gischala.¹³⁰³ **318** Now after Ionathes' group¹³⁰⁴ had decamped from Tiberias, as they were coming into Dabaritta¹³⁰⁵—a village lying at the limits of Galilee, in the Great Plain¹³⁰⁶—about the middle of the night¹³⁰⁷ they ran into my guards.¹³⁰⁸ After directing them to lay down their weapons, these men guarded them in chains on site, just as I had

Ionathes and Ananias intercepted by Josephus' guards

¹²⁹⁴ Greek δοκέω. See the note to the next occurrence of this verb in this sentence.

¹²⁹⁵ Greek κρατίστη γνώμη. For the noun, see the note to “opinions” at § 22. The adjective is elsewhere used of people (§§ 29, 430), κράτιστος: “most excellent, most noble, most powerful, superior.” Josephus’ sarcasm is evident: he can hardly restrain his delight at the irony. As the audience knows (§§ 241, 261), he has left guards all along the S border of the Galilee to intercept his enemies. In the latter passage he made a point of keeping their presence secret from the Jerusalem delegates. Now the two chosen delegates will run afoul of his guards (§ 318), removing the leadership of his opposition: so Ioannes’ ambitious plan was not in fact clever.

¹²⁹⁶ The double use of the verb δοκέω stresses the Josephan contrast between seeming and being (see the note to “matters” at § 191): Ioannes’ plan was not wise at all (see previous note). It is part of Josephus’ ironic art to show that his opponents *thought* they were managing their situation well, when in fact (as the audience knows) their actions were both unconscionable and doomed to failure.

¹²⁹⁷ Although neither of these men can claim priestly ancestry according to § 197, they appear to be the older and more respected of the group, perhaps Josephus’ teachers in years gone by (§ 274). Certainly Ionathes (though not even mentioned in *War* 2.628), has been the undisputed leader of this group (§§ 199–201, 216, etc.), and presumably he would carry the greatest weight as their spokesman in Jerusalem. Ananias has also received independent mention (§ 290). The departure of these relatively distinguished men plays directly into Josephus’ hands.

¹²⁹⁸ That is, Iozar and Simon (§ 197). They have played no role in the narrative so far, and will appear only in the unflattering story of their capture by Josephus (§§ 324–32). Josephus’ omission of their names here is already a signal that they are non-entities, whom he knows he can easily dispatch.

¹²⁹⁹ A standard precaution for dignitaries travelling

between Galilee and Jerusalem; see the note to “soldiers” at § 190.

¹³⁰⁰ Greek: passive of ἀσφαλίζω, the only occurrence of this verb in the *Life* (but see *War* 2.609; 4.120; 6.15); more often Josephus uses ὀχυρώω (“fortify”). The excavations of Gamala and Iotapata (Yodfat) demonstrate Josephus’ likely meaning (see Appendix A): building reinforcement walls behind those already existing. The walls of Tiberias have already been built and, to some extent, fortified (§§ 144, 156, 188; cf. 352).

¹³⁰¹ Literally, “not a few”—standard *litotes* in the *Life*. Josephus has credited Ioannes with at least 3 000 soldiers (§ 233).

¹³⁰² This is the only occurrence of the verb συμμαχέω in the *Life*, though Josephus uses the abstract noun συμμαχία (“alliance”) several times: §§ 203, 243, 348.

¹³⁰³ This explanation is necessary because in §§ 315–16, Ioannes has recently masterminded the new plan for the delegates. His unsuccessful retreats to Gischala are something of a humorous theme, beginning in § 101; cf. 271, 308.

¹³⁰⁴ That is, now: Ionathes, Ananias, and their 100-man escort (§ 316).

¹³⁰⁵ See the note to “Dabarittan” at § 126. The village lay about 19 km SW of ancient Tiberias (measured aerially).

¹³⁰⁶ See § 126 and note. Thus, the delegates were planning to take the central N-S route through Samaria described at § 269, apparently the standard route during wartime. See the notes there.

That Josephus has already mentioned the place, but does not expect his readers to remember it, indicates that his purpose is not to create a clear historical and geographical picture of events.

¹³⁰⁷ For urgent night-time travel, cf. § 90.

¹³⁰⁸ These are the 600 armed soldiers under the command of Jeremiah, detailed by Josephus to guard the exit points from Galilee to the S (§ 241). We now learn why Josephus emphasized his desire to keep their pres-

instructed them.¹³⁰⁹ **319** Now Levis,¹³¹⁰ to whom I had entrusted this guard-post,¹³¹¹ wrote* to me explaining these things.

Josephus invites Tiberians to lay down weapons; he is rebuffed

So, having allowed two days to elapse and having pretended that I had not come to know anything,¹³¹² I sent to the Tiberians and began counseling them to lay down their weapons and dismiss those persons¹³¹³ to their own territory. **320** But they, harboring the illusion¹³¹⁴ that Ionathes' group¹³¹⁵ had already passed through to Jerusalem,¹³¹⁶ made abusive answers.

Josephus arranges forces near Tiberias, sits down to observe Tiberians; Tiberians mock him

Not intimidated, I began conceiving a plan to outwit¹³¹⁷ them. **321** Although I did not suppose it to be pious¹³¹⁸ to strike up a battle against the citizens,¹³¹⁹ I was wanting to snatch them away from the Tiberians. I selected the best 10,000 armed soldiers¹³²⁰ and divided them into three units,¹³²¹ and these I ordered to wait patiently in Adamah,¹³²² inconspicuously laying an ambush.¹³²³ **322** I led another thousand into a different village, though

ence unknown to his opponents (§ 261).

¹³⁰⁹ This language is strongly reminiscent of Josephus' earlier instructions to his guards, and their compliance, in the interception of the men with letters from Ionathes (§§ 241, 245).

¹³¹⁰ The name here is Λευίς, different from that of Josephus' cowardly soldier (Ληουεῖς) at § 171 (cf. *War* 2.642). But we should not put too much weight on variant spelling in Josephus. Neither man appears outside of the *Life* or the *War* parallel mentioned. It may seem fitting to the proud priest Josephus that he should be assisted by someone named Levi (cf. Levite): see the note to Levis at § 43.

¹³¹¹ Greek ἡ φυλακή. At § 241, Josephus had ordered one of his "friends" (see the note at § 79) named Ieremiah to patrol (παρὰφυλάσσω) the exits from Galilee. Either Levis has since replaced him, or Levis works under Ieremiah's supervision, or Ieremiah is also known as Levis, or Josephus is carelessly inventing.

¹³¹² The point of this appears to be a psychological game. Since the trip to Jerusalem takes three days by this route (§ 269), and Josephus wants to allow time for the Tiberians to become convinced that Ionathes and Ananias have arrived safely (because they have not heard to the contrary), he allows the time to pass in silence. This invites them to become far too confident (§§ 321-23) in preparation for their final humiliation (§§ 327-31), which is all the more enjoyable for Josephus' sympathetic audience.

¹³¹³ That is, Iozar and Simon, the remaining delegates (§ 316), whom Josephus wants returned to Jerusalem.

¹³¹⁴ Greek δόξαν εἶχον. On the thematic contrast between appearance (δόξα) and reality in Josephus, see § 316 and the note to "matters" at § 191.

¹³¹⁵ That is, Ionathes and Ananias, along with their 100-man escort, who have set out for Jerusalem (§ 316).

¹³¹⁶ As Josephus has explained at § 269, the trip

takes three days, and he has delayed his move long enough for the Tiberians to draw this false conclusion.

¹³¹⁷ The word καταστρατηγέω is yet another variation on the στρατηγ- word group of which Josephus is so fond in describing his public career (see the note to "general" at § 97). He seems to choose his prefixes with intent. Whereas in § 289 he uses ἀντιστρατηγέω ("out-manuever") to speak of his strategic victory over skillful opponents (Ionathes' group), here and in § 372 (of the pathetic, deserted Ioannes of Gischala) the κατα- prefix appears to convey his condescension toward insignificant opponents; hence "outwit."

¹³¹⁸ Josephus touches a minor theme in his works: the impiety of fighting compatriots. See the note to "us" at § 26.

¹³¹⁹ The syntax of the sentence, where the following pronoun ("them") depends on this noun, requires that the citizens (πολίται) in question are Iozar and Simon, Josephus' fellow-citizens of Jerusalem. Cf. § 274, where the same word is used without qualification (e.g., "fellow-") in the same sense.

¹³²⁰ Josephus' army has grown since the last notice (§ 213), where he had about 8000 in total.

¹³²¹ See the note to "units" at § 242.

¹³²² There is some confusion in the mss., which have either "in shelters" (PMW ἐν δώμασις; camouflage, presumably) or "in villages" (RA ἐν κώμασις). Thackeray emends the text to "in Adamah" (ἐν Ἀδώμασις) because the phrase "a different but similarly hilly village" in § 322 seems to require a specific village here. Further: about 8 km SW of ancient Tiberias lies a prominent mountain range, rising more than 200 m. above the Yavne'el Valley, a spring, and a village with this name (Adami: 𐤁𐤌𐤓).

¹³²³ Greek λοχάω, the only occurrence of the verb in the *Life*. See the note to "ambush" at § 216. The Adamah heights, not a single hill but many, would make perfect sense as an ambush site for a large force.

similarly hilly, four stadia¹³²⁴ away from Tiberias,¹³²⁵ having directed those to descend immediately when they received the signal. Finally, for my part, having gone forward from the village I took a seat in plain view.¹³²⁶ **323** When the Tiberians observed [me], they incessantly came running out, hurling all sorts of abuse at me. Such foolishness took hold of them that they even made and brought out a prepared bed.¹³²⁷ Standing around it, they began mourning me with games and laughter. But I kept my own soul composed,¹³²⁸ cheerfully overlooking their stupidity.

(63) 324 Wanting to take Simon and Ioazar with him in an ambush,¹³²⁹ I sent and appealed to¹³³⁰ them to come out a short distance from the city, with many friends escorting them.¹³³¹ For I declared¹³³² that I wanted to come down to make a treaty¹³³³ with them and apportion out the protection¹³³⁴ of the Galilee.¹³³⁵ **325** So Simon did not hesitate to come, both on account of his youth¹³³⁶ and because he was deceived by the hope of gain,¹³³⁷ whereas Ioazar suspected an ambush and stayed put. I went to meet Simon, who had indeed come up with friends escorting him,¹³³⁸ greeted him generously, and kept professing¹³³⁹ my gratitude for his having come up. **326** Strolling together a little later, as if wanting to say something in private I led [him] off ahead of [his] friends. Then I picked him up by the waist¹³⁴⁰ and gave [him] to the friends with me, to lead [him] off into the village.¹³⁴¹ After I had directed the armed soldiers

Josephus captures Simon, one of the two remaining delegates from Jerusalem, by deceit; begins attack on Tiberias

They lie nearly half-way to Dabaritta (on a direct line from Tiberias), and thus on the route that anyone headed for Jerusalem would likely take: see § 318. A force of that size could cover all possible routes (apparently, three) through the hills.

¹³²⁴ About half a mile or 0.8 km; see note to “stadia” at § 64.

¹³²⁵ This sounds very much like another village four stadia from Tiberias that Josephus first used as his base when he came to the city: Bethmaus (§ 64). In any case, the reference here provides a match for the earlier one, contributing to the symmetrical patterns in the *Life* (see Introduction).

¹³²⁶ Therefore, on the rise of the hill between the village and Tiberias, as the verbs with “up” and “down” prefixes in §§ 324-35 confirm; perhaps 0.5 km from the Tiberians. Although Josephus often speaks of conspicuous and inconspicuous behavior in the *Life*, this is the only occurrence of the word προῦπτος in this text, and the only occurrence of the phrase ἐν προῦπτῳ in all of Josephus. Cf. his public display outside Gabara: § 248.

¹³²⁷ So convinced are they that Josephus’ days are numbered, they have prepared a mock death-bed. It is hard to imagine how he could have understood such mockery (with games and laughter) even at a range of 0.5 km. Perhaps he had a choice seat for observation on his hill.

¹³²⁸ For the phrase διατίθῃμι ψυχὴν, see Plato, *Leg.* 728B, 958A; Xenophon, *Mem.* 1.5.5.

¹³²⁹ See the note to “ambush” at § 216.

¹³³⁰ Greek παρακαλέω, one of Josephus’ favorite verbs in the *Life*. The obvious sense here is “invite,” but

the translation in the text is chosen for consistency.

¹³³¹ Since Josephus has 1000 soldiers ready to descend from the village behind him (§ 322), even such a group of friends should not be a problem.

¹³³² The verb, as often, signals deliberate duplicity. See the note to “said” at § 22.

¹³³³ Greek σπένδομαι. In the active voice, the verb refers to pouring a libation-offering. In the middle voice, Josephus sometimes uses it metonymically of becoming reconciled with another or entering into an agreement: *Ant.* 5.51; 9.284; 13.33; 17.68.

¹³³⁴ Greek προστασία. See the notes at §§ 115, 312.

¹³³⁵ Like almost everyone in this story, especially the delegates themselves (e.g., §§ 85, 106, 146, 217-18, 224, 229, 275, 290), Josephus concocts an entirely false scenario in order to trap his opponents.

¹³³⁶ See § 197: Simon was the youngest of the delegates, of chief-priestly ancestry, and apparently the only non-Pharisee in the group.

¹³³⁷ The phrase ἐλπίς κέρδους is a favorite of Josephus’: *War* 1.202; 2.587 [of Ioannes of Gischala]; 6.383; *Ant.* 14.157; 17.269, 282; 18.7.

¹³³⁸ Simon follows Josephus’ suggestion of § 324.

¹³³⁹ Greek ὁμολογέω. Josephus celebrates his deceitfulness.

¹³⁴⁰ This apparently odd construction, μέσον ἄρμενος, was an established usage in describing wrestling matches (Hesiodus 9.107; Aristophanes, *Eq.* 387; *Nub.* 1047). Among his other extraordinary skills, Josephus presents himself as a wrestler.

¹³⁴¹ The village is mentioned in § 322, possibly Bethmaus (cf. § 64). Although it is common in Greek for the subject or object of a phrase to be left tacit,

to come down,¹³⁴² with them I began striking against Tiberias.¹³⁴³

*Tiberians surrender;
Josephus consoles Simon*

327 When serious fighting had begun between the two sides,¹³⁴⁴ the Tiberians were all but prevailing because the armed soldiers among us had fled.¹³⁴⁵ After seeing what had happened, and appealing to those who were with me, I joined in pursuing the Tiberians, though they were already prevailing, into the city.¹³⁴⁶ I sent in a different force¹³⁴⁷ via the lake, and ordered those taking the first house to set fire to it.¹³⁴⁸ **328** When this happened, and the Tiberians supposed that their city had been taken by storm,¹³⁴⁹ they discarded their weapons out of fear and, together with both women and children,¹³⁵⁰ begged [me] to spare their city. **329** Moved by these appeals, I withheld the soldiers from the attack while I myself, since evening had already fallen, turned back from the siege with the armed soldiers and began to occupy myself with the care of the body.¹³⁵¹ **330** I invited Simon to a banquet¹³⁵² and consoled¹³⁵³ him about what had happened. After giving travel money¹³⁵⁴ to him and those with him, I promised to convey him through to Jerusalem with complete security.

*Josephus enters
Tiberias, re-moves instiga-*

(64) 331 On the following day I came into Tiberias, bringing along 10,000 armed soldiers.¹³⁵⁵ After summoning their principals—of the mob—into the stadium,¹³⁵⁶ I directed

Josephus manages to write this entire sentence without once mentioning Simon, even with a pronoun, and so without making explicit the direct and indirect object of each phrase.

¹³⁴² At § 322 Josephus ordered that his 1000 soldiers up in the village be ready to descend at a moment's notice. No explicit mention is made here of the 10,000 who are preparing the ambush at Adamah (§ 321), but at § 331 Josephus will have 10,000 again.

¹³⁴³ The historical purpose of this strike is unclear, since it was an improbable way either to seize Iozar or to bring to the fortified city to heel, given Josephus' small (1000) and undisciplined force. The literary purpose, however, is perfectly clear: the story will illustrate in summary form many of Josephus' virtues as a general: courage, resourcefulness, clemency, compassion, humane justice. The episode is so vaguely described that it might easily have been invented.

¹³⁴⁴ Although it makes a big difference (in understanding Josephus' position) where the fighting took place—inside or outside the city—, Josephus does not clarify.

¹³⁴⁵ This notice comes as a surprise, given the general loyalty of Josephus' troops, and one wonders whether he mentions it in order to set up the Titus-like scenario of the general who, deserted by many of his soldiers, turns around the battle by his raw personal courage. See the note to "city" in this section.

¹³⁴⁶ Thus, Josephus appears much as Titus in *War* 5.85-97. When the legion had broken ranks in flight, Titus with a few others faced down the Judean attack and turned the tide. An earlier example of such personal bravery was Iulius Caesar, who stemmed the tide of his soldiers' flight before the British chariots

(*Bell. gall.* 4.33-4).

¹³⁴⁷ The reference is both convenient for Josephus and mysterious for the reader. If Josephus' problem was that his soldiers had fled (and this explains his courage), where did he find this other force to attack from the rear?

¹³⁴⁸ If Frontinus had known about this tactic, he might have included it in the section of his *Strategemata* "On Creating Panic Amongst the Enemy" (2.4), which is filled with such tricks. These are mainly based on the principle of using a small secondary force to create the impression of a second flank.

¹³⁴⁹ See the note to this phrase at § 44.

¹³⁵⁰ See the note to this phrase at § 25.

¹³⁵¹ The same phrase (ἡ τοῦ σώματος θεραπεία), its only other occurrence, is translated "physical therapy" at § 85; this forms a symmetrical counterpart.

¹³⁵² Josephus invites his opponents to banquets also at §§ 175 and 222.

¹³⁵³ This is the only occurrence of the verb παραμυθεῖσθαι in the *Life*. It implies extreme generosity on Josephus' part, to be so concerned about a conquered enemy.

¹³⁵⁴ Greek ἐφόδια (cf. Latin *viaticum*). See the note to this phrase at § 224.

¹³⁵⁵ Evidently, Josephus has reassembled the 10,000 troops he had assigned to lay ambushes at Adamah: § 321.

¹³⁵⁶ See the note to "stadium" at § 92. That is the only other occurrence of στάδιον meaning "athletic facility" (rather than as a measure of distance) in the *Life*; the two contribute to the larger ring composition. See Introduction.

them to indicate who had been instigators of the defection.¹³⁵⁷ **332** Once they had identified the men I sent them off, bound, to the city of Iotapata.¹³⁵⁸ The group around Ionathes and Ananias,¹³⁵⁹ however, I released from their chains and, when I had given them travel money,¹³⁶⁰ I sent them off with Simon and Iozar and 500 armed soldiers¹³⁶¹ who would escort them to Jerusalem.

tors to Iotapata, dispatches Ionathes' delegates back to Jerusalem

333 The Tiberians once again approached and kept appealing that I pardon them for what had happened, saying that they would rectify their failings through loyalty to me in the sequel. But they begged me to rescue, for those who had lost possessions, what remained from the plundering.¹³⁶² **334** So I ordered those who held [these things] to bring everything into the [city] center.¹³⁶³ When there was widespread non-compliance, and I observed a certain one of the soldiers around me wearing a coat more splendid than the familiar one, I interrogated¹³⁶⁴ him as to where he had gotten it. **335** When he said "from the plundering in the city," I disciplined him with blows¹³⁶⁵ and threatened to administer a worse punishment to the others if they did not bring into the open whatever they had plundered. When much had been collected, I gave back to each of the Tiberians what they recognized.¹³⁶⁶

Josephus restores to the Tiberians their plundered goods, disciplines his recalcitrant soldier

(65) 336 Having come this far in the narrative,¹³⁶⁷ I want to go through a few points¹³⁶⁸

Iustus' rival

¹³⁵⁷ On the face of it, this is a puzzling request. Josephus knows, it seems, that Iesus son of Sapphias, the council president, was first responsible for persuading the Tiberians to admit Ionathes' group (§§ 271, 278); that Ionathes' group tried to persuade the people to defect from Josephus (§ 273); and that Iustus supported Iesus energetically (§ 279). In § 314 he has noted that the council in general had placed the city in support of Ionathes' group. It seems that Josephus requests this information in order to have support for the punishment of his adversaries.

¹³⁵⁸ See the note to "Iotapata" at § 188.

¹³⁵⁹ These two had been caught by Josephus' guards near Dabaritta, at one of the exits from Galilee to the Plain of Esdraelon.

¹³⁶⁰ See the notes to this phrase at §§ 330 and 224.

¹³⁶¹ See the note to "armed soldiers" at § 190.

¹³⁶² Like Iulius Caesar (*Bell. gall.* 33), Josephus presents it as a matter of his virtue as a general that he does not normally permit his soldiers to plunder (§§ 67-8, 80-1, 126-28, 244). This story has a brief parallel in *War* 2.645-46, where it is placed "a few days after" the Cleitus episode (*War* 2.632-45; *Life* 145-73!), which both follow after the delegation affair (*War* 2.626-31). In the *War* account, Josephus deliberately has Tiberias plundered in order to return the citizens' goods and so teach them a lesson about his benevolence (*War* 2.646).

¹³⁶³ Or "into the open" or "into the middle [of the group]." See the note to the similar phrase at § 37.

¹³⁶⁴ See the note to this word at § 295.

¹³⁶⁵ Or "strokes."

¹³⁶⁶ Lit. passive voice: what had been recognized.

¹³⁶⁷ This digression forms something of a symmetri-

cal counterpart to §§ 34-42, where Iustus and his rival account are introduced in the *Life*. There is no parallel to this digression in the *War*, which does not even mention Iustus. Although the entire *Life* has usually been read as a response to Iustus of Tiberias' rival account of the war and of Josephus' role within it (Niese 1896:227; Luther 1910:7; Hölscher 1916:1994; Schalit 1933:67-95; Rajak 1973:354; S. Mason 1991:321-24), it is a major problem for that hypothesis that Josephus' direct response to Iustus comes so late in this work (see Introduction). Several recent studies, accordingly (Cohen 1979: 121-37, 144; Rajak 1983:154; S. Mason 1998), have proposed other motives for the *Life* as a whole, restricting Josephus' principal complaint against Iustus to this digression. See Introduction.

¹³⁶⁸ This phrase (μικρὰ διέλθειν) is included only by ms. A, but something like it is necessary to complete the sentence. Josephus tackles two main issues in this digression: (a) Iustus' character as revealed by his role in the war, especially his avowed loyalty to Rome and King Agrippa (§§ 340-56), and (b) the alleged accuracy of his book (§§ 357-67). Josephus will contend (a) that Iustus was a leader of revolutionary activities at Tiberias and (b) that his book cannot be very accurate. Given the scope of Iustus' coverage, it is remarkable how concentrated Josephus' response is. He neither challenges him openly on the details of the war (including his command in Galilee), nor defends himself in any direct way against perceived slanders. His sole concerns are to undermine Iustus' work and the character of his old enemy.

Most scholars have read (almost) the entire *Life* as a response to Iustus, and even those who have not sup-

account of the
war is filled

against Iustus,¹³⁶⁹ the same one who has written an *oeuvre*¹³⁷⁰ concerning these things,¹³⁷¹

pose that Josephus is responding here to some direct personal challenge. It is doubtful, however, that at this point in his career Josephus could have been seriously harmed by Iustus' claim that he was responsible for Tiberias' (and other cities') military actions against Rome and the king. Of course he *was* responsible for arming the Galilee, and he does not try to hide that. Everyone knew that Josephus had been arrested as an enemy general, and he happily based his credibility as an eyewitness on that fact (*War* 1.3). Both the *War* and the *Life* eagerly present him first of all as a "general" (see the note at *Life* 97), who prepared the Galilee, then fought the Romans and royal auxiliaries to the best of his ability. Josephus responds to Iustus, then, not because his reputation will somehow be damaged by Iustus' account. On the contrary, he wants to remove Iustus' best hope of explaining *his own* behavior by showing it to be impossible. Why? No reason is necessary beyond profound animosity toward an old adversary (ἐχθρός; Latin *inimicus*; cf. Epstein 1982).

It seems likely, as Laqueur (1920:15-7) convincingly argued, that Josephus' tirade in *Apion* 1.53-6 against the sordid persons who have maligned his work is chiefly aimed at Iustus.

¹³⁶⁹ See the note to "Iustus" at § 34.

¹³⁷⁰ Or "essay, work, treatise." Josephus does not use the word πραγματεία in the *War*, but employs it often in the *Antiquities* (1.5, 17, 25; 20.17, 262) and *Against Apion* (1.50, 54) to speak of his own grand historical productions. In the *Life* (see also § 357) he uses it only of Iustus' work. Although he is being sarcastic, Iustus was evidently a well trained and highly respected author, whose work might easily have outshone Josephus' in terms of its literary virtues. Photius (*Bibl.* 33) praises his concise style in the book on Judean kings. (Photius' note that Iustus bypasses most of the important events appears in context to refer to Iustus' failure to discuss Jesus or Christianity.) If Josephus is referring to that same work, which ranged from Moses to Agrippa, then the designation *opus* is more than justified.

¹³⁷¹ Greek τὴν περὶ τούτων πραγματείαν γεγραφότα, which recalls Josephus' first mention of Iustus' history at § 40 (τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν πραγμάτων τούτων ἀναγράφειν). All of Iustus' writings are lost to us, but we know that he was a highly competent and prolific author. Diogenes Laertius (2.41) cites an anecdote about Plato at the trial of Socrates told by Iustus in his *Stemma* ("Laurel"). Iustus is mentioned by various church fathers, admittedly under the influence of Josephus in most cases; even the tenth-century *Suda* entry, Ἰούστος, parrots Josephus (Luther 1910:49-51). But Iustus' major work, at least, survived to be read by the scholar and Patriarch of Constantinople, Photius, in the

ninth century. Although Josephus also influenced Photius' reservations about Iustus' accuracy in portraying the war, the Patriarch knew at first hand (if not comprehensively) Iustus' chronicle of the Judean kings, which extended from Moses to the death of King Agrippa II, the last Judean king. He described it as a literary success: "the idiom is for the most part very concise," even though it omitted reference to the "most important" items—those concerning Jesus (*Bibl.* 33).

Interestingly enough, Photius completes the title with the phrase "of those [kings] in the στέμμασιν"—the plural of the Greek word *Stemma* used by Diogenes Laertius for Iustus' work. The noun can mean either "wreath, laurel" or "pedigree." Now "wreath" would be a catch-all name of the kind that Aulus Gellius (*Noct. att.* praef. 6-8) lists for miscellaneous works such as his own ("bouquet, honeycomb, forest, meadow, fruit-basket"; cf. *Suda* ["fortress"]). It could be, then, that this was the name, whether singular or plural, of Iustus' work, referred to by both Diogenes and Photius. Luther (1910:53-4) thinks that they were two separate books (one on Judean kings, one a universal history) with similar names used in different senses. The *Suda* may also mention incidentally an ample work by Iustus on the Judeans (s.v. Φλέγων; cf. Luther 1910:50), though Rajak (1973:365-66) makes a strong case against reading Iustus' name there.

Even if the chronicle of Judean kings and the history of the war were separate works, Iustus must have included some comments on the war in his chronicle of the Judean kings, since that study extended to Agrippa's death, and the war had been one of Agrippa's major preoccupations. Luther (1910:51) argues that Iustus' account of the war must have been yet another work, different from both the chronicle of Judean kings and the work cited by Diogenes, because (a) Josephus describes it as an account of the war and (b) it must have contained substantial detail, whereas Photius describes the style of the *Chronicle* as extremely concise. The first of these objections, however, may overestimate Josephus' fairness in reporting; *his* concern was with the events of the war, not with describing the scope of Iustus' work accurately. The second is hardly decisive, since a compact style requires the omission of adornment, not of detail. Laqueur, who contends that only one work is in question (1920:51-2), points out that ancient chroniclers often became more expansive as they neared their own times (citing Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. rom.* 1.6.2). Rajak (1973:359-65) agrees that Photius' remarks clearly imply a single work, for he discusses Iustus on the war after introducing his chronicle of Judean kings with no further introduction (*Bibl.* 33). But she acknowledges that Josephus seems to refer to a

and against the others¹³⁷² who, promising to write history but contemptuous with respect to the truth, out of either hostility or favor¹³⁷³ do not recoil from falsehood.¹³⁷⁴ **337** For although they act in some respects like those who have constructed forged documents¹³⁷⁵ in connection with legal contracts,¹³⁷⁶ fearing no punishment such as those men face¹³⁷⁷ they disdain the truth. **338** When Iustus, at any rate, took it upon himself¹³⁷⁸ to portray¹³⁷⁹ the activities related to these things—the war—,¹³⁸⁰ having indeed told lies about me for the sake of appearing to be industrious,¹³⁸¹ not even concerning his native place¹³⁸² did he

*with lies;
Josephus must
respond*

history of the war as if that were the scope of the work, and she wonders why the *Antiquities* does not mention Iustus if his work concerned Judean antiquity in any detail (Rajak 1973:359). Her solution is the reverse of Laqueur's: Iustus' one work was in fact a history of the war, which included in it a digression on the kings, which was in turn later excerpted as a separate work. She further makes the compelling proposal that the story retold by Diogenes was merely an isolated anecdote in Iustus, used as an analogy or in the preamble but not part of a history of Plato's time (Rajak 1973:363-65).

Even if Iustus' account of the war and his chronicle of Judean kings were separate works, it appears from both Photius' notice and the evidence here in the *Life* that Iustus based his authority as a historian on his close connection with Agrippa II. He had undeniably been a member of Agrippa's inner circle, and he featured Agrippa as the seventh Herodian and last Judean king. Josephus sets out here to undermine that basic connection between Iustus and Agrippa.

¹³⁷² This is mere bluster, allowing Josephus to evoke a cliché or two against "Greek" historians (*War* 1.2-3, 6-8, 15-6; *Apion* 1.6-27) while he is rubbishing Iustus (cf. § 40). He is interested only in Iustus, as the sequel shows (e.g., § 367). It is characteristic of Josephus to default to the indefinite plural even when he has one person in mind (cf. *Apion* 1.53-6).

¹³⁷³ This broadside against those who pervert the truth out of favor or hostility is vintage Josephus: cf. *War* 1.2, 7-8; *Ant.* 1.2-4; 16.187. It was also a commonplace of Greco-Roman historiography (Cicero, *De or.* 2.62; Sallust, *Bell. Cat.* 4.2; Tacitus, *Hist.* 1.1; *Ann.* 1.1; Lucian, *Quom. Hist. Conscr.* 38-41). Indeed, the ubiquitous claim among historians to accuracy means more or less this: to be free of either extreme hostility or obsequious compliance. See Avenarius 1956:45-6; Wiseman 1987:256; Plass 1988:22.

¹³⁷⁴ Literally "the lie." Although the noun ψεύδος occurs only 11 times in Josephus (only here in the *Life*), 8 of those times, as here, it has the definite article.

¹³⁷⁵ Although the analogy may seem rather far-fetched, we have a clue about Josephus' point in the fact that the adjective "forged" (πλαστός) occurs only twice in his corpus, both times in the *Life* and both times in connection with Iustus. Namely, at § 177 Josephus re-

calls in dinner conversation with the captive Iustus that the latter's brother had lost his hands when the Galileans accused him of forging letters. This appears, therefore, to be an ironic allusion to the earlier incident: Iustus lies in his history just like others (e.g., his brother) who forge documents; he is bold enough to do so because he does not fear the consequences (i.e., loss of hands) that they face.

¹³⁷⁶ The word συμβόλαιον occurs only here in the *Life* and rarely (5 times elsewhere) in Josephus. The sudden collocation of unusual language at the beginning of this excursus may indicate, since Josephus could have said much the same thing with more common words, his attempt to cultivate a mood of careful scholarly analysis—the more effectively to expose Iustus, a writer of apparent skill (§ 40).

¹³⁷⁷ Perhaps: the loss of hands (§ 177); see the note to "documents" in this section.

¹³⁷⁸ Greek ἐπιχειρέω. Josephus repeats the same language that he had used of Iustus' work at § 40, continuing the symmetrical complement.

¹³⁷⁹ Josephus uses the verb συγγράφω four times in the *Life*, but only in this digression against Iustus (see also §§ 358, 359, 365). His sarcastic usage in this passage highlights the normally positive connotations of the term: it signifies writing through careful comparison or sifting of materials. It is what historians do. Thus in other places he uses it of his own projects: *Ant.* 1.1, 6; 20.268; *Apion* 1.1-18 (frequently), 37, 40, 45. See also the note to "historical authors" at § 340.

¹³⁸⁰ Greek συγγράφειν τὰς περὶ τούτων ἐπιχειρήσας πράξεις τὸν πόλεμον. For συγγράφω τὸν πόλεμον, see Thucydides 1.1.1.

¹³⁸¹ Greek ὑπὲρ τοῦ δοκεῖν φιλόπονός εἶναι. All historians aspired, whether they wrote contemporary or ancient history, to be seen as "industrious" (φιλόπονος). Lucian (*Quom. Hist. Conscr.* 47) declares: "As to the facts themselves, [the historian] should not assemble them at random, but only after much laborious (φιλοπόνως) and painstaking investigation." In his flamboyant prologue, Dionysius of Halicarnassus concurred: historians should prepare their material "with great care and pains" (μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας τε καὶ φιλοπονίας; *Ant. rom.* 1.1.2). See already Thucydides 1.22.3. Being a φιλόπονός is also what Josephus claims for himself, on the basis of the great hardships he endured

tell the truth. Now since, being a victim of false testimony,¹³⁸³ I face the necessity of making a defense,¹³⁸⁴ I shall state¹³⁸⁵ things that until now have been kept quiet. 339 No one should wonder that I explained nothing of these things much earlier. For although it is mandatory for the one recording history to tell the truth,¹³⁸⁶ it is proper all the same not to bitterly¹³⁸⁷ expose¹³⁸⁸ the wretchedness of certain ones¹³⁸⁹—not on account of favor toward them but on account of one’s own moderation.¹³⁹⁰

to prepare the *War* (*War* 1.15). It is plausible, then, that Iustus also made a case for having been especially industrious, whether he used the word or not, in the gathering of his material—on the basis of *his* personal hardships during the war.

Iustus’ alleged lies about Josephus would have been a consequence of this bid to be seen as industrious. Since the historian proved his industry by showing that he was not parroting material already in circulation, and since Josephus had written the definitive account of this period, it was inevitable that Iustus would have charged him with significant errors. What surprises is that Josephus does *not* challenge Iustus’ history in many details.

¹³⁸² That is, Tiberias (§ 34).

¹³⁸³ The Greek compound verb translated by this entire phrase (καταψευδομαρτυρέω) appears only here in Josephus.

¹³⁸⁴ Josephus thus takes a page from Isocrates’ book. In his *Antidosis* (§ 8), the 81-year-old Athenian orator casts his entire autobiography as a fictional trial, as an efficient way of dealing with the many charges laid against him. But it is *not* a real trial (§ 10): it “purports to have been written for a trial, but [its] real purpose is to show the truth about myself, to make those who are ignorant about me know the sort of man I am and those who are afflicted with envy suffer a still more painful attack of this malady.” This parallel incidentally highlights Josephus’ restriction of the defensive element, by contrast, to the digression against Iustus. He does not present his entire life story as such a defense (see Introduction).

This court-room scenario is an intriguing choice from a rhetorical perspective. Judicial language concentrated in this excursus includes: certain proof, precision, testimony, defense, truth, expose (through trial), conduct an examination, portray. Since Josephus is not in court, however, in fact he faces no such obligation to respond to another historian’s charges. And curiously, in what follows he does *not* defend himself: he does not try to absolve himself from responsibility for anti-Roman and anti-royal activities. Such an argument would have been preposterous in any case, since he has consistently portrayed himself, in *War* and *Life*, as the general who fought skillfully against Romans and royal auxiliaries. Rather than defending himself, he adopts this formal forensic language as a pretext for attacking

Iustus, which might—as he fully realizes (§ 339)—otherwise have seemed a gratuitous assault.

Iustus’ book presumably tried to present its author in the best possible light, largely by emphasizing his connections with King Agrippa II, the last of the Judean kings and the most prominent national representative in Rome after 70 CE (see the note to “these things” at § 336). By stressing his connections with Agrippa, Iustus could both enhance the image of his own character, by association, and identify his excellent source material concerning the war. In that account, Iustus apparently used Josephus as a convenient negative foil, blaming him for much of what had happened in Galilee, including the defection of Tiberias—where Iustus had been a prominent councilor—from Agrippa. Significantly, Josephus appears concerned not so much to defend himself as to attack Iustus, to demolish his claims of loyalty to Agrippa by invoking (albeit with less than perfect cogency) potentially damning evidence. Josephus can thus indulge his assault on Iustus’ claim to *auctoritas* on this pretext of self-defense.

¹³⁸⁵ See note to this word at § 3.

¹³⁸⁶ Cf. Herodotus 7.139; Thucydides 1.22.4; Polybius 38.4.5; Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 1.6.5; Livy, *praef.* 5; Tacitus, *Hist.* 1.1; *Agr.* 10; Cassius Dio 1.1.2; Josephus, *War* 1.2, 6; *Ant.* 1.4. Avenarius (1956:42-3) wryly notes that the profession of truthfulness was everywhere among historians: “Nevertheless, the vast majority were not conscious of the obligation that they thus undertook, since the assurance had degenerated into a rhetorical flourish.”

¹³⁸⁷ This is the only occurrence of adverb πικρῶς or its adjective in the *Life*.

¹³⁸⁸ Of the five occurrences of the argumentative verb ἐλέγχω (“demonstrate, put to the test, prove [false], show by examination, censure, refute”) in the *Life*, three fall within this excursus against Iustus (also §§ 356, 360). See the note to “trial” at § 91. Although initially claiming to be a defendant (§ 338), Josephus quickly assumes the role of prosecutor.

¹³⁸⁹ Although we might be inclined to doubt Josephus’ reason for not speaking out earlier, what follows tends to bear him out: he is only speaking out now in order to undermine Iustus’ account, not to defend himself in any obvious way.

¹³⁹⁰ Although the *Life* does not reveal it (this is the only occurrence of the noun μετρίότης in this book),

340 How then, Iustus, most awesome¹³⁹¹ among historical authors¹³⁹²—for this is what you boast¹³⁹³ about yourself—([I speak thus] in order that I might address him as if present),¹³⁹⁴ how can I and also the Galileans¹³⁹⁵ have been instigators of the sedition¹³⁹⁶ in your native place against Rome and against the king?¹³⁹⁷ **341** For already before my election as general of Galilee by the general assembly of the Jerusalemites,¹³⁹⁸ you and all Tiberians had not only taken up weapons, but you were even making war on the Ten Cities¹³⁹⁹ in Syria.¹⁴⁰⁰ You, at any rate, set fire to their villages, and your attendant fell in

Iustus (not Josephus) must have been an instigator of Tiberias' revolt, in view of his documented actions

“moderation” is a major theme in Josephus elsewhere (see the note to “extreme” at § 22): a characteristic of the legitimate Judean aristocracy over against all rebels.

¹³⁹¹ Greek superlative of δεινός. Josephus (or Iustus) could hardly have chosen a better word for punning. The word means “causing wonder, fear, awe, or terror” and, like the French *terrible*, can mean this either in the positive (“wonderful, ingenious”) or negative (“frightful, awful”) senses. With a receptive audience, it should mean something like “cleverest” (Isocrates, *Antid.* 15.35). Josephus warms up, so to speak, by playing with different senses of this word in §§ 100-1. His enjoyment would be unstoppable if indeed Iustus had supplied this word himself, though it is hard to believe that a cultured ancient historian would be so gauche. More likely, Josephus has offered the potentially ambiguous word for his audience’s pleasure.

¹³⁹² Greek συγγραφεύς. Cf. Isocrates *Plat.* 14.35, where the orator defends himself against an equally sarcastic use of this language: “If, therefore, I were to agree with my accuser and concede his claim that I am the ‘cleverest’ of men and that I have never had an equal as a writer (προσονολογήσαιμι πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἶναι δεινότατος καὶ συγγραφεύς . . .).” The noun συγγραφεύς occurs only here in the *Life*, but Josephus uses it elsewhere as a term of formal respect, usually when he is discussing historiography (*War* 1.13, 18; *Ant.* 12.38; 13.337; *Apion* 1.15, 23, 27 *et passim*). The verb occurs 4 times in the *Life*—all of them in this historiographical excursus on Iustus (§§ 338, 358, 359, 365).

¹³⁹³ The verb ἀνέχεω occurs only here in the *Life*.

¹³⁹⁴ Just as scripted dialogues had long been a popular form of exploring philosophical issues (cf., notably, Plato and Cicero), from the first century onward some moral philosophers favored a vivid style of speech that invoked an imaginary interlocutor. The speaker’s interjection of hypothetical questions or objections (“What then? . . .”) sharpened by antithesis the points that he was trying to develop. Cf. Epictetus, *Diatr.* 1.5.6, 6.12, 6.30, 8.11; Paul, Rom 3:1, 9.

¹³⁹⁵ This pairing of Josephus and the Galileans is illuminating. Josephus makes it clear that there were old and deep animosities between the urbanites and “the Galileans,” and the narrative is largely about his success in winning the support of the latter. He is then able to

use that support effectively to challenge any and all opponents, and to keep the cities respectful of his power: see the note to “Galileans” at § 30, also § 39. Evidently, Iustus saw the same thing, but from the perspective of a leading Tiberian who was very nearly the victim of this alliance on several occasions (cf. §§ 99, 175-77, 237, 305-6, 381-85, 393).

¹³⁹⁶ See the note to this phrase at § 145.

¹³⁹⁷ This is the only charge against Josephus that he even confronts, but he does not deal with it directly—by defending his own actions. It seems, therefore, that Iustus’ main point was to present himself in a good light, as loyal to the king and Rome. Josephus was a well-known captured general and it was convenient (and perhaps correct: §§ 155-57) to blame the pressure from him for any ostensible lapses on Iustus’ part. Josephus does not try to deny his role in preparing Tiberias for revolt or in keeping it under his control as general, which suggests that he was not bothered personally by Iustus’ claim. Rather, he wishes to destroy the reputation as an author that Iustus is now trying to establish. He states his point at § 345: “you [Iustus and the Tiberians] were neither Rome-friendly nor royal-friendly.”

¹³⁹⁸ In § 29 Josephus does not describe his appointment to the Galilee as a generalship, though he frequently describes himself as general thereafter (see the note to “general” at §97), and at § 310 the general assembly confirms his rule over the Galilee. According to *War* 2.562-65, Josephus was unambiguously appointed general at the start.

¹³⁹⁹ That is, the Decapolis. When the Roman general Pompey reorganized Syria in 64-3 BCE, he restored freedom (albeit under the Syrian governor) to the prominent Greek cities that had been established in Alexander’s wake along the eastern border of Judea and recently been conquered by the Hasmoneans John Hyrcanus and especially Alexander Ianneus (*Ant.* 14.73). Most of these cities would use the era of Pompey as the basis for their later coinage (Rey-Coquais, *ABD* 2.118). The designation “10 Cities” is notoriously difficult. Josephus lists a few of the important cities at *War* 1.156 and *Ant.* 14.75 (Hippus, Scythopolis, Pella, and Dium). Pliny (*Nat.* 5.74) observes that already at his time of writing (the 70s), different writers give different lists of the 10 cities. His own list is:

that engagement.¹⁴⁰¹ **342** These things I do not say alone, but they are also written this way in the field notes¹⁴⁰² of the *imperator*¹⁴⁰³ Vespasian—and how, when Vespasian was

Damascus, Philadelphia, Raphana, Scythopolis, Gadara, Hippos, Dium, Pella, Gerasa [Galasa], Canatha. In place of Damascus, Eusebius (*Onom.* 32.16) has Abila. The Decapolis also turns up a few times in the gospels (Mark 5:20; 7:31; Matt 4:25).

Although the Decapolis is often described as a “league” or federation of Greek cities (Jones 1971:259), recent scholarship has emphasized the independence of the cities involved, suggesting that their unity was much more cultural than administrative (S. Parker 1975; Schürer-Vermes 2.125-60; Rey-Coquais, *ABD* 2.116-21).

¹⁴⁰⁰ Against Iustus’ claim that he had been consistently pro-Roman and pro-royal, taking revolutionary actions only under compulsion from Josephus, Josephus first argues that this cannot have been so because Iustus had led sorties against the villages of certain Decapolis cities under Roman protection—Hippos and Gadara (so § 42)—*before* Josephus even arrived in Galilee. In the narrative, Josephus arrives at § 30, and Iustus’ actions are not reported until § 42, but it appears that this is a flashback: Josephus learns only then from his informants (§ 62) what has happened somewhat earlier.

It seems unlikely that Iustus would have mentioned this incriminating attack on the Decapolis territories in his account. Josephus feels very confident in asserting it, however, citing the later appeal of the Decapolis cities to Vespasian for Iustus’ punishment (cf. § 410, allegedly noted in Vespasian’s field reports) and the death of Iustus’ personal attendant in the skirmishes as proof that Iustus was involved. If Iustus did lead such sorties, as it appears, he might well have done so without imagining that he was thereby being disloyal to the king or participating in the “war,” which had not yet begun. Luther (1910:43-4 and n. 1) contends that Iustus’ expedition was “ohne Frage” the one described in *War* 2.458-59: after the brutal slaughter of Caesarea’s Judeans, other Judeans attacked Syrian villages and many coastal and Decapolis cities: Philadelphia, Heshbon, Pella, Scythopolis, Gadara, Hippos, and other sites in the Golan. Alternatively, Iustus may have led retaliatory strikes for Syrian assaults against Tiberias or its territory (cf. §§ 25-26, 44-6). Either way, since even Josephus can only charge Iustus and his band of Tiberians with burning some *villages* belonging to Gadara and Hippos (§ 42), Iustus must have been only one of many Judean leaders involved in these assaults. They appear to have been spontaneous outbreaks of some kind, and it is hard to imagine that Iustus organized them all. Further, the retaliation for Caesarea (if Luther is right about the identification) occurred before Cestius’ first campaign in Judea. If that is what

Josephus refers to, it is highly unlikely that Iustus considered himself either disloyal to Agrippa II or participating in a war against Rome. Although Vespasian was apparently satisfied with Iustus’ guilt and wanted him punished, it was after all Agrippa II—the allegedly offended party—who protected him (§§ 343, 352, 355, 410). Drexler (1925:295) notes that, in any case, the Decapolis-village incident is the only solid point that Josephus raises against Iustus.

¹⁴⁰¹ The noun παράταξις occurs 3 times in the *Life*, all in this final section (cf. §§ 357, 391). It is remarkable that in all three of these proximate occurrences Josephus uses the phrase “in that engagement” (ἐπὶ τῆς παρατάξεως ἐκείνης), whereas in the 40 occurrences of the noun elsewhere in Josephus, this phrase never appears. It was not a formulaic phrase in other Greek authors. See the Introduction for a discussion of Josephus’ language.

¹⁴⁰² See further § 358, where Josephus continues the accusation. The term ὑπομνήματα refers to rough, diary-like notes or “reminders” (Latin *commentarii*) that might serve as the basis for a more polished historical narrative (cf. Cicero, *Brut.* 262; Lucian, *Quom. hist. conscr.* 16, 48; Avenarius 1956:85-104). Military leaders typically made such notes during campaigns; the most famous examples are Caesar’s *commentarii*. Josephus implies, though he does not state, that he consulted Vespasian’s *commentarii* as one of his sources for the *War* (§ 358; *Apion* 1.56). There was a wide range of literary quality among such notes. Iulius Caesar’s were so polished, according to his literary successor Hirtius (Hirtius, *Bell. gall.* 8.praef; Wiseman 1979:6) and also Cicero (*Brut.* 75.262), that he robbed historians of an opportunity—to display their talents by working them into a compelling narrative. Public figures also left such notes. Cicero wrote his up in both Latin and Greek (*Att.* 1.19) and pleaded with the accomplished historian Luceius to tell his story (*Fam.* 5.12; cf. *Att.* 1 on Posidonius’ politely negative response). It has been argued by several scholars (see Introduction) that the *Life* itself is based upon such rough notes made by Josephus decades before the *Life*. Especially in view of Josephus’ use of the cognate verb (ὑπομνήσκω) at *Ant.* 20.267, to introduce the *Life*, it is also possible that he intends the present work, which shows every sign of having been written in haste, as a collection of such unpolished notes.

¹⁴⁰³ Greek ἀτοκράτωρ was a standard equivalent for the Latin *imperator* (H. J. Mason 1974:117-20), which had two senses according to Cassius Dio (52.41.3-4): an honorific title bestowed upon Roman generals in recognition of special victories, and a title

in Ptolemais, the residents of the Ten Cities cried out, requesting him to authorize punishment of the instigator.¹⁴⁰⁴ **343** And you would have faced justice at Vespasian's direction had not King Agrippa, after he had received the authority to kill you, rather than disposing of you, at the constant pleading of his sister Berenice¹⁴⁰⁵ placed you under guard, chained up for a long time.¹⁴⁰⁶ **344** Moreover, your subsequent public activities plainly expose¹⁴⁰⁷ the other [side of your] life, and that you caused your native place to defect from the Romans.¹⁴⁰⁸ I shall adduce the certain proofs¹⁴⁰⁹ of these things presently.¹⁴¹⁰

345 But I want to say a few things also to the other Tiberians¹⁴¹¹ on your account, and to establish with those who will peruse the histories¹⁴¹² that you [plural] were neither pro-Roman nor pro-royal.¹⁴¹³ **346** Of the cities in Galilee, the greatest are Sepphoris and

Tiberias did not support King Agrippa or Rome,

describing the supreme power (τὸ κράτος) of the Roman ruler. Cassius Dio (52.40.2) notes that in its latter sense, the title describes a ruler who is a *de facto* monarch without attracting the animosity created by the label "king." Vespasian took the title *imperator* as a permanent title in his *praenomen*, but he and Titus (as future emperors) were also saluted as *imperator* with each new military victory under their regimes (Levick 1999:66, 118, 155, 186). Since Vespasian and Titus were both victorious generals and (by the time of the *Life*) former emperors, Josephus' usage of this title here is ambiguous. In most other cases, the context favors "victorious general": §§ 359, 361, 363, 416, though the last two occurrences in this volume (§§ 424, 428) refer to the Flavians as supreme rulers. I translate with the Latin equivalent because, as Josephus' Roman audience understood, it covers all cases. For more on the meaning of *imperator*, see the note to *imperium* at § 5.

¹⁴⁰⁴ The incident is described more fully at § 410.

¹⁴⁰⁵ It is hard to see how Josephus could know this, for it would not have been in Vespasian's field notes if Agrippa had kept it from Vespasian (so § 410), and Agrippa himself is unlikely to have confessed to Josephus his dependence upon his sister's direction. Possibly, Josephus has tossed in this speculation as if it were fact, in order to dismiss Agrippa's undeniable intervention in Iustus' behalf as attributable to something other than the king's actual esteem for Iustus.

¹⁴⁰⁶ According to § 410, Agrippa also kept this hidden from Vespasian.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Both verb and adverb (σαφῶς ἐμφανίζω) occur only here in the *Life*. The phrase is unique in Josephus and rare in Greek literature (e.g., Strabo, *Geogr.* 13.1.7).

¹⁴⁰⁸ This is Josephus' main point in the digression, the one issue on which he hopes to counter Iustus' account.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Greek τεκμήρια. Continuing in the forensic or judicial mode of rhetoric, Josephus uses a technical term for undeniable proof. See the note to "certain proof" at § 1.

¹⁴¹⁰ The digression within a digression that follows, contrasting Tiberias with Sepphoris, suggests that Josephus does not have much to go on beyond what he has already said: that Iustus attacked villages belonging to the Decapolis cities, and therefore cannot have been loyal to the king.

¹⁴¹¹ See the note to "presently" at § 344. Josephus will devote most of his attack on Iustus' character to a discussion of the Tiberians' behavior, which he tries to trace to Iustus.

¹⁴¹² Josephus uses a very similar conjunction of phrases in § 27: "want to establish" (βούλομαι παραστήσαι), "with readers, that" (τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσιν, ὅτι). It is unclear whether the "histories" in question here are Iustus' or Josephus' or both ("our rival histories": suggested by Thackeray, *ad loc.*)

¹⁴¹³ This digression contrasting Tiberias and Sepphoris is rhetorically powerful but logically barren. Essentially, Josephus argues that, whereas Sepphoris shut him (as rebel general) out entirely, and did not even participate in the defense of Jerusalem, Tiberias took him in (to some degree) and later sent men to Jerusalem to fight. Therefore it cannot have been loyal to Rome and the king, and Iustus is responsible for that. But this leads Josephus to a logical cul-de-sac, since the obvious explanation is that it was *his* presence as general in Tiberias that stirred up, or even compelled, this revolutionary activity. Realizing this (§ 350), Josephus must then argue that, even if his influence was crucial at one point, once he was out of the picture, under siege at Iotapata, the Tiberians should have abandoned all interest in the revolt. But of course, influences are not so easily cancelled! As for Iustus himself, he evidently fled to King Agrippa at the first opportunity (§ 393)—after unsuccessfully trying to bring Tiberias under the king's control, and being thwarted by Josephus (§§ 155, 381). Josephus confirms this also, and therefore is left arguing from the actions of *Tiberias* as a city (§§ 350–54)—in spite of Iustus' departure to the king—that Iustus was anti-royal.

*though it would
have been easy
to do so*

Tiberias,¹⁴¹⁴ which is your native place, Iustus. But Sepphoris, for its part, though lying in the center-most region of Galilee and having around it numerous villages,¹⁴¹⁵ powerful enough to be audacious against the Romans if in fact it had brazenly desired,¹⁴¹⁶ had determined to stand firm in loyalty¹⁴¹⁷ to its masters and [so] shut me out of their city.¹⁴¹⁸ It even prevented any of its citizens from joining military service with the Judeans. **347** Moreover, in order that their security measures should be [in place] against us, they deceived me into fortifying the walls of their city, after winning me over.¹⁴¹⁹ And from Cestius Gallus,¹⁴²⁰ who was commanding the Roman legions in Syria,¹⁴²¹ they eagerly received a patrol, having disdained me,¹⁴²² although my power was vast at that point and I was a source of terror to all. **348** Even while our greatest city, Jerusalem,¹⁴²³ was under siege and the common temple of all¹⁴²⁴ was at risk of coming under the authority of the enemy, they did not send an allied force—not wanting to appear to take up weapons against the Romans. **349** By contrast, your native place, Iustus, lying by the Gennesaret Lake, thirty stadia away from Hippos,¹⁴²⁵ sixty from Gadara,¹⁴²⁶ and 120 from

¹⁴¹⁴ The standard rhetorical tactic of introducing a foil (whether negative positive) to throw the subject into sharper relief is characteristic of Josephus (see Introduction). In the *Life* as a whole, he portrays his own character by introducing many negative foils: his priestly colleagues, Ioannes of Gischala, and the Jerusalem delegates to name a few.

¹⁴¹⁵ Within a 7 km radius of Sepphoris are at least Garis (§ 395), Asochis (§ 207), Iapha (§ 270), and Nazareth (not mentioned by Josephus), also probably many others of the 204 settlements he mentions at § 235. Aside from Nazareth, about which we hear nothing, the other villages named were receptive to Josephus, general of the revolt, and his Galileans.

¹⁴¹⁶ This description of Sepphoris' advantages over against Tiberias is full of rhetorical mischief. Josephus has already alleged that Iustus' (pro-war) faction was motivated precisely by the indignities suffered by the Tiberians because of Sepphoris' growing prominence (§§ 36-40). Given that context, his remarks to Iustus here heap further humiliation upon the city.

¹⁴¹⁷ A common phrase in the *Life*: §§ 34, 46, 61, 104.

¹⁴¹⁸ On the Sepphorites' consistent rejection of Josephus and the Judean revolt, see § 30, 39, 104-11, 124, 232, 373-80, 394, 411.

¹⁴¹⁹ This is a point of confusion. At § 188, similarly, Josephus takes credit for having fortified Sepphoris. But according to *War* 2.574, he allowed the Sepphorites (alone) to build their own walls. And at *Life* 373 they take courage from the fortification of their walls. See the note to "Sepphoris" at § 30. At §§ 155-56, Josephus complains that the *Tiberians* duped him into fortifying their city while they were waiting for protection from the king. Either he has actually confused these cases or, more likely, he freely changes the details to make his point here.

¹⁴²⁰ See the note to "revolution" at § 23, also

§§ 24, 28.

¹⁴²¹ See Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.5 for a brief survey of the legionary disposition. The legions based in Syria were: Legio III Gallica; Legio VI Ferrata, Legio X Fretensis, and Legio XII Fulminata.

¹⁴²² So § 373 (Josephus' Galileans punish them for attempting to welcome a Roman force) and 394 (Cestius' forces finally arrive).

¹⁴²³ Cf. the similar formulation at § 7.

¹⁴²⁴ Josephus casually touches upon a major theme of both the *War* and the *Antiquities*. The *War* is largely about the one, holy temple of all Judeans (*War* 1.10, 25-8), and how it came to fall after the sacrifice for foreign rulers was halted in contravention of the tradition (2.409), and after its sacred precincts were repeatedly polluted. Judeans in the sanctuary made vain appeals to "respect for the common temple" before being run through by zealots and Idumeans (4.311). In the *Antiquities*, too, the temple is explicitly designated the holy place of *all humanity*, both in Solomon's prayer of dedication (*Ant.* 8.116-17, significantly developing 1 Kgs 8:43) and when the second temple is completed under Zerubbabel: even the Samaritans may worship there, along with the rest of humanity (11.87).

¹⁴²⁵ 3.75 miles, 6 km. See § 64. Hippos' lakeside village is actually about 8 km from Tiberias across the lake. Hippos itself ("horse," named after its saddle shape, as the Hebrew equivalent Sussita; cf. Gamala after "camel") was nearly 2 km further inland, at the summit of a steep hill. Josephus' point is that in contrast to Sepphoris, which was completely surrounded by Judean villages, Tiberias was quite close to several major Greek cities and so had every reason to stay out of the revolt. Indeed, Hippos and Tiberias were within sight of each other across the lake. See Tsafiris 1990 and Appendix A.

¹⁴²⁶ 7.5 miles, 12 km. Gadara (Umm Qeis) is about 18 km. SW of Tiberias.

Scythopolis¹⁴²⁷ (supporting the king),¹⁴²⁸ lying nowhere near a city of Judeans,¹⁴²⁹ could easily have preserved its loyalty to the Romans if it had so desired. **350** You [plural] were also a large populace and you [plural] had plenty of weapons.

But, as you [singular]¹⁴³⁰ declare, I was the instigator at that point.¹⁴³¹ So who was it later on, Iustus? For you know [singular] that I had gone under to the Romans before the siege of Jerusalem, and that when Iotapata was taken by storm,¹⁴³² many [other] fortresses and also much of the Galilean crowd fell in the fighting.¹⁴³³ **351** At that point, therefore, it was necessary for you [plural], freed from every fear¹⁴³⁴ on my account, to discard your weapons¹⁴³⁵ and align yourselves with the king and the Romans, [to show] clearly that it was not eagerly but under duress that you [plural] had rushed into war against them.¹⁴³⁶ **352** But you [plural] even waited for Vespasian,¹⁴³⁷ until he himself had arrived and with his entire force had come to the walls, and at that point you [plural] put down your weapons on account of fear.¹⁴³⁸ Your [plural] city would certainly have been captured by storm¹⁴³⁹ had not Vespasian agreed to the king's pleading and begging to indulge your [plural] foolishness. So I was not the instigator, but you were the ones who intended acts of war.

Tiberians cannot hold Josephus responsible, for they continued revolt when he was gone

353 Or do you [plural] not remember how so often I, being self-controlled, destroyed no one,¹⁴⁴⁰ whereas you [plural] rose against one another? Or that, not on account of good will towards the Romans or towards the king, but on account of your very own wretchedness,¹⁴⁴¹ you [plural] killed 185 of the citizens at about that period when I was being

Tiberians' belligerence

¹⁴²⁷ 15 miles, 24 km. In fact, Scythopolis was close to 35 km. S of Tiberias.

¹⁴²⁸ At § 121, a certain Neopolitanus, prefect of an auxiliary cavalry wing (possibly under Agrippa II), is given the responsibility of protecting Scythopolis.

¹⁴²⁹ This is a considerable (and characteristic) distortion for rhetorical purposes, since Tarichea was 7 km. N of Tiberias, Arbel 7.5 km to the NW, and the village of Bethmaus less than 1 km away (§ 64). Moreover, it was likely the very proximity of hostile Greek cities (cf. § 25 and 44) that induced some Tiberians to fight, whereas Sepphoris' isolation from the Syrian Decapolis would have minimized the threat to its citizens.

¹⁴³⁰ Singular: σύ—referring to Iustus' book.

¹⁴³¹ Significantly, Josephus makes no effort to deny that he obliged the Tiberians to support him and the revolt, which appears also to be Iustus' claim. Josephus' own narrative shows him repeatedly compelling the Tiberians to abandon their plan to join the king (§§ 155, 175-77, 381-89).

¹⁴³² See the note to this phrase at § 44. The story of Iotapata's siege and fall, with Josephus' surrender, is the central panel of the *War's* narrative (3.141-391). Iustus had fled to the king even before Josephus' surrender at Iotapata (§§ 354, 357, 390-93).

¹⁴³³ That is: both Josephus and his allegedly (§ 340) intimidating forces (the trained soldiers and Galilean rabble) were neutralized at Iotapata.

¹⁴³⁴ For the phrase ἀπαλλάσσω φόβου, cf. §§ 31, 209.

¹⁴³⁵ For the phrase ῥίπτω τὰ ὄπλα, cf. §§ 109, 166, 328.

¹⁴³⁶ Josephus neglects to acknowledge here that even *before* the siege of Iotapata, the Tiberian leaders had appealed to join the king (§ 381; cf. already § 155) and that, when this attempt was forestalled by Josephus' Galileans, Iustus had fled to the king (§ 390). These facts, noted later by Josephus himself, make nonsense of his attempt to use the city's behavior to prove that Iustus was anti-Roman and anti-royal.

¹⁴³⁷ Not Iustus, however, who left to join King Agrippa at the first opportunity (§ 410).

¹⁴³⁸ A story of Tiberias' easy capture by Vespasian and Titus (and restoration to Agrippa), with three legions, after the fall of Iotapata, is told in *War* 3.445-61. According to that story, Iesus son of Saphat (apparently Iesus son of Sapphias in the *Life*, president of the council) was the chief cause of resistance.

¹⁴³⁹ See the note to this phrase at § 44.

¹⁴⁴⁰ Josephus' clemency and moderation are major themes of the *Life* (§§ 80-4, 259).

¹⁴⁴¹ Drexler (1925:295) aptly notes that Josephus' attribution of such a stock motive actually invites criticism of *his* objectivity. No doubt, the event to which he refers here had some political motivation that he conveniently ignores.

besieged in Iotapata by the Romans?¹⁴⁴² **354** And what, but were not 2 000 Tiberians identified¹⁴⁴³ during the siege of Jerusalem,¹⁴⁴⁴ of whom some fell and others were taken prisoner?

*Iustus' defense
that he fled to
the king*

Yet you [singular] will declare that you¹⁴⁴⁵ did not become a combatant,¹⁴⁴⁶ because you fled to the king at that time.¹⁴⁴⁷ I declare, in fact, that you did so on account of your fear of me.¹⁴⁴⁸

*Agrippa exasperated by
Iustus, even
after showing
him clemency*

355 Although, as you say, I am a wretch,¹⁴⁴⁹ King Agrippa, who had granted¹⁴⁵⁰ your life to you when you had been sentenced by Vespasian to die,¹⁴⁵¹ and who had presented [you] with so many goods¹⁴⁵² —for what reason did he later put you in chains twice,¹⁴⁵³ as often order you to flee your native place,¹⁴⁵⁴ and once direct that you should die, though at the constant pleading of his sister Berenice¹⁴⁵⁵ he granted your preservation?¹⁴⁵⁶ **356** And after

¹⁴⁴² This is the only notice we have of this killing. As we have seen, however (cf. § 390), by this time Iustus had fled Tiberias for the king's protection.

¹⁴⁴³ This verb (ἐξετάζω: "examine, interrogate" in the passive voice), which occurs only here in the *Life*, is a colorful word to use for the purpose of counting. It seems to suggest that combatants were examined either after death or when taken prisoner to determine their place of origin. If such records were kept by the Roman generals, Josephus would likely have had access to them.

¹⁴⁴⁴ This is the only place where Josephus gives this information.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Josephus reverts to the singular, addressing Iustus. Rather awkwardly, he tries to implicate the absent Iustus in the Tiberians' alleged failure to capitulate quickly.

¹⁴⁴⁶ Greek πολέμιος. In the plural, this common word in the *Life* is rendered "enemy." That is, Iustus will (rightly!) insist that he did not fight or even resist the Romans.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Iustus would claim this because it is true (§ 390); Josephus appears to realize (something of) the weakness of his argument.

¹⁴⁴⁸ It is not clear how this admission should support Josephus' argument more than Iustus'. Iustus claims that whatever he might have done that seemed revolutionary, he did under pressure from Josephus (§§ 340, 350, 355). Josephus has provided evidence to support that claim (§§ 155, 175-77). At §§ 390-93, further, he will state quite plainly that Iustus fled to the king because he feared (with some reason) that Josephus and the Galileans would kill him otherwise. This is rather precisely what Iustus has claimed—intimidation from Josephus' forces. Now, Josephus tries to make a fine point: that Iustus fled to the king *only* because he feared Josephus, *not* because he was a genuine supporter of the king. But that is obviously preposterous, for Iustus would not flee for safety to a man much more powerful

than Josephus if he thought that he had been working against him beforehand.

¹⁴⁴⁹ Josephus will now try to find support in the credibility of the now deceased (§ 359) King Agrippa for his hostile portrait of Iustus.

¹⁴⁵⁰ This is the same verb (συγχωρέω) as that translated "[Vespasian] agreed" in § 352. It is characteristic of Josephus to use a word intensively, in different applications, then drop it for a while.

¹⁴⁵¹ Cf. § 343. Josephus repeats himself, apparently trying to create the impression that he is adding new complaints.

¹⁴⁵² That is: Agrippa II had been willing to give Iustus the benefit of the doubt (but even he was —allegedly—appalled by the man's behavior).

¹⁴⁵³ Josephus twice mentions a single event: Agrippa had Iustus put in chains rather than executing him (§§ 343, 410). This looks like an attempt to make two from one. Even in this case, Agrippa apparently did not do this on his own initiative, but as a moderate alternative to Vespasian's death sentence. Thus, it hardly proves Agrippa's anger at Iustus as Josephus alleges.

¹⁴⁵⁴ Greek φυγεῖν τὴν πατρίδα προσέταξεν. This is a peculiar and unexplained charge: being ordered to run or *flee*, which seems quite different from being banished (§ 356). One must wonder (given Josephus' mischievous mode of argumentation) whether he is not willfully interpreting Iustus' fleeing (διαδιδράσκω) Tiberias, his native place (πατρίς), from § 390.

¹⁴⁵⁵ Compare the very similar wording at § 343 and the note there. It may be that Josephus is trying to make two incidents from one—Agrippa's protection of Iustus after *Vespasian* ordered him executed.

¹⁴⁵⁶ This list of alleged grievances of Agrippa against Iustus, with numbers of occurrences, should be taken with a grain of salt. In § 82, Josephus gives a similar numbered list of his conquests of Galilean cities, but that list hardly matches the narrative that he himself provides (see the notes there). The fact that here he de-

all these crimes of yours,¹⁴⁵⁷ when he entrusted you with the secretariat of correspondence¹⁴⁵⁸ and found someone unscrupulous¹⁴⁵⁹ also in these matters, he banished¹⁴⁶⁰ you from his sight.¹⁴⁶¹ But with respect to these things, I decline to conduct the examination¹⁴⁶² in greater detail.¹⁴⁶³

357 Yet it does occur to me to wonder at your shamelessness, that you dare¹⁴⁶⁴ to say that you expressed yourself more ably than all those who had written on this business,¹⁴⁶⁵ though you had come to know nothing of what happened throughout the Galilee, for you were in Berytus with the king at the time;¹⁴⁶⁶ nor had you followed what the Romans endured at the siege of Iotapata or what they did to us. And what I myself did during the siege¹⁴⁶⁷ you were unable to discover, for all the [possible] reporters were destroyed in

Iustus' claim to accuracy is ill founded

clines to give details or explain his charges suggests that he is likewise treating the facts lightly. Moreover, one must ask where he found this information. It did not likely come from Iustus' book or from Agrippa, who would not be keen to advertise either his poor judgment or his submission to his sister Berenice. It could hardly have come from Vespasian's field notes, since Josephus claims that Iustus' survival was hidden from Vespasian by the king (§§ 410). Josephus could easily have heard about Iustus' public activities through the rumor mill, but it is much harder to see how he could have known about exchanges between him and the king, or the king's motives in those cases.

¹⁴⁵⁷ This is sleight of hand on Josephus' part: he has not actually mentioned any crimes (κακουργήματα, only here in the *Life*), but has inferred them from Agrippa's alleged punishments of Iustus.

¹⁴⁵⁸ Greek τῶν ἐπιστολῶν σοι πιστεύσας. This is the standard literary periphrasis for the "*curam ab epistulis*" in Latin (H. J. Mason 1974:141)—the secretariat of correspondence, which grew in importance with the evolution of the imperial household (*familia Caesaris*) during the first century CE (A. Wallace-Hadrill, *CAH* 10.297). Narcissus, who was *ab epistulis* under Claudius, first defined the influential position (Suetonius, *Claud.* 28). Cf. also Josephus, *Ant.* 20.183, where Josephus mentions one Beryllus, who was appointed Nero's "secretary of Greek correspondence" (τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐπιστολῶν πεπιστευμένος). In this case as in many others, it appears that the client kingdoms and tetrarchies of the empire tended to model their administrative structures on those of Rome, where many of the princes (as Agrippa) had been educated.

¹⁴⁵⁹ This is the only occurrence in Josephus of ῥαδιουργός ("reckless, careless, dishonest").

¹⁴⁶⁰ This is the only occurrence of ἀπελαύνω in the *Life*.

¹⁴⁶¹ Once again, it would be helpful to know the basis of Josephus' charge. His language ("banished from sight") already indicates a level of interpretation

rather than merely factual reporting. Perhaps Iustus left the post voluntarily, or was replaced for causes less than catastrophic.

¹⁴⁶² Greek ἐλέγχω; see the note to "expose" at § 339.

¹⁴⁶³ This is an ironic statement: Josephus declines to pursue these matters ἐπὶ ἀκριβείας. But he and his audience know that minute precision (ἀκρίβεια) is the aim of the historian (*War* 1.9, 17, 22, 26; 7.454; *Ant.* 20.260, 263; *Apion* 1.29, 36). He postures, then, as a remarkably generous investigator, holding back from his duty as historian only to spare his subject and audience out of a sense of propriety—when in fact he is doing everything he can to humiliate Iustus. (Cf. the sarcastic use of the same word group in § 358.) It seems more likely that Josephus has exhausted his store of personal information, not to mention indulgent speculations, about Iustus. So he turns to his book.

¹⁴⁶⁴ See the notes to "insolent" at § 135 and "dare" at § 216.

¹⁴⁶⁵ Greek πραγματεία, which occurs elsewhere in the *Life* only at §336, a few paragraphs earlier, but in a different sense—referring here to the subject, but there to the work itself. As Josephus well knows, all historians (including himself—*War* 1.1-3, 6; *Ant.* 1.1-4) claim that their account is superior to those that have gone before (Polybius 16.14; Tacitus, *Hist.* 1.1; Avenarius 1956:50-1).

¹⁴⁶⁶ So §§ 390-93: Iustus fled to Agrippa II when Josephus' Galileans prevented Tiberias from returning to the king's protection. Josephus has said before (§§ 49, 181) that the royals were in Berytus with Cestius. Of course, this observation about Iustus' remoteness cuts both ways, for if Iustus could not possibly have known in Berytus what was happening in Galilee (but surely he claimed to know much, through the king's good information), how much more must Josephus have been ignorant of the details of Iustus' life at this time (*contra* §§ 340-56 above)?

¹⁴⁶⁷ Josephus' own detailed account of Iotapata's fall is in *War* 3.141-391. This list of items about which

that engagement.¹⁴⁶⁸ **358** But nevertheless you claim to have portrayed¹⁴⁶⁹ with precision¹⁴⁷⁰ what happened throughout Jerusalem. Yet how is that possible? For you neither chanced to be involved in the war¹⁴⁷¹ nor did you read the field notes¹⁴⁷² of Caesar. [I have] the greatest certainty of proof,¹⁴⁷³ for you have crafted¹⁴⁷⁴ a text opposite to what is in the field notes of Caesar.¹⁴⁷⁵

Iustus' delay in publishing his book

359 Given that you have the courage to claim that you have portrayed¹⁴⁷⁶ things better than all others,¹⁴⁷⁷ why did you not bring your history into the open¹⁴⁷⁸ while Vespasian¹⁴⁷⁹ and Titus,¹⁴⁸⁰ the *imperators*¹⁴⁸¹ who prosecuted the war, were living¹⁴⁸² and while King

Iustus should have been ignorant suggests that Josephus was not exclusively concerned about the Tiberian's misrepresentation of his actions at Iotapata. Josephus had many Judean accusers (§§ 416, 428-29), and no doubt Iustus echoed some of their accusations. But Josephus appears to be attacking the entire narrative here.

¹⁴⁶⁸ So also *War* 3.432-33: "In fact, not a man had escaped to tell the tale." While this may be true of the precise circumstances of Josephus' surrender after Iotapata had fallen, since his comrades in the cave killed themselves (except for 1! *War* 3.391), shortly before the final assault there was at least one deserter/informer (*War* 3.317-18), and after entering the town Vespasian took some 1200 prisoners (3.337).

¹⁴⁶⁹ Greek συγγράφω; see the note to "portray" at § 338.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Greek μετὰ ἀκριβείας. Once again, Josephus knows that all historians claim this precision (Thucydides 1.22.2; Polybius 3.33.17; 12.4d.2). He himself is one of the more liberal users of this term (*War* 1.9, 17, 22, 26; *Life* 412; *Apion* 1.29, 36), along with Diodorus Siculus (1.69.7; 4.8.3) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. rom.* 1.23.1, 29.2; 9.22.5), though all of these narratives are far from precise. Cf. Avenarius 1956:41-2 n. 12.

¹⁴⁷¹ Contrast Josephus' emphasis on his eyewitness status at *War* 1.3. Polybius had emphasized the importance of being an eyewitness if possible (12.27.1-3; 20.12.8); if not, one must find and rigorously examine eyewitness evidence (12.4c.4-5). Cf. Josephus' criticism (of Iustus, unnamed: Laqueur [1920:15-7]) at *Apion* 1.53: historians must either be eyewitnesses themselves or use reliable evidence carefully.

¹⁴⁷² See the note to this phrase at § 342. If *Apion* 1.56 refers to Iustus, as Laqueur (1920:15-7) persuasively argues, then Iustus indeed claimed to have consulted the field notes of Vespasian and Titus. In that case, Josephus is boldly denying the claim here. In *Apion* 1.56, by contrast, he grudgingly concedes the possibility that his adversary might have read the generals' field notes (but he was not an eyewitness!).

¹⁴⁷³ Greek μέγιστον δὲ τεκμήριον. Josephus continues the judicial language; see the note to "certain proofs" at § 344.

¹⁴⁷⁴ The *commentarii* are decisive proof against Iustus, Josephus implies, both because of their unimpeachable authority (Caesar) and because of their unadorned factual character. By contrast, Iustus had "made" or "fashioned" (ποιέω) a text—on the basis of rhetorical skill (cf. § 40 and notes). Josephus thus evokes his standard contrast between unadorned truth and rhetorical formulation.

¹⁴⁷⁵ See the note to "field notes" at § 342. At least one point of disagreement appears to involve Vespasian's condemnation of Iustus after the complaints of the Decapolis representatives (§ 432).

¹⁴⁷⁶ Greek συγγράφω; see the note to "portray" at § 338.

¹⁴⁷⁷ Josephus repeats his charge from §§ 340, 357.

¹⁴⁷⁸ See the note to "center" at § 37.

¹⁴⁷⁹ Emperor (*princeps*) from July 1, 69 CE (retrospectively; December 21, 69 began his formal power in Rome) to June 23, 79 CE. See the note to "Vespasian" at § 5.

¹⁴⁸⁰ Titus Flavianus Vespasianus (the same name as his father's), was born December 30, 39: he was two years younger than Josephus. After military service in Germany and Britain (and two brief marriages), his great opportunity came with the Judean war. He had just turned 37 when he joined his father in Judea to put down the revolt. Since his father had to return to Rome in early 70 to take up the principate, Titus became the celebrated victor in that conflict. Under Vespasian's administration he was conspicuously honored with consulships and other titles. He engendered considerable hostility during this period for his perceived privilege, along with his ruthlessness as praetorian prefect, and all this was crowned by his very public affair with the eastern noblewoman Berenice, sister of Agrippa II, who came to live with him in Rome from 75 CE. Titus bowed to public pressure and disavowed her when he assumed the principate in 79 (Suetonius, *Tit.* 7.1; Tacitus, *Hist.* 2.2). He also seems to have made a determined effort as emperor to win over the populace. In general, see B.W. Jones 1984. Because of his central role in the fall of Jerusalem, Titus receives considerable coverage in Josephus' *War*, especially in volumes 3-6. Josephus is certainly full of praise for the young

Agrippa was still around,¹⁴⁸³ along with those of his family¹⁴⁸⁴—men who had reached

general's personal courage, irrepressible clemency, and broad vision, but in this he was not alone, and it does not make him yet a Flavian propagandist (Yavetz 1975; Rajak 1983:202-22).

¹⁴⁸¹ See the note to this term at § 342.

¹⁴⁸² Vespasian died on June 23, 79, Titus on September 13, 81 CE.

¹⁴⁸³ The date of Agrippa II's death has been a matter of considerable debate in scholarship; see Introduction. The ninth-century Patriarch Photius (*Bibl.* 33) claimed, apparently on the basis of Iustus' history, that Agrippa had died in the third year of Trajan: 100 CE. Since the *Life* assumes Agrippa's death here, this date would drive a substantial wedge between the *Antiquities*, completed in the thirteenth year of Domitian (= 93/94; *Ant.* 20.267) and the *Life*. Yet the literary evidence, external (i.e., ms. and citation traditions) and internal (*Ant.* 20.266-67; *Life* 430), agrees in uniting the two works. Already in the late nineteenth century, critical scholarship had begun to doubt Photius' reading of Iustus' date on the basis of this tight bond (Niese 1896:226-27). Luther (1910:55-9) argued that the entire portrait of both Agrippa II and his father in *Ant.* 18-20 (*Ant.* 18.145-54; 20.145) could not have been written while the king lived. *Ant.* 17.28 likewise may allude to the king's death when it notes that the Batanean colony maintained by the Herods had since defaulted to Roman rule. Cf. *Ant.* 18.128, which seems to assume that the Herodian line has all but died out. Further, the *Life* itself (429) seems to assume that Domitian (d. 96) is still in power. Thus, both works together presuppose Agrippa's death before 93/4, and both assume that Domitian is in power. Finally, Luther (1910:61-3) argued that the Epaphroditus to whom Josephus dedicated all of his later works could only be Nero's former secretary for petitions (*a libellis*), who was executed by Domitian in 95 (see the note at § 430). Many coins of Agrippa II were already known by 1890, the latest from "Year 35," which Schürer had dated to 95 on an era beginning in 61 CE. Luther (1910:64-5) responded that a number of Agrippan coins contain errors of dating; second, that the Agrippan era beginning in 56 would date these coins only to 90/91 (so also the revised Schürer-Vermes 1.482); and finally, that it would be remarkable, if the latest coins did come from 95 and Photius was right that Agrippa died in 100, that the period between 95 and 100 produced no Agrippan coins.

Whereas Niese and Luther could only conclude that Photius had been mistaken in dating Agrippa's death to 100, Laqueur (1920:1-6) tried to salvage Photius' date by proposing two editions of the *Antiquities*, signaled

by two conclusions—one completed in 93/4 CE (*Ant.* 20.267) and one after Agrippa's death in 100 (*Ant.* 20.259-66). Laqueur was followed by Thackeray (1929:16-9). In the latter half of the twentieth century, however, the majority of scholars concluded that: Laqueur's theory of a double ending to the *Antiquities* was improbable; the *Life* must have been written almost immediately after the *Antiquities* in 93/4; according to coins and inscriptions Agrippa had died at some point before that; and Photius' isolated claim was no longer worth fighting for (Frankfort 1961; Rajak 1973; Smallwood 1981: 572-74; Barish 1978; Cohen 1979: 174-80; Schürer-Vermes 1.481-83; but Meshorer 1982:2.65-73; S. Schwartz 1990:114-19).

As to how Photius could have been so mistaken in dating Agrippa's death to Trajan's third year, if he had read Iustus, the editors of the new Schürer-Vermes (1.481-82 n. 47) observe that Photius was quite familiar with Jerome's corpus. In his *Lives of Illustrious Men*, Jerome included a brief entry on Iustus of Tiberias, perhaps inferred entirely from Josephus (*Vir. ill.* 14), which was followed immediately by his more ample entry on Clement of Rome (*Vir. ill.* 15). In the latter, Jerome noted that Clement "died in the third year of Trajan (*obiit tertio Traiani anno*)."¹⁴⁸⁴ It is within the realm of possibility, though unprovable, that Photius inadvertently conflated the two and so misdated Agrippa's death. In any case, given the enormous time lags involved, there were plenty of opportunities for Photius to be mistaken on this matter (cf. Barish 1978:72).

The question of Agrippa's death date has recently been reopened by Kokkinos (1998:396-99), who offers new arguments that the king survived until at least 97, perhaps 98. His crucial evidence is an inscribed lead weight from Tiberias that mentions "Year 43" of Agrippa. Numismatist A. Kushnir-Stein (1999) is somewhat critical of Kokkinos' use of coins in general. Concerning the lead weight, which has now been sold privately, she indicates in private correspondence (May 4, 2000) that the reading ΑΓ (33) rather than ΜΓ (43) also appears possible. Thus Kokkinos' arguments, including his insistence that Photius be taken seriously when he reports Iustus' statement, remain on the table. The common scholarly opinion, however, is that Josephus wrote the *Life*, perhaps also *Ant.* 17-20, both during Domitian's reign (before September 96) and after the death of Agrippa II.

¹⁴⁸⁴ Greek γένος, elsewhere: "ancestry." Some of these persons appear at *Apion* 1.51-2: Iulius Archelaus and an unknown Herod.

the highest degree of Greek education?¹⁴⁸⁵ **360** For you had it, written, twenty years earlier,¹⁴⁸⁶ and you would have been about to¹⁴⁸⁷ to pull off an endorsement¹⁴⁸⁸ of your precision from those who knew.¹⁴⁸⁹ But now that those men are no longer with us, you have become courageous: you do not imagine that you will be exposed.¹⁴⁹⁰

Josephus' counter-example: immediate publication and

361 In the case of my own text, I certainly was not anxious in the same way as you,¹⁴⁹¹ but I delivered the volumes to the *imperators*¹⁴⁹² themselves when the deeds were barely out of view.¹⁴⁹³ They concurred that I had preserved the transmission of the truth. Ac-

¹⁴⁸⁵ Since Iustus himself appears to have had a solid Greek education, better than Josephus' (§§ 40-2), the point here seems to be that the still better-educated family of Agrippa would easily have been able to expose Iustus' rhetorical strategies.

¹⁴⁸⁶ Rajak (1973:345) reasonably concludes that (Josephus is claiming that) Iustus' work "was published some twenty years after it was first composed," and wonders why Iustus delayed. Following F. Jacoby (*PW* 10.1342 [1919]), she suggests that he may have used his retirement years to put it into "finished literary form." What Iustus had originally written were only notes or memory aids (ὑπομνήματα). See the comment on "field notes" at § 342: self-conscious writers were indeed aware of the distinction between such drafts and publishable books. See further the note to "knew" in this section. If Josephus is writing in about 94 CE, then Iustus' first draft was completed by the early 70s. How does Josephus know that Iustus had written an early draft? The likeliest answer (given the improbability that the two authors had enjoyed an ongoing correspondence) is that Iustus mentioned the early draft in his book. He may have cited it in support of his accuracy, perhaps noting that he deliberately delayed publishing the story until the major players had died. In that case, Josephus tries deftly to turn an asserted virtue into a vice. He continues the implicit contrast between Iustus' work and his own *War* (as in § 361), which was begun soon after the conflict and published (bks. 1-6) already by 81. But that early date has historically left Josephus open to the charge of disseminating propaganda for Vespasian and Titus. The dating argument cuts both ways.

¹⁴⁸⁷ Josephus' sarcasm is heavy, since he believes Iustus' account to be entirely false.

¹⁴⁸⁸ Greek μαρτυρία is a legal term appropriate to the juridical context here—"testimony, evidence, witness." See also § 361.

¹⁴⁸⁹ Josephus cleverly makes the weaker argument appear the stronger one (see the note to "craftiness" at § 40). By the canons of ancient historiography, it was the chronicler of *contemporary* events, whose work appeared while the powerful players were still alive, who was usually suspected of flattery (Cicero, *Leg.* 1.3.8; Pliny, *Ep.* 5.8.12-4; Lucian, *Quom. hist. Conscr.* 13).

Josephus' *War*, for example, has often been accused of flattering his patron Titus (Cohen 1979:85-6; S. Schwartz 1990:13-6). By contrast, scholars have argued that his critical portrait of Agrippa II in *Ant.* 18-20 could not have been written while Agrippa was still alive (Luther 1910:56). Iustus' delay in publishing, therefore, until a time when all of the powerful men involved had died, could as easily be seen as a virtue—a point that Iustus may have made.

One case in which credibility increased with contemporary publication was that in which an author criticized a public figure. To wait until after the target's death might seem cowardly, a cheap way of avoiding challenge. Rajak (in Feldman/Hata 1987:83) cites Pliny, *Ep.* 9.1, where Pliny implores a friend Maximus to publish his essays about Pompeius Planta, who has just died, immediately. Maximus will only preserve his credibility if he makes clear that he had already written the essays before, not as a result of, Planta's death. As helpful as the parallel is, it seems unlikely that Iustus' book, which featured Agrippa as the last of the Herodian kings, set out to criticize him. So Pliny's logic does not quite apply to Josephus' critique of Iustus, which seems more rhetorically driven.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Greek ἐλέγχω. See the note to "expose" at § 339.

¹⁴⁹¹ This psychological analysis is entirely imputed by Josephus. We have no reason to believe that Iustus delayed publication because of anxiety. If the work in question is his chronicle of Judean kings from Moses to Agrippa II, it may simply have taken him the better part of 20 years to complete (cf. Josephus' *Antiquities*). If that was a separate work from his history of the war, it may have delayed the latter. See the note to "things" at § 336. Finally, Iustus *may* even have deliberately waited until after Agrippa's death to avoid the obvious charge of flattery. See the note to "knew" at § 360.

¹⁴⁹² See the note to this word at § 342.

¹⁴⁹³ The conventional dating (cf. Bilde 1988:79) of *War*'s completion between 75 (cf. the reference to the *Templum Pacis* at *War* 7.158-62) and 79 CE (cf. the presentation of the *War* to Vespasian at *Apion* 1.50) would indeed put the work almost immediately after the end of the conflict at Masada (73 or 74). But that dating requires some revision. In *Apion* 1.50, Josephus in-

cordingly, having expected to meet with their endorsement,¹⁴⁹⁴ I was not mistaken. **362** I also immediately delivered¹⁴⁹⁵ the history to many others, some of whom had even chanced to be involved in the war—for example, King Agrippa and certain of his relatives.¹⁴⁹⁶ **363** The *imperator*¹⁴⁹⁷ Titus, for his part, insisted that knowledge of events should be transmitted to the people from these alone, so that after he had inscribed the volumes with his own hand, he ordered them to be made public.¹⁴⁹⁸

verification
from prestig-
ious witnesses

364 And the king, Agrippa, wrote sixty-two letters¹⁴⁹⁹ attesting to [my] transmission of supporting

deed claims that he presented the *War* to both Vespasian and Titus. Vespasian died on June 23, 79, which would provide a *terminus ante quem* for the completion of the *War* if he received all 7 volumes. But in § 363 below, Josephus mentions only Titus, who seems to have held supreme power when he received the books—in order to authorize them as the definitive account (thus, between June 79 and Titus' death on Sept. 13, 81). It appears that either Vespasian received only some of the earlier volumes of the *War* or Josephus has taken the liberty of using Titus' approval to infer Vespasian's. A publication date during Titus' reign is highly likely also on other grounds, especially Josephus' singular treatment of Titus in *War* 1-6 as the divine favorite (Cohen 1979:84-6; S. Schwartz 1990:13-6). S. Cohen and S. Schwartz further argue—from the change in style, the new interest in Domitian, new emphases on Judean custom, and particular historical references (e.g., 7.451-53)—that *War* 7 was published separately and considerably later, under Domitian (Cohen 1979:87-90) or near the beginning of Trajan's rule (S. Schwartz 1986, 1990:21).

¹⁴⁹⁴ Greek μαρτυρία. See the note to the same word in § 360.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Greek ἐπιδίδωμι. At *Apion* 1.51, Josephus claims that he *sold* the *War* to Agrippa and his relatives. See the note to “letters” at § 364.

¹⁴⁹⁶ See the note to “family” at § 359.

¹⁴⁹⁷ See note to this word at § 342.

¹⁴⁹⁸ Although the verb δημοσιόω literally means “publish,” we must distinguish the process of publication in ancient Rome, which was a highly social affair and typically involved oral recitation to a well-disposed audience (White 1975:299; Wiseman 1987:252-56; Harris 1989:222-29; Fantham 1996:120-21, 183-221), from our practice of faceless dealings with publishers, who then promote books impersonally in target markets. The verb occurs only twice in Josephus: here and a few paragraphs later (§ 370), where it is used with quite a different nuance: to “make public” a person's possessions by depriving the owner of them—i.e., “to confiscate.”

This passage and the parallel at *Apion* 1.50 have been essential to the durable hypothesis that the *War* was written, in large measure at least, as *commissioned*

propaganda for the Flavian leaders (Hölscher 1916: 1943; Laqueur 1920:126-27, 229, 256; Weber 1921:9, 23, 44; Thackeray 1929:27; Cohen 1979:86; Price 1992:174). That hypothesis does not, however, explain the evidence very well: either the explicit aims and narrative of the *War* (aimed at combating anti-Judean and chauvinistic Roman prejudices of earlier accounts [*War* 1.2-3, 6-8] and explaining the fall of the temple from Judean premises) or the language here, according to which Titus' approval came *after* the completion of the *War* (Yavetz 1975:430-1). Rajak (1983:200-1) helpfully compares Titus' signature to the benign endorsement explicitly requested from this emperor by Pliny the Elder (*Nat. praef.* 6, 8): there is no question of the *Natural History* serving as propaganda. It is not hard to see why, from the perspective of imperial interests, Titus would value this elaborate statement by a pacifistic Judean aristocrat, which characterized the Judeans as excellent world citizens, recalled their long-standing cooperation with Rome, and provided a thoughtful basis for the cessation of anti-Judean reprisals. But the *War* does not answer well to the needs of Flavian propaganda (Hata 1975; Bilde 1979; Rajak 1983:185-222).

¹⁴⁹⁹ A significant problem with Agrippa's having written so many letters while the work was in progress is that Josephus claims at *Apion* 1.51 that he sold (πῖπράσκω; πέρνημι) the book to Agrippa and his relatives. That passage may simply involve a careless expression: Josephus begins to say that he sold a number of copies to his fellow-Judeans and then includes (with “among whom”) Agrippa and his relatives as an afterthought. It is antecedently improbable that he would have sold a copy to Agrippa, the distinguished object of so much admiration, and a major character, in the *War*.

At least one purpose in mentioning this number is to imply Agrippa's strong interest in and support for Josephus' project in writing the *War*. This necessarily challenges Iustus' apparent claim that his work, which contradicted Josephus' at numerous points, represented the king's well-informed perspective. Of course, the citation of such letters is hardly decisive for Josephus' claims to Agrippa's support. A critically-minded audience might wonder what was in the other 60 letters (if they were genuine), written closer to the completion of Josephus' project.

letters from
King Agrippa

the truth. Two of these, in fact, I have appended, in case you insist on knowing from them what was written.

365 King Agrippa,
To dearest Josephus,
Greetings!

I went through the volume with greatest pleasure, and it really seems to me that with superior care you have precisely described¹⁵⁰⁰ what you have portrayed.¹⁵⁰¹ 366 Send me the rest also.¹⁵⁰² Be well.

King Agrippa,
To dearest Josephus,
Greetings!

From what you have written, you look as though you need no instruction—[we can read you] instead of our learning everything from the start. Whenever you should next meet me, I myself will inform¹⁵⁰³ you of many things that are not [widely] known.¹⁵⁰⁴

367 He was not flattering¹⁵⁰⁵ my finished¹⁵⁰⁶ history with “truth,” for that would not occur to him; nor was he dissembling, as you will claim,¹⁵⁰⁷ for he was beyond such bad character.¹⁵⁰⁸ But he confirmed the truth in the same way as all those who have perused these histories.

conclusion to
digression
against Iustus

But let the matters that had necessarily to be raised against Iustus—this digression¹⁵⁰⁹ — be said by us with these words.

¹⁵⁰⁰ Greek ἀκριβόω. See the note to “precision” at § 358.

¹⁵⁰¹ See the note to “portray” at § 338 and the previous note. The high concentration of characteristic Josephan language, especially from this section of the *Life*, in Agrippa’s letter necessarily raises a question about its authenticity.

¹⁵⁰² This request suggests that at this point Agrippa had been given only a segment of the *War* in preparation, and that he was (given the 62 letters) actively involved with its preparation.

¹⁵⁰³ This is the only occurrence of the verb κατηχέω in Josephus.

¹⁵⁰⁴ There is a latent contradiction here. Josephus has already asserted (§ 357-58) that Iustus, who was the king’s aide in Berytus, could not have known much about the Galilean or Judean campaigns. Yet here Josephus wants to use the king—presumably Iustus’ main informer—as one of his own valuable sources of information. Like the previous letter, this seems to imply that Josephus was in regular contact with Agrippa during the composition of the *War* in the 70s. The king not only supported its writing but even provided source material for it. Josephus thus aims to remove the ground from Iustus’ claim that *he* is the king’s spokesman.

¹⁵⁰⁵ This is the only occurrence of the verb κολακεύω in the *Life*.

¹⁵⁰⁶ This is the only occurrence of the verb ἀπαρτίζω in the *Life*. Since the quoted letters appear to reflect that Josephus’ project was still unfinished when he

received them, Josephus’ insistence that Agrippa had seen a *finished* version may be a deliberate misrepresentation.

¹⁵⁰⁷ This is a clever debating tactic. Iustus has apparently based his authority in large measure on his unique access to King Agrippa. Josephus tries to undermine that connection in various ways, ending here by boxing Iustus into a corner: if the king really had praised Josephus’ work, then he must have been dissembling. By imputing that claim to Iustus (who has not, of course, made it), Josephus assumes the role of the king’s defender against him. Inventing a charge in order to deny it (while putting it into circulation) is a tactic that Josephus has credited to Varus at §§ 50 and 55.

¹⁵⁰⁸ This is the only occurrence of the noun κακοήθεια in the *Life*.

¹⁵⁰⁹ The noun παρέκβασις is rare in Josephus—only here and at *Apion* 1.57 (which also seems to concern Iustus), 183, possibly 2.254. Although the Greek word could signify various kinds of “deviation,” it was the standard term in literary rhetoric for a digression (Lausberg 1998:158-59). Quintilian, though writing Latin, takes over the Greek word (which he equates with *egressus* or *egressio*) and defines it (4.3.12-4), albeit in a judicial context. Note his further comment (4.3.15): “For whatever we say that falls outside the five divisions of the speech already laid down is a digression, whether it express indignation, pity, rebuke, excuse, conciliation or be designed to rebut invective” (trans. H. E. Butler, LCL).

(66) 368¹⁵¹⁰ When I had managed¹⁵¹¹ affairs in the case of Tiberias¹⁵¹² and convened a meeting¹⁵¹³ of my friends,¹⁵¹⁴ I deliberated about what should be done against Ioannes.¹⁵¹⁵ To all the Galileans¹⁵¹⁶ it seemed that everyone should go off to Ioannes, armed, to exact justice¹⁵¹⁷ from him¹⁵¹⁸ as the one who had been the instigator of all the sedition.¹⁵¹⁹ 369 But I myself, keeping my commitment to quelling the disturbances without bloodshed,¹⁵²⁰ was not pleased with their opinions.¹⁵²¹ So I exhorted them that all forethought should be exercised¹⁵²² for the sake of determining the names of those who were under Ioannes.¹⁵²³

Josephus calms Galileans' clamor for revenge on Ioannes by launching search for names of his supporters

370 When they had done this and I had determined who these people were, I issued a statement¹⁵²⁴ through which I extended a pledge and a welcome to those with Ioannes who desired to accept a change of mind.¹⁵²⁵ I extended a period of twenty days¹⁵²⁶ to those who desired to deliberate about what was advantageous for themselves.¹⁵²⁷ But I also threatened to burn their homes and confiscate their possessions¹⁵²⁸ if they did not discard their weapons.¹⁵²⁹ 371 When the people heard these things, they became extremely¹⁵³⁰ disturbed. They abandoned Ioannes and, after discarding their weapons, came over to me—4000 in number.¹⁵³¹ 372 Only the citizens¹⁵³² remained alongside Ioannes, and cer-

Josephus wins over most of Ioannes' followers, except Gischalans and some Tyrians, by persuasion and coercion

¹⁵¹⁰ The following episode, which Josephus uses to conclude the story of Ioannes here, is curiously paralleled in the *War* (2.620-25) immediately after the Tiberian revolt represented by *Life* 85-103 (*War* 2.614-19) and *before* the delegation from Jerusalem is sent (*War* 2.626; *Life* 189). It was Ioannes' failure in open conflict with Josephus that led him to that clandestine plot (*War* 2.625). Although this is clearly the same event, the placement and details are different.

¹⁵¹¹ Greek διοικέω; see the note to "governing" at § 49.

¹⁵¹² Josephus refers to §§ 327-35, immediately before the digression on Iustus, where he has successfully ousted the Jerusalem delegates, returned them to Jerusalem, and forgiven the Tiberians for their attempted defection—imprisoning the ringleaders at Iotapata.

¹⁵¹³ See the note to "congress" at § 62.

¹⁵¹⁴ See the note to "friends" at § 79.

¹⁵¹⁵ Ioannes' present location is not perfectly clear. At § 313 the Jerusalem delegates had summoned him to Tiberias, but at § 317 Josephus claims that he was back in Gischala. Even though the Tiberians requested substantial military support *from* him then (§ 317), he must have remained in Gischala because he was evidently not among the instigators of rebellion sent off to Iotapata (§ 332).

¹⁵¹⁶ *War* 2.622: "many tens of thousands" of Galilean armed soldiers.

¹⁵¹⁷ See the note to this phrase at § 97. According to *War* 2.622, the Galileans would have burned Ioannes together with Gischala.

¹⁵¹⁸ The Galileans have expressed a similar intention with respect to Ioannes at §§ 104 and 306-7, where Josephus also managed to persuade them otherwise.

¹⁵¹⁹ See the note to this phrase at § 145.

¹⁵²⁰ Josephus has used an almost identical phrase—

"quelling the disturbances without bloodshed"—at §§ 103, 244. See the note at the former.

¹⁵²¹ Greek γνώμαι. See the note to "opinions" at § 22. The conjunction of ἀρέσκω ("please") and γνώμη is particularly common in the *Antiquities* (5.140; 7.216; 8.339; 9.13, 84; 12.381; 19.178). Cf. Demosthenes, *Or.* exord.1.1; 4.1, 30; Plutarch, *Arist.* 8.6

¹⁵²² Greek πᾶσαν εἰσενέγκασθαι πρόνοιαν. On the πρόνοια theme in the *Life*, see the notes to "provision of God" at § 15 and "provision" at § 62.

¹⁵²³ This turns out to be a massive espionage effort: 4000 names are gathered (§ 371). According to *War* 2.624, Josephus requested a list from "each city" in the Galilee.

¹⁵²⁴ Or "edict, proclamation" (πρόγραμμα). This word is normally used in the context of royal declarations, as in its 2 other occurrences in Josephus (*Ant.* 10.254; 12.145). Its odd appearance here may in part result from Josephus' limited vocabulary, or from the desire to emphasize that he now clearly is the sole legitimate governor of the Galilee.

¹⁵²⁵ Or "make repentance" (ἀβεῖν μετάνοιαν). For the phrase, see *Ant.* 4.191; 5.166; 6.38; Pausanias, *Descr.* 3.7.8.

¹⁵²⁶ *War* 2.624: 5 days.

¹⁵²⁷ *War* 2.624 mentions only the following threat, more severely put.

¹⁵²⁸ According to *War* 2.624, if the named parties would not confess and repent within 5 days, their houses *and families* would be burned.

¹⁵²⁹ Thus Josephus employs the same combination of persuasion and coercion that he has attributed to others: *War* 2.562; *Life* 42.

¹⁵³⁰ See the note to "extreme" at § 22.

¹⁵³¹ *War* 2.625: 3000. This is the clearest statement of Ioannes' strength thus far in the *Life*. At § 233,

*John confined
to Gischala*

tain foreigners from the metropolis of Tyre¹⁵³³—about 1500.¹⁵³⁴ So Ioannes, thus outwitted¹⁵³⁵ by me, remained for the sequel in his native place, cowed.¹⁵³⁶

*when
Sepphorites
appeal to
Cestius for a
force, Josephus
and Galileans
storm the city;
the Galileans*

(67) 373 At about this time¹⁵³⁷ the Sepphorites,¹⁵³⁸ having convinced themselves by the fortification of their walls¹⁵³⁹ and by observing me in other pursuits,¹⁵⁴⁰ became courageous and took up weapons. In fact they sent to Cestius Gallus—this man was governor of Syria¹⁵⁴¹—urging him either to come quickly himself, taking the city under his protection, or to send men who would serve as a patrol. 374 Although Gallus¹⁵⁴² promised that he would come, he did not clarify when this would be.¹⁵⁴³ So as soon as I discovered

Ioannes summoned 3000 to greet the delegation at Gabara. By contrast, Josephus had 8000 with him (§ 213) until §§ 321-22, 331, where his numbers exceeded 11,000.

¹⁵³² Evidently: fellow-citizens of Gischala. See also § 43, where the Gischalans are called πολῖται.

¹⁵³³ Since Josephus calls these Tyrians ξένοι (foreigners), they are not likely Judean inhabitants of Tyre come to join the nationalist movement. The notice is particularly surprising given Josephus' other remarks about the long-standing hostility between Tyre and its outpost village of Kedasa, on the one hand, and Gischala on the other (*War* 2.458; 4.105); see the note to "Tyrians" at § 44. The *War* had only seriously raised the prospect of *Judeans* from other places—including converts such as Helena and Izates from Adiabene—joining the revolt (*War* 1.5; 2.388; 5.20; 6.356). We should not assume that Ioannes' Tyrians (or Syrians; see following note) are mercenaries, given Josephus' language and the difficulty that Ioannes would presumably have faced in paying such a large group. Moreover, we have the parallel at §§ 112 of other gentiles—admittedly, only two—from Agrippa's territories trying to join the Galilean rebels. The story of such gentiles who joined the Judean revolt is still largely untold.

¹⁵³⁴ *War* 2.625 mentions 2000 refugees (φυγάδες) from Syria—a much broader catchment, including in Josephus' usage all non-Judean populations in mixed cities, the Decapolis and other free cities, as well as Syria proper.

¹⁵³⁵ See the note to "outwit" at § 320.

¹⁵³⁶ So ends Josephus' major personal conflict in the *Life*, and his use of Ioannes as his principal foil. This also closes an entertaining thread: the hapless Ioannes is repeatedly driven back to Gischala, unsuccessful in his efforts to dislodge Josephus (*Life*: §§ 101, 308, 317). In the *War*, however, there is much more to the story, for it is only now that Ioannes turns to Jerusalem for help and thus initiates the delegation affair (*War* 2.625). Moreover, Ioannes eventually manages to flee from Gischala when it is besieged by the Romans to begin the second phase of his rebel career as a leader in Jerusalem (*War* 4.92-120), whence he will be taken as a prominent prisoner to Rome (7.118). This last part was

likely known to Josephus' audience in broad outline from the *War* (cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.12). See the note to "Ioannes" at § 43 and, for critical analysis of Ioannes' subsequent role, Price 1992:102-74.

¹⁵³⁷ See the note to this phrase at § 112.

¹⁵³⁸ Sepphoris was Josephus' first stop upon his arrival in Galilee (see the note at § 30) and the base from which he gathered initial intelligence reports (§ 64). He found the city emphatically pro-Roman and pro-royal. At §§ 104-11, they try to keep Josephus out of the city by hiring mercenaries, but fail. Nevertheless, they subsequently manage to exclude Josephus, Ioannes, and also the delegation from Jerusalem, making their pacific intentions clear (§§ 123-24, 232). Curiously, Josephus claims to have fortified the city's walls (§ 188), and that he was tricked into doing so (§ 347). This episode and its complement in §§ 394-97 provide symmetrical closure to the story of Sepphoris in the *Life*.

¹⁵³⁹ This is apparently an ironic reference to §§ 188 and 347, for Josephus claims that he was tricked into building these very walls.

¹⁵⁴⁰ Or "near other places" (πρὸς ἑτέροις). Josephus has been far away in the E Galilee, around Tiberias (cf. § 335), according to this story.

¹⁵⁴¹ The theme "waiting for Cestius" provides a symmetrical counterpart to § 23, where the governor is first mentioned in the *Life*: the Judean leaders were allegedly hoping that he would put down the revolt there.

¹⁵⁴² Josephus ordinarily (*War* 2.513, 515, 519, 522, 524, 527; *Life* 23-4, 28, 31, 49, but see 394) abbreviates the governor's name in the customary way, by using the *nomen* Cestius alone. This is particularly interesting because *War* 3.30-3 indicates that before Vespasian's arrival, the Sepphorites had already received a Roman garrison from Caesennius Gallus. This Gallus was the commander of the 12th Legion, who had accompanied Cestius Gallus on his initial campaign in Judea (*War* 2.510), and who was welcomed at that time by the Sepphorites. But he also seems to have brought the garrison later, in an event corresponding to §§ 394-98 below. Since that man is normally called Gallus (*War* 2.511, 513), one must wonder whether Josephus has not confused two names here.

¹⁵⁴³ The Roman garrison arrives in § 394.

these things, I myself took up the soldiers with me, attacked Sepphoris, and captured their city by storm.¹⁵⁴⁴ **375** Once the Galileans had seized the staging area, not wanting their period of hatred to subside—for they were also harboring animosity¹⁵⁴⁵ against this city¹⁵⁴⁶—they attacked as though they would altogether obliterate¹⁵⁴⁷ everyone, including the settlers.¹⁵⁴⁸ **376** So they rushed in and, finding their houses uninhabited—for the people had become anxious and fled to the acropolis¹⁵⁴⁹—set them ablaze. They were grabbing everything and, against compatriots,¹⁵⁵⁰ leaving out no form of devastation.¹⁵⁵¹

*begin a ram-
page*

377 As I observed these things, I was very painfully distressed and ordered them to stop, reminding them that to treat compatriots in such ways was unholy.¹⁵⁵² **378** When they would listen to neither my appeals nor my ordering, but hatred was conquering exhortations, I directed the most trustworthy friends around me to spread the word that Romans were invading with a large force through a different part of the city.¹⁵⁵³ **379** I did these things so that when the rumor dropped I would both restrain the impulses of the Galileans and preserve the city of the Sepphorites. And ultimately the maneuver¹⁵⁵⁴ succeeded. **380** When they heard this report they became afraid for themselves. Leaving behind the plunder,¹⁵⁵⁵ they fled—and especially when they found me, their general, doing these same things. For I supported¹⁵⁵⁶ the credibility of the rumor by seeming distressed as they were.¹⁵⁵⁷ So the Sepphorites were rescued beyond any hope of their own by my skillfulness.¹⁵⁵⁸

*Josephus pre-
vents wholesale
devastation of
Sepphoris by
falsely an-
nouncing a
Roman attack*

(68) 381 And Tiberias was very nearly ravaged¹⁵⁵⁹ by the Galileans for the following cause.

Tiberians ap-

¹⁵⁴⁴ See the note to this phrase at § 44. This appears to be the second capture of Sepphoris mentioned in the summary at § 82, though the first one (§§ 104-11) is not presented as an assault on the city itself.

¹⁵⁴⁵ Greek ἔχω ἀπεχθῶς, a phrase that occurs only here and at § 384 in the *Life*. But 11 of the 12 occurrences of ἀπεχθῶς in Josephus are adverbial and, of these, seven are paired with ἔχω (*War* 7.56; *Ant.* 2.12; 13.35, 85; 20.162 and the two in *Life*).

¹⁵⁴⁶ This hostility has been introduced at §§ 30, 39.

¹⁵⁴⁷ See the note to this characteristic phrase in the *Life* at § 102.

¹⁵⁴⁸ Or “non-residents.” This is the only occurrence of the noun ἑπίκοις in the *Life* (cf. *War* 1.188; 4.56). Presumably, Josephus mentions the newcomers because the citizens of Sepphoris have been hated for a long time by the (rural) Galileans (§§ 30, 39). Even though the Galileans had no reasonable quarrel with recent arrivals or visitors in the city, their fury at this point would prevent them from making such distinctions.

¹⁵⁴⁹ The “hill-city” part of Sepphoris is about 285 m. above sea level, and about 80 m. higher than the lower parts of the city. Because of the Galilean terrain, most significant sites had an acropolis of some kind, and the citizens would flee there in case of attack. See Josephus’ description of the battle for Gamala (*War* 4.22) and the note to “acropolis” at § 246.

¹⁵⁵⁰ See the note to “us” at § 26: the prohibition against harming Judeans is a minor theme in Josephus’ works.

¹⁵⁵¹ Even though the *War* is all about the sack of

Jerusalem, it has only 1 occurrence of this noun πόρθησις (“sack” [of a city]): *War* 7.92. This is the only occurrence in the *Life*.

¹⁵⁵² See the previous sentence (“against compatriots”) and the note to “us” at § 26.

¹⁵⁵³ Josephus needed to use a similar diversionary tactic to prevent the Galileans from destroying Gabara at § 265.

¹⁵⁵⁴ See the notes to “general” at § 97 and “maneuver” at § 148.

¹⁵⁵⁵ Josephus has emphasized throughout that he forbade his soldiers to plunder: §§ 244, 333-35; cf. §§ 67-9). In the apparent parallel at *War* 2.646, however, he deliberately plunders Tiberias and Sepphoris in order to return the goods and demonstrate his benevolence.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Greek σκήπτουμαι is elsewhere translated “pretend” (§§ 107, 213, 248). Most literally, it suggests the propping up or support of something—a pretext.

¹⁵⁵⁷ For Josephus’ impressive acting ability in difficult situations, see especially § 138, 248, 322.

¹⁵⁵⁸ This seems to be a version of the story told very briefly at *War* 2.645-46, wherein Josephus has his soldiers plunder both Tiberias (cf. *Life* 331-35) and Sepphoris in order to return the goods to the citizens and thus teach them about his benevolence as a general so that they will not defect.

¹⁵⁵⁹ This is the only occurrence of the verb ἀναρπάζω in the *Life*. Josephus often uses διαρπάζω (§§ 30, 67, 77, 127, 162, 376, 386), which I have rendered “plunder.”

peal to King Agrippa for protection; Josephus finds out; the Galileans call for punishment

The principal men from the council wrote to the king,¹⁵⁶⁰ appealing to him to come to them to take the city under his protection.¹⁵⁶¹ **382** The king kept promising to come, and he wrote* in reply letters that he gave* to a certain one of his valets¹⁵⁶² by the name of Crispus,¹⁵⁶³ a Judean by ancestry,¹⁵⁶⁴ to carry to the Tiberians. **383** When the Galileans discovered that this man had brought the documents, they arrested him and led* him to me.¹⁵⁶⁵ And the entire mob, when they heard, became furious¹⁵⁶⁶ and turned* to their weapons.¹⁵⁶⁷ **384** On the following day, when many had gathered together from everywhere and come into the city of Asochis,¹⁵⁶⁸ where I in fact had made my lodging, they were making loud outcries,¹⁵⁶⁹ calling Tiberias a traitress¹⁵⁷⁰ and friend of the king, and they asked me to authorize them to come down¹⁵⁷¹ and altogether obliterate¹⁵⁷² them. For they were also harboring animosity¹⁵⁷³ against the Tiberians, as against the Sepphorites.¹⁵⁷⁴

Josephus calms Galileans by a speech: let us find the culprits first

(69) 385 When I heard, I was at a loss as to how I might spare Tiberias from the Galileans' rage. I could not deny that the Tiberians had written inviting the king, for the written responses¹⁵⁷⁵ to them from him exposed¹⁵⁷⁶ the truth. **386** So after being deep in thought¹⁵⁷⁷ for a long while, I said:

¹⁵⁶⁰ Agrippa II. Tiberias was properly part of his territory, and at least one important faction wished it to remain that way (§§ 32-4). In spite of what Josephus claims about Iustus at §§ 34-42, it seems clear from an abundance of evidence (e.g., §§ 64-66, 155, 175-78, 390-93; see the notes at §§ 336) that he was among this group. See Luther 1910:34-49.

¹⁵⁶¹ The Tiberians made a similar request at § 155, which resulted in Josephus' fake naval assault, the capture of Tiberias' council and principal men, the removal of Cleitus' hand, and powerful threats not to anger the Galileans (§§ 167-78).

¹⁵⁶² Literally: "a certain one of those around his bedroom." This is the only appearance of κοιτών ("bedroom"; cf. Latin *cubiculum*) in all of Josephus. The phrase is awkward. Perhaps he does not know the simpler forms κοιτώνιτης or κοιτωνοφύλαξ (cf. Latin *cubicularius*), which he nowhere uses.

¹⁵⁶³ For the name, see the note at § 33. This Crispus is probably not the wealthy and prominent Tiberian councilor of the same name, who had once been prefect of Agrippa I, because of the apparent difference in status (this man is but one of several chamberlains) and age. Whereas the ex-prefect of Agrippa I should be at least 50 by this time, this Crispus is young enough to be sent on lengthy (Berytus – Tiberias) and dangerous courier trips. Further, this man appears as an aide to Agrippa, while the other remains in Tiberias (or his Perean estates). He becomes a test case in Josephus' double game: although Josephus must imprison Crispus as an ostensible enemy, he covertly advises him to escape (§§ 388-89). Crispus also becomes the conduit for Iustus' appeal to Agrippa (§ 393).

¹⁵⁶⁴ This explanation is perhaps necessary because one would not easily deduce from the circumstances—a man with a Latin name in Agrippa's service—that the

man was a Judean.

¹⁵⁶⁵ This is the final example, of many, of dramatic tension built around the sending, interception, and forging of letters in the *Life*. See the note to "letters" at § 48.

¹⁵⁶⁶ See the note to this phrase at § 45.

¹⁵⁶⁷ For the phrase "turn to weapons" ([ἐφ'] ὅπλα τρέπομαι), see *War* 3.188 and Xenophon, *Cyr.* 4.3.5.

¹⁵⁶⁸ This was a congenial base (§§ 207, 233) and a most convenient one for the sack of Sepphoris (§§ 373-80), a mere 2 km. to the NW of the city center. It was also the perfect place for Josephus' soldiers to intercept messengers from Berytus on the coast to Tiberias on Lake Gennesar, for the Roman road connecting Tiberias with the coastal plain ran right by Asochis.

¹⁵⁶⁹ Greek καταβόησις (sing.), part of the distinctive vocabulary of the *Life*; see the note to this phrase at § 231.

¹⁵⁷⁰ This is the only occurrence of the feminine form προδοτίς in Josephus—feminine because the reference is to the city. In § 386, where Josephus speaks of the Tiberians, he defaults to the masculine plural (προδοῦται).

¹⁵⁷¹ "Come down": from Asochis, about 200 m. above sea level, to Tiberias, about 200 m. below sea level on Lake Gennesar, via the Bet Netofa valley.

¹⁵⁷² Josephus has recently used this characteristic phrase in the *Life* (see the note at § 102), at § 375.

¹⁵⁷³ This is the same phrase as at § 375; see the note there. There too, this phrase is accompanied by "altogether obliterate," highlighting the repetitiveness of Josephus' diction and style.

¹⁵⁷⁴ On this hostility, see §§ 30, 39, 375.

¹⁵⁷⁵ This is the only occurrence of the noun ἀντιγραφαί in all of Josephus.

¹⁵⁷⁶ Greek ἐλέγχω. See the notes to "trial" at § 91

“Because the Tiberians did wrong, as I well know, I will not deter you from plundering their city. All the same, it is necessary to execute such great tasks with judgment. For the Tiberians were not the only traitors to your freedom, but so too were many of the most esteemed men in Galilee. **387** So stand by until I can find out precisely who the culprits¹⁵⁷⁸ are. Then you will have them all at your mercy,¹⁵⁷⁹ plus as many as you are able to bring forward on your own.”

388 By saying these things I persuaded the mob¹⁵⁸⁰ and, when they had stilled their rage,¹⁵⁸¹ they disbanded.

Though I directed that the man who had been sent from the king¹⁵⁸² be put in chains, a few days later I pretended that some pressing obligation of my own required me to travel out of the kingdom.¹⁵⁸³ I summoned Crispus in secret, and ordered him to get his military guard drunk¹⁵⁸⁴ and then escape to the king, for he would not be pursued. **389** Convinced by these commitments, he escaped. Tiberias also escaped¹⁵⁸⁵ acute danger in this way, though about to face obliteration¹⁵⁸⁶ for the second time, through my generalship¹⁵⁸⁷ and provision¹⁵⁸⁸ for her.

Josephus generously spares the royal courier—and Tiberias

(70) 390 At about this time,¹⁵⁸⁹ Iustus the son of Pistus eluded me and ran away to the king.¹⁵⁹⁰ The occasion on which he did this I shall relate. **391** When the war by the Judeans against the Romans had made a start,¹⁵⁹¹ the Tiberians determined to submit to the king and not to defect from the Romans.¹⁵⁹² But Iustus, bent on revolutionary activities¹⁵⁹³ himself, and holding to the hope that he might rule both the Galileans and his own native place,¹⁵⁹⁴ persuaded them to proceed toward weapons.¹⁵⁹⁵ **392** Of course, none of

Iustus flees to King Agrippa, frustrated in his plans for generalship and fearful of Josephus

and “expose” at § 339. Perhaps this legal-argumentative term comes easily to Josephus’ mind in conjunction with “truth” here because he has used both words so frequently in the recent excursus against Iustus (§§ 339, 356, 360).

¹⁵⁷⁷ This is the only occurrence of the adjective “deep in thought” (σύννοος) in all of Josephus.

¹⁵⁷⁸ Usually translated “instigators” when used of persons, the αἰτίοι in this case are more generally “those responsible.”

¹⁵⁷⁹ Greek ὑποχέριος, one of Josephus’ favorite words. See the note at § 28.

¹⁵⁸⁰ On this prominent theme, see the notes to “mobs” at § 31 and “populace” at § 40.

¹⁵⁸¹ See the note to this formulaic phrase at § 100.

¹⁵⁸² That is, Crispus (§§ 382 and later in this section).

¹⁵⁸³ The narrative is confusing, for Josephus is apparently not in royal territory but in Asochis (§ 384), a village near Sepphoris on the Bet Netofa valley. Tiberias is nominally part of Agrippa’s territory (*Ant.* 20.159), but during the revolt has fallen out of his grasp; at least some prominent citizens have been trying to re-establish the connection (§§ 155, 381).

¹⁵⁸⁴ This seems a far-fetched scenario for a prisoner of war.

¹⁵⁸⁵ The word-play (cf. Crispus’ “escape”) seems deliberate. Josephus was equally merciful to the king’s

suppliants and to his messenger.

¹⁵⁸⁶ Josephus picks up the reference from § 384; see the note there.

¹⁵⁸⁷ See the note to “general” at § 97.

¹⁵⁸⁸ Greek πρόνοια. See the notes to “provision of God” at § 15 and “provision” at § 62.

¹⁵⁸⁹ See the note to this phrase at § 112.

¹⁵⁹⁰ Josephus has anticipated the story of Iustus’ escape to the king in the digression: §§ 354, 357.

¹⁵⁹¹ Curiously, even in the *Life*, where Josephus has been sent to Galilee as part of a three-man team (§ 29; contrast *War* 2.568), he speaks of himself from the beginning as more or less the sole commander or “general” (§ 30-31 [“I”], 64-6, 68-9, 71-2, 77-9, 80-4, 85-6, 97).

¹⁵⁹² Josephus describes the position of the first faction mentioned at § 32, led by Iulius Capella(us) and his fellow-councilors: “to stand firm in loyalty to the Romans and to the king.”

¹⁵⁹³ Greek νεωτέρων αὐτὸς ἐφιέμενος πραγμάτων. Cf. the introduction of Iustus at § 36: νεωτέρων δ’ ἐπεθύμει πραγμάτων. See the note to “activities” at § 36: it is unlikely, given Iustus’ social position, family connections, and especially his actual behavior, that he had any such lust for revolution.

¹⁵⁹⁴ At § 36, Josephus had spoken more generally of Iustus’ alleged intention to create power for himself out of an upheaval. Josephus continues to try to undermine

the expected things happened. For the Galileans, harboring hostility¹⁵⁹⁶ toward the Tiberians because of anger at what they had suffered from him [Iustus] before the war,¹⁵⁹⁷ **393** would not put up with Iustus' being general over them.¹⁵⁹⁸ And I myself, after being entrusted with the protection¹⁵⁹⁹ of Galilee by the general assembly of the Jerusalemites, often reached such a degree of rage, when I could no longer tolerate his baseness, that it was almost necessary to kill Iustus.¹⁶⁰⁰ When he became anxious that this mood might once reach fulfillment, he sent Crispus¹⁶⁰¹ to the king, supposing that he could reside more securely in the latter's territory.¹⁶⁰²

Josephus engages force sent from Cestius Gallus to Sepphoris, unsuccessfully

(71) 394 After the Sepphorites had unexpectedly escaped the first danger,¹⁶⁰³ they sent word to Cestius Gallus to come,¹⁶⁰⁴ appealing to him quickly to take the city under his protection or to send a force that would repel the enemy's¹⁶⁰⁵ raids against them. And finally they persuaded Gallus¹⁶⁰⁶ to send them quite a large¹⁶⁰⁷ force, both cavalry and infantry,¹⁶⁰⁸ which they welcomed when these arrived in the night.¹⁶⁰⁹ **395** But when the

Iustus' central claim: that he had been a close and well-informed associate of King Agrippa II.

¹⁵⁹⁵ Greek ἐφ' ὅπλα χωρῆσαι. Josephus recalls the phrase he used in describing the Tiberians at their first appearance (§ 31), thus reinforcing the symmetry of the book.

¹⁵⁹⁶ Greek ἐχθρῶς ἔχοντες. For the phrase, see *Ant.* 15.163; 17.290; Demosthenes, *Or.* 20.77; Isaeus 7.8; and the note to the similar phrase (with ἀπεχθῶς) at § 375. This hostility toward the Tiberians was mentioned at § 384.

¹⁵⁹⁷ Josephus never explains clearly what the issue was here. Thackeray refers to § 341, which claims that Iustus had involved the Tiberians in attacking the villages of the Decapolis. But that does not explain the Galileans' anger toward the Tiberians. We do learn (§ 177) that Iustus' brother, a Tiberian, had lost his hands to the Galileans before the war, on a charge of forging documents, perhaps—we might speculate—legal documents (§ 337) that had worked to the disadvantage of the rural population. In any case, Josephus assumes his audience's understanding of predictable tensions between town and country. This tension is rhetorically malleable: Josephus also claims that Iustus of Tiberias had planned to rally the Galileans against the Sepphorites because of their hostility toward the latter (§ 39).

¹⁵⁹⁸ Even in Josephus' own narrative of events, there has never been a question of Iustus' desiring generalship over Tiberias, let alone over Galilee.

¹⁵⁹⁹ Greek προστασία; see the notes at §§ 115, 312.

¹⁶⁰⁰ This is quite an admission from Josephus, who prides himself on his cool refusal to indulge feelings of anger, over against the Galileans' incessant demands for revenge (§§ 80-2, 102-3, 262, 306-7, 353, 368-69, 375-80). It is puzzling, however, that Josephus never actually describes any serious problems that Iustus has caused him. In spite of having promised to show how

Iustus and his brother were the causes "of almost complete ruin" (§ 41), Josephus has hardly mentioned any activities of Iustus (and none, directly, of his brother). Iustus appears mainly as a superficial add-in to the plots of Ioannes, the delegation, and Iesus (§§ 87-8, 279). In spite of Josephus' rhetoric about Iustus, he seems again (cf. §§ 175-78) to confirm that he intimidated Iustus into submission as long as he was able (§§ 340, 355).

¹⁶⁰¹ This is a puzzling reference. The Crispus who was one of Agrippa's valets (§ 382) has recently been secretly freed from Josephus' custody in Asochis (§ 388), and the reader assumes that he has returned to the king. It is conceivable, however, that this Crispus instead continued on his original trip E to Tiberias, and that Iustus is sending back with him a request for asylum. The alternatives—that this is the older Crispus of § 33 or yet a third man with the same name in Tiberias—appear even less attractive.

¹⁶⁰² Thus, having failed to bring the king's forces to Tiberias (§§ 155, 381), Iustus flees to the king.

¹⁶⁰³ In §§ 379-80, Josephus averted the sacking of Sepphoris by the Galileans.

¹⁶⁰⁴ Thus, they renew the appeal that brought Josephus to attack their city at § 373.

¹⁶⁰⁵ The reference must be to Josephus and the Galileans, in light of §§ 104-11, 373-80.

¹⁶⁰⁶ See the note to "Gallus" at § 374: it is unusual that Josephus should refer to Cestius by his *cognomen* rather than *nomen* (Cestius).

¹⁶⁰⁷ I follow Thackeray's acceptance of the mss. RAMW here, against P, which omits the phrase "quite a large." See note to "many" at § 394.

¹⁶⁰⁸ Cestius nominally commanded four legions in Antioch—except that the Legio XII Fulminata had been all but destroyed in his earlier Judean campaign (*War* 2.499-500, 546-55; 5.41)—as well as various auxiliary cohorts and infantry wings, in addition to those supplied

surrounding countryside was being devastated by the Roman army,¹⁶¹⁰ I took up the soldiers with me and came to the village of Garis.¹⁶¹¹ There I dug a fenced camp¹⁶¹² twenty stadia¹⁶¹³ beyond the city of the Sepphorites,¹⁶¹⁴ advanced¹⁶¹⁵ against it during the night, and attacked the walls. **396** After sending in many¹⁶¹⁶ of the soldiers via scaling ladders, I found myself controlling the greater part of the city.¹⁶¹⁷ But not much later we had to retreat, forced to do so on account of our ignorance of the terrain,¹⁶¹⁸ after disposing of twelve infantrymen¹⁶¹⁹ as well as a few Sepphorites; we ourselves lost only one.¹⁶²⁰ **397** When fighting later erupted between us and the cavalry in the plain,¹⁶²¹ after much violence and having come through grave dangers¹⁶²² we were defeated. For when the Romans surrounded us, those who were with me became anxious and escaped to the rear.¹⁶²³ One of my most trusted bodyguards, by the name of Iustus,¹⁶²⁴ who had formerly held the

by friendly kings: *War* 2.500. The reference here to large numbers of cavalry along with infantry (cavalry were mainly supplied by auxiliaries) and the *ad hoc* nature of the operation would suggest auxiliary forces.

¹⁶⁰⁹ This note may be an explanation as to how the force could have gotten past Josephus, who was staying at Asochis just to the NW of Sepphoris, directly on the most likely route by which Cestius' forces arrived. Josephus has anticipated Sepphoris' rejection, with evident pique, in the digression on Iustus (§ 347).

¹⁶¹⁰ This "surrounding countryside" would no doubt include Josephus' own base at Asochis (§ 384), just 2 km down the hill from the center of Sepphoris, closer to the lower city.

¹⁶¹¹ The site is now identified with a hill about 1.5 km W of Kefar (כפר כנא), not to be confused with Khirbet Qanah [חרבת קנה] at § 86), about 5 km E of Sepphoris. See Appendix A. It is introduced in *War* 3.129 as a base of Josephus' that quickly collapsed once Vespasian's forces arrived in the area. At *War* 5.474, one of the rebels in Jerusalem is said to hail from Garis. See further the note to "Sepphorites" in this section.

¹⁶¹² See the note to this phrase at § 214.

¹⁶¹³ Thus 2.5 miles or 4 km. Josephus' consistent use of round numbers (multiples of 10) for distances in the Galilean hills would explain the slight discrepancy with the actual distance, if Garis is correctly identified: 5 km.

¹⁶¹⁴ Josephus does not explain what has obviously happened. He was at Asochis (§ 384), 2 km NW of Sepphoris, when the force from Cestius walked by him during the night into Sepphoris (§ 394). This arrangement was altogether too intimate, with Cestius' force now occupying the heights of Sepphoris behind him, and so Josephus removed his camp "beyond" Sepphoris—i.e., 6 km to the E of the city—to dig in a more secure camp out of the Romans' immediate range.

¹⁶¹⁵ This is the only occurrence of the verb προομείγνυμι in the *Life*. Josephus could have used several verbs in this context, which suggests that he is trying to vary his vocabulary in this final section of the book.

¹⁶¹⁶ Although Josephus could have used several words here, he chose the relatively rare adjective συχ-

ρός, which occurs only here and at § 394 in the *Life*.

¹⁶¹⁷ This is impossible to verify and difficult to believe, in view of the reporter and the immediate sequel.

¹⁶¹⁸ Josephus and his men knew the terrain of Sepphoris (cf. §§ 30-1, 104-11, 374-80) much better than the recently arrived auxiliaries could have done. Here and in the next section, Josephus feels compelled to explain why his soldiers did not succeed against the Roman auxiliaries. He plainly wants to present himself as an effective and courageous general in the fight against the Romans, and this poses a problem for scholarly hypotheses that he was somehow embarrassed about his past as a Judean general, as if this charge had been the problem caused by Iustus' book.

¹⁶¹⁹ This is the reading of ms. P. The other mss. distinguish 10 infantry from 2 cavalry, but Thackeray (*ad loc.*) argues persuasively that these are expansions of a simpler δυοκαίδεκα πεζούς, translated here.

¹⁶²⁰ This is standard body-count reporting, then as now favoring the reporter's forces.

¹⁶²¹ It is not clear which plain is involved. Josephus has once called the broad valley N of Sepphoris and Asochis (3+ km. wide) "the great plain" (§ 207), and that is a likely location. But if Josephus has fully retreated (§ 396) to Garis, the plain might be the narrower (about 1 km.) Tir'an valley to the N of that village. See the note to "rear" in this section. It was well known that cavalry were suited only to fighting on flat and open terrain: cf. § 116 and Frontinus, *Strat.* 2.9, 11.

¹⁶²² In other words, Josephus' force fought courageously at first and did not simply fold camp (but cf. § 327 and *War* 3.129).

¹⁶²³ This description suits the Tir'an valley better than the Bet Netofa valley (at least near Asochis and Sepphoris), for the "rear" would be the area that could not be effectively closed off by cavalry—therefore a hilly region alongside a relatively narrow valley. Near Asochis and Sepphoris, an escape from the cavalry up into the hills would bring one into direct confrontation with the Roman garrison.

¹⁶²⁴ This is the only reference to this man in Josephus. For the name, see the note at § 5.

same position with the king,¹⁶²⁵ fell in that engagement.

royal force
under Sulla
arrives at
Iulias, to cut
links between
Gaulanitis
centers of re-
bellion and
Galilee

398 At about this time¹⁶²⁶ the force from the king¹⁶²⁷ arrived, both cavalry and infantry, with Sulla¹⁶²⁸—who was commander of the bodyguards¹⁶²⁹—leading it. This man, then, having established a base¹⁶³⁰ five stadia away¹⁶³¹ from Iulias,¹⁶³² posted a patrol on the roads, both the one leading to Seleucia¹⁶³³ and the one leading to the fortress Gamala,¹⁶³⁴ in order to cut off supplies to the residents from the Galileans.¹⁶³⁵

¹⁶²⁵ Iustus is one of a number of men who defected from Agrippa's auxiliary army to join the Judean revolutionary force: see *War* 5.474 (Magassarus) and *Life* 220 (the cavalryman who delivered the delegates' first letter to Josephus). It was predictable that a nationalist insurgency would attract some soldiers who had been serving in regular armies allied with the dominant power.

¹⁶²⁶ See the note to this phrase at § 112.

¹⁶²⁷ This force was requested by the Tiberians at § 381 (cf. already § 155), but Agrippa's reply letters were intercepted by Josephus' soldiers (§ 383). Iustus, tired of waiting, has in the meantime fled to the king at Berytus (§§ 390-93). Rather than heading to Tiberias itself, as we soon see, the commander chose a strategic site more firmly in royal territory.

¹⁶²⁸ This bearer of the famous Roman dictator's *cognomen* (Lucius Cornelius Sulla Felix, 138-79 BCE) is otherwise unknown. He appears to be one of several Roman citizens in the higher ranks of Agrippa's army (cf. Aebutius at § 115 and Neapolitanus at § 121). This was the beginning of a trend (Le Bohec 1994:93).

¹⁶²⁹ Thus, Sulla was a sort of praetorian prefect for the king; cf. *Ant.* 19.247. On the many uses of ἡγεμῶν in military contexts, see H.J. Mason 1974:150.

¹⁶³⁰ See the note to this word (στρατόπεδον) at § 214. Rather than trying to describe a different sort of installation from that of his own camp (χάραξ, § 399) it appears that Josephus is simply varying his language. At § 405, he will call his own camp a στρατόπεδον. Cf. § 214, where the same variation occurs.

¹⁶³¹ About 1 km. This base must have been on the E side of Iulias because (a) it is in the direction of Seleucia and Gamala in the Golan, presumably on the roads that go out from Iulias, and (b) Josephus would hardly set up camp 200 m. from Iulias on the near (Jordan-River) side if that would put the enemy camp 800 m. at his back.

¹⁶³² Iulias was the name that the tetrarch Philip gave to his new foundation on the site of the fishing village Bethsaida (בֵּית צִידָה), at the intersection of the Jordan River and the N end of Lake Gennesar, on the E side of the river (*War* 3.515). The site was the gateway to his tetrarchy, though his capital was Caesarea Philippi, 38 km N, near Mt. Hermon. Josephus claims (*Ant.* 18.28) that the name was given to honor Augustus' daughter

Iulia. Some scholars have followed Schürer-Vermes (Schürer-Vermes 2.172; Kokkinos 1998:238) in arguing that Philip must, then, have founded Iulias at the very beginning of his tetrarchy (from 4 BCE) because Iulia was banished in 2 BCE, and it is unthinkable that Philip would have named a city after someone exiled by the emperor. Richardson (1996:302) argues, however, that Philip must have named the city for Augustus' wife Livia (also Tiberius' mother), who was bequeathed a place in the *gens Iulia* by Augustus in 14 CE. Thus the case would be the same as for the other Iulias mentioned by Josephus at Bet-Haram, which Antipas named after Livia (Iulia) (*Ant.* 18.27). In support of this argument: Josephus claims in *War* 2.169 that Philip only founded Iulias with the accession of Tiberius in 14 CE—a suitable time to honor Tiberius' mother.

It is curious that all four gospels consistently name this site Bethsaida (Mark 6:45;8:22; Matt 11:21; Luke 2:4,15; John 7:42), whereas Josephus, Pliny (*Nat.* 5.71), and Ptolemy (*Geog.* 5.14.4) know it as Iulias. The common scholarly hypothesis is that the fishing village of Bethsaida was directly on the shore of the lake, whereas Iulias itself was set back about 2 km N, with its acropolis at Et-Tell (Strange, *ABD* 1.692-93). See Appendix A.

At the time of the revolt, Bethsaida/Iulias marked the threshold of the kingdom of Agrippa II (*War* 3.57), and in particular the conduit between Galilee and the major rebel fortress towns of Seleucia (NE) and Gamala (E) in Gaulanitis. Here Sulla moves decisively to cut off communication between rebel Galilee and these centers within the king's territory. At the same time, Iulias is the closest possible site to Galilee from which he may strike at the rebels with secure supply lines behind him.

¹⁶³³ See the note at § 187. Although the site is not securely identified, a village 16 km NE of Iulias preserves the name Seluqiyeh.

¹⁶³⁴ About 11 km E and slightly S of Iulias in Gaulanitis.

¹⁶³⁵ Thackeray: "to prevent the inhabitants [of Iulias] from obtaining supplies from Galilee." But patrols E of Iulias would not prevent Iulias from being supplied by Galilee to the W, and Iulias has not been mentioned as a participant in the revolt. Since both Seleucia and Gamala are in revolt with Galilee, though they are in the king's territory, Sulla's objective seems to be to cut them off from their suppliers. It appears, though

(72) 399 When I discovered these things, I sent 2000 armed soldiers with Jeremiah¹⁶³⁶ as general over them. They dug a fenced camp¹⁶³⁷ one stadion¹⁶³⁸ from Iulias, near the Jordan River,¹⁶³⁹ but did no more than fire some projectiles¹⁶⁴⁰ until I myself reached them, having taken up 3000 soldiers.¹⁶⁴¹ 400 On the following day I posted an ambush-detachment¹⁶⁴² in a certain gulley not far from their fenced camp¹⁶⁴³ and provoked the royal troops into fighting. I exhorted the soldiers with me to turn their backs until they could entice the enemy troops to go further,¹⁶⁴⁴ which also happened. 401 For when Sulla figured that we were truly fleeing he came forward, and he was ready to pursue us, those from the ambush took him from behind and threw everyone into a great uproar.¹⁶⁴⁵ 402 After I made a sudden sharp turn with my force, I went to face the royal troops and put them to flight.¹⁶⁴⁶ And the action that day would have worked just right for me had not some spirit¹⁶⁴⁷ gotten in the way. 403 For the horse on which I had done the fighting fell

Josephus engages royal force, falls from his horse, is removed to Cepharnocus, where he catches fever, then Tarichea

Josephus has not clarified this point, that when Seleucia and Gamala joined the revolt, they forfeited their natural supply links with the surrounding region, which was still loyal to the king. Josephus must have established supply lines from Galilee. Sulla's move is the beginning of an effort to force them back into accommodation with the loyal territory around them.

¹⁶³⁶ See the note at § 241, where Jeremiah was introduced as one of Josephus' friends, entrusted with guarding the exit points from Galilee into the Plain of Esdraelon so as to intercept any of Ioannes' men who were headed to Jerusalem to gain further support for Ioannes' plots.

¹⁶³⁷ See the note to this phrase at § 214.

¹⁶³⁸ That is, 200 m., 660 ft.

¹⁶³⁹ Near Iulias, the Jordan River bends in quite close to the city. Jeremiah's location would be just on the near side of the Jordan, within easy viewing and striking distance of the city, but still in Galilee with an easy retreat to the rear and the river as a barrier in front.

¹⁶⁴⁰ Greek πλέον ἀκριβολισμῶν οὐδὲν ἔπραξαν. See the nearly identical phrase in § 215. Such projectiles might include javelins, arrows, and catapulted objects. Perhaps Josephus is vague because it was really a matter of throwing stones. This firing from a distance would be a relatively safe tactic if, as it appears, Jeremiah's force was sitting just across the river to the W of Iulias. It seems best understood as part of the larger plan (below) to draw the royal troops across the river.

¹⁶⁴¹ It is unclear, then, what has become of the other 6000 of Josephus' 11,000-strong force (§§ 321-22). Perhaps Josephus has left a 6000-strong detachment at Garis. Perhaps we should not put too much stock in his numbers.

¹⁶⁴² Greek λόχος. See the note to "ambush" at § 216.

¹⁶⁴³ That is, not far from Josephus' own camp on the W side of the river. He seems to be planning to draw out the royal troops across the river.

¹⁶⁴⁴ Josephus' ambush makes particular sense if he is set up on the W side of the Jordan River across from Iulias. He tries to draw the royal troops across the river in pursuit of his apparently fleeing soldiers. These, however, have not first crossed the river: they can only effect the deception by turning their backs, after having harassed the others with projectiles, and saying in effect, "Chase us!" Once the royal troops are on the W side of the river, with their escape confined to the bridge, the ambush will be effective.

¹⁶⁴⁵ Josephus has thus executed a textbook ambush, of the kind that Lucius Metellus used against the Carthaginian Hasdrubal (Polybius 1.40; Frontinus, *Strat.* 2.4). One begins with javelin assaults, to provoke the enemy force, and then traps them when they come in pursuit.

¹⁶⁴⁶ Josephus' apparent aim (εἰς φυγὴν ἔτρεψα) is hard to see. The normal purpose of an elaborately planned engagement is to neutralize the enemy through casualties and imprisonment. Yet Josephus appears to draw out the royal troops only to "put them to flight," which—if they retreated back to their base across the river—would simply return matters to the *status quo ante*. Possibly, they fled and dispersed on the W side of the river, no longer to serve in the army. But that is highly unlikely and Josephus does not say it. Given the general tenor of the *Life*, with its many internal and external inconsistencies coupled with a determined presentation of Josephus' virtues (see Introduction), it seems more likely that Josephus is saying all that he can about what was really a non-event. He wants to show his courage in boldly challenging the royal troops to a fight. He cleverly set a trap that took advantage of the terrain. But in the event, very little happened. Perhaps Sulla sent over a few scouts, whom Josephus managed to scare with a trap, and they fled quickly. He reports no casualties on either side, except his own injury from a fall, caused by the spirit.

¹⁶⁴⁷ Greek δαίμων τις. Compare *Ant.* 4.108, where a divine spirit (θεῖον πνεῦμα) forces the donkey on

in muddy¹⁶⁴⁸ terrain¹⁶⁴⁹ and deposited¹⁶⁵⁰ me with it on the ground.¹⁶⁵¹ I suffered a fracture¹⁶⁵² of the bones in the flat part of my hand¹⁶⁵³ and was brought into a village called Cepharnocus.¹⁶⁵⁴ **404** When those who heard these things also became anxious, in case I had suffered something more serious, they abandoned further pursuit [of the enemy] and turned back in great concern about me.¹⁶⁵⁵ So after sending for physicians¹⁶⁵⁶ and receiving care, and staying behind that day because I had caught a fever, on the physicians' advice I was conducted to Tarichea¹⁶⁵⁷ during the night.¹⁶⁵⁸

Sulla attempts further engagement of Josephus'

(73) 405 Now when Sulla and those with him discovered what had happened to me, they once again took courage. Having realized that matters pertaining to the guarding of the base¹⁶⁵⁹ were neglected, during the night he set an ambush-detachment¹⁶⁶⁰ of cavalry

which Balaam is riding into a wall. In Josephus as in most ancient authors, *daimones* can be either malevolent (*Ant.* 8.45) or benevolent (cf. *Ant.* 16.210). For the phrase δαίμων τις, see *War* 1.628; *Ant.* 13.415.

¹⁶⁴⁸ This is the only occurrence of the adjective τελατωδης in Josephus.

¹⁶⁴⁹ Certainly today there is much muddy (and marshy) ground near the outlet of the Jordan into Lake Gennesar.

¹⁶⁵⁰ This is 1 of only 2 occurrences of the verb συγκαταφέρω in Josephus (cf. *Ant.* 17.262).

¹⁶⁵¹ Greek ἐπὶ τοῦδαφος.

¹⁶⁵² This is the only occurrence of the noun θραύσις in Josephus.

¹⁶⁵³ Greek τῶν ἄρθρων ἐπὶ τὸν ταρσὸν τῆς χειρός. Thackeray, "some bones in the wrist." Münster: *Handteller*. The palm seems indicated by ταρσός, "flat [part]" (cf. Rufus, *Onom.* 81; Soranus, *Fract.* 22). See also Kottek (1994:86) on injuries in Josephus.

¹⁶⁵⁴ The mss. are confused, offering κεφαρνωκόν (as translated: P), κεφαρνωκῶν (R), καρφανωκῶν (M), and καφαρνωκῶν (W). The variant readings, in conjunction with the location indicated by the text (N end of Lake Gennesar, near Iulias), make it almost certain that the site is Kefar-Nahum (כפר-נחום), the Capernaum (Καφαρναούμ) famous from the gospels as Jesus' chosen place of residence and the home of some of his students (Mark 1:21; 2:1; 9:33; Matt 4:13, etc.). Josephus (*War* 3.519) introduces the village—with the gospels' spelling—as the site of a spring, but it does not otherwise appear in his writings.

Capernaum sat about 6 km SW of Iulias, following the shoreline W towards Tarichea and Tiberias. Because of its great interest to students of early Christianity, the site has been extensively excavated since 1905, after it had come into the possession of the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land in 1894. Excavators have found the base of a Hellenistic town, arranged on the so-called Hippodamian plan, with both individual houses and clusters of houses built around central courtyards. A fourth to sixth century synagogue has been excavated and, beneath it, the excavators argue, is the foundation

of a 1st century precursor. The excavators also claim that one of housing structures found is that of the apostle Peter. These 1st-century connections are disputed. See Corbo in *ABD* 1.866-69, Tsaferis 1983, and Appendix A.

¹⁶⁵⁵ It was perhaps fortunate that Josephus' force did not have to pursue Sulla's large infantry and cavalry force into royal territory.

¹⁶⁵⁶ Although the Roman army apparently traveled with a number of specialized medical personnel (Le Bohec 1994:52-3), it appears that the Judean rebel force had no such luxury; these physicians may have come up from Tarichea.

¹⁶⁵⁷ About 10 km SW of Capernaum, following the shoreline, Tarichea has provided the most stable headquarters and place of refuge for Josephus in the *Life*. See the note at § 96.

¹⁶⁵⁸ Presumably, this was for Josephus' safety: if his opponents had seen the enemy general wounded, they might have attacked quickly.

¹⁶⁵⁹ Greek στρατόπεδον. See the note to this word at § 214. Apparently, Josephus refers to his own base on the W side of the Jordan River (so Thackeray, *ad loc.*). The sense would be that Sulla took advantage of the laxity of Josephus' sentries to set up his ambush at some distance on the E side. But this does not make perfectly good sense. First, Josephus himself seems to have set up an ambush at the same distance in broad daylight (§ 400). Second, at night it would be irrelevant whether Josephus' sentries were alert. It would surely have made better sense to say "*Because our sentries were so alert*, Sulla had to set up his ambush by night." Laxity on the part of Josephus' sentries, by contrast, would allow Sulla to set an ambush whenever he wished. Third, Josephus has thus far used the Greek word here (στρατόπεδον) of Sulla's camp, whereas he has labeled his own camp a χάραξ ("dug in, fenced" camp). Although it is entirely possible that he switches the terms for variety, we should also consider whether the reference might not be—consistently—to Sulla's camp. Thus: because he saw that his soldiers' alertness was faltering, Sulla ordered up a night-time battle exercise

soldiers on the far side of the Jordan¹⁶⁶¹ and, when day came, challenged¹⁶⁶² us to battle.¹⁶⁶³ **406** When [my soldiers] obliged and proceeded as far as the plain,¹⁶⁶⁴ the cavalry from the ambush¹⁶⁶⁵ suddenly appeared, terrified them and put them to flight. They killed six of ours, but did not lead this victory to completion.¹⁶⁶⁶ For when they heard that some armed soldiers had sailed back to Iulias¹⁶⁶⁷ from Tarichea they became alarmed and retreated.¹⁶⁶⁸

leaderless force but aborts the exercise, intimidated

(74) 407¹⁶⁶⁹ A short time later Vespasian arrived in Tyre,¹⁶⁷⁰ and with him King Agrippa. And the Tyrians began to insult the king, calling him an enemy of the Tyrians and of the Romans.¹⁶⁷¹ For, they were saying, his camp prefect¹⁶⁷² Philip,¹⁶⁷³ following his

Vespasian arrives at Tyre, orders Philip son of Iacimus

in preparation for the next day's engagement. This might be something like the examples given by Frontinus of a commander's effort to "restore morale by firmness." One common tactic was to hurl the standards into the enemy ranks, forcing one's own soldiers to retrieve them (Frontinus, *Strat.* 2.8.1-5).

¹⁶⁶⁰ Greek λόχος. See the note to "ambush" at § 216.

¹⁶⁶¹ See the note to Iulias at § 399.

¹⁶⁶² Greek παρακαλέω, one of Josephus' favorite verbs, translated "appeal to" at most other occurrences.

¹⁶⁶³ Thus, the way Josephus presents it, Sulla borrowed the ambush tactic from Josephus, who has just embarrassed Sulla's forces in such a trap (§§ 399-402).

¹⁶⁶⁴ Although the Jordan River valley becomes quite narrow N of Iulias, around the city itself and to the S and E, the valley broadens out considerably. Thus, Josephus' forces have come relatively close to Iulias, having crossed the river, though we do not know how far they reached.

¹⁶⁶⁵ Greek ἐνέδρα. See the note to "ambush" at § 216.

¹⁶⁶⁶ On bringing victory (νίκη) to completion (τέλος), see *War* 3.298; 6.38; *Ant.* 13.89

¹⁶⁶⁷ Possibly: "when they heard that some armed soldiers from Tarichea had put in at Iulias" (καταπεπλευκέναι γάρ τινας ὀπίτας ἀκούσαντες ἀπὸ Ταριχεῶν εἰς Ἰουλιάδα). The problem is that Iulias itself does not appear to have been on the shoreline; see the note at § 398.

¹⁶⁶⁸ Although it is possible, this seems an unlikely explanation of Sulla's motives. His regular force was clearly dominant in the area and willing to challenge Josephus. Josephus gives no explanation of this force from Tarichea, of their numbers, their exact destination (Capernaum or the ambush site?), the basis of their knowledge about Sulla's sudden attack, or what became of them when they landed. They appear as an afterthought in the narrative, a *deus ex machina* to explain why the conflict between Josephus' soldiers and Sulla's force did not become serious. It is a marked pattern in the *Life* that the general Josephus hardly ever engages either royal or Roman troops, and that when he does (briefly or nearly), the contest is vaguely reported:

§§ 115-21, 213-15. In each case (§§ 121, 215), Josephus claims, as here, to have intimidated the opposing force into non-confrontation.

¹⁶⁶⁹ This paragraph brings a symmetrical completion to the intriguing sub-plot concerning Philip son of Iacimus: see §§ 46-61, 179-86.

¹⁶⁷⁰ For the city of Tyre, see the note to "Tyrians" at § 44. Josephus isolates the Tyrians among all Phoenicians as the harshest opponents of the Judeans, on a par with the Egyptians (*Apion* 1.70).

According to *War* 3.29, Vespasian first arrived (by overland march from the Hellespont) at Syrian Antioch, where he met the waiting Agrippa II with his army. Together with their armies, these two commanders moved down the coast to Ptolemais, where they were met by delegates from Sepphoris declaring their loyalty (*War* 3.29) and then by Titus, who brought with him the 15th Legion from Alexandria (*War* 3.64-6). All of this occurred in late winter or early spring of 67 CE (cf. *War* 3.64, 142). Since they followed the coast from Antioch to Ptolemais, Vespasian and Titus must have passed through Tyre, but Josephus did not mention the stop or this incident in the *War*. Since it is connected with Iustus' relative Philip, it is possible that the new information is borrowed from Iustus.

¹⁶⁷¹ In light of everything Josephus has said about Agrippa II in the *War*, *Antiquities*, and *Life*, this is obviously an absurd charge. In the narrative it seems to be based entirely on the alleged actions of Agrippa's prefect Philip, in the next sentence. For confirmation from a historical perspective (i.e., considering Agrippa's actual loyalties), see Price 1991:82-7.

¹⁶⁷² The term στρατοπεδάρχης was the standard equivalent of the Latin *praefectus castrorum* (H.J. Mason 1974:87). Cf. the note to "prefect" at § 46. Josephus may be putting this title in the mouths of the Tyrians in order to bolster their charge of Philip's guilt. He should have protected the Roman garrison because he had become the ranking officer over the entire "base," staffed by his soldiers and the Roman auxiliaries, that was hastily created in Herod's palace.

¹⁶⁷³ See the note to "Iacimus" at § 46.

to render an account to Nero; Philip aborts journey in view of Nero's plight

[Agrippa's] order,¹⁶⁷⁴ had betrayed the royal palace and the Roman forces that were in Jerusalem.¹⁶⁷⁵ **408** When Vespasian heard the Tyrians abusing¹⁶⁷⁶ a man who was both a king and a friend¹⁶⁷⁷ of the Romans, he reprimanded them and exhorted the king to send Philip to Rome¹⁶⁷⁸ to submit an account¹⁶⁷⁹ to Nero concerning what had happened.¹⁶⁸⁰ **409** Philip was sent but never came into Nero's sight. For when he found out that he [Nero] was at his last on account of the disturbances that had occurred and the civil war,¹⁶⁸¹ he returned to the king.¹⁶⁸²

¹⁶⁷⁴ See the following note. Just as Josephus presents the charges against Philip himself as a complete fabrication, *a fortiori* the application of them to Agrippa by the Tyrians here must strike the reader as a preposterous and gratuitous insult.

¹⁶⁷⁵ This is not a new charge. It first appeared as something made up by Philip's enemy Varus and attributed by him to the messenger from Philip, so that Varus could then both publicize the charge and deny it out of apparent loyalty, while also executing the messenger (§ 50). The accusation is recalled at § 182, where King Agrippa satisfies himself that the rumor is untrue (see the note to "Romans" there).

The indictment has to do with the events described in *War* 2.421-54 and recalled at *Life* 46: Philip had been sent to Jerusalem by Agrippa II at the invitation of the pro-Roman aristocrats of Jerusalem. Eventually blockaded with them in Herod's palace, along with the Roman cohort stationed there, Philip's royal troops and the native Judeans were permitted by Manaem to leave, but the Roman auxiliaries had to remain (*War* 2.437). After Manaem's murder, the Roman contingent under Metilius offered surrender to Eleazar's force. Eleazar accepted but, as soon as the cohort was disarmed, had his men slaughter the Roman soldiers—apart from Metilius, who allegedly made a quick conversion to Judaism (*War* 2.453-54).

The mischievous charge against Philip has a clever plausibility, although Josephus does not spell this out. Since Agrippa's force under its commander Philip had been spared by Eleazar, whereas the small Roman force had been butchered, Philip would almost inevitably have looked suspicious—not unlike Josephus, the survivor of Iotapata, who self-consciously refers to a Judean law that a general should die with his troops (*War* 3.354, 359, 400, 438; cf. *Life* 137, 357). Nevertheless, Josephus' consistent (in this respect) narrative about Philip—that he acted honorably in the event, that the Roman cohort was killed only because of Eleazar's treachery, that Philip was spared by divine favor—precludes the Tyrians' charges in the narrative, which he describes as defamatory insults (βλασφημεῖν, ὑβρίζω). Given that Josephus mentions the Tyrian charges for literary effect, and given that his account of Philip's lucky escape from Herod's palace is one of the few items that that is consistent between *War* and *Life*, there is little

reason to suspect that the Tyrians' charges accidentally preserve historical reality—as if Philip really joined the rebel cause and deliberately betrayed the Romans, and this unintentionally slipped through into Josephus' narrative. See the notes to "Jerusalem" at § 46, "Judeans" at § 50, and "Romans" at § 182. So also Price 1991:82-90; *contra* Drexler 1925:306-12; Cohen 1979:160-9.

¹⁶⁷⁶ This is the only occurrence of the verb ὑβρίζω in the *Life*.

¹⁶⁷⁷ See the note to "friends" at § 79.

¹⁶⁷⁸ According to *War* 2.556-58, the Syrian governor Cestius permitted Philip and his companions (Saul and Costobar) to visit Nero in Achaea, and at their request, in order to blame Florus for the Judean revolt. Cestius allegedly did this in order to pre-empt any concern about his own conduct of affairs. These are, therefore, two entirely different stories. The *War* version has at least this in its favor: that Nero *was* in Achaea, not Rome, through 67 and the early part of 68 (Cassius Dio 62.8.2; 62.19-20). Thus, Philip could not have headed for Rome to meet Nero. See Bradley (1975) and Price (1992:90-93 and n. 58).

¹⁶⁷⁹ Greek πέμψαι Φίλιππον εἰς Ῥώμην ὑφέξοντα λόγον Νέρωνι. Compare the very similar phrase near the beginning of the book, § 13: εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔπεμψε λόγον ὑφέξοντος τῷ Καίσαρι. In both cases, the Caesar in question is Nero. This parallel provides another symmetrical match at the beginning and end of the *Life*. See Introduction.

¹⁶⁸⁰ Price (1991:81 n. 14) astutely observes that Philip is not presented here as being sent for a trial: he is sent by a king (not a Roman governor); he may freely return without having met the emperor; and he is sent only to report on "what had happened"—a vague phrase that might cover any number of issues. His dispatch to Nero under such circumstances, as Agrippa's emissary in effect, does not by itself condemn Philip or lend weight to the hypothesis that he had acted as a rebel.

¹⁶⁸¹ This explanation seems mistaken. Philip must have departed to meet Nero (but see the note to "Rome" at § 408) in early spring of 67. Civil war in any proper sense (e.g., the rising of Iulius Vindex, governor of Transalpine Gaul, followed by Galba) did not occur until the spring of 68 (Suetonius, *Nero* 40.4; Cassius Dio 63.22-3). Since Nero remained in Achaea until January of 68, enthusiastically celebrating the Isthmian

410 When Vespasian came to Ptolemais,¹⁶⁸³ the principal men of the Ten Cities¹⁶⁸⁴ of Syria loudly denounced Iustus of Tiberias because he had set fire to their villages.¹⁶⁸⁵ So Vespasian handed him over to the king to be disciplined by the subjects of the kingdom.¹⁶⁸⁶ The king, however, [merely] put him in chains, concealing this from Vespasian, as I have explained above.¹⁶⁸⁷

Iustus denounced, condemned by Vespasian, protected by Agrippa

411 The Sepphorites went out to meet Vespasian and greeted him,¹⁶⁸⁸ accepting his force and the general Placidus.¹⁶⁸⁹ Having gone up [into the hills?] with these men, with me following¹⁶⁹⁰ . . . until Vespasian's arrival in Galilee.

Sepphorites greet Vespasian

412 Now concerning the way in which this happened, and how he first gave battle to me around the village Garis,¹⁶⁹¹ and how from there I retreated to Iotapata,¹⁶⁹² and the things that happened to me during the siege of this place,¹⁶⁹³ and the way in which I was taken alive and chained,¹⁶⁹⁴ and how I was freed,¹⁶⁹⁵ and indeed all the things that happened to

summary: remainder of Josephus' Galilean command, found in the Judean War

Games there at the end of 67 (Suetonius, *Nero* 24.2), it does not appear that civil war or Nero's "last days" could have been a plausible reason for Philip to turn back in the spring of 67. See Bradley 1978:61-72. Price (1991:92-3) considers Josephus' possible motives for this depiction of Philip's circumstances and convincingly finds only the ancient historian's basic ignorance compounded by his carelessness in trying to conceal it. Price aptly compares this mistaken dating of the Roman civil war with that in *War* 1.4.

¹⁶⁸² That is, to King Agrippa.

¹⁶⁸³ Cf. *War* 3.29. This story of the accusations against Iustus has no parallel in the *War*.

¹⁶⁸⁴ See the note to this term at § 341.

¹⁶⁸⁵ Since Josephus would no doubt accuse Iustus of everything he could reasonably find, and since at § 42 he mentions the villages of Gadara and Hippos (not the cities themselves) as Iustus' victims, that is probably the extent of Iustus' involvement. Josephus may well be referring to retaliatory strikes, either for the massacre of Caesarea's Judeans (*War* 2.458-59) or for later attacks on Tiberian territory. Either way, it seems that Iustus was a minor leader in a spontaneous, nation-wide outbreak, and quite possibly before the war with Rome was clear to anyone involved. See the note to "Syria" at § 341.

¹⁶⁸⁶ Or "by the tributaries of the kingdom": Greek ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς βασιλείας ὑποτελῶν. In context, it would seem to make better sense if Vespasian had handed Iustus over to *the king*, since he is the one who acts in the next sentence. The subjects of his kingdom play no role, and one presumes that Vespasian was not inviting mob justice. This raises the question whether the tributaries (ὑποτελαί) involved could be Agrippa and perhaps Berenice, and whether the kingdom (βασιλεία) in question could be the empire. Certainly, βασιλεία can have this sense in Josephus (*War* 4.546; 5.409), and ὑποτελής often refers to cities and states under tribute (*Ant.*

4.99; 5.120; 8.51; 14.74; 18.172, 176, 208, 258; cf. Latin *tributarius*; H.J. Mason 1974:96; also Appian, *Bell. Civ.* 1.102). The problem is that client kingdoms such as Agrippa's were not normally subject to Roman tribute, as far as we know (Braund 1988:92). But as D.R. Schwartz (1990:132 n. 102) points out, we do not know that much. Another possibility is that this notice picks up Josephus' earlier comment that Scythopolis, at least, was "subject to the king" (§ 349: ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως). Perhaps the aggrieved Decapolis cities of the region had some temporary connection with Agrippa, and so Iustus was expected to be delivered to them via the king.

¹⁶⁸⁷ See §§ 342-43, 355.

¹⁶⁸⁸ Thus far, *War* 3.30.

¹⁶⁸⁹ At *War* 3.30-4, the Sepphorites meet Vespasian at Sepphoris. Josephus recalls that they have already received a garrison, after pledging loyalty to the commander of the 12th Legion, Caesennius Gallus. Nevertheless, Vespasian further provides them with a provisional (τέως) garrison of whatever size is necessary to repel Judean attacks. At *War* 3.59, we learn that this garrison was formidable: 1000 cavalry and 6000 infantry, under the tribune Placidus. On Placidus, see the note at § 214.

¹⁶⁹⁰ There is evidently a lacuna in the text. One can perhaps supply historical details from the parallel in *War* 3.30-34, 59, 110.

¹⁶⁹¹ For the site, see the note at § 395. According to *War* 3.129, most of Josephus' followers dispersed from Garis before Vespasian's troops had even come near.

¹⁶⁹² See *War* 3.141-44.

¹⁶⁹³ The siege of Iotapata is recounted at *War* 3.151-288, 316-39.

¹⁶⁹⁴ Josephus' surrender is described at *War* 3.340-408.

¹⁶⁹⁵ Josephus is freed after his prediction of Vespasian's rise to the principate (*War* 3.399-405) is fulfilled (*War* 4.622-29).

me during the Judean war and the siege of Jerusalem,¹⁶⁹⁶ I have reported with precision in the volumes *Concerning the Judean War*. **413** But it is necessary, so I suppose, to supplement the record here with some events of my life that I did not record in the *Judean War*.¹⁶⁹⁷

*Vespasian's
initial kindness;
Josephus' mar-
riage in prison,
freedom, and
remarriage in
Alexandria*

(75) 414 After Iotapata had been taken in a siege,¹⁶⁹⁸ among the Romans finally I was kept under guard with every consideration, Vespasian supplying me with all the marks of honor.¹⁶⁹⁹ In fact, when he so directed,¹⁷⁰⁰ I even took a certain virgin¹⁷⁰¹ for myself,¹⁷⁰² a native from among the prisoners who were seized at Caesarea.¹⁷⁰³ **415** This one did not stay with me for a long time, but when I was freed¹⁷⁰⁴ and traveled with Vespasian to

¹⁶⁹⁶ The entire *War* is in view here, but especially perhaps volumes 4-6, which include discussion of Josephus' activities in the Roman camp. Note especially his major speech, *War* 5.362-419.

¹⁶⁹⁷ This explicit reference to the *Judean War* provides a symmetrical match to § 27, where the only other such reference is made. It is curious that Josephus defers to the earlier work so confidently when, in all of the stories that appear in both places, there are numerous major and minor contradictions. This suggests that Josephus was not embarrassed by such changes, in spite of his rhetorical claim to "precision" (see Avenarius 1956:41-3), that he saw such alterations as within the parameters of truthful writing.

¹⁶⁹⁸ Josephus describes the fall of Iotapata at *War* 3.316-92. This occurred in late July (Panemus 1), 67 CE (*War* 3.339).

¹⁶⁹⁹ In *War* 3.396-408, Josephus reports that at first Vespasian treated him with great suspicion, only sparing his life at the intercession of Titus (3.397-98). After Josephus (allegedly) made his famous prediction of Vespasian's rise to the principate, however, and Vespasian corroborated that he was a reliable seer, the Roman general began to show him kindness and give him expensive gifts (3.407-8). Josephus does not even mention that prediction, which was so important in the *War*, here. Because he wants to stress the great honors that he received from all the Flavian emperors, it would no doubt have been awkward for him to mention the prediction, which had become numbered among Vespasian's *omina* (cf. Suetonius, *Vesp.* 5.5.6-7; Cassius Dio 66.1). To mention it here might make the honors from Vespasian seem a crass kind of payment or worse. Josephus' very special treatment as a prisoner of war in Caesarea, he already claims in the *War* (3.438), increased the hatred of his compatriots.

¹⁷⁰⁰ Daube (1977:191-94) proposes that the Greek κελεύω here represents the Latin that Josephus heard at the time of the incident, *iubeo*, meaning "authorize" rather than the more standard Greek "order" or "direct." Feldman (1984:836) cogently responds that Josephus is here precluding the obvious accusation that a priest should marry a captive (cf. *Apion* 1.35). He excuses

himself by placing the onus on Vespasian: *he* directed me to do this (and I could hardly refuse).

¹⁷⁰¹ We learn nothing more about this wife of Josephus, and it is his habit to omit the names of all his female family members (cf. §§ 1-6). Nor do we know whether he had been married before his captivity, which is antecedently likely in view of his age (30). The information that this woman was a virgin (παρθένης) might not have much point in other contexts, since it was generally assumed that a new bride was a virgin. But in the context of imprisonment, the comment addresses the audience's presumption that a captive woman had been raped. At § 80, Josephus reports as a mark of his virtue that even as a powerful general he did not molest women—in much the same way, perhaps, as he did not accept tithes (though he was entitled to them). See the note to "unmolested" there at § 80. More particularly (see the previous note), Josephus will claim at *Apion* 1.34-5 that priests such as himself could not marry captive women because of the general presumption that they have had frequent intercourse with strangers. If he had to marry this woman, he can at least point out that she was a virgin.

¹⁷⁰² This is new information over against the *War*. For the expression "take a wife for oneself," see the note to "himself" at § 4.

¹⁷⁰³ Immediately following his account of Iotapata's fall and his own prediction, Josephus has Vespasian move directly to Caesarea via Ptolemais (*War* 3.409). Although it might seem that some time has elapsed since the fall of Iotapata—to allow for the gradual change in Vespasian's attitude toward Josephus (*War* 3.397-408)—Josephus dates the taking of the town to Panemus 1 (late July, 67; *War* 3.339) and the departure for Caesarea to Panemus 4 (*War* 3.409). He went with Vespasian as a prisoner and remained in Caesarea for about two years (cf. *War* 4.622-29). Josephus does not describe any new taking of Caesarean prisoners on his arrival; to the contrary, the mostly-Greek city welcomes Vespasian with open arms (*War* 3.410). Nevertheless, it seems likely that many of the Judean inhabitants would face imprisonment then, if not earlier.

¹⁷⁰⁴ The story of Josephus' receiving his freedom is

Alexandria,¹⁷⁰⁵ she was released.¹⁷⁰⁶ In Alexandria, however, I took another woman for myself.¹⁷⁰⁷

416 From there I was sent with Titus to the siege of Jerusalem.¹⁷⁰⁸ I was often in danger of death, both from the Judeans,¹⁷⁰⁹ who were keen to have me at their mercy¹⁷¹⁰ for the sake of revenge,¹⁷¹¹ and from the Romans, who imagined that whenever they suffered defeat, this resulted from my betrayal.¹⁷¹² Continual outcries toward the *imperator*¹⁷¹³ were raised, imploring him even to discipline me as their betrayer. **417** But Titus Caesar, being quite familiar with the fortunes of war,¹⁷¹⁴ through his silence managed to dissipate¹⁷¹⁵ the soldiers' attacks on me.

Titus' protection of Josephus at the siege of Jerusalem

And after the city of Jerusalem was being held by force,¹⁷¹⁶ he often tried to persuade me to take anything I might like from the ruin of my native place. He insisted that he gave his consent.¹⁷¹⁷ **418** Having nothing of greater value in the fall of my native place that I

Titus' favors to Josephus after the capture of Jerusalem;

told in *War* 4.622-29. He is released ceremonially, his chains being broken by an ax, so that the stigma of former imprisonment is removed. Vespasian liberates him at some point after Vitellius has seized power in Rome (April 19, 69; *War* 4.588) and after the governor of Egypt, Tiberius Iulius Alexander, has led the legions there in acclaiming Vespasian as emperor (July 1, 69; *War* 4.616-21), shortly before Vespasian himself travels to Alexandria (December, 67; *War* 4.656). For the dates, see Levick 1999:xx-xxi, 40-2.

¹⁷⁰⁵ This is new information. Although the *War* (4.656-662) described the trip of Vespasian and Titus to Alexandria and the return of Titus to Judea with new forces, it did not mention that Josephus traveled with them. This would no doubt have been rather incriminating in the eyes of his fellow-Judeans soon after the war. Not only had he surrendered to the Romans but, once a free man, he had voluntarily accompanied them as they planned to conclude the war in Jerusalem.

¹⁷⁰⁶ This is an interesting choice of words: passive of ἀπαλλάσσω. It might mean that she was released from imprisonment and *thus* from Josephus—having been assigned to her privileged fellow-prisoner Josephus by Vespasian (see the note to “directed” at § 414).

¹⁷⁰⁷ This unnamed wife and mother of three of Josephus' children will be discussed further at § 426.

¹⁷⁰⁸ Titus' arrival outside Jerusalem and the beginnings of the siege are described at *War* 5.1-135, 248-302.

¹⁷⁰⁹ Josephus relates (*War* 5.361) that Titus delegated him to address the rebels in Jerusalem from outside the walls. During the speech, he was bombarded with projectiles (5.375). On a later occasion, while Josephus was walking around the walls calling out to the rebels, he was hit by a rock and fell unconscious (*War* 5.541). The Judeans inside made a dash to drag him into the city, but a rescue party from Titus prevented them. Josephus notes (5.542-43) that, when they

thought he was dead, the rebel leaders (not the general populace) celebrated.

¹⁷¹⁰ Greek ὑποχέριος, one of Josephus' favorite words. See the note at § 28.

¹⁷¹¹ Josephus describes this hatred at *War* 3.438-42: as long as the Jerusalemites thought that he had been killed, they eulogized him. But once they discovered that he was a well-treated prisoner, “the expression of rage at his being alive was of the same magnitude as the expression of affection when he was thought to have died. Some were accusing him of cowardice, some of betrayal, and the city was full of indignation and of insults directed at him.”

¹⁷¹² This is not hard to believe, given the superstitious character of Roman (and ancient) warfare (Le Bohec 1994:236-37; Potter 1999:134-52), although Josephus did not stress this problem in the *War*. There, indeed, he did not dwell on the Roman reverses, except in the early going (*War* 5.71-97, 109-19), perhaps because in his view God was now with the Romans (5.1-2, 409, 572; 6.409-13).

¹⁷¹³ That is, Titus. See the note to this word at § 342.

¹⁷¹⁴ Titus's reflections on such matters are a feature of Josephus' portrait of him; cf. especially *War* 3.396; 6.409-13.

¹⁷¹⁵ This is the only occurrence of ἐκλύω in the *Life*. Since Titus does not act against Josephus' accusers here (contrast §§ 425, 429), but simply fails to act on their claims, the strength of his support at this point may be somewhat exaggerated in Josephus' mind.

¹⁷¹⁶ Κατὰ κράτος: elsewhere translated “by storm”—when referring to a single decisive action. This parallels the period briefly described from a different perspective in *War* 7.1-20, immediately following Jerusalem's capture.

¹⁷¹⁷ This emphatic statement seems intended to obviate the charge that Josephus had not only found privileged safety with the enemy after shamefully surrender-

Josephus' liberal actions toward friends

might take and cherish as a consolation for my circumstances, I put the request to Titus for the freedom of persons,¹⁷¹⁸ and for some sacred volumes¹⁷¹⁹ . . . ¹⁷²⁰ I received as an expression of Titus' favor. **419** A little later, in fact, when I requested [freedom for] my brother¹⁷²¹ along with fifty friends,¹⁷²² I was not disappointed. And when I proceeded into the temple, as Titus had given me authority,¹⁷²³ where a large mob of prisoners, both women and children,¹⁷²⁴ had been shut in,¹⁷²⁵ I delivered as many of my friends and close associates¹⁷²⁶ as I recognized—about 190 in number.¹⁷²⁷ Without their paying ransom¹⁷²⁸ deposits, I commiserated with them concerning their former fortune¹⁷²⁹ and released them.

ing, but had then joined in the plundering of his own land. Titus invites him to do so, in effect, but he has the dignity to ask only for the release of his friends (below). It is a prominent theme in the *Life* that, although Josephus has had every opportunity for personal profit and revenge, he has consistently refused to indulge himself (§§ 80-4, 99-103, 262-64, 306-7, 368-69, 379, 384-89).

¹⁷¹⁸ Greek σωμάτων ἐλευθέρων. Liberal treatment of one's "friends"—in this situation, clients utterly dependent upon one's favor—was an important, perhaps the critical, virtue of an aristocrat. Compare Julius Caesar's solicitous concern for his friends (Procillus and Marcus Mettius) among the Gauls after the first phase of his campaign: "And indeed it brought Caesar no less pleasure than the victory itself, to see a most distinguished member of the Province of Gaul, his own close friend (*familiaris*) and guest, snatched from the hands of the enemy and restored to himself" (*Bell. gall.* 1.53, trans. H.J. Edwards). The generosity that Josephus extends in this paragraph instantly certifies his prestige (*auctoritas*) as a powerful man: the benefaction (freedom or even life itself) is so basic that these friends will in fact be his debtors forever. See also Plutarch, *Mor.* 806D-809A and, in general, Saller 1982.

¹⁷¹⁹ There is no reason to disbelieve this. Josephus shows a consistent interest in the sacred volumes of his nation, precisely as a priest (*War* 3.352; *Apion* 1.54). No doubt, the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple made some rare manuscripts available. This may have been quite a windfall for Josephus' library.

¹⁷²⁰ It seems that a word or two are missing here, though the basic sense is clear.

¹⁷²¹ This is apparently Matthias, Josephus' older brother (§ 8). According to *War* 5.533, Josephus' father Matthias (cf. *Life* 5, 7, 204) was imprisoned in Jerusalem by the rebel Simon son of Gioras. Although he mentions no other family members there, a few lines later he refers to his imprisoned mother (*War* 5.544-45). Although we cannot be certain, it is easily conceivable that Josephus' brother Matthias was imprisoned with his parents in Jerusalem. It is noteworthy that his family should have remained in the city when so many others

had allegedly fled (*War* 2.556, 562), although Josephus claims that those who had come to Jerusalem for Passover in 70 were trapped in the city (*War* 6.420-29).

¹⁷²² See the note to "number" below in this section.

¹⁷²³ Greek ἐξουσία. Josephus continues to illustrate the enormous prestige he gained as a patron during this period.

¹⁷²⁴ See the note to "women and children" at § 25.

¹⁷²⁵ This is the only occurrence of the verb ἐγκλείω in the *Life*. This mob, according to Josephus' literal words, comprises women and also children—not men. Possibly, such a segregation was made by the rebel leaders, perhaps in a vain effort to afford them some extra protection. According to *War* 6.414-19, when Titus entered the temple he ordered all survivors (except those who offered resistance) locked up in the temple's court of women. Then he delegated a freedman to mind these prisoners (11,000 died of starvation in holding) while his friend Fronto determined their fate. Women are not mentioned here, but children are: those younger than 17 were to be sold into slavery (*War* 6.418). But this assessment was after Titus' entry; if Josephus accompanied him on that first inspection, he may have found the women and children sequestered by the rebel leaders. Nevertheless, it was standard in other contexts for the Romans to separate the women and children from the men (e.g., *War* 6.384; 7.208).

¹⁷²⁶ Greek φίλοι καὶ συνήθεις; cf. the common Latin pair *amicus* and *familiaris*. See the notes to this phrase at § 180 and to "associates" at § 13.

¹⁷²⁷ Although modern Western social scripts make it hard to believe that one could even claim such a large number of close friends among a group of women and children, as well as the 50 friends mentioned earlier in this section, ancient social scripts for aristocrats were rather different. See the note to "associates" at § 13.

¹⁷²⁸ This is the only occurrence of the noun λύτρον in the *Life*. That Josephus should even raise the prospect of payment for his liberality perhaps indicates the limitations of being a "close associate." See the two previous notes.

¹⁷²⁹ This is τύχη; not a financial fortune, but fortunate circumstances.

420 When I was sent by Titus Caesar with Cerealis¹⁷³⁰ and a thousand cavalry to a certain village called Thekoa,¹⁷³¹ to ascertain¹⁷³² whether the terrain was suitable for receiving a fenced camp,¹⁷³³ as I was returning from there I saw many prisoners who had been crucified,¹⁷³⁴ and I recognized three who had been my close associates.¹⁷³⁵ My soul was grieved, and with tears I went to Titus and said so. **421** He immediately directed that they be taken down and receive treatment with the greatest care. Alas, two of them expired during treatment, but the third lived.

*Josephus frees
crucified
friends*

(76) 422 When Titus had brought an end to the disturbances in Judea, figuring that the properties I held in the environs of Jerusalem would become unprofitable to me on account of the Roman patrol¹⁷³⁶ that was about to go into quarters¹⁷³⁷ there, he gave me a different area in the plain.¹⁷³⁸ And when he was about to depart for Rome, he welcomed me as his sailing companion,¹⁷³⁹ assigning me every honor.

*gives Josephus
favorable land
in Judea*

423 When we came to Rome,¹⁷⁴⁰ I met with every provision¹⁷⁴¹ from Vespasian.¹⁷⁴² He

*Vespasian
favors Josephus*

¹⁷³⁰ This distinguished soldier, Sextus Vettulenus Cerealis, was *legatus* (commander) of the 5th legion (Legio V Macedonica), which had taken part in the war under both Vespasian and Titus (*War* 3.65; 5.41-2). He is known from a military diploma dated April 28, 75 (*RMD* 1.2: *et sunt in Moesia sub Sex. Vettuleno Ceriale*) and from an inscription dated February 7, 78 (*CIL* 16.22: *quae sunt in Moesia sub Sex. Vettuleno Ceriale*). Cerialis had been sent by Vespasian to subdue both the Samaritans (*War* 3.310-15) and the Idumeans (4.552-55) before the siege of Jerusalem (cf. 6.237). Titus later left him in supreme command of all Judean forces when he left for Rome (*War* 7.163). The *cognomen* Cerealis ("pertaining to Ceres," goddess of agriculture) is attested also in Martial 10.48; 11.52.

¹⁷³¹ Renowned as the home of the biblical prophet Amos (Amos 1:1), Tekoa (here Θεκῶα; Hebrew תְּקוֹעַ; LXX Θεκουέ, elsewhere Θεκῶέ) lies about 16 km. S of Jerusalem and 8 km. SSE of Bethlehem, on a height where the arable land to the W meets the Judean desert to the E. It was introduced in *War* 4.518 (Θεκουέ) as the village where the rebel leader Simon son of Giora camped before devastating Idumea to the S. In *Ant.* 8.246 it (Θεκῶέ) is listed among the sites fortified by King Rehoboam, and at 9.12 King Jehoshaphat assembles the people in the desert beneath the village (Θεκῶα).

¹⁷³² The verb προκατανοέω occurs only here and at *Ant.* 17.8 in Josephus.

¹⁷³³ See the note to this phrase at § 214. The Roman army was famous for its caution in selecting and preparing camp sites. The location had to be naturally defensible, not exposed to projectile attack, with good natural drainage and capable of being leveled easily, among other things. See Le Bohec 1994:131-33, 155-63.

¹⁷³⁴ Even during the siege, Josephus relates, Titus

had made extensive use of crucifixion before the walls of Jerusalem as an inducement to surrender (*War* 5.449-51). Crucifixion was an extremely brutal form of execution normally reserved for slaves and provincials without status, such as prisoners of war (contrast Josephus' outrage at Gessius Florus' unprecedented crucifixion of Judean equestrians: *War* 2.308). Josephus' narrative suggests that stretches of the major roads out of Jerusalem were lined with crosses, like the Appian Way outside Rome after Spartacus' revolt of the 70s BCE. See Hengel 1977.

¹⁷³⁵ See the note to "associates" at § 13.

¹⁷³⁶ As Josephus narrates in *War* 7.17, the Legio X Fretensis, which had formerly been posted in Syria at the Euphrates River, and which had fought in the war (*War* 3.65; 5.41), established a permanent camp in Jerusalem after the war, along with numerous auxiliary infantry and cavalry units. This was a major change for Jerusalem, since before the war there had been only a small auxiliary cohort in the fortress Antonia.

¹⁷³⁷ The verb ἐγκαθέζομαι occurs only here and at *Ant.* 6.211 in Josephus.

¹⁷³⁸ Josephus appears to mean the fertile coastal plain (הַשְׁפֵּל) between Jerusalem and the Mediterranean. This is also the region where many Judean teachers reassembled after the war, at Yavneh/Iamnia, to sow the seeds of what would become the rabbinic movement. See Schäfer 1979; Cohen 1984.

¹⁷³⁹ This is the only occurrence of the noun σύμπλους in Josephus. Titus and Josephus sailed in the spring of 71; see the note to "Rome" at § 423.

¹⁷⁴⁰ Josephus describes Titus' return trip to Rome, immediately followed by the joint triumph of Vespasian, at *War* 7.116-62. Josephus accompanied Titus (so § 422) in the spring of 71, and the triumphal procession took place in June of 71 (see Levick 1999:71, 88, 119-20).

in Rome, provides accommodation, citi-

even gave me lodging in the house that was his before the *imperium*.¹⁷⁴³ He honored me with Roman citizenship.¹⁷⁴⁴ He gave me a stipend¹⁷⁴⁵ for supplies, and continued* [these]

¹⁷⁴¹ This is the noun πρόνοια, a major theme in Josephus. See the notes to “provision of God” at § 15 and “provision” at § 62.

¹⁷⁴² Josephus is about to describe the benefits (*beneficia*) he received from successive Roman emperors, as a mark of his prestige. We may be sure that he mentions all of any significance, since he cites even the silence of Titus (§§ 417, 428) in the face of his accusers as an honor. To gain some perspective on Josephus’ honors, we need to keep in mind the range of possibilities. Saller discusses these in detail, including *beneficia* given by the *princeps* himself (1982:41-118). The standard benefits included: citizenship grants (also to the friends of the petitioners), senatorial positions (indirectly arranged via election), immunity from certain taxes, senatorial magistracies and governorships, equestrian status and procuratorships, military posts, priest-hoods, staff positions in the imperial household (*familia Caesaris*), freedman status, monetary gifts, and special rights such as the use of the public transportation and postal service or the privilege of tapping into an aqueduct (Saller 1982:41-5). Those of lower prestige such as physicians, orators, writers, and teachers did not normally rise to the senate, but they might receive audiences with the emperor, the right to dine at public expense, a seat of honor at the games, immunity from certain taxes, priest-hoods, gifts of gold, silver, horses, slaves, and land (Saller 1982:63-4). For the Flavian period, White (1978:90-2) summarizes the typical benefits received by such lower-class men from powerful patrons in general (not necessarily the emperor): money assigned in bequests; one-time cash gifts to meet the property requirement for equestrian status (400,000 sesterces); loans at minimal or no interest; gifts of land or housing; accommodation in the patron’s house; positions of influence (but few heavy demands) in the army or bureaucracy; and arranged marriages. Writers could also count on their patrons to provide places for the recitation of their works and to protect them from jealous rivals (White 1978:83-9). Finally, B.W. Jones (1992:170-73) describes the fairly radical measures taken by the Flavians to promote eastern aristocrats who had helped them significantly. These measures included adlection to the Roman senate and, for younger aristocrats, entry into the pre-senatorial magistracies (the *vigintiviri*). The Judeans who found such favor with the Flavians were the descendants of Herod the Great (Agrippa II and his relatives) and, of the Alexandrian Judeans, Tiberius Iulius Alexander and his relatives. Agrippa was given praetorian honors (*ornamenta*: Cassius Dio 65.15.4) and the Alexandrian’s heirs appar-

ently went on to senatorial careers (B.W. Jones 1992:7).

Viewed against these possibilities, Josephus’ listed honors place him in the lowest social rung. Yavetz’ comment (1975:431-32) is apropos: “He must have been a member of the lower entourage, in the same category as doctors and magicians, philosophers and buffoons.” His great achievements are Roman citizenship (for himself, not for friends), an arranged marriage (or similar) for himself, some land—in Judea, not in the prized Italian countryside, accommodation, tax relief, a stipend of some kind, and protection from accusers. Even the Spaniard Martial, by contrast, though he complains incessantly about his poverty, had equestrian status (5.13), a small house in Rome and a place in the country with slaves (7.31; 10.48; 12.31). See White 1978:86-92; Saller 1983 (in response to White).

¹⁷⁴³ See the note to “imperium” at § 5. The house in which Domitian was born seems a likely candidate for Josephus’ first Roman residence. It was on the Quirinal hill, thus in the sixth Augustan district, on a street called “The Pomegranate” (Suetonius, *Dom.* 1)—perhaps to be identified with the Via delle Quattro Fontane (B.W. Jones 1992:1). Domitian would later turn this house into a family temple (Suetonius, *Dom.* 1, 5; Martial 9.20.1). Thus, if this well-situated *domus* is where Josephus lived upon his arrival in Rome, he must have left within that first decade. Titus had been born, however, in a house described by Suetonius (*Tit.* 1) as “dingy,” near a 7-storey building, and it is also possible that Vespasian kept this property and let Josephus live there. Although Suetonius claims that Titus and Domitian had spent their early years in some poverty, both Vespasian and his brother Titus Flavius Sabinus had satisfied the property requirement for the senate, and there was money in their family (Levick 1999:4-8; B.W. Jones 1992:2). Either the reports of poverty are simply Flavian propaganda to conceal the great prosperity of the Flavians under Gaius and Nero (B.W. Jones 1992:2) or there were perhaps long periods of hardship following massive expenditures for elections (Levick 1999:12-3).

In any case, Josephus did not live with or near Vespasian himself: not on the Palatine hill, where the Julio-Claudian emperors had made their residence, nor in the villa known as the Gardens of Sallust (*horti sallustiani*), at the far end of the Quirinal hill (Stambaugh 1988:186), where Vespasian opted to spend most of his time (Cassius Dio 65.10.4).

¹⁷⁴⁴ This should mean that Josephus was made part of a Roman voting district (*tribus*), which connection would then become part of his full name, though we nowhere learn which district he belonged to. Although

honors until his departure¹⁷⁴⁶ from life, taking back nothing of his goodness toward me—which brought me into danger on account of envy.¹⁷⁴⁷ **424** For a certain Judean by the name of Ionathes,¹⁷⁴⁸ having fomented sedition in Cyrene and helped to persuade 2000 of the natives [to join in], became with them an agent of destruction.¹⁷⁴⁹ He was put in chains by the one governing the region¹⁷⁵⁰ and then, when he was sent to the *imperator*,¹⁷⁵¹ he insisted that I had sent weapons and supplies to him. **425** Lying certainly did not escape Vespasian's notice, but he passed a sentence of death and, having been handed over, he [Ionathes] was put to death.¹⁷⁵² After these things, those who were envious¹⁷⁵³ of my success often fabricated charges against me, but I escaped by the provision of God.¹⁷⁵⁴ And I received from Vespasian a gift of considerable land in Judea.¹⁷⁵⁵

zenship, funds,
and protection
from accusers,
notably
Ionathes of
Cyrene

Roman citizenship was still given selectively in the early empire, it was by no means rare among provincial élites: "Roman status served to distinguish an elite in the non-Roman cities and to tie these as closely as possible to the emperor" (Lintott 1993:166). See also Garnsey 1970; Sherwin-White 1973. Saller (1982:53) observes: "The fact that a minor figure at the periphery of the court circles like Martial [cf. 3.95] could obtain many grants [of citizenship] for friends gives some indication of how often emperors bestowed this beneficium." Some of the Judean characters mentioned in the *Life*, especially Iulius Capella in Tiberias (§ 32), appear to have been Roman citizens. Jerusalem must have had a substantial number of citizens among the aristocracy, for Josephus refers even to equestrians there (*War* 2.308). As for Rome itself, Philo (*Legat.* 155) claims that most Judeans there in his time were free citizens: even those who had gone as slaves were quickly manumitted—and in Rome, slaves became citizens upon manumission (Lintott 1993:161). Thus, most of the Judean community in Josephus' Rome, aside from the slaves newly arrived after the war, were probably citizens. Cf., for the second century, Leon 1960:237-80. Josephus' status was therefore by no means exceptional, especially in light of his free aristocratic background.

¹⁷⁴⁵ This is the only occurrence of the noun σύνταξις in the *Life*.

¹⁷⁴⁶ This is the only occurrence of the noun μεταστάσις in the *Life*. Outside of the *Life*, it is one of the peculiar items of vocabulary favored by Josephus only in *Ant.* 17-19, which Thackeray called the "Thucydidean" section of *Antiquities* (Thackeray 1929:108-16): 17.61, 172, 232, 310; 18.209, 236; 19.62. Sometimes it means "death," but sometimes it refers to other kinds of transformation. Vespasian died June 23, 70.

¹⁷⁴⁷ It is a prominent theme in Josephus that success arouses envy. See the notes to "envy" at §§ 80, 122.

¹⁷⁴⁸ According to *War* 7.437, Ionathes was a *sicarius*.

¹⁷⁴⁹ This is the last episode of Josephus' *War* (7.437-53). There, Ionathes' main action is to lead a mob out into the desert, promising to show them signs and mys-

terious appearances (7.438). In this, he resembles the "deceivers and impostors" under Felix (*War* 2.259). But just as Felix had viewed these excursions into the desert as a prelude to some sort of upheaval and so had such groups destroyed (*War* 2.260), so too the governor of Cyrene, Catullus, sent a force to destroy this mob, though Ionathes himself was arrested (*War* 7.438-41). According to the story, he first implicated some wealthy Judeans of Cyrene as if they had put him up to it. Catullus was pleased with this intelligence, because he hated the Judeans, and so he enticed Ionathes to name some others in order that he could execute them—3 000 in total (*War* 7.441-46). The governor then prevailed upon Ionathes to bring charges against the wealthier Judeans of both Alexandria and Rome—including Josephus. They traveled to Rome together to bring the charge, but Vespasian saw through it and had Ionathes executed (*War* 7.447-50). Catullus, not long after, died a horrible death: after hallucinating about his many victims, his bowels ulcerated and fell out (*War* 7.451-53).

¹⁷⁵⁰ Perhaps Josephus omits Catullus' name here because, in this brief version of the story he simply wants to say that the governor brought Ionathes to Rome. It might be easier to avoid venting his anger at Catullus if he does not name him. S. Schwartz (1986:373-86; 1990:11 n. 35) shows that the governor in question seems to have been Valerius Catullus Messalinus, who (rather than facing divine punishment) became consul in 73 CE. He did not die before 93. This supports Schwartz's theory that *War* 7 was published in its present form early in the reign of Trajan (1990:21).

¹⁷⁵¹ See note to this term at § 342.

¹⁷⁵² *War* 7.450: Ionathes was tortured and then burnt alive.

¹⁷⁵³ The verb βασκάνω occurs only here in the *Life* and rarely in Josephus (*Ant.* 10.250, 257; *Apion* 1.72; 2.285 plus variants). On the theme in Josephus, see the notes to "envy" at §§ 80, 122.

¹⁷⁵⁴ Greek πρόνοια θεοῦ. See the note to this phrase at § 15.

¹⁷⁵⁵ The traditionally most respectable source of income for the Roman gentleman, at least, was agricul-

Josephus remarries in Rome; his children

426 At this time also I sent away the woman,¹⁷⁵⁶ being displeased with her habits.¹⁷⁵⁷ She was the mother of three children, of which two died¹⁷⁵⁸ and one, whom I called Hyrcanus,¹⁷⁵⁹ is still with us. **427** After these things I took for myself¹⁷⁶⁰ a woman who, though she had settled in Crete, was by ancestry a Judean,¹⁷⁶¹ of parents who were the most noble¹⁷⁶² and most distinguished in that region. In character¹⁷⁶³ she excelled many women,¹⁷⁶⁴ as her subsequent life demonstrated.¹⁷⁶⁵ From this wife two children were born to me: the older one Iustus and after him Simonides, who was surnamed Agrippa.¹⁷⁶⁶ **428** These are my household affairs.

Titus, Domitian, and Domitia continue to favor

The things given by the *emperors*¹⁷⁶⁷ remained much the same. When Vespasian died and Titus succeeded him in the rule,¹⁷⁶⁸ he preserved the same sort of honor towards me as his father and, though I was often accused,¹⁷⁶⁹ he did not credit [the charges]. **429** When

ture. Commerce and business were not for aristocrats. Cf. Plutarch, *Cat. Maj.* 3.1-2 but 21.5; Virgil's *Georgics*; Cicero, *Off.* 1.151; Finley 1985:35-62. It was common for new members of the lower aristocracy to be granted land in Italy by their patrons (see the note to "Vespasian" at § 423). Significantly, Josephus can claim land grants only in Judea. It is not clear how this parcel of land given by Vespasian relates to that already granted by Titus in lieu of Josephus' Jerusalem property (cf. § 422). For Josephus on the virtue of agriculture, see *Ant.* 18.19; *Apion* 2.293-94.

¹⁷⁵⁶ That is, the wife Josephus took at Alexandria (§ 415), having left already the woman given to him by Vespasian in Caesarea.

¹⁷⁵⁷ Or "behavior": Greek ἥθη—plural of the word that Josephus will use of his present wife's "character" at § 427 and of his own at § 430. Compare the *princeps* Augustus, who divorced his wife Scribonia because he was "disgusted with her crooked behavior" (*pertaeus morum perversitatem eius*) according to Suetonius (*Aug.* 62.2), quoting Augustus' own words, likely from his lost autobiography. Deut. 24:1 contemplates a man divorcing his wife if "she does not please him because he finds something objectionable about her" (ברות דבר) אִשָּׁה תִּמְצָאֵהוּ בְעֵינָיו כִּי־מָצָא בָהּ עֲרוּת דָּבָר; LXX: καὶ ἔσται ἔαν μὴ εὖρη χάριν ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ, ὅτι εὖρεν ἐν αὐτῇ ἄσχημον πρᾶγμα), and so he writes her a certificate of divorce." The rabbis often discussed what these terms meant. Most famously, the schools of Hillel and Shammai debated whether the emphasis should be on the word "objectionable" (or "indecent")—that she must have been unfaithful—or on the indefiniteness of the construction: if he find *anything* objectionable. So the house of Hillel, "even if she spoiled a dish"; and Rabbi Akiva, "even if he found another fairer than she" (*m. Git.* 9.10; cf. *Matt* 19:1-12; *m. Ketub.* 5.5; 7.1ff. On the text, see Neusner 1973:2.37-9.

¹⁷⁵⁸ On child mortality and related issues, see Parkin 1992 and B.W. Frier in Potter/Mattingly 1999.

¹⁷⁵⁹ See the note at § 5. Josephus continues to create symmetry in his work by closing with discussion of his

children, as he had begun (see Introduction).

¹⁷⁶⁰ See the note to this phrase in the context of marriage at § 4.

¹⁷⁶¹ Greek τὸ γένος' λουδαία. See the note to this phrase at § 16. The symmetry continues (see Introduction).

¹⁷⁶² This is the only occurrence of the adjective εὐγενής in the *Life*. But see the cognate noun in §§ 1, 7, where Josephus describes his own claim to nobility.

¹⁷⁶³ Greek ἦθος. See the note to "character"—the underlying theme of the *Life*—at § 430.

¹⁷⁶⁴ Josephus does not otherwise have a high estimation of women's character: his Moses rejects their testimony in court because they are fickle (*Ant.* 4.219; *Apion* 2.201); women are wanton (Jezebel, *Ant.* 8.318; Cleopatra, *Ant.* 15.98; Mariamne, *War* 1.439); and the ghost of Herod's son Alexander returns to confirm from his widow Glaphyra's example the *saying* that "women are not to be trusted" (*Ant.* 17.352). On Josephus' biblical women, see Brown 1992; Feldman 1998a:188-90; Mayer-Schärtel 1995. For the Hasmonean women in Josephus, see Sievers in Feldman/Hata 1989:132-46.

¹⁷⁶⁵ Josephus' steady focus on his wife's ancestry and character matches not only his self-portrait but also his position that the main purpose of marriage and sexual relations was to produce children (*Apion* 2.199, 202; cf. *War* 2.160-61). This was also a standard view among the Roman aristocracy (cf. A.E. Hanson, pp. 33-34 in Potter/Mattingly 1999). Tacitus (*Ann.* 14.1) has even the infamous Poppea Sabina appeal to her excellent blood lines—more than her sexual appeal—when she tries to entice Nero.

¹⁷⁶⁶ See the notes concerning these two sons at § 5.

¹⁷⁶⁷ See the note to this term at § 342.

¹⁷⁶⁸ Titus became *princeps* on June 24, 79.

¹⁷⁶⁹ For such accusations, see the notes to "Judeans" and "revenge" at § 416, also 424-25. Although there is no doubt that Josephus faced many accusers, we should bear in mind that exaggerating one's envious accusers could also lend a certain cachet to one's career, for such envy presumed success. Martial often complains of jeal-

Domitian¹⁷⁷⁰ had succeeded Titus, he further increased the honors towards me. For example, he disciplined the Judeans who had accused me, and he ordered that a eunuch slave and tutor of my son who had accused me¹⁷⁷¹ be disciplined. He also gave me tax exemption¹⁷⁷² for my territory in Judea, which is the greatest honor for the recipient.¹⁷⁷³ And

and protect
Josephus in
Rome

ous accusers (1.40; 2.61; 3.9; 4.27, 77, 86 *passim*). In his case, some of them circulated poison poems in his name (7.72).

¹⁷⁷⁰ Titus Flavius Domitianus was born October 24, 51, and so was not quite 30 when he assumed the principate at the death of his older brother on September 14, 81. He governed until he was murdered on September 18, 96. Josephus writes the *Antiquities* (and possibly *Life*) in the 13th year of Domitian's reign (*Ant.* 20.267). Josephus has mentioned Domitian occasionally in the *War* (esp. 7.85-8), praising his courage as a young man. Following the emperor's death in 96, however, when his memory was subject to *damnatio*, the literary tradition represented by Pliny, Tacitus, Suetonius and later Cassius Dio became uniformly hostile, representing his entire regime (after perhaps a tolerable interval) as a reign of terror (Tacitus, *Agr.* 2-3; Suetonius, *Dom.* 1.2; 3.2 *passim*; Cassius Dio 67). In these traditions, he appears as a pathetic figure from the start: deeply jealous of his father and brother and kept in check by them, he seized the opportunity once they had died (Titus, perhaps through Domitian's efforts) to reverse their accomplishments (Cassius Dio 67.2.1-2). An unhappy and power-crazed loner, he lashed out at all those around him, terrorizing the senate, Jews, Christians, philosophers, and many others. He abused his distinguished wife, so that she joined the conspiracy to kill him. Recent scholarship (e.g., B.W. Jones 1992; Southern 1997), however, has redressed this bias by isolating Domitian's policies, practices, and reasons, as far as these can be reconstructed, from mere slander. B.W. Jones argues, for example, that Domitian was fully supportive of his father's and brother's policies, which he continued. He also continued their circles of advisers or friends (except for domestic staff). He was committed to Augustan-style reforms in finance, religion, and morality, which he took seriously. These conservative tendencies led him to persecute the Judeans, who became targets because of their influence, but probably not Christians as a body. Nor is there evidence of a fatal rift with his wife Domitia (see note below); to the contrary, she seems to have continued to present herself loyally as Domitian's wife long after his *damnatio* was in place. But Domitian did alienate many important people. Most obviously, he did not try to win the favor of the senate. He ruled as a monarch, dropping any pretense of republican forms by leaving the city for long stretches and by governing from his retreat at Alba with

his court in tow, disdaining the capital (and senate). B.W. Jones suggests that first-century Rome was always a brutal and terrifying place; the only reason that Domitian was singled out for such hostile treatment was that he was willing to exercise this brutality against the senate, whose members wrote books.

As Niese (1896:226-27) and Luther (1910:63) already pointed out, it is hard to see how Josephus could have written this grateful note concerning Domitian after his reign ended in 96 CE. Josephus seems to have been perfectly aware of the political constraints of writing history: witness his treatment of Vespasian and Titus in the *War*. But *here*, on the one hand, he fails to mention any subsequent ruler's benefits—an unthinkable slight if he wrote under Nerva or Trajan. On the other hand, it is hard to see how he could speak so fondly and innocently of Domitian after his death and *damnatio*. See also Cohen 1979:174. It is remarkable that Laqueur (1920:258) could extract from § 429 the accusations against Josephus and attribute these to a new boldness on the part of Josephus' enemies because he had lost imperial favor, without noticing the clear implication of this passage that Josephus continued to enjoy Domitian's support. For the correction, see S. Schwartz 1990:16-8.

¹⁷⁷¹ S. Schwartz (1990:18 n. 80) points out that about the only charge a slave could bring against his master was that of *maiestas* [*minuta populi Romani*]: "the diminution of the majesty of the Roman people." This is interesting in part because the *maiestas* indictment, on which a number of senators died under Domitian, could include the charge of atheism, which in turn was justified by judaizing tendencies (B.W. Jones 1992:117-19; Cassius Dio 67.14.1-2). Indeed, Cassius Dio (68.1.2) connects *maiestas* and judaizing as two charges that Nerva abolished. If Josephus was accused of *maiestas*, this would raise the question how he saw his own work, and especially whether he was seen to be encouraging conversion (e.g., in *Ant.* 20.17-96). We may suspect that Domitian fully shared Tacitus' view of conversion to Judaism as defection from Roman tradition (*Hist.* 5.5).

¹⁷⁷² The noun ἀτέλεια occurs only here in the *Life* and rarely in Josephus (*War* 1.194; *Ant.* 14.137).

¹⁷⁷³ An honor to be sure, but the qualifier "greatest" indicates how circumscribed Josephus' ambitions for imperial benefits are; see the note to "Vespasian" at § 423.

Domitia,¹⁷⁷⁴ the wife¹⁷⁷⁵ of Caesar, continued benefiting me¹⁷⁷⁶ in many ways.

*Epilogue:
Josephus' character;
final*

430 These, then, are the things that occurred throughout my entire life;¹⁷⁷⁷ from them let others judge my character¹⁷⁷⁸ as they might wish. Having repaid¹⁷⁷⁹ you, Epaphroditus¹⁷⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷⁴ Domitia Longina, daughter of the renowned general Gnaeus Domitius Corbulo, who had achieved a lasting peace with Parthia under Nero in 63 but was then ordered to commit suicide in 66 when he was linked with the Pisonian conspiracy. Domitia was married to another man, Aelius Lamia, when she had an affair with the 18-year-old Domitian, who married her a year later (in 70). Domitian would later execute her ex-husband, early in his own reign, for his wry humor concerning these events (Suetonius, *Dom.* 10.2). This marriage with Domitia was politically advantageous for the Flavians inasmuch as it helped win the support of the anti-Nero movement among the senatorial class, who might also have been suspicious of Vespasian as a “new man” (B.W. Jones 1992:33-4). But early in the marriage, the hostile literary tradition (see the note to “Domitian” at § 429) portrays Domitia having an affair with a pantomime actor named Paris, which leads the emperor to kill him in the street and divorce her (Cassius Dio 67.3.1). Though he later takes her back reluctantly, he openly carries on an affair with his niece Julia in spite of Domitia. At the end, Domitia is an accomplice in his murder (Suetonius, *Dom.* 14.1; Cassius Dio 67.15.2). B.W. Jones (1992:34-6; cf. Southern 1997:41-2) challenges much of this as posthumous slander, both on the ground that Domitian would be grossly violating the standing law concerning adultery (*Lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis*)—i.e., it is easier to believe that the tradition made him out to be a blatant hypocrite than it is to believe that he acted thus—and because a number of brick stamps engraved from “the Sulpician brickyards of Domitia, [wife] of Domitian,” dating to 123 CE, show that Domitia continued eagerly to identify herself as Domitian’s wife long after she needed to (B.W. Jones 1992:37; Southern 1997:118).

¹⁷⁷⁵ Greek γυνή, usually translated “woman.”

¹⁷⁷⁶ Greek διετέλεσεν εὐεργετοῦσα με. It may seem puzzling that Josephus should single out Domitia for special mention, though scholars have usually ignored the reference. It might, for example, have helped Laqueur’s theory that Josephus lost his imperial patronage under Domitian to argue that Domitia, who had also allegedly lost Domitian’s support (Cassius Dio 67.15.2), patronized Josephus. But Laqueur and his followers have not made this argument. Kokkinos (1998:396) makes the novel argument that the Greek phrase quoted suggests a continuation of Domitia’s favors past her husband’s death (thus supporting his theory that the *Life* was written after 100). Although there is no grammati-

cal problem with this reading, it does not deal with the objections that Josephus should fail to mention the current *princeps* (*ex hypothesi*) Trajan or Trajan’s predecessor Nerva and that Josephus should speak so fondly of the damned Domitian (see the note to “Domitian” in this section).

We should bear in mind that the *Life* presents two emperors’ wives who gave Josephus benefits (εὐεργεσία, εὐεργετέω): one at the very beginning of his public career (Poppea, § 16) and one at the very end (Domitia, here). This parallel thus becomes one of many examples of large-scale concentric structure in the *Life*; see Introduction.

¹⁷⁷⁷ As Barish (1978:70-1) observes, this conclusion closely matches the surrogate prologue to the *Life* in *Ant.* 20.266-67. Both speak of the events (πράξεις, πεπραγμένα) of Josephus’ life (βίος); both invite judgment by others; both mention the “present”; and in both cases Josephus uses the verb παύω to indicate his closure of the *Antiquities* (“ancient lore”).

¹⁷⁷⁸ This final notice brings to the surface the underlying theme of the *Life*: Josephus’ character (ἦθος). Although he has not used the word often, a first-century Roman audience would understand that his entire self-portrait, from his ancestry and education (γένος καὶ παιδεία: *Ant.* 20.263-66; *Life* 1-12) through his distinguished public life, was offered to illustrate his character—usually against the foils of his base and sordid adversaries. Thus, even though the narrative is extremely clumsy with historical details, one is never permitted to lose sight of the moral lessons that Josephus wishes to inculcate: his courage, resourcefulness, faithfulness, patience, clemency, incorruptible justice, compassion, dignity, and liberality.

The character of the speaker or writer was indeed considered a critical part of ancient rhetoric. Aristotle (*Rhet.* 1.2.1-15.1365A) already made it the most important of the three sources of proof (πίστεις). Character was crucial in legal argument, which depended largely upon probability: the likelihood that such a person would do such a thing (Kennedy 1994:24-5, 67). In Roman rhetoric, notably Cicero’s, character became even more important: that of the plaintiff and defendant as well as of the advocate for each. The Latin concepts of *auctoritas*, *dignitas*, and *gravitas* framed the discussion (Cicero, *De or.* 2.182; May 1988:6-7; Kennedy 1994: 103; Quintilian, *Inst.* 1.praef.9). Since Roman autobiography and history-writing in general accommodated themselves fully to rhetorical considerations (Cohen

most excellent of men,¹⁷⁸¹ the entire record of the *Antiquities*¹⁷⁸² up to the present, I con- dedication to
Epaphroditus
clude the narrative here.

1979:101-9; Neyrey 1994), the common reference-points for proving character (by reference to the subject's ancestry, training, military and public service, and his friends and enemies) thoroughly infiltrated these genres (Cicero, *De or.* 2.61; Cape 1997:217; Mellor 1999:10-1, 44), as we see in both the *Antiquities*, where Josephus moralizes relentlessly about others' lives (S. Mason BJP 3.xxxii-iv), and in the *Life*, where he does the same for himself.

¹⁷⁷⁹ The verb ἀποδίδωμι could mean several things, e.g.: "render, interpret (part by part), or give up." In its other two occurrences in the *Life*, it clearly means "give back" or "repay" (§§ 130, 335). Given the openly reciprocal nature of the patron-client relationship, that meaning would seem also to fit Josephus' closing address to his patron here.

¹⁷⁸⁰ Epaphroditus is the only literary patron clearly specified for any of Josephus' works (*Ant.* 1.8-9; *Life* 430; *Apion* 1.1; 2.278). He names other readers of the *War* in his later compositions (*Life* 361-67; *Apion* 1.50-2), but does not identify them as basic facilitators of his writing career. Agrippa II perhaps comes closest to this role (*Life* 365-57). Epaphroditus, however, Josephus credits with having constantly encouraged him to write the difficult magnum opus *Antiquities-Life* (*Ant.* 1.8-9). That Josephus should single him out does not mean that Epaphroditus was Josephus' sole patron. Writers commonly dedicated their texts to one person even if they had many patrons (cf. Martial, *Epig.* 3.5), and it was normal to have many patrons in the Flavian period (White 1975:265). Consequently, there is no basis in these references to Epaphroditus for Laqueur's theory (1920:258-59) that Josephus moved from imperial patronage and Roman propaganda in the *War* to dependence upon Epaphroditus—and a more authentic articulation of Judaism—in his later works (see Introduction). Although no patrons of any sort are mentioned in the *War*, Epaphroditus may already have been involved anonymously even at that early stage; on the other side, Josephus claims continuing Flavian support through to the end (*Life* 428-29).

This Epaphroditus cannot be identified with high probability. If we first accept that he is someone otherwise known from the period, then there are two candidates. The freedman Marcus Mettius Epaphroditus (*Suda* s.v.; d. 96-8), a man whose body was "big and also black," *grammaticus* and former tutor to the son of the Egyptian prefect Marcus Mettius Modestus, critic of Homer, Hesiod, and Callimachus, who upon his return

to Rome and manumission amassed a large library and was recognized with a statue (*CIL* 6.9454), is favored by many scholars (Laqueur 1920:23-30; Thackeray 1929:53; Rajak 1983:223; S. Schwartz 1990:16-7; Sterling 1992:239-40 n. 66; Feldman 2000a:5 n. 9). Nero's former secretary for petitions (*a libellis*), who helped expose the Pisonian conspiracy and then assisted in the emperor's suicide (Suetonius, *Nero* 49; Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.55; Cassius Dio 63.29), sometime master of the philosopher Epictetus (*Diatr.* 1.1.20, 19.19-20, 26.11-12) and later found in Domitian's court, where he was executed (d. 95/6: Suetonius, *Dom.* 14-5; Cassius Dio 67.14.4), has been preferred by others. Without doubt, the latter Epaphroditus' career better suits the language of Josephus' description in *Ant.* 1.8-9: "he himself has been associated with great events and diverse vicissitudes" (so Niese 1896:226-27; Luther 1910:61-3; Nodet 1990:4 n. 1; Mason 1998b:98-101). And this match of language creates some slight probability in favor of identifying Epaphroditus at all, for how many men of this name had such contact with "great events"? But of course we have no control over Josephus' rhetoric. Further, both of these freedmen died inconveniently early: certainly for the Laqueur/Kokkinos (1998:378-80) dating of the *Life* after 100, but even for the now common dating of the *Antiquities-Life* to 93-4 CE—and the *Against Apion* after this.

Epaphroditus was a fairly common name (cf. Phil 2:25; 4:18; Epaphras at Phlm 23), and it could even be used as an adjective (Hoerodus 2.135) or an honorific, corresponding to the Latin Felix (cf. ἐπαφροδίσις; Plutarch, *Sull.* 34). Therefore, the very assumption that Josephus' Epaphroditus must be someone otherwise known is far from secure. The patron of Luke-Acts (Luke 1:3; Acts 1:1), Theophilus, who is addressed with the same respectful term (κράτιστε), has left no other traces in history.

¹⁷⁸¹ The identical address (κράτιστε ἀνδρῶν) is used for Epaphroditus at *Apion* 1.1. On its significance, see note to "élite" at § 29.

¹⁷⁸² Greek ἀρχαιολογία. This is the title that Josephus gives to his 20-volume *magnum opus*, to which the *Life* is an appendix (*Ant.* 1.5; 20.259, 267; *Apion* 1.1, 2, 4, 54; 2.136, 287). At *Ant.* 20.267, Josephus apparently promises to conclude his *Antiquities* by giving an account of his life (καταπαύσω), a promise that he fulfills here (καταπαύω).

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APPENDICES

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APPENDIX A

JOSEPHUS' GALILEE IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

MORDECHAI AVIAM (*University of Rochester and Israel Antiquities Authority*)
and PETER RICHARDSON (*University of Toronto*)

INTRODUCTION

The writings of Josephus, especially *Life* and *War*, are filled with allusions to, and sometimes very full descriptions of, the Galilee, with its cities and towns and villages. His writings have a circumstantial quality based on firsthand knowledge of the Galilee, not unlike the writing of some of his near contemporaries, Strabo, Pliny, and Pausanias, though the latter had obviously different intentions. This Appendix surveys the detailed references to Galilee (and Gaulanitis) in *Life* and *War* that can be compared with what is now known about these regions, with a primary emphasis on the specific sites mentioned in *Life*. The outline of this Appendix is straightforward: after a brief description of the **Geography** (Upper Galilee, Lower Galilee, Gaulanitis), we consider Josephus's accounts of the **Borders** and the **Fortified Settlements**. Then we move to his descriptions of **Gentile Cities** (Decapolis Cities and Coastal Cities), after which comes a brief introduction to **Galilean Towns and Villages**.

The main portion of the Appendix is a **Catalogue of Sites**, which includes the various names by which a site might be known, including competing ancient names and modern names. This Catalogue focuses on archaeological information pertinent to reading Josephus, so it emphasizes first-century information, along with relevant information from previous periods. Archaeological data from surveys and excavations in later periods, except in important instances where there is some intrinsic interest in the additional details, have been mostly excluded. The length of individual entries varies substantially; longer entries have separate notes on such items as tombs, small finds, coins, or other specific features of a site. We also consider the cumulative evidence of the **Walled Towns of Josephus**, in order to evaluate the reliability of one feature of his narrative about Galilee during the early stages of the Great Revolt. **Illustrations**

(maps and photographs) amplify some of these features.

GEOGRAPHY

Josephus divides the Galilee into two main parts, Upper and Lower (*War* 3.35), a division known also from earlier and from later periods: Judith 1:7-9 (4th century BCE); *Mishnah Arakhin* 9.2 (2nd century CE). The sages of the *Mishnah* use the natural vegetation, especially the sycamore tree, to define the two regions, since the sycamore does not grow in areas higher than 400 m. above sea level; sycamores can still be found in the valleys of Lower Galilee but not in Upper Galilee.

Upper Galilee can be sub-divided into several regions. Western Upper Galilee comprises five ranges of hills, which slope gradually towards the west from peaks of no more than 650 m. above sea level, composed of chalk and limestone. Central Upper Galilee comprises the Meiron mountains, the highest range on the western side of the land of Israel, with peaks of more than 1000 m. above sea level, mainly hard limestone that creates sharp peaks and steep ravines. In the Eastern Upper Galilee, the northern part is mainly composed of basalt that creates a series of small heights, while the southern portion is a long chalky limestone range running north-south. Finally, in the Second Temple period the Huleh Valley was attached to the Upper Galilee; it is part of the long geological Rift Valley, through which the Jordan River runs. Part of the valley was covered by the Huleh Lake and its swamps (Lake Semachonitis), formed when a basalt volcanic outflow, on which Chorazin and Capernaum were located, closed off the rift valley and dammed the Jordan River north of the Sea of Galilee.

The climate of the Upper Galilee is colder and wetter than other regions in the land, and large areas

are covered with thick natural vegetation. Three large streams with deep gorges drain the winter rains from the central regions to the Mediterranean and to the Huleh Valley: the Kziv stream to the west, the Dishon to the north and northeast, and the 'Ammud to the east and southeast. Permanent rivers did not supply water needs, however; most smaller towns and villages relied on water collected in cisterns. Large cities, both Jewish and Gentile (for example, Tiberias, Sepphoris Panias, Hippos, Scythopolis, Gaba, Ptolemais) built aqueducts that provided regular water supply from springs.

Lower Galilee also can be divided into discrete sections. The Western Lower Galilee is a hilly area composed mainly of chalk, separating the rest of Lower Galilee from the coastal plain between Acco-Ptolemais and Haifa. The Central Lower Galilee comprises four ranges of mountains oriented east-west, with the highest point being about 600 m. above sea level. Large valleys separate the hills. The Eastern Lower Galilee is composed of a series of basalt heights inclined to the west with cliffs to the east. The easternmost portion is the Kinneret valley (Sea of Galilee). Nahal Tzalmon and Nahal Tavor drain the northeastern part of the Lower Galilee; Nahal Evlaim and Nahal Tzippori drain the western side.

The Lower Galilee has much better natural resources than the Upper Galilee, with more comfortable conditions for human settlement. These conditions include mild weather, good deep arable lands in large valleys, soft round-shaped chalky hills on which it was better to live and in which it was easy to cut cisterns, better topography for roads that traverse the region mainly from west to east but also from north to south, and many large and small springs. There were also high mountains on which to build fortresses.

Josephus's description of the rich land of the Galilee is not as exaggerated as his population estimates make it seem. That these parts of Galilee were heavily cultivated during the Roman and Byzantine periods is evident from large areas of agricultural terraces that cover many parts of the mountains, sometimes even steep slopes. Wine presses were located throughout the region, sometimes in clusters. Olive presses dated to the first century CE have been excavated at some sites, and Josephus mentions mass-production of olive oil, as does the Talmud. Evidence of such industrial-scale produc-

tion has been found at a number of sites, including Yodefat and Gamla.

Gaulanitis. North and east of the Sea of Galilee is the region of Gaulanitis, during the first century CE the land of Philip the Tetrarch and of Kings Agrippa I and II, the grandson and great-grandson of Herod the Great. Josephus is the first author of antiquity to mention the name "Gaulanitis," though he is not as interested in this area and in its closely associated regions of Batanea, Auranitis, and Trachonitis, the regions comprising Philip's tetrarchy during the first third of the first century CE. Josephus discusses Gamla at length because of his deep involvement in its history, and he also refers to Seleucia, Solyma, and Sogane, though he refers to them almost as adjuncts to the Galilee, despite their being located in Gaulanitis (*Life* 187). Josephus also mentions two important Gentile cities overlapping the region of Gaulanitis: Hippos, on the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee opposite Tiberias, and Gadara, on the northern range of the Gilead mountains, southeast of the Sea of Galilee, which had part of its territory to the north of the Yarmuk River.

These regions vary considerably from the Galilee; much of the area is volcanic, covered by basalt hills and plateaus, sometimes very arable as in the case of parts of Gaulanitis, sometimes almost uninhabitable, as in the case of Trachonitis (southern Syria). Gaulanitis and Batanea were largely areas of grain crops and cattle raising, while Auranitis was a good olive and grape growing area. The central Golan is cut by deep canyons so that transportation is almost impossible in its western portions. Water supply is based on small springs. This area was the centre of Jewish settlement in the region in the first centuries BCE and CE. The southern part of the Golan, mainly controlled by Hippos, is flat with good arable lands. Within this region and farther south (southern Syria and Jordan), a loose confederation of independent cities, mentioned by Josephus several times, formed the Decapolis, of which Hippos, Gadara, Scythopolis were members, along with other nearby cities such as Pella and Dium. Beyond these regions to the north and east lay the Roman Province of Syria. The Roman Province of Arabia (approximately modern Jordan) was not formed until 106 CE, after the death of Josephus.

Gaulanitis was a mixed area, with Ituraean set-

tlement in the northern parts, especially around Mount Hermon. There were largely pagan settlements in the *chôra* attached to Hippos and to Gadara, both cities of the Decapolis at various periods. There was also continuing Nabatean influence infiltrating from farther east and south, where the centres of Nabatean culture were to be found (for a short period in the first century (about the time of the birth of Josephus) Nabatean control extended as far north as Damascus). In Batanea, Auranitis, and Trachonitis there were only scattered settlements of Jews, more numerous Nabatean influences (especially around the lower slopes of the Jebel Hauran, and a substantial majority of pagans of various kinds. Nevertheless, as far east as Si'a (attached to Canatha) there was evidence of the influence of the Herodian family: an important benefaction by Herod the Great (Richardson 1996:206-7) and inscriptions referring to his son, Philip the Tetrarch.

BORDERS

Greeks and Jews. When Josephus describes the borders of the Galilee (*War* 3.35-40), he first considers the Gentile lands and cities around the Jewish territories. Phoenicia (Tyre) surrounded the Galilee to the north and west. On the west, the city of Ptolemais (modern Acco) was the most important city in the northwest coastal part of the land of Israel. South of that, the Carmel range, according to Josephus, was once in Jewish hands but in his days it was part of Phoenicia, so the southernmost point of Phoenicia was probably the city of Dor (Dora). Southeast of Ptolemais and east of Dor, the small city of Gaba, the city of the cavalry founded by Herod, is mentioned. Its exact location is still debated (see below), but it was somewhere near the junction of Phoenicia, Galilee, and Samaria. Southeast of Gaba, the border runs along the boundary of Samaria, the northern edge of which is the Gilboa range (Safrai 1980: 36). The Jezreel Valley forms the southern portion of the Galilee, and the eastern part of the Jezreel Valley is the boundary between the Galilee and Scythopolis (Beth Shean) to the east. Beyond Scythopolis and across the Jordan River was Gadara, Farther north, on the east side of the Sea of Galilee was Hippos. To the north and west, the village of Kedesh, once a large Hellenistic town, was also part of Phoenicia, as Josephus points out (*War* 2.459; 3.105).

After explaining the Gentile territories around the Galilee, probably to emphasize the isolation of the Jewish Galilee, Josephus describes the exact points of the borderline. The border between Upper and Lower Galilee mentioned by the *Mishnah* is at Kefar Hananiah, but Josephus locates the border at Bersabe, which he uses as a reference point for his list of border towns (*Life* 188). The two sites are located side by side within a distance of less than a kilometer, at the eastern end of the Beth Kerem valley.

The eastern border of the Lower Galilee is the city of Tiberias, on the western shore of the Kinneret (Sea of Galilee), opposite the Decapolis city of Hippos. From Tiberias to the west, the width of the Galilee (Josephus says "length") extended as far as the village of Chabulon (modern Kabul), near Ptolemais (on its proximity to Ptolemais, see *Life* 213). The length (Josephus says "width") of the Galilee extends from the Jezreel valley (the "Great Plain") at a village called Xaloth (Iksal) to Bersabe, the northernmost point of the Lower Galilee.

Josephus begins his description of the borders of the Upper Galilee at the same point where he ends the description of the Lower Galilee, Bersabe. When dealing with the lower Galilee, Josephus describes length on an east west axis and width on a north south axis; he does the opposite with the Upper Galilee. Aharoni has suggested that there is a mistake in the description and that the text should be read, "At this point begins Upper Galilee which extends in breadth to the village of Thella (instead of Baca) near the Jordan; in length it reaches from the village of Baca, the frontier of Tyrian territory; to Meroth" (Aharoni 1953). The site of Thella is located at Khirbet Tleil near Yesud haMa'ala and Baca was identified at the Arab village of el-Buqea (today, Peqi'in). Meroth was identified definitively only in 1981 at the site of the abandoned Arab village of Maruss in eastern Upper Galilee. Three km. north of Meroth are the remains of another ancient Jewish village named Qasion, a name that probably originates in the Hebrew word for "edge," that is, the end of the Jewish territories in this direction, for north of this site no remains of ancient Jewish synagogues have been found.

The borders described here by Josephus, especially those of the Upper Galilee, are different from the borders mentioned in the Talmudic source known as "the Baraita of the borders of the Land of Israel," which included the western Upper Gali-

lee. It seems that during the mid-first century, Jewish communities retreated to the east behind the line of the valley of Peqi'in (Aviam 1997: 104).

Fortified Settlements. Josephus also describes his fortified settlements, which create another kind of borderline, in two important lists (*War* 2.573-76; *Life* 185-88; Aviam 2000c). In the Upper Galilee, the fortresses were concentrated on a south-north line in the eastern Upper Galilee. The defensible sites in Upper Galilee were the Rock of Accharon (the cliffs near the Arab village of Akhbara), Seph (modern Tzefat), Jamnith (Khirbet Yamnit, north of Tzefat), and Meroth. Thus, the northernmost point of Josephus's definition of the Galilee is also his northernmost fortified town. West of this line and in the center of the Upper Galilee, the town of Gischala (Gush Halav) was also fortified, though not by Josephus but by its own citizens under the command of John, son of Levi, who was marking out his own territory (*Life* 189, 217).

In the Lower Galilee, the northernmost fortified town mentioned by Josephus is Bersabe, which he uses as the main point in his border description. The southernmost fortification is at a place named Itabyrion (Mount Tabor), on the northern edge of the Jezreel Valley, for Josephus the southern border of the Galilee. The westernmost site fortified by Josephus is probably Caphareccho-Kafarath (*War* 2.573; *Life* 188) (modern Qiriat Ata; Barag 1981), a few miles southwest of Chabulon, which is Josephus's westernmost border point.

The similarity of these two descriptions, one focused on the geographical borders of the Galilee and the other describing the fortified sites, is noteworthy; it suggests that the areas that could and should be defended because they had substantial Jewish populations coincided more or less with the geographical area known as the Galilee. This overlapping pair of descriptions thus points to a realistic demographic distribution in the Galilee. It is consistent with the hypothesis that Jews were settled in the eastern Upper Galilee and the whole of the Lower Galilee, and that they were surrounded by non-Jewish lands around the circumference of these areas, to the north and west by Phoenicia-Tyre, to the east by parts of Gaulanitis-Batanea-Auranitis-Trachonitis (note Josephus's strengthening of Gamla), including the Decapolis, to the southeast by Scythopolis, and to the south by Samaria.

GENTILE CITIES

Decapolis Cities. Josephus, Pliny, and Strabo all mention the Decapolis ("ten cities") as a loose association of Hellenistic-origin cities occupying parts of southern Syria, northern Jordan, and the Rift Valley. There are several ancient lists mentioning these cities, each different from the other, and only occasionally with exactly ten cities. Those that figure in the accounts of Josephus happen to number ten: from west to east, Scythopolis (Beth Shean; the only Decapolis city west of the Jordan River), Pella (Tabaqat Fahil), Hippos (Sussita), Gadara (Umm Qeis), Dium (Tell el-'Ash'ari), Capitolias (Beit Ras), Abila (Qweilbeh), Philadelphia (Amman), Gerasa (Jerash), Bostra (Bosra), Canatha (Qanawat). Most minted their own coinage, generally using a Pompeian-era dating. The cities were outposts of Hellenistic language, culture, religion, institutions, and political affiliations, functioning as essentially independent *poleis*, with all the features of a typical Greek *polis*.

Each had significant Roman temples and cults, all had at least one theater or odeion, basilica, bath, nymphaeum, and so on. Water was supplied by aqueducts, distinguishing them from most of the surrounding towns and villages that had no such advanced systems. The character of Decapolis cities can be seen best at Scythopolis (Beth Shean) or Gerasa (Jerash), where extensive excavations have disclosed their rich Hellenistic and Roman cultures, reaching a peak in most cases in the second century CE. The finds in each case have turned up numerous forms of evidence that demonstrate the pagan character of the cities: temples, statuary of the gods, coins with typical Greek and Roman motifs, institutions characteristic of the life of Greek and Roman cities, inscriptions reflecting pagan culture, and so on.

Yet there is also evidence that Jews settled in the Decapolis cities at relatively early periods. There were synagogues in later centuries in Scythopolis, Gerasa (below the so-called Synagogue Church, a rare case of Christian takeover of a synagogue), Gadara (at Hammat Gader, the hot springs north of the Yarmuk associated with the city), and perhaps in the others. Several of the Decapolis cities came under Jewish control with the expansion of the Hasmonean kingdom under Alexander Janneus (103-76 BCE). Pompey restored their independence in 63 BCE, but Augustus gave both Hippos and

Gadara to Herod when he confirmed Herod's kingship in 30 BCE (Richardson 1996: 88-91). These transfers of control help to explain the antagonisms between Decapolis citizens and Jews in subsequent periods.

Coastal Cities. Along the Mediterranean coastline in the area known as Phoenicia (and both to the south and the north) were other important Hellenistic foundations, many of them having been built over earlier civilizations. Like the Decapolis cities, these were modeled on the great independent cities of Greece and the Aegean, and functioned as *poleis*. The effect of this distribution of Hellenized coastal cities was to hem in the Jewish people to the interior areas for a considerable period of time, with no viable coastal city to give access to the wider Mediterranean world. With the Hasmoneans, such an outlet was finally achieved when Hyrcanus I and then Alexander Jannaeus gained control of several coastal cities. Little came of these acquisitions until Herod the Great, having been given much of the coastal area by Octavian, rebuilt Strato's Tower, one of these older foundations, as his showpiece city of Caesarea Maritima (Richardson in Donaldson 2000: chapter 2).

For Josephus's account of the Galilee, the most important coastal cities are Ptolemais (modern Acco), Tyre (modern Sur) farther to the north, and Dor (Dora) to the south. Each had a harbor and each made trade possible with the hinterland, though to different degrees. The most strategically located was Ptolemais, for the geography permitted an ease of communication with regions to the east of it that was denied to Tyre, for example, which was faced with two substantial mountain ranges within less than 100 kilometers. Tyre had the benefit of its Phoenician seafaring heritage, and it developed an enviable reputation for hard currency that was never bettered. Dor had an advantageous location that opened out onto rich farmlands in the Samaritan regions to the east.

Jews settled in these coastal cities and brought with them their institutions, as in the Decapolis, sitting sometimes uneasily alongside the typical Greek institutions of the *polis*. Josephus speaks of synagogues in both Dor and Caesarea Maritima, in the latter of which some rather poorly published evidence of a later-period synagogue has been unearthed (summary in *NEAEHL* 1:278-79).

GALILEAN CITIES, TOWNS, AND VILLAGES

"If you seriously desire me to come to you, there are two hundred and four cities and villages in the Galilee. I will come to whichever of these you may select, Gabara and Gischala excepted, the latter being John's native place and the former in league and alliance with him" (*Life* 235). The unusual number of towns and villages, mentioned here by Josephus, suggests that he possessed a list of settlements when he arrived in the Galilee. A rough check of Roman-period sites in the Galilee (although the region was not totally surveyed) comes close to the number mentioned by Josephus. The list of villages, towns, and cities that follows is drawn from Josephus's account in *Life*; it provides brief summaries of the archaeological evidence pertinent to Josephus's account or to understanding the character of the site in the first century CE. Location references to the Israel map grid are given in brackets following the name. The bibliography that follows is very selective; fuller bibliographies can be found in the individual works mentioned, in *NEAEHL*, or in the *Oxford Encyclopedia*.

CATALOGUE OF SITES

Acchabaron (1973.2595). This site in the Upper Galilee, known as the Rock of Acchabaron, is identified with the cliffs south of the Arab village of Akhbara where man-made caves, fortified with walls, and Roman period pottery, were found. Since this was one of Josephus's fortified sites, the walls are of particular interest (*War* 2.573; cf. *Life* 188). The village itself is located in a useless strategic position, surrounded on all sides by high hills. There is Early Roman pottery in the village as well, and there are remains of a large public building, probably a Late-Roman period synagogue.

Acco. See *Ptolemais*

Arbel-Mount Nitai (1955.2467). The village identified as Arbel (Khirbet Irbid), west of Tiberias, is located in a geographical position that did not allow any fortification. Early Roman pottery and coins were found at the site, as well as excavated remains of a Late Roman period synagogue. The fortifications mentioned by Josephus were in fact

placed north of the village, where there were caves in the high cliffs on both sides of an impressive cleft in the rock face. On the west side of the gorge, above the caves, a massive wall with towers was surveyed, and Early Roman period pottery was found in the caves of Mount Nitai. It seems that the fortified site of Arbel, or “the caves around the Sea of Galilee,” was built out of some groups of caves on the northwest side of the Kinneret. The wall on Mount Nitai was probably the strongest part of the fortification.

Asochis-Shikhin (1757.2409). Asochis was a village in the Galilee where a popular demonstration voiced support for Josephus, according to *Life* 233. Josephus stayed there for a period, and its inhabitants apparently supported him against the views of citizens of Tiberias (*Life* 384). The site is north of and very close to Sepphoris. It probably had a large community of potters; there are potsherds and coins of the Roman and Byzantine periods (Safrai, Strange, et al., 1994).

Baca (1816.2647). Baca, in Upper Galilee, was on the border between the Galilee and Tyrian territory (*War* 3.39); it has been identified as the Arab village of el-Buqeia (modern Peqi'in), north of the Beth Kerem Valley. The name Baca is mentioned in an inscription at the Jewish cemetery at Beth She'arim (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1967: 27), although it does not necessarily refer to the same village. Pottery from the Roman and Byzantine periods was collected at the site and a few Jewish remains were found, such as decorated stones, probably from a synagogue, depicting a menorah, shofar, lulav, and etrog. A stone decorated with the ark and a stone door of a tomb, decorated with the ark and two lions, found in the village, are also part of the Jewish repertoire of art (Aviam 2000f).

Banyas. See *Caesarea Philippi*

Bersabe (1895.2595) and **Kefar Hananiah**. The border between Upper and Lower Galilee is given by Josephus as Bersabe (modern Khirbet e-Saba) and by the Mishnah as Kefar Hananiah, close neighbors at the eastern end of the Beth Kerem Valley. The archaeological evidence suggests that Bersabe (Beer Sheba of the Galilee) was an important and significant site, fortified by Josephus in the early stages of the Revolt, and used by him to fix

the northernmost point of the Lower Galilee (*Life* 188; *War* 3.39; 2.573). These three references are the only allusions to the village in antiquity; it never appears again in the history of the Galilee. Sometime in the second century CE, Bersabe began to lose its importance (possibly because of damage during one or both Revolts), and the neighboring Kefar Hananiah took over its place.

The site was located on a high and isolated hill in the northeast corner of the Beth Kerem valley, identified primarily through its Arabic name, Khirbet e-Saba. The survey of the hill identified heavy fortifications with a wide wall, including three half-round towers on the north, cisterns, houses, and much pottery dated from the Iron age, Hellenistic and Roman periods (Aviam 2000b, 2000c). In the first century CE and earlier, Bersabe was a small, fortified town while Kefar Hananiah was a very small potters' village. To judge from the pottery collected at the two sites, Bersabe and Kefar Hananiah existed side by side as medium sized villages during the second century CE. From the third century CE onwards, however, Bersabe was almost totally abandoned while Kefar Hananiah became the center for pottery manufacturing—especially for cooking bowls and pots—for much of the Galilee until the beginning of the fifth century CE (Adan-Bayewitz 1993:77).

Besara-Beth She'arim (162.234). Besara was located in the southwest hills of Lower Galilee; the town was well known at the time of Josephus because it was part of the “King's land” (i.e., a royal estate) where Berenice, the sister of Agrippa II, had large quantities of grain in her barns (*Life* 118-19); it marked the border with Ptolemais, according to the same passage. Excavations revealed only a few segments of walls from the first century CE. Most of the remains, including the fine ashlar masonry of the basilical building, are from the third and fourth centuries CE, the glorious days of the town at the time of Rabbi Judah the Prince and later. The most important find was a Greek tomb-inscription that mentions the name Besara, which confirms the identification of the site (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974:45-51). Most of the town was destroyed in the first half of the fourth century (Avigad and Mazar in *NEAEHL* 1:236-48, especially 246, with photograph of inscription mentioning Besara).

Bethmaus-Beth Ma'on (1993.2425). Josephus

mentions the village as lying a distance of about one kilometer from Tiberias (*Life* 64, 67). The site is properly identified at a small ancient site named today Naser e-Din, north west of Tiberias. During salvage excavations at the site by the I.A.A., first century buildings were uncovered, as well as typical clay and stone vessels. The village existed to the third century CE.

Bethsaida-Julias. There was a large Jewish fishing village in Gaulanitis at the point where the Jordan River emptied into the Sea of Galilee. The original northern shore of the Sea of Galilee was over a kilometer farther north than it is today because of heavy silting, so that the site is now inland (Arav 1995). In the first century CE the city was reconstructed by Herod Philip as a new city and was named Julias after Augustus's wife Livia, who from 14 CE onwards was called Julia (Richardson 1996:302); Josephus incorrectly claims that it was named after Augustus's daughter Julia (*Antiquities* 18.88), but this seems impossible given her banishment in 2 BCE. He correctly locates it at one side of Gaulanitis, "whose inhabitants are a mixture of Jews and Syrians" (*War* 3.57).

Its location has been controversial; the excavators of et-Tell (map location 2094.2574) have argued vigorously that this site was Bethsaida. They have surveyed wharves along the original shoreline below et-Tell, and uncovered finds related to the fishing industry. Although the site has been partly excavated, most of the remains so far have been Iron Age. The excavations have revealed few remains typical of a Roman city, few simple first-century CE houses, and little evidence of a flourishing city in the early first century. The excavators have identified the remains of one of the larger buildings as the foundations of a Roman temple, with a column and some other architectural fragments and small finds, and they have suggested that the synagogue at Chorazin may be built in part of fragments from this temple. A small figurine found in the excavations may be a replica of Livia; if so, it would confirm that the city was not named after Augustus's daughter, as Josephus claims (Arav 1995:21).

Beth Shean. See *Scythopolis*

Beth She'arim. See *Besara*

Beth Yerah. See *Sennabris*

Caesarea Maritima (1399.2115). Caesarea is not in Galilee but figures marginally in *Life*. It was originally a coastal city from the Phoenician period, extensively rebuilt by Herod the Great. In the first and second centuries CE it continued to be developed as the Roman capital of Judea, becoming politically, economically, culturally, and religiously influential (Donaldson 2000).

Caesarea Philippi-Panias-Banyas (2150.2943). The site was used for pagan religious purposes from the third or second century BCE. The original population was probably Phoenician and Ituraean, but by the first century CE, according to Josephus (*Life* 49-61), there was a Jewish community as well, perhaps religiously observant to judge from the incident in which John of Gischala overcharged the residents for oil (*Life* 74-76). These mixed cultural origins probably account for it never being considered a city of the Decapolis, despite its similarity in character and proximity. The first building at the cult site, according to the most recent excavations, was the temple at the mouth of the natural "cave of Pan," perhaps built by King Herod, though the size of this structure does not fit well Josephus's account of the building in "white marble" (*War* 1.404). Its east wall was built of *opus quadratum* with limestone ashlar; the main floor lay over a small vault (*NEAEHL* 1:140). During the first century CE, two more temples were erected east of the cave: the open temple to Pan and the nymphs (first half of the century) and a temple to Zeus Heliopolitanus (dated by an inscription to the end of the century; Ma'oz 1998). More *opus reticulatum* remains can be seen to the west of the caves and the spring, possibly a palace built by King Herod (elsewhere in the Holy Land a building technology associated exclusively with Herod).

The city itself, as distinct from the religious site, was founded by Philip the Tetrarch (*War* 2.168) on the large plateau in front of the cave along the river, and was connected by road to Tyre in one direction and to Damascus in the other. The modern excavations have uncovered the remains of the civic center of the city, of which the *Cardo* and a monumental building (Nymphaeum?) were identified and dated to the first century CE. A large, well-built building was uncovered west of the *Cardo* and identified as a palace (? Asklepion?), with

very well constructed vaults, exedrae, pools, all on a formal symmetrical plan, probably built by Agrippa II (Tzaferis 1998). Beside it and at a higher floor level are twelve vaults forming a *horreum*, dated to the Early Roman period. An aqueduct was built during the first century CE to bring water to the higher parts of the growing city (Hartal 1998); at some point in the Early Roman period the headwaters of the Jordan (Nahal Hermon) were contained within parallel ashlar retaining walls.

Tombs. A monumental tomb complex was excavated in the nearby kibbutz's small zoo with two rectangular sunken courts, porch, rolling stone, and burial areas, one with loculi and one with arcosolia. On the analogy of the Tomb of the Kings in Jerusalem it has been dated to the first century. Other first century burial areas, including a two-chambered burial cave with rolling stone, were found nearby (*NEAEHL* 1: 142).

Sculptures. The marble statues from the excavations of the temples have now been published, forming a nice group of gods and goddesses that were in use at the series of temples along the cliff face, above the spring, from about the first century CE to the fourth. In this group can be found Artemis, Zeus or Asklepios, Athena, Aphrodite, Pan, a dancing satyr, nymphs, and others (Friedland 1999).

Coins. The first coins were minted in 3 BCE when Herod Philip, son of King Herod, founded the city. During the reign of the Emperor Nero, and possibly because of the city's attitude towards the Galileans, Agrippa II renamed the city Neronias, a name that then appeared on the coins, though this was altered again to Caesarea Panias following Nero's *damnatio memoriae*.

Cana-Khirbet Cana-Kefar Kana. Josephus mentions Cana only glancingly, though he says that he lived there for part of the time he was in the Galilee (*Life* 86). The Arab village of Kefar Kana (1823.2392), five kilometers northeast of Nazareth, is the site most commonly identified as ancient Cana. During excavations in the village and excavations under the floor of the church, first-century CE pottery, coins, and stone vessels were found, as well as second-century CE stone ossuaries. On the eastern side of the village, some underground tunnels and chambers were excavated, probably part of a secret hideaway system, known elsewhere in Judea as well as in Galilee. These, together with the

remains of a mosaic floor with an Aramaic inscription from an ancient synagogue, point to a long Jewish occupation of the village.

Northwest of Kefar Kana, however, a site named Khirbet Cana (map reference 1786.2475; Arabic, Gana) is a much stronger candidate as the ancient town of Cana. It was occupied from the Iron Age through to the Arab period, with peaks of occupation in the Early Roman and Early Byzantine periods. Khirbet Cana was located on an isolated high hill with steep slopes, on the northern edge of the Beth Netofa valley at the mouth of the Wadi Yodefat. Current excavations (beginning 1998) have revealed first-century CE architecture on late-Hellenistic remains, including terrace housing similar to that found at the first-century CE sites of Yodefat and Gamla. Finds include a very well preserved mikveh (date still uncertain), an unusual mock-Ionic capital, stoneware, pottery, and coins from the late Hellenistic and Early Roman periods. Eleven undecorated tombs, unexcavated but similar in style to first century tombs and incorporating between fifty and one hundred loculi, have been surveyed. There are more than sixty-five cisterns across the site. Since Josephus's Cana was no doubt identical to New Testament Cana (John 2:1-11; 4:46; 21:2), it is relevant to the question of identification that a cave was adapted to meet the needs of pilgrims by building a kind of tableau representing Jesus' water-to-wine incident (the date of the cave has not yet been settled).

Capernaum-Kefar Nahum-Cepharnocus (2041.2541). Capernaum was an unfortified border village (about 10-12 acres or 4 hectares) in the Galilee on the north shore of the Sea of Galilee (Kinneret), just before the road crossed the Jordan into Gaulanitis, the territory of Philip the Tetrarch. After falling off his horse in a battle near the Jordan, Josephus was brought to Capernaum to recover (*Life* 403). The "spring of Capernaum" (*War* 3.519) is probably the springs of Heptapegon; Josephus reports a popular notion that it was a tributary of the Nile. The village was laid out in blocks or *insulae*. Various first-century remains (pottery, coins, artifacts) were found in almost every excavated area in the western section of the village (the Franciscans' property), though only rarely in the eastern portion (the Greek Orthodox property). Loffreda and Corbo showed that most of the houses that were excavated, including the so-called house of

Peter, had Early Roman foundations, all of which were built from basalt. They argued that a church, which was first a remodeling of a house (*domus ecclesiae*) and later a more extensively reconstructed octagonal church, was built over the house of Peter to commemorate its associations with Jesus (summary by Loffreda in *NEAEHL* 1:291-96).

A large well-known limestone synagogue has continued to be a matter of deep controversy because of the complexity of the evidence for its dating and questions about synagogue typologies. The presently observable synagogue is now dated to the fifth or sixth century CE. The excavators have claimed that this later structure, however, had an earlier first-century CE synagogue below the limestone structure: they report a first-century flagstone floor, too large to be associated with a private dwelling of the period. Corbo has argued that a basalt wall that can be seen below the present limestone west wall was first-century; Loffreda believes that the basalt wall was intermediate between the first-century floor and the later limestone structure (Loffreda, *NEAEHL* 1:294-95). Corbo's view has not yet been widely accepted, though Luke 7:5 provides literary evidence for a synagogue building in the first century. Recent excavations under the south (front) porch that exposed more of the foundations have demonstrated clearly that the courtyard east of the main building was added as an ancillary building after the construction of the limestone building. Thus, while it is certain that Capernaum was a first-century Jewish village, it is less clear whether it had a major institutional building at its heart at that period.

Miscellaneous finds. A Roman milestone from the time of Hadrian was found near the village; a mausoleum was found about 200 m. north of the synagogue. More than 25,000 Late Roman coins were uncovered when excavations were conducted under the flagstone floor of the limestone synagogue. A polychrome floor overlay an earlier white plaster floor in the *insula sacra*, below the octagonal church, with associated pilgrim inscriptions (in various languages, of uncertain date) scratched into the plastered walls.

Caphareccho-Kapharath (1603.2454). Both of Josephus's lists of the fortified towns in the Galilee mention a town called Caphareccho or Kapharath, identified by some scholars as modern Kefar Ata (*Life* 188; *War* 2.573).

Chabulon-Chabolo-Zebulon (1702.2524). Chabulon, which lies near Ptolemais (on their proximity, see *Life* 213), is identified as the modern Arab village of Kabul, a place earlier associated with the border between Israelites and Phoenicians (1 Kings 9:13; see Gal & Alexander 2000). The town was built on a low hill above the Acco plain in the foothills of the Lower Galilee mountains. According to Josephus, "Cestius [Gallus] marched against a fortified city of Galilee called Chabulon on the frontier of Ptolemais and Jewish territory" (*War* 2.503; 3.38), saying further that the town had "houses built in the style of those at Tyre, Sidon and Berytus" (*War* 2.504; presumably Hellenistic peristyle houses), which were demolished during Cestius Gallus's campaign. Josephus was in the town when he exchanged correspondence with Jonathan (*Life* 216-27); he left Zebulon for Yodfat, eight miles away, with 3000 men (*Life* 234). The town itself has not been excavated, but a tomb from the second century CE that was excavated yielded four ossuaries, two made of stone and two made of clay, pointing to the existence of Jews in the second and third century CE (Aviam 2000b). Pottery from the Hellenistic and Roman periods was found on the site (Gal & Alexander 2000).

Dabaritta-Daburiah (1852.2320). Dabaritta (*Life* 126; *War* 2.595) was located at the foot of Mt. Tabor; there are ancient remains in the modern Arab village, such as a first- or second-century CE tomb with stone ossuaries, which indicate the existence of a Jewish community.

Dor (142.224). The city of Dor was an important and busy harbor along the Mediterranean coastline; because it had certain natural advantages, it had a longer period of occupation than Caesarea, thirteen kilometers south. From the Persian period, its plan was laid out on a Hippodamian model (Stern 1994:159); it had an extensive Hellenistic occupation, then was taken over by the Hasmoneans until Pompey restored its autonomy and its right to mint coins in 63 BCE (*War* 1.156, 409). Antony gave Dor to Cleopatra in 34 BCE; when reversing those gifts a few years later, Augustus did not award Dor to Herod, somewhat surprisingly. Like most other Hellenistic cities, it had a Jewish community, though for most inhabitants Baal-Eshmunu of Sidon (or, alternatively, Baal-Melqart of Tyre) and Astarte were the dominant deities, perhaps along

with Horus Harpocrates (Stern 1994:174). Josephus recounted the attempt by some young Dorians to defile the synagogue by placing there a statue of the Emperor Claudius, as a result of which Agrippa I complained to Publius Petronius, the Governor of Syria (*Antiquities* 19.299-312). Dor is also mentioned briefly in *Life* 31. While Pausanias and Ptolemaeus mentioned Dor in the second century CE, Pliny overlooked it, curiously, and Claudius Iulauus (quoted in Stephan of Byzantium) made it sound a rather poor place. Apparently its significance was altering during the late-first and second centuries, despite the fact that it continued to be commercially important for many years.

Houses, workshops, an impressive city wall (third century BCE, on top of a fourth century wall, which continued to be in use into the Early Roman period), temples, harbor installations, and public buildings from the Hellenistic period were found in various locations on the Tell (including a Hellenistic theater remodeled in the Roman period; Stern 1994:295). There were two main periods of building in the Roman period, following Gabinius's settlement and after the Second Revolt (Stern 1994: 270-71). North of the acropolis, a large public building or temple overlooking the harbor, perhaps one of the largest pagan temples ever found in the holy land (earlier identified by Garstang as a Hellenistic Temple of Poseidon, but more likely a Roman structure), has been partially excavated. Evidence for the northern temple includes column drums and pseudo-Corinthian capitals; there was also a southern temple, and a major north-south street near the sea. Early Roman remains were found extensively both inside and outside the walls: streets, piazzas, drains, an aqueduct, retaining walls, and wealthy houses have been identified (see Stern in *NEAEHL* 1:357-68). The Early Roman plan generally followed the Hellenistic Hippodamian plan.

Harbor. Among the most impressive and significant features of Dor were its harbor installations, with three anchorages. As early as the Persian period, slips were built on the south side of the central anchorage (three slips, each between 3.4 and 4.8 m. wide and 30 m. long), for boat repairs or marine construction. Storerooms and a quay fronted on the shallow northern bay, probably for small commercial activity including fishing boats. Prior to the first century CE, long straight channels permitted the sea's wave action to flush the northern harbor.

A rock-cut industrial complex occupied an area at sea level northwest of the Tell and between the northern harbor and the central anchorage, with plastered pools and a freshwater supply system, probably for producing purple dye. Several small fish pools were also found, two of them to the southwest of the small acropolis that predate the first century, possibly in connection with raising *murex* snails for purple dye (Raban in *NEAEHL* 1: 368-71; Stern 1994: 195-200).

Maritime finds. Maritime surveys have shown that, contrary to the literary sources, the harbor was busy and still functioning effectively during the Early Roman period (Raveh & Kingsley, *NEAEHL* 1: 371-72), and even into the Late Roman and Byzantine periods.

Purple dye industry. Evidence of the Phoenician exploitation of the *murex* snail for the purposes of producing purple dye has been suggested by the finds of large quantities of broken shells from the Hellenistic period below the acropolis and also near the eastern wall. In the Roman period the purple dye manufacturing area had moved to a site northwest of the Tell; it continued from the first to the sixth century CE.

Small finds. Numerous small figurines from the Persian and subsequent periods, reflecting both popular religion and dominant cults, were found, especially in field G. Wine amphorae from the Greek islands and other pottery from mainland Greece appear from this and later periods. Dor has provided a very large number of lamps from a variety of periods, including Medusa-head, horse-head, and satyr-head (with tongue sticking out) decorations. Glass and stone vessels, including so called stone "measuring cups" indicative of Jewish ritual purity concerns have been found, stone tables, drinking cups, a complete bronze bowl with three feet, numerous stamped eastern Mediterranean amphorae, carved gems, and jewelry constitute significant finds. Representative decorations include Aphrodite, Hermes, a Negroid head, dog, and so on. A lead sling projectile mentioned Tryphon, who besieged Dor in 139/138 BCE, corroborating Josephus's account, and a lead weight with a ship can be dated to 100 CE.

Coins. Dor coins are dated on the Pompeian system. Numerous other coins from the Hellenistic and Roman periods have been found, including several Seleucid rulers, Hasmonean coins, two Nabatean coins of Aretas IV, Herodian rulers, Roman impe-

rial coins (including coins minted by Vespasian and Titus at Dor), and coins from the Revolt. There is a particularly important collection of Dor's city coins, which includes, from the time of Trajan on, inscriptions such as "City of Refuge," "Ruler of the Seas," "Holy Dora" (Stern 1994: 264-70).

Gaba-Geba. Josephus describes a small city founded by Herod (Gaba, the city of the cavalry; *War* 2.459; 3.36; *Life* 115-18; in the latter passage, Gaba is four kilometers from Beth She'arim), where he settled demobilized veteran cavalrymen; its exact location has been debated for many years. The two candidates are Tell Abu-Shush (1633.2244) in the eastern part of the Menashe hills (near Kibbutz Mishmar Ha'Emeq), and Khirbet el-Hartiah (map reference 1609.2369; near Kibbutz Sha'ar Ha'Amaqim: Siegelman 1984; Barag 1988). At Tell Abu-Shush there are remains of buildings, an oil press, aqueducts, tombs, coins (including coins of Gaba), and two inscriptions that mention the name Gaba, all dated to the Roman period. The second site is el-Hartiah, on the southeast border of the Acco plain, where remains of a Hellenistic period tower (including fragments of a Corinthian and a pseudo-Doric capital) were excavated along with remains of a large village with pottery of the Early Roman period and mainly Seleucid coins. A hoard of plowshares from the early first century BCE was also found (Segal & Naor in *NEAEHL* 4:1339-40). The latest solution to the problem of identification is that there were two towns of the same name. The southern one is Gaba Philippi, a small Gentile city on the border of the Galilee, and the northern one, founded by Herod on the border between the Galilee and the Acco coastal plain (Barag 1988).

Gabara (1820.2506). The town of Gabara is mentioned by Josephus a number of times in *Life*, among other comments describing it as "one of the three main towns in the Galilee" (*Life* 123-25), along with Tiberias and Sepphoris (*Life* 203). The town was deeply involved in the political and military tensions between Josephus and John of Gischala; apparently it fell within John's sphere of influence. The site is traditionally identified with the modern Arab village of 'Arabeh in Lower Galilee; it has not been excavated, but pottery from the Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, and Arab periods was found at the site. A few tombs were excavated around the village, dated to the Early- to Late-Ro-

man periods. The size of the old Arab village is approximately 60 dunams (6 hectares; 15 acres), but the ancient village was much smaller.

Gadara-Umm Qeis (2138.2297). One of the cities of the Decapolis, Gadara (modern Umm Qeis) was built on a fertile spur of land high above the Jordan and Yarmuk Valleys (378 m. above sea level; the Kinneret [Sea of Galilee] is 210 m. below sea level). The site itself occupies a sharp saddle of land on the south side of the Yarmuk River, looking across to the Golan Heights (Gaulanitis). The Greek poet Meleager (first century BCE) described the city as "my first city, famous Gadara, Attica in the land of the Assyrians." It appears to have been one of the most cultured of the Decapolis cities, known for its schools of philosophy and rhetoric, especially its Cynic school (Menippus, Philodemus, Theodoros, who taught the Emperor Tiberius rhetoric, and Oinomaos).

Founded shortly after Alexander the Great's conquest, it was first occupied by the Ptolemies and then by the Seleucids (218 BCE). Alexander Janneus (103-76 BCE) took the city after a ten-month siege, but Pompey restored the city's autonomy as a part of his settlement of 63 BCE, and may have contributed to its rebuilding. Augustus gave Gadara to King Herod in 30 BCE, over the protests on two different occasions of Gadarene citizens. Gadara was attached to the Province of Syria as part of the disposition of Herod's territory on his death in 4 BCE. Most of the buildings were of local basalt. There was a small acropolis on the east side of the city, most of which is now covered by the late Ottoman village of Umm Qeis. A hot spring on the north bank of the Yarmuk River (Hammat Gader; map location 2125.2320) was connected with Gadara during the Roman period.

The visible remains are mostly second century CE and later structures (e.g., the baths of both Gadara and Hammat Gader; the theaters, the Nymphaeum, the hippodrome and the monumental gate at the west entrance). The city was laid out on an elongated Hippodamian plan, with an east-west *Cardo Maximus*. Parts of the Hellenistic or Early Roman walls have survived, including a portion of a tower, mostly on the south side. The city had three theaters, none dated precisely but perhaps all second century (a north theater and west theater in the city proper, and another at Hammat Gader). No temples have yet been discovered at Gadara,

though coins from the second century show a tetra-style temple, probably to Jupiter/Jupiter. The second-century Tyche now located in the west theater probably came from a temple dedicated to Tyche.

Baths, Hot Springs at Hammat Gader (2125.2320). Five hot springs on the north side of the Yarmuk River made the site of Gadara's baths a natural healing center of considerable importance. There appear to be no first century remains. In the second century CE a major bath complex was developed, which became legendary. It included nine pools of varying sizes and shapes and temperatures, including the especially impressive Hall of Fountains, Oval Hall, Hall of Pillars, and Hall of Inscriptions. Roughly contemporaneous was a small theater. Later still, a synagogue was built west of the bath

Coins. Gadara minted its coins on the Pompeian era; its numismatic evidence is essentially uninterrupted from then until the third century CE.

Tombs. Three important first century tombs have survived almost entirely intact in the city's eastern necropolis, each with *in situ* inscription. The Tomb of the Germani has an inscription above the door referring to Quintus Publius Germanus and a relative, Aulus Germanus Rufus. A small courtyard in front opened on a fine basalt façade, with two doors that led into the tomb; two Ionic pilasters, supporting a Doric frieze of alternating triglyphs and metopes, flanked the door. Just west of this was the Tomb of Lucius Sentius Modestus. The basalt façade has a decorated lintel, with two flowers flanking a central wreath with a five-line inscription referring to Modestus as *hierokêryx* ("herald at the sacrifice"). An inscription on the lintel dated the third tomb, the Tomb of Chaireus, grandson of Demetrius, to year 154 of the Pompeian era (= 90/91 CE). Its interior was unusual, with corridor, central chamber and three large recesses, each with raised floor and one or more niches.

Gamla-Gamala (219.256). The town, located in the Golan, was part of Josephus's territory during the early stages of the Revolt of 66-74 CE; sometimes Josephus implies that it was in the Galilee. Built from local basalt on an isolated hill shaped like a camel hump (Arabic, *jamal*; from which the town gained its name), the town was fortified naturally, although prior to the Roman siege a wall was added on the northeast. Josephus gives an extended

description of the town and the siege (*War* 4.4-83). Excavations began a short time after the site was first identified during the survey of the Golan, and continued for fifteen seasons. The archaeological finds over the many seasons show a high correlation with the geographical description and battle story as described by Josephus. After the town was conquered and destroyed by the Roman army, it was never rebuilt (see Gutman in *NEAEHL* 2: 459-63).

The site covers more than 100 dunams (10 hectares; 25 acres) on the steep southeast slope; it was first inhabited in the Hellenistic period (though there was also a small walled city in the Early Bronze Age). The excavations have revealed several residential areas, one of which had rich houses with frescoes and stuccoed walls, two olive presses (with an attached *mikveh*), flour mills, and a synagogue. Many of the buildings were roofed with basalt slabs. The added defensive wall on the northeast was built quickly; it cut through some houses, blocked gaps between other houses, and filled in the eastern room of the synagogue. A round tower strengthened the point where the wall met the ridge.

The synagogue, one of the earliest to have been excavated (first century CE), is of fundamental importance for consideration of pre-70 CE synagogues. The Gamla building is a modest multi-purpose space, with attached Beth ha-Midrash and nearby *mikveh*. The interior has columns on four sides and heart-shaped columns at the corners, with variously designed capitals, founded on stylobates on a beaten earth floor; there are three benches around the perimeter on three sides, and five benches at the front. A small cupboard may have held the torah scrolls (Richardson 1996b). More recently, a second large building has been located on the west edge of town, with three parallel and interconnected square rooms, each opening through a wide opening onto other spaces. Its purpose is not known; it may be either a second public building or possibly a large, rich, private dwelling.

Coins. The latest coins, found in the destruction layer of the site, were minted at Acco in the reign of Nero. Five specimens of a previously unknown type of bronze coin also were found, carrying the inscription "For the freedom of Jerusalem." It appears that the revolt coins minted at Jerusalem from 67 CE were not distributed in the Galilee at the

beginning of the war. After the Galileans became aware of this type of “revolt” coins with their slogans, however, they minted their own at Gamla a short time before the Roman siege (Syon 1992-93). An important coin hoard of silver Tyrian shekels was found just outside the door of the large olive press.

Military finds. Substantial evidence for a lengthy siege and a heavy battle was found all over the site. A few thousand arrowheads and catapult bolts, together with hundreds of ballista stones, were found, mainly along the firing line, on both sides of the newly built wall. Various elements of Roman army equipment such as swords, armor, and helmets were found.

Other small finds. Carved gemstones, sealing rings, cosmetic implements, needles and other jewelry were also found, as well as several lead medallions. The great majority of the pottery and the glass vessels were Early Roman.

Garis. Josephus gives us the name of this village several times (*War* 5.474; *Life* 412; *Life* 395, making it sound as if Garis were fortified), and once he mentions the distance of four kilometers from Sephoris (*War* 3.129, “not far from Sepphoris”). The best candidate is a small ancient site by the name of Khirbet Kana (1809.2399, not to be confused with Khirbet Cana) west of Kefar Cana, where pottery of the first century was found.

Geba. See *Gaba*

Gischala-Gush Halav (191.270). The largest Jewish town in the Upper Galilee was Gischala, mentioned numerous times by Josephus in *Life* and *War*; it played a major role in the events of the Revolt, being attacked and burned by the Romans, then rebuilt and fortified by John of Gischala, the rival and opponent of Josephus who was eventually led through Rome in Titus’s triumph. The town was built on a large chalky hill northeast of Mt. Meiron. There were the remains of two Late-Roman synagogues in the town, one on the summit, which disappeared at the beginning of this century, and the second east of the town, which has been excavated (Meyers 1990). No remains of the town itself have been excavated. On the western slope, remains of a large glacis were identified, which appeared to be part of the first-century CE fortifications of the town (Aviam 2000d). A monumental

mausoleum was uncovered; on its top was a large double sarcophagus, and under it a rock-cut tomb with a stone door. The contents of the tomb dated it to the second or third century CE. The high percentage of Tyrian coins found on the site suggests that most economic and cultural links were with Phoenicia.

Gush Halav. See *Gischala*

Hammath (2018.2413). Originally two separate communities with separate city walls, Hammath and Tiberias were probably united by the time of Josephus. The hot springs attracted a settlement as early as the first century BCE, though the spring itself must have been known earlier (*Life* 16, 85; *Pliny Natural History* 5.15). Following the Jewish War, the two were thought of as two parts of one city (Dothan 1983:3-5). Tiberias subsequently became a great center of rabbinic learning, and is frequently referred to in Mishnah and Talmud. The site is best known for its three successive synagogues, especially the intermediate one with the magnificent mosaic floor and associated inscriptions (first quarter of the fourth century CE); the earlier synagogue is first half of the third century CE)

Hot water conduits and reservoirs (possibly first century BCE) were found near the spring. The earliest period of occupation of the site, evidenced archaeologically below the synagogue, was Seleucid and Hasmonean, possibly sometime between Antiochus IV and Alexander Janneus. Clearly stratified wall remains (Stratum IV), pottery, coins, and a loom weight cohere in this conclusion, though the purpose of the building is not clear. There may have been a gap in occupation, after which in Stratum III a large public building occupied the same site (approximately 20-130 CE; the later synagogues prevented complete exposure of the building). Two Attic column bases and two column drums, perhaps from this public building were found in debris in Stratum II. What can be recovered of plan and details have suggested to the excavators that it may have been a palaestra (or gymnasium), associated with the hot springs, possibly from the Herodian period. The structure centered on a courtyard (surfaced with soft sand-like fill), around which a combination of small and large rooms was organized, with floors of beaten earth or basalt. There may have been a second floor.

The finds included some Eastern Sigillata A ware (late-first century BCE to mid-first century CE), a late-Hellenistic/early-Roman cooking pot, Herodian/early-Roman jugs and juglets, Herodian lamps, and a molded and decorated glass kantharos (rosettes with six petals and two leaves; see Dothan 1983: plate 5; plate 36.4). Coins from Herod to Trajan were associated with this stratum. Debris from the Stratum III building was used as fill for the later synagogue of Stratum IIB. When compared to the hot springs at Hammat Gader, which did not attract buildings until the second century CE (Hirschfeld 1997:4-13), the spring at Hammath Tiberias is noteworthy for having structures ancillary to the spring at an earlier period, and possibly having attracted a palaestra (Dothan 1983:10-19). The sequence of palaestra or gymnasium and synagogue is paralleled much later at Sardis.

Hippos-Sussita (2120.2428). Hippos was a small city (140 dunams; 14 hectares; 35 acres), located on a high and naturally fortified hill on the eastern shore of the Kinneret (Sea of Galilee) with the profile of a horse's saddle (*hippos*), established during the Hellenistic period and later one of the cities of the Decapolis. It was under Hasmonean control for a period, then restored as an independent *polis* by Pompey in 63 BCE (*War* 1.156), and then ceded to Herod the Great in 30 BCE (*War* 1.396). Following Herod's death, it was annexed to Syria (*War* 2.97). There were struggles locally between Jews and Gentiles at the beginning of the Great Revolt (Gregg & Urman 1996: 21), during which period Justus of Tiberias set fire to some of the villages in its *chôra* (*Life* 42).

Limited excavations at the site have disclosed the strict Hippodamian plan of the city and uncovered the remains of two large Byzantine churches. The churches reused many architectural elements that originated in former Roman temples of the city, including red and gray granite columns and numerous Corinthian and Ionic capitals. Early Roman period pottery and coins were found at the site. There are remains of a Roman period aqueduct carrying water to a Nymphaeum in the center of the city, a Roman road, and milestones, extensive remains of the city wall (especially on the south), together with Roman period sarcophagi and mausolea, and the remains of a rock-cut moat on the southeast.

Small finds. In 1974 a surprising epigraph was

discovered "to Dusares," indicating that Nabatean religion and culture had penetrated to Hippos by the second century CE, by which time Dushara had been assimilated to Zeus.

Coins. The first coins of the city were minted in 37 BCE. After a gap of a hundred years, minting continued again during the reign of Nero, perhaps as a result of the beginning of the Jewish Revolt and the cooperation of the city and its citizens with the Roman authorities against the Galilean insurgents.

Iksal. See *Xaloth*

Itabyrion. See *Mount Tabor*

Jamnith (1986.2665). Jamnith, one of the towns fortified by Josephus (*Life* 188; *War* 2.573), has been identified with Khirbet Yamnit, north of Tzefat, on the peak of a high mountain. There was a large rock-cut reservoir or storage area, and pottery of the Roman period was found.

Japha-Yaphia (1761.2325). Josephus mentions the town as "the largest village in Galilee, strongly fortified and containing a dense population" (*Life* 230; cf. *Life* 188; *War* 2.573). He claims in *Life* 270 that he lived there for a period. Japha was built on an isolated hill southwest of Nazareth. First century pottery was found at the village, but neither buildings nor any fortifications were found; a later Byzantine-period synagogue was excavated there,

Jotapata. See *Yodefat*

Julias. See *Bethsaida*

Kabul. See *Chabulon*

Kapharath. See *Caphareccho*

Kedasa-Qedesh (1997.2798). Kedasa was known as a pagan site as early as the Hellenistic period, since it was named as a camp for the Seleucid forces in their battle against Jonathan (*Antiquities* 13.154). Josephus mentioned it twice as "Kedasa of the Tyrians," emphasizing that it was outside Jewish territory (*War* 2.459; 4.105). The site is located close to the border with Lebanon overlooking the Huleh Valley.

Although the city itself has only recently begun

to be excavated, a nearby Late Roman period temple was excavated (Fischer, Ovadiah and Roll 1982; Aviam 2000a), as well as two Late Roman period mausolea (Conder & Kitchener 1881:226-30) and two sculptures of human heads, one of which was probably a sculptural tomb stone. Five Greek inscriptions were found at the site of the Roman period temple, some of which were dated according to the Tyrian era, others of which carried pagan symbols (Fischer, Ovadiah and Roll 1982). Some architectural features of the temple showed Tyrian or Greek influence (Aviam 2000a), particularly the hypaethral cella, the raised central doorway, and some of the decorative motifs on the architraves, all reminiscent of the Temple of Apollo at Didyma (Miletus). The Roman period town may have been smaller than the Hellenistic city, since Josephus describes it as “a strong inland village of the Tyrians.”

Kefar Cana. See *Cana*

Kefar Hananiah. See *Bersabe*

Kefar Nahum. See *Capernaum*

Khirbet Cana. See *Cana*

Khirbet e-Saba. See *Bersabe*

Meroth-Maruth-Qasion (1999.2706). Although the village is located on a low hill, it is naturally fortified from the north and east. Meroth was identified definitely only in 1981 at the site of the abandoned Arab village of Maruss in eastern Upper Galilee. There are possible remains of a rock-cut moat or fosse; remains of a wall were sounded in some places but never properly dated (cf. *Life* 188; *War* 2.573). During the excavations, Early Roman coins and pottery were found, as well as others from later periods. A few pyramidal shaped arrowheads as well as a few ballista stones were found without any stratigraphic precision. The remains of a Byzantine synagogue were uncovered in the center of the site (Ilan & Damati 1987).

Qasion (1999.2721) lay one-and-a-half kilometers north of Meroth; its name probably originated in the Hebrew word “edge,” that is, the border of Jewish territories in this northerly direction. It too was an ancient Jewish village, though Josephus does not mention it. North of Qasion no remains of ancient

Jewish synagogues have been found, implying that Jewish settlement stopped at this point. The remains of the Qasion synagogue contained a Greek inscription reading: “For the salvation of our lords, the Emperor and the Caesars, Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Parthicus Augustus, and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Septimius Severus Geta, his sons, in accordance with a vow of the Jews. Also of Julia Domna Augusta” (*CIJ* no. 972; Roth Gerson 1987:125-29).

Migdal. See *Tarichaea*

Mount Nitai. See *Arbel*

Mount Tabor-Itabyrion (186.233). Gabinius fought a major battle at Itabyrion (*War* 1.177), as did Vespasian following the siege and destruction of Gamla (*War* 4.54-61). Itabyrion has been identified with Mount Tabor, where segments of a large wall were identified. These remains probably belonged to a large Hellenistic fortress (Polybius 5.70) that was reused and rebuilt by Josephus (*Life* 188; *War* 2.573; 4.56) during the early stages of the Revolt. There is no evidence of a settlement on the mountain, making this the only site fortified by Josephus that was not a village or town.

Panias. See *Caesarea Philippi*

Philoteria. See *Sennabris*

Ptolemais-Acco (1585.2585). Ptolemais, the largest city on the northern coast of the land of Israel between Caesarea and Tyre, stretched between the ancient Tell (probably used as the acropolis) on the east and the sea on the west. Its southern border was the small river Beleus (modern Nahal Na’aman) and the unidentified monument of Memnon (*War* 2.188). Historical sources and archaeological finds point to a large pagan city during the Hellenistic and the Roman periods. Most of the archaeological information about the city derives from the its Hellenistic levels, though it is clear that it was still important culturally and economically during the Early-Roman period, as shown by the large number of coins minted in the city during the first and second centuries (Meshorer 1984). Regrettably, very few of the Roman period structures escaped the destruction that occurred during the massive building operation of the Crusaders. The

following finds are significant for understanding Josephus's city.

Tombs. Two Hellenistic tombstones with Greek inscriptions were found in the city, as well as a mausoleum and built tombs dated to the first century CE (Tzaferis 1986).

Statues. A Hellenistic marble statue of a priest (Aviam 2000e), and a few fragments of Roman period marble statues were found. Recently, a marble architectural fragment with two masks and emblems of Dionysos was uncovered in the city; it probably originated in a pagan Roman public building.

Inscriptions A Hellenistic Greek inscription was found in the excavation of a suggested temple (Appelbaum 1986). A small marble altar dedicated to the Capitoline Triad found elsewhere in the Galilee probably originated in Ptolemais (DiSegni 1990: 385-87). Another inscription dedicated to Hadad and Atargatis was found at nearby Kefar Yasif; it too probably originated from Acco (Avi-Yonah 1959).

Coins. Ptolemais minted its own silver and bronze coins in the Hellenistic period, and during the Roman period the city continued to mint bronze coins, all depicting pagan symbols. Very few Jewish Hasmonean coins were found among the thousands of coins unearthed in the city, pointing to low numbers of people in the Jewish community. When the Revolt broke out, the Roman legions gathered near the city (probably camped on the "plain of Ptolemais") and the city minted a coin commemorating the event. The Emperor Nero is on the obverse, while the reverse has a bull with four standards with the emblems of four legions.

Qasion. See *Meroth*

Qedesh. See *Kedasa*

Sachnin. See *Sogane*

Scythopolis-Beth Shean (1977.2124). Strategically located where the "Great Plain" meets the Jordan Valley, Scythopolis was built between the Nahal Harod and the Nahal Asi. Settlements at Beth Shean went back to the Neolithic period; after a long period of abandonment, it was resettled as a polis after Alexander the Great's conquest, soon becoming the largest city of the Decapolis, known as Nysa-Scythopolis, associated with the God Di-

onysos (who founded the city, according to Pliny the Elder) and his nurse Nysa, who was supposed to have been buried at Scythopolis. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the city was at the junction of two important roads, the north-south road through the Jordan Valley and the northwest-southeast road that joined the cities on the coast with the cities on the other side of the Jordan, especially Pella, Gadara and Gerasa. The Hasmoneans took the city in 104 BCE, but Pompey returned it to pagan rule in 63 BCE and helped to rebuild it (*War* 1.156, 166). During the Revolt of 66-74 CE it was the scene of raids by Justus of Tiberias (*Life* 42); much of the Jewish community was killed. The city reached its peak in the second and third centuries CE.

The massive archaeological excavations carried out during the last decade or so, together with the excavations from the 1920s, 1960s and 1980s, have yielded only a few remains of the first century CE city, because the extensive constructions of the second century CE destroyed the earlier levels. The temple of Zeus Akraios was built on the ancient Tell, which rises 50 m. above the city, probably in the first century CE. Although the present theater was built not earlier than the second century and much remodeled, restoration work following the excavations of 1986-1988 disclosed an earlier, possibly first century CE, phase. The Roman Basilica, which abuts a later impressive "monument," was also erected in the first century CE. The finds uncovered to date are insufficient to reconstruct the first-century city as it is described by Josephus, but the two or three known public buildings point to the existence of a large pagan city during the Early-Roman period. By the second century the city had colonnaded streets, a large theater and amphitheater, several important temples, a Nymphaeum, a public bath, all of which formed the basis of the large Late-Roman and Byzantine city. Scythopolis was a mixed city at most periods, including both Jewish and Samaritan communities, to judge from the presence of a synagogue for each group and from Josephus's evidence.

Small finds. There are a large number of small finds from the many years of extensive excavations, though most have not been published. Recently an altar to Dionysos from the basilica has been published (DiSegni, Foerster and Tsafirir 1999), a hexagonal carved stone decorated with Dionysos imagery and with masks or heads of Di-

onysos, Pan and Silenos. The inscription reads: “With good luck! Seleucus (son) of Ariston (made this altar) as a thanksgiving offering to the God Dionysos the Lord founder. Year 205” (=141-142 CE).

Sculpture. Many sculptures were found in the excavations, but only a few have been published. Those published include a colossal head from the Tell, identified as Alexander the Great or Dionysos (Rowe 1930:44-45) and beautiful heads of Athena and perhaps Aphrodite (both of dolomitic marble of Thasian origin, both second century CE), found at nearby Tell Naharon (map reference 1968.2127; Vitto 1991).

Tombs. Most of the tombs discovered in a robbed condition around the city were from the late-Roman and Byzantine periods. All types of burials were identified, from simple tombs in the soil to rock-cut tombs, sarcophagi, mausolea, and others.

Coins. The city’s era and its coinage began in 63 BCE, after the Pompeian conquest; its earliest coin is a rare one carrying the bust of Gabinius. Most of the coins depict attributes of Dionysus.

Selamin (1859.2545). Josephus located Selamim in Lower Galilee, listing it between Bersabe and Yodefath (*Life* 188; *War* 2.573). It has been identified as Selamen, between Khirbet Cana and Kefar Hananiah. The site is a Tell (Early Bronze age to Mamluke periods), on a hill surrounded by deep wadis, with a topographical saddle on the north and remains of a moat. Pottery and coins of the Early Roman period were found on the site.

Seleucia. Alexander Janneus demolished the fortified town of Seleucia (*Life* 187; *War* 2.574), according to Josephus (*War* 1.105; *Antiquities* 13.393, 396); its location is controversial. One suggestion identifies it as Qusbiyyeh el-Jdeideh (2190.2653), sometimes called Selukiyyeh), north of Gamla (Ma’oz in *NEAEHL* 2:534). Urman, however, thinks it should be a location on the Golan slopes, facing Lake Huleh, at Khirbet Qusbiyye (2173.2645), though he is also open to Zvi Ilan’s suggestion of Dabura (2125.2724; Urman 1995: 481-83 on Seleucia; see also 484-85 on Qusbiyye and 427-33 on Dabura). At Dabura, a well-known inscription was found from the late second century: “This is the beth-Midrash of Rabbi Eliezer ha-Qappar.” Whichever is the correct site (see *Life* 398

for its connection with Gamla and Julias), we should note that “the fact that Seleucia and Sogane, two Golan strongholds fortified by Josephus, surrendered without a fight (*War* 4.106-111) might suggest that most of the communities were not harmed, having been persuaded to submit by Agrippa II” (Gregg & Urman 1996: 306).

Sennabris-Philoteria-Beth Yerah (2039.2358). The site of Sennabris is a large Tell (Khirbet el-Karak; about 20 hectare; 50 acres) at the southern end of the Sea of Galilee (Kinneret), identified as a place where Vespasian camped (*War* 3.447; 4.455). In antiquity the Jordan River ran north and west of the Tell as it left the Sea of Galilee, so that the site was protected on west, north and east sides by water. Today the Jordan’s changed course runs south of the Tell. Excavations at the Tell revealed parts of the Hellenistic period town (see Polybius 5.70) that covered only the southern portion of the Tell (Gezov 2000). Part of a large Roman structure was excavated in this southern part (Hestrin in *NEAEHL* 1: 255-59); the Roman period “fortress” or “camp” (with a synagogue contained within it) as well as the Roman period bathhouse were never properly published, and it is still very hard to point to the Early Roman period remains and to estimate the size of the town in the first century CE. The Early Roman period settlement was probably smaller than the Hellenistic town.

Seph (1966.2638). Seph (*War* 2.573) has been identified with the citadel of the modern town of Tzefat. There is pottery evidence from the Roman period, but most of the remains disappeared after the erection of a huge fortress during the Crusader period.

Sepphoris-Tzipori (1764.2398). This is one of the two main Jewish Galilean cities mentioned by Josephus after the biblical period (*Life* 346; *Antiquities* 13.338). Aviam has suggested that Sepphoris was the place where Alexander Janneus was raised in the Galilee, according to Josephus’s story (*Antiquities* 13.323; Aviam 2000). The city’s name was first mentioned in the battle between Ptolemy of Cyprus and Janneus. From that point on, Sepphoris was mentioned in connection with almost every major event that took place in the Galilee: it became the capital of the Galilee under Gabinius in 63 BCE; Herod conquered it in 38 BCE in his first

campaign in the Galilee; and the city was badly damaged in the Varus revolt in 4 BCE when Judas the son of Hezekiah attacked Sepphoris, primarily to gain entry to King Herod's royal palace and arsenal in order to get arms. The city was later rebuilt under Herod's son, Antipas, as his capital, no doubt with a large palace and associated royal installations and fortifications, and renamed Autocratoris, the "ornament of all Galilee." The city was fortified by its citizens at the order of Josephus (in *Life* 82 he claims to have captured the city twice), but surrendered to the Roman army under Gallus in 66 CE (*Life* 30, 373, 394); later it opened its gates to Vespasian and the Romans in 67 CE (*Life* 411). In the early second century CE, prior to the Bar Kochba Revolt, the city's name was changed again to Diocaesarea. Later it became home to a number of important rabbis including (Judah the Prince, the compiler of the Mishnah) and, for a while, the location of the Sanhedrin (Nagy et al 1996). In the first century the city was estimated to be about 80 dunams (8 hectares; 20 acres). Although the site has been excavated for many seasons, no final report has yet been submitted, but numerous minor publications are available.

The city was built on the round-topped hill (Arabic, Saffuriyeh) overlooking the Beth Netofa Valley to the north. A narrow paved street crossed the site from east to west, with signs of a drainage channel under the road along its southern edge. To the south of this street and just west of the center of the Crusader "citadel" was a Hellenistic building (barracks?); there was also evidence of bath facilities, and southeast of the Citadel a possible public building. Sepphoris had two aqueduct systems, the earlier one dated from the early first century CE, probably when Herod Antipas rebuilt the city (possibly from late in Herod's reign); its elevation was somewhat higher than the later aqueduct, though not high enough to supply water to the hilltop; most houses collected water in cisterns, as in other sites (Tsuk 1999). A market (*agora*) was on the hilltop; later a second "lower agora" was built to the east.

Archaeologists still debate whether the theater, on the north slope of the main hill, was built in the first or second century CE; the late-first century seems likeliest (for an architectural description of the theater, without discussion of dating, see Netzer and Weiss 1994). In the residential area on top of the hill, especially on the western side of the site,

first-century houses with *mikva'oth* were found, pointing to Jewish life in this period. One fairly complete house survived in Insula II in this area, with a reception or dining room decorated with vegetative frescoes and plastered floor (covered by a layer of ash); beside it was a kitchen or storage room, and beside that a *mikveh* (Hoglund and Meyers in Nagy 1996: 40).

The city soon began to develop towards the east and south. By the first half of the second century CE Sepphoris included substantial areas on the east, which have been extensively excavated, disclosing insulae on a Hippodamian plan around a *Cardo Maximus* and two *Decumani*. These streets were connected to the earlier hilltop street pattern. A very large public building (40x60 m.) was erected at the base of the hill and west of the main street in the early-first century CE, perhaps at the turn of the century. This was constructed on a basilical plan, using in its lower courses typically Herodian "drafted" masonry with well-defined margins, with pools and fine mosaic floors. Its purpose is still unclear; one suggestion is that it was an upscale market (Strange in Nagy 1996: 117-21). Two bath buildings along with other major structures, many of which have brilliant mosaics, give a clear impression of the later developments. This eastern portion of the site does not, for the most part, reflect the Sepphoris of Josephus's day, however. Massive cisterns characterized the impressive second aqueduct system, which provided water mainly to this eastern part of the city.

Small Finds. A fine black-glazed *rhyton* (drinking cup) from the fourth century BCE, terminating in a winged lion-like creature was found by chance on the site, as well as a fragment of a jar with seven letters in Hebrew from the second century BCE (possibly referring to an *epimeletês* or "overseer"). In bronze, a light-hearted bronze relief plaque from the first century BCE or CE with a winged figure riding a horned goat behind a table or altar, and bronze statuettes of Prometheus and Pan in the residential area on western side of site (second-third century CE) were also found (Nagy 1996). Other bronze finds included an incense burner, bowl for the incense, and a bull. On an undated lead market weight, the apparently Jewish names "Simon son of Aionos and Justus son of..." were found. A collection of pottery incense shovels (second-third centuries) was found on the western portion of the site.

Tombs. In later periods the cemetery of Seppho-

ris was one of the major burial areas of the region, rivalling the cemetery of Beth She'arim in its size. Little evidence of first-century burials has been found (Weiss in *NEAEHL* 4:1328 for second and third century CE tombs). Stone ossuaries, found in one of the recently excavated tombs, demonstrate Jewish burial customs in the second century CE, as do Jewish inscriptions in some tombs. The stone sarcophagi reused in the Crusader building were probably robbed from the tombs on the southern hill. A monumental mausoleum is still visible to the west of the hill.

Coins. Under Herod Antipas the coins minted at Sepphoris did not use any figurative art. At the time of the First Revolt the coins of Sepphoris carried the inscription "Neronias" and "Eirenopolis" ("City of Peace"), alluding to its wish for peace by surrendering ("Under Vespasian, in Neronias-Sepphoris-Eirenopolis," from 68 CE). After the revolt, the coins were similar to other pagan city coins; for example, under Trajan the coins carried a laurel wreath, palm tree, caduceus, ears of barley.

Shikhin. See *Asochis*

Simonias (1703.2344). Identified as Tell Shimron, Simonias was southwest of Sepphoris, about half-way between Nazareth and Beth She'arim, near which Josephus describes an engagement between his troops and those of Agrippa (*Life* 114-21).

Sogane-Sigoph-Sachnin (1779.2522) Sogane in Galilee (identified with the modern Arab village of Sachnin) was located on an isolated hill in the western edge of the Sachnin valley, four kilometers (twenty furlongs) from Gabara (*Life* 265; cf. *Life* 44, 188; *War* 2.573)). Although the site has not been excavated, pottery of the Early Roman and other periods was collected in a survey. There is a monumental mausoleum with sarcophagus in the village, dated to the second or third century CE.

Sogane-Soganni. There was also a Sogane in Upper Gaulanitis (*War* 4.2,4), though it cannot be identified with certainty; it was this one that Josephus fortified (*War* 2.574; *Life* 187). Two suggestions have been made: in the nineteenth century Schumacher suggested Yehudiyye in the Lower Golan map reference 2162.2605); more recently Zvi Ilan has suggested Sujen or Siyar es-Sujen in the Upper Golan (2153.2903). No excavations have

been conducted at the latter site (Urman 1995: 391; on Yehudiyye, see also 496-499). Yehudiyye has in its favor a two-meter wide wall around the town, a site of about 40 dunams (4 hectares; 10 acres). Finds included an almost intact olive oil press, and pottery from the Roman and Byzantine periods, with a few from the Hellenistic period, together with many architectural fragments, perhaps from a Jewish public building. It is likely that Yehudiyye had a Jewish population in the first century CE.

Solyma. Josephus mentions Solyma once only in his writings (*Life* 187). It must have been somewhere on the eastern borders of the Golan, but is otherwise unknown (Urman 1995: 410).

Sussita. See *Hippos*

Tarichaeae-Migdal (1986.2477). Since the town played a major role in the events before and during the First Revolt, Josephus mentions it frequently, especially in *Life*. According to Josephus it was surrounded by a wall (*Life* 156, 188), of which no remains have been found, and was conquered only after the Roman troops invaded it from the Sea of Galilee. Excavations were conducted mainly by the Franciscans who uncovered remains from the first century that included streets, shops, and a spring-house (identified by Corbo & Loffreda as a "mini-synagogue"). Salvage excavations conducted by the I.A.A. uncovered the remains of a residential area dated as early as the first century BCE. No remains of the hippodrome (*Life* 138) have been found. On the shore of the town an ancient boat was excavated and dated to the first century CE. Arrowheads found near the boat hint at the naval battle that took place there during the Revolt (Wachsmann 1990). A mosaic now displayed at Capernaum (dated to first century CE) shows a boat and a strigil (implement used in the bath).

Thella (208.273). The site of Thella (Khirtb Tleil, near Yesud HaMa'ala; *War* 3.40), near the Jordan on the original shore of Lake Huleh, gave evidence of pottery and fragments of stone vessels dated to the first century CE.

Tiberias (201.242). See also *Hammath*. Although the city was important to Josephus from the time he arrived in the Galilee, he had to fight several times against opponents in Tiberias. Stretched along the

narrow beach on the western side of the Sea of Galilee, Tiberias was founded by Antipas as his new capital, as described by Josephus, probably about 18 CE. According to Josephus, the location was controversial because of an earlier cemetery on the site, and Antipas had to force new settlers to take up residence in the city by gifts of lands and houses; this account seems, however, exaggerated. Tiberias was the first Hellenistic city in the region designed for Jews: it had a typical Hellenistic city plan, an *archon* ("magistrate"), and a city council like other *poleis* (Richardson 1996: 306). Josephus provides literary evidence of a very large *pro-seuchê* ("synagogue") in Tiberias (*Life* 277-93), but so far only remains of a later synagogue have been found (the "Northern Synagogue"). Josephus also refers to a large palace built by Antipas, decorated with animals and a roof partly of gold, which Josephus had been commissioned by Jerusalem to destroy (*Life* 64-67); the palace was burned and looted, according to Josephus, before he could destroy it. In 61 CE the city was annexed to Agrippa II's territory.

Some areas of the ancient city have been unearthed, but as with Sepphoris, there are no final reports. On the southern edge of the ancient city, a monumental gate was found, dated to the first century CE (G. Foerster in *NEAEHL* 4:1470-73). The gate, composed of two large round towers with molded bases and a large threshold, was the southern entrance to the paved and colonnaded *Cardo* (first or second century), but there was no wall attached to the gate. Only during the Byzantine period was such a wall built. In the first century the gate stood alone, with some distance between it and the main parts of the city. An Early-Roman drainage system (along with Early-Roman pottery, marble fragments, and coins) was found in Area D1, 200 m. north of the gate. In the center of the ancient city, remains of a basilica (second-century in its early stage, Byzantine-period in its later stage) were found, a large columned hall with apse on the east wall. Under and around the basilica's remains were the remains of a large luxurious mansion, dated to the first century CE. A Roman-period public building with ashlar walls and a stepped pool that may have functioned as a *mikveh* has been provisionally identified as a Beth ha-Midrash from, perhaps, the second century. In fill below its floor were found a number of stoneware fragments (Y. Hirschfeld in *NEAEHL* 4:1464-1470). A segment

of a huge ashlar construction was found on the western side of the city, identified by Hirschfeld as the theater. A later bathhouse (first phase, fourth century CE) and large market (sixth century CE) have been partially excavated along the *Cardo* west of the basilica, along with a large exedra, south of the basilica, that fronted on a promenade along the sea. The estimated size of the city in the first century was 70 dunams (7 hectares; 17 acres).

Tombs. A two-storied Roman tomb (8 x 10 m.) was excavated in 1976 on the lower slope of the mountain, surrounded by a basalt ashlar wall. The tomb was fronted by a paved courtyard, reached by masonry steps, and the entrance closed by a paneled basalt slab door with an iron hinge. There were two burial chambers, one at courtyard level (with 28 loculi in two rows) with a surrounding bench and the other below ground level, with plastered floor and walls and ceiling supported by three arches. One ossuary was found. Small finds dated the tomb to the late-first/early-second century (F. Vitto in *NEAEHL* 4:1473). Two mausolea excavated in the northern part of the city yielded both sarcophagi and stone ossuaries (Stephansky 1999).

Coins and small finds. Like Sepphoris, Tiberias under Herod Antipas minted coins without figurative symbols. After the Revolt the coins depicted the Emperors, gods and facades of pagan temples (e.g., a Hadrianeum). Below the Roman public building was found a bone figurine of a woman, along with fragments of stone vessels and a stepped pool paved with a mosaic. A number of other mosaics were found in the various structures, all relatively late (e.g., in the northern synagogue, there was a sixth century (?) building inscription, "Proclus, son of Crispus, built it").

Tzefat. See *Seph*

Tzippori. See *Sepphoris*

Umm Qeis. See *Gadara*

Xaloth-Iksal (1807.2320). A village in the Jezreel valley (the "Great Plain"), Xaloth represented the southern limit of Lower Galilee, and probably the southern limit of Jewish territory (*War* 3.39; *Life* 227; identified as the Arab village of Iksal), not far from Mount Tabor. Two burial caves from the Roman period were excavated at the village, one of them yielded first century CE finds, as well as os-

suaries that hint at a Jewish population.

Yamnit. See *Jamnith*

Yaphia. See *Japha*

Yodefat-Jotapata (1764.2485). The town was located on an isolated spoon-shaped hill surrounded by steep dry riverbeds and accessible only from the north. The size of the site is about 50 dunams (5 hectares; 13 acres), which could contain about 1500-2000 people. The town was first built in the Hellenistic period mainly on the upper level of the hill. Under the Hasmonean dynasty the hilltop was surrounded with thick walls and towers. Before the Revolt broke out in the Galilee, the rest of the spoon-shaped town was surrounded with wall and towers. After its destruction the original site was never built over, though a small Byzantine village was later built (in part using materials from the original town) to the north on the nearby hillside.

Excavations took place at Yodefat from 1992 to 1999 and uncovered the remains of the town wall, residential areas including a large mansion with fresco walls in the Second Pompeian style. Clear evidence of a heavy battle as described by Josephus was found all over the site: some nails from the Roman army sandals (*caliga*), more than a hundred arrowheads and catapult bolts, and many ballista stones. On the northern slope of the hill, a deep layer of soil and stones, mixed with pottery dated not later than first century CE and covered by a layer of white mortar mixed with crushed pottery, was uncovered. Inside and under this layer of mortar, some arrowheads were found, suggesting that these layers of soil, stones and mortar were built during a heavy battle. These layers were identified as the remains of the Roman army assault ramp. The town was found destroyed with patches of ashes in some houses. On the houses' floors, arrowheads and ballista stones were found. In the "fresco house" human bones and arrowheads were found on the painted plastered floor, covered with heavy debris of the house. In some of the cisterns, collected human bones and skulls were found, sometimes enclosed with stones or simple walls. No remains of later periods were identified in the houses or the cisterns, and the latest coin found on the floors is from the time of Emperor Nero (Adan-Bayewitz and Aviam 1997).

Though the evidence on the original hilltop has

been largely obscured by later erosion, the evidence of residential neighborhoods in other parts of the hilltop, the side hills, and the lower plateau has given a clear sense of Yodefat as a small, largely residential, Galilean town. Houses were of rough masonry, probably mud-plastered, with roofs of small wooden beams and branches, covered with repeated layers of mud. On the steeper eastern slopes, the houses were terraced, with party walls supporting floors and roofs at various levels. Houses had individual cisterns, in one case with intact collecting basin and channels to the cistern and to the adjacent street (for overflow). Two houses side by side on the southern plateau each had *mikvaoth*, one an installation in the floor, the other a rock-cut cave type *mikveh*. The walls of the southern portion of the town showed clear evidence of being built hurriedly in the early stages of the Revolt, though the southeastern wall had several towers. Just below the wall on the western side of the lower plateau was a complex and very carefully contrived tunnel, with gabled roof made of large ashlar, leading to underground chambers, probably used as shelters during the War. Just outside the eastern wall, near the houses with the *mikvaoth*, were two large adjoining natural caves, the southern one of which had an almost completely intact large oil press with crushing pit, and two pressing installations.

Small finds. Several column drums were found, both on the southern plateau and in the later Byzantine village, where a couple of capitals were also in secondary usage. One piece of architrave with simple moldings was found on the surface on the northwest, and a large piece of doorjamb (over 2 m. high) was found in secondary usage to frame the corner of a house in the southeast. These finds are all suggestive of monumental building, of which no in situ evidence has been found. Numerous loom weights and spindle wheels suggest that one of the town's main occupations, in addition to olive oil, was wool production. Pieces from various sizes and shapes of stoneware vessels were found in all areas of the excavation, suggesting, along with the *mikvaoth*, a ritually observant population.

Zebulon. See *Chabulon*

THE WALLED TOWNS OF JOSEPHUS

In *Life* 186-88 and *War* 2.573-74 Josephus provides a list of the towns in the northern regions that he claims to have walled or otherwise strengthened the defences in the early stages of the Great Revolt of 66-74 CE: Gamla, Seleucia, Sogane, Jamnia, Meroth, Acchabaron, Tarichaeae, Tiberias, Sepphoris, Arbel, Bersabe, Selamin, Jotapata (Yodefat), Caphareccho, Sigoph, Japha, Mount Tabor. In addition, Josephus's rival John built walls around Gischala. These 18 "villages" and "cities" of Upper and Lower Galilee (although Gamla, Seleucia, and Sogane were in fact in Gaulanitis) form a special sub-group of the places noted above, because in some cases modern scientific excavations have exposed such defensive walls.

In the case of Yodefat, for example, the excavations have shown that the upper part of the hill was walled from the Hellenistic period onwards. At the northwest corner, where the Romans built a ramp for their siege engines, there were five sequential walls, including one from the Hellenistic period, two from the Hasmonean period, and two from the Early Roman period. There was a makeshift casemate wall at some points, and at the head of the Roman siege ramp the casemate room had been filled in with debris, with a ballista stone inside the debris. Another room shows clearly the effect of the destruction of the wall. But around the rest of the site, including the lower terrace, there had been no earlier wall, and the evidence uncovered by the excavations of 1992-1999 shows clearly a purpose-built wall on the lower east side, with intermittent towers, which in one place cuts right across a pottery kiln installation. On the west side of the lower plateau and also on the northwest, the wall made use of existing houses, in some cases adapting their walls, in other cases building parallel walls. In short, all the features of Josephus's description of the walls have been borne out.

At Gamla, the same general picture obtains. The east wall of Gamla (the only side that required walling) was a mixture of existing walls and new infill walls, for some of its length creating a makeshift casemate wall that was in some cases filled in during the siege. These features can be seen most vividly near the east wall of the synagogue, where a seam is clearly visible to even the most casual eye, the wall thickness varies according to whether it was building construction or emergency wall

construction, and the Beth ha-Midrash was filled in during the siege because it was very near the point at which the siege engines broke through. A round tower, which occupies a prominent place in Josephus's description of the siege of Gamla (*War* 4.62-65), was located at the point where the north-east wall met the ridge.

The same is true, though less clearly demonstrable, at Gush Halav, where a glacis has been interpreted as a part of John's defensive work at that town. At Arbel and Acchabaron the evidence for walls is certain, but not the involvement of Josephus. At Mount Tabor, the walls were Hellenistic in origin, but it is plausible that Josephus would have used these and strengthened them further; he says "this extensive rampart was erected in forty days by Josephus, who was supplied from below with all the materials" (*War* 4.56). A wide wall was discovered at Bersabe, probably built in the Hellenistic period and reused in the first century CE.

At a number of sites the evidence is uncertain. In the limited work at Meroth, a fosse and some remains of a wall were found, neither properly datable. At both Seleucia and Sogane in the Golan the question of the wall depends on the site's identification; in both cases the arguments tend to be circular, since the presence of a defensive wall can be used as a diagnostic indicator of the site's identification. At some important sites, however, such as Tiberias and Tarichaeae, the evidence works against confidence in the accuracy of Josephus's account. While he gives few details to help the modern reader understand what he claims to have done, and while the excavations have not been as extensive as one might wish, none of the excavations to date at either site have turned up walls from the first century. The limited work at Japha, too, has not disclosed any evidence of walls.

To what extent, then, is Josephus's account accurate? At times, perhaps, as elsewhere in his accounts, he exaggerates, and at times he may claim some building activity that can no longer be found, but for the most part his accounts can be read with substantial confidence. His descriptions of the walls and of the ensuing sieges or military actions are among the most accurate and vivid parts of Josephus's history, places where he describes clearly and precisely what he did and how his activities affected the subsequent course of the Revolt and of the eventual Roman victory. A comparison of his descriptions of the sieges at Yodefat and Gamla,

for example, with the results of the extensive excavations at both sites, shows that Josephus's descriptions of the battles are relatively accurate.

SUMMARY

As a rural region of the modern state of Israel, the Galilee still conserves the atmosphere of first-century Galilee as described by Josephus; in some neglected or hidden corners of the Galilee, there has been little change over the intervening centuries. More than a hundred years of archaeological surveys have produced much information about sites and their historical identifications. Scientific archaeological excavations and surveys have increased our information and knowledge about the sites and events of the First Jewish Revolt. We know now more about the Gentile cities surrounding the Galilee from new excavations at Acco (Ptolemais), Beth Shean (Scythopolis), and Umm Qeis (Gadara). The site of Gamla has been identified, confirming the accuracy of Josephus's description. Yodefat (Jotapata) has revealed its destruction layer with arrowheads, ballista stones, and human bones. The border point of Meroth also has been found and identified, and an inscription with the ancient name of Beth She'arim has been uncovered at that site. The four cities used as capitals of the Galilee and Gaulanitis by Antipas and Philip have all been excavated, in part in three cases (Tiberias, Caesarea Philippi, and Bethsaida) and rather extensively in the other case (Sepphoris).

Josephus does not exaggerate his geographical description of the Galilee. Its land, especially in the Lower Galilee, is extensive and fertile and still yields a wide variety of different kind of fruits. Surveys in the Galilee have disclosed terraces all over the mountains, suggesting that the land was extensively cultivated, even in antiquity. First-century oil presses have been found in every first-century site that was excavated (for example, Yodefat, Gamla, and Gaba), and wine presses in others. The number of cities, towns and villages mentioned by Josephus, is close to the number of Roman-period sites identified during the survey in the Galilee and the Golan.

The architectural and building evidence unearthed by archaeologists at the sites noted above is too complex to summarize briefly. It need only be noted that a very wide range of building types

of the first century CE is represented in the archaeological record (basilicas, temples, sophisticated harbor installations, a Pompeian-style fresco, at one end of the spectrum; warehouses and other utilitarian structures, common housing, and commercial structures at the other end). There are substantial remains of religious concerns (synagogue, mikva'oth, cult sites, various styles of burials) and of health and welfare concerns (baths, nymphaea, aqueducts, gymnasia). The technology attested shows both local and indigenous traditional techniques and imported up-to-date Roman techniques (vaults, domes, *opus reticulatum*). There is also ample evidence of daily life in the numerous pieces illustrating domestic activities, and evidence of more sophisticated manufacturing concerns in various oil and wine installations.

Archaeology has thus supplied evidence of the Jewishness of the Galilee: Hasmonean and Herodian coins, ritual baths (*mikva'oth*), stone vessels, limited use of figurative art during the Second Temple period, Jewish inscriptions, and ancient synagogues. At the same time, archaeology has also indicated the presence of pagan elements mixed with or in close proximity to the Jewish towns and villages, and the presence of Jewish communities within pagan cities. The archaeological work of the past century or more has also disclosed with startling clarity the vigor of late Hellenistic-Early Roman culture and religion in the cities of the Mediterranean coast and of the Decapolis that effectively ringed the Galilee. All of these aspects can give us an exceptionally good view of the Galilee at the time of Josephus, and of the cultural conflicts that resulted in the events that Josephus described so dramatically.

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Arbel Caves from southeast looking towards Mount Nitai; wall visible at top left.



Cana from the northeast, looking across the Beth Netofa Valley. Cana is the small hill in the lower foreground; Sepphoris is across the valley on the left.



First-century housing in Capernaum, to the south; modern church is in the background. The upright basalt stones with lintels are “window walls,” typical of the Golan and adjacent areas.



Entrance and steps into cave-type mikveh at Cana in square 22; to north.



Roman milestone found near Capernaum, dating from the time of Hadrian.



Drydocks at Dor; the view looks north to the entrance to the northern harbor (on the right).



Gamla, with the round tower at the top right, the synagogue in the lower left, and the breach at the bottom left. The "acropolis" of Gamla is at the far end of the ridge.



Early- and middle-Roman excavations at Dor, to the north, overlooking the entrance to the northern harbor.



The central room of three near-identical rooms in Gamla's southwestern section, probably part of a public building whose purpose is not yet clear.



Northeastern defensive wall at Gamla, showing breach made by the Romans. The seam in the wall is a case where existing walls were joined by hastily-built sections of new wall to strengthen the fortifications prior to the siege.



Hoard of Tyrian shekels found just outside the door to the large olive press at the west side of Gamla, now in the Qasrin museum.



The pre-70 CE synagogue at Gamla, to the southwest, with the entrance at the far end and benches around four walls.



Looking up towards Hippos, on the east side of the Sea of Galilee, from the southeast; the city was on the top of the hill and the main approach was from the right (east).



Hippos's southern defensive wall, along the edge of the steep south face, from the southeast. On a clear day, Tiberias is easily visible 10 km across the Sea of Galilee.



East façade of the Temple of Apollo at Kedesh, with the Hellenistic Tell in the background, looking west.



Winged Nike on corner of large sarcophagus in Kedesh cemetery, between Tell and Temple of Apollo.



The site of Magdala, just north of Tiberias, in an 1895 photo, looking north across the shore of the Sea of Galilee towards the hills of Upper Galilee. C. Shackelford and F.J. Wende, *The Land of Christ* (Chicago: Donahue, 1895).



The site of Magdala, from the cliffs of Arbel, to the east over the Sea of Galilee



The site of Banyas (Panias) to the west before excavations at the caves, with the headwaters of the Jordan River on the left and the *opus reticulatum* building behind the cypress trees in the middle.



Terraces in front of the cave complex at Panias, looking east, with structures of various dates from the first century BCE onwards.



Complex keystone with twenty faces, at the intersection of two vaults in a late-first century complex (palace? Asklepieion?) at Panias.



Looking west, the Tell of Sennabris (Beth Yerah) is on the bottom left, with the original bed of the Jordan River in the center, where the palm trees are growing.



Sepphoris from the north; behind the theatre at the top of the hill are the Crusader tower and, to the left of it, the modern structure over the Dionysos mosaic.



Looking south across the main east-west street in Sepphoris's Jewish area. In the rear is a plastered floor, and to the left a Hasmonean wall.



Looking southwest from the Tell at Beth Shean over the Roman period excavations; in the center foreground is a monumental structure with the first-century basilica behind it. The columned street is Byzantine.



Looking southwest towards the Carmel range from Beth She'arim. The building is the second-century basilica, to the east of the main townsite.



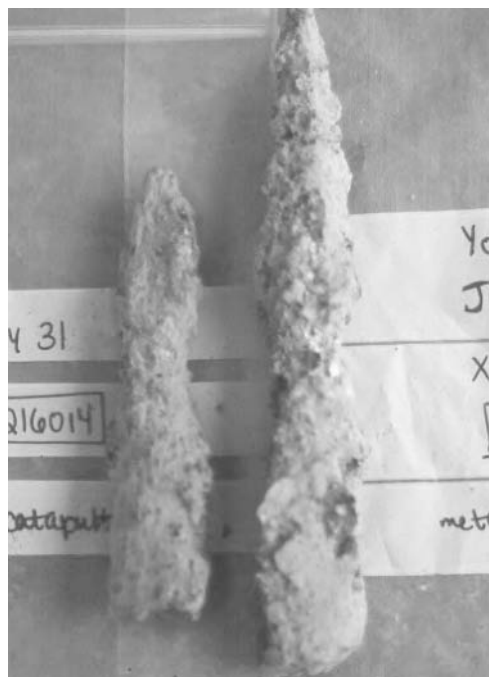
Yodefat from the south, surrounded by deep wadis on three sides. The walls surrounding the lower plateau (center) can be seen on the lower left and lower right.



Tiberias from Mount Berenice, to the southeast. The Roman theatre was in the centre of the photograph, with the rest of the first-century city along the seashore to the left. Hammath lies at the back of the photo.



A Hasmonean tower along the northwest walls at Yodefat; in the same area are earlier Hellenistic walls, and later early-Roman walls of several successive periods.



Roman bronze catapult arrowhead (from the Yodefah excavations)



Ritual bathing pool (mikveh) on the southeast side of Yodefah, with four steps and multiple layers of plaster, in the floor of its own room.



Defenders' rolling stones, used in a siege and rolled down on attackers (surface find at Keren Naphtali; similar rolling stones were found at Yodefah in a stratified context)



Roman iron arrowhead, with modern Israeli shekel for size (from the Yodefah excavations).



Roman ballista balls, about the size of a grapefruit and roughly rounded (from the Yodefah excavations).



Underside of a basalt grinder with foot (from the Yodefat excavations)



Unusual small stone jug with one handle (missing) and spout (from the Yodefat excavations)



Basalt grinder with widowed tripod support (perhaps Iron Age), found in first-century context (from the Cana excavations)

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APPENDIX B

JOSEPHUS' ITINERARY IN THE *LIFE*

Numbers in parentheses indicate Niese paragraphs

Jerusalem	1-12	Judea (12)
Rome	13-16	Mediterranean (4)
Jerusalem	17-29	Judea (13)
Sepphoris (?)	30-64	central Lower Galilee (35)
Near Tiberias	64-66	lake region (3)
Upper Galilee	67	Upper Galilee (1)
Tiberias	68-69	lake region (2)
Gischala	70-76	Upper Galilee (7)
Circuit	77-79	
Summary	80-84	
Cana	85-89	central Lower Galilee (5)
Tiberias	90-95	lake region (6)
Tarichea	96-102	lake region (7)
Sepphoris	103-114	central Lower Galilee (12)
Simonias	115-117	SW extreme of Lower Galilee (3)
Near Besara	118-120	SW extreme of Lower Galilee (3)
Tiberias area	121	lake region (1)
Tarichea	122-186	lake region (65)
Circuit (Summary)	187-88	
Asochis	189-212	central Lower Galilee (24)
Chabolos	213-233	W extreme of Lower Galilee (21)
Iotapata	234-242	central Lower Galilee (9)
Gabara	243-265	central Lower Galilee (23)
Sogane	265-269	central Lower Galilee (5)
Iapha	270-271	central Lower Galilee (2)
Tiberias	272-275	lake region (4)
Tarichea	276-279	lake region (4)
Tiberias	280-303	lake region (24)
Tarichea	304-321	lake region (18)
Near Tiberias	322-330	lake region (9)
Tiberias	331-335	lake region (5)
[Digression on Iustus of Tiberias	336-367]	
Tiberias (?)	368-373	lake region (6)
Sepphoris	374-380	central Lower Galilee (7)
Asochis	381-394	central Lower Galilee (14)
Garis	395-398	central Lower Galilee (4)
Near Iulias	399-402	lake region (4)
Cepharnocus	403	lake region (1)
Tarichea	404-406	lake region (3)
Summary	407-413	
Caesarea	414	Judean coast (1)
Alexandria	415	Mediterranean (1)
Jerusalem area	416-422	Judea (7)
Rome	422-430	Mediterranean (9)
Totals		
Lake region	162	
Central Lower Galilee	150	
SW and W Galilee	27	
Upper Galilee	8	
Mediterranean	14	

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APPENDIX C

SYNOPSIS: PARALLEL EPISODES IN JOSEPHUS' *LIFE* AND *WAR*

Brackets [] in the *War* column indicate a rough thematic parallel rather than a narrative counterpart.

Although the chronological arrangement of the parallel episodes is often different in the two works, there is no simple way to highlight this—for example with italicization. In the *War*, the block of episodes from the Dabarittans' robbery through the Tarichean revolt (*War* 2.595-613) comes right before the major Tiberian revolt (2.614-25) and the Jerusalem delegation (2.626-69), whereas the Tiberians' appeal to Agrippa, which prompts Josephus' illusory marine invasion (2.632-45) follows the delegation episode. In the *Life*, by contrast, the first Tiberian revolt (§§ 85-103) comes before the Dabarittans' robbery and Tarichean revolt (§§ 126-48), and the Tiberian appeal to Agrippa prompting Josephus' fake naval assault (§§ 155-74) belongs before the delegation episode (§§ 189-335). Moreover, the complex of events in *War* 2.614-25—John (Ioannes) of Gischala visits the Tiberian baths and instigates revolt from Josephus; Josephus seeks out his followers and presents them with an ultimatum—appears in the *Life* as two entirely different events. In *Life* 85-96 Josephus escapes the revolt prompted by John's visit to the baths, but only in *Life* 370-72, after a much later Tiberian revolt, does he seek out John's followers and present them with the ultimatum.

1-2 Josephus' ancestry in Judean priestly context	
3-6 Josephus' genealogy	[5.419 Josephus' mother and his noble heritage]
7 Josephus' father	
8-9 early education	
10-12a philosophical education	[1.110-14; 2.119-62 The Judean philosophical schools]
12b Josephus enters public life	
13-6 journey to Rome	
17-9 Josephus' initial response to revolutionary movement and speech against war with Rome	[2.335-404 Agrippa II speaks against war with Rome; 5.362-419 Josephus' speech outside Jerusalem]
20-3 Double game played by Josephus and aristocrats	[2.648-51; 4.320-21 chief priests Ananus and Iesous, desiring peace, try to manage conflict]
24 Cestius' debacle and its implications	2.499-555 Cestius Gallus attacks Jerusalem, withdraws and suffers colossal casualties at Bet-Horon
24-7 Syrian attacks on Judeans: in general, in Scythopolis, in Damascus	2.457-65, 477-80 Syrian reprisals against Judeans; 2.466-76 Scythopolis attacks its Judeans; 2.559-61 Damascus massacres its Judeans
28-9 Josephus sent to Galilee with Ioazar and Iudas	2.562-68 Josephus appointed general of Galilee and Gamala
30a arrival in Galilee	2.569a

30b-31a initial description of Sepphoris: pro-Roman	2.574 Sepphorites: affluent and eager for war, allowed to build own walls (contrast <i>Life</i> 188)
31b initial description of Tiberias: three factions	2.574 Tiberias: no factions mentioned, fortified along with Tarichea and other sites by Josephus
32-4a the faction of refined men	
34b-35 Pistus' faction	
36-9 Iustus' faction	
40-2 more on Iustus, the demagogue	
43a summary: Tiberias	
43b-45 initial description of Gischala	
46a initial description of Gamala (retrospective account)	
46b-47 Philip son of Iacimus escapes from Jerusalem to region near Gamala	2.421, 437, 556 Philip comes to Jerusalem in command of royal troops, is released from siege of Herod's palace by Manaem; joins Cestius
48a Philip catches fever	
48b-52a Philip's correspondence thwarted by Varus	
52b-53 Varus' ambition and attacks on Caesarean Judeans	
54-8 Varus plans to attack Ecbatana; sends for hostages and kills them; the "Babylonian Judeans" flee from Ecbatana to Gamala	2.481-83 Noarus kills voluntary delegation from Batanea and other Judeans
59-61a Philip comes to Gamala and maintains peace	
61b summary: Philip at Gamala	
62-3 Josephus and colleagues receive confirmation of their mission from Jerusalem	
64-6a Josephus announces plan to destroy Herodian palace in Tiberias	
66b-67 Iesus son of Sapphias' group pre-empt Josephus, burning the palace and stealing its treasures	
68-9 Josephus recovers the plunder, gives it to Capella's group	
70-3 Ioannes at Gischala turns rebel, raises money through sale of imperial grain to fortify Gischala; Josephus outvoted by priestly colleagues in permitting this	2.585-90 Ioannes opposes Josephus, profits from building walls of Gischala at his own expense (no mention of Josephus' priestly colleagues)
74-6 Ioannes raises money through his olive oil mo-	2.591-92 Ioannes raises money through selling olive

nopoly, selling to the Judeans of Caesarea Philippi	oil to Judeans of Syria
77-8 Josephus, now alone, pacifies the bandits with payment	
79 Josephus makes 70 leading Galileans his “friends”	2.569-70 Josephus appoints 70 Galilean magistrates
80-4 summary and forecast of Josephus’ virtues; the Galileans’ loyalty	
85-6 Josephus accepts Ioannes’ appeal to come to Tiberias to use baths	2.614 Josephus allows Ioannes to come to Tiberias to use baths
87-8 Ioannes treacherously instigates revolt from Josephus at Tiberias	2.615 Ioannes incites revolt from Josephus
89-91 Josephus comes to Tiberias, surprises Ioannes, who comes to meet him	2.616-17 Josephus comes to Tiberias; Ioannes does not come out to meet Josephus
92-3 Josephus begins speech at stadium	2.618
94-6 Josephus escapes attack from Ioannes’ force, via the lake to Tarichea	2.618-19 Josephus escapes attack, to the middle of the lake
97-100 Josephus calms rage of Galileans at Tiberians’ treachery, prevents civil war	2.620-25 Josephus dissuades mob from revenge against Ioannes; he seeks out Ioannes’ followers and wins over 3,000 of them (cf. <i>Life</i> 370-72)
101 Ioannes begs for pardon	
102-3a Josephus dissuades the Galilean mob from vengeance	
103b-106 The Sepphorites hire the bandit Iesus to protect them	
107-11 Josephus intercepts Iesus and compels his submission	
112-13 Josephus protects Trachonitan refugees from forced conversion	
114 Agrippa sends Modius Aequus to take Gamala	
115-17 Josephus engages Aebutius the decurion, successfully	
118-20 Josephus’ force steals Berenice’s grain	
121 Josephus checks Neapolitanus near Tiberias	
122-25 Ioannes’ efforts to create defection from Josephus: only Gabara obliges	[2.593-94: Ioannes attempts to force Josephus into battle]
126-27 Dabarittan youths rob a royal official’s wife, taking plunder including 500 gold pieces and uncoined silver	2.595-96 Dabarittan youths rob a royal official, taking plunder including 600 pieces and silver goblets

128-31 Josephus intervenes, restores plunder to Agrippa via Dassion and Ianneus	2.597 Josephus delivers plunder to Anneus for holding
132-36a revolt at Tarichea, led by Iesus son of Sapphias, over perception that Josephus would betray Galilee to Romans	2.598-600 revolt at Tarichea, instigated by Ioannes (assisted by Iesus)
136b-140 Josephus rushes to hippodrome to address masses in his defense	2.601-3 Josephus rushes to the hippodrome
141-42 Josephus promises to spend proceeds on walls of Tarichea	2.604-7 Josephus promises to spend proceeds on walls of Tarichea
143-44 Josephus promises walls for other sites to placate crowds	2.608-9 Josephus promises walls for other sites
145-48 Josephus thwarts further attack by 600 armed soldiers, by making an example of one man	2.610-13 Josephus thwarts further attack by 2000 armed soldiers, by making an example of one man
149-51a renewed anger of Galileans against Trachonitan refugees	
151b-154 Josephus thwarts attack on the refugees by helping them to escape to Hippos	
155-58 Tiberians appeal for support from Agrippa, reject Josephus	2.632-33
159-62 Josephus ponders effective response with minimal military support	2.633-34
163-66 Josephus' stratagem of the empty boats intimidates Tiberians to beg forgiveness	2.635-37
167-69 Josephus removes the council and principal men of Tiberias to Tarichea as prisoners	2.638-41
170-73 Tiberians offer up Cleitus as instigator; he loses one hand	2.642-44
174 Josephus' bloodless resolution of conflict at Tiberias	2.645
175-78 Josephus' dinner-time advice to Iustus and Pistus: submit to my mild command!	
179-81 Philip son of Iacimus contacts Modius Aequus	
182-84 Agrippa welcomes Philip, sends him back to Gamala to escort Babylonian Judeans to Ecbatana	
185-86 Gamalites join revolt under Josephus son of Iairus, persuade Josephus to fortify Gamala's walls	

187-188 summary of Josephus' fortifications in Galilee and Gaulanitis	2.573-75
189-90 Ioannes appeals to Simon son of Gamaliel for help against Josephus	2.626-27 Ioannes appeals to unnamed leaders against Josephus
191-93 Simon's positive response, tries to persuade chief priests	
194 Ananus' rejection of Simon's appeal	
195-96a Simon resorts to bribery, wins Ananus' approval	
196b-198 a delegation of four, led by Ionathes the Pharisee (with the Pharisee Ananias, the Pharisee priest Iozar, and the chief-priest Simon), is sent to Galilee	2.628 four distinguished men are sent to remove Josephus from Galilee: Ioesdrus, Ananias, and the brothers Simon and Iudas, who are sons of Ionathes
199-201 preparations for the delegation's departure; escort by the Galilean Iesus with 600 troops	2.628 the delegates have an escort of 2,500
202-3 mission of the delegates: bring Josephus back or kill him	
204-5a Josephus hears of the plot from father, plans to leave Galilee	2.629 Josephus hears of the plot from friends, does not intend to leave
205b-207 Galileans become fearful at Josephus' imminent departure	
208-9 Josephus' dream: he will enjoy good fortune and fight the Romans	[3.351-54 Josephus recalls a number of dreams, in which God communicated the fate of the Judeans and the destiny of Rome]
210-12 Josephus capitulates to Galilean pleas, decides to remain	
213-15 Josephus takes a force to Chabolos, to check Placidus near Ptolemais	
216-18 delegation arrives, requests meeting with Josephus [at Xaloth]	
220-22 cavalryman arrives with the letter; Josephus invites him to dinner	
223-25a Josephus tricks the messenger into disclosing the delegates' plot	
225b-227 Josephus invites delegates to Chabolos	
228 Josephus sends his letter with cavalryman and escort	
229 delegates demand that Josephus come to Gabara	

230-31 delegates unsuccessfully try to gain support in S Galilee

232-33a delegates unsuccessful at Sepphoris and Asochis

233b delegates finally received at Gabara, by Ioannes' force

234-35 Josephus moves to Iotapata, offers to meet delegation anywhere but Gabara and Gischala, mentions 204 cities and villages of Galilee

236-37 delegates plot to gather Josephus' opponents, notify Jerusalem

238-41 Josephus establishes patrol on Galilean border to prevent delegates' communication with Jerusalem

242-43 Josephus arranges force before Gabara

244 Josephus admonishes soldiers to virtue

245 delegates letters to Jerusalem seized

246-48 delegates plot to invite Josephus in, but he pretends to go to bed

249-50 delegates try to win over Galileans while Josephus sleeps

251-53 Josephus thwarts the delegates by appearing, demonstrates Galilean support

254-55 Josephus confronts the delegation

256-58 Josephus' speech to the delegates appeals to Galileans' support

259 Galileans resoundingly support Josephus

260-61 Josephus divulges contents of delegates' letters to Galileans

262-65 Galileans become outraged; Josephus shows clemency and diverts the furious mob to Sogane

266-70 Josephus sends counter-delegation of 100 to Jerusalem via Samaria, moves to Iapha

271-72 delegates proceed to Tiberias, invited by Iesus son of Sapphias; Josephus hears and rushes to Tiberias

[3.43 Josephus describes thick distribution of cities and villages of Galilee; the smallest village has upwards of 15,000]

273-75 anxious delegates appease and flatter Josephus, ask him to remove soldiers for sabbath

276-79 in the prayer-house, Ionathes, Iesous, and Iustus try to persuade the mob, unsuccessfully

280-82 Josephus arrives; Tiberian leaders distract him with false rumor of threat from Roman cavalry

283 Josephus quickly discharges fool's errand, returns to Tiberias

284 delegates fabricate charges against Josephus

285-89 delegates again try, with forged letters, to remove Josephus for battle with Romans; Josephus cleverly thwarts their plan by requiring that they accompany him

290-92 delegate Ananias calls fast in order to disarm Josephus and capture him

293 Josephus surreptitiously arms two of his companions

294-97 Josephus caught and interrogated in prayer-house with companions

298-301a Tiberian mob supports Josephus against delegates; Iesous directs the populace to leave the meeting

301b-302 Ionathes' group blame Josephus and seize him

303-4 Josephus' companions and Tiberian mob support him; he flees to harbor and Tarichea

305-8 Josephus informs Galilean leaders, who indignantly demand punishment of Ioannes and Ionathes' delegation; Josephus calms them

309-10 Josephus' counter-embassy returns, confirming his leadership and support of Jerusalemites

311-12 at Arbela, Josephus confers with Galilean leaders, sends ultimatum to Ionathes' delegates

313-16 council of Josephus' opponents; they decided to hold out against Josephus, sending Ionathes and Ananias back to Jerusalem to reverse decision in favor of Josephus

317-19a Ionathes and Ananias intercepted by Josephus' guards

319b-320a Josephus invites Tiberians to lay down weapons; he is rebuffed

319b-23 Josephus arranges forces near Tiberias, sits down to observe Tiberias; Tiberians mock him

324-26 Josephus captures Simon, one of the two remaining delegates from Jerusalem, by deceit; begins attack on Tiberias

327-30 Tiberians surrender; Josephus consoles Simon

331-32 Josephus enters Tiberias, removes instigators to Iotapata, dispatches Ionathes' delegates back to Jerusalem

333-35 Josephus restores to the Tiberians their plundered goods, disciplines his recalcitrant soldier

336-39 Iustus' rival account of the war is filled with lies; Josephus must respond

340-44 Iustus (not Josephus) must have been an instigator of Tiberias' revolt, in view of his documented actions

345-50a Tiberias did not support King Agrippa or Rome, though it would have been easy to do so

350b-352 Tiberians cannot hold Josephus responsible, for they continued revolt when he was gone

353-54a Tiberians' belligerence

354b Iustus' defense that he fled to the king

355-56 Agrippa exasperated by Iustus, even after showing him clemency

357-58 Iustus' claim to accuracy is ill founded

359-60 Iustus' delay in publishing his book

361-63 Josephus' counter-example: immediate publication and verification from prestigious witnesses

364-67a supporting letters from King Agrippa

367b conclusion to digression against Iustus

368-69 Josephus calms Galileans' clamor for revenge on Ioannes by launching search for names of his supporters

2.620-23

370-72 Josephus wins over most of Ioannes' followers, except Gischalans and some Tyrians, by persua-

2.624-25

sion and coercion

372b John confined to Gischala

2.632a

373-76 when Sepphorites appeal to Cestius for a force, Josephus and Galileans storm the city; the Galileans begin a rampage

2.646b

377-80 Josephus prevents wholesale devastation of Sepphoris by falsely announcing a Roman attack

381-84 Tiberians appeal to King Agrippa for protection; Josephus finds out; the Galileans call for punishment

2.645b-646a

385-88a Josephus calms Galileans by a speech: let us find the culprits first

388b-89 Josephus generously spares the royal courier—and Tiberias

390-93 Iustus flees to King Agrippa, frustrated in his plans for generalship and fearful of Josephus

394-97 Josephus engages force sent from Cestius Gallus to Sepphoris, unsuccessfully

398 royal force under Sulla arrives at Iulias, to cut links between Gaulanite centers of rebellion and Galilee

399-404 Josephus engages royal force, falls from his horse, is removed to Cepharnocus, where he catches fever, then Tarichea

405-6 Sulla attempts further engagement of Josephus' leaderless force but aborts the exercise, intimidated

407-9 Vespasian arrives at Tyre, orders Philip son of Iacimus to render an account to Nero; Philip aborts journey in view of Nero's plight

[3.29 Vespasian advances from Antioch to Ptolemais]

410 Iustus denounced, condemned by Vespasian, protected by Agrippa

411 Sepphorites greet Vespasian

3.30-31 Sepphorites meet Vespasian at Ptolemais and request garrison

412-13 summary: remainder of Josephus' Galilean command, found in the *Judean War*

414-15 Vespasian's initial kindness; Josephus' marriage in prison, freedom, and remarriage in Alexandria

416-17a	Titus' protection of Josephus at the siege of Jerusalem	
417b-419	Titus' favors to Josephus after the capture of Jerusalem; Josephus' liberal actions toward friends	
420-21	Josephus frees crucified friends	
422	Titus gives Josephus favorable land in Judea	
423-25	Vespasian favors Josephus in Rome, provides accommodation, citizenship, funds, and protection from accusers, notably Ionathes of Cyrene	7.437-53 Ionathes of Cyrene attempts to implicate Josephus and others in his revolutionary activities
426-28a	Josephus remarries in Rome; his children	
428b-29	Titus, Domitian, and Domitia continue to favor and protect Josephus in Rome	
430	Epilogue: Josephus' character; final dedication to Epaphroditus	

APPENDIX D

HAPAX LEGOMENA: JOSEPHAN VOCABULARY APPEARING ONLY IN THE *LIFE*

In alphabetical order:

1.	αἰχμαλωτίς	414
2.	ἀνέτοιμος	106
3.	ἀντιγραφή	385
4.	ἄρθρον	403
5.	ἀφάλλομαι	96
6.	δεκάδαρχος	115
7.	δημοσιόω	363, 370
8.	διαπεραιόω	304
9.	ἐμβιάζω	168, 396
10.	ἐνθύμημα	283
11.	ἐνύβρισμα	210
12.	ἐξακούω	94
13.	ἐπίορκος	102
14.	ἐπιστενάζω	84
15.	εὐτρεπτός	315
16.	κάρυον	14
17.	καταβόησις	231, 286, 384, 416
18.	καταθύμιος	16
19.	κατάφορτος	127
20.	κατηχέω	366
21.	κοιτών	382
22.	κύαθος	224
23.	μιμόλογος	16
24.	παραλιμπάνω	376
25.	περιθετός	47
26.	πιθανότης	149
27.	πλαστογραφία	50
28.	πλαστός	177, 337
29.	προδότης	384
30.	προσαναγράφω	413
31.	προσανακουφίζω	96
32.	προσανυξάνω	189, 429
33.	προσεξερεθίζω	298
34.	προσκατασκάπτω	44
35.	στασιοποιός	134
36.	συμπεριπατέω	326
37.	σμπίνω	224
38.	σμπίλους	422
39.	σμπρεσβυς	62, 63, 70, 73, 77, 216, 256
40.	συμπρόερχομαι	293
42.	συναρέσκω	34, 185, 289, 315
43.	σύνδειπνος	175
44.	συνέκδημος	79
45.	σύννους	386
46.	τελματώδης	403

47.	φαρμακεύς	149, 150
48.	φιλοβασιλεύς	345
49.	φιλογράμματος	9
50.	φιλόξενος	142
51.	φιλορωμαίος	[338], 345
52.	φλύαρος	150

In textual order:

φιλογράμματος	9
κάρυον	14
καταθύμιος	16
μιμόλογος	16
συναρέσκω	34
προσκατασκάπτω	44
περιθετός	47
πλαστογραφία	50
σμπρεσβυς	62
σμπρεσβυς	63
σμπρεσβυς	70
σμπρεσβυς	73
σμπρεσβυς	77
συνέκδημος	79
ἐπιστενάζω	84
ἐξακούω	94
ἀφάλλομαι	96
προσανακουφίζω	96
ἐπίορκος	102
ἀνέτοιμος	106
δεκάδαρχος	115
κατάφορτος	127
στασιοποιός	134
φιλόξενος	142
πιθανότης	149
φαρμακεύς	149
φαρμακεύς	150
φλύαρος	150
ἐμβιάζω	168
σύνδειπνος	175
πλαστός	177
συναρέσκω	185
προσανυξάνω	189
ἐνύβρισμα	210
σμπρεσβυς	216
κύαθος	224
σμπίνω	224

καταβόησις	231	δημοσιόω	370
σύμπρεσβυς	256	παραλιμπάνω	376
ἐνθύμημα	283	κοιτών	382
καταβόησις	286	προδότις	384
συναρέσκω	289	καταβόησις	384
συμπροέρχομαι	293	ἀντιγραφή	385
προσεξερεθίζω	298	σύννους	386
διαπεραιόω	304	ἐμβιβάζω	396
εὐτρεπτος	315	ἄρθρον	403
συναρέσκω	315	τελματώδης	403
συμπεριπατέω	326	αἰχμαλωτὶς	414
πλαστός	337	καταβόησις	416
φιλοβασιλεύς	345	προσαναγράφω	413
φιλορωμαῖος	345	σύμπλους	422
δημοσιόω	363	προσαυξάνω	429
κατηχέω	366		

APPENDIX E

PHOTIUS, *BIBLIOTHECA*, CODEX 33

Read: The *Chronicle* of Iustus of Tiberias, on which is the superscription: *Of the Judean Kings Who Are In the Pedigrees [or, The Wreaths]*, by Iustus of Tiberias.

This man hailed from the city of Tiberias in Galilee. He begins the history from Moses and ends it at the death of Agrippa, the seventh [king] of those from the house of Herod and the last of the Judean kings, who received the rule thanks to Claudius, flourished thanks to Nero and still more under Vespasian, and dies in the third year of Trajan, which is also where the history ended.

His idiom is extremely concise and indeed he passes by most of the extremely compelling events. Given the Jewish diseases—he was himself a Jew by ancestry—of the coming of Christ, of the things com-

pleted by him, and of the wonders done by him, he preserved no memory [made no mention] whatsoever.

Now this man was the son of a certain Jew by the name of Pistus—as Josephus declares, the vilest of people, a slave to goods and pleasures. He [Iustus] used to be a political opponent of Josephus, and is said by him to have hatched numerous plots. But Josephus, even though he had taken this enemy in hand many times, impassively and with words only reproached him [insisting that he] leave off his crimes. And they say that the history that that man wrote happens to be mostly fabricated, and especially in what concerned the Roman war against the Jews and the capture of Jerusalem.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY AND INDICES

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

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INDEX OF GREEK WORDS

The following index aims to give a fairly complete account of Josephus' vocabulary in the *Life*. Missing are proper nouns (see the Index of Ancient Persons, Groups, and Places) as well as conjunctions, particles, pronouns, and common adjectives such as πᾶς and μόνος. References are to the (Niese) section numbers used in the present translation. If the word receives comment in the notes, the reader will usually find the principal discussion at its first appearance. Rengstorff's *Complete Concordance* should be consulted for occurrences of these terms in the entire Josephan corpus. Brackets [] indicate variant readings. Braces {} indicate the number of occurrences of a common word. An asterisk marks words that occur only (among Josephus' works) in the *Life*. Bold or italic characters draw the reader's attention to clusters of word occurrences (see the introductory essay).

A		ἄκρόπολις	246, 376
ἄγαθος	13, 29, 58, 230, 256, 288	ἄλγέω	209, 420
ἄγαπάω	24, 198	ἀληθεῖα	40, 141, 258, 336, 337, 361, 364, 367, 367, 385, 401
ἄγγελία	379	ἀληθεύω	132, 338, 339
ἄγγελλω	301	ἀληθής	262, 286
ἄγγελος	89, 90	ἀλίσκομαι	240, 352, 414
ἄγκυρα	167	ἄλλαχού	275
ἄγνεια	11	ἁμαρτάνω	154, 229
ἄγνοέω	[51], 107, 110, 175, 198, 366, 417	ἁμαρτία	[52], 333
ἄγνοια	[167], 396	ἁμείνων	29, 77, 154, 278, 357, 359
ἄγνωμοσύνη	111, 174	ἁμελέω	284, 405
ἄγνωστος	242	ἁμετάβλητος	264
ἄγορά	107	ἁμύνω	293
ἄγρός	422	ἁμφοτέρωθεν	327
ἄγω	4, 73, 97, 102, 127, 153, 256, 273, 326, 383, 398, 406, 414, 414, 415, 427	ἀναβαίνω	13, 23, [102], 146, 227, 325, 325, 411
ἄγων	30	ἀναβολή	287
ἄγωνιάω	404	ἀναγινώσκω	27, 227, 358
ἄδεις	104	ἀναγκάζω	42, 113, 127, 137, 289, 351, 396
ἀδελφή	178, [186], 343, 355	ἀναγκαῖος	144, 223, 339, 367, 413
ἀδελφος	4, 8, 33, 41, 177, 178, 186, 190, 195, 201, 419	ἀνάγκη	27, 74, 153, 161, 171, 256, 291, 338
ἄδικέω	139, 386	ἀναγραφή	430
ἄδικος	299	ἀναγράφω	6, 40, 339, 413
ἄδοξος	278	ἀνάγω	102
ἄθεμιτος	26	ἀναξυγνυμι	44, 117, 308, 318
ἄθροίζω	44	ἀναΐδεια	357
αἰκίζω	147	ἀναίρεσις	21
αἵρεσις	10, 12, 191, 197	ἀναιρέω	20, 25, 46, 52, 52, 61, 67, 95, 136, 140, 151, 177, 185, 186, 204, 302, 343, 396
αἰρέω	10, 82, 124, 260, 271, 374	ἀναίσχυντος	261
αἶρω	39, 60, 64, 303, 326	ἀνακοπτω	394
αἰτέω	419	ἀνακρίνω	296
αἵτησις	418	ἀνακτιζω	45
αἰτία	13, 13, 24, 25, 31, 46, 51, 56, 125, 150, 179, 198, 272, 381, 390	ἀναλαμβάνω	15, 42, 54, 90, 101, 106, 115, 136, 145, 183, 185, 213, 242, 246, 253, 317, 341, 373, 374, 395, 399
αἷτιος	41, 145, 10, 331, 340, 342, 350, 352, 368, 387, 424	ἀναλίσκω	71
αἰφνίδιος	253	ἀναπαύω	241
αἰχμαλωτῖς	414*	ἀναπηδάω	265
αἰχμάλωτος	354, 419, 420	ἀναρπάζω	381
ἄκολουθέω	200	ἀνασταυρόω	420
ἀκούω	55, 115, 120, 156, 159, 195, 200, 205, 207, 217, 225, 246, 251, 252, 262, 273, 286, 371, 378, 379, 383, 385, 404, 406, 408	ἀναστρέφω	273
ἄκρίβεια	191, 358, 360, 412	ἀνατρεπω	250
ἄκριβής	9, 27, 356, 387	ἀναφανδόν	278
ἄκριβος	365	ἀναχωρέω	67, 151, 267, 292, 300, [396], 406, 412
ἄκροβολισμός	215, 399	ἀναχώρησις	177

ἀνδραποδίζω	84, 99	ἀποθαυμάζω	174
ἀνδρεία	293	ἀποθνήσκω	154, 252, 302, 355, 416, 425
ἀνδρείος	77	ἀποκαθίστημι	183
ἀνεπίβατος	152	ἀποκαλέω	384
ἀνεπίσχετος	265	ἀπόκειμαι	119
ἀνέτοιμος	106*	ἀποκόπτω	147, [171], 177
ἀνέχω	392	ἀποκρίνω	198
ἀνηκεστος	266	ἀπόκρισις	231, 320
ἀνηρ	32, 41, 56, 90, 104, 113, 117, 141, 142, 168, 169, 171, 178, 180, 192, 194, 196, 200, 241, 245, 264, 266, 278, 288, 290, 332, 359, 408, 430	ἀποκτείνω	50, 53, 57, 171, 202, 343, 353, 393, 406
ἄνθρωπος	87, 102, [113], 134, 232, 298, 298, 319, 363, 370, 371, 376	ἀπολαμβάνω	63, 80, 185
ἀνιάρως	377	ἀπόλλυμι	48, 91, 100, 205, 333
ἀνίστημι	186, 234, 295	ἀπολογέομαι	56, 101, 338
ἀνόητος	18	ἀπολύω	77, 78, 92, 111, 153, 168, 178, 223, 263, 271, 319, 419
ἀνοιίγω	246	ἀπονέμω	422
ἀνόνητος	422	ἀπονοέω	19
ἀνοπλος	28, 290, 291	ἀποπέμπω	426
ἀνταίρω	22	ἀπορέω	51, 161, 385
ἀντεῖπον	186	ἀπορος	22, 66
ἀντέχω	117, 314	ἀπόρρητος	225
ἀντιγραφὴ	385*	ἀποσπάω	321
ἀντιγράφω	225, 236, 382	ἀποστασία	[39], 43
ἀντιλέγω	40	ἀπόστασις	17, 25, 39, [43], 124, 125, 277, 331
ἀντίπαις	8	ἀποστέλλω	51, 180, 260
ἀντιπαρατάσσω	116	ἀποστερέω	128, 205
ἀντιτάσσω	202	ἀποστολή	268
ἀνύβριστος	80, 259	ἀποτίθημι	188
ἄξιος	172, 212, 240, 250, 302	ἀποτίνω	298
ἀξιώω	43, 103, 137, 186, 195, 227, 231, 252, 272, 300, 342, 384, 416	ἀποτρέπω	19
ἀξίωμα	315	ἀποτυγχάνω	419
ἀπαγγέλλω	50, 51, 53, 58, 62, 83, 89, 131, 146, 158, 180, 239, 251, 272, 280, 307, 309, 357, 412	ἀποφαίνω	194
ἀπαγορεύω	65, 128	ἀπόφασις	79
ἀπάγω	326	ἀποφέρω	360
ἀπαίρω 101,	422	ἀπρακτος	101, 117, 232, 279
ἀπαλλαγὴ	206, 312	ἀπρεπής	146
ἀπαλλάσσω	31, 131, 209, 256, 270, 351, 415	ἀπρονοητος	73
ἀπαρτάω	138	ἀπροσδοκητος	253, 281, 304
ἀπαρτίζω	367	ἀπώλεια	272, 424
ἀπατάω	149, 302, 325, 427	ἄρά	101
ἀπάτη	40	ἀργύριον	68, 127, 199, 200, 225, 295
ἀπειθεω	109, 172, 334	ἄρδην	102, 306, 375, 384 (4/5 occurrences; always with ἀφανίζω)
ἀπειλέω	111, 131, 143, 303, 314, 335, 370	ἄρεσκω	238, 279, 369, 426
ἄπειμι	230, 250, 279, 316	ἄρετή	258
ἀπείργω	247	ἄρθρον	403*
ἄπειρος	40	ἀριθμός	15, 105, 164, 371, 419
ἀπελαύνω	356	ἀριστερός	173
ἀπέρχομαι	[151], 157, 206, 210, 232, 252, 269, 272, 274, 276, 286, 368	ἀριστοποιέω	279
ἀπεχθής	375, 384 (both with ἔχω)	ἄριστος	2, 10, 321
ἀπέχω	64, 80, 115, 118, 157, 214, 265, 314, 322, 349, 398, 404	ἄρκέω	114, 244
ἀπιστέω	275	ἀρνέομαι	222, 255, 385
ἀπιστία	97	ἄρπαγή	130, 131, 139, 244, [333], 335, 380
ἀποβαίνω	57	ἄρπάζω	68, 97, [130], 335
ἀποβάλλω	37, 117, 172, 173, 396	ἀρχαιολογία	430
ἀποβλέπω	135, 232	ἀρχεῖον	38
ἀποδείκνυμι	427	ἀρχή	5, 17, 52, 70, 190, 302, 310, 391, 428
ἀποδέω	246	ἀρχῆθεν	366
ἀποδίδωμι	130, 335, 430	ἀρχιερατεύω	2, 3, 4
ἀπόδρασις	153	ἀρχιερεύς	3, 3, 4, 4, 9, 21, 193, 194, 194, 197, 216
		ἀρχιληστής	105
		ἀρχιτέκτων	156
		ἄρχω	4, 12, 15, 32, 37, 38, 39, 59, 66,

ἄρχων	244, [271], 391, 407	βελτίων	40
ἄσεβης	134, 278, 294	βία	113, 303
ἄσημος	26	βιάζομαι	26, 66, 108, 113, 154, 185, 303
ἄσμενος	1, 35, 68, 295, 296	βιβλίον	361, 363, [412], 418
ἀσπάζομαι	173, 225	βίβλος	27, 365, 412
	91, 106, 183, 221, 228, 230, 246,	βίος	41, 256, 344, 413, 423, 427, 430
	273, 325, 411	βιόω	257, 258
ἀσφάλεια	45, 113, 126, 163, 188, 283, 330	βλασφημέω	232, 407
ἀσφαλής	108, 118, 269, 347, 393	βλασφημία	245, 260
ἀσφαλίζω	317	βλάσφημος	158, 320
ἄτελεια	429	βλέπω	312, 361
ἄτυχέω	238	βοάω	231, 244, 301
αὐθημερόν	245	βοή	250
αὐλή	46, 66, 295, 407	βοήθεια	282, 285, 290
αὐξανω	193	βοηθέω	288
αὐτοκράτωρ	342, 359, 361, 363, 416, 424, 428	βόσκημα	58
αὐτόματος	11	βουλεύω	132, 163, 218, 236, 368, 370
αὐτομολέω	107, 239	βουλή	64, 69, 169, 204, 279, 284, 300,
αὐχέω	340		313, 313, 381
αυχίν	138	βούλομαι	10, 14, 27, 37, 49, 54, 70, 79, 128,
ἄφαίρέω	68, 77, 190, 193, [423]		141, 142, 159, 172, 234, 235, 261,
ἄφάλλομαι	96*		269, 295, 298, 321, 324, 324, 326,
ἄφανής	293, 321		336, 345, 348, 363, 34, 375
ἄφανίζω	102, 306, 375, 384, 389	βραδύνω	51, 89
ἄφηγεομαι	288, 390		
ἄφθονία	86	Γ	
ἄφιημι	158, 159, 166	γάμος	4
ἄφικνέομαι	14, 16, 20, 30, 47, 49, 50, 55, 62,	γέλως	323
	64, 70, 78, 86, 87, 91, 96, 98, 103,	γενεά	18
	106, 112, 125, 142, 149, 156, 161,	γενναῖος	117, 137, 153
	162, 174, 180, 198, 204, 214, 216,	γένος	1, 1, 2, 2, 4, 6, 16, 52, 126, 191,
	219, 230, 232, 254, 280, 292, 309,		196, 197, 278, 359, 382, 427
	311, 352, 381, 407	γῆ	42, 63, 138, [152], 167, 282, 425
ἄφιξις	104, 246, 411	γινώσκω	9, 16, 29, 70, 75, 116, 130, 165,
ἀφίστημι	28, 87, 88, 92, 123, 158, 183, 185,		174, 182, 193, 196, 215, 237, 257,
	187, 261, 273, 344, 391		263, 280, 319, 364, 369, 370, 405
ἄφορμή 375		γνήσιος	8
ἄφροσυνη	323	γνώμη	22, 34, 67, 79, 89, 98, 101, 122,
ἄχαριστος	172, 204		131, 139, 165, 185, 195, 206, 232,
ἄχθομαι	154		289, [290], 307, 309, 316, 369
ἄχρεῖος	50, 117	γνωρίζω	[16], 383, 420
ἄχρηστος	290	γνώριμος	7
		γνώσις	239, 363
Β		γοητεία	40
βάλλω	167, 214	γονεύς	8, 427
βαπτίζω	15	γράμμα	50, 53, 90, 177, 180, 181, 204,
βᾶρις	246		236, 240, 241, 245, 255, 261, 272,
βαρύς	50, 189		287, 310, 337, 383
βασιλεία	49, 388, 410	γραφή	358, 361
βασιλεύς	33, 34, 37, 39, 46, 49, 50, 52, 53,	γράφω	48, 62, 85, 86, 101, 155, 155, 180,
	53, 55, 59, 60, 61, 68, 74, 112,		186, 203, 204, 208, 217, 219, 221,
	114, 126, 126, 131, 140, 154, 155,		223, 228, 230, 234, 237, 254, 261,
	157, 158, 162, 165, 180, 180, 181,		267, 269, 271, 285, 292, 312, 319,
	182, 184, 185, 187, 220, 340, 343,		336, 342, 357, 360, 364, 364, 366,
	349, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 357,		381, 385
	359, 362, 364, 365, 366, 381, 382,	γυνή	16, 25, 58, 61, 80, 84, 99, 126,
	384, 385, 388, 388, 390, 391, 393,		127, 166, 207, 210, 230, 259, 328,
	397, 398, 407, 407, 408, 408, 409,		415, 419, 426, 427, 427, 429
	410, 410		
βασιλεύω	2, 5	Δ	
βασιλικός	2, 38, 46, 52, 57, 68, 68, 149, 295,	δαίμων	402
	400, 402, 407	δάκρυ	138
βασιλῖς	119	δάκρυον	420
βασκαίνω	425	δαπανάω	142
βέβαιος	168, 293	δακρύω	210
βεβαιόω	310		

δαψιλής	113	διαστασιάζω	266
δεήσις	211, 329	διασύρω	150
δεῖ	41, 100, 113, 128, 150, 209, 227, 239, 269, 275, 286, 314, 317, 386, 393	διασώζω	16, 50, 99, 154, 379
δείδω	20, 28, 91, 101, 104, 125, 145, 148, 152, 165, 172, 202, 206, 261, 273, 304, 337	διαταράσσω	281
δειλία	172	διατελέω	423, 429
δεινός	100, 101 , 340	διατίθημι	122, 323, 377, 380
δεκάδαρχος	115*	διατρέφω	14
δεκάτη	63, 80	διατριβή	270
δέλτος	6	διατρίβω	11, 12, 86, 115, 118, 122, 145, 160, 207, 295
δένδρον	11	διαφέρω	8, 175, 191, 196, 427
δεξιὰ	30, 370	διαφεύγω	46, 96, 144, 148, 304, 389, 389, 394, 425
δέον	83	διαφθείρω	196, 262, 301, 305 , 353, 357
δέος	[73], 207	διαφίημι	212
δερμός	241, 318, 332	διαφορά	2
δεσπότης	124, 130, 346	διάφορος	192, 237, 273
δέχομαι	87, 124, 181, 193, 222, 292, 313, 347, 420, 422,	διαφυλάσσω	39, 43, 83, 128, 428
δέω	13, 332, 343, 355, 388, 410, 412, 424	διαχράομαι	26
δέω, δέομαι	103, 139, 173, 285, 310, 333, 343, 352, 355	διδασκαλία	366
δηλος	256	διδάσκαλος	274
δηλός	27, 41, 61, 319, 339, 344, 410	διδάσκω	29, 37, 139
δημαγωγέω	40	δίδωμι	38, 48, 63, 69, 71, 77, 80, 105, 153, 199, 200, 200, 224, 228, 241, 247, 257, 261, 268, 297, 297, 298, 326, 330, 332, 343, 382, 419, 422, 423, 423, 429
δημηγορέω	92	διεγείρω	137
δήμος	22, 39, 64, 150, 169, 211, 266, 279, 298, 299, 300, 301, 303, 309, 310, 310, 350	διέξειμι	183, 255
δημόσιος	6, 172, 199	διέρχομαι	11, 182, 336, 365
δημοσιόω	363, 370*	διηγέομαι	60, 311
δημοτικός	197, 284	διηγησις	336
διαβάλλω	6, 149	διίστημι	139
διαβολή	80	δίκαιος	22, 79, 93, 141, 167, 194, 274
διαγγέλλω	98, 242	δικαιοσύνη	7
διαγινώσκω	158, 234, 280, 346, 391	δικαστής	258
διάγω	284	δίκη	97, 111, 145, 343, 368
διαδέχομαι	[59], 428, 429	διοικέω	49, 74, 315, 368
διαδιδράσκω	390	διοίκησις	86
διαδίδωμι	59, 281, 378	διορθόω	192
διαδοχή	3, 6	διώκω	150, 388
διάδοχος	61, 180	δίωξις	404
διαίρεω	287, 321	διώρυξ	153
δαίτα	113	δόγμα	237
διακινδυνεύω	397	δοκεω	8, 75, 98, 138, 161, 191, 196, 207, 208, 237, 265, 286, 291, 307, 314, 316, 316, 338, 348, 365
διακούω	229	δοκιμάζω	161
διακωλύω	47, 88	δόκιμος	55, 228, 293, 386
διαλέγομαι	178	δόξα	46, 94, 157, 193, 274, 283, 320
διαλύω	254, 279, 388	δόυλος	429
διαμαρτάνω	79, 131, 271, 361	δρασμός	252
διαμένω	37, 428	δραχμή	75, 75, 224, 224
διανέμω	324	δράω	357, 377
διανίστημι	210	δύναμαι	22, 44, 135, 153, 176, 192, 194 , 218, 225, 226, 227 , 252, 255, 277, 292, 300, 346, 347, 349 , 357, 385 , 387, 393
διανοέω	72, 245, 289	δύναμις	23, 36, 44, 57, 60 , 105, 114, 116 , 117 , 155, 157, 161, 162, 165, 175, 186, 193, 213, 215 , 285, 287, 327, 352, 378, 394, 394, 398 , 402, 407, 411
διάνοια	158, 166	δυναστεία	74
διαπέμπω	31, 75, 119, 131, 169, 241, 312	δυνατός	288
διαπεραιόω	304*	δύσκολος	80
διαπεράω	153		
διαπορεύω	320		
διαπράσσω	26		
διαρπαγή	333		
διαρπαζω	30, 67, 77, 127, 162, 376, 386		
διασαφews	374		

δυσμένεια	299	ἔλεος	212
δυστυχής	19	ἐλευθερία	185, 386
δωρεά	16, 38, 195, 425	ἐλεύθερος	418
δωρέομαι	355	ἐλπίζω	23, 24, 123
Ε		ἐλπίς	144, 248, 272, 325, 380, 391
εἶα	22, 65, 108, 113, 210, 211 , 247, 294, 356	ἐμβαίνω	153, 163, 164, 304
ἔγγονος	2,	ἐμβιβάζω	168, 396*
ἔγγράφω	261	ἐμβλέπω	223
ἐγείρω	143	ἐμμένω	34, 46, 61, 104, 346
ἐγκαταλείπω	205, 210 , 237, 314	ἐμπειρία	10, 11, 17 , 198
ἔγκειμαι	19	ἐμπίπρημι	42, 66, 145, 214, 310, 327, 341, 376, 410
ἐγκλείω	229	ἐμπίπτω	46, 245, 318, 379, 403, 409
ἐγκρατής	353, 396	ἐμποδίζω	48
ἐγχώριος	414, 424	ἐμποδῶν	402
ἔδαφος	99, 403	ἐμφανής	335
ἔθνος	2, 24, 29, 44, 45, 82	ἐμφανίζω	344
ἔθος	149, 198	ἐμφύλιος	100, 265, 409
εἶδον	66, 109, 137, 170, 303, 327, 420	ἐναντίος	250, 261 , 358
εἰκάζω	148, 166, 401, 422	ἐναρμόζω	268
εἶμι	138, 404	ἐνδείκνυμι	332
εἶπον	10, 55, 136, 141, 172, 205, 221, 263, 278, 279, [296], 296, 296, 298, 299, 307, 326, 335, 345, 386, 388, 420	ἐνδοιάζω	36
εἰρηνεύω	78, 211	ἐνδοτέρω	20
εἰρκτή	175	ἐνέδρα	216, 308, 324, 325 , 401, 406
εἰρωνεύομαι	367	ἐνειμι	269
εἰσάγω	[290], 322	ἐνεργέω	156
εἰσβάλλω	378	ἐνθύμημα	283*
εἰσδέχομαι	[347], 394	ἐνιαυτός	4, 12, 13
εἰσέρχομαι	108, 109, 247, 277, 294	ἐνίστημι	161, [252]
εἰσηγομαι	290	ἐννοέω	48, 72
εἰσκαλέω	221	ἐννοια	227, 282
εἰσπέμπω	146, 147, 327	ἐνοικέω	67, 160
εἰσπράσσω	145	ἐνοικος	26, 99, 317, 342, 398 (5/6 in Josephus)
εἰστρέχω	376	ἐνοχλέω	118, 159
εἰσφέρω	68, 316, 369	ἐντελλω	242, 318
ἐκβάλλω	147, 196	ἐντολή	202, 247
ἐκδημέω	388	ἐντρέπω	336
ἐκκαίω	134, 263	ἐντυγχάνω	53, 90, 245, 311, 345, 367
ἐκκλειω	294, 396	ἐνύβρισμα	210*
ἐκκλησία	268	ἐξαγγέλλω	137, 357
ἐκκλίνω	304	ἐξάγω	183
ἐκκόπτω	193	ἐξαίρέω	99, 114
ἐκλανθάνω	[14], 28	ἐξαίφνης	48
ἐκλύω	417	ἐξακούω	94*
ἐκμανθάνω	387	ἐξανίστημι	223
ἐκουσios	261	ἐξαποστέλλω	57, 147
ἐκπέμπω	51, 332, 332	ἐξάπτω	105, 123, 298, 321
ἐκπίπτω	162, 309	ἐξαργάζω	303, 385
ἐκπληξίς	122, 148, 347	ἐξεγείρω	424
ἐκποδῶν	189	ἐξείμι	163, 201, 289
ἐκτίθημι	154, 370	ἐξεῖπον	204
ἐκτρέχω	323	ἐξελεύθερος	48, 51
ἐκφέρω	195, 306	ἐξερεθίζω	151
ἐκφεύγω	94, [148]	ἐξερχομαι	42, 283
ἐκφορέω	71, 118	ἐξεστι	339
ἐκών	39, 76, 77 , 202, 347, 351	ἐξετάζω	354
ἐλαιον	74, 75	ἐξέτασις	300
ἐλαττώω	17	ἐξίστημι	167
ἐλάττων	169	ἐξοδος	53, 201, 240
ἐλεγχος	91	ἐξοκέλλω	122
ἐλέγχω	255, 339, 356, 360, 385	ἐξουσία	71, 72, 75, 80 , 89, 106, 112, 190, 343, 348, 419
ἐλεεινός	138	ἔοικα	366
		ἐπαγγέλλω	102, 103 , 144, 271, 287
		ἐπάγω	18, 107, 112, 115, 118, 119 , 201,

ἔπαινέω	219, 331, 387	ἐπιτίθημι	335
ἔπαινος	7, 9, 232, 279	ἐπιτρέπω	31, 66, 76, 85, 138, 162, 263, 306, 384
ἐπαίρω	158, 166	ἐπιτρέχω	158
ἐπακολουθέω	22, 54	ἐπιτροπεύω	13
ἐπανίστημι	212, [272]	ἐπίτροπος	126
ἐπανορθόω	185	ἐπιτυχάνω	392
ἔπαρχος	333	ἐπιφαίνω	15, 406
ἔπαρχος	33, 46, 121	ἐπιφανής	427
ἐπείγω	161, 221, 288, 388	ἐπιφέρω	56, 127
ἔπειμι (ἐπιέναι)	159, 161, 242, 243, 275, 277, 279, 280, 290, 293, 331, 357, 384, 400, 74	ἐπιχειρέω	40, 216, 236, 338
ἔπεισφέρω	74	ἐπιχειρήμα	289
ἐπέρχομαι	22, 24, 26, 26, 140, 151, 193, 279	ἐπιχειρήσις	72, 107, 239
ἐπέχω	103, 132, 140, 253, 307, 329, 379	ἔποικος	375
ἐπιβαίνω	96	ἐπομαι	118, 126, 163, 200, 265, 411
ἐπιβάλλω	302, 367	ἐπόμνυμι	275
ἐπιβάτης	165, 167	ἔργον	47, 96, 194, 194, 262, [299], 361
ἐπιβλέπω	323	ἐρεθίζω	39, 98, 149
ἐπιβοάω	136	ἐρημία	11
ἐπιβόησις	251	ἔρημος	[11], 376
ἐπιβουλεύω	82, 125, 216, 217	ἐρρωμένος	226
ἐπιβουλή	101, 106, 107, 110, 148, 225, 248	ἔρχομαι	56, 65, [115], 137, 235, 271, 293, 306, 324, 325, 374, 382, 394
ἐπίβουλος	25	ἔρῳ	3, 338
ἐπιγινώσκω	181, 204, 335, 419	ἔρωτάω	62, 225
ἐπιδείκνυμι	183, 299	ἔσθης	11, 127, 138, 293
ἐπιδέχομαι	218, 277	ἔσπερά	329
ἐπιδημέω	200	ἔστιασις	175, 178, 330
ἐπιδίδωμι	361, 362	ἔστιάω	220
ἐπίδοσις	8	ἔσχατία	318
ἐπικτῆς	176	ἔσχατος	18, 409
ἐπίθεσις	293	ἑταῖρος	124, 287
ἐπιθυμέω	36, 87, 302	ἑτοιμάζω	86, 203, 213, 223
ἐπιθυμία	12, 70, 80	ἑτοιμος	29, 73, 168, 287
ἐπικαλέω	3, 4, 25, 50, 177, 427	ἑτοιμότης	120
ἐπικλάω	267, 329	ἔτος	5, 5, 9, 10, 12, 80, 360
ἐπικράτεια	126	εὖ	122, [292]
ἐπικρατέω	19	εὐγένεια ¹ , 7	
ἐπικρύπτω	258, 410	εὐγενής	427
ἐπιλανθάνομαι	14	εὐεργεσία	16, 60
ἐπιλέγω	95, 321	εὐεργετέω	429
ἐπιμανής	34	εὐεργέτης	244, 259
ἐπιμέλεια	226, 414	εὐθύς	38, 158, [250], 250, 251, 251, 280, 292, 302, 305, 312, 322, 362, 402, 421
ἐπιμελής	365, 421	εὐκαταφρόνητος	206
ἐπιμελητής	272	εὐνοία	84, 94, 103, 122, 125, 250, 353
ἐπιμένω	47, 143	εὐνοϊκός	237
ἐπιμνήσκομαι	27	εὐνοῦχος	429
ἐπινεύω	124	εὐπορέω	28, 63, 66, 76, 350
ἐπινοέω	252, 281, 320	εὐπορία	74
ἐπίνοια	223, 287	εὐπραγία	122, 189
ἐπίορκος	102*	εὐρίσκω	6, 14, 22, 30, 31, 243, 283, 356
ἐπιπίπτω	44, 106, 126, 253	εὐσέβεια	14, 75, 291, 291
ἐπιπλήσσω	217, 408	εὐσεβέω	113
ἐπίσημος	7	εὐσεβής	321
ἐπισκευάζω	128	εὐσχημων	32
ἐπισκευή	71, 130	εὐτρεπής	[315], 323
ἐπισπάω	400	εὐτρεπίζω	201, 266
ἐπισπεύδω	285	εὐτρεπτος	315*
ἐπίσταμαι	142, 357	εὐτυχής	209
ἐπιστέλλω	101, 184	εὐτυχία	17, 123, 425
ἐπιστενάζω	84*	εὐφημία	251
ἐπιστολή	48, 50, 51, 53, 181, 217, 220, 221, 222, 223, 227, 229, 234, 241, 245, 254, 255, 260, 285, 292, 311, 312, 313, 356, 364, 382	εὐχερής	167, 346
ἐπιτήδειος	86, 87 , 125, 176, 420	εὐχη	292, 295
ἐπιτηρέω	126	ἐφεδρεύω	114

ἡφμερίς	2	θράσος	120
ἡφίμη	391	θρασύνα	346
ἡφίστημι	137, 163, 208, 242, 253, 266, 270, 276, 287, 294, 398	θρασύς	126, 147, 170, 185, 220
ἡφόδιον	224, 244, 297, 330, 332	θυγάτηρ	4
ἡφοδος	146, 253	θυμός	143, 393
ἡχθρα	336	θύρα	146, 246, 294
ἡχθρός	25, 28, 67, 94, 96, 128, 137, 210, 282, 293, 392	θωραξ	293
ἡχυρότης	77	Ι	
ἡχω	{62}	ἱατρίνη	185
ἡωθεν	178, 292	ἱατρός	404, 404
Ζ		ἴδιος	33, 94, 110, 246, 387
ζηλωτής	11	ἱδρύω	405
ζημία	131	ἱερατικός	197
ζημιόω	[387]	ἱερεύς	1, 2, 13, 16, 29, 63, 80, 198
ζητησις	302	ἱερός	20, 21, 348, 418, 419
ζῶ	149, 202, 359, 412, 421	ἱεροσύνη	1, 198
ζῶον	65	ἱκανός	11, 40, 68, 162
Η		ἱκετεία	206
ἡγεμονεύω	347, 424	ἱκετεύω	210, 328
ἡγεμονία	5, 5, 423	ἱλη	121, 214
ἡγεμών	183, 373, 398	ἱππεύς	115, 116, 116, 126, 157, 182, 183, 213, 214, 220, 221, 281, 285, [396], 397, 405, 406, 420
ἡγέομαι	100, 146, 171, 275, 288	ἱππικός	117, 394, 398
ἡδομαι	226	ἱππόδρομος	132, 138
ἡδύς	87, 323, 365	ἵππος	112, 153, 265, 403
ἡθος	426, 427, 430	ἵστημι	92, 118, 252, 323
ἡκω	59, 89, 96, 99, 107, 113, 115, 127, 145, 157, 165, 170, 207, 212, 218, 220, 221, 221, 226, 227, 239, 246, 273, 280, 285, 301, 318, 331, 359, 371, 373, 384, 393, 394, 395, 398, 399, 409, 423	ἱστορία	40, 336, 339, 345, 359, 362, 367, 367
ἡλικία	266	ἴσως	358
ἡμέρα	11, 15, 47, 61, 157, 159, 161, 205, 242, 268, 279, 275, 277, 285, 293, 309, 319, 331, 370, 388, 400, 401, 404, 405	ἴχνος	283
ἡμίονος	127	Κ	
ἡρεμέω	28	καθαίρέω	65, 421
ἡττάομαι	73, 397	καθαρεύω	79
ἡσυχάζω	299	καθαρός	74
ἡσυχία	73	καθέζομαι	222, 286, 322
Θ		καθέλκω	163
θάλασσα	14	καθεύδω	248
θάνατος	131, 225, 425	καθίζω	236, 368, 400
θαρρέω	40, 143, 359, 360, 373, 405	καθίστημι	28, 30, 49, 63, 89, 131, 244, 245, 260, 272
θαυμάζω	222, 339, 357	καθυπνόω	249
θαυμάσιος	208	καιρός	3, 34, 39, 49, 86, 94, 112, 125, 176, 216, 239, 271, 353, 373, 375, 390, 398, 426
θεάομαι	28, 140, 165, 204, 208, 210, 281, 334, 377	κακοήθεια	367
θεῖον, τό	14, 48	κακός	14, 18, 170, 192, 207, 249, 250
θέλω	31, 42, 62, 66, 71, 97, 105, 106, 113, 149, 152, 155, 163, 218, 224, 226, 235, 244, 346, 349, 370, 370, 417, 430	κακούργημα	356
θεμιτός	275	κακουργία	76, 107, 177
θεός	15, 83, 113, 138, 290, 301, 425	κακοῦργος	290
θεραπεία	85, 329, 421	κακόω	121, 395
θεραπεύω	404, 421	καλέω	16, 55, 237, 244, 259, 330, 385, 388, 407
θερμός	85	καλός	13, 29, 55, 194, 256, 257, 258, 297, 315
θνήσκω	59, 109, 137, 139, 141, 355	καλὸς κἀγαθός	13, 29, 256
θορυβέω	300, 401	κάμηλος	119
		κάμνω	209
		καρτερός	327, 397
		κάρυον	14*
		καταβαίνω	1, 57, 68, 85, 94, 116, 210, 233, 249, 251, 322, 324, 326, 384
		καταβοάω	59, 230, 233, 233, 342, 410
		καταβόησις	231, 286, 384, 416*

καταγινώσκω	425	κίνδυνος	18, 22, 46, 83, 125, 137, 144, 212, 272, 304, 389, 394, 423
κατάγνωσις	93	κλαίω	205
κατάγω I	36, 264	κλάω	212
κατάδηλος	47, 167, 172 (3/5)	κλείω	153
καταθυμιοσ	16*	κλίμαξ	396
κατάκειμαι	222	κλίνη	323
κατακερτομέω	323	κοιμάω	132
κατακολουθέω	12	κοινός	65, 72, 190, 218, 254, 259, 264, 267, 297, 298, 309, 341, 348, 393
κατακρίνω	355	κοινωνός	142
κατακτάομαι	302	κοίτη	208, 223
καταλαμβάνω	17, 56, 280, 284, 329, 376, 409	κοιτών	382*
καταλείπω	58, 132, 142, 205, 234, 272, 276, 276, 301, 316, 371, 380	κολάζω	133, 143, 171, 178, 335, 410, 416, 429, 429
καταλεύω	76	κολακεύω	367
κατάλυσις	86, 91, 122, 275, 384, 423	κόμη	47
καταλύω	38, 248, [264], 269	κομίζω	48, 50, 80, 128, 130, 139, 220, 261, 312, 335, 383, 403
καταμανθάνω	10	κόπος	136
καταμέμφομαι	167	κόπτω	171, 173
κατάμεμψις	250	κόσμος	274
καταμένω	404	κρατέω	26
καταναγκάζω	211	κράτιστος	29, 316, 430
κατανεύω	156, 173, 206, 212	κράτος	44, 45, 82, 84, 99, 328, 350, 352, 374, 417
κατανοέω	72	κρείττων	45, 123, 277, [393]
καταπαύω	422, 430	κρεμάννυμι	147
καταπίμπρημι	370	κρίνω	30, 35, 63, 68, 104, 146, 219, 237, 240, 256, 430
καταπλέω	406	κρίσις	79, 386
καταπλήττω	120, 165, 215, 320	κρότος	251
κατάρχω	100, 265	κρύπτω	246, 293
κατασκαφή	417	κρύφα	301
κατασκευάζω	65, 65, 142, 144, 156, 189, 282	κτείνω	137, 140, 186, [406]
κατασκευή	77	κτήσις	33, 77
καταστέλλω	17, 103, 244, 369	κτίστης	37
καταστρατηγέω	320, 372	κύαθος	224*
καταστροφή	41	κυβερνήτης	163, 167
κατατίθημι	29, 55, 202, 318, 319, 352, 419	κυκλώω	114
καταφεύγω	113, 150, 152	κυρόω	312
κατάφορτος	127*	κωλυτής	149
καταφρονέω	80, 143, 291, 337, 347	κωλύω	76, 86, 121, [149], 161, 346, 386
καταψεύδω	260, 314, 338	κώμη	42, 47, 58, 64, 71, 86, 115, 115, [118], 118, 119, 129, 187, 187, 187, 188, 213, 214, 214, 218, 229, 230, 231, 235, 237, 242, 243, 243, 265, 311, 318, [321], 322, 322, 326, 341, 346, 395, 403, 410, 412, 420
καταψηφίζομαι	225		
κατεῖδον	70		
κατεπείγω	282		
κατεργαζομαι	289, [359]		
κατέχω	43, 48, 53, 60, 61, 62, 92, 136, 205, 233, [253], 301, 323		
κατηγορέω	315, 428, 429, 429		
κατηγορία	194, 284, 425		
κατηφεια	212		
κατηφής	252		
κατηχέω	366*		
κατοικέω	25, 27, 31, 55, 74, 81, 97, 104, 115, 123, 124, 132, 155, 203, 427		
κατορθόω	209, 402		
κείμαι	42, 47, 71, 73, 115, 118, 192, 295, 318, 346, 349		
κελεύω	56, 62, 94, 109, 131, 139, 140, 140, 147, [149], 156, 163, 167, 172, 178, 183, 198, 200, 212, 221, 223, 227, 230, 233, 237, 240, 242, 242, 265, 266, 267, 290, 292, 293, 300, 307, 311, 312, 313, 317, 318, 322, 326, 331, 343, 355, 378, 388, 414, 421		
κενός	167		
κέρδος	325		
κινδυνεύω	14, 20, 91, 252, 348, 416		
		Λ	
		λάθρα	388
		λαλέω	94
		λαμβάνω	{72}
		λανθάνω	83, 125, 390, 425
		λαμπρός	191, 278, 334
		λαμπρότης	1
		λανθάνω	83, 125, 390, 425
		λάφυρον	81, 129
		λέγω	{61}
		ληηλατέω	120, 282, 285
		λήγω	161
		λήμμα	79
		ληστής	28, 46, 47, 77, 106, 145, 175, 206
		ληστροικός	21

λίθος	303
λίμνη	96, 153, 165, 304, 327, 349
λιπαρής	19
λογισμός	192
λόγος	13, 40, 40, 41, 82, 100, 182, 183, 195, 252, 267, 281, 302, 378, 408, 430
λοιδορέω	211
λοιπός	50, 168, 217, 365, 372
λούω	11
λοχάω	321
λόχος	246, 400, 405
λυπέω	208, 209, 259
λύπη	205
λύτρον	419
λυχνία	68
λύω	16, 332, 412, 415

M

μακαρίζω	273
μακράν	23
μακρός	162
μανθάνω	29, 62, 270, 307, 366
μανία	19
μαρτυρέω	194, 259, 364, 367
μαρτυρία	52, 360, 361
μάρτυς	256, 257
μάστιξ	147
μάχαιρα	173, 293, 303
μάχη	24, 117, 120, 215, 215, 327, 350, 397, 400, 403, 405, 412
μέγεθος	170
μεγιστάν (οί μεγιστάνες)	112, 149, 151, 153
μεθίστημι	180, 195, 282
μεθόριος	42, 105, 115, 118, 153, 213, 241, 281, 285 (9/15 in Jos.)
μεθύσκω	225, 388
μέλας	138
μέμψις	266
μένω	22, 148, 211, 212, 267, 316, 325, 372
μερίς	36
μερος	28, 81, 378, 396
μέσος	15, 37, 134, 251, 255, 318, 326, 334, 346, 359
μεστός	230
μεταβαίνω	149
μεταβολή	36, 87, 93, 139, 300
μετακαλέω	78
μετακομίζω	404
μετανοέω	17, 110, 113, 262
μετάνοια	370
μεταπείθω	231, 249, 250
μεταπέμπω	61, 69, 77, 131, 153, 161, 175, 200, 305, 313, 317, 331, 404
μετατίθημι	165, 195
μετενδύω	138
μετουσία	1
μέτριος	(always in <i>litotes</i> , preceded by negation) 22, 122, 148, 289, 313, 371
μετριότης	339
μήν	200
μήνις	392
μητηρ	2, 426
μητρόπολις	372

μηχανάομαι	53
μικρός	13, 41, 336
μιμνήσκω	209, 353
μιμόλογος	16*
μισέω	135
μισθός	78, 200, 297, 298
μισθοφορά	77
μισοπονηρέω	135
μισοπονηρία	311
μίσος	20, 39, 123, 189, 375, 378
μνήμη	8
μοίρα	129, 242, 287, 288, 321
μόλις	173
μολύνω	244
μονόω	95
μορφή	65
μοχθηρία	393
μύσος	152

N

ναῦς	165
ναύτης	66
νεανίας	129 , 170, 220
νεανίσκος	126 , 132 , 185
νέμω	242
νέος	197
νεότης	325
νεωτερισμός	17 , 23 , 56, 184
νεωτεριστής	22 , 28 , 134
νεώτερος	25, 36, 38, 70, 87, 391
νηστεία	290
νηχῶ	15
νικάω	24 , 24 , 26 , 28 , 45, 81, 103, 150, 327, 327, 378, 416
νίκη	406
νοέω	298
νομίζω	11, 50, 122, [123], 139, 154, 212, 257, 290, 321, 328, 360, 393
νόμιμος	9, 74, 191, 279, 295
νόμος	65, 128, 134, 135, 161, 198
νοῦς	122
νύξ	11, 15, 90, [115], 208, 220, 239, 318, 394, 395, 404, 405

Ξ

ξένος	143, 162, 372
ξέστης	75, 75
ξιφίδιον	293
ξίφος	138
ξύλον	233

Ο

ὁδεύω	115, 241, 283
ὁδηγέω	96
ὁδοιπορέω	157
ὁδός	108, 118, 138, 241 , 245 , 246 , 248 , 253 , 270, 276, 398
ὀδύρομαι	323
οἶδα	102, 261, 264, 283, 350, 360, 386
οἰκείος	16, 31, 44, 63, 94, 95, 183, 274, 310
οἰκέτης	221, 341
οἰκέω	393
οἶκημα	277
οἴκησις	159, 212, 370
οἰκητωρ	230

οἰκία	136, 139, 144, 145, 146, [147], 151, 153, 246, 264, 310, 327, 376, 423	ὀροφή	66
οἰκοδομέω	137	ὅσιος	171, 377
οἰκοδομία	142, 156	οὐσία	370
οἶκος	65, 66, 163, 427	ὀφείλω	63, 80, 149
οἶνος	223, 225	ὀφθαλμός	17
οἴομαι	10, 36, 66, 83, 100, 101, [146], 162, 247, [375], 413	ὀχλέω	275
ὀκνέω	251, 325	ὄχλος	123, 149, 243, 277, 284, 350
ὀλέθριος	264	ὀχυρός	187, 230
ὀλίγος	30, 77, 109, 127, 151, 169, 257, 304, 305, 317, 324, 344, 345, 381, 393, 396, 425	ὀχυρότης	[77], 373
ὀλίγωρος	336	ὀχυρώω	45, 188, 347
ὅλος	15, 90, 200, 221, 366	ὄψις	210, 356, 409
ὀμηρεύω	31	Π	
ὀμηρος	79	παιδαγωγός	429
ὀμιλία	67, 222, 228	παιδεία	8, 40, 196, 359
ὀμνύω	259	παιδιά	323
ὀμοεθνής	286	παῖς	2, 3, 4, 4, 4, 5, [9], 34, 36, 46, 48, 66, 122, 134, 166, 210, 223, 390, 426, 427, 429
ὅμοιος	27, 176, 196, 231, 322, 337, 337, 380, 428, 428	παίω	303
ὁμολογέω	81, 103, 125, 140, 140, 143, 168, 244, 325	πανουργία	74
ὁμολογουμένως	52	παντοῖος	264
ὁμόφυλος	26, 55, 56, 128, 171, 376, 377	παραβαίνω	74
ὄνειρος	208, 210	παραβάλλω	146
ὄνομα	8, 11, 86, 170, 188, 200, 207, 290, 369, 382, 397, 424	παραγγέλλω	69, 78, 108, 184, 229, 243, 245
ὀνομάζω	3	παραγίνομαι	47, 52, 59, 4, 65, 108, 132, [149], 153, 177, 183, 213, 227, 229, 234, 235, 242, 247, 248, 272, 295, 410
ὄνος	119	παράγω	34
ὄντως	249	παραδίδωμι	69, 73, [129], 226, 363, 410, 425
ὀξύς	266, 389, 402	παραδόξος	394
ὀπλίζω	45, 368	παραδόσις	361, 364
ὀπλίτης	92, 95, 101, 107, 109, 118, 118, 132, 136, [137], 139, 140, 144, 145, [148], 159, 161, 164, 186, 190, 200, 201, 212, 228, 229, 233, 233, 234, 240, 240, 241, 242, 243, 246, 247, 253, 268, 301, 304, 316, 321, 326, 327, 329, 331, 332, [372], 399, 406	παραίνεσις	266, 378
ὄπλον	22, 22, 26, 28, 29, 31, 39, 42, 54, 55, 58, 77, 77, 97, 99, 102, 109, 112, 151, 161, 166, 185, 188, [200], 202, 219, 242, 253, 290, 317, 318, 319, 328, 341, 348, 350, 351, 352, 370, 371, 373, 383, 391, 424	παραινέω	217, 253, 369, 400, 408
ὄραά	22, 43, 77, 85, 117, 157, 162, 162, 250, 281, 323, 373, 380	παραιτέομαι	141, 352
ὀργή	100, 142, 146, 231, 233, 262, 263, 264, 266, 311, 385, 388, 393	παρακαλεω	16, 59, 62, 63, 64, 65, 71, 74, 85, 89, 92, 97, 98, 101, 102, 103, 106, 124, 146, 153, 155, 156, 166, 170, 180, 186, 190, 193, 204, 205, 218, 222, 254, 259, 263, 267, 275, 282, 285, 324, 327, 333, 373, 378, 381, 394
ὀργίζω	306, 307	παραάκειμαι	349
ὀρεγω	70	παρακελεύω	99, 250, 306
ὀρεινός	322	παρακλήσις	87, 193
ὀρθός	298	παρακολουθέω	357
ὀρκίζω	258	παραλαμβάνω	66, 68, 79, 121, 236, 373, 381, 394
ὄρκος	78, 101, 211, 275	παραλείπω	261, 319
ὀρμάω	54, 55, 88, 138, 148, 245, 249, 252, 262, 264, 287, 303, 310, 351, 374, 375	παραλιμπάνω	376*
ὀρμή	60, 265, 329, 379, 417	παραμένω	137, 207, 372, 415
ὅρος	188	παραμυθέομαι	330
ὅρος	47, 270	παραμυθία	418
		παραναγινώσκω	260
		παράνομος	26, 80
		παραπέμπω	182, [270], 330
		παραπλήσιος	12, 187, 233
		παρασκευάζω	156, 309
		παρασκευή	126
		παρασπονδέω	305
		παράταξις	341, 357, 397
		παρατίθημι	6
		παρατυγχάνω	358, 362
		παραφυλάσσω	125, 227, 228, 241, 324, 325, 332
		πάρειμι	115, 149, 243, 250, 281, 290, 340, 364, 375, 430
		πάρειμι	240

παρέκβασις	367		140, 149, 159, 168, 170, 172, 175,
παρέρχομαι	37, 279		194, 198, 210, 212, 212, 218, 230,
παρέχω	74, 77, 86, 113, 157, 265, 283		[249], 251, 253, 261, 262, 263,
παρθενος	414		264, 265, 266, 271, [279], 279,
παρίημι	375		280, 289, 290, 298, [298], 302,
παρίστημι	22, 27, 82, 356, 345, 351		306, 315, 315, 331, 383, 388, 419
παροξύνω	45, 68, 97, 132, 262, 298, 299 ,	πληθύω	142
	309, 383	πληρης	58, 165, 165, 192, 243, 245, 260
παρουσία	90, 273	πληρωω	119
πάσχω	27, 148, 207, 357, 392, 404, 416	πλησιάζω	91, 107, 167, 301
πατήρ	7, [18], 37, 88, 175, 204, 204, 428	πλησίος	167, 214, 234, 399
πάτριος	135, 191, 198	πλοῖον	15, 15, 15, 96, 153, 163, 165, 167,
πατρίς	18, 30, 71, 142, 189, 205, 226,		167, 304
	235, 262, 338, 340, 344, 346, 349,	ποθέω	204
	355, 372, 391, 417, 418	πόθος	207
παύω	22, 23, 100, 111, 123, 146, 173,	ποιέω	{55}
	174, 209, 262, 298, 302, 377, 388	πολεμέω	17, 35, 50, 59, 78, 209, 234, 244,
πεδῖον	115, 116, 116, 126, 207, 210, 243,		341
	244, 249, 318, 397, 406, 422	πολεμικός	17, 352
πεζικός	394, 398	πολέμιος	20, 22, 26, 116, 118, 121, 122,
πεζός	115, 116, 214, 285, [394], 396,		150, 154, 210, 219, 237, 237, 253,
	[398]		282, 283, 303, 348, 354, 394, 400,
πειθαρχέω	200		407
πείθω	17, 19, 29, 31, 42, 55, 56, 60, 63,	πόλεμος	19, 24, 27, 27, 36, 60, 67, 100,
	65, 73, 77, 87, 103, 113, 116, 123,		105, 177, 182, 203, 213, 265, 284,
	132, 133, 140, 149, 151, 185, 190,		287, 289, 306, 321, 338, 351, 358,
	193, 195, 201, 211, 264, 271, 273,		359, 362, 391, 392, 409, 412, 412,
	307, 315, 373, 388, 389, 391, 394,		413, 417
	417	πολιορκέω	46, 114, 348, 353, 357
πείρα	125, 160, 229	πολιορκία	329, 350, 354, 357, 412, 412, 414,
πειράω	6, 17, 37, 43, 79, 92, 104, 116,		416
	139, 302	πόλις	7, 9, 12, 25, 31, 32, 37, 37, 64, 77,
περιαλγέω	204		81, 84, 87, 89, 91, 9, 104, 115,
περιγίνομαι	149		117, 118, 123, 124, 130, 142, 144,
περίειμι	40, 40, 359, 426		155, 157, 162, 163, 165, 166, 169,
περιέρχομαι	397		186, 188, 191, 193, 196, 198, 202,
περιθετός	47*		214, 232, 235, 237, 237, 241, 266,
περίιστημι	109		271, 275, 276, 277, 280, 281, 282,
περίκειμαι	334		307, 314, 324, 327, 328, 328, 332,
περιμένω	29, 176, 274, 307, 321, 352		335, 341, 342, 346, 346, 347, 348,
περίοικος	78		349, 352, 373, 374, 375, 378, 379,
περιοράω	77, 193, 282, 285		381, 384, 386, 394, 395, 396, 410,
περιπίπτω	83		417
περιποιέω	36	πολιτεία	344, 423
περισπάω	104	πολιτεύω	12, 258, 262
περισσεύω	333	πολίτης	42, 43, 135, 137, 200, 204, 274,
περιτέμνω	113		278, 321, 346, 353, 372
περίφοβος	372	πολυπραγμονέω	276, 312
πετρώδης	187	πονέω	11
πιθανότης	149*	πονηρία	298, 339, 353
πικρός	339	πονηρός	29, 86, 102, 133, 134, 151, 290,
πίπτω	24, 138, 341, 350, 354, 397, 418		355
πιστεύω	55, 55, 72, 86, 101, 115, 137, 144,	πορεία	57, 90, 126, 213, 269
	319, 356, 393, 397, 428	πορεύω	129, 183, 205, 226, 228, 231, 262,
πίστις	22, 26, 30, 34, 39, 43, 46, 61, 79,		266, 269, 271, 315, 415, 419
	84, 87, 93, 104, 123, 160, 167,	πόρθησις	376
	293, 333, 346, 349, 370	ποταμός	399
πιστός	95, 110, 163, 228, 234, 240, 242,	πόρος	14
	253, 378, 380	πούς	118
πλαστογραφία	50*	πράγμα	36, 40, 63, 70, 72, 87, 134, 192,
πλαστος	177, 337*		222, 226, 250, 300, 314, 391
πλεονέκτημα	116	πραγματεία	336, 357
πλέω	164	πρακτέος	218, 313
πληγή	335	πρᾶξις	91, 104, 271, 338, 363, 402
πληθος	31, 37, 40, 50, 59, 76, 77, 84, 91,	πράσις	128
	92, 103, 113, 136, 138, 139, 140,	πράττω	{45}

	173, 193, 264, 279, 298, 340, 368, 424	συνδιατρίβω	21
στασιώδης	17	συνδιώκω	327
στέγω	225	συνέδριον	62, 236, 368
στενωπός	304	σύνειμι	9
στίφος	21	συνέκδημος	79*
στολή	334	συνεκπεμπω	228
στόμα	210	συνεπάγω	163, 316
στράτευμα	214	συνέρχομαι	133, 284
στρατεύω	220, 346	σύνεσις	8, 192, 278
στρατηγέω	123, 182, 194, 249, 392	συνεχής	20, 323, 416
στρατηγήμα	148, 163, 169, 265, 379 (5/20)	συνεχω	213
στρατηγία	174, 205, 251, 260, 389	συνηδομαι	273
στρατηγός	89, 97, 98, 114, 132, 135, 137, 176, 230, 231, 250, 277, 341, 380, 399, 411	συνήθης	13, 113, 180, 192, 204, 334, 419, 420
στρατιά	395	συνήμι	139, 223, 224, 234, 287, 298
στρατιώτης	150, 172, 213, 218, 222, 224, 228, 242, 292, 317, 329, 334, 374, 388, 395, 396, 399, 400, 417	συνίστημι	35
στρατιωτικός	159	σύννους	386*
στρατοπεδάρχης	407	σύνοδος	279, 280, 311
στρατόπεδον	214, 234, 398, 405	σύνοιδα	361
στρέφω	400	συνοράω	116, 265, 300
συγγενής	47, 81, 177, 186, 362	σύνταγμα	106
συγγινώσκω	103, 110, 168, 262, 333	σύνταξις	423
συγγνώμη	227	συντίθημι	196, 337, 425
συγγραφεύς	340	σύντονος	283
συγγράφω	338, 358, 359, 365	συντρέχω	243
συγκατανεύω	22, 124 (2/3)	συντυγχάνω	366
συγκατατίθημι	66	σώζω	46, 58, 149, 181, 304, 333, 380
συγκαταφέρω	403 (1/2)	σῶμα	85, 137, 160, 242, 329, 397, 418
συγκλείω	74	σωματοφύλαξ	92, 96, 132, 171, 293, 398
συγχέω	289	σωτήρ	244, 259
συγχωρέω	72, 76, 106, 111, 139, 154, 173, 352, 355, 417, 419	σωτηρία	14, 84, 94, 206, 301, 355
σῦκον	14 (1/2)	Τ	
συλλαμβάνω	25, 240, 241, 383	τάγμα	347
συλλέγω	119, 280	ταξίαρχος	242
σύλληψις	109	τάξις	200, 356, 397
συμβαίνω	28, 51, 157, 179, 245	ταράσσω	134, 159, 208, 253, 313, 371, 406
συμβάλλω	24, 26, 45	ταραχή	103, 136, 244, 369, 409, 422
συμβουλεύω	22, 34, 99, 176, 194, 238, 244, 287, 288, 315, 319	ταρσός	403
συμβουλία	289	τάσσω	228, 242
συμμαχέω	317	τάχος	65
συμμαχία	203, 243, 348	ταχύς	16, 70, 92, 96, 109, 132, 149, 183, 195, 218, 221, 223, 268, 269, 272, 310, 373, 394
σύμμαχος	26, 39, 115, 235	τειχίζω	156, 187
σμπαιδεύω	8	τείχος	45, 71, 128, 130, 142, 144, 156, 186, 187, 189, 230, 317, 347, 352, 373, 395
συμπείθω	279	τεκμήριον	1, 55, 344, 358
συμπέμπω	268, 416	τέκνον	25, 58, 61, 84, 99, 207, 230, 328, 419
συμπεριπατέω	326*	τελειόω	12
συμπίνω	224*	τελευτάω	141, 204, 421, 426, 428
συμπίπτω	13, 154, 250	τελματωδης	403*
σύμπλους	422*	τέλος	19, 24, 60, 79, 107, 152, 154, 196, 308, 379, 393, 394, 406, 414
σύμπρεσβυς	62, 63, 70, 73, 77, 216, 256*	τεταραγμένως	91
σμπροέρχομαι	293*	τετράρχης	37, 65
συμφέρω	48, 60, 100, 193, 264, 335, 370	τηρέω	29, 140, 361
συμφεύγω	376	τίθημι	[122], 214, 399
συναγώ	98, 111, 207, 277, 280, [335], 384	τιμάω	423, 423
συναίρω	185	τιμή	153, 273, 414, 422, 428, 429, 429
συναναμίγνυμι	242	τίμιος	418
συναπτω	116	τιμωρέω	82, 135, 170, 263
συναρέσκω	34, 185, 289, 315*	τιμωρία	39, 132, 172, 266, 335, 337, 342, 416
συνδειπνέω	222		
σύνδειπνος	175*		

τόλμα	146, 222	ὑποψία	20, 93
τολμάω	135, 216, 231, 263, 277, 357	ὑστερος	45, 83, 355, 397
τόπος	114, 117, 241, 245, 281, 283, 287, 290, 318, 396, 403, 420	ὑφαίρεω	423
τράπεζα	38, 68	ὑψηλός	92
τράχηλος	147	Φ	
τρέπω	39, 73, 120, 208, 295, 383, 402, 406	φαίνω	50, 138
τρέφω	150	φανερός	75, 114, 125, 216, 277, 290, 299
τριγχός	92, 96	φανερόω	231
τρόπος	43, 225, 236, 254, 258, 305, 342, 361, 376, 385, 412, 412	φάραγξ	400
τροφή	11, 200, 212, 242	φαρμακεύς	149, 150*
τρυφή	284	φάρμακον	150, [150]
τυγχάνω	13, 16, 33, 42, 159, 176, 220, 227, 290, 295, 361, 421, 423	φάσκω	71, 97, 100, 113, 123, 195, 198, 244, 275, 417, 424
τύπτω	108, 233	φαῦλος	41, 194
τυραννέω	302	φείδομαι	166, 264, 328
τυραννίς	260	φέρω	50, 93, 122, 153, 189, 228, 266, 276, 310, 334, 359, 382, 393, 423
τυφός	53	φεύγω	47, 80, [94], 109, 127, 146, 327, 354, 355, 380, 388, 397, 401
τύχη	142, 180, 417, 419	φήμη	132, 182, 379, 380
Υ		φημί	28, 50, 66, 72, 74, 110, 122, 128, 135, 146, 164, 195, 198, 204, 216, 224, 224, 237, 256, 261, 262, 267, 272, 274, 277, 287, 288, 296, [296], 297, 297, 302, 307, 310, 314, 315, 324, 340, 350, 354, 354, 358, 367
ὑβρίζω	408	φθάνω	15, 58, 66, 88, 107, 162, 193
ὑδωρ	11, 85	φθείρω	73
υἱός	204	φθονέω	85, 230
ὑπάγω	116	φθόνος	80, 122, 204, 423
ὑπακούω	37, 38, 106, 109, 116, 120, 168, 217, 225, 272, 278, 283, 287, 291, 292, 391, 406	φιλέω	198
ὑπαντάω	49, 57, 231 , 232 , 402, 411	φιλία	16, 30, 79, 274
ὑπαντιάζω	91, 166, 230 , 233 , 304, 325	φιλοβασιλεύς	345*
ὑπάρχω	2, 39, 41, 80, 159, 172, 198, 274, 419	φιλογράμματος	9*
ὑπεέρχομαι	21	φιλονεικία	100, 254
ὑπέρθεσις	162	φιλόξενος	142*
ὑπερτίθημι	239, 279	φιλόπονος	338
ὑπερῶν	146	φιλορωμαίος	[338], 345*
ὑπέχω	13, 172, 342, 408	φίλος	79, 99, 124, 124, 131, 144, 161, 163, 164, 180, 192, 204, 405, 220, 222, 223, 234, 235, 236, 241, 269, 294, 324, 325, 326, 326, 368, 378, 384, 408, 419, 419
ὑπηκοός	122 , 123 , 184, 349	φιλόφρων	183, 325
ὑπισχνέομαι	105 , 111 , 156, 263, 330 , 336 , 374, 382	φίλτατος	365, [365], 366
ὑποβολή	282	φλύαρος	150*
ὑποδέχομαι	[218], 271	φοβέω	109, 237, 252, 379, 406
ὑποζωννυμι	293	φόβος	22, 31, 76, 148, 209, 328, 351, 352, 354
ὑπόθεσις	1	φόνος (always follows χωρίς in <i>Life</i>)	103, 174, 244, 369
ὑποθήκη	30, 268, 291, 389	φράζω	6, 107, 141, 225, 245, 305, 331
ὑποκρίνομαι	36	φρικώδης	275
ὑπολαμβάνω	132, 207, 249	φρονέω	17, 20, 25, 43, 52, 56, 70, 352
ὑπομένω	212, [252]	φρόνησις	192
ὑπομιμνήσκω	60, 177, 254, 377	φροντίζω	78, 84, 94, 206, 242
ὑπόμνημα	342, 358, 358	φρουρά	261, 347, 398, 422
ὑπονοέω	101, 276	φρουρέω	53, 108, 118, 240, 253, 373
ὑποπίπτω	381	φρούριον	20, 47, 58, 59, 61, 114, 114, 179, 183, 350, 398
ὑποπτεύω	57, 86, 325	φρουρός	260
ὑποστέλλω	215, 278	φυγή	148, 402, 406
ὑποστρέφω	12, 16, 51, 63, 139, 144, 221, 283, 310, 329, 404, 409, 420	φυλακή	121, 137, 160, 178, 242, 245, [270], 316, 319, 397, 405
ὑποστροφή	402		
ὑπόσχεσις	106		
ὑποτασσω	364		
ὑποτελής	126, 410		
ὑποτίθημι	199, 228		
ὑποχείριος	28, 82, 219, 247, 271 , 274 , 292, 387, 416		
ὑποχωρέω	20, 58, 91, 144, 246, 396		

φύλαξ	270, 318, 388			142, 146, 196, 199, 355, 423, 424
φυλάσσω / φυλάττω	68, 72, 80, 93, [128], 128, 130, 139, 155, 163, 168, 241, 245, 318, [324], 343, 349, 414, 418	χρηστότης		423
φυλή	2	χρόνος		2, 13, 37, 80, 295, 343, 370, 407, 415
φύρω	138	χρυσοῦς		127, 296, 298, 302
φύσις	34, 87, 134, 187	χρυσόω		66
φύω	11, 193	χώρα		61, 78, 102, 112, 120, 126, 129, 132, 154, 155, 187, 205, 210, 211, 244, 266, 285, 312, 395, 422, 424, 427, 429
φωνέω	172			
φωνή	133, 143, 158, 166, 231, 259	χωρέω		31, 279, 391
Χ		χωρίζω		215
χαίρω	6, 87, 181, 217, 226, 229, 365, 366	Ψ		
χαλεπός	129	ψευδής		182
χάραξ	214, 395, 399, 400 , 420	ψευδολογία		261
χαράσσω	363	ψεῦδος		336
χαρίζομαι	53, 355, 418	ψεύδω		50, 248, 296, 425
χάρις	103, 126, 143, 149, 224, 244, 251, 252, 325, 336, 339	ψεῦσμα		245
χείρ	39, 83, 134, 147, 171, 172, 173, 177, 222, 224, 244, 302, 363, 403	ψηφίζω		73, 190, 237
χειροτονέω	341	ψυχή		209, 323, 355, 420
χείρων	172, 404	ψυχρός		11
χράομαι	11, 47, 74, 74, 85, 124, 130, 146, 148, 163, 174, 260, 265, 266, 402	Ω		
χρεία	139, 277, 288, 388	ώρα		220, 223, 239, 243, 279, 280, 290, 386
χρηζω	80, 366	ωφέλεια		398
χρήμα	63, 66, 73, 76, 105, 112, 139, 140,			

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INDEX OF ANCIENT TEXTS

GREEK TEXTS

- Aeschines
In Ctesiphonem
 3.81: §133
 3.113: §197
 3.131.152: §22
- Aeschylus
Persae
 469: §69
Prometheus vincetus
 485: §208
- Agatharchides
 §159 (see Josephus, *Apion*)
- Anonymous
Double Arguments (Dissoi logoi)
 xxxvii
- Antiphon
Tetralogia
 xxxvii
 12.9: §18
- Appian
Bella civilia
 1.102: §410
 2.1.2: §1
- Aristobulus
 §10 (See Eusebius)
- Aristophanes
Aves
 966: §48
Equites
 184: §13
 387: §326
 227: §13
 735: §13
Lysistrata
 1060: §13
Nubes
 609: §6
 1047: §326
Ranae
 530-1: §138
Thesmophoriazusae
 258: §47
 870: §248
Vespae
 12-3: §208
- Aristotle
 xl
Athēnaion politeia
 3.6: §10
 5.2-3: §17
 5.2-3 xlv
 13.1: §17
 13.1 xlv
De Virtutibus et vitiis
 1250B: §14
Ethica eudemia
 1.2.1.1241B: §113
 2.3.4.1221A: §258
- 2.7.1223A: §113
 1249B: §19
Ethica nichomachea
 3.7.12.116A: §170
Magna moralia
 1207B.2.9.2-5: §13
Politica
 4.4.4-7.1292A: §40
 4.4.6.1292A: §31
 4.8.1295A: §260
 7.4.2.1326A: §87
 7.6.3.1328A: §180
 1259B: §7
 1265B: §17
 1265B xlv
Rhetorica
 1.2.1.1355B xxxvi
 1.2.1-15.1356A xxxviii
 1.2.1-15.1365A: §430
 1.2.16: §1
 1.2.3.1358B: §19
 1.2.3-6.1856A: §93
 1.2.15.1356A: §256
 1.4.9.1359B: §19
 2.1.2-3.1377B xxxviii
 2.3.1380A-B: §93
 2.3.1-2.1380A x
 2.12.1389A-14.1390B xli
 2.15.2-3: §7
 2.24.11.1402A: §40
 2.24.11.1402A xxxvii
 3.17.16.1418B xli
- Artemidorus
Onirotica
 1.1.1, 6 §208
- Athenaeus
Deipnosophistae
 4.161.A,B: §14
- Cassius Dio
 1.1.2: §339
 17.57.61: §14
 36.2.4: §80
 40.25.2: §137
 52.19.3: §79
 52.26.5: §17
 52.27.4-5 p. 75
 52.40.2: §342
 52.41.3-4: §343
 56.21.5: §137
 60.15.1: §5
 60.17.8: §5
 60.25.6: §5
 61.2-3: §16
 62.8.2: §408
 62.9: §16
 62.13.1: §16
 62.18.1: §16
 62.19-20: §408
 62.24.1: §10
- 62.26.1: §10
 62.27.4-28.1: §16
 63.22-3: §409
 63.26.3: §16
 63.29 xviii
 63.29: §430
 65.10.4: §423
 65.12.2: §10
 65.13.2: §10
 67.13.23: §10
 65.15.3-5 xvii n. 2
 65.15.4: §423
 66.1: §414
 67: §429
 67.2.1-2: §429
 67.3.1: §429
 67.14.1-2: §429
 67.14.4 xviii
 67.14.4: §430
 67.15.2: §429
 68.1.1 xvi
 68.1.2: §429
 [Xiphilinus]
Epitome of Dio, Dindorf-Stephanus
 p. 2, l. 17: §80
- Callimachus
 xviii
- Demosthenes
Epistulae
 1.3: §307
 3.9: §194
 3.36: §84
Exordia
 1.1: §369
Orationes
 1.2: §84
 1.7: §22
 2.16.3: §307
 3.3: §22
 4.1: §369
 4.30: §369
 9.13: §315
 10.59: §97
 10.76: §40
 12.12: §97
 15.23: §133
 17.15: §17
 18.43: §244
 18.45: §197
 18.139: §37
 18.247: §197
 19.61: §44
 19.250: §37
 19.313: §97
 20.77: §392
 21.219: §97
 22.1.53: §97
 22.16: §315

- 22.69: § 315
 22.74: § 315
 24.125: § 97
 24.176: § 315
 24.202: § 315
 27.26: § 102
 27.33: § 102
 38.8: § 315
 54.42: § 170
 59.12: § 97
 59.103: § 44
 60.35: § 32
- Dinarchus
In Demosthenem
 1.52 § 133
- Dio Chrysostom
Ad Alexandrinos
 32.4: § 16
De regno I
 xliii
 1.82: § 17
De tyrannide
 6.28: § 11
Venator
 7.2: § 14
- Diodorus Siculus
Bibliotheca Historica
 1.69.7: § 358
 4.8.3: § 358
 9.11.1: § 17
 9.11.1 xlv
 11.72.2: § 17
 11.72.2 xlv
 11.75.3: § 17
 11.76.6: § 17
 11.86.3: § 17
 11.87.4: § 17
 11.87.5: § 17
 13.38.5: § 17
 15.57.3: § 17
 40.3.4: § 10
 40.3.4: § 65
 76.6 xlv
 86.3 xlv
 87.5 xlv
- Diogenes Laertius
 1.1: § 19
 1.2: § 19
 1.6: § 65
 1.13: § 70
 1.16: § 70
 1.18-21: § 69
 1.19: § 69
 1.20: § 19
 1.22: § 1
 1.40: § 19
 1.107: § 19
 2.41: § 336
 2.47: § 69
 2.48: § 13
 2.65: § 69
 2.87: § 69
 2.122: § 190
 3.1-2: § 1
 3.83: § 14
 3.88: § 13
 6.5: § 14
 6.8: § 13
 6.86: § 2
- 7.130: § 137
 8.13: § 11
 8.19: § 11
 9.21: § 1
 9.38: § 11
- Dionysius of Halicarnassus
Antiquitates romanae
 1.1.2: § 338
 1.4: § 14
 1.6.2: § 338
 1.6.3: § 9
 1.23.1: § 358
 1.29.2: § 358
 3.8.5: § 37
 4.29.1: § 37
 4.32: § 14
 4.34.5: § 37
 5.71.3: § 37
 6.29.2: § 214
 6.72.3: § 37
 6.74.2: § 37
 8.2: § 14
 8.2.4: § 37
 8.8: § 14
 8.28: § 14
 8.62: § 14
 8.70.5: § 37
 9.22.5: § 358
 9.44: § 14
 10.10.1: § 37
 10.41.5: § 1
 13.5: § 14
 15.3: § 37
 16.2: § 37
 23.21: § 37
- Epictetus
 § 10
 § 12
 xl
- Diatribai/Dissertationes*
 1.1.20 xviii
 1.1.20: § 430
 1.3.17: § 15
 1.5.6: § 340
 1.6: § 15
 1.6.12: § 340
 1.16: § 15
 1.6.30: § 340
 1.8.11: § 340
 1.19.19-20: § 430
 1.26.11-12: § 430
 3.24.40: § 11
 3.26.11-14: § 11
 3.26.21-39: § 11
 19.10-20 xviii
 26.11-12 xviii
- Euripides
Ion
 1170: § 37
Supplices
 439: § 37
- Galen
De propriorum animi cuiuslibet affectuum dignotione et curatione
 5.102: § 10
De ordine librorum suorum ad Eugeniamum
 19.50: § 10
- Pro puero epileptico consilium*
 11.371: § 14
- Herodotus
Historiae
 1.50.1 xlv
 1.59: § 4
 1.59.3: § 17
 1.59.3 xlv
 1.60.2: § 17
 1.60.2 xlv
 1.79.2: 46
 1.141: § 248
 1.150.1: § 17
 2.13: § 248
 2.135: § 430
 3.80: § 65
 3.82.3: § 17
 3.82.3 xlv
 3.84: § 65
 3.106: § 11
 3.121: § 222
 3.147.1: § 69
 3.156: § 65
 4.23: § 11
 4.97.5: § 37
 4.147: § 1
 5.72: § 39
 5.124.1: § 134
 5.28.1: § 17
 5.28.1 xlv
 5.102: § 5
 6.91.2: § 147
 6.109.5: § 17
 6.109.5 xlv
 6.114.1: § 147
 7.139: § 339
 7.204: § 1
 8.4.1: § 46
 8.11.3: § 46
 8.50: § 44
 8.52.1: § 18
 9.61: § 248
 9.107: § 326
- Hesiod
Opera et dies
 109 ff.: § 11
- Homer
Illias
 1.63-4: § 208
 6.123-231: § 1
Odyssea
 4.225-34: § 142
 5.282-423: § 14
 6.245-6: § 142
 9.107-15: § 11
 10.1.29: § 44
 14.211: § 4
 19.165-84: § 1
 19.560-9: § 208
- Iamblichus
Vita pythagorica
 3-4: § 1
 3.10: § 9
- Isocrates
 xli
Ad Demonicum
 1.31: § 100
Antidosis
 10: § 40

- 13 xiv
 15: § 40
 15 xxxvii
 15.8-10: § 338
 15.23: § 80
 15.35: § 340
 15.79: § 315
 15.316: § 13
Archidamus
 6.72: § 248
 6.81: § 315
 6.108: § 248
Areopagiticus
 7.36: § 315
 7.59: § 36
 7.67: § 315
De Pace
 8.33: § 14
 8.34: § 14
 8.38-9: § 84
 8.49: § 315
 12.124: § 14
 12.183: § 14
 12.183: § 14
Helenaē encomium
 10.37: § 315
 10.41: § 248
In sophistas
 13.6: § 13
Panathenaicus
 12.21: § 80
 12.29: § 315
 12.164: § 315
Panegyricus
 4.38: § 315
 4.58: § 248
 4.79: § 17
 4.101: § 315
 4.114: § 17
 4.174: § 17
Philippus
 5.58: § 44
 5.112: § 44
Plataicus
 14.35: § 340
 14.63: § 84
 Isaeus
 6.2: § 22
 7.8: § 392
 11.28: § 97
 Lucian
Alexander
 47.9: § 44
Demonax
 13: § 10
Dionysus (Bacchus)
 3: § 44
Fugitivi
 19: § 13
Hermotimus
 21: § 10
 28: § 10
 34: § 113
 47: § 113
 48: § 10
 75: § 113
Menippus
 4-5: § 10
Nigrinus
 27: § 11
 § 11
Patriae encomium
 3: § 13
Phalaris
 1.9: § 10
Quomodo historia conscribenda sit
 13: § 360
 16 § 44
 16: § 342
 38-41: § 336
 47: § 338
 48: § 342
De saltatione
 37-85: § 16
Somnium
 16: § 9
Vitarum auctio
 § 10
 Lysias
 12.100: § 97
 Marcus Aurelius
Meditationes
 § 12
 3.1: § 137
 5.29: § 137
 8.47: § 137
 9.2: § 137
 Megasthenes
 § 65 (See Clement of Alexandria)
 Meleager of Gadara
Anthologia Graecae
 5.160: § 159
 Pausanias
Graeciae descriptio
 1.10.2: § 87
 1.37.5: § 197
 2.27.5: § 92
 3.2.7: § 17
 3.7.8: § 370
 3.9.3: § 87
 4.17.2: § 197
 4.18.3: § 17
 4.28.4: § 197
 5.21.3: § 197
 5.23.4: § 87
 9.6.3: § 87
 9.23.1: § 92
 Philostratus
Vita Apollonii
 1.7: § 8
 1.7: § 9
 Pindar
Pythionikai
 4.163: § 208
 Plato
 xl
 § 340
Alcibiades maior
 150D: § 307
Apologia
 17: § 40
 19B: § 40
 xxxvii
 21D: § 13
 25A: § 13
 40A: § 18
Epistulae
 xiii
 316E: § 80
Gorgias
 § 40
 xxxvii
 452E: § 31
 454E-455A: § 10
 482B: § 18
 486A-D: § 10
 522E: § 18
Leges
 1.628C: § 17
 1.62.8C xlv
 1.629C-D: § 17
 1.629C-D xlv
 7.810E-811A: § 8
 12.965B: § 9
 689B: § 40
 689C: § 31
 728B: § 323
 958A: § 323
Phaedrus
 69B-C: § 7
 99B: § 10
 116C: § 69
 249B: § 10
Politicus
 xliii
 274C: § 11
Protagoras
 325E: § 8
 338D: § 13
 343A: § 11
Respublica
 § 7
 xliii
 1.346A: § 46
 4.422C: § 17
 4.470C xlv
 5.467D: § 46
 4.470B: § 17
 5.473E: § 46
 5.477-78: § 40
 6.504B: § 9
 6.506C: § 40
 7.543-45 xl
 8.544D xlviii, § 260
 8.552A xxxv
 8.545-9.591 xlviii
 8.555D: § 17
 9.571B-C: § 80
Sophista
 245B: § 10
Symposium
 185D: § 222
 196D: § 7
 203A: § 208
 Plutarch
 § 10
 xxxiii
 xl
Aemilius Paullus
 17.5: § 214
Alcibiades
 16.3: § 17
 20.4: § 180
 21.2: § 180
 26.5: § 31

- Alexander*
2.1: § 1
5.1-6: § 9
- Antonius*
21.1: § 16
- Aristides*
8.6: § 369
20.2: § 100
- Brutus*
45.9: § 98
- Caesar*
22.2: § 2
- Cato Major*
3.1-2: § 425
12.4-5: § 8
20.4-5: § 15
- Cicero*
2.2: § 9
14.7-8: § 293
15.2: § 107
16.1-6: § 136
16.2: § 107
- Cimon*
19.1-2: § 100
31: § 100
- De liberis educandis*
10.8A-B: § 10
- De sollertia animalium*
975E: § 8
- Dion*
4.5-7: § 9
- Lysander*
27.1: § 197
- Moralia*
10.804F – 12.806F: § 13
169C: § 159
171E: § 113
346F: § 5
798B-F: § 62
798D-E: § 12
798E: § 62
800B: § 22
800D-F: § 12
801C-802E: § 40
802D: § 40
804F: § 12
806D-809A: § 418
813A: § 12
813A: § 17
813A-C: § 20
813A-C: § 22
817D: § 62
818A-819B: § 20
823F: § 17
823F: § 78
824A: § 17
824C: § 62
825A: § 189
825A-B: § 17
825B: § 17
- Nicias*
13.6: § 180
- Numa*
20.5: § 17
- Pericles*
7.2: § 1
22.2: § 197
25.1: § 97
- Publicola*
2.3: § 17
- Precepts of Statecraft*
xlii
xliii
1.798-299A xliii
2.47.8-10 xlvi
3.799B-800A xliii
4.800B-801C xliii
5.801A-9.804C xliii
10.804D-12.806F xlv
10.805A-B xlv
13.806F-809A xlv
13.808B xlv
13.809A xlv
14.809B-811A xlv
14.809E xlv
15.811B-812F xlv
16. 813A-C xlv
17.813C-814C xlv
17.813E xlv
19.814F-816A xlv
19.815B xlv
20.816A-24.818E p. 73
33.817D p. 73
25.818E-819B p. 73
32.823F-824D xlv
32.824C xlv
32.824D-825F xlv
32.824E xlv
801E xlii
802D xlii
- Solon*
2.1: § 9
12.2: § 37
18.5: § 97
29.3: § 70
- Sulla*
23.2 xlii
34 xviii
34: § 430
35.3: § 1
36: § 16
37: § 16
- Themistocles*
2.1: § 9
32.5: § 180
- Theseus*
6.2: § 9
14.3: § 142
23.3: § 142
32.2: § 17
33.1: § 244
- Polybius*
1.1.5 xxxviii
1.4.1-5: § 17
1.4.7-9 xxxviii
1.40: § 401
2.47.8-10 xlvi
3.33.17: § 358
6.9.8-9: § 40
6.53.9-54.2: § 1
6.56: § 1
6.56.6: § 7
9.1.4-2.2: § 1
12-3: § 40
12.4d.1-2: § 9
12.4d.2: § 358
12.7-8: § 40
12.10.4-5: § 9
- 12.26d.3: § 9
12.27.1: § 9
12.27.1-3: § 358
15.33.12: § 9
15.36.3 xxxviii
16.4: § 357
16.18.2: § 74
20.12.8: § 358
26.1.1: § 34
26.1.1: § 34
27.15.4: § 9
31.25.4: § 8
36.123.3: § 87
38.1.2 xxxviii
38.4.5: § 339
38.8.9: § 44
38.20.11: § 44
- Porphry*
De abstinencia
2.12.27: § 11
2.26: § 26
2.26: § 65
Vita Pythagorae
14: § 11
- Rufus*
Onomastica
81: § 403
- Sophocles*
Ajax
1382: § 248
Philoctetes
56: § 18
- Soranus*
De signis fracturarum
22: § 403
- Strabo*
Geographica
10.4.10: § 17
13.1.7: § 344
13.2.3: § 17
13.4.1: § 17
16.2.18-20: § 52
16.2.35: § 10
16.2.35: § 65
16.2.40.763: § 159
- Theophrastus*
§ 65 (see *Porphry*)
- Thucydides*
1.1.1: § 338
1.2.4-6: § 17
1.2.4-6 xlv
1.9.2: § 36
1.118.3: § 44
1.20-22: § 40
1.20.3: § 9
1.22.2: § 358
1.22.2: § 9
1.22.3: § 338
1.22.4: § 339
1.41.5: § 46
1.64.3: § 44
1.90.5: § 65
1.91.7: § 65
1.97.2: § 9
1.121.2: § 17
1.134.1: § 9
2.12.2: § 65
2.30.1: § 44
2.49.6: § 46

2.54.4: § 44
 2.65.3: § 101
 2.68.7: § 44
 2.100.3: § 44
 3.18.5: § 44
 3.37.5: § 46
 3.39.4: § 46
 3.43.2: § 31
 3.82.4: § 17
 3.82.4 xlv
 3.93.1: § 46
 3.97.2: § 44
 3.103.1: § 44
 4.23.2: § 44
 4.58.1: § 65
 4.84.2: § 31
 4.90: § 279
 4.106.1: § 46
 4.130.6: § 44

4.126.1: § 31
 5.4.5: § 36
 5.20.2: § 9
 5.82.1: § 87
 6.68.1: § 266
 7.81: § 279
 8.42.3: § 46
 8.88.1: § 31

Xenophanes
 frag. 10: § 65
 frags. 1-20: § 65

Xenophon
Anabasis
 1.8.3: § 69
 5.6.17: § 36

Cynegeticus
 6.5.10: § 101
Cyropaedia
 xliii
 1.5.13: § 248
 3.3.25: § 44
 4.3.5: § 383
 7.3.8: § 147
Hellenica
 2.1.31: § 147
 2.3.9: § 197
 4.3.7: § 46
 5.9.2: § 36
 7.5.22: § 46
 7.5.24: § 248
Memorabilia
 1.5.5: § 323
 4.4.9: § 13

LATIN TEXTS

Augustus
Res Gestae
 1.8: § 5
 Aulus Gellius
Noctes Atticae
 4.18. 3-5 xxxix
 4.18.3-5: § 256
 praef. 6-8: § 336
 Caesar
Bellum civile
 xlv
Bellum gallicum
 xlv
 1.11: § 44
 1.18: §§ 70, 75
 1.53: § 418
 2.9: § 44
 2.10.12: § 44
 3.14: § 44
 4.33-4: § 327
 7.45: § 165
 [Hirtius], 8 praef: § 342
 33: § 333
 Catullus
 68: § 14
 Cicero
 xxxvi
 xxxix
 xl
 xli
 § 21
 § 340
Epistulae as Atticum
 1: § 342
 1.19 p. 2
 1.19: § 342
 xiii
 6.1: § 38
Pro Balbo
 28.63: § 13
Brutus
 29.119-30.116, xiii
 29.35.122 xiii
 64.228: § 190
 70.247: § 40

75.262: § 342
 85.292-93 xxxviii
 88.301-97.333 xlii
 89: § 306
 89.306-91.316: § 10
 93.322 xxxvii
 93.322: § 40
 262: § 343
 301: § 8
Pro Caelio
 15.36: § 15
De domu suo
 1.1: § 1
Epistulae ad familiares
 1.59.4: § 258
 2.6.4: § 258
 5.12 xiii
 5.12: § 342
 5.12.8 xiii
 13.1.2: § 10
De fato
 39: § 12
De finibus
 1-2: § 10
 1.2: § 40
 1.2-3: § 10
 1.16: § 10
 3-4: § 10
 5: § 10
 65: § 7
Pro Flacco
 9: § 8
 9: § 258
 15-7: § 300
 18: § 297
 24: § 8
 24: § 258
 25: § 256
 31: § 8
 31: § 258
 57: § 8
 61: § 258
 66: § 300
De haruspicum responso
 41: § 258

De legibus
 1.3.8: § 342
 2.12.31: § 1
Pro Murena
 28 xxxvii
De natura deorum
 3.6.15: § 148
De officiis
 1.11.33: § 15
 1.11.34-7: § 22
 1.14.42-3: § 15
 1.25.85: § 15
 1.28.98: § 15
 1.29.102: § 15
 1.151: § 425
 2.12.41: § 15
De oratore
 2.35-6 xxxviii
 2.61: § 430
 2.62: § 336
 2.182 xxxix
 2.182 xxxix
 2.182: § 256
 2.360: § 8
Partitiones oratoriae
 75-80: xxxix
 82: § 1
 82: § 15
Orationes philippicae
 7: § 258
 11.21: § 258
In Pisonem
 1: § 1
 1-2 xl
De republica
 1.42.65: § 40
 2 xlviii
 2.12-14: § 1
 2.31.55 xlviii
Pro Roscio comoedo
 22-3: § 16
Pro Sestio
 141: § 258
Pro Sulla
 64: § 258

- Tusculanae disputationes*
 1.24.59: § 8
 2.27: § 8
 4.33.70: § 8
 5.20.58: § 8
In Verrem
 2: § 258
 [Rhetorica ad Herennium]
 1.2.2 § 19
 3.16.28-24.40 § 8
- Frontius
 xxi
 xlvii
Strategemata
 1.1: § 148
 1.1: § 163
 1.1: § 228
 1.1: § 238
 1.1: § 242
 1.2: § 242
 1.2: § 276
 2.1.17: § 159
 2.4: § 327
 2.4: § 401
 2.5-47: § 216
 2.8.1-5: § 405
 2.9: § 397
 2.11: § 397
 2.18: § 116
 4.1: § 216
- Horace
 xlii
Carmina
 3.7.25: § 15
Satirae
 1.7: § 3
 1.7: § 32
- Justinian
Digesta seu Pandectae
 1.18.13: § 78
- Juvenal
Satirae
 6.158 xvii n. 2
 8.30-32: § 7
 8.125-9: § 7
 12: § 14
 14.96: § 65
- Lucan
 3.302: § 8
- Livy
 1.52.1: § 17
 2.12.1: § 44
 2.50.11: § 44
 4.9.1: § 44
 4.31.2-5: § 100
 5.6.11-27: § 100
 praef. 5: § 339
 24.23.6: § 17
 31.34.8: § 214
 32.38.9: § 17
- Martial
 § 16
 Epigrams
 1.40: § 428
 2.61: § 428
 3.5: § 430
 3.9: § 428
 3.95: § 423
- 4.27: § 428
 4.77: § 428
 4.86: § 428
 4.86.6-7: § 6
 5.13: § 423
 7.13: § 423
 7.26.9-10: § 6
 9.20.1: § 423
 10.48: § 420
 10.48: § 423
 12.31: § 423
- Ovid
Metamorphoses
 1.101 ff: § 11
Tristia
 1.10 xlii
 3.12.21: § 15
- Pliny the Elder
Naturalis historia
 5.19: § 115
 5.70: § 7
 5.70: § 10
 5.71: § 96
 5.71: § 398
 5.74: § 341
 praef. 6.8: § 363
 7.88-9: § 8
 7.186: § 1
 35.19: § 1
- Pliny the Younger
 xxxvi
Epistulae
 1.19: § 16
 1.36: § 16
 5.8.12-4: § 360
 7.29: § 13
 8.6: § 13
 9.1: § 360
 9.17: § 16
 9.36: § 16
- Panegyricus*
 52.4-5 xvi
 58.3: § 1
 69.4: § 1
- Propertius
 xlii
 3.7: § 14
- Ptolemy
Geography
 5.14.4: § 398
- Quintilian
 xl
Institutio oratoria
 5.9.3: § 1
 1 praef.9 p. 60
 1 praef.9: § 256
 1 praef. 9: § 430
 2.15.3 xxxvi
 3.7.15 xl
 4.3.12-4: § 367
 4.3.15: § 367
 5.12.10 xxxix
 5.12.10: § 256
 6.3.53: § 49
 10.1.64: § 5
 11.1.34: § 10
- 11.2: § 8
 12.2.7: § 10
- Quintus Tullius Cicero
Commentariolum Petitionis
 xliii
- Sallust
 § 21
Bellum catalinae
 xlii
 4.2: § 336
 39.3: § 17
Bellum jugurthinum
 23.1: § 44
 85.32-3: § 8
 85.38-43: § 7
- Scriptores Historiae Augustae
 Marcus Antonius (Aurelius)
 21.7 § 77
- Seneca the Elder
 § 40
Controversiae
 xxxvii
 1.2: § 8
Suasoriae
 xxxvii
- Seneca the Younger
 §§ 10, 12
Epistulae morales
 22.12: § 14
 77: § 16
 83.5: § 15
 108.14: § 11
 108.22: § 12
- Statius
Silvae
 4.praef.43-5: § 6
- Suetonius
 xxxiii
Divus Augustus
 2.3: § 2
 4.1-2: § 2
 8.1: § 14
 8.1: § 15
 27.1: § 29
 62.2: § 426
 64.3: § 15
 74: § 16
Gaius Caligula
 36.1: § 16
 55.1: § 16
 59 xvi n. 1
Divus Claudius
 28: § 356
 28-9: § 13
Domitianus
 1: § 423
 1: § 423
 1.2: § 429
 3.2: § 429
 5: § 423
 10.1: § 16
 10.2: § 429
 10.4: § 16
 14.1: § 429
 14-5 xviii
 14-5: § 430
 17.3 xvi n. 1
 22 xvi

<i>Galba</i>	<i>Annales</i>	<i>Dialogus de oratoribus</i>
15: § 16	1.1: § 336	17.2-3 xvi. n. 1
<i>De grammaticis</i>	1.41: § 5	28.4-29.2: § 8
25.1: § 8	1.53 xvi. n. 1	<i>Germania</i>
<i>Divus Julius</i>	1.54 xvi. n. 1	31.2.3: § 11
6: § 2	1.55 xvi. n. 1	<i>Historiae</i>
<i>Nero</i>	1.72 xvi. n. 1	1.1: § 336
20-24: § 16	2.1 xvi. n. 1	1.1: § 339
24.2: § 409	2.41 xvi. n. 1	1.1: § 357
40.4: § 409	2.43: § 1	2.2: § 359
49 xviii	3.20 xvi. n. 1	4.14: § 17
49: § 430	3.31 xvi. n. 1	5.1-13: § 10
54: § 16	4.8: § 1	5.4: § 159
<i>Tiberius</i>	4.18: § 17	5.5: § 372
73 xvi n. 1	5.5: § 65	5.9: § 13
<i>Divus Titus</i>	6.9: § 1	5.11: § 20
1: § 423	11.21: § 1	5.12: § 43
7: § 49	12.6: § 1	5.12: § 88
7.1: § 359	12.23: § 52	5.12: § 192
<i>Vespasianus</i>	12.53: § 13	5.12: § 372
5.5.6-7: § 414	12.54: § 13	Virgil
Tacitus	13.20-22: § 16	<i>Georgica</i>
<i>Agricola</i>	13.45: § 16	§ 425
xxxiii	13.45-6: § 16	<i>Aeneid</i>
xiii	14.1: § 16	1.36-135: § 14
2-3: § 429	14.1: § 427	1.157-62 xxxv
4.1-2: § 1	14.20: § 8	6.761-895: § 1
4.3: § 12	14.60-64: § 16	6.795-96: § 34
10: § 339	15.55 xviii	6.893-908: § 208
	15.55: § 430	

HEBREW BIBLE / OLD TESTAMENT

Genesis	14:22-7 § 63	4:16 § 290
16:16 § 5	14:28-9 § 63	8:10 § 290
18:1-15 § 142	18:10 § 149	Proverbs
19:1-11 § 142	24:1 § 426	4:1-4 § 8
24:1-49 § 142	25:12 § 147	22:6 § 8
25:4 § 4	26:12 § 63	Isaiah
46:11 § 43	31:12-3 § 8	35:1 § 11
49:5 § 43	Joshua	35:6 § 11
Exodus	19:12 § 126	40:3 § 11
3:22 § 11	19:33 § 44	43:10-20 § 11
16:1-19:25 § 11	1 Samuel	47:9 § 149
18:10 § 1499	9:1 § 4	47:12 § 149
20:4-6 § 65	2 Samuel	58:3-6 § 290
20:8-11 § 159	12:23 § 290	Jeremiah
21:24 § 147	1 Kings	7.9 § 21
22:18 § 149	2:35 § 10	14:12 § 290
40:15 § 2	8:43 § 349	36:6 § 290
Leviticus	21:9 § 290	Ezekiel
14:8-9 § 11	21:12 § 290	40:46 § 9
15:9 § 11	2 Kings	40:46 § 10
15:13 § 11	9:22 § 149	43:19 § 9
15:16 § 11	1 Chronicles	44:15 § 9
15:31 § 11	2:46 § 4	48:11 § 9
21:16-23 § 3	2:47 § 4	Daniel
21:20 § 4	24 § 2	1:8 § 74
22:4-6 § 11	24:1-19 § 2	§ 13
23:26-32 § 290	24:5 § 2	§ 14
Numbers	Ezra	§ 208
18:1-20 § 2	2:36-39 § 2	Joel
18:21-6 § 63	2:61-3 § 6	1:14 § 290
18:26 § 63	8:21 § 290	2:15 § 290
19:11-6 § 31	Nehemiah	Amos
Deuteronomy	7:39-42 § 2	1:1 § 420
4:9 § 8	7:63-5 § 6	Jonah
6:7 § 8	Esther	3:5 § 290
12:17-8 § 63	4:1 § 138	

APOCRYPHA AND SEPTUAGINT

Reference to the LXX	2 Esdras	16:14: § 4
§ 188	5:13: § 290	16:16-24: § 3
§ 420	1 Maccabees	2 Maccabees
Deuteronomy LXX	2:1: § 2	4:11-13: § 8
§ 426	2:1: § 3	4:23: § 9
1 Chronicles LXX	2:1-70: § 4	11: 25: § 12
9:33: § 2	2:41: § 161	§ 2
23:6: § 2	3:10: § 269	4 Maccabees
Jeremiah LXX	7:12-3: § 10	1:1: § 10
7:11: § 21	7:47: § 147	5:4: § 10
Amos LXX	9:28-12:53: § 4	5:8: § 10
§ 420	9:56-10:20: § 2	5:23: § 10
1 Esdras	13:1-16:17: § 3	Sirach/Ecclesiasticus
8:50: § 290	13:41-2: § 3	51:12: § 9
		51:12: § 10

QUMRAN DOCUMENTS

CD
4.1: § 9
1QS
8.15: § 11
4QMMT
§ 10
4Q320
§ 2

OLD TESTAMENT PSEUDEPIGRAPHIA

Jubilees
11.18-24: § 9
Letter of Aristas
31: § 12

NEW TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHIA

Infancy Gospel of Thomas
§ 9

PHILO

<i>Apologia pro Iudaeis</i>	<i>De vita Mosis I</i>	<i>De specialibus legibus II</i>
<i>See Eusebius § 10</i>	1.20-4: § 9	1.80-81: § 3
<i>De decalogo</i>	<i>Quod omnis probus liber sit</i>	2.63: § 14
151: § 13	75-91: § 10	
<i>Legatio ad Gaium</i>	81: § 277	
155: § 423		
278: § 2		

NEW TESTAMENT

Matthew	Mark	Luke
1:2-17 § 1	1:6 § 11	12:18 § 10
1:18 § 1	1:21 § 403	14:3 § 222
2:1 § 1	2:1 § 403	1:1 § 40
3:1-4:11 § 11	5:20 § 341	1:3 § 29
4:13 § 403	6:45 § 398	1:3 § 430
4:25 § 341	7:31 § 341	1:5-8 § 2
5:33-7 § 101	8:22 § 398	2:4 § 398
6:16 § 290	8:27 § 74	2:15 § 398
11:21 § 398	9:33 § 403	2:40-50 § 9
19:1-12 § 426	10:46 § 241	3:14 § 159
20:2 § 75	10:46 § 269	3:14 § 244
26:14-16 § 107	11:1 § 241	3:23-38 § 1
	11:1 § 269	7:30 § 197
	12:1-12 § 52	9:51-6 § 269

	10:29-37 § 269	17:4 § 16	Romans
	11:53 § 197	17:12 § 32	3:1 § 340
	13:22-3 § 205	17:17 § 16	3:9 § 340
	14:3 § 197	18:7 § 17	1 Corinthians
	19:1-10 § 239	18:13 § 16	1:14-16 § 12
John		19:13 § 40	1:18-30 § 40
	2:1-11 § 86	19:27 § 17	1:19 § 32
	4:4 § 269	21:31 § 20	3:10-15 § 93
	4:9 § 269	21:37 § 20	2 Corinthians
	7:42 § 398	22:3 § 190	8:1-7 § 237
	8:48 § 269	22:24 § 20	9:1-5 § 237
	9:31 § 16	22:29 § 20	10:12-21:29 § 93
Acts		23:1 § 12	11:32 § 27
	1:1 § 430	23:6 § 139	Galatians
	4:1 § 10	23:8 § 10	4:13-20 § 93
	5:17 § 10	23:10 § 20	Philippians
	5:34 § 190	23:26 § 29	1:27 § 12
	9:29 § 40	24:3 § 29	2:225 p. 14
	13:43 § 16	25:11 § 14	2:25 § 430
	13:50 § 16	25:18-20 § 14	4:18 p. 14
	15:5 § 10	25:28 § 13	1 Thessalonians
	15:22 § 89	26:5 § 10	1:1 § 89
	15:27 § 89	26:25 § 29	2 Thessalonians
	15:32 § 89	27 § 14	1:1 § 89
	16:13-6 § 277	28:13 § 16	Philemon
	16:14 § 16	28:16-31 § 14	23 § 430
	16:19 § 89		

CHRISTIAN WRITERS

Clement of Alexandria	13.12.4: § 10	xxxiii
<i>Stromata</i>	13.12.8: § 10	§336
1.15: § 10		§359
1.15: § 65	Jerome	<i>Bibliotheca</i>
Codex Theodosianus	<i>De viris illustribus</i>	xvi
9.3.7: § 14	xix	xxvii
Didache –Apostolic Father	14: § 40	33: § 40
7.1-4: § 11	14: § 359	33: § 336
Eusebius	15: § 359	33: § 359
<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>	Justin	<i>Suda</i>
3.10.8-13 xv	<i>Dialogus cum Tryphone</i>	xviii
<i>Onomasticon</i>	2: § 10	Ιουστός: §§ 40, 336
32.16: § 341	Photius	Φλεγών: § 336
<i>Praeparatio evangelica</i>	xviii	Νικόλαος §§ 9, 11
8.6-7: § 10	xix	Επαφροδίτος § 430
13.12.1: § 10	xxxi	
	xxxii	

JOSEPHUS

WAR

xv	§ 23	1.3 xxix
xxii	§ 27	1.3 § 1
xxv	§ 29	1.3 § 5
xxvii	§ 48	1.3 § 6
xxviii		1.3 § 358
xxviii	1 § 6	1.4 § 409
xxix	1.1 § 356	1.5 § 372
xxix	1.1-3 § 336	1.6 xix
xxx	1.1-3 § 357	1.6 § 9
xxxi	1.1-30 xiv	1.9 § 9
xxxi	1.1-30 xxviii	1.6 § 339
xxxii	1.2 § 9	1.6 § 357
xxxii	1.2 § 336	1.6-8 § 336
xxxiii	1.2 § 339	1.7-8 § 336
xxxviii	1.2-3 § 336	1.7-8 § 336
§ 17	1.2-8 § 27	1.9 § 356
§ 21	1.3 xix	1.9 § 358

1.10 § 17	1.168-92 § 196	2.122 § 10
1.10 § 26	1.170 § 30	2.122-23 § 11
1.10 § 27	1.171 § 190	2.123 § 74
1.10 § 348	1.188 § 9	2.124 § 10
1.11 § 8	1.188 § 375	2.128 § 10
1.13 § 40	1.194 § 32	2.128 § 14
1.13-6 § 40	1.194 § 429	2.129 § 11
1.15 § 258	1.198 § 17	2.131 § 279
1.15 § 338	1.202 § 325	2.135 § 101
1.15-6 § 336	1.204 § 21	2.137 § 10
1.16 xix	1.208 § 122	2.138 § 10
1.16 xxxviii	1.210 § 21	2.139 § 14
1.16 § 8	1.216 § 100	2.141 § 10
1.17 § 9	1.218 § 9	2.142 § 10
1.17 § 356	1.226 § 196	2.148 § 10
1.17 § 358	1.226-27 § 31	2.154-58 § 10
1.18 § 340	1.242 § 9	2.158 § 10
1.19 § 44	1.251 § 21	2.160-61 § 10
1.20-1 § 23	1.291 § 196	2.160-61 § 427
1.21 § 44	1.292 § 21	2.162 § 10
1.22 § 9	1.295 § 21	2.162 § 22
1.22 § 356	1.304 § 30	2.162 § 191
1.22 § 358	1.304-6 § 188	2.162-66 § 10
1.23 § 5	1.305 § 17	2.166 § 10
1.25 § 17	1.331 § 46	2.168 § 5
1.25-8 § 348	1.347 § 21	2.168 § 37
1.26 § 1	1.355 § 5	2.169 § 398
1.26 § 9	1.398-400 § 54	2.171 § 52
1.26 § 356	1.400 § 20	2.181-83 § 37
1.26 § 358	1.401 § 20	2.188 § 105
1.27 § 17	1.408-16 § 52	2.199 § 9
1.27 § 26	1.439 § 428	2.205 § 5
1.31 § 9	1.457 § 281	2.214 § 5
1.31 § 17	1.460-65 § 281	2.216 § 6
1.32 § 44	1.470 § 196	2.217 § 49
1.34-7 § 199	1.530 § 244	2.220-21 § 49
1.42 § 21	1.537 § 79	2.221 § 5
1.48-9 § 4	1.544 § 180	2.228-30 § 27
1.50-3 § 3	1.552 § 22	2.228-31 § 134
1.54-69 § 3	1.562 § 37	2.230 § 52
1.67 § 17	1.571 § 10	2.232-44 § 241
1.67 § 122	1.571 § 79	2.232-44 § 269
1.68 § 315	1.576 § 196	2.234 § 27
1.69-70 § 2	1.603 § 196	2.234 § 40
1.75 § 20	1.614 § 46	2.235 § 21
1.78 § 10	1.620 § 79	2.236 § 52
1.80 § 52	1.628 § 402	2.237 § 9
1.84 § 26	1.634 § 80	2.239 § 9
1.85 § 131	1.649-55 § 65	2.237-40 § 27
1.88 § 17	1.659 § 26	2.240 § 9
1.95 § 46	1.668 § 54	2.240 § 65
1.99 § 10	1.670 § 21	2.241 § 52
1.105 § 187		2.243 § 27
1.107-16 xxxvii	2 xxvii	2.243 § 65
1.110 § 10	2 xlvii	2.245 § 9
1.110 § 191	2.1-177 § 5	2.245 § 20
1.110 § 196	2.57 § 21	2.247 § 52
1.110-14 § 12	2.58 § 112	2.247-70 § 13
1.111-14 § 191	2.94-5 § 37	2.248 § 5
1.118 § 20	2.112-13 § 208	2.250-51 § 14
1.127 § 44	2.113 § 10	2.252 § 34
1.142 § 17	2.118 § 10	2.252 § 119
1.145-51 § 161	2.119 § 10	2.252-53 § 38
1.146 § 161	2.119 § 258	2.253 § 37
1.146 § 159	2.119-61 § 10	2.253-54 § 21
1.149 § 21	2.119-61 § 191	2.254 § 293
1.150 § 26	2.119-66 § 10	2.258 § 21
1.156 § 52	2.120 § 258	2.259 § 31
1.156 § 341	2.120-21 § 10	2.259 § 424

2.259-60 § 40	2.418-21 § 23	2.503-4 § 215
2.260 § 424	2.419 § 17	2.504 § 222
2.264 § 21	2.420 § 65	2.507 § 242
2.266-70 § 52	2.421 § 46	2.510 § 374
2.271 § 21	2.421-54 § 407	2.510-11 § 30
2.272-308 § 27	2.422-24 § 20	2.510-12 § 28
2.275 § 21	2.425 § 21	2.511 § 21
2.284 § 5	2.425 § 293	2.511 § 31
2.285 § 5	2.425-29 § 20	2.511 § 38
2.284-92 § 52	2.426-29 § 65	2.511 § 374
2.285-89 § 277	2.427 § 38	2.513 § 374
2.300 § 37	2.427 § 40	2.516 § 23
2.301 § 9	2.427-29 § 46	2.517 § 161
2.301 § 65	2.428 § 65	2.519 § 374
2.308 § 420	2.430-32 § 20	2.522 § 374
2.308 § 423	2.430-31 § 46	2.523-26 § 6
2.310-14 § 48	2.431 § 21	2.523-26 § 40
2.315-17 § 27	2.433-40 § 20	2.524 § 374
2.316 § 65	2.433-40 § 46	2.527 § 374
2.317 § 31	2.433-48 § 21	2.531-32 § 24
2.319 § 65	2.434 § 17	2.540-45 § 24
2.321-24 § 27	2.435 § 44	2.540-55 § 22
2.321-32 40	2.437 § 46	2.541 § 21
2.331 § 65	2.437 § 407	2.544 § 33
2.332 § 20	2.437-38 § 182	2.546-55 § 394
2.333 § 9	2.447 § 21	2.555 § 5
2.333 § 27	2.450 § 33	2.555 § 17
2.333-34 § 23	2.450 § 36	2.555 § 24
2.335-41 § 121	2.450-54 § 182	2.555-56 § 47
2.336 § 27	2.453-54 § 113	2.556 § 46
2.336 § 65	2.453-54 § 407	2.556 § 419
2.341 § 23	2.455-56 § 65	2.556-58 § 408
2.342-44 § 27	2.457 § 52	2.559-61 § 27
2.344 § 2	2.457 § 61	2.560 § 27
2.344-407 § 6	2.457-58 § 26	2.562 § 27
2.344-407 § 34	2.457-58 § 269	2.562 § 41
2.345-401 § 27	2.457-65 § 25	2.562 § 185
2.345-404 § 18	2.457-98 § 27	2.562 § 370
2.352 § 27	2.458 § 25	2.562 § 419
2.357 § 5	2.458 § 372	2.562-63 § 24
2.360 § 5	2.458-59 § 341	2.562-65 § 341
2.360 § 17	2.458-59 § 410	2.562-68 § 24
2.373 § 17	2.459 § 44	2.562-69 § 29
2.373 § 142	2.460 § 44	2.562-71 § 17
2.387 § 17	2.466 § 26	2.563 § 193
2.387 § 142	2.466 § 269	2.564 § 24
2.388 § 372	2.467 § 26	2.567 § 10
2.390 § 17	2.468 § 26	2.568 § 20
2.392 § 161	2.469-76 § 26	2.568 § 46
2.399 § 40	2.472 § 26	2.568 § 187
2.405 § 9	2.481 § 23	2.568 § 391
2.406 § 31	2.481 § 50	2.570-71 § 79
2.406 § 40	2.481-83 § 52	2.570-71 § 164
2.408-40 § 21	2.481-83 § 58	2.572 § 187
2.408-80 § 20	2.481-835 § 49	2.572-74 § 77
2.408-555 § 27	2.482 § 8	2.572-76 § 187
2.409 § 348	2.482 § 56	2.572-76 § 214
2.410 § 31	2.483 § 26	2.573 § 156
2.410 § 65	2.483 § 57	2.573 § 188
2.411 § 20	2.483 § 61	2.573 § 230
2.411 § 21	2.487 § 52	5.573-76 § 32
2.411 § 65	2.499-555 § 28	2.574 § 30
2.411 § 190	2.499-500 § 394	2.574 § 187
2.411 § 193	2.500 § 24	2.574 § 188
2.411 § 194	2.501 § 52	2.574 § 347
2.411-17 § 40	2.501 § 242	2.575 § 43
2.411-21 § 20	2.503 § 214	2.575 § 73
2.417 § 65	2.503-4 § 213	2.575 § 187
2.418 § 17	2.503-4 § 214	2.575 § 189

2.576 § 213	2.632 § 157	3.42 § 28
2.582 § 315	2.632-33 § 156	3.44 § 2
2.583 § 92	2.632-34 § 159	3.48-50 § 269
2.583-84 § 77	2.632-45 § 155	3.57 § 398
2.583-90 § 70	2.632-45 § 333	3.59 § 213
2.583-95 § 125	2.633 § 158	3.59 § 411
2.585 § 43	2.633-34 § 157	3.59-63 § 214
2.585-87 § 43	2.634 § 157	3.59-63 § 215
2.587 § 21	2.634 § 159	3.64-6 § 407
2.587 § 325	2.635 § 163	3.65 § 420
2.590 § 71	2.636 § 164	3.65 § 422
2.590 § 72	2.636 § 165	3.76-92 § 214
2.590 § 73	2.638 § 100	3.110 § 411
2.590 § 189	2.638 § 156	3.110-14 § 214
2.590-94 § 43	2.639 § 168	3.110-15 § 215
2.591-92 § 74	2.639-41 § 168	3.111-14 § 188
2.592 § 76	2.640-41 § 168	3.116 § 242
2.595 § 126	2.641 § 64	3.122 § 33
2.596-98 § 128	2.641 § 168	3.129 § 395
2.596-616 § 87	2.641 § 169	3.129 § 397
2.597 § 129	2.641 § 277	3.129 § 411
2.598 § 133	2.641 § 279	3.132-33 § 82
2.598 § 142	2.641 § 300	3.141-339 § 188
2.599 § 66	2.641 § 302	3.141-391 § 357
2.599 § 134	2.641 § 313	3.141-391 § 350
2.601 § 137	2.642 § 5	3.141-44 § 412
2.601 § 138	2.642 § 145	3.142 § 407
2.602-8 xxxi	2.642 § 147	3.144 § 8
2.605-7 § 141	2.642 § 170	3.144 § 115
2.609 § 317	2.642 § 171	3.146 § 123
2.609-10 § 144	2.642 § 319	3.151-288 § 412
2.610 § 145	2.643 § 21	3.176 § 44
2.611 § 146	2.643 § 172	3.188 § 383
2.611-12 § 146	2.643-44 § 173	3.193-204 § 205
2.612 § 147	2.645-46 § 380	3.202 § 207
2.614-19 xxvi	2.645-46 § 333	3.289 § 46
2.614-25 xxvi	2.646 § 333	3.298 § 406
2.615 § 196	2.646 § 380	3.308-15 § 269
2.616 § 89	2.647-50 § 27	3.309 § 269
2.616 § 272	2.647-51 § 193	3.310 § 33
2.620 § 100	2.648 § 9	3.310-15 § 420
2.620-25 § 368	2.648 § 22	3.316-39 § 412
2.622 § 368	2.648 § 65	3.316-92 § 414
2.624 § 369	2.648-51 xlv	3.317-18 § 357
2.624 § 370	2.648-51 § 132	3.337 § 357
2.624-25 xxvi	2.649-51 § 22	3.339 § 414
2.625 § 368	2.651 § 22	3.339 § 415
2.625 § 371	2.652-53 § 21	3.340-408 § 412
2.625 § 372	2.654 § 9	3.352 § 1
2.626 xxvi		3.352 § 6
2.626 § 189	3 xxvi	3.352 § 208
2.626 § 193	3.7 § 2	3.352 § 418
2.626 § 368		3.354 § 6
2.626-31 § 189	3.11 § 8	3.354 § 19
2.626-31 § 333	3.11 § 10	3.354 § 142
2.628 § 13	3.29 § 407	3.354 § 407
2.628 § 29	3.29 § 410	3.355-82 § 138
2.628 § 189	3.30 § 411	3.359 § 138
2.628 § 197	3.30-4 § 411	3.359 § 142
2.628 § 198	3.30-3 § 374	3.359 § 407
2.628 § 199	3.31 § 28	3.368 § 17
2.628 § 316	3.35 § 115	3.378 § 147
2.629 § 82	3.38-39 § 188	3.391 § 26
2.629 § 189	3.39 § 115	3.391 § 357
2.629 § 200	3.39 § 188	3.396 § 417
2.630 § 189	3.39 § 216	3.396-408 § 414
2.631 § 22	3.39 § 227	3.397-408 § 415
2.631 § 189	3.39 § 269	3.399-405 § 412
2.632 § 155	3.39-40 § 187	3.399-408 § 6

4.248-50 § 193	3.400 § 138	5.319 § 2
4.249-51 § 22	3.400 § 407	5.361 § 416
4.261 § 19	3.407 § 208	5.362-419 § 412
4.276 § 26	3.409 § 414	5.363 § 336
4.314-18 § 28	3.432-33 § 357	5.367 § 17
4.314-25 § 43	3.438 § 407	5.367 § 142
4.314-25 § 193	3.438 § 414	5.375 § 416
4.316 § 28	3.438-42 § 416	5.381 § 26
4.320-21 xlv	3.439 § 6	5.382 § 138
4.320 § 22	3.443 § 74	5.390 § 138
4.320 § 29	3.445-61 § 352	5.390 § 290
4.322 § 28	3.450 § 21	5.391-92 § 241
4.325 § 28	3.455 § 145	5.396 § 19
4.362 § 19	3.457 § 36	5.399 § 22
4.369-70 § 100	3.459 § 244	5.400 § 138
4.373 § 8	3.465 § 144	5.407 § 21
4.375 § 100	3.479 § 19	5.409 § 410
4.391 § 40	3.397-98 § 36	5.409 § 416
4.414 § 9	3.450-52 § 66	5.419 § 1
4.419-39 § 213	3.515 § 398	5.419 § 5
4.441 § 100	3.518 § 46	5.419 § 6
4.449 § 5	3.519 § 403	5.424 § 19
4.495 § 100		5.436 § 19
4.502 § 5	4.1 § 188	5.439-41 § 100
4.516 § 9	4.2-4 § 58	5.449-51 § 420
4.518 § 420	4.2-4 § 60	5.460 § 9
4.529 § 46	4.3-4 § 46	5.474 § 395
4.545 § 100	4.3-4 § 61	5.474 § 397
4.546 § 410	4.4 xxi n.6	5.495 § 100
4.552-55 § 420	4.5-10 § 46	5.533 § 2
4.571 § 19	4.11-54 § 46	5.533 § 419
4.588 § 415	4.16 § 26	5.541 § 416
4.616-21 § 415	4.18 § 177	5.544-45 § 419
4.622-29 § 6	4.19 xxi n.6	5.544-47 § 2
4.622-29 § 412	4.22 § 376	5.566 § 19
4.622-29 § 415	4.36 § 115	5.571-97 § 416
4.656 § 415	4.45 § 8	5.572 § 416
4.656-662 § 415	4.54-61 § 188	
	4.54-61 § 213	6.4 § 26
5.1-2 § 416	4.56 § 375	6.15 § 317
5.1-135 § 416	4.62-83 § 46	6.20 § 10
5.5 § 1	4.68 § 177	6.38 § 406
5.19 § 100	4.80 § 19	6.39 § 19
5.20 § 372	4.81 § 46	6.59 § 11
5.34 § 19	4.85 § 43	6.109 § 26
5.41 § 394	4.92-120 § 43	6.122 § 26
5.41 § 422	4.92-120 § 372	6.216 § 281
5.41-2 § 420	4.99-103 § 159	6.266 § 27
5.48 § 33	4.105 § 44	6.303 § 33
5.53 § 21	4.105 § 372	6.305 § 33
5.72 § 281	4.120 § 317	6.329 § 44
5.74 § 100	4.125 § 22	6.330 § 31
5.85-97 § 327	4.131 § 100	6.342 § 17
5.1099-19 § 416	4.134 § 26	6.343 § 100
5.121 § 19	4.135 § 21	6.350 § 19
5.122 § 142	4.146 § 244	6.352 § 10
5.139 § 2	4.147 § 19	6.354 § 38
5.152 § 17	4.155 § 2	6.356 § 372
5.161-83 § 46	4.159 § 190	6.363 § 21
5.190-214 § 20	4.177 § 22	6.384 § 419
5.193-94 § 20	4.178-84 § 26	6.409-13 § 17
5.201-5 § 20	4.192 § 22	6.409-13 § 416
5.228 § 3	4.208 § 66	6.409-13 § 417
5.238-46 § 20	4.216 § 37	6.414-19 § 419
5.248-302 § 416	4.229 § 9	6.417 § 21
5.257 § 100	4.230 § 22	6.418 § 419
5.278 § 281	4.232 § 9	6.420-29 § 419
5.287 § 19	4.238 § 193	6.433-34 § 43
5.316 § 19	4.241 § 19	6.438 § 187

7 § 361
7.1-20 § 417
7.41 § 197
7.44 § 277
7.55 § 38
7.56 § 375
7.71 § 244
7.85-88 § 429
7.108 § 19
7.110 § 6
7.113 § 44
7.113 § 145
7.116-62 § 423

7.118 § 43
7.158-62 § 361
7.163 § 422
7.203 § 142
7.208 § 219
7.213 § 19
7.263-64 § 43
7.267 § 19
7.275-406 § 21
7.334 § 80
7.362 § 336
7.362-63 § 159
7.412 § 19

7.420 § 49
7.437 § 424
7.437-53 § 424
7.438-41 § 424
7.441-46 § 424
7.447-50 § 424
7.447-53 § 6
7.450 § 425
7.451-53 § 424
7.454 § 9
7.454 § 356

ANTIQUITIES

p. 2 xiii
p. 3 xiv
p. 5 xiv
p. 6 xv
p. 7 xv
p. 12 xvii
p. 13 xviii
p. 15 xix
p. 16 xx
p. 20 xxi
p. 32 xxvii
p. 35 xxviii
p. 37 xxix
p. 38 xxix
p. 41 xxxi
p. 43 xxxi
p. 45 xxxii
p. 46 xxxiii
p. 47 xxxiii
p. 49 xxxiv
p. 58 xxxviii
p. 79 xlvii
p. 81 xlvii

Vols.
1 p. 25 xxiii
1-4 p. 25 xxiii
1-10 p. 25 xxiii
1-12 p. 44 xxxii
2 p. 25 xxiii
3 p. 25 xxiii
4 p. 25 xxiii
5 p. 25 xxiii
5-8 p. 25 xxiii
6 p. 25 xxiii
7 p. 25 xxiii
8 p. 25 xxiii
9 p. 25 xxiii
9-10 p. 25 xxiii
11 p. 25 xxiii
11-3 p. 25 xxiii
11.20 p. 25 xxiii
12 p. 25 xxiii
13 p. 25 xxiii
13 p. 26 xxiv
13-4 p. 44 xxxii
13-20 p. 44 xxxii
13-20 p. 56 xxxvii
14 p. 26 xxiv
14-7 p. 26 xxiv
15 p. 26 xxiv
15-6 p. 44 xxxii
15-6 p. 45 xxxii

16 p. 26 xxiv
17 p. 26 xxiv
17-19 p. 7 xv
18 p. 25 xxiii
18 p. 26 xxiv
18-20 p. 26 xxiv
18-20 p. 44 xxxii
18 p. 25 xxiii
19 p. 26 xxiv
20 p. 5 xiv
20 p. 25 xxiii
20 p. 26 xxiv

1: § 338
1.1-4: § 227
1.1-4: § 357
1.1-26 xiv
1.1-26 xxviii
1.2-4: § 336
1.4: § 339
1.5 xix
1.5: § 430
1.6: § 338
1.8-9 xv
1.8-9 xix
1.8-9 xx
1.8-9: § 430
1.10: § 277
1.11: § 16
1.11 xx
1.14: § 9
1.14: § 16
1.14 xxiii
1.14 xlix
1.14: § 84
1.20: § 16
1.20 xxiii
1.20 xlix
1.20: § 84
1.21-3 xix
1.24: § 258
1.33 xix
1.33: § 159
1.46: § 11
1.46: § 16
1.49: § 11
1.54: § 11
1.56: § 19
1.69: § 10
1.71: § 112
1.81 xvi n.1
1.101: § 101
1.105-106: § 11

1.115: § 40
1.128-29 xix
1.162: § 34
1.180: § 187
1.188: § 5
1.192-3: § 113
1.194: § 112
1.208-9: § 80
1.214: § 113
1.215: § 5
1.221: § 2
1.225: § 16
1.234: § 5
1.250: § 242
1.337: § 274
1.250: § 274

2.11-7: § 208
2.12: § 375
2.24: § 16
2.27: § 1
2.39: § 16
2.46: § 192
2.60: § 16
2.63: § 9
2.63-87: § 208
2.75: § 208
2.82: § 208
2.104: § 16
2.175: § 5
2.215: § 265
2.219: § 16
2.230: § 9
2.244: § 9
2.280: § 46
2.286: § 16
2.316: § 14
2.330: § 16
2.330: § 19
2.349: § 16

3.12: § 9
3.19: § 16
3.24-7: § 31
3.49: § 2
3.54: § 44
3.68-9: § 31
3.68: § 84
3.78: § 274
3.91: § 65
3.91: § 159
3.92: § 101
3.99: § 16

- 3.105: § 2
 3.143: § 159
 3.210: § 46
 3.223: § 9
 3.240-3: § 290
 3.276: § 11
 3.295-315: § 31
 3.302: § 282
 3.317 xix
 3.363: § 11
 3.278: § 3

 4.12: § 3
 4.11-35: § 315
 4.13: § 12
 4.14-58: § 40
 4.37: § 88
 4.47: § 16
 4.50: § 282
 4.68: § 63
 4.80: § 11
 4.99: § 410
 4.107: § 19
 4.108: § 403
 4.114: § 16
 4.114: § 16
 4.117: § 16
 4.128: § 17
 4.140: § 17
 4.191: § 370
 4.205: § 63
 4.214-18: § 7
 4.219: § 427
 4.222: § 2
 4.223: § 2
 4.240-3: § 63
 4.278: § 196
 4.294: § 100
 4.304: § 1
 4.309: § 9
 4.328: § 9

 5.40: § 46
 5.51: § 324
 5.120: § 410
 5.123: § 336
 5.148: § 136
 5.159: § 101
 5.166: § 370
 5.180: § 44
 5.231: § 100
 5.235: § 66
 5.256: § 101
 5.268: § 97
 5.314: § 9
 5.319: § 122
 5.352: § 112

 6.13: § 9
 6.15: § 9
 6.17: § 65
 6.36: § 2
 6.43: § 19
 6.60: § 112
 6.71: § 10
 6.136: § 44
 6.211: § 421
 6.213: § 112
 6.271: § 112

 6.288: § 97
 6.292: § 112
 6.356: § 44
 6.367: § 180
 6.385: § 370

 7.20: § 100
 7.22: § 100
 7.24: § 124
 7.62: § 44
 7.105: § 44
 7.130: § 16
 7.130: § 175
 7.138: § 223
 7.144: § 101
 7.153: § 16
 7.160: § 44
 7.161: § 44
 7.191: § 44
 7.196: § 40
 7.233: § 180
 7.259: § 101
 7.261: § 31
 7.337: § 100
 7.338: § 14
 7.342: § 14
 7.356: § 14
 7.365: § 2
 7.365-67: § 2
 7.374: § 14
 7.384: § 144

 8.15: § 97
 8.51: § 410
 8.116-7: § 349
 8.144: § 38
 8.151: § 44
 8.176: § 112
 8.203: § 192
 8.204: § 21
 8.246: § 420
 8.284: § 44
 8.310: § 44
 8.315: § 2
 8.318: § 427
 8.321: § 14
 8.325: § 14

 9.2: § 14
 9.10: § 37
 9.28: § 112
 9.42: § 44
 9.91-2: § 31
 9.99: § 97
 9.105: § 44
 9.159: § 44
 9.188-91: § 269
 9.217: § 44
 9.222: § 14
 9.230: § 44
 9.236: § 14
 9.253: § 44
 9.258: § 112
 9.258: § 336
 9.276: § 14
 9.278: § 102
 9.283: § 38
 9.284: § 324
 9.287: § 38

 9.290-1: § 269

 10.45: § 14
 10.51: § 14
 10.65: § 33
 10.68: § 14
 10.78 ff.: § 241
 10.151-53: § 1
 10.151-53: § 2
 10.190: § 11
 10.190: § 14
 10.190: § 38
 10.190-94: § 11
 10.195: § 208
 10.196: § 208
 10.198: § 208
 10.202: § 208
 10.204: § 29
 10.204-205: § 13
 10.210: § 6
 10.217: § 208
 10.231: § 3
 10.250: § 425
 10.254: § 370
 10.257: § 425
 10.271: § 44
 10.275-81: § 84
 10.277-81: § 10
 10.277-81: § 208
 10.278: § 16
 10.280: § 16

 11: § 33
 11.20: § 196
 11.37: § 112
 11.48: § 31
 11.91: § 44
 11.111: § 2
 11.158: § 46
 11.216: § 33
 11.271: § 223
 11.273: § 33
 11.278: § 244

 12.8: § 43
 12.28: § 38
 12.36: § 33
 12.38: § 340
 12.56: § 14
 12.119-20: § 74
 12.145: § 370
 12.160: § 2
 12.160: § 258
 12.221: § 84
 12.261: § 244
 12.265: § 2
 12.274-5: § 159
 12.276: § 161
 12.283: § 281
 12.284: § 16
 12.300: § 31
 12.414: § 2
 12.414: § 4
 12.416: § 6
 12.419: § 2
 12.419: § 4
 12.421: § 188
 12.434: § 2
 12.434: § 4

13.1-200: § 4	13.430-32: § 10	15.283: § 22
13.12-4: § 161	13.432: § 12	15.288: § 336
13.18: § 112		15.294: § 115
13.19: § 97	14 xxx	15.315: § 19
13.33: § 324	14.3 xix	15.316: § 46
13.35: § 375	14.73: § 341	15.346: § 277
13.36: § 336	14.74: § 26	15.350: § 180
13.67: § 281	14.74: § 410	15.371: § 10
13.85: § 375	14.75: § 341	15.371-78: § 10
13.89: § 406	14.91: § 2	15.388: § 46
13.92: § 44	14.91: § 12	15.391-425: § 20
13.104: § 44	14.92: § 190	15.403: § 2
13.149: § 97	14.137: § 429	15.406: § 49
13.156: § 44	14.141: § 17	15.408: § 20
13.171-73: § 10	14.141: § 134	
13.171-73: § 13	14.157: § 325	16.1: § 1
13.171-3: § 32	14.167-80: § 62	16.1-4: § 192
13.173: § 10	14.170-79: § 4	16.4: § 336
13.182: § 113	14.173: § 7	16.13: § 17
13.196-229: § 3	14.180: § 13	16.36: § 112
13.197-8: § 193	14.186-88 xx	16.48: § 6
13.200: § 97	14.188: § 6	16.79: § 3
13.216-7: § 31	14.191: § 6	16.81: § 22
13.230-300: § 3	14.197: § 6	16.163: § 159
13.257-8: § 113	14.197: § 44	16.165: § 22
13.284: § 113	14.219: § 6	16.172: § 113
13.288: § 10	14.221: § 4	16.174-75 xx
13.288: § 12	14.223-7: § 161	16.177: § 7
13.288: § 22	14.241-6: § 159	16.180-1: § 192
13.288: § 40	14.258: § 277	16.187: § 1
13.288: § 113	14.259: § 21	16.187: § 3
13.288: § 122	14.263-4: § 159	16.187: § 7
13.288-98: § 10	14.266: § 6	16.187: § 336
13.288-98: § 12	14.283: § 100	16.210: § 403
13.291: § 17	14.288: § 44	16.222: § 22
13.291: § 88	14.290: § 44	16.231: § 196
13.296: § 123	14.292-93: § 4	16.242: § 8
13.297: § 10	14.297-8: § 44	16.264: § 7
13.297-98: § 10	14.300: § 2	16.268: § 46
13.297-8: § 310	14.305: § 44	16.300: § 2
13.298-99: § 8	14.308: § 16	16.389: § 100
13.299: § 17	14.314: § 44	16.359: § 170
13.299-300: § 113	14.319: § 6	16.395: § 404
13.300: § 123	14.319: § 44	16.396: § 71
13.300-301: § 2	14.327: § 36	
13.310: § 80	14.327: § 196	17 xxxii
13.311: § 10	14.365-66: § 4	17.1: § 1
13.318-9: § 113	14.395: § 196	17.8: § 420
13.319: § 113	14.415: § 188	17.20: § 37
13.320: § 131	14.430: § 192	17.23: § 54
13.337: § 44	14.435: § 196	17.23-30: § 46
13.337: § 340	14.442: § 192	17.26: § 54
13.347: § 44	14.462: § 192	17.28 xvii
13.357: § 44	14.482: § 192	17.28: § 33
13.393: § 187	14.490: § 2	17.41: § 10
13.397: § 113	14.490-91: § 2	17.41: § 191
13.400: § 12		17.41-5: § 10
13.400-401: § 10	15.1: § 44	17.41-5: § 12
13.400-01: § 193	15.61: § 274	17.41-5: § 22
13.400-02: § 22	15.98: § 427	17.41-5: § 191
13.400-32 xxxvii	15.138: § 7	17.46: § 79
13.400-32: § 12	15.163: § 392	17.61: § 423
13.402: § 40	15.173: § 62	17.68: § 324
13.404: § 5	15.182: § 4	17.117: § 134
13.405: § 101	15.194: § 22	17.118: § 7
13.407: § 3	15.218: § 7	17.131: § 37
13.415: § 403	15.255: § 46	17.144: § 13
13.427: § 274	15.267-76: § 192	17.151: § 65
13.430: § 5	15.276: § 22	17.162: § 2

- 17.166: § 3
 17.189: § 54
 17.189: § 185
 17.200-344: § 5
 17.232: § 423
 17.238: § 3
 17.254 xix
 17.262: § 403
 17.269: § 325
 17.270: § 17
 17.279: § 88
 17.285: § 65
 17.285: § 359
 17.290: § 392
 17.295: § 145
 17.301: § 79
 17.310: § 423
 17.314: § 17
 17.316: § 17
 17.317: § 5
 17.318: § 37
 17.318: § 67
 17.319: § 54
 17.325: § 134
 17.330: § 46
 17.331: § 46
 17.352: § 427

 18.1: § 1
 18.4: § 187
 18.7: § 325
 18.11: § 10
 18.11-20: § 10
 18.12: § 8
 18.12: § 11
 18.15: § 10
 18.15: § 13
 18.15: § 193
 18.15: § 310
 18.16: § 10
 18.17: § 10
 18.17: § 12
 18.17: § 40
 18.17: § 193
 18.17: § 310
 18.18-22: § 10
 18.19: § 425
 18.19-20: § 10
 18.20-21: § 10
 18.23: § 10
 18.25: § 10
 18.27: § 398
 18.28: § 398
 18.31: § 119
 18.36-7: § 85
 18.37: § 67
 18.44: § 12
 18.81: § 9
 18.106: § 54
 18.106: § 187
 18.117: § 11
 18.117: § 14
 18.128 xvii
 18.129: § 46
 18.145-54 xvii
 18.145-54: § 359
 18.149: § 64
 18.172: § 62
 18.195-204: § 14

 18.219: § 46
 18.227: § 248
 18.240: § 67
 18.286: § 46
 18.300: § 65
 18.319-24: § 161

 19.1: § 1
 19.62: § 423
 19.94: § 16
 19.129: § 29
 19.133: § 248
 19.178: § 2
 19.184: § 100
 19.208: § 40
 19.221: § 22
 19.243: § 46
 19.247: § 398
 19.261: § 37
 19.276-7: § 48
 19.299: § 33
 19.300-05: § 277
 19.300-12: § 31
 19.301: § 68
 19.332: § 19
 19.354: § 48
 19.360-2: § 34
 19.363: § 33
 19.353: § 33

 20 xvi
 20 xix
 20 xxxviii
 20.1: § 1
 20.3: § 68
 20.4 xv
 20.4: § 145
 20.12-3: § 29
 20.16: § 3
 20.17-96: § 113
 20.17-96: § 429
 20.20: § 16
 20.26: § 112
 20.38: § 113
 20.42: § 113
 20.43: § 191
 20.47 xv
 20.47: § 22
 20.47: § 92
 20.48-9: § 113
 20.66: § 112
 20.76: § 112
 20.78: § 336
 20.79: § 112
 20.81: § 112
 20.85: § 113
 20.104: § 5
 20.104: § 33
 20.104: § 34
 20.105: § 49
 20.109: § 36
 20.118-24: § 269
 20.120: § 31
 20.123: § 44
 20.127 xv
 20.127: § 145
 20.131: § 13
 20.135: § 34
 20.135: § 145

 20.137: § 13
 20.138 xv
 20.138: § 34
 20.138: § 47
 20.138: § 54
 20.138: § 112
 20.138: § 187
 20.138-40: § 34
 20.139: § 113
 20.143: § 113
 20.143-44: § 13
 20.143-46 xvii
 20.145: § 48
 20.145-6 xv
 20.145-6: § 48
 20.150: § 34
 20.153: § 14
 20.154-57: § 14
 20.158: § 52
 20.159 xv
 20.159: § 33
 20.159: § 34
 20.159: § 38
 20.159: § 97
 20.159: § 119
 20.159: § 126
 20.159: § 155
 20.159: § 388
 20.162-64: § 13
 20.162: § 375
 20.164-65 xv
 20.164-5: § 242
 20.167-72: § 13
 20.173 xv
 20.173-78: § 13
 20.173-8: § 52
 20.174 xv
 20.174: § 145
 20.180: § 21
 20.183: § 356
 20.189-96 xvii
 20.189-96: § 16
 20.190: § 2
 20.190 xv
 20.193: § 33
 20.195 xv
 20.195: § 16
 20.197: § 33
 20.197-203: § 193
 20.199: § 10
 20.199: § 66
 20.201: § 191
 20.203: § 97
 20.205-7: § 9
 20.211: § 74
 20.211-12: § 50
 20.211-18 xvii
 20.213: § 3
 20.213: § 193
 20.215 xv
 20.215: § 13
 20.216-18 xv
 20.216-18: § 43
 20.224-51: § 1
 20.225-26: § 9
 20.237-38: § 2
 20.237-38: § 4
 20.241: § 2
 20.241: § 175

20.243-4: § 2	20.262-66 xiv	20.267 xxxi
20.250: § 44	20.262-67 xxviii	20.267 xlii
20.251: § 5	20.262-67 xlvii	20.267: § 342
20.251: § 12	20.263: § 5	20.267: § 359
20.252: § 16	20.263: § 357	20.267: § 429
20.254: § 44	20.263-64: § 40	20.267: § 430
20.255: § 3	20.263-65 xx	20.267-68 xix
20.259 xxxi	20.263-66: § 8	20.267-68 xix
20.259: § 66	20.263-66: § 430	20.268: § 5
20.259-66 xix	20.265 xxviii	20.268: § 338
20.259-66 xix	20.266 xlviii	20.261: § 2
20.259-66 xxxi	20.266 xlviii	20.262-67: § 1
20.259-67 xix	20.266: § 6	20.266: § 1
20.259-68 xxiv	20.266-7: § 359	20.347: § 2
20.260: § 357	20.266-7: § 430	20.347 xv
20.261: § 3	20.267 xv	
20.262 xix	20.267 xv	

LIFE

NB: Since the entire commentary deals with the *Life*, these references pertain to specific passages cited in the introductory essay only.

p. 2 xiii	§§ 1-12a xxi	§ 18 xxiv
p. 3 xiii	§§ 1-29 xxiv	§ 20 li
p. 5 xiv	§ 2 xv	§ 21 xxi n. 4
p. 6 xv	§ 2 xx	§ 21 xxxvi
p. 7 xv	§ 5 xxi n. 4	§ 22 xxi n. 4
p. 8 xvi	§ 5 xxiii	§ 22 xxix
p. 12 xviii	§ 6 xlix	§ 22 xlv
p. 13 xviii	§§ 6-9 xxix	§ 22 xlv
p. 14 xix	§ 7 xx	§ 23-4 xlv
p. 15 xix	§§ 7-12 xxii	§§ 24-5 li
p. 16 xix	§ 8 xxiii	§ 26 xx
p. 20 xxi	§ 10 xx	§ 27 xxv
p. 38 xxix	§§ 10-12 xx	§ 27 xxxvii
p. 39 xxx	§ 12 xx	§§ 28-413 xxi
p. 43 xxxi	§ 12 xxii	§ 29 xxi n. 4
p. 44 xxxii	§ 12 xxxiii	§ 29 xxviii
p. 45 xxxii	§ 12 xliii	§ 29 xxx
p. 46 xxxiii	§ 12 xlv	§ 29 xxxv
p. 47 xxxiii	§§ 12b-29 xxii	§ 29 xxxvii
p. 48 xxxiv	§§ 12b-413 xxi	§ 29 xlv
p. 49 xxxiv	§§ 12b-413 xxii	§§ 30-61 xliii
p. 51 xxxv	§ 13 xv	§§ 30-63 xxii
p. 53 xxxvi	§ 13 xxii	§§ 30-188 xxii
p. 55 xxxvii	§ 13 li	§§ 30-406 xxvii
p. 61 xl	§§ 13-6 xxi	§ 31 xx
p. 66 xliii	§§ 13-6 xxi	§ 31 xxi n. 4
p. 68 xliii	§§ 13-6 xxii	§ 31 xxv
p. 76 xlv	§§ 13-6 xxiv	§ 31 xliii
p. 77 xlv	§§ 13-6 xxiv	§ 32 xlv
p. 78 xlvii	§§ 13-6 xlv	§ 33 xxi n. 4
p. 79 xlvii	§ 14 xxiv	§ 35 xlv
p. 81 xlviii	§ 14 li	§ 36 xxv
p. 89 lii	§ 15 xxiv	§§ 36-42 xxv
	§§ 15-6 xlix	§§ 36-42 xxvii
	§ 16 xv	§§ 36-42 xlix
§ 1 xlviii	§ 16 xxiv	§ 38 xv
§§ 1-2 xx	§ 16 li	§ 39 xxv
§§ 1-2 xxiii	§ 17 xlv	§ 40 xxv
§§ 1-2 li	§§ 17-9 xlv	§ 40 xxvii
§§ 1-6 xiv	§§ 17-22 xlv	§ 40 xlix
§§ 1-6 xxii	§§ 17-29 xxii	§§ 40-2 xx
§§ 1-12 xxii	§§ 17-29 xlv	§§ 40-2 xxi
§§ 1-12 xxiii	§§ 17-188 xxii	§§ 40-2 xxi n. 4
§§ 1-12 xxviii	§§ 17-406 xiv	§§ 40-2 xliii
§§ 1-12 xxxi	§§ 17-413 xxii	§§ 40-2 xxvii

- §§ 40-2 xxxviii
 § 41 xxvii
 § 42 xxv
 § 43 xxxviii
 §§ 43-4 xxviii
 §§ 43-5 xxv
 §§ 46-61 xxiii
 §§ 46-61 xlix
 § 47 li
 § 48 xv
 § 60 xxv
 § 62 xlv
 §§ 62-3 xxv
 § 63 xlix
 § 64 xxv
 §§ 64-9 xxv
 §§ 64-188 xxii
 § 65 xx
 § 65 xxix
 § 66 xlv
 § 68 xlv
 §§ 70-6 xxv
 §§ 71-3 xlix
 § 72 lii
 §§ 72-3 xxviii
 § 73 xlix
 § 74 xlv
 § 75 xlix
 § 77 xlv
 §§ 77-78 xxx
 §§ 77-78 xlvi
 §§ 77-84 xx
 § 79 xlv
 §§ 79-80 xlvii
 § 80 xx
 § 80 xxv
 § 80 xxviii
 § 80 xxix
 § 80 xlix
 §§ 80-4 xliii
 § 81 xxviii
 § 81 xlv
 §§ 81-2 xxi
 § 83 xlix
 § 84 lii
 §§ 84-103 xxv
 § 85 xxv
 § 85 xlix
 § 85 lii
 §§ 85-7 xxvi
 §§ 85-103 xxvi
 § 86 xlv
 § 87 xxx
 § 87 xlv
 § 87 xlix
 §§ 87-8 xxvii
 § 89 xxvi
 § 90 xv
 § 92 xxvi
 § 93-4 xxvi
 § 95 xxvi
 § 96 xxvi
 § 97-100 xxvi
 § 97 lii
 § 99 lii
 § 100 xlv
 § 100 lii
 § 101 xlv
 § 101 lii
 § 102 lii
 § 102 lii
 § 103 xxvi
 § 103 xliii
 §§ 112-13 xxiii
 § 121 xlv
 § 122 xlix
 § 128 xx
 § 129 xxviii
 § 132 xxviii
 § 140 xxviii
 §§ 140-43 xlv
 §§ 141-42 xxix
 §§ 141-44 xliii
 § 143 xlv
 § 143 li
 § 145 xlv
 § 148 xlvii
 §§ 149-53 xxiii
 § 155 xxx
 § 158 xxx
 § 163 xlv
 § 169 xlv
 § 169 xlv
 § 169-70 xxxiii
 § 170 xv
 § 170 xlv
 § 171 xx
 § 173 xlv
 §§ 175-78 xlv
 § 177 xlv
 §§ 179-81 xxiii
 §§ 179-84 xlix
 § 184 xlv
 §§ 187-8 xxi
 § 189 xlix
 §§ 189-91 xxviii
 §§ 189-203 xxii
 §§ 189-335 xxii
 §§ 189-335 xxxiv
 §§ 189-335 xlix
 § 192 xxxiii
 § 192 xxxvi
 § 193 xlv
 §§ 195-96 xlix
 § 199 lii
 § 201 lii
 § 204 lii
 §§ 204-7 xxvi
 §§ 204-212 xxii
 § 205 lii
 § 206 xxvii
 § 207 xxvi
 § 208 xxvi
 §§ 208-9 xxvi
 §§ 208-9 xlix
 § 209 xxvi
 § 210 xxvi
 § 210 lii
 § 210 xxvii
 §§ 210-11 xxvi
 §§ 210-12 xx
 §§ 213-41 xxii
 §§ 216-17 li
 § 228 lii
 § 231 lii
 § 240 xlv
 § 242 xv
 §§ 242-65 xxii
 § 244 xxxv
 § 244 xliii
 § 259 xxv
 § 259 xxxv
 § 260 xxviii
 § 260 xxx
 § 262 xliii
 § 263 lii
 § 264 xlv
 §§ 264-66 xliii
 § 265 xlv
 § 265 xlvii
 §§ 266-68 xxvi
 §§ 266-70 xxii
 § 269 xx
 §§ 271-304 xxii
 §§ 271-308 xxvi
 § 272 xxvi
 § 279 xx
 § 279 xlv
 §§ 279-89 xxxvii
 § 283 xxx
 § 291 xlix
 § 292 xxvi
 §§ 295-96 xxiii
 § 296 xxvi
 § 297 xxvi
 § 298 xlv
 § 302 xxvii
 § 302 xxx
 § 304 xxvi
 § 304 xxvi
 §§ 305-8 xxvi
 §§ 305-8 xliii
 §§ 305-35 xxii
 § 307 lii
 § 308 xxvi
 § 309 xxvi
 §§ 315-16 xxv
 § 319 xlv
 § 321 xx
 § 321 xxvi
 § 322 xxv
 § 329 xxvi
 § 331 xxvi
 § 331 xxx
 § 332 xlix
 § 333 lii
 § 335 xxvi
 § 336 xxiii
 § 336 xxv
 § 336 xxvii
 § 336 xxviii
 §§ 336-67 xxii
 §§ 336-67 xxii
 §§ 336-67 xxv
 §§ 336-67 xxvi
 §§ 336-67 xxviii
 §§ 336-67 xxxi
 §§ 336-67 xxxviii
 §§ 336-67 xlix
 §§ 336-67 xlix
 §§ 336-413 xxii
 § 338 xlix
 § 340 xxv
 § 340 xxviii
 § 340 xlv
 § 342 xxi n. 4
 § 350 xxviii

§ 353 xlv
 §§ 355-56 xxv
 §§ 355-67 xlix
 § 358 lii
 § 359 xvi
 § 359 xvii
 § 359 xxvii
 §§ 359-60 xxxiii
 § 360 xvi
 §§ 361-64 xv
 § 362 lii
 § 363 lii
 § 368 xlv
 §§ 368-72 xxii
 §§ 368-89 xxvi
 §§ 368-413 xxii
 § 369 xlv
 §§ 369-72 xxvi
 § 370 lii
 § 372 xxv
 § 372 xlix
 §§ 373-80 xxii
 § 375 lii
 § 376 xx
 §§ 377-80 xliii
 §§ 378-80 xlv
 § 379 xlvii
 §§ 381-89 xxii

§ 384 lii
 § 384 lii
 §§ 386-87 xlv
 §§ 386-88 xliii
 § 389 xlv
 §§ 390-93 xxii
 §§ 390-93 xxiv
 §§ 390-93 xlix
 §§ 391 xxv
 §§ 391-93 xxv
 §§ 391-93 xlix
 §§ 394-97 xxii
 § 395 lii
 §§ 398-406 xxii
 § 400 xlix
 § 407 xxi
 §§ 407-9 xxii
 §§ 407-9 xxiii
 §§ 408-9 xxiv
 § 409 xxiv
 § 410 xxii
 § 410 xxiv
 § 410 xxv
 § 411 li
 §§ 411-13 xxiii
 § 412 xxiv
 § 412 xxxvii
 §§ 412-13 xxii

§§ 414-22 xxiii
 §§ 414-29 xxiii
 §§ 414-30 xxii
 §§ 414-30 xxiv
 §§ 416-17 xxiv
 § 419 xxiv
 §§ 419-21 xliv
 § 423 xlv
 §§ 423-29 xxiii
 § 424 xxiv
 § 425 xxv
 § 425 xlix
 §§ 426-27 xxiv
 § 429 xv
 § 429 xvi
 § 429 xxv
 §§ 429-30 xlix
 § 430 xiv
 § 430 xv
 § 430 xv
 § 430 xxi
 § 430 xxiii
 § 430 xxvii
 § 430 xxxviii
 § 430 xliii
 § 430 xlvii
 §§ 431-42 xxv

AGAINST APION

1.1 xviii
 1.1 § 29
 73 § 430
 1.1-5 xiv
 1.1-5 xxviii
 1.1-18 § 338
 1.6-7 § 8
 1.6-27 § 336
 1.15 § 340
 1.18 § 9
 1.18 § 11
 1.23 § 340
 1.23-5 xxxviii
 1.23-7 § 8
 1.27 § 40
 1.27 § 340
 1.28 § 1
 1.28-54 § 80
 1.29 § 357
 1.29 § 358
 1.29-36 § 9
 1.30-6 § 2
 1.31-5 § 6
 1.34-5 § 80
 1.34-5 § 414
 1.35 § 414
 1.36 § 357
 1.36 § 358
 1.41 § 3
 1.42-6 § 8
 1.50 § 336
 1.50 § 361

1.50 § 363
 1.51 § 362
 1.51 § 364
 1.51-2 § 359
 1.53 § 358
 1.53-6 § 336
 1.54 § 9
 1.54 § 418
 1.56 § 342
 1.56 § 358
 1.57 § 367
 1.67 § 9
 1.67 § 191
 1.70 § 44
 1.70 § 407
 1.72 § 425
 1.73 § 40
 1.162 § 11
 1.179 § 10
 1.179 § 65
 1.207 § 208
 1.225 § 258
 1.284 § 3
 2 li
 2.10 § 277
 2.108 § 2
 2.134 § 43
 2.140 § 16
 2.145-296 xxxviii
 2.148 § 14
 2.149 § 9

2.175 § 9
 2.170 § 7
 2.171-83 § 8
 2.173-4 § 8
 2.175 § 8
 2.177 § 198
 2.178 § 18
 2.179-80 § 281
 2.184-93 § 1
 2.185 § 1
 2.199 § 8
 2.199 § 427
 2.201 § 427
 2.202 § 427
 2.209-10 § 10
 2.209-10 § 159
 2.213 § 44
 2.215 § 8
 2.223 § 258
 2.228-35 § 8
 2.252 § 8
 2.257 § 9
 2.276-8 § 10
 2.278 § 430
 2.280-6 § 18
 2.283 § 281
 2.284 § 8
 2.285 § 425
 2.293-4 § 426
 2.294 § 8
 2.294 § 282
 2.296 xviii

MISHNA, TALMUD AND RELATED LITERATURE

*Mishna**m. 'Abot*

1-17: § 190

5.21: § 8

5.21: § 9

m. Bekorot

6.12-7.7: § 3

7.1: § 3

7.6: § 3

m. Gittin

9.10: § 426

m. Hagigah

2.4: § 10

m. Ketubbot

5.5: § 426

7.1 ff. : § 426

m. Ma'aserot

1.2: § 14

1.7: § 14

m. Makkot

1.6: § 10

m. Miqwa'ot

1.5-8: § 11

m. Menahot

10.3: § 10

m. Middot

1.6: § 2

m. Niddah

4.2: § 10

m. Parah

3.3: § 10

m. Qiddushin

4.4: § 2

m. Sotah

3.4: § 10

m. Sukkah

5.6-8: § 2

m. Tamid

6.1-3: § 2

m. Ta'anit

2.6-7: § 2

5.6-7: § 2

m. Yadayim

4.6-7: § 10

4.7: § 10

m. Zebahim

12.1: § 3

TOSEFTA

t. Yoma

4.20: § 2

TALMUD

Jerusalem Talmud

y. Abodah Zarah

2.8, 41d: § 74

y. Megillah

62a-b: § 44

70a: § 44

y. Ta'anit

4.68a: § 1

68a: § 1

y. Yoma

1.38d: § 2

Babylonian Talmud

b. Abodah Zarah

35b-36a: § 74

b. Bekorot

17a: § 239

25b: § 239

b. Sabbath

120b: § 208

b. Sotah

22a: § 9

b. Yoma

47a: § 2

TARGUMIC TEXTS

Targum to Judges

§44

OTHER RABBINIC WORKS

'Abot de Rabbi Nathan A

35: § 2

Genesis Rabbah

33: § 1

Pesiqta de Rab Kahana

26.10: § 2

INSCRIPTIONS

CIJ

2.1404: § 277

CIL

1.2.2555: § 69

3.6687: § 52

6.9454: § 430

13.11606: § 32

16.22: § 420

IGR

1.1183: § 121

3.1201-2: § 121

ILS

246: § 61

OGIS

419: § 33

*Papyri**P. Amh.* 2.112.7 § 2*P. Yadin*

20.5, 24, 43; 25.2, 24, 59 § 33

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INDEX OF MODERN AUTHORS

References indicate paragraphs in Josephus' *Life* and the corresponding notes (§) or pages in the introductory essay (Roman numerals).

- Adam, A., § 11
 Adan-Bayewitz, D., § 188
 Aldrete, G.S., § 71
 Alföldy, G., § 1
 Attridge, H.W., §§ 15, 62
 Avenarius, G., §§ 336, 339, 342, 357, 358, 413
 Avi-Yonah, M., § 64
 Aviam, M., xxxvi, §§ 30, 188
 Balsdon, J. P. V. D., §§ 8, 40, 258
 Barag, D., § 38
 Barclay, J., § 277
 Barish, D. A., xvi, xix, xxvii, §§ 1, 359, 430
 Bar-Kochva, B., § 188
 Barrett, A., §§ 2, 5
 Baumgarten, A. I., § 10
 Beacham, R. C., § 16
 Beall, T. S., § 10
 Beard, M., § 1
 Beare, W., § 16
 Beck, I., xxiii
 Bickerman, E. J., § 3
 Bilde, P., xxxiv, §§ 17, 361, 363
 Black, M., § 10
 Blenkinsopp, J., § 1
 Bowersock, G.W., § 27
 Bradley, K., § 409
 Braund, D., § 410
 Brown, C. A., § 427
 Brunt, P. A., xxxv
 Cape, R., xxxviii, § 430
 Casson, L., § 15
 Clarke, M. L., §§ 8, 11
 Cohen, S. J. D., xvi, xxv, xxxii, xxxiii, §§ 1, 3, 6, 9, 11, 13, 20, 27, 30, 34, 46, 47, 65, 75, 77, 85, 168, 172, 336, 359, 360, 361, 364, 407, 429, 430
 Collins, J. J., § 113
 Conte, G., xxiii, § 10
 Corbeill, A., §§ 3, 32, 49, 61
 Corbo, V., § 403
 Cotton, H. M., liii, §§ 42, 119
 Crook, J., § 79
 Cross, F. M., § 10
 Dodd, C. H., § 7
 Dodge, H., § 15
 Drazin, N., § 8
 Drexler, H., xxvii, xxviii, §§ 34, 341, 408
 Droge, A., § 137
 Duckworth, G. E., p. 25
 Dunand, M., xv n.1
 Dupont-Sommer, A., § 10
 Edwards, D. R., §§ 30, 138
 Edwards, H.J., § 418
 Epstein, D., xxxvi
 Fagan, G., § 11
 Fantham, E., § 363
 Feldman, L. H., xviii, xli, liii, §§ 9, 11, 16, 17, 65, 159, 208, 427, 430
 Finley, M. I., xxxviii, §§ 38, 425
 Fireman, P., § 7
 Flower, H., § 1
 Foerster, G., § 277
 Fornara, C., xli
 Frankfort, T., xvi
 Freyne, S., xxxvi, § 30
 Frier, B.W., § 426
 Fuks, G., § 26
 Gagnierus, § 44
 Galinsky, K., xxxv, § 1
 Garnsey, P., §§ 11, 74, 423
 Garver, E., xxxix
 Gehrke, H.-J., § 17
 Gelzer, M., xix, xxvii, xxxii
 Gleason, M., xxxiv
 Goldstein, J. A., § 2
 Gnuse, R. K., § 208
 Goodman, M. D., § § 10, 17, 62, 74
 Grabbe, L. L., §§ 10, 92
 Graf, D. F., § 149
 Gray, R., § 208
 Groh, D., § 207
 Grünewald, T., xxxvi, § 21
 Habinek, T. N., xxxvi, § 21
 Hanson, A. E., § 427
 Hanson, R. S., §§ 11, 21
 Harris, W. V., § 8
 Hata, G., § 15, 16, 17, 363
 Havelock, E. A., § 7
 Heller, B., § 1
 Hendrickson, G. L., § 40
 Hengel, M., §§ 11, 21, 277
 Hestrin, R., § 74
 Hirzel, R., § 7
 Hoehner, H., § 37
 Hoenig, S., § 74
 Hölscher, G., xxvii, §§ 336, 363
 Horbury, W., § 277
 Horsley, R. A., xxxvi, §§ 11, 21, 30, 277
 Inwood, B., § 12
 Jacoby, F., xlii n.8, § 360
 Jaeger, W., xl, xlviii, §§ 7, 8
 Jones, A. H. M., §§ 64, 341
 Jones, B. W., §§ 79, 359, 423, 429
 Kajanto, I., §§ 3, 5, 32, 33, 49, 61, 69, 190, 213
 Kasher, A., § 31
 Kennedy, G. A., xxxviii, xxxix, xl, § 8, 11, 256, 430
 Kern, P. B., §§ 44, 100
 Kingsley, S. A., § 31
 Kokkinos, N., xvii, xviii, xix, xxi, §§ 13, 17, 33, 34, 37, 38, 359, 398, 429, 430
 Konstan, D., xxxvi
 Kottek, S., § 403
 Kraabel, A. T., §§ 16, 277
 Krieger, K.-S., §§ 6, 13, 20, 24, 194
 Kushnir-Stein, A., xviii n.3, xxi n.6, § 359
 Lämmer, M., § 92
 Laqueur, R., xviii, xxvii, xxx, xxxi, xxxii, xlv, §§ 1, 27, 29, 43, 46, 65, 77, 155, 156, 261, 336, 359, 363, 429, 430
 Lausberg, H., § 367
 Le Bohec, Y., §§ 115, 121, 213, 214, 242, 398, 404, 416, 420
 LeMoigne, J., § 10
 Leon, H. J., §§ 5, 423
 Levick, B., xxi, §§ 6, 342, 415, 423
 Levine, L. I., § 52, 192
 Lewis, N., § 208
 Lightstone, J. N., §§ 10, 192
 Lindner, H., §§ 1, 18
 Lintott, A. H., §§ 5, 17, 423
 Longstaff, T. R., § 207
 Luther, H., xvi, xvii, xviii, xxvii, xxviii, §§ 1, 34, 40, 66, 74, 80, 144, 336, 341, 359, 360, 380, 380, 429, 430
 MacMullen, R., §§ 10, 40
 Marron, H. I., §§ 3, 7, 8, 10, 40, 40
 Martinez, F. G., § 10
 Mason, H. J., §§ 5, 29, 49, 115, 121, 126, 242, 250, 315, 342, 356, 398, 407, 410
 Mason, S., xviii, xix, xxvii, xlvii, xlviii, §§ 1, 3, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13, 21, 33, 62, 123, 192, 208, 279, 336, 430
 Matern, S. P., xxxv, §§ 24, 315
 May, J. M., xxxix, §§ 1, 257, 430
 Mayer-Schärtel, B., § 427
 McCollough, C. T., § 30
 McEleney, N., § 113
 Méléze-Modrzejewski, J., § 67
 Mellor, R., § 430
 Mendelson, A., § 8
 Meredith, A., § 10
 Meshorer, Y., xvii, §§ 30, 33, 38, 65, 68, 76, 359
 Meyers, E. M., xxxvii, §§ 30, 277
 Millar, F., §§ 2, 27, 52, 54, 79, 300
 Misch, G., xiii, xli, xlii, §§ 2, 29
 Molyneux, J. H., § 17
 Momigliano, A., §§ 10, 65, 67
 Moore, G. F., § 10
 Naber, S. A., § 178
 Netzer, E., § 15
 Neusner, J., §§ 8, 10, 190, 422, 426
 Neyrey, J. H., xxxiv, xl, § 430
 Niese, B., xvi, xviii, xxvii, l, §§ 2, 27, 83, 122, 178, 189, 280, 336, 359, 429, 430
 Nock, A. D., § 10

- Nodet, E., xviii
 North, J., § 1
 Noy, D., §§ 190, 277
 Otto, W., § 33
 Parker, A. J., §§ 14, 341
 Pelletier, A., 1
 Plass, P., §§ 1, 336
 Potter, D. S., §§ 1, 416, 426, 427
 Price, J. J. §§ 1, 46, 66, 363, 372, 407, 408, 409
 Price, S. R. F., §§ 52, 208
 Przybylski, B., § 7
 Pucci ben Zeev, M., § 6
 Purcell, N., § 16
 Rajak, T., xvi, xviii, xxvii, xxviii, xxxiv, §§ 1, 2, 10, 11, 17, 18, 34, 40, 66, 274, 336, 359, 360, 363, 430
 Rappaport, S., § 1
 Rappaport, U., xxvii, xxxvii
 Rapske, B., § 14
 Raveh, K., § 31
 Rengstorf, K. H., § 2
 Rey-Cocquais, J.-P., § 341
 Reynolds, J. § 16
 Rich, J., § 22
 Richardson, P., xxxvi, §§ 20, 30, 398
 Rist, J., § 12
 Rivkin, E., § 10
 Safrai, S., §§ 8, 277
 Saldarini, A. J., § 10
 Saller, R. P., xxxv, §§ 16, 24, 71, 353, 315, 418, 423
 Salomon, M., § 7
 Sanders, E. P., §§ 1, 7, 10, 11, 20, 62
 Schäfer, P., § 422
 Schälit, A., xxvii, xxxi, § 34, 44, 193, 336
 Schiffman, L., § 10
 Schlatter, A., § 185
 Schreckenberg, H., 1-li
 Schürer, E., xix
 Schurer-Vermes, xvi, xvii, xviii, xix, xxvii, xxviii, §§ 2, 3, 13, 20, 27, 32, 33, 37, 52, 54, 64, 74, 277, 336, 341, 359, 398
 Schwartz, D. R., §§ 33, 410
 Schwartz, S., xviii, §§ 1, 5, 359, 360, 361, 424, 429, 430
 Segal, A. F., § 113
 Seyrig, H. xvii, xviii, § 38
 Shanks, H., § 192
 Shaw, B. D., xxxvi, xlvi, §§ 11, 21, 22, 78, 107
 Sherwin-White, A. N., § 423
 Shipley, G., § 22
 Shutt, R. J. H., xxvii, xxix, §§ 11, 12, 16, 30
 Sidebottom, H., § 22
 Siegert, F., li n.9, § 16
 Siegfried, W., § 7
 Sievers, J., xxi n.6, § 427
 Small, J. P., § 8
 Smallwood, E. M., xvi, xvii, §§ 16, 359
 Solin, H., §§ 16, 69
 Southern, P., § 429
 Sprague, R. K., xxxvii
 Stambaugh, J. E., §§ 38, 423
 Stefanoudaki, E., § 74
 Steinfeld, Z. A., § 74
 Stemberger G., §§ 8, 10
 Sterling, G. E., xviii
 Stern, M., §§ 2, 8, 9
 Strack, H. L., § 8
 Strange, J., §§ 207, 398
 Syme, R., § 1
 Syon, D., § 46
 Tabor, J. D., § 137
 Tannenbaum, R., § 16
 Taylor, J. E., § 11
 Thackeray, H. St. J., xv, xviii, xix, xxvii, xxxi, xxxii, 1, li, §§ 2, 12, 16, 29, 33, 73, 122, 125, 126, 136, 149, 178, 183, 185, 280, 321, 345, 359, 394, 396, 398, 403, 405, 423, 430
 Trude, P., § 7
 Tsaferis, V., § 403
 Tyree, E. L., § 74
 Vanderkam, J. C., § 10
 Vermes, G., § 10
 Vincent, L.-H., xvi
 Wacholder, B. Z., xlix
 Wachsmann, S., §§ 96, 165
 Walbank, F. W., xxxviii
 Wallace-Hadrill, A., § 356
 Weber, W., § 363
 Welch, J. W., 25
 Wellhausen, J., § 10
 White, P., §§ 6, 364, 423, 430
 Whitman, C. H., xxiii
 Wiseman, T. P., xiv, xli, §§ 1, 337, 342, 363, 364
 Wood, H., xxiii
 Woodman, A. J. xxxviii
 Yarbrough, O. L., § 8
 Yavetz, Z., §§ 16, 359, 363, 423
 Yeivin, Z., § 74
 Yegül, F. K., §§ 11, 15
 Ziesler, J. A., § 7

INDEX OF PERSONS AND PLACES

All references indicate paragraph numbers in Josephus' *Life* and corresponding notes.

- Acharabe, 188
- Adamah, 321
- Aebutius the decurion, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120
- Aequus Modius, 61, 74, 114, 180, 181
- Aganeans, people of, 44
- Agrippa I,
 - children of, 48
 - Great King, 33
 - King Agrippa, 37
- Agrippa II, 52
 - Agrippa the Younger, 38
 - cavalry of, 182, 183, 398, 406
 - child of Agrippa I, 48
 - friend of the Romans, 408
 - infantry, 398
 - King Agrippa, 39, 46, 114, 154, 180, 182, 343, 355, 359, 362, 364, 365, 366, 407
 - the king, 34, 53, 55, 59, 60, 61, 68, 74, 112, 131, 157, 158, 165, 184, 185, 187, 220, 340, 351, 354, 357, 381, 382, 384, 388, 390, 391, 391, 397, 398, 410
 - royal troops, 400, 402
- Agrippa (Simonides), son of Josephus, 5
- Alexandra (Queen), 5
- Alexandria, 415
- Aliturus, 16
- Ameroth, 188
- Ananias, layperson and Pharisee, of the delegation sent to expel Josephus from the Galilee, 197, 290, 316, 332
- Ananus, 195, 196
 - chief priest, 193
 - group of, 193, 195, 309
 - high priest, 194, 216
- Arbela, caves of, 188
 - village, 311
- Archelaus, 5
- Asmonaeus, 2, 4
- Asochis, 207, 233, 384
- Babylonians, 177
 - Relatives of, 47
 - In Batanea, 183
 - Judeans of "Ecbatana", 54
- Bandits, 28, 46, 47, 77, 145
 - principal men, 21
- Bannus, 11
- Batanea, 54, 183
- Bernice,
 - child of Agrippa I, 48
 - intervening on behalf of Justus, 357
 - Queen, 119
 - sister of Agrippa II, 343
- Bersoubai, 188
- Berytus, 49, 182, 357 (Beirut)
- Besara, 118
- Bethmaus, 64, 67
- Caesarea Philippi, 74, 75
- Caesarea, 52, 53, 55, 57, 59, 61, 414
- Cana, 86
- Capellus/Capella, see Julius Capellus
- Capharath, 188
- Cepharnocus, village of, 403
- Cerealius, 420
- Cestius Gallus, 23, 24, 28, 31, 49, 214, 374, 394
 - Governor of Roman affairs in Syria, 30, 347, 373
- Chabolos, 213, 227, 234
- Chares, Philip's relative, 177, 186
- Cleitus, daring and reckless young man, 170, 171, 172
- Compsus son of Compsus, 33
- Crete, 427
- Crispus, prefect of Agrippa, 33
- Crispus, valet of Agrippa II and Judean by ancestry, 382, 388, 393
- Cyrene, 424
- Dabaritta, 126, 318
- Dabarittan men, 126
- Damascus, 27
- Dassion, principal man of King Agrippa II, 131
- Dicaerchaeia, 16
- Domitia, wife of Caesar, 429
- Domitian, Caesar, 429
 - succession of, 429
 - wife of, 429
- Dora, 31
- Ecbatana, 54, 55, 56, 57
- Epaphroditus, 430
- Essenes, 10
- Felix, 13, 37
- Gaba, 82, 115, 117, 118
- Gabara, 203, 233, 235, 249, 265,
 - community of, 82
- Gabarothe, 242, 243
 - residents of, 123, 124
 - village of Gabarot, 229
- Gabarenes, 313
- Gadara, 43, 349
- Gadarenes,
 - people of 44, 82
 - village of, 42
- Gaius, Caesar, 5
 - imperium, 5
- Galileans, 30, 39, 66, 99, 102, 107, 125, 141, 177, 206, 228, 230, 237, 242, 253, 258, 260, 311, 340, 368, 383, 391, 398
 - affection and goodwill for Josephus, 198, 250, 251, 252
- cities in, 346
- council, 381
- Galilean crowd, 350
- hostility toward the Tiberians, 392
- Josephus' command of, 190
- leading men of, 305
- mass beg Josephus not to desert them, 210
- mob, 31, 37, 40, 50, 84, 102, 212, 230, 249, 253, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 271, 306, 388
- nearly plunder Tiberias, 381
- principal men, 220, 381
- rage, 100, 262, 385
- ranking (about 70), 79
- seize Sepphoris, 375
- Galilee, 38, 62, 78, 86, 98, 115, 119, 121, 123, 132, 193, 195, 196, 206, 226, 227, 232, 235, 236, 240, 257, 267, 269, 270, 273, 309, 310, 315, 324, 346, 357, 386, 393, 411
 - frontier of Galilee, 285
- Galilean region, 312
 - Lower Galilee, 188
 - Upper Galilee, 67, 71, 187
- Gamala, 46, 47, 58, 59, 61, 114, 179, 183, 185, 398
 - mob of, 59
 - principal men of, 185
- Gamalites, 177
- Garis, 395
 - village of, 412
- Gaulanitis, 187
- Gennasaret lake, 349
- Gischala, 43, 44, 45, 70, 101, 102, 235, 271, 308, 317
- Gischalans, 44, 75, 77, 122, 189
 - citizens of Gischala, 372
 - wall, 189
- God, 15, 83, 113, 138, 290, 310, 423
- Great Plain (north of Sepphoris), 207, 210
- Great Plain (of Esdraelon), 115, 116, 126, 318
- Greeks,
 - massacred in Tiberias, 67
- Herod from Tiberias, 96
- Herod son of Gamalas, 33
- Herod son of Marius, 33
- Herod the tetrarch (Antipas), 37, 65
- Hippenes, village of, 42, 153
 - territory of, 42
- Hippos, 349
 - Frontier of Hippenes, 153
- Homonoia, 281
- Hyrcanus, son of Josephus, 5, 426
 - insurrectionists, 17
- Iotapata, 188 (Jotapata), 332, 350, 357, 412, 414

- Iotapatenes, 353
 Iustus, son of Josephus, 5
- Jacob, a trusted soldier of Josephus, 240
 Jaffa, 188
 James, bodyguard of Josephus, 96
 Jamnia, 188
 Janneus, son of Levi, principal man of Agrippa II, 131
 Japha, largest village in Galilee, 230
 Japhenes, 233, 270
 Jeremiah, friend and general of Josephus, 241, 399
 Jerusalem, 23, 28, 46, 47, 50, 62, 72, 77, 81, 128, 130, 177, 190, 191, 198, 200, 203, 204, 216, 217, 221, 269, 297, 320, 330, 332, 348, 350, 354, 358, 407, 412, 416, 417, 422
 Antonia fortress, 20
 city of Jerusalem, 202, 237, 241, 266, 307
 inner courts of Temple, 20
 Temple, 21, 348, 419
 walls, 128, 130
 Jerusalemites, 130, 202, 217, 237, 241, 254, 307
 congress of, 62
 blame for creating factions in the region, 266
 chief priests of, 194
 citizens of, 204, 321
 city of, 202, 237, 241, 307
 leaders of, 310
 mob, 194, 315
 populace, 211, 309
 principal men of, 9, 28, 217
 general assembly of, 65, 72, 190, 254, 267, 309, 310, 341, 393, 393
 Jesus of Gamala, 193, 204
 Jesus son of Sapphias, 66, 67, 134, 271, 278, 279, 294, 295, 300
 Jesus' group, 301
 Jesus the Galilean, 200, 246 (possibly)
 Jesus, bandit chief, 105, 108, 109, 110
 gang of bandits, 106
 Jesus, relative (brother/brother-in-law?) of Justus', 178, 186
 Joazar, priest and honorable gentleman, 29
 John Hyrcanus, high priest, 3, 4
 John of Gischala (son of Levi), 43, 45, 70, 74, 75, 76, 82, 85, 86, 87, 88, 91, 95, 101, 122, 124, 189, 203, 217, 229, 232, 233, 235, 236, 237, 238, 246, 253, 254, 256, 271, 275, 292, 295, 301, 304, 306, 308, 313, 315, 316, 317, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372
 friend of Simeon son of Gamaliel, 192
 Jonathan (John), layperson, Pharisee and member of the delegation sent to expel Josephus from the Galilee, 197, 216, 217, 226, 231, 236, 245, 254, 256, 262, 277, 303, 315, 332
 Jonathan's group, 199, 201, 229, 246, 249, 250, 251, 252, 260, 262, 264, 267, 271, 273, 278, 279, 281, 282, 284, 287, 292, 299, 301, 305, 306, 310, 312, 318, 320
 Jonathan, a Judean, in Cyrene, 424, 425
 Jonathan, Hasmonean High Priest, 4
 Jonathan, son of Sisenna, 190
 Jordan river, 399, 406
 Josephus, Flavius, 5, 135, 217, 226, 229, 302, 365, 366
 relatives of Josephus, 81
 as general, 231
 Josephus, grandfather of Flavius Josephus, 5
 Josephus, son of Jairus, 185
 Jozar, Pharisee of priestly ancestry, 197, 324, 325, 332
 Judean, 16
 ancestry, 16
 anger towards Josephus, 416
 a city of, 349
 combatants, 26
 command of war against Romans, 390
 compelled to fight against Romans, 27
 imagined accusation of Agrippa II, 52
 discipline of by, 429
 fighting in Jerusalem alongside Philip, 50
 forcing circumcision, 112
 general of (Philip), 182
 horseman/soldier, delivered letter to Josephus in Galilee, 221, 224, 228
 in Caesarea, 55, 61
 killed by Varus, 53
 living in Caesarea Philippi, 74
 living in Damascus, 27
 living in Scythopolis, 26
 living in and arrested in Syria, 25
 mob, 112
 of Ecbatana, 57
 wife of Josephus, 427
 Judas, priest and honorable gentleman, 29
 Judea, 37, 422, 425, 429
 Julias, 398, 399, 406
 Julius Capellus (also Capella), son of Antyllus, 34, 66, 67, 69, 296
 Justus of Tiberias, son of Pistus, 34, 36, 42, 65, 88, 175, 177, 186, 279, 336, 338, 340, 346, 349, 350, 390, 391, 393, 410
 Justus, bodyguard of Josephus, 397
 Justus, son of Josephus, 427
- Komos, 188
- Levi, bodyguard of Josephus, 171, 319
 Libanos (Lebanon), 52
- Matthias Curtus, 4
 Matthias of Ephesus, 4
 Matthias, Josephus' brother, 8
 Matthias, Josephus' father, 5, 7, 204
 Menachem, 46
 mob, 76, 77, 149
 Moses, 134
 laws of, 134
- Neopolitanus, commander of a horse troop, 120, 121
 Nero, 16, 38, 409
 Caesar, 70, 408
- Pharisees, 10, 12, 197
 principal men of, 21
 school of, 191
 Philip son of Jacimus, prefect of Agrippa, 46, 47, 50, 51, 59, 60, 61, 177, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 407, 408, 409
 freedman of, 48, 51
 Pistus, father of Justus, 34, 88, 175
 Placidus, sent by Cestius Gallus, 214, 215, 227, 411
 Poppaea, 16
 Priests, 16
 bound in Rome, 13, 16
 Chief Priests, 9, 21, 197
 fellow envoys of Josephus in the Galilee, 73, 77
 Josephus' ancestry, 1
 tithes due to them, 62, 80
 24 courses, 2
 Ptolemais, 105, 118, 214, 215, 342, 410
 Ptolemy, King Agrippa II's administrator, 126, 128
 Ptolemy's wife, 126
 Puteoli, 16
- revolutionaries, 22, 28
 Romans, 43, 46, 50, 72, 78, 100, 126, 129, 149, 150, 154, 287, 340, 345, 348, 353, 391, 397, 407, 414
 army of, 395
 cavalry of, 157, 214, 281, 285
 citizenship, 423
 commanders, 183
 danger for Josephus, 416
 defection to, 17
 forces, 407
 good fortune of, 17
 infantry, 285
 Josephus submitting to, 350
 Justus' alignment with, 351
 loyalty to, 34, 61, 104, 124, 349
 patrol, 422
 power of, 60, 175
 rule over Samaria, 269
 rumors of Philip's revolt from, 183
 rumor of betrayal to by Josephus, 132
 rumor of invasion in Sepphoris, 378
 siege at Iotapata, 353, 357
 Sepphoris' loyalty to, 346
 Tiberians' unfriendly relationship towards, 345
 war against, 182, 209
- Sacchaeus, 239
 Sadducees, 10
 Samaria, 269
 Scythopolis, 121, 349
 Scythopolitans, 26
 territory of, 42
 Selame, 188

- Seleucia, 187, 398
 Sepphoris, 38, 103, 123, 188, 203, 232, 346
 city of Sepphorites, 64, 379, 395
 community of, 82
 public archives, 38
 royal bank, 38
 wall, 373, 374
 gates of, 163
 hippodrome, 132, 138
 Sepphorites, 30, 39, 82, 111, 123, 233, 373, 394, 396, 411
 city of the, 64, 395
 friendship and loyalty towards Romans, 30, 124
 hostility against, 384
 preservation of city, 379
 residents of, 203
 Silas, appointed general of Tiberias by Josephus, 89, 90, 272
 Simon of Gabara, 124, 137
 Simon Psellus, 3, 4
 Simon son of Gamaliel, 190, 191, 194, 195, 196, 216, 309
 Simon, brother of John of Gischala, 190, 196, 201
 Simon, from the chief priests and the youngest of the delegation sent to expel Josephus from the Galilee, 197, 324, 325, 330, 330, 332
 Simon, Hasmonean High Priest, 3, 4
 Simon, Josephus' bodyguard, 137
 Simonias, 115
 Simonides Agrippa, son of Josephus, 427
 Soemus tetrarch of Libanos, 52
 Soganae, 188
 Sogane, 187, 265, 266
 Solymas, 187
 Sulla, commander of Agrippa's bodyguard, 398, 401, 405
 Syria, 25, 30, 341, 347, 373, 410
 Syrians, 81
 in Caesarea, 52, 53, 59
 principal men of the ten cities, 410
 ten cities in, 341, 342
 Tabor, Mt., 188
 Tarichea, 96, 127, 132, 151, 156, 157, 169, 174, 188, 276, 280, 304, 404, 406
 armed troops, 159
 council of, 169
 military mob, 159
 mob, 136, 138, 139, 140, 175
 principal men, 169
 residents of, 97, 132
 Taricheans, 143, 159, 162
 Tekoa, 420
 Tiberians, 31, 82, 89, 107, 123, 124, 143, 165, 172, 174, 273, 283, 286, 302, 305, 314, 317, 319, 321, 323, 327, 328, 333, 335, 341, 382, 386, 392
 city of, 163, 271, 275, 280
 common crowd, 284
 council, 64, 69, 284, 300, 313
 determined to stay loyal to Agrippa and Romans, 391
 disloyalty, 97
 during siege of Jerusalem, 354
 goodwill of, 94
 hostility against, 384
 land, 121
 mob, 37, 91, 92, 169, 172, 279, 280, 289, 298, 331, 383
 people of, 90
 principal men of, 64, 66, 67, 69
 residents of, 155, 203, 317
 ten principal men of the council, 69, 296
 territory of, 120
 Tiberias, 42, 43, 64, 68, 89, 90, 99, 101, 123, 129, 134, 144, 157, 162, 164, 188, 203, 272, 276, 316, 322, 326, 331, 346, 368, 381, 384, 385, 389
 city of Tiberians, 87, 163, 271, 275, 280
 hot baths, 85
 prayer house, 280, 293
 residents of the city of Tiberias, 155
 royal palace of Antipas, 66, 68-9
 furnishing, 296
 stadium, 331
 territory of Tiberians, 120
 Tiberians' land, 121
 Titus, 416, 418, 419, 420, 422, 429
 Caesar, 417, 420
 imperator, 359, 363, 416
 succession of, 428
 Trachonitis in Batanea, dignitaries from the region, 112
 people of, 54
 region of Trachonitans, 112
 Tyre, 407
 metropolis of, 373
 Tyrians, foreigners from the metropolis of, 372
 insulting Agrippa II, 407
 people of, 44
 Varus, 48, 52, 53, 55, 57, 59, 61, 180
 Vespasian, 5, 343, 355, 410, 411, 425
 arriving in Tyre, 407
 Caesar, 358
 commentarii of, 342, 358
 consideration toward Josephus, 423
 death, 428
 defending Agrippa II from the Tyrian abuse, 408
 imperator, 342, 358
 in Alexandria, 415
 Justus' submission to, 352
 supplying Josephus with marks of honor, 414
 Xaloth, 227

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SUBJECT INDEX

This index deals only with subjects in the abstract sense. For persons, groups, places, Greek terms, or ancient texts, please see the relevant special index. Roman numerals identify pages from the introductory matter. The sigla §§ indicate paragraphs of the translation. Commentary notes are preceded by “nn.,” back-matter pages by “pp.”

- Accusations, accusers: see also
tyranny, xxviii-xxix, xxx, §§ 80,
194, 284, 315, 428, 429, nn. 45, 69,
219, 274, 331, 435, 436, 634, 663,
675, 679, 792, 1090, 1102, 1245,
1375, 1402, 1462, 1489, 1675,
1683, 1685, 1700, 1711, 1715,
1742, 1769, 1770, 1771.
- Administrative Report (*Rechenschafts-
bericht*), basis of *Life*, xxx, nn. 252,
723.
- Ancestry, genealogy, xiv, xxxi, xxxiv,
§§ 1, 2, 4, 6, 16, 52, 191, 196, 197,
278, 382, 427, nn. 2, 4, 7, 8, 13,
14, 20, 22, 45, 47, 59, 90, 301,
303, 305, 373, 384, 1171, 1292,
1297, 1336, 1444, 1765, 1778.
- Antiquities*, relation to *Life*, xiv-xv,
n. 1.
- Antithesis (rhetorical), polemical con-
trast, xl-xli, xli, nn. 54, 1344.
- Archaeology of Galilee, nn. 184, 340,
402, pp. 177-217.
- Aristocracy, xx, xxxiv-xxxv, xxviii,
xxx, xxxiv-xxxvi, xxxviii, xli-xliii,
xlvi, xlviii, xlix, nn. 2, 4, 12, 14,
17, 47, 48, 63, 67, 72, 87, 91, 95,
97, 98, 100, 106, 112, 114, 117,
118, 119, 122, 124, 131, 145, 147,
154, 175, 179, 180, 181, 188, 194,
234, 241, 242, 245, 274, 278, 346,
384, 395, 430, 706, 877, 883, 929,
1096, 1245, 1271, 1390, 1498,
1675, 1718, 1722, 1743, 1744,
1755, 1765.
- Army, Roman and auxiliary: see also
military, §§ 115, 116, 117, 157,
182, 183, 213, 214, 220, 221, 281,
285, 394, 395, 397, 398, 405, 406,
420, nn. 2, 41, 127, 128, 143, 151,
155, 203, 385, 423, 501, 554, 556,
560, 562, 576, 578, 723, 744, 944,
948, 949, 951, 952, 983, 1157,
1184, 1185, 1428, 1608, 1621,
1623, 1625, 1628, 1646, 1655,
1656, 1670, 1689, 1730, 1733,
1736, 1742.
- Audience of the *Antiquities-Life*, xix-
xxi, nn. 20, 31, 43, 48, 63, 78, 80,
95, 98, 112, 114, 116, 122, 124,
137, 138, 154, 158, 172, 180, 193,
199, 205, 242, 248, 274, 290, 291,
305, 312, 324, 335, 349, 350, 357,
406, 500, 606, 665, 669, 808, 809,
957, 963, 992, 993, 1014, 1082,
1092, 1093, 1123, 1165, 1172,
1295, 1296, 1312, 1391, 1403,
1463, 1498, 1499, 1536, 1597,
1701, 1778.
- Autobiography, xiii, xli-xliii, nn. 14,
45, 130, 905, 1384, 1757, 1778.
- Bandits, xxx, xxxvi, xlvi, §§ 28, 46,
47, 77, 106, 145, 175, 206, nn. 143,
144, 189, 257, 276, 280, 423, 424,
425, 429, 518, 520, 525, 685, 733,
775, 778, 809, 826, 894, 919, 920,
925, 940, 944, 1034, 1274, 1288.
- Benefits, benefactions, xv, xxv, nn. 114,
1742, 1770, 1773, 1776, 1743.
- Cavalry: see army
- Character (moral), xxxv, xxxviii-xli,
xlvi-l, §§ 367, 427, 430, nn. 8, 47,
90, 117, 155, 179, 219, 329, 979,
810, 822, 853, 1091, 1093, 1094,
1095, 1368, 1411, 1414, 1765,
1778.
- Chronology of the *Life*: see also *War-
Life* parallels, nn. 276, 539.
- Cities and villages, §§ 77, 81, 84, 123,
144, 188, 235, 237, 346, nn. 155,
184, 186, 253, 266, 329, 338, 37,
420, 443, 450, 512, 595, 615, 821,
822, 899, 992, 1001, 1041, 1368,
1395, 1456, 1534, 1685.
- Clemency: see also virtue, nn. 180,
186, 323, 433, 490, 493, 511, 630,
749, 1343, 1440, 1480, 1778.
- Clients: see patronage
- Coins, xvii-xix, nn. 185, 204, 263,
349, 402, 560, 833, 1438.
- Commentarii*: see field notes
- Concentric patterns (ring composition,
symmetry), xxiii-xxvii, nn. 107,
170, 195, 210, 216, 250, 272, 453,
457, 469, 516, 933, 935, 936, 937,
938, 941, 961, 1138, 1143, 1325,
1351, 1356, 1367, 1378, 1538,
1541, 1595, 1669, 1679, 1697,
1759, 1761.
- Constitutions, political, xlvii-l, nn.
194, 341, 507, 1095, 1102, 1207,
1271.
- Context, historical, xxxiv-xxxvi
- Context, literary, xxxvi-xlvii
- Date of the *Antiquities-Life*, xv-xix,
nn. 1483, 1486, 1493.
- Delegation sent to replace Josephus,
§§ 189-335 and coresponding
notes.
- Deserters: see informers
- Digression (on Iustus of Tiberias),
xxii, xxv-xxviii, xxx, xxxi, xxxii,
xxxiv, xxxvii, xlix-l, lii, liii, §§ 36-
42, 336-367 and corresponding
notes.
- Distances: see travel
- Double ending of the *Antiquities*, xix,
xxxii
- Dream-revelations, §§ 208, 209, 210,
nn. 905, 927, 928, 929, 932-38,
941, 961, 986, 987, 1015.
- Duplicity, double game, xlii, xlvi,
nn. 133, 149, 150, 219, 624, 666,
719, 731, 775, 968, 1146, 1332,
1563.
- Education of Josephus: see also
memorization, §§ 8-1240, 196, 274,
359, nn. 56, 58, 60, 65, 67, 68, 75,
89, 106, 243, 245, 874, 1150, 1292,
1485, 1778.
- Encomium, xxxiv
- Enemies, treatment of, xxii, xxiii,
xxvii, xxxvi, xlv, xlix, § 128,
nn. 165, 573, 622, 653, 670, 1055,
1163, 1171, 1208, 1220, 1240,
1247, 1288, 1295, 1348, 1353,
1365, 1645, 1659, 1675, 1717,
1718, 1770, 1778.
- Envy and success, §§ 80, 122, 204,
423, nn. 45, 258, 303, 435, 591,
839, 906, 1384, 1747, 1753, 1769.
- Family of Josephus, §§ 1-8, 414-29
and corresponding notes.

- Field notes (*commentarii*), xxxii, §§ 342, 358, nn. 1405, 1456, 1472, 1474, 1475, 1486.
- Friends, xxxv-xxxvi, § 16, 30, 79, 99, 124, 131, 144, 161, 163, 164, 180, 192, 204, 205, 222, 223, 234, 235, 236, 241, 269, 274, 294, 324, 325, 326, 368, 379, 384, 408, 419, n. 96, 98, 103, 114, 115, 119, 130, 234, 257, 326, 331, 428, 437, 444, 497, 631, 632, 794, 856, 868, 870, 872, 901, 904, 978, 1030, 1043, 1221, 1267, 1311, 1331, 1489, 1636, 1712, 1713, 1718, 1727, 1742, 1778.
- Genealogy: see ancestry
- General, Josephus as; general's tricks, maneuvers, xlv-xlvii, §§ 89, 97, 98, 123, 132, 135, 137, 148, 163, 169, 174, 176, 194, 205, 230, 231, 249, 20, 251, 260, 265, 277, 289, 341, 379, 380, 389, 393, 399, n. 123, 138, 154, 155, 182, 251, 257, 320, 328, 375, 395, 400, 425, 430, 436, 463, 491, 563, 573, 634, 657, 699, 719, 720, 738, 739, 744, 771, 811, 816, 817, 946, 963, 979, 1005, 1010, 1060, 1097, 1099, 1143, 1161, 1163, 1174, 1205, 1317, 1343, 1345, 1362, 1368, 1384, 1397, 1398, 1413, 1415, 1558, 1591, 1598, 1618, 1658, 1668, 1675, 1701.
- Gifts: see benefits
- Grain supply, §§ 71-3, 118-19, 188, nn. 105, 108, 385, 387, 390, 393, 395, 400, 567, 571, 574, 733, 835.
- Hands, severing of: see also punishment, §§ 147, 171-73, 177, nn. 165, 219, 249, 694, 695, 696, 759, 765-70, 778, 808, 1193, 1375, 1377, 1561, 1597.
- Historiography, xxxii, xxxvii, xxxviii, nn. 65, 257, 1373, 1392, 1489.
- Humor: see irony and humor
- Informers and deserters, §§ 107, 239, nn. 525, 730, 739, 1039, 1468.
- Inscriptions, xvii-xix, nn. 39, 43, 111, 112, 113, 114, 204, 560, 567, 577, 1038, 1165, 1483, 1730.
- Irony and humor in the *Life*, xxi, xxxviii, nn. 24, 112, 114, 210, 226, 501, 504, 507, 657, 658, 666, 671, 674, 696, 759, 766, 768, 770, 783, 798, 853, 865, 967, 937, 1005, 1071, 1139, 1155, 1186, 1208, 1214, 1215, 1221, 1233, 1246, 1264, 1295, 1296, 1303, 1375, 1463, 1539, 1774.
- Judicial rhetoric: see also rhetoric, xiii, xxxvi, xxxviii, lii, nn. 130, 1089, 1090, 1091, 1093, 1384, 1409, 1473, 1509.
- Justice: see also punishment, xxxix, xl, xlviii, §§ 7, 79, 97, 111, 139, 145, 343, 368, nn. 48, 98, 101, 326, 370, 665, 687, 1343, 1686, 1778.
- Language (diction, style) of Josephus. xxv, xxxvii, xliii-xlv, lii-liii, nn. 19, 25, 37, 72, 96, 98, 99, 101, 111, 143, 149, 245, 274, 398, 605, 775, 800, 844, 894, 915, 929, 941, 1155, 1193, 1211, 1224, 1309, 1376, 1378, 1384, 1392, 1401, 1473, 1501, 1534, 1573, 1630.
- Letters, writing, dispatch, interception of, §§ 48-53, 90, 177, 181, 217, 220-23, 227-29, 234, 236, 241, 245, 254-55, 260, 272, 285, 311-13, 364-65, 382, nn. 96, 274, 288, 333, 526, 723, 788, 790, 930, 962, 966, 981, 982, 986, 994, 998, 999, 1019, 1020, 1046, 1064, 1085, 1087, 1090, 1100, 1101, 1103, 1193, 1273, 1281, 1309, 1376, 1495, 1499, 1501, 1502, 1504, 1506, 1565, 1627.
- Luxury: see accusations
- Maneuvers: see general
- Memorization: see also education, §§ 8-9, nn. 39, 58, 59, 1486.
- Military groups, training, tactics and strategy: see also army, xxi, xxxv, xlv, xlv-xlvii, §§ 159, 203, 286, 346, nn. 94, 103, 155, 203, 430, 436, 440, 468, 491, 543, 544, 563, 580, 581, 616, 736, 810, 836, 944, 957, 993, 1051, 1055, 1368, 1402, 1403, 1480, 1515, 1629, 1778
- Military camps and bases, nn. §§ 214, 234, 244, 395, 398, 399, 400, 405, 407, 420, nn. 203, 445, 948, 952, 953, 957, 1023, 1060, 1325, 1614, 1622, 1630, 1631, 1643, 1659, 1676, 1733, 1736.
- Siege warfare, §§ 46, 114, 329, 348, 350, 353, 354, 357, 412, 414, 416, nn. 138, 257, 266, 273, 278, 280, 501, 552, 657, 792, 829, 915, 948, 1015, 1413, 1432, 1436, 1536, 1708, 1730, 1734.
- Moralizing, xvii, xix, xxv, xxxviii, nn. 384, 432, 447, 583, 589, 1778.
- Narrative devices: see also concentric and irony, xxi-xxiii, nn. 27, 45, 158, 180, 188, 202, 258, 274, 321, 327, 410, 417, 432, 447, 525, 551, 785, 810, 885, 890, 946, 949, 959, 1010, 1091, 1186, 1196, 1402, 1668, 1778.
- Opponents: see enemies
- Patronage, patrons and clients, xv, xvii, xviii, xx, xxix, xxxi-xxxii, xxxv, xxxix, xlix, §§ 244, 259, nn. 39, 1279, 1489, 1723, 1742, 1755, 1776, 1779, 1780.
- Philosophy, philosophers, xix, xxxv, xxxvii, xli, xlviii, §§ 10-12, 197, nn. 19, 48, 56, 65-70, 75-79, 81, 83, 84, 87, 92, 97, 102, 152, 196, 243, 245, 349, 435, 479, 544, 545, 546, 878, 1095, 1394, 1742, 1770, 1780.
- Polemical contrast: see antithesis
- Priests, priesthood, high priest, xx, xxiii, xxx, xxxv, xxxviii, xliii, xlviii-xlix, §§ 1-4, 9, 13, 16, 21, 29, 63, 80, 193, 194, 197, 198, 216, nn. 4, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 26, 27, 43, 49, 62, 71, 72, 84, 98, 103, 114, 138, 140, 145, 154, 179, 180, 182, 183, 199, 200, 207, 257, 258, 274, 331, 333, 335, 336, 346, 397, 418, 430, 436, 706, 736, 844, 857, 858, 859, 863, 868, 872, 874, 881, 882, 900, 902, 904, 961, 1010, 1110, 1150, 1245, 1267, 1292, 1297, 1310, 1336, 1700, 1701, 1719, 1742.
- Prologue (to *Life* and to other texts), xiv, nn. 1, 102, 124, 1381, 1777.
- Propaganda, the *War* as (Roman), xxxi, 1486, 1498, 1743, 1780.
- Public life, xxii, xliii-xlvi, §§ 12, nn. 58, 68, 75, 88, 90, 91, 94, 98, 183, 333, 334, 1094, 1111, 1150, 1778.
- Punishment: see also hands, justice, § 82, 132, 135, 263, 266, 335, 337, 342, nn. 71, 83, 107, 165, 258, 685, 687, 782, 1357, 1400, 1422, 1457, 1750.
- Rebel, Josephus as, xix-xxxii, §§ 98, 138, 155, 165, 219, 375, 517, 775, 778, 1413.
- Rhetoric, rhetorical strategies: see also antithesis, judicial rhetoric, xxxvi-xli, §§ 40-42, nn. 2, 7, 8, 13, 14, 19, 43, 51, 56, 58, 65, 67, 68, 80, 98, 113, 124, 130, 138, 143, 152, 164, 166, 170, 171, 196, 243, 245, 251, 274, 291, 326, 544, 638, 657, 667, 672, 675, 682, 736, 882, 885, 924, 1026, 1091, 1096, 1188, 1209, 1247, 1260, 1384, 1386, 1409, 1413, 1414, 1416, 1429, 1474, 1485, 1489, 1509, 1597, 1600, 1697, 1778, 1780.
- Ring composition: see concentric

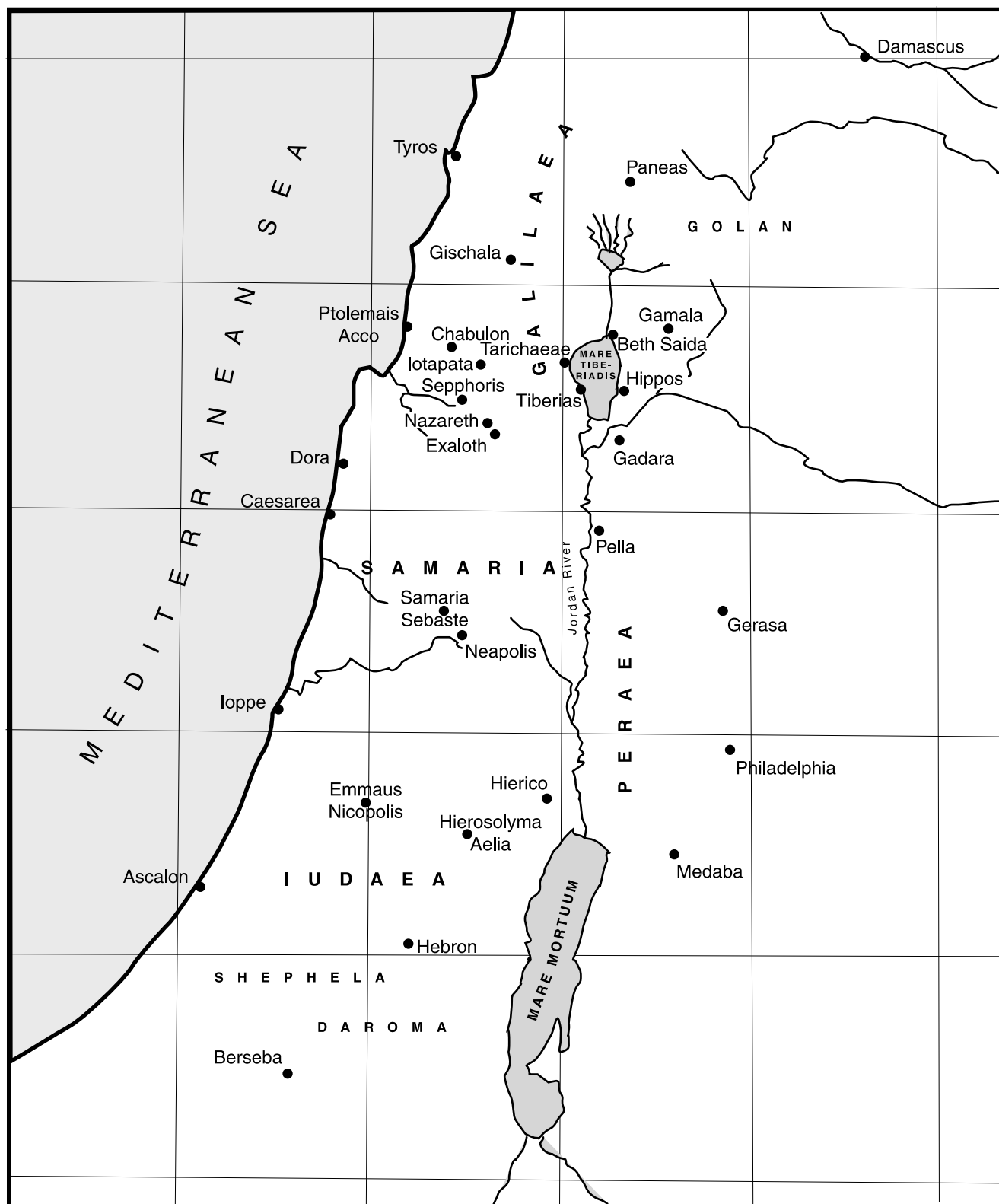
- structure
- Siege: see military
- Stratagems: see general, military training, tactics
- Structure of the *Antiquities* and *Life*: see also concentric, xxi-xxvii
- Success: see envy
- Succession, §§ 3, 6, nn. 17, 19, 42, 70.
- Suicide, nn. 436, 656, 657, 658, 1774, 1780.
- Surrender of Josephus to the Romans, nn. 41, 257, 355, 829, 1432, 1468, 1675, 1694, 1705, 1717, 1734.
- Symmetry: see concentric structure
- Synagogues, nn. 71, 114, 301, 1165, 1654.
- Text (Greek) of the *Life*, l-li, 16, 24, 78, 95, 203, 249, 262, 270, 286, 351, 366, 378, 399, 404, 407, 444, 459, 588, 638, 654, 704, 707, 782, 800, 807, 815, 819, 820, 827, 830, 831, 832, 833, 879, 1000, 1072, 1115, 1182, 1224, 1270, 1293, 1322, 1368, 1483, 1607, 1619, 1654.
- Translation issues, li-liii.
- Travel in Judea/Galilee, distances, §§ 64, n. 340.
- Triumvirate, xxxv, n. 180.
- Tyranny: see also accusations, xxx, xlviii, § 260, 302, nn. 124, 154, 171, 180, 219, 500, 884, 1102, 1192.
- Villages: see cities
- Virtue(s): see also character, clemency, xiii, xxi, xxiii, xxiv, xxxv, xxxvi, xxxviii, xxxix, xl-xli, § 258, nn. 48, 56, 80, 81, 83, 97, 117, 131, 146, 210, 243, 334, 384, 436, 440, 538, 656, 672, 905, 1048, 1095, 1099, 1161, 1186, 1343, 1362, 1370, 1489, 1646, 1701, 1718, 1755.
- War, Judean*, xix, xxvi, xxvii, xxix, xxviii, xxxi, xlv, xlix.
References to *War* in *Life*, xxii, xxv, xxxvii, §§ 27, 412, 413.
War-Life parallels, xxvi, xxvii, xxx, xxxii-xxxiii, xxxviii, xlvii, pp. 219-28
- Women in Josephus, xxv, xxvi, xxix, §§ 6, 25, 84, 99, 166, 207, 210, 230, 259, 328, 419, 427, nn. 13, 15, 96, 112, 158, 198, 326, 329, 436, 933, 935, 1099, 1701, 1725, 1727, 1764.

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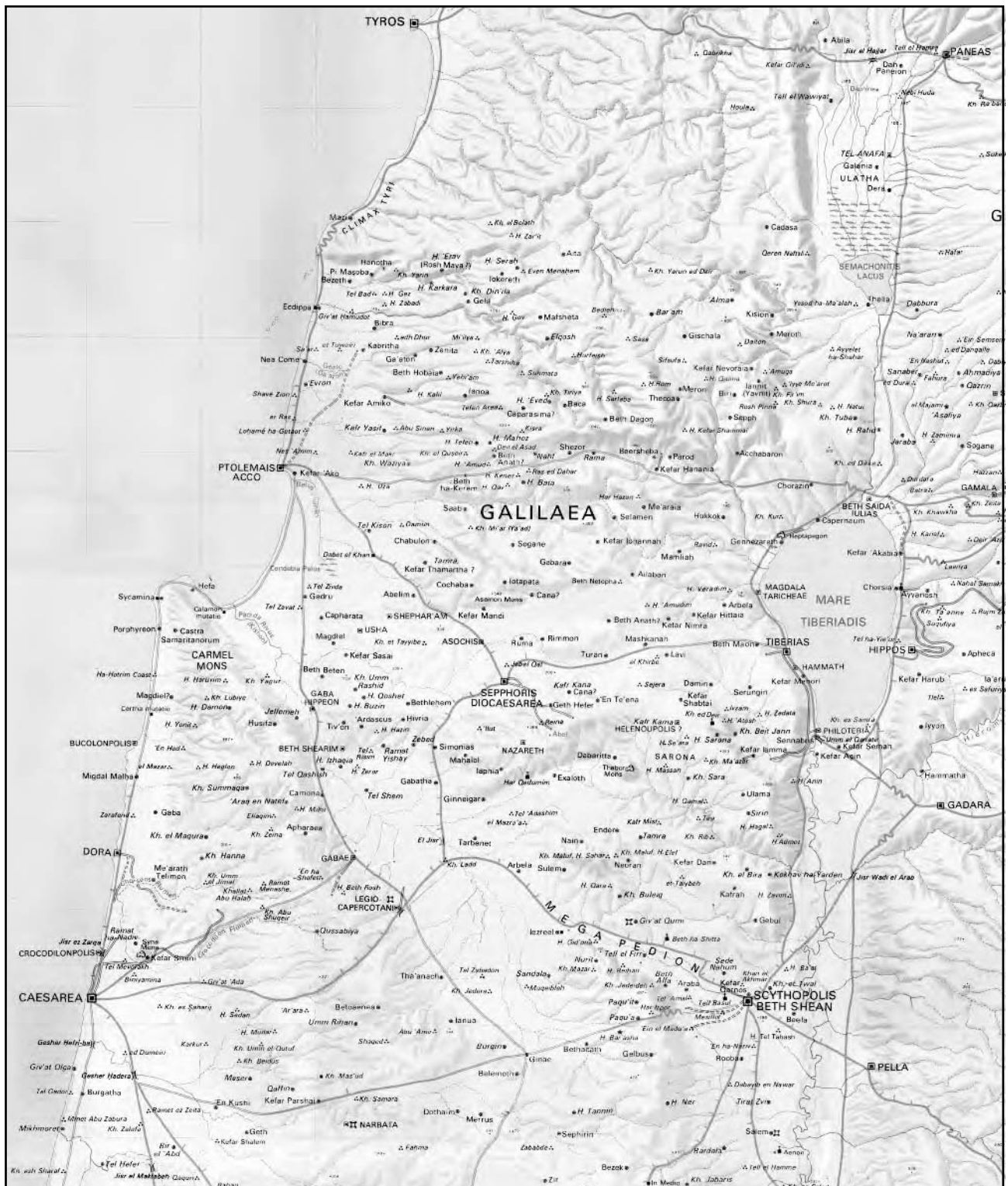
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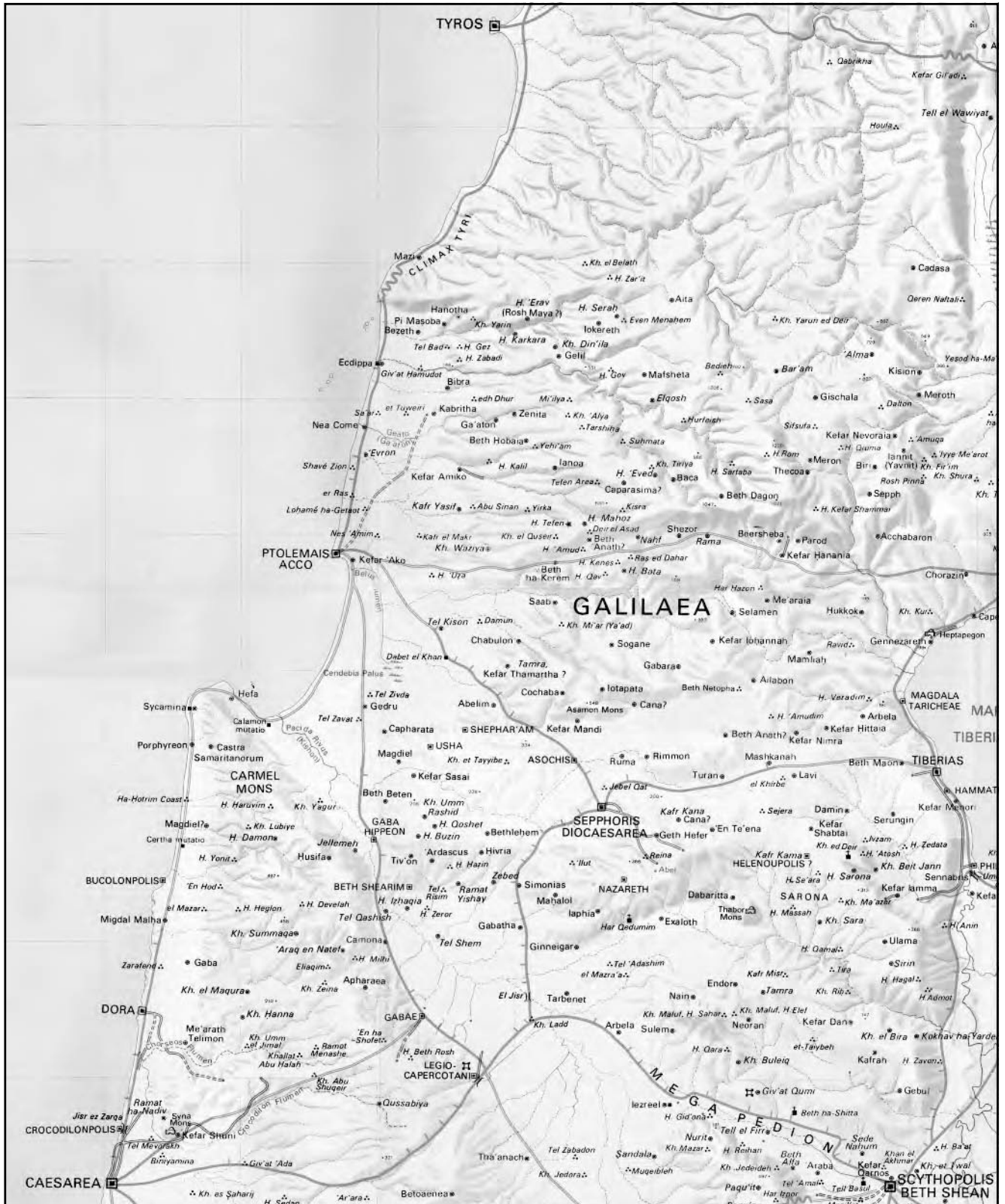
(a) Judea, Galilee, and Transjordan: Overview



(b) Galilee and the Golan



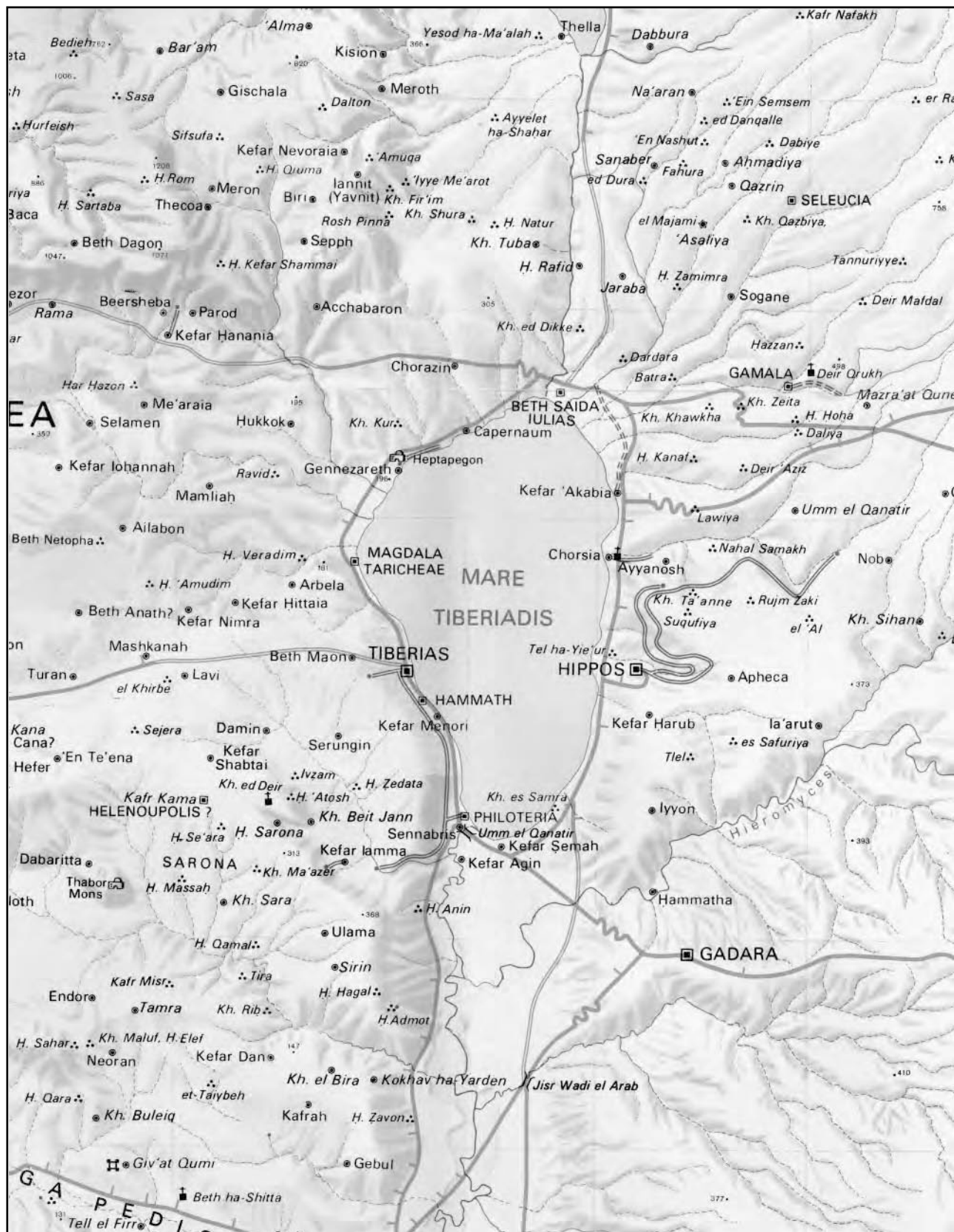
(c) Galilee and the Coast



(d) Judea and Samaria



(e) Lake Region: Detail



(f) Lake Region: Large View

