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JOSEPHUS

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JOSEPHUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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HON. D.D. OXFORD, HON. D.D. DURHAM

IN EIGHT VOLUMES

I

THE LIFE AGAINST APION



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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION—

	PAGE
Life	vii
The Major Works	xi
The Minor Works	xii
MSS. and Authorities for the Text	xvii
Recent Editions of the Greek Text and other Works	xix
Abbreviations	xx
LIFE OF JOSEPHUS	2
AGAINST APION	162
INDEX I., GENERAL	413
,, II., BIBLICAL PASSAGES	424
MAP OF GALILEE	<i>To face 412</i>

INTRODUCTION

LIFE

THE autobiography which appears in this volume renders unnecessary any detailed life of the author. But, as that work mainly relates to a period of only six months, and needs to be supplemented by other notices which appear in the *War* or elsewhere, the facts may here be briefly summarized.

Son of a priest and with royal blood in his veins on the mother's side, Joseph ben Matthias was born in the year of the accession of Gaius (Caligula) A.D. 37-38. Pontius Pilate had been recalled from Judaea in the previous year ; Herod Agrippa I had just received his liberty and kingdom from the new Emperor. The lad's memory might perhaps recall the scenes of excitement aroused in Palestine by the attempt of Caligula to erect his statue in the Temple, when the outbreak of war was narrowly averted (A.D. 40-41). Of his education he tells us of his precocious talents which, at the age of 14, brought learned Rabbis to consult him ; how at 16 he entered on what may be called his short university course, when he studied the tenets of the three national sects ; how he followed this up by three years of ascetic life in the wilderness, and how, on returning

INTRODUCTION

to Jerusalem at the age of 19, he threw in his lot with the Pharisees. Of his early manhood one outstanding event is related, his visit to Rome at the age of 26 or 27 in the year 64. It was the year of the burning of Rome and the persecution of the Christians, but whether those events preceded his arrival is unknown, and no inference can be drawn from his silence as to his attitude to Christianity. It is idle to conjecture whether, beyond its ostensible object—the liberation of certain Jewish priests—this visit to the capital had any ulterior motive. It impressed him, at any rate, with a sense of Rome's invincibility; and on his return to Judaea, where he found his countrymen heading for revolt, he vainly endeavoured to pacify the war party. The turbulent state of the country soon brought Cestius Gallus, the Governor of Syria, upon the scene. His unaccountable withdrawal from Jerusalem, when almost within his grasp, was followed by the disastrous rout of his Roman legions in the defiles of Bethhoron in the autumn of 66. The irrevocable step had now been taken and hasty preparations were made for the impending war.

The young priest aged 29, on what qualifications does not appear, was, with two others, entrusted with an important commission in Galilee, if not the actual command of the district. The opening scenes of the Galilaean campaign in A.D. 66-67, which fill most of the pages of the *Life*, are difficult to follow, and the policy and aims both of Josephus and of the Jerusalem leaders are far from clear. We have two accounts of this period, both biased and in some details inconsistent. In the *Life* we have the author's defence against a rival Jewish historian, who accused him and

INTRODUCTION

the Galilaeans of being responsible for the revolt (§ 340); in the *Jewish War* we have a shorter account written under Roman patronage. In the *War* Josephus is represented as having been appointed general of Galilee from the first (*B.* ii. 568); in the *Life* we are merely told that his commission was to induce the hotheads to lay down their arms (*Vita* 29, cp. 77). In a recent suggestive but rather fanciful work (see p. xix below) Herr Laqueur lays stress on this difference and supposes that Josephus acted *ultra vires* in assuming the supreme command of Galilee, and that this accounts for the attempt of John of Gischala to get him superseded. However that may be, he was suspected of harbouring designs of betraying the country to Rome. He may have hoped to avert war by compromise, but events moved fast and forced him to identify himself with the war party. On the advance of Vespasian from Antioch he finally resolved to stand a siege in the fortified town of Jotapata. Of the forty-seven days' siege, the fall of the town (July 67), his capture by the Romans after a narrow escape from being murdered by his companions in hiding, and his prophecy of Vespasian's rise to imperial power, he has given a graphic account in the third book of the *Jewish War*.

Henceforth, in Roman hands, his life was tolerably secure. Military operations were delayed during the eventful year 68–69, which saw the death of Nero and, in rapid succession, the promotion of three Emperors. In July 69 Vespasian's legions took the law into their own hands and proclaimed him Emperor. One of the first acts of the new Emperor was the liberation of Josephus whose prediction had now come true. Accompanying Vespasian to Alex-

INTRODUCTION

andria, Josephus returned thence with Titus to the siege of Jerusalem. Here his services as interpreter and mediator were in constant requisition. He was now, he tells us, between two fires: bitterly hated by the Jews and suspected of treachery by the Romans whenever they met with a reverse.

Of his life in Rome, after the fall of Jerusalem (A.D. 70), and the various privileges bestowed on him by the Flavian Emperors, he gives us a brief sketch. Awarded the rights of Roman citizenship and a lodging in the *priuate aedes* of Vespasian, he was among the first to be placed on the "civil list" instituted by that Emperor (*V.* 423; *Suet. Vesp.* 18). He witnessed the triumph of Vespasian and Titus, and must have seen the new Rome arising from the ashes in which the fire under Nero and the civil war had left it; the new buildings including the Colosseum, the Fora of Vespasian and Titus and the Temple of Peace. Still dogged by Jewish hatred, he, with unflinching tact, succeeded in retaining the imperial favour, even of Domitian, and eluding his foes. The date of his death is unknown, but he outlived Agrippa II (*V.* 359) who, according to Photius, died in A.D. 100. From Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 9) we learn that his statue was erected in Rome and his works placed in the public library.

His domestic life had its matrimonial troubles. He was married at least three times, being deserted by one wife and divorcing another (*V.* 415, 426 f.).

INTRODUCTION

THE MAJOR WORKS

During the leisure of his life in Rome Josephus produced the four works which have come down to us: the *Jewish War*, the *Antiquities*, the *Life*, and the treatise *Against Apion*.

The two major works will call for further remark in the sequel. Here it will suffice to say that he must have at once taken in hand his *History of the War*; that the first (lost) draft was written in Aramaic for the benefit of the natives of Upper Syria (*B. i. 3*); that, being penned in Vespasian's former palace by his pensioner, it was probably of the nature of a manifesto "inspired" by his imperial patrons, and intended as a warning to the East of the futility of further opposition; that the second, doubtless fuller, edition in Greek was composed with the aid of literary assistants (*Ap. i. 50*) and appeared towards the end of Vespasian's reign, between A.D. 75 and 79.

Some sixteen years elapsed before the appearance of his next work, the *Antiquities*, in A.D. 93-94. The interval must have been spent in collecting materials for this *magnum opus*. But another cause may have contributed to this long break in his literary output. Domitian was the enemy of literature and the position of historians in particular was precarious; writers such as Tacitus, Pliny, and Juvenal preferred to remain silent throughout his reign. Deprived of his imperial patrons, Josephus now found another in a certain Epaphroditus, who is probably to be identified with a grammarian, possessor of a large library and writer on Homer. To him Josephus dedicates all his later works.

At the close of the *Antiquities* (xx. 267 f.) the author

INTRODUCTION

tells us of two further literary projects : (1) a summary sketch of the war and the after-history of his nation ; (2) " a work in four books concerning God and His being, and concerning the Laws, why some things are permitted to us by them and others are forbidden." Neither work apparently was ever published ; but the second, " On Customs and Causes," as he elsewhere calls it, had, as may be inferred from the mention of four books and scattered allusions in the *Antiquities* to its contents, taken shape in his mind and been partly drafted. The attribution to Josephus by Eusebius (*H.E.* iii. 10) and others of the so-called Fourth Book of Maccabees is erroneous.

THE MINOR WORKS

The two minor works contained in this volume are, at least in their present form, the latest of our author's writings. The translator has here abandoned chronological order ; but it is perhaps appropriate to place the Autobiography in the forefront. Moreover, the question of its date has recently been re-opened and Laqueur's theory, mentioned below, would, if sound, justify the position of priority assigned to it. The second of the minor works is conveniently grouped with the first.

These two works were issued in old age, when the author was upwards of 63, early in the second century under the Emperor Trajan. The *Life* is brought down to the second century by the allusion (§ 359 f.) to the appearance of a rival history of the War

INTRODUCTION

after the death of Agrippa II, which, we are told, occurred in A.D. 100. The *Contra Apionem* is in any case later than 94, the date of the *Antiquities*, to which reference is made (i. 1, 54; ii. 287). But this work also contains an allusion (i. 46 ff.) to rival historians of the War, and, although no names are here mentioned, the person principally attacked is doubtless the same Justus who is named in the *Life*. The *Contra Apionem* may therefore likewise be assigned to the beginning of the second century.

The two treatises form a strange contrast; we see our author at his worst and at his best. Both are controversial, one being an *apologia pro vita*, the other *pro gente sua*. But in style, arrangement, and treatment they are so different that one would hardly suppose them to be contemporary productions from the same pen.

Vita.—The *Life* is an appendix to the *Antiquities*, and to a second or later edition of the *Antiquities*. It did not appear in the first edition. This is the natural inference from the concluding paragraphs of *Ant.* xx. The larger work has two endings. In the first the author writes (§ 259): “Here I will end my *Archaeology*,” and then, after some recapitulation and self-advertisement, he proceeds (266): “But perhaps it will not be taken amiss if I append a brief statement about my family and career while persons still survive either to refute or to corroborate what I say.” Then comes the second conclusion, beginning (267): “But here I will close the *Archaeology* ;” and the precise date of writing follows. “the 13th year of Domitian and the 56th year of his own age,” that is, A.D. 93–94. The *Life*, however, mentioned in the previous section, as already stated, did not appear

INTRODUCTION

until after 100. Clearly we have here two perorations ; but the author has reversed the order usual in prefaces to separate editions of modern works. The original ending has been allowed to stand, but he has prefixed to it the conclusion of his second edition, leading up to his new matter, the *Autobiography*.

The event which occasioned this appendix was the publication of a rival history of the Jewish War by a compatriot, Justus of Tiberias, who accused Josephus of causing his native city (Tiberias) to revolt from Rome (§ 336 ff.). The damaging criticisms of Justus were calculated to endanger, not only the sale of Josephus's works, but even his secure position at Rome. They called for an immediate rejoinder. The *Life*, then, by no means answers to its name ; it is not a complete biography. The bulk of it is the author's defence of his conduct during the half-year of his command in Galilee before the siege of Jotapata. To this, brief sketches of his youth in Palestine and his later years in Rome have been added as prologue and epilogue. The work, in which the author indulges his vanity to the full, is, alike in matter and in manner, the least satisfactory of his writings. The weakness of his boasted strategy is on a par with the crudity of the style.

A theory has recently been propounded which would go far to explain the latter defect. Herr Laqueur maintains that the kernel of the *Vita* is not among the latest, but the very earliest work of our author, written at the age, not of 65, but of 30. In his opinion, it is an official report of his conduct of affairs in Galilee, drafted, before the siege of Jotapata, for submission to the Jerusalem authorities. It is his

INTRODUCTION

defence against the charge brought against him by John of Gischala and others of aiming at a *τυραννίς*. This theory is based partly on the disproportionate space devoted to the Galilaeian period, partly on a comparison of the parallel accounts in the *Life* and in the *War* in the few passages where they overlap. Laqueur attempts to prove that the *Life* presents the older and more trustworthy account. This unliterary report, of which no use was made at the time, was in after life utilized to meet the attack of Justus, and, with a little revision, worked up into an autobiography. It is an attractive theory. That Josephus should have kept some contemporary record of his period of office appears not improbable. If Laqueur were right, we should have an interesting relic of our author's style of composition before he came under the influence of his literary friends in Rome. If, as appears probable, the whole work is really late, the lack of literary finish must be due to hasty production, unaided by his former assistants (*cf. Ap. i. 50*). The theory seems, in fact, to break down owing to the numerous links of style which connect the *Life* as a whole with the last book of the *Antiquities*, suggesting contemporaneous or nearly contemporaneous composition. Laqueur's thesis, in that case, is only tenable on the supposition that the youthful "report" was written in Aramaic.

Phrases which are peculiar to the alleged "early" portions of the *Life* and to *Ant. xx.* are: φόβος οὔτι μέτριος *V. 22, 148* (*cp. 122*), *A. xx. 47*; κατάγνωσιν φέρειν τινι *V. 93, A. xx. 83*; παραχὰς (-ήν) καταστέλλειν *V. 103, 244, 369, A. xx. 174*; ὡς εἶδον εἰς οἶον κακῶν ἤκουσι μέγεθος *V. 170, A. xx. 123*. Among other words and phrases peculiar to the two books are: οὐκ (οὔδέν) ἀποδέουσα (ἀκρο)πόλεως "as large as" *V. 246, A. xx. 130*, ἀποστολή, διὰ φιλίας ἀφικέσθαι, πόρον σωτηρίας εὔρεσθαι *V. 14, A. xx. 54, προστασίαν πιστεῖεσθαι V. 115, 393,*

INTRODUCTION

A. xx. 238, συναναπείθειν *V.* 424, *A.* xx. 35, συνέδριον καθίζειν *V.* 236, 368, *A.* xx. 200, τάξιν ἐπιστολῶν πιστεύειν *V.* 356, *A.* xx. 183.

Contra Apionem.—As a set-off to the *Life*, the treatise *Contra Apionem*, in two books, is the most attractive of our author's works; exhibiting a well designed plan, great literary skill, an intimate acquaintance with Greek philosophy and poetry, together with a sincere and impassioned zeal for his country's religion. The title (not the author's) is not very happily chosen; Apion being merely one representative of Israel's enemies. Older titles were "On the antiquity of the Jews" (not sufficiently distinctive) and "Against the Greeks." Designed as a reply to criticisms on the *Antiquities* and a refutation of current prejudices, the work contains an apology for Judaism with a demonstration of the antiquity of the race. It gives an interesting insight into the anti-Semitism of the first century. The writer challenges the extreme antiquity claimed by the Greeks; accounts for their silence on Jewish history; marshals an array of evidence (Egyptian, Phoenician, Babylonian, and Greek) for the antiquity of his own nation; successfully rebuts the malignant and absurd fictions of the anti-Semites; and concludes with a glowing defence of the lawgiver and his code, his lofty conception of God being contrasted with the immoral ideas current among the Greeks. Numerous quotations from lost writings give this work a special value.

INTRODUCTION

MSS. AND OTHER ANCIENT AUTHORITIES FOR THE GREEK TEXT

(a) For the *Life* :—

P Codex Palatinus (Vaticanus) Graecus 14, cent.
ix. or x.

R Codex Regius (Parisinus) Gr. 1423, cent. xiv.

A Codex Ambrosianus (Mediolanensis) F. 128,
cent. xi.

M Codex Mediceo-Laurentianus, plut. lxxix., cod.
10, cent. xv.

W Codex Vaticanus Gr. 984, A.D. 1354.

Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 10) quotes §§ 361-364;
we have also occasional excerpts made in the
Byzantine era.

The mss. may be roughly divided into two groups
P(R) and (A)MW, in which R and A are inconstant
members. A as a rule sides with MW ; R frequently
joins that group or stands alone. Of the two modern
editors, Niese bases his text mainly on the oldest ms.,
P ; Naber puts greater faith in the readings of the
group AMW.

All textual critics of Josephus must gratefully
acknowledge their indebtedness to Niese and their
dependence upon the evidence collected in his
edition. Yet one may respectfully question whether
he has established a definitive text. As Naber has
remarked, he seems to have somewhat overrated the
value of a single ill-written ms., and the true text or the
nearest approximation to it is sometimes relegated to
his *apparatus criticus*. The difficulties which confront
the editor of Josephus arise from a comparative

INTRODUCTION

paucity of ancient mss., the inconstancy of some mss., which renders grouping uncertain, and the fact that corruption has often affected the text of all. Each variant has to be considered on its merits; and there is considerable scope for conjectural emendation, on which many eminent scholars have exercised their ingenuity. If Niese over-estimated the value of P, Naber seems to have relied too exclusively on AMW. Speaking generally, the present writer ventures to think that the true text in this book is as a rule to be looked for in P, R, or A; the combination PRA is rarely in error. MW in numerous passages present a manifestly inferior and "doctored" text; yet elsewhere, especially if supported by P, their evidence cannot be neglected. The text printed below, while based on the labours of Niese and Naber, is the outcome of a careful and independent investigation of the ms. evidence in all cases.

(b) For the *Contra Apionem* :—

Here we are dependent on a solitary imperfect ms. viz.

L Codex Laurentianus plut. lxix. 22, cent. xi,

of which all other extant mss. appear to be copies. For the long lacuna common to all the mss. (Book II §§ 52-113) we are compelled to have recourse to the old Latin version made by order of Cassiodorus, the minister of Theodoric (ed. C. Boysen in the *Vienna Corpus Scriptorum Eccles. Lat.* vol. xxxvii., 1898). Here the restoration of the underlying Greek, which the Latin translator has not always understood, is a difficult task. Numerous valuable quotations are made by Eusebius. The text seems to have passed xviii

INTRODUCTION

through various stages of corruption, which began even before his time, and glosses have occasionally crept into the text of cod. L. In Niese's judgement the relative value of our authorities is (1) Eusebius, (2) the Latin version, (3) cod. L. The *editio princeps* of the Greek text (Basel, 1544) is of first-rate importance and seems to be derived in part from some ms. unknown to Niese.

RECENT EDITIONS OF THE GREEK TEXT

- B. Niese. *Editio major* (with full *apparatus criticus*), 6 vols. Berlin, 1887–1889.
B. Niese. *Editio minor* (text only), 6 vols., Berlin, 1888–1895.
S. A. Naber (text, based on Bekker's edition, with useful concise *adnotatio critica*), 6 vols., Teubner series, Leipzig, 1888–1896.

OTHER WORKS

For the *Life* the reader may consult, with discrimination, the suggestive but speculative work of Richard Laqueur, *Der jüdische Historiker Flavius Josephus (ein biographischer Versuch auf neuer quellenkritischer Grundlage)*, Giessen, 1920.

For the *Contra Apionem* there is a full commentary by J. G. Müller (Basel, 1877) and a French translation, with valuable notes by the editor, in *Œuvres complètes de Flav. Josèphe traduites en Français sous la direction de Théodore Reinach*, tome vii. fasc. 1 (Paris, 1902).

INTRODUCTION

ABBREVIATIONS

A. = *Antiquitates Judaicae*.

Ap. = *Contra Apionem*.

B. = *Bellum Judaicum*.

V. = *Vita*.

conj. = conjectural emendation.

ed. pr. = *editio princeps* (Basel, 1544).

Eus. (*H. E.* ; *P. E.*) = Eusebius (*Historia Ecclesiastica* ;
Praeparatio Evangelica).

ins. = inserted by. *om.* = omit.

Conjectural insertions in the Greek text are indicated by angular brackets, < > ; doubtful ms. readings and apparent glosses by square brackets, [].

The smaller sections introduced by Niese are shown in the left margin of the Greek text. References throughout are to these sections. The chapter-division of earlier editions is indicated on both pages (Greek and English).

Alii laborauerunt ; and the present translator here gratefully acknowledges his constant indebtedness to the work of numerous scholars of various nationalities, notably Benedict Niese, Théodore Reinach, and (for the *Life* and the *War*) Robert Traill. The older translation of William Whiston has also been occasionally consulted.

He further desires to acknowledge the kind permission of the editors and publishers of *Judaism and the Beginnings of Christianity* (Routledge) to use for this Introduction portions of a lecture included in that volume, which he delivered at Jews' College, London, in 1923.

LIFE OF JOSEPHUS

VOL. I

B

ΙΩΣΗΠΟΥ ΒΙΟΣ

1 (1) Ἐμοὶ δὲ γένος ἐστὶν οὐκ ἄσημον, ἀλλ' ἐξ
ἱερέων ἄνωθεν καταβεβηκός. ὥσπερ δ' ἢ¹ παρ'
ἐκάστοις ἄλλη τίς ἐστὶν εὐγενείας ὑπόθεσις, οὕτως
παρ' ἡμῖν ἢ τῆς ἱερωσύνης μετουσία τεκμήριόν
2 ἐστὶν γένους λαμπρότητος. ἐμοὶ δ' οὐ μόνον
ἐξ ἱερέων ἐστὶν τὸ γένος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρώτης
ἐφημερίδος τῶν εἰκοσιτεσσάρων, πολλή δὲ καὶ
τούτῳ διαφορά, καὶ τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ φυλῶν ἐκ τῆς
ἀρίστης. ὑπάρχω δὲ καὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους
ἀπὸ τῆς μητρός· οἱ γὰρ Ἀσαμωναίου παῖδες, ὧν
ἔγγονος ἐκείνη, τοῦ ἔθνους ἡμῶν ἐπὶ μήκιστον
3 χρόνον ἡρχιεράτευσαν καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν. ἐρῶ δὲ
τὴν διαδοχὴν. ὁ πρόπαππος ἡμῶν Σίμων ὁ
Ψελλὸς ἐπικαλούμενος· οὗτος ἐγένετο καθ' ὃν
καιρὸν ἡρχιεράτευσεν Σίμωνος ἀρχιερέως ὁ παῖς,
ὃς πρῶτος ἀρχιερέων Ὑρκανὸς ὠνομάσθη. γί-
4 νονται δὲ τῷ Ψελλῷ Σίμωνι παῖδες ἐννέα· τού-
των ἐστὶν Μαθθίας ὁ Ἐφάιου² λεγόμενος. οὗτος
ἠγάγετο πρὸς γάμον θυγατέρα Ἰωνάθου ἀρχιερέως,³
τοῦ πρώτου ἐκ τῶν Ἀσαμωναίου παίδων γένους

¹ ὁ ἢ Niese: ὁῆ (ὁῆ) mss.

² c.l. Ἐφιλίου, Ἐφλίου.

³ i.e. that of Jehoiarib (1 Chron. xxiv. 7). In A. vii. 366 Jos. states that the division of the priests into twenty-four

LIFE OF JOSEPHUS

(1) My family is no ignoble one, tracing its descent ^{Pedigree.} far back to priestly ancestors. Different races base their claim to nobility on various grounds; with us a connexion with the priesthood is the hallmark of an illustrious line. Not only, however, were my ancestors priests, but they belonged to the first of the twenty-four courses ^a—a peculiar distinction—and to the most eminent of its constituent clans. Moreover, on my mother's side I am of royal blood; for the posterity of Asamonaeus,^b from whom she sprang, for a very considerable period were kings, as well as high-priests, of our nation. I will give the pedigree. My great-grandfather's grandfather was Simon surnamed Psellus.^c He was a contemporary of the high-priest Hyrcanus, the first of the name to hold that office, previously held by his father Simon. Simon "the stammerer" had nine children, one of whom, Matthias, known as the son of Ephaeus, married the daughter of Jonathan the high-priest, who was the first of the line of Asamonaeus to attain to the high-priesthood,^d c. 153 B.C.

"families" continued to his day. On the contrary *Ap.* ii. 108 (extant only in the Latin version) speaks of four courses (*tribus*) only.

^b The Hasmonaeans or Maccabees, called after an eponymous hero Hashmon.

^c *i.e.* "The Stammerer."

^d 1 Macc. x. 21.

JOSEPHUS

ἀρχιερατεύσαντος, τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Σίμωνος τὰρχιερέως· καὶ γίνεται παῖς αὐτῷ Μαθθίας ὁ Κυρτὸς ἐπικληθεὶς, ἄρχοντος Ἰρκανοῦ τὸν πρῶτον ἐν-
5 αὐτόν. τούτου γίνεται Ἰώσηπος ἐνάτῳ ἔτει τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀρχῆς, καὶ Ἰωσήπου Μαθθίας βασιλεύοντος Ἀρχελάου τὸ δέκατον, Μαθθία δὲ ἐγὼ τῷ πρῶτῳ τῆς Γαίου Καίσαρος ἡγεμονίας. ἐμοὶ δὲ παῖδές εἰσι τρεῖς, Ἰρκανὸς μὲν ὁ πρεσβύτατος ἔτει τετάρτῳ τῆς Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Καίσαρος ἡγεμονίας, ἐβδόμῳ δὲ Ἰουῆτος, ἐνάτῳ δὲ Ἀγρίππας.
6 τὴν μὲν οὖν τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν διαδοχὴν, ὡς ἐν ταῖς δημοσίαις δέλτοις ἀναγεγραμμένην εὔρον, οὕτως παρατίθεμαι, τοῖς διαβάλλειν ἡμᾶς πειρωμένοις χαίρειν φράσας.

7 (2) Ὁ πατήρ δέ μου Μαθθίας οὐ διὰ μόνην τὴν εὐγένειαν ἐπίσημος ἦν, ἀλλὰ πλέον διὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἐπηνεῖτο, γνωριμώτατος ὢν ἐν τῇ μεγίστῃ
8 πόλει τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις. ἐγὼ δὲ συμπαιδευόμενος ἀδελφῷ Μαθθία τοῦνομα, γηγόνει γάρ μοι γνήσιος ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τῶν γονέων, εἰς μεγάλην παιδείας προύκοπτον ἐπίδοσιν, μνήμη
9 τε καὶ συνέσει δοκῶν διαφέρειν. ἔτι δ' ἀντίπαις ὢν περὶ τεσσαρεσκαδέκατον ἔτος διὰ τὸ φιλογράμματον ὑπὸ πάντων ἐπηνούμην, συνιόντων αἰεὶ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως πρῶτων ὑπὲρ τοῦ παρ' ἐμοῦ περὶ τῶν νομίμων ἀκριβέστερόν τι
10 γινῶναι. περὶ ἑκκαίδεκα δὲ ἔτη γενόμενος ἐβουλήθη τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν αἵρέσεων ἐμπειρίαν λαβεῖν· τρεῖς δ' εἰσὶν αὗται, Φαρισαίων μὲν ἢ πρώτη καὶ Σαδδουκαίων ἢ δευτέρα, τρίτη δ' Ἑσσηνῶν, καθὼς πολλάκις εἶπομεν· οὕτως γὰρ ὥομένην αἵρήσεσθαι
11 τὴν ἀρίστην, εἰ πάσας καταμάθοιμι. σκληραγω-

THE LIFE, 4-11

and brother of Simon who also held that office. Matthias, in the first year of the reign of Hyrcanus, c. 135 B.C. had a son Matthias, surnamed Curtus ^a; who, in the ninth year of the reign of Alexandra, begot c. 70 B.C. Joseph, and he, in the tenth year of the reign of Archelaus, Matthias, to whom I was born in the c. A.D. 6. year in which Gaius Caesar became Emperor. I A.D. 37-8. have three sons: Hyrcanus, the eldest, born in the fourth, Justus in the seventh, and Agrippa in the c. A.D. 73 74 ninth year of the reign of Vespasian Caesar. With such a pedigree, which I cite as I find it recorded in the public registers, I can take leave of the would-be detractors of my family.

(2) Distinguished as he was by his noble birth, ^{Education.} my father Matthias was even more esteemed for his upright character, being among the most notable men in Jerusalem, our greatest city. Brought up with Matthias, my own brother by both parents, I made great progress in my education, gaining a reputation for an excellent memory and understanding. While still a mere boy, about fourteen years A.D. 51-2. old, I won universal applause for my love of letters; insomuch that the chief priests and the leading men of the city used constantly to come to me for precise information on some particular in our ordinances. At about the age of sixteen I determined to gain A.D. 53-4. personal experience of the several sects into which our nation is divided. These, as I have frequently mentioned,^b are three in number—the first that of the Pharisees, the second that of the Sadducees, and the third that of the Essenes. I thought that, after a thorough investigation, I should be in a position to select the best. So I submitted myself

^a “Hump-back.” ^b See *B.* ii. 119; *A.* xiii. 171, xviii. 11.

JOSEPHUS

- γήσας οὖν ἑμαυτὸν καὶ πολλὰ πονηθεὶς τὰς τρεῖς διήλθον· καὶ μηδὲ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἐμπειρίαν ἱκανὴν ἑμαυτῷ νομίσας εἶναι, πυθόμενός τινα Βαννοῦν ὄνομα κατὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν διατρίβειν, ἐσθῆτι μὲν ἀπὸ δένδρων χρώμενον, τροφήν δὲ τὴν αὐτομάτως φυομένην προσφερόμενον, ψυχρῷ δὲ ὕδατι τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν νύκτα πολλάκις λουόμενον πρὸς
- 12 ἀγνεΐαν, ζηλωτῆς ἐγεγόνην αὐτοῦ. καὶ διατρίψας παρ' αὐτῷ ἑνιαυτοὺς τρεῖς καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τελειώσας εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑπέστρεφον. ἐννεακαίδέκατον δ' ἔτος ἔχων ἡρξάμενος [τε] πολιτεύεσθαι τῇ Φαρισαίων αἵρέσει κατακολουθῶν, ἣ παραπλήσιός ἐστι τῇ παρ' Ἑλλησι Στωικῇ λεγομένη.
- 13 (3) Μετ' εἰκοστὸν δὲ καὶ ἕκτον ἑνιαυτὸν εἰς Ῥώμην μοι συνέπεσεν ἀναβῆναι διὰ τὴν λεχθησομένην αἰτίαν. καθ' ὃν χρόνον Φῆλιξ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπετρόπευεν, ἱερεῖς τινὰς συνήθεις ἑμοὶ καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς διὰ μικρὰν καὶ τὴν τυχοῦσαν αἰτίαν
- 14 δῆσας εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔπεμψε, λόγον ὑφέξοντας τῷ Καίσαρι. οἷς ἐγὼ πόρον εὐρέσθαι βουλόμενος σωτηρίας, μάλιστα δὲ πυθόμενος ὅτι καίπερ ἐν κακοῖς ὄντες οὐκ ἐπελάθοντο τῆς εἰς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείας, διατρέφοιντο δὲ σύκοις καὶ καρύοις, ἀφικόμενη εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην πολλὰ κινδυνεύσας κατὰ
- 15 θάλασσαν. βαπτισθέντος γὰρ ἡμῶν τοῦ πλοίου κατὰ μέσον τὸν Ἀδρίαν, περὶ ἑξακοσίους τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐνηξάμεθα, καὶ περὶ ἀρχομένην ἡμέραν ἐπιφανέντος ἡμῖν κατὰ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν Κυρηναϊκοῦ πλοίου, φθάσαντες τοὺς ἄλλους ἐγὼ τε καὶ τινες ἕτεροι περὶ ὀγδοήκοντα

THE LIFE, 11-15

to hard training and laborious exercises and passed through the three courses. Not content, however, with the experience thus gained, on hearing of one named Bannus, who dwelt in the wilderness, wearing only such clothing as trees provided,^a feeding on such things as grew of themselves, and using frequent ablutions of cold water, by day and night, for purity's sake, I became his devoted disciple. With him I lived for three years and, having accomplished my purpose, returned to the city. Being now in my nineteenth year I began to govern my life by the rules of the Pharisees, a sect having points of resemblance to that which the Greeks call the Stoic school. A.D. 56-7.

(3) Soon after I had completed my twenty-sixth year it fell to my lot to go up to Rome for the reason which I will proceed to relate. At the time when Felix was procurator of Judaea, certain priests of my acquaintance, very excellent men, were on a slight and trifling charge sent by him in bonds to Rome to render an account to Caesar.^b I was anxious to discover some means of delivering these men, more especially as I learnt that, even in affliction, they had not forgotten the pious practices of religion, and supported themselves on figs and nuts.^c I reached Rome after being in great jeopardy at sea. For our ship foundered in the midst of the sea of Adria, and our company of some six hundred souls had to swim all that night. About daybreak, through God's good providence, we sighted a ship of Cyrene, and I and certain others, about eighty in all, out-

A visit to Rome.
c. A.D. 64.

^a Made of leaves or, perhaps, bark.

^b Nero.

^c To avoid eating *ειδωλόθυστα*, *i.e.* meat left over from heathen sacrifices; *cf.* 1 Cor. viii.

JOSEPHUS

- 16 σύμπαντες ἀνελήφθημεν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον. διασωθεῖς δ' εἰς τὴν Δικαιάρχειαν, ἣν Ποτιόλους Ἴταλοὶ καλοῦσιν, διὰ φιλίας ἀφικόμην Ἀλιτύρω, μιμολόγος δ' ἦν οὗτος μάλιστα¹ τῷ Νέρωνι καταθύμιος, Ἰουδαῖος τὸ γένος, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ Ποππαία² τῆ τοῦ Καίσαρος γυναικὶ γνωρισθεῖς προνοῶ ὡς τάχιστα παρακαλέσας αὐτὴν τοὺς ἱερεῖς λυθῆναι. μεγάλων δὲ δωρεῶν πρὸς τῆ εὐεργεσία ταύτη τυχῶν παρὰ τῆς Ποππαίας ὑπέστρεφον ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκείαν.
- 17 (4) Καταλαμβάνω δ' ἤδη νεωτερισμῶν ἀρχὰς καὶ πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τῆ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστάσει μέγα φρονούντας. καταστέλλειν οὖν ἐπειρώμην τοὺς στασιώδεις καὶ μετανοεῖν ἔπειθον, ποιησαμένους πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν πρὸς οὓς πολεμήσουσιν, ὅτι Ῥωμαίων οὐ κατ' ἐμπειρίαν μόνον πολεμικὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' εὐτυχίαν ἐλαττοῦνται, καὶ μὴ προπετῶς καὶ παντάπασιν ἀνοήτως πατρίσι καὶ γενεαῖς καὶ σφίσι αὐτοῖς τὸν περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων κακῶν κίνδυνον ἐπάγειν. ταῦτα δ' ἔλεγον καὶ λιπαρῶς ἐνεκείμην ἀποτρέπων, δυστυχέστατον ἡμῖν τοῦ πολέμου τὸ τέλος γενήσεσθαι προορώμενος. οὐ μὴν ἔπεισα· πολὺ γὰρ ἢ τῶν ἀπονοηθέντων ἐπεκράτησεν μανία.
- 20 (5) Δείσας οὖν μὴ ταῦτα συνεχῶς λέγων διὰ μίσους ἀφικοίμην καὶ ὑποψίας ὡς τὰ τῶν πολεμίων φρονῶν καὶ κινδυνεύσω ληφθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀναιρεθῆναι, ἐχομένης ἤδη τῆς Ἀντωνίας, ὅπερ ἦν
- 21 φρούριον, εἰς τὸ ἐνδοτέρω ἱερὸν ὑπεχώρησα. μετὰ

¹ Bekker: κάλ[λ]ιστα mss.

² The mss. read Ποπλία or Πομπηῖα; and so below.

^a At the N.-W. corner of the temple, which it dominated; so called by Herod after Mark Antony. The "castle" of Acts xxi. 34.

THE LIFE, 16-21

stripped the others and were taken on board. Landing safely at Dicaearchia, which the Italians call Puteoli, I formed a friendship with Aliturus, an actor who was a special favourite of Nero and of Jewish origin. Through him I was introduced to Poppaea, Caesar's consort, and took the earliest opportunity of soliciting her aid to secure the liberation of the priests. Having, besides this favour, received large gifts from Poppaea, I returned to my own country.

(4) There I found revolutionary movements already on foot and widespread elation at the prospect of revolt from Rome. I accordingly endeavoured to repress these promoters of sedition and to bring them over to another frame of mind. I urged them to picture to themselves the nation on which they were about to make war, and to remember that they were inferior to the Romans, not only in military skill, but in good fortune ; and I warned them not recklessly and with such utter madness to expose their country, their families and themselves to the direst perils. With such words I earnestly and insistently sought to dissuade them from their purpose, foreseeing that the end of the war would be most disastrous for us. But my efforts were unavailing ; the madness of these desperate men was far too strong for me.

(5) I now feared that my incessant reiteration of this warning would bring me into odium and the suspicion of siding with the enemy, and that I should run the risk of being arrested by them and put to death. I therefore sought asylum in the inner court of the Temple ; the fortress of Antonia ^a being already in their hands. When Menahem and

JOSEPHUS

δὲ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν Μαναήμου καὶ τῶν πρώτων τοῦ
 ληστρικοῦ στίφους ὑπεξελθὼν τοῦ ἱεροῦ πάλιν τοῖς
 ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν Φαρισαίων
 22 συνδιέτριβον. φόβος δ' οὐτι μέτριος εἶχεν ἡμᾶς
 ὀρῶντας τὸν μὲν δῆμον ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις, αὐτοὶ δ'
 ὄντες ἐν ἀπόρῳ τί ποιήσωμεν, καὶ τοὺς νεωτεριστὰς
 παύειν οὐκ δυνάμενοι· προδήλου δ' ἡμῖν τοῦ κινδύνου
 παρεστῶτος, συγκατανεύειν μὲν αὐτῶν ταῖς γνώ-
 μαις ἐλέγομεν, συνεβουλεύομεν δὲ μένειν ἐφ' αὐτῶν
 καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπελθόντας¹ ἕαν, ἵνα τοῦ
 23 δικαίως ἀνταίρειν ὅπλα πίστιν εὕρωνται. ταῦτα
 δ' ἐπράττομεν ἐλπίζοντες οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν Κέστιον
 μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμεως ἀναβάντα παύσειν τὸν
 νεωτερισμόν.
 24 (6) Ὁ δ' ἐπελθὼν καὶ συμβαλὼν μάχῃ ἐνικήθη
 πολλῶν τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ πεσόντων. καὶ γίνεται τὸ
 Κεστίου πταῖσμα συμφορὰ τοῦ σύμπαντος ἡμῶν
 ἔθνους· ἐπήρθησαν γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μᾶλλον οἱ τὸν
 πόλεμον ἀγαπήσαντες καὶ νικήσαντες² τοὺς Ῥω-
 μαίους εἰς τέλος ἤλπισαν, προσγενομένης καὶ
 25 ἑτέρας τινὸς τοιαύτης αἰτίας. οἱ τὰς πέριξ τῆς
 Συρίας πόλεις κατοικοῦντες τοὺς παρ' ἑαυτοῖς
 Ἰουδαίους συλλαμβάνοντες σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις
 ἀνήρουν, οὐδεμίαν αὐτοῖς αἰτίαν ἐπικαλεῖν ἔχοντες·
 οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστάσει νεώτερόν τι
 πεφρονήκεσαν οὔτε πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ἐχθρόν ἢ
 26 ἐπίβουλον. Σκυθοπολίται δὲ πάντων ἀσεβέστατα
 καὶ παρανομώτατα διεπράξαντο· ἐπελθόντων γὰρ
¹ *v.l.* ἀπελθόντας. ² Perhaps νικήσειν should be read.

^a Cf. B. ii. 433-448. Menahem, with some irregular troops, took the lead of the anti-Roman party, and was then murdered by a rival faction.

THE LIFE, 21-26

the chieftains of the band of brigands had been put to death^a I ventured out of the Temple and once more consorted with the chief priests and the leading Pharisees. We were, however, in a state of great alarm ; we saw the populace in arms and were at a loss what to do ourselves, being powerless to check the revolutionaries. In such obvious and imminent peril we professed to concur in their views, but suggested that they should make no move and leave the enemy alone if he advanced,^b in order to gain the credit of resorting to arms only in just self-defence. In so doing we had hopes that ere long Cestius^c would come up with a large army and quell the revolution.

(6) He came indeed, but in the engagement which ensued was defeated with great loss.^d This reverse of Cestius proved disastrous to our whole nation ; for those who were bent on war were thereby still more elated and, having once defeated the Romans, hoped to continue victorious to the end. To add to this, they had a further ground for hostility. The inhabitants of the surrounding cities of Syria proceeded to lay hands on and kill, with their wives and children, the Jewish residents among them, without the slightest ground of complaint ; for they had neither entertained any idea of revolt from Rome nor harboured any enmity or designs against the Syrians. The most outrageous and criminal action of all was that perpetrated by the natives of Scythopolis.^e Being attacked by hostile Jews from

Defeat of
Cestius,
A. D. 66.

Massacres
of Jewish
residents in
Syria.

^b Text and meaning uncertain ; perhaps " allow the enemy to retire." A Roman garrison was besieged in Jerusalem, forced to capitulate, and then treacherously murdered : *B.* ii. 449 ff.

^c Governor of Syria.

^d *B.* ii. 499 ff.

^e Bethshan (of the Old Testament), mod. Beisan.

JOSEPHUS

αὐτοῖς Ἰουδαίων ἔξωθεν πολεμίων, τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἰουδαίους ἐβιάσαντο κατὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων ὄπλα λαβεῖν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἀθέμιτον, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνων συμβαλόντες ἐκράτησαν τῶν ἐπελθόντων· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐνίκησαν, ἐκλαθόμενοι τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἐνοίκους καὶ συμμάχους πίστεως πάντας αὐτοὺς
 27 διεχρήσαντο πολλὰς μυριάδας ὄντας. ὅμοια δ' ἔπαθον καὶ οἱ τὴν Δαμασκὸν Ἰουδαῖοι κατοικοῦντες. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἀκριβέστερον ἐν ταῖς περὶ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου βίβλοις δεδηλώκαμεν· νῦν δ' αὐτῶν ἐπεμνήσθη βουλόμενος παραστήσαι τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσιν ὅτι οὐ προαίρεσις ἐγένετο τοῦ πολέμου πρὸς Ῥωμαίους Ἰουδαίοις, ἀλλὰ τὸ πλεόν ἀνάγκη.

28 (7) Νικηθέντος οὖν, ὡς ἔφαμεν, τοῦ Κεστίου, τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν οἱ πρῶτοι θεασάμενοι τοὺς μὲν ληστὰς ἅμα τοῖς νεωτερισταῖς εὐπορουμένους ὄπλων, δείσαντες δ' αὐτοὶ μὴ ἀνοπλοὶ καθεστηκότες ὑποχείριοι γένωνται τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ὃ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συνέβη, καὶ πυθόμενοι τὴν Γαλιλαίαν οὐπω πᾶσαν Ῥωμαίων ἀφεστάναι, μέρος δ' αὐτῆς ἡρεμεῖν ἔτι,
 29 πέμπουσιν ἐμὲ καὶ δύο ἄλλους τῶν ἱερέων καλοὺς κάγαθους ἄνδρας, Ἰωάζαρον¹ καὶ Ἰούδαν, πείσοντας τοὺς πονηροὺς καταθέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα καὶ διδάξοντας ὡς ἐστὶν ἀμεινον τοῖς κρατίστοις τοῦ ἔθνους αὐτὰ τηρεῖσθαι. ἔγνωστο δὲ τούτοις αἰεὶ μὲν ἔχειν τὰ ὄπλα πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἔτοιμα, περιμένειν δὲ τί πράξουσιν Ῥωμαῖοι μαθεῖν.

30 (8) Λαβὼν οὖν ἐγὼ τὰς ὑποθήκας ταύτας ἀφ-

¹ c.l. Ἰωζαρον.

THE LIFE, 26-30

another quarter, they compelled their own Jewish residents to bear arms against their compatriots, which we are forbidden to do, and with their assistance engaged and defeated the invaders ; and then, after the victory, with no thought of the allegiance due to fellow-citizens and confederates, put them all, to the number of many thousands, to the sword. The Jewish residents in Damascus met with a similar fate. I have given a more detailed account of these incidents in my volumes on the Jewish War ;^a and I merely allude to them here from a desire to convince my readers that the war with the Romans was due not so much to the deliberate choice of the Jews as to necessity.

(7) After the defeat of Cestius, already mentioned, the leading men in Jerusalem, observing that the brigands and revolutionaries were well provided with arms, feared that, being without weapons themselves, they might be left at the mercy of their adversaries, as in fact eventually happened. Being informed, moreover, that the whole of Galilee had not yet revolted from Rome, and that a portion of it was still tranquil, they dispatched me with two other priests, Joazar and Judas, men of excellent character, to induce the disaffected to lay down their arms and to impress upon them the desirability of reserving these for the picked men of the nation. The latter, such was the policy determined on, were to have their weapons constantly in readiness for future contingencies, but should wait and see what action the Romans would take.

Mission of
Josephus
to Galilee.

(8) With these instructions I came into Galilee.

^a *B.* ii. 466 ff., 559 ff. For the phraseology *cf.* *Ap.* ii. 287.

JOSEPHUS

ικόμην εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν. καὶ Σεπφωρίτας μὲν οὐκ
 ἐν ὀλίγῳ περὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἀγῶνι καθεστῶτας
 εὔρον, διαρπάσαι κεκρικότων αὐτὴν τῶν Γαλιλαίων
 διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐκείνων φιλίαν καὶ ὅτι
 Κεστίῳ Γάλλῳ τῷ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμονεύοντι δεξιάν
 31 τε καὶ πίστιν προτείνειαν. ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν ἐγὼ
 πάντας¹ ἀπήλλαξα τοῦ φόβου, πείσας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν
 τὰ πλήθη καὶ ἐπιτρέψας ὅσακις θέλουσι διαπέμ-
 πεσθαι πρὸς² τοὺς ἐν Δώροις οἰκείους ὀμηρεύοντας
 Κεστίῳ· τὰ δὲ Δῶρα πόλις ἐστὶν τῆς Φοινίκης.
 τοὺς ἐν Τιβεριάδι δὲ κατοικοῦντας εὔρον ἐφ' ὄπλα
 κεχωρηκότας ἤδη δι' αἰτίαν τοιαύτην.
 32 (9) Στάσεις τρεῖς ἦσαν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, μία μὲν
 ἀνδρῶν εὐσχημόνων, ἦρχε δ' αὐτῆς Ἰούλιος Κάπελ-
 33 λος. οὗτος δὴ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πάντες, Ἡρώδης
 ὁ Μιανοῦ καὶ Ἡρώδης ὁ τοῦ Γαμάλου καὶ Κομφὸς
 ὁ τοῦ Κομφοῦ· Κρίσπος γὰρ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, τοῦ
 μεγάλου βασιλέως γενόμενός ποτε ἑπαρχος, ἐν ταῖς
 ἰδίαις κτήσεσιν ἐτύγχανεν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου·
 34 πάντες οὖν οἱ προειρημένοι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον
 ἐμμένειν συνεβούλευον τῇ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους
 καὶ τὸν βασιλέα πίστει. τῇ γνώμῃ δ' οὐ συν-
 ηρέσκετο Πίστος παραγόμενος³ ὑπὸ Ἰούστου τοῦ
 35 παιδός· καὶ γὰρ ἦν φύσει πῶς ἐπιμανής. ἡ δευτέρα
 δὲ στάσις ἐξ ἀσημοτάτων συνεστηκυῖα πολεμεῖν
 36 ἔκρινεν. Ἰούστος δ' ὁ Πίστου παῖς, ὁ τῆς τρίτης
 μερίδος πρῶτος, ὑπεκρίνετο μὲν ἐνδοιάζειν πρὸς
 τὸν πόλεμον, νεωτέρων δ' ἐπεθύμει πραγμάτων, ἐκ
 τῆς μεταβολῆς οἰόμενος δύναμιν ἑαυτῷ περι-
 37 ποιήσειν. παρελθὼν οὖν εἰς μέσους διδάσκειν

¹ παντὸς conj. Niese.

² So the *editio princeps*: mss. ἀιὰ.

³ Dindorf: παραγενόμενος mss.

I found the inhabitants of Sepphoris in great distress concerning their native place, which the Galilaeans had decided to pillage because of their leanings towards the Romans and the overtures of loyalty and allegiance which they had made to Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria. I, however, entirely allayed their fears, by exerting my influence with the populace on their behalf, and by the permission which I gave them to communicate as freely as they chose with their fellow-citizens, who were held as hostages to Cestius at Dora, a city of Phoenicia.

Condition
of Galilee :
(i.) Sep-
phoris : pro-
Roman.

The inhabitants of Tiberias, on the other hand, had, I found, already proceeded to hostilities under the following circumstances.

(ii.) Tiberias :
the three
factions.

(9) There were three factions in this city. The first consisted of respectable citizens, headed by Julius Capellus. He and his associates, Herod son of Miarus, Herod son of Gamalus, and Compsus son of Compsus (I do not include his brother Crispus, formerly prefect under the great king,^a as he was absent on his estates beyond Jordan) were at that time unanimous in recommending the city to continue its allegiance to the Romans and the king.^b These views were not shared by Pistus, who, besides the malign influence of his son Justus, had a strain of madness in his nature. The second faction, composed of the most insignificant persons, was bent on war. Justus, son of Pistus, the ring-leader of the third party, while feigning hesitation on the subject of hostilities, was really eager for revolution, reckoning that a change of government would bring him into power. So he came forward

^a Herod Agrippa I.

^b Agrippa II.

JOSEPHUS

ἐπειράτο τὸ πλῆθος ὡς ἡ πόλις αἰεὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας
 ἄρξειεν ἐπὶ γε τῶν Ἑρώδου χρόνων τοῦ τετράρχου
 καὶ κτίστου γενομένου, βουλευθέντος αὐτοῦ τὴν
 Σεπφωριτῶν πόλιν τῇ Τιβεριέων ὑπακούειν, ἀπο-
 βαλεῖν¹ δὲ τὸ πρωτεῖον αὐτοὺς μηδὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ
 βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα τοῦ πατρός, διαμεῖναι δὲ καὶ
 38 μέχρι Φήλικος προεσταμένου τῆς Ἰουδαίας. νῦν
 δὲ ἔλεγεν αὐτοὺς ἡτυχηκένοι τῷ νεωτέρῳ δωρεὰν
 Ἀγρίππα δοθέντας ὑπὸ Νέρωνος· ἄρξαι γὰρ εὐθὺς
 τὴν μὲν Σέπφωριν, ἐπειδὴ Ῥωμαίοις ὑπήκουσεν,
 τῆς Γαλιλαίας, καταλυθῆναι δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς τὴν τε
 39 βασιλικὴν τράπεζαν καὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα. ταῦτα καὶ
 πρὸς τούτοις ἕτερα πολλὰ κατὰ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα
 λέγων ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὴν ἀπόστασιν
 ἐρεθίσαι, προσετίθει νῦν εἶναι καιρὸν ἀραμένους
 ὄπλα καὶ Γαλιλαίους συμμάχους προσλαβόντας—
 ἄρξειν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐκόντων διὰ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς
 Σεπφωρίτας μῖσος ὑπάρχον² αὐτοῖς, ὅτι τὴν πρὸς
 Ῥωμαίους πίστιν διαφυλάσσουσιν—μεγάλῃ χειρὶ
 40 πρὸς τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τιμωρίαν τραπέσθαι. ταῦτα
 λέγων προετρέψατο τὸ πλῆθος· ἦν γὰρ ἰκανὸς
 δημαγωγεῖν καὶ τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων τὰ βελτίω
 περιεῖναι γοητεία καὶ ἀπάτη τῇ διὰ λόγων. καὶ
 γὰρ οὐδ' ἄπειρος ἦν παιδείας τῆς παρ' Ἑλλησιν,
 ἧ θαρρῶν ἐπεχείρησεν καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν πραγ-
 μάτων τούτων ἀναγράφειν ὡς τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ
 41 περιεσόμενος τῆς ἀληθείας. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτου
 τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὡς φαῦλος τὸν βίον ἐγένετο καὶ ὡς σὺν
 τῷ ἀδελφῷ μικροῦ δεῖν καταστροφῆς αἴτιος ὑπῆρξεν,
 42 προϊόντος τοῦ λόγου δηλώσομεν. τότε δὲ πείσας
 ὁ Ἰούστος τοὺς πολίτας ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ὄπλα, πολ-

THE LIFE, 37-42

and endeavoured to instil into the people that their city had always been the capital of Galilee, at least under its founder, Herod the tetrarch, whose intention was that the city of Sepphoris should be subordinate to Tiberias; and that even under King Agrippa the elder they had not lost this primacy, which had continued until Felix became procurator of Judaea. Now, however, he continued, they had had the misfortune of being handed over by Nero as a present to Agrippa the younger; Sepphoris, by submission to Rome, had forthwith become the capital of Galilee and the seat of the royal bank and the archives. To these and many other disparaging remarks upon King Agrippa, calculated to incite the people to revolt, he added: "Now is the time to take up arms and join hands with the Galilaeans. Their hatred of Sepphoris for remaining loyal to Rome will make them willing recruits. Now is your opportunity, with ample forces, for revenge." This harangue had its effect on the mob; for he was a clever demagogue and by a charlatan's tricks of oratory more than a match for opponents with saner counsels. Indeed he was not unversed in Greek culture, and presuming on these attainments even undertook to write a history of these events, hoping by his presentation of the facts to disguise the truth. ¹ But of this man's general depravity and of the fact that to him and his brother our ruin was almost entirely due, I shall adduce proof in the course of this narrative.^a On this occasion Justus, having prevailed on the citizens to take up arms and forced

^a Cf. §§ 88, 279, 336-367, 390-3, 410.

¹ ἀποβάλλειν MSS.

² Dindorf: ὑπάρχειν MSS.

JOSEPHUS

λους δὲ καὶ μὴ θελήσαντας ἀναγκάσας, ἐξελθὼν
 σὺν πᾶσιν τούτοις ἐμπίμπρησιν τὰς τε Γαδαρηνῶν
 καὶ Ἰππηνῶν κώμας, αἱ δὴ μεθόριοι τῆς Τιβεριάδος
 καὶ τῆς τῶν Σκυθοπολιτῶν γῆς ἐτύγγχανον κείμεναι.

43 (10) Καὶ Τιβεριὰς μὲν ἐν τοιούτοις ἦν, τὰ περὶ
 Γίσχαλα δὲ εἶχε τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον. Ἰωάννης ὁ
 τοῦ Ληουεῖ, τῶν πολιτῶν τινὰς ὄρων διὰ τὴν
 ἀποστασίαν τὴν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων μέγα φρονούντας
 κατέχειν αὐτοὺς ἐπειράτο καὶ τὴν πίστιν ἠξίου

44 διαφυλάττειν. οὐ μὲν ἠδυνήθη καίτοι πάνυ προ-
 θυμούμενος. τὰ γὰρ πέριξ ἔθνη, Γαδαρηνοὶ καὶ
 Γαβαρηνοὶ, Σωγαναῖοι¹ καὶ Τύριοι, πολλὴν ἀθροί-
 σαντες δύναμιν καὶ τοῖς Γισχάλοις ἐπείσπεσόντες
 λαμβάνουσι τὰ Γίσχαλα κατὰ κράτος, καὶ πυρπο-
 λήσαντες εἶτα δὲ καὶ προσκατασκάψαντες εἰς τὴν

45 οἰκίαν ἀνέζευξαν. Ἰωάννης δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ παρ-
 οξυνθεὶς ὀπλίξει πάντας τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ συμ-
 βαλὼν τοῖς προειρημένοις ἔθνεσιν κατὰ κράτος
 ἐνίκησε, τὰ τε Γίσχαλα κρείττονα πάλιν ἀνακτίσας
 τείχεσιν ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τῆς εἰς ὕστερον ὠχύρωσεν.

46 (11) Γάμαλα δὲ πίστει τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους
 ἐνέμεινε δι' αἰτίαν τοιαύτην. Φίλιππος ὁ Ἰακείμου
 παῖς, ἑπαρχος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα, σωθεὶς
 παρὰ δόξαν ἐκ τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις βασιλικῆς
 αὐλῆς πολιορκουμένης καὶ διαφυγὼν εἰς ἕτερον
 ἐνέπεσε κίνδυνον, ὥστε ὑπὸ Μαναήμου καὶ τῶν

47 σὺν αὐτῷ ληστῶν ἀναιρεθῆναι· διεκώλυσαν δὲ
 Βαβυλώνιοί τινες συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσο-
 λύμοις ὄντες πράξαι τοὺς ληστὰς τὸ ἔργον. ἐπι-
 μείνας οὖν ἡμέρας τέσσαρας ὁ Φίλιππος ἐκεῖ τῇ
 πέμπτῃ φεύγει περιθετῇ χρησάμενος κόμη τοῦ μὴ
 κατάδηλος γενέσθαι, καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς τινα

THE LIFE, 42-47

many to do so against their will, marched out with all his followers and set fire to the villages, belonging to Gadara and Hippos, which lay on the frontiers of Tiberias and of the territory of Scythopolis.

(10) Such was the position of affairs at Tiberias ;
at Gischala the situation was as follows. John, son of Levi, observing that some of the citizens were highly elated by the revolt from Rome, tried to restrain them and urged them to maintain their allegiance. His earnest efforts, however, proved unavailing ; for the inhabitants of the neighbouring states, Gadara, Gabara, Sogane and Tyre, mustered a large force, stormed and took Gischala, burnt and razed it to the ground, and returned to their homes. Incensed at this outrage, John armed all his followers, made a determined attack on the aforesaid peoples and defeated them. He then rebuilt Gischala on a grander scale than before and fortified it with walls as a security for the future.

(11) Gamala remained loyal to Rome under the following circumstances. Philip, son of Jacimus, King Agrippa's lieutenant, after miraculously escaping with his life from the royal palace at Jerusalem, when it was besieged, was exposed to the further peril of being slain by Menahem and his brigands.^a The latter were, however, prevented from accomplishing their purpose by some Babylonian kinsmen of Philip, who were then in Jerusalem. Here he remained for four days and on the fifth escaped, disguised by a wig, and reaching one of the villages under his

^a Cf. B. ii. 556 f. ; 433 ff.

¹ Emended. The mss., in lieu of the two latter names, have Βαραγανέοι or the like.

JOSEPHUS

τῶν ἑαυτοῦ κωμῶν κατὰ τοὺς ὅρους Γάμαλα τοῦ
 φρουρίου κειμένην πέμπει πρὸς τινὰς τῶν ὑπ'
 48 αὐτοῦ προστάσεων ὡς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι. . .¹ ταῦτα
 δ' αὐτὸν ἐννοούμενον ἐμποδίζει τὸ θεῖον ἐπὶ συμ-
 φέροντι· μὴ γὰρ τούτου γενομένου πάντως ἂν
 ἀπολώλει. πυρετοῦ δὴ κατασχόντος αὐτὸν ἐξαί-
 φνης γράψας ἐπιστολὰς τοῖς παισὶν Ἀγρίππα καὶ
 Βερενίκη δίδωσιν τῶν ἐξελευθέρων τινὶ κομίζειν
 49 πρὸς Οὔαρον. ἦν δ' οὗτος κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον
 ὁ τὴν βασιλείαν διοικῶν, καταστησάντων αὐτὸν
 τῶν βασιλέων· αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰς Βηρυτὸν ἀφικνοῦντο
 50 ὑπαντῆσαι βουλόμενοι Κεστίῳ. λαβὼν οὖν ὁ
 Οὔαρος τὰ παρὰ Φιλίππου γράμματα καὶ πυθό-
 μενος αὐτὸν διασεσῶσθαι βαρέως ἤνεγκεν, ἀχρεῖος
 τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτὸς νομίζων φανείσθαι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν
 ἀφικομένου τοῦ Φιλίππου. προαγαγὼν οὖν εἰς τὸ
 πλῆθος τὸν τὰς ἐπιστολὰς κομίσαντα καὶ πλαστο-
 γραφίαν ἐπικαλέσας, ψεύδεσθαί τε φήσας αὐτὸν
 ἀπαγγείλαντα Φίλιππον ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις μετὰ
 51 τῶν Ἰουδαίων Ῥωμαίοις πολεμεῖν ἀπέκτεινεν. μὴ
 ὑποστρέψαντος δὴ τοῦ ἐξελευθέρου Φίλιππος ἀπο-
 ρῶν τὴν αἰτίαν δεύτερον ἐκπέμπει μετ' ἐπιστολῶν
 πάλιν τὸν ἀπαγγελοῦντα πρὸς αὐτὸν τί τὸ συμβε-
 52 βηκὸς εἶη τῷ ἀποσταλέντι, δι' ὃ βραδύνειεν. καὶ
 τοῦτον δὲ παραγενόμενον ὁ Οὔαρος συκοφαντήσας
 ἀνείλεν. καὶ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Καισαρεία Σύρων
 ἐπῆρτο μέγα φρονεῖν, ἀναιρεθήσεσθαι μὲν λεγόντων
 ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων τὸν Ἀγρίππαν διὰ τὰς ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων
 μαρτυρίας,² λήψεσθαι δ' αὐτὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ
 βασιλέων ὄντα· καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὁμολογουμένως ὁ

¹ The mss. add τὴν Φιλίππου; probably there is a lacuna in the text.

jurisdiction on the confines of the fortress of Gamala, sent orders to some of those under his command to join him. . . . His designs, however, were, fortunately for himself, frustrated by Providence ; else he would undoubtedly have perished. Being seized with a sudden attack of fever, he wrote to the younger^a Agrippa and Berenice a letter which he delivered to one of his freedmen to convey to Varus^b ; Varus having at the time been appointed administrator of the realm by the king and his royal sister, who had gone to Berytus to wait upon Cestius. The receipt of Philip's communication, acquainting him of his escape, caused Varus great vexation, as he supposed that, now that Philip had arrived, their majesties would have no further use for his own services. He accordingly brought the bearer of the letter before the people and accused him of forging it ; he added that he had mendaciously reported that Philip was fighting against the Romans with the Jews in Jerusalem, and then put the man to death. Philip, at a loss to explain the failure of his freedman to return, dispatched a second with further letters and to bring him word what had happened to cause the delay of his first courier. He, too, on his arrival was slain by Varus on some groundless accusation. For Varus had been led to entertain great expectations by the Syrians of Caesarea, who asserted that Agrippa, on the indictment of the Jews, would be put to death by the Romans, and that he, as of royal lineage, would succeed to the throne. As a

Varus, the viceroy of Agrippa.

^a Lit. "the children," *sc.* of Agrippa I., his former chief.

^b Called Noarus in *B.* ii. 481 ff.

² *μαρτυρίας* *cod. R* : the other *mss.* have *ἀμαρτίας*, "for the crimes of the Jews."

JOSEPHUS

Οὐάρος βασιλικοῦ γένους, ἔγγονος Σοέμου τοῦ
 53 *περὶ τὸν Λίβανον τετραρχοῦντος. διὰ τοῦτ' οὖν ὁ*
Οὐάρος τυφούμενος τὰς μὲν ἐπιστολὰς παρ' ἑαυτῷ
κατέσχευε μηχανώμενος μὴ ἐντυχεῖν τοῖς γράμμασι
τὸν βασιλέα, τὰς ἐξόδους δὲ πάσας ἐφρούρει, μὴ
διαδράς τις ἀπαγγεῖλειε τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ πραττόμενα.
καὶ δὴ χαριζόμενος τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Καισάρειαν
 54 *Σύροις πολλοὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπέκτεινε. ἐβου-*
λήθη δὲ καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐν Βαταναίᾳ Τραχωνιτῶν
ἀναλαβὼν τὰ ὄπλα ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις Βαβυ-
λωνίους Ἰουδαίους, ταύτην γὰρ τὴν προσηγορίαν
 55 *ἔχουσιν, ὀρμήσαι. καλέσας οὖν τῶν κατὰ τὴν*
Καισάρειαν Ἰουδαίων δώδεκα τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους
προσέτασεν αὐτοῖς ἀφικομένοις εἰς Ἐκβάτανα
πρὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖ κατοικοῦντας αὐτῶν ὁμοφύλους
εἰπεῖν ὅτι Οὐάρος, ἀκούσας ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ βασιλέα
μέλλειν ὀρμᾶν καὶ μὴ πιστεύσας, πέπομφεν ἡμᾶς
πείσοντας ὑμᾶς τὰ ὄπλα καταθέσθαι· τοῦτο γὰρ
αὐτῷ τεκμήριον ἔσεσθαι καὶ τοῦ καλῶς μὴ πισ-
 56 *τεῦσαι τοῖς περὶ ὑμῶν λέγουσιν. ἐκέλευε δὲ καὶ*
τοὺς πρώτους αὐτῶν ἄνδρας ἑβδομήκοντα πέμπειν
ἀπολογησομένους περὶ τῆς ἐπενηνεγμένης αἰτίας.
ἐλθόντες οὖν οἱ δώδεκα πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις
ὁμοφύλους καὶ καταλαβόντες αὐτοὺς μηδὲν ἐπὶ
νεωτερισμῷ φρονούντας ἔπεισαν καὶ τοὺς ἑβδομή-
 57 *κοντα πέμπειν. οἱ δὲ μηδὲν ὑποπτεύσαντες τοιοῦ-*
τον οἶον ἔμελλεν ἀποβῆσεσθαι ἐξαπέστειλαν. κατα-
βαίνουσιν δ' οὗτοι μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα πρέσβων εἰς

^a The highlands east of the Sea of Galilee, viz. Batanaea (Bashan) and the volcanic district of Trachon or Trachonitis (τράχων = "rough ground"; mod. *El Lejī*), were exposed to Arab raiders. To protect the district, which lay on the

descendant of Soemus, who had been a tetrarch in the Lebanon district, Varus's royal extraction was universally admitted. Inflated with these lofty ambitions Varus withheld the letters and contrived to prevent their perusal by the king; guards being posted at all the exits from the town, so that none should escape and report his proceedings to him. Moreover, to ingratiate himself with the Syrians of Caesarea, he put many of the Jews to death.

He had a further scheme of uniting with the people of Trachonitis in Batanaea in an armed attack on the "Babylonian Jews," as they are called, in Ecbatana.^a He accordingly summoned twelve of the most esteemed of the Caesarean Jews, and instructed them to proceed to Ecbatana and tell their compatriots in that city that a report had reached Varus that they intended to march against the king; he did not credit this report, but had sent this embassy to urge them to lay down their arms; he would regard their compliance as proof that he was right in attaching no weight to the current rumours. He further ordered them to send seventy of their leading men to answer the charge which had been laid against them. The twelve, finding on their arrival at Ecbatana that their compatriots were innocent of any revolutionary designs, urged them to dispatch the seventy; they, with no suspicion of the fate in store for them, sent them off and the deputies travelled down with the twelve envoys to Caesarea.

His massacre of Babylonian Jews.

direct route from Babylon to Jerusalem, Herod the Great settled in Batanaea a colony of Babylonian Jews under Zamaris, grandfather of the Philip named in the text; *A.* xvii. 23 ff. Ecbatana is not the city in Media, but one of the forts built in this region. A different version of the above narrative is given in *B.* ii. 481 ff.

JOSEPHUS

τὴν Καισάρειαν. ὑπαντήσας οὖν ὁ Οὐάρως μετὰ
 τῆς βασιλικῆς δυνάμεως σὺν τοῖς πρέσβεσιν πάν-
 τας ἀπέκτεινεν καὶ τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἐκβα-
 58 τάνοις Ἰουδαίους ἐποιεῖτο. φθάσας δέ τις ἐκ τῶν
 ἑβδομήκοντα σωθεὶς ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς, κακείνοι
 τὰ ὄπλα λαβόντες σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις εἰς
 Γάμαλα τὸ φρούριον ὑπεχώρησαν, καταλιπόντες
 τὰς κώμας πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν πλήρεις καὶ βοσκη-
 59 μάτων πολλὰς μυριάδας ἐχούσας. Φίλιππος δὲ
 πυθόμενος ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς Γάμαλα τὸ φρούριον
 ἦκεν. παραγενομένου δὲ κατεβόα τὸ πλῆθος,
 ἄρχειν αὐτὸν παρακαλοῦντες καὶ πολεμεῖν πρὸς
 Οὐάρων καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Καισαρείᾳ Σύρους· δι-
 εδέδοτο¹ γὰρ ὑπὸ τούτων τὸν βασιλέα τεθνάναι.
 60 Φίλιππος δ' αὐτῶν κατεῖχε τὰς ὀρμάς, ὑπομιμνή-
 σκων τῶν τε τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς αὐτοὺς εὐεργεσιῶν,
 καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων διηγούμενος ὅση τίς ἐστὶν ἡ
 δύναμις, συμφέρειν οὐκ ἔλεγεν ἄρασθαι πρὸς τούτους
 61 πόλεμον, καὶ τέλος ἔπεισεν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς πυθό-
 μενος ὅτι Οὐάρως μέλλει τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς Καισαρείας
 Ἰουδαίους σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις πολλὰς ὄντας
 μυριάδας ἀναιρεῖν ἡμέρα μιᾶ, μεταπέμπεται [πρὸς]²
 αὐτόν, Αἴκουον Μόδιον³ πέμψας αὐτῷ διάδοχον,
 ὡς ἐν ἄλλοις ἐδηλώσαμεν. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος Γάμαλα
 τὸ φρούριον κατέσχευεν καὶ τὴν περίξ χώραν πίστει
 τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐμμένουσιν.

62 (12) Ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἀφικόμην ἐγὼ
 καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν ἀπαγγειλάντων ἔμαθον, γράφω

¹ διεδέδοτο Bekker: διαδέδοκτο and διεδέχετο mss.

² πρὸς is omitted by Bekker.

³ c.l. Μονόδιον.

They were met by the royal troops under Varus, who put them all to death, including the envoys, and proceeded on the march against the Jews of Ec-batana. One of the seventy, however, escaped, and got ahead of him and brought the news to his countrymen ; whereupon, seizing their arms, they withdrew with their wives and children to the fortress of Gamala, leaving their villages full of abundant stores and stocked with many thousand head of cattle.

On hearing of this Philip also entered the fortress of Gamala, the people of which on his arrival vociferously called on him to assume the command and make war on Varus and the Syrians of Caesarea, who, according to a rumour which was afloat, had assassinated the king. Philip sought to restrain their impetuosity ; reminded them of the benefits which the king had conferred upon them ; dilated on the formidable power of the Romans and the inexpediency of entering upon war with such an enemy ; and in the end succeeded. The king, His super-session. meanwhile, hearing that Varus intended to massacre in one day the Jewish population in Caesarea, numbering many thousands, including women and children, recalled him and sent Aequus Modius to take over the command, as I have elsewhere related.^a The fortress of Gamala and the surrounding district were retained by Philip and thus preserved their allegiance to Rome.

(12) When, on my arrival in Galilee, I was informed of the above position of affairs, I wrote to the San-

^a Cf. B. ii. 483, where Varus's deposition is mentioned, but not the name of his successor. For the sequel see § 179 ff. below.

JOSEPHUS

τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν περὶ τούτων καὶ
 τί με πράττειν κελεύουσιν ἐρωτῶ. οἱ δὲ προσμεῖναι
 παρεκάλεσαν καὶ τοὺς συμπρέσβεις, εἰ θέλοιεν,
 κατασχόντα πρόνοιαν ποιήσασθαι τῆς Γαλιλαίας.
 63 οἱ δὲ συμπρέσβεις εὐπορήσαντες πολλῶν χρημάτων
 ἐκ τῶν διδομένων αὐτοῖς δεκατῶν, ἃς ὄντες ἱερεῖς
 ὀφειλομένας ἀπελάμβανον, εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ὑπο-
 στρέφειν γῆν ἔκριναν· ἐμοῦ δ' αὐτοὺς προσμεῖναι
 παρακάλεσαντος ἕως οὗ τὰ πράγματα καταστή-
 64 σωμεν, πείθονται. ἄρας οὖν μετ' αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς
 Σεπφωριτῶν πόλεως εἰς κώμην τινὰ Βηθμαοὺς
 λεγομένην, ἀπέχουσαν Τιβεριάδος στάδια τέσσαρα,
 παραγίνομαι, καὶ πέμψας ἐντεῦθεν [τοὺς] πρὸς τὴν
 Τιβεριέων βουλήν καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τοῦ δήμου
 65 παρεκάλουν ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς με. καὶ παραγενο-
 μένων, ἐληλύθει δὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἰουῆτος, ἔλεγον
 ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πρεσβεῦσαι
 μετὰ τούτων πεπόμφθαι πρὸς αὐτούς, πείσων
 καθαιρεθῆναι τὸν οἶκον τὸν ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου τοῦ
 τετράρχου κατασκευασθέντα, ζώων μορφὰς ἔχοντα,
 τῶν νόμων οὕτως τι κατασκευάζειν ἀπαγορευόντων,
 καὶ παρεκάλουν αὐτοὺς εἰάν ἡμᾶς ἢ τάχος τοῦτο
 66 πράττειν. ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν οὖν οἱ περὶ τὸν Καπέλλαν
 καὶ τοὺς πρώτους αὐτῶν ἐπιτρέπειν οὐκ ἤθελον,
 βιαζόμενοι δ' ὑφ' ἡμῶν συγκατατίθενται. φθάνει
 δ' Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Σαπφία παῖς, ὃν τῆς τῶν ναυτῶν
 καὶ τῶν ἀπόρων στάσεως πρῶτον ἔφαμεν ἄρξαι,
 παραλαβὼν τινὰς Γαλιλαίους καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν αὐλήν
 ἐμπρήσας, πολλῶν οἰόμενος εὐπορήσειν ἐξ αὐτῆς
 χρημάτων, ἐπειδὴ τινὰς οἰκῶν ὀροφὰς κεχρυσω-
 67 μένας εἶδεν. καὶ διήρπασαν πολλὰ παρὰ γνώμην
 τὴν ἡμετέραν πράξαντες· ἡμεῖς γὰρ μετὰ τὴν πρὸς

THE LIFE, 62-67

hedrin at Jerusalem and asked for instructions how I should proceed. They advised me to remain at my post and take precautions for Galilee, retaining my colleagues, if willing to stay. My colleagues, having amassed a large sum of money from the tithes which they accepted as their priestly due, decided to return home ; but, on my request, consented to stay until we had brought matters into order. I accordingly set out with them from headquarters at Sepphoris and came to a village called Bethmaus, four furlongs distant from Tiberias, and from there sent to the council and principal men of that city, requesting them to come to me. On their arrival, Justus being among them, I told them that I and my associates had been commissioned by the Jerusalem assembly to press for the demolition of the palace erected by Herod the tetrarch, which contained representations of animals—such a style of architecture being forbidden by the laws ^a—and I requested their permission to proceed at once with the work. Capella ^b and the other leaders for a long while refused this, but were finally overruled by us and assented. We were, however, anticipated in our task by Jesus, son of Sapphias, the ringleader, as already stated,^c of the party of the sailors and destitute class. Joined by some Galilaeans he set the whole palace on fire, expecting, after seeing that the roof was partly of gold, to obtain from it large spoils. There was much looting, contrary to our intention ; for we, after our conference with Capella

Conference of Josephus with the leading men of Tiberias and ensuing disorders.

^a Exod. xx. 4.

^b Or Capellus, as in § 32 above.

^c Not previously mentioned ; the reference is apparently to the mention of “ the second faction of insignificant persons ” in § 34 above.

JOSEPHUS

Καπέλλαν καὶ τοὺς πρώτους Τιβεριέων ὀμιλίαν εἰς τὴν ἄνω Γαλιλαίαν ἀπὸ Βηθμαῶν ἀνεχωρήσαμεν. ἀναιρουῦσιν δ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν πάντας τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας Ἕλληνας ὅσοι τε πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου γεγόνεισαν αὐτῶν ἐχθροί.

68 (13) Πυθόμενος δ' ἐγὼ ταῦτα παρωξύνθη σφόδρα, καὶ καταβάς εἰς Τιβεριάδα πρόνοιαν εἰσηνεγκάμην τῶν βασιλικῶν σκευῶν ὅσα δυνατὸν ἦν τοὺς ἀρπάσαντας ἀφελέσθαι· λυχνίαι δ' ἦσαν Κορίνθιαι ταῦτα καὶ τράπεζαι τῶν βασιλικῶν καὶ ἀσήμου ἀργυρίου σταθμὸς ἰκανός. πάντα δ' ὅσα
69 παρέλαβον, φυλάσσειν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἔκρινα. μεταπεμψάμενος οὖν τοὺς τῆς βουλῆς πρώτους δέκα καὶ Καπέλλαν τὸν Ἀντύλλου τὰ σκεύη παρέδωκα, μηδενὶ παραγγείλας ἑτέρῳ πλὴν ἐμοῦ δοῦναι.

70 Κακείθεν εἰς τὰ Γίσχαλα πρὸς τὸν Ἰωάννην μετὰ τῶν συμπρέσβειων ἀφικόμην βουλόμενος γνῶναι τί ποτε φρονεῖ. κατείδον δ' αὐτὸν ταχέως νεωτέρων ὀρεγόμενον πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς
71 ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχοντα. παρεκάλει γάρ με τὸν Καίσαρος σίτον κείμενον ἐν ταῖς τῆς ἄνωθεν Γαλιλαίας κώμαις ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ δοῦναι ἐκφορῆσαι· θέλει γὰρ ἔφασκεν εἰς ἐπισκευὴν τῶν τῆς πατρίδος τειχῶν
72 αὐτὸν ἀναλῶσαι. κατανοήσας δὲ ἐγὼ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τί διανοοῖτο πράσσειν, οὐκ ἔφην αὐτῷ συγχωρεῖν· ἢ γὰρ Ῥωμαίοις αὐτὸν ἐνενοούμην φυλάττειν ἢ ἑμαυτῷ, διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῶν ἐκεῖ πραγμάτων αὐτὸς παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν
73 Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πεπιστεῦσθαι. μὴ πείθων δέ με περὶ τούτων ἐπὶ τοὺς συμπρέσβεις ἐτράπετο· καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἀπρονόητοι τῶν ἐσομένων καὶ λαβεῖν ἐτοιμότατοι. φθείρει δὲ χρήμασιν αὐτοὺς ψηφί-

THE LIFE, 67-73

and the leading men of Tiberias, had left Bethmaus for Upper Galilee. Jesus and his followers then massacred all the Greek residents in Tiberias and any others who, before the outbreak of hostilities, had been their enemies.

(13) On hearing of these proceedings I was extremely indignant and went down to Tiberias and devoted my energies to recovering from the plunderers as much as I could of the palace furniture, namely, some candelabra of Corinthian make, royal tables, and a large mass of uncoined silver. I decided to keep all that I obtained in trust for the king, and accordingly sent for ten of the principal councillors, with Capella, son of Antyllus, and committed the property to their charge, with injunctions to deliver it to none but myself.

From Tiberias I went with my colleagues to Gischala to meet John, whose attitude I desired to ascertain. I soon discovered that he was eager for revolution and ambitious of obtaining command. For he requested me to authorize him to lay hands on the imperial corn stored in the villages of Upper Galilee, professing a desire to expend the proceeds on the repair of the walls of his native town. Detecting his ultimate design and present intentions, I declined his request; as the authority entrusted to me by the Jerusalem authorities extended to that district, I intended to reserve the corn either for the Romans or for my own use. Unsuccessful with me he turned to my colleagues, who were blind to coming events and quite open to receive money. These he

Stratagems
of John of
Gischala.

σασθαι πάντα τὸν σίτον αὐτῷ παραδοθῆναι τὸν
 ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐπαρχία κείμενον. καὶ γὰρ μόνος ἡπτώ-
 74 μενος ὑπὸ δύο¹ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἤγον. καὶ δευτέραν
 Ἰωάννης ἐπεισέφερεν πανουργίαν· ἔφη γὰρ Ἰου-
 δαίους τοὺς τὴν Φιλίππου Καισάρειαν κατοικοῦντας,
 συγκεκλεισμένους κατὰ προσταγὴν τοῦ βασι-
 λέως ὑπὸ Μοδίου² τοῦ τὴν δυναστείαν διοικοῦντος,
 πεπομφέναι πρὸς αὐτὸν παρακαλοῦντας, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ
 ἔχουσιν ἔλαιον ᾧ χρίσονται³ καθαρὸν, ποιησάμενον
 πρόνοιαν εὐπορίαν αὐτοῖς τούτου παρασχεῖν, μὴ
 75 δι' ἀνάγκην Ἑλληνικῶ χρώμενοι τὰ νόμιμα παρα-
 βαίνωσιν. ταῦτα δ' οὐχ ὑπ' εὐσεβείας ἔλεγεν
 Ἰωάννης, δι' αἰσχροκέρδειαν δὲ φανερωτάτην.
 γνώσκων γὰρ παρὰ μὲν ἐκείνοις κατὰ τὴν Καισάρ-
 ρειαν τοὺς δύο ξέστας δραχμῆς μιᾶς πωλουμένους,
 ἐν δὲ τοῖς Γισχάλοις τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντα ξέστας
 δραχμῶν τεσσάρων, πᾶν τὸ ἔλαιον ὅσον ἦν ἐκεῖ
 διεπέμψατο, λαβὼν ἐξουσίαν καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ τὸ
 76 δοκεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ἐκὼν ἐπέτρεπον, ἀλλὰ διὰ φόβον
 τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, μὴ κωλύων καταλευσθεῖν
 ὑπ' αὐτῶν. συγχωρήσαντος οὖν μου πλείστων
 χρημάτων ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐκ τῆς κακουργίας ταύτης
 εὐπόρησε.

77 (14) Τοὺς δὲ συμπρέσβεις ἀπὸ τῶν Γισχάλων
 ἀπολύσας εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πρόνοιαν ἐποιούμην
 ὄπλων τε κατασκευῆς καὶ πόλεων ἐχυρότητος.
 μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ τῶν ληστῶν τοὺς ἀνδρειοτά-
 τους ἀφελῆσθαι μὲν αὐτῶν τὰ ὄπλα οὐχ οἷόν τε ὄν
 ἐώρων, ἔπεισα δὲ τὸ πλήθος μισθοφορὰν αὐτοῖς
 παρέχειν, ἄμεινον εἶναι λέγων ἐκόντας ὀλίγα διδόναι

¹ So, doubtless correctly, the *editio princeps*: the mss. have ὑποδὺς, "slipped away and."

bribed to vote that all the corn stored in his province should be delivered to him. Unsupported and outvoted by the other two, I held my peace.

This knavish trick John followed up with a second.^a He stated that the Jewish inhabitants of Caesarea Philippi, having, by the king's order, been shut up by Modius, his viceroy, and having no pure oil for their personal use, had sent a request to him to see that they were supplied with this commodity, lest they should be driven to violate their legal ordinances by resort to Grecian oil.^b John's motive in making this assertion was not piety, but profiteering of the most barefaced description; for he knew that at Caesarea two pints^c were sold for one drachm, whereas at Gischala eighty pints could be had for four drachms. So he sent off all the oil in the place, having ostensibly obtained my authority to do so. My permission I gave reluctantly, from fear of being stoned by the mob if I withheld it. Thus, having gained my consent, John by this sharp practice made an enormous profit.

(14) At Gischala I let my colleagues return to Jerusalem and proceeded to take measures for the provision of arms and the strengthening of the fortifications of the towns. I also summoned the most stalwart of the brigands and, seeing that it would be impossible to disarm them, persuaded the people to pay them as mercenaries; remarking that it was better to give them a small sum voluntarily

Josephus dismisses his colleagues. His measures to tranquillize Galilee.

^a With §§ 74 f. *cf.* B. ii. 591 f. (details rather different).

^b Foreign oil was forbidden, according to one Talmudic authority, as likely to be tainted by unclean vessels. *Cf.* A. xii. 120.

^c *Sextarii*.

² ὑπὸ Μοδίου Holwerda: ὑποδίκου MSS. *Cf.* § 61 with 49.

³ *v.l.* χρήσονται.

JOSEPHUS

μάλλον ἢ τὰς κτήσεις διαρπαζομένας ὑπ' αὐτῶν
 78 περιορᾶν. καὶ λαβὼν παρ' αὐτῶν ὄρκους μὴ
 ἀφίξεσθαι πρότερον εἰς τὴν χώραν, εἰ μὴ μετα-
 κληθῶσιν ἢ ὅταν τὸν μισθὸν μὴ λάβωσιν, ἀπέλυσα
 παραγγείλας μήτε Ῥωμαίους πολεμεῖν μήτε τοῖς
 περιοίκους· εἰρηνεύεσθαι γὰρ πρὸ πάντων τὴν
 79 Γαλιλαίαν ἐφρόντιζον. τοὺς δ' ἐν τέλει τῶν Γαλι-
 λαίων, ὅσον ἐβδομήκοντα πάντας, βουλόμενος ἐν
 προφάσει φιλίας καθάπερ ὄμηρα τῆς πίστεως ἔχειν,
 φίλους τε καὶ συνεκδήμους ἐποίησάμην, ἐπὶ τε
 κρίσεις παρελάμβανον καὶ μετὰ γνώμης τῆς ἐκείνων
 τὰς ἀποφάσεις ἐποιούμην, μήτε προπετεία πειρώ-
 μενος τοῦ δικαίου διαμαρτάνειν καθαρῶν τε¹
 παντὸς ἐπ'² αὐταῖς λήμματος.

80 (15) Περὶ τριακοστὸν γοῦν ἔτος ὑπάρχων, ἐν ᾧ
 χρόνῳ, κἂν ἀπέχηταί τις τῶν παρανόμων ἐπι-
 θυμιῶν, δύσκολον τὰς ἐκ τοῦ φθόνου διαβολὰς
 φεύγειν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπ'³ ἐξουσίας ὄντα μεγάλης,
 γυναῖκα μὲν πᾶσαν ἀνύβριστον ἐφύλαξα, πάντων
 δὲ τῶν διδομένων ὡς μὴ χρήζων κατεφρόνησα·
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰς ὀφειλομένας μοι ὡς ἱερεῖ δεκάτας
 81 ἀπελάμβανον παρὰ τῶν κομιζόντων. ἐκ μέντοι
 τῶν λαφύρων μέρος⁴ τοὺς Σύρους τοὺς τὰς πέριξ
 πόλεις κατοικοῦντας νικήσας ἔλαβον, ἃ καὶ εἰς
 Ἱεροσόλυμα τοῖς συγγενέσιν ὁμολογῶ πεπομφέναι.
 82 καὶ δις μὲν κατὰ κράτος ἐλὼν Σεπφωρίτας, Τιβε-
 ριεῖς τετράκισ, Γαβαρεῖς⁵ δ' ἅπαξ, καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην
 πολλάκις ἐπιβουλεύσαντά μοι λαβὼν ὑποχείριον,
 οὔτ' αὐτὸν οὔτε τινὰς τῶν προειρημένων ἔθνῶν
 ἐτιμωρησάμην, ὡς προῖων ὁ λόγος παραστήσει.

¹ τε Bekker: δὲ mss.

² v.l. ἐν.

³ ins. Bekker.

⁴ μέρος mss.

than to submit to raids upon their property. I then bound them by oath not to enter the district unless they were sent for or their pay was in arrear, and dismissed them with injunctions to refrain from attacking either the Romans or their neighbours; for my chief concern was the preservation of peace in Galilee. Wishing, moreover, under the guise of friendliness, to retain the Galilaean authorities, some A council of seventy. seventy in all, as hostages for the loyalty of the district, I made them my friends and companions in travel, took them as assessors to cases which I tried, and obtained their approbation of the sentences which I pronounced; endeavouring not to fail in justice through precipitate action and in these matters to keep clear of all bribery.

(15) I was now about thirty years old, at a time Protestation of integrity. of life when, even if one restrains his lawless passions, it is hard, especially in a position of high authority, to escape the calumnies of envy. Yet I preserved every woman's honour; I scorned all presents offered to me as having no use for them; I even declined to accept from those who brought them the tithes which were due to me as a priest. On the other hand, I did take a portion of the spoils after defeating the Syrian inhabitants of the surrounding cities, and admit to having sent these to my kinsfolk in Jerusalem. And though I took Sepphoris twice by storm, Tiberias four times, and Gabara once; and though I had John many times at my mercy when he plotted against me, I punished neither him nor any of the communities I have named, as the course of this narrative will show. To this cause I

⁵ Γαβαρεῖς Niese (after cod. P, Γαπαβεῖς): the other mss. have Γαδαρεῖς.

JOSEPHUS

83 διὰ τοῦτ' οἶμαι καὶ τὸν θεόν, οὐ γὰρ λελήθασιν
 αὐτὸν οἱ τὰ δέοντα πράττοντες, καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνων
 ῥύσασθαι με χειρὸς καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πολλοῖς
 περιπεσόντα κινδύνοις διαφυλάξαι, περὶ ὧν ὕστερον
 ἀπαγγελοῦμεν.

84 (16) Τοσαύτη δ' ἦν ἡ πρὸς με τοῦ πλήθους τῶν
 Γαλιλαίων εὐνοία καὶ πίστις, ὥστε ληφθεισῶν
 αὐτῶν κατὰ κράτος τῶν πόλεων, γυναικῶν δὲ καὶ
 τέκνων ἀνδραποδισθέντων, οὐχ οὕτως ταῖς ἑαυτῶν
 ἐπεστέναξαν συμφοραῖς ὥσπερ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐφρόντισαν
 85 σωτηρίας. ταῦτα δ' ὁρῶν Ἰωάννης ἐφθόνησε, καὶ
 γράφει πρὸς με παρακαλῶν ἐπιτρέψαι καταβάντι
 χρήσασθαι τοῖς ἐν Τιβεριάδι θερμοῖς ὕδασι τῆς τοῦ
 86 σώματος ἕνεκα θεραπείας. καὶ γὰρ μηδὲν ὑποπτεύ-
 σας πράξειν αὐτὸν πονηρὸν οὐκ ἐκώλυσα· πρὸς
 δὲ καὶ τοῖς τῆς Τιβεριάδος τὴν διοίκησιν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ
 πεπιστευμένοις κατ' ὄνομα γράφω κατάλυσιν ἐτοι-
 μάσαι τῷ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ τοῖς ἀφιξομένοις σὺν αὐτῷ,
 πάντων τε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀφθονίαν παρασχεῖν.
 διέτριβον δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον ἐν κώμῃ τῆς
 Γαλιλαίας ἣν προσαγορεύεται Κανά.

87 (17) Ὁ δ' Ἰωάννης ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν Τιβεριέων
 πόλιν ἔπειθε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀποστάντας τῆς πρὸς
 με πίστεως προστίθεσθαι αὐτῷ. καὶ πολλοὶ τὴν
 παράκλησιν ἠδέως ἐδέξαντο, νεωτέρων ἐπιθυ-
 μούντες αἰεὶ πραγμάτων καὶ φύσει πρὸς μεταβολὰς
 88 ἐπιτηδείως ἔχοντες καὶ στάσεσι χαίροντες· μάλιστα
 δὲ Ἰοῦστος καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Πίστος ὠρμήκεσαν
 ἀποστάντες ἐμοῦ προσθέσθαι τῷ Ἰωάννῃ. διεκώ-
 89 λυσα δ' αὐτοὺς φθάσας. ἦκεν γὰρ ἄγγελός μοι
 παρὰ Σίλα, ὃν ἐγὼ καθεστάκειν τῆς Τιβεριάδος
 στρατηγόν, ὡς προεῖπον, τὴν τῶν Τιβεριέων

THE LIFE, 83-89

attribute my deliverance out of their hands by God—for His eye is upon those who do their duty—and my subsequent preservation amid the numerous perils, to be related in the sequel, which I encountered.

(16) The affection and loyalty towards me of the people of Galilee were such that, when their cities were taken by storm and their wives and children enslaved, their lamentations over their own calamities were not so deep as their concern for my safety. Observing this, John's envy was aroused and he wrote to me for permission to come down and take the hot baths at Tiberias for the good of his health.^a Having no suspicion of any malign intention, I not only did not prevent him, but went so far as to write separate letters to those whom I had entrusted with the administration of Tiberias, to prepare a lodging for him and any who might accompany him, and to make every provision for them. My quarters at the time were at a village of Galilee called Cana.

Popularity
of Josephus
excites
John's envy.

(17) On his arrival at Tiberias, John attempted to induce the inhabitants to abandon their allegiance to me and attach themselves to him ; and there were many who, ever craving for revolution, by temperament addicted to change and delighting in sedition, gladly responded to his invitation. In particular Justus and his father Pistus were eager to desert me and go over to John. My speedy action, however, thwarted their plans. For a messenger reached me from Silas, whom, as I have already mentioned,^b I had appointed governor of Tiberias, bringing word

John pro-
motes
sedition at
Tiberias.

^a With this and the sequel *cf.* *B.* ii. 614 ff.

^b Not in this work ; but see *B.* ii. 616.

JOSEPHUS

γνώμην ἀπαγγέλλων καὶ σπεύδειν παρακαλῶν·
βραδύνατος γὰρ ὑπὸ τὴν ἑτέρων ἐξουσίαν γενή-
90 σεσθαι¹ τὴν πόλιν. ἐντυχὼν οὖν τοῖς γράμμασι
τοῦ Σίλα καὶ διακοσίους ἀναλαβὼν ἄνδρας δι' ὅλης
τῆς νυκτὸς τὴν πορείαν ἐποιούμην, προπέμψας
ἄγγελον τὸν τὴν ἐμὴν παρουσίαν τοῖς ἐν τῇ Τιβε-
91 ριάδι σηματοῦντα. πρῶτ' δὲ πλησιάζοντος ἐμοῦ τῇ
πόλει τὸ πλῆθος ὑπηγντίαζεν καὶ Ἰωάννης σὺν
αὐτοῖς· ὃς καὶ πάνυ με τεταραγμένως ἀσπασά-
μενος, δείσας μὴ εἰς ἔλεγχον αὐτοῦ τῆς πράξεως
ἀφικομένης ἀπολέσθαι κινδυνεύσῃ, ὑπεχώρησε μετὰ
92 σπουδῆς εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κατάλυσιν. καὶ γὰρ δὲ γενό-
μενος κατὰ τὸ στάδιον, τοὺς περὶ ἐμὲ σωματο-
φύλακας ἀπολύσας πλὴν ἑνός, καὶ μετὰ τούτου
κατασχὼν δέκα τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, δημηγορεῖν ἐπει-
ρώμην τῷ πλήθει τῶν Τιβεριέων στὰς ἐπὶ τριγχοῦ
τινος ὑψηλοῦ, παρεκάλουν τε μὴ οὕτως αὐτοὺς
93 ταχέως ἀφίστασθαι· κατάγνωσιν γὰρ αὐτοῖς οἴσειν
τὴν μεταβολήν, καὶ τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα προῖσταμένῳ
δι' ὑποψίας γενήσεσθαι δικαίας, ὡς μηδὲ τὴν πρὸς
ἐκείνον πίστιν φυλαξόντων.

94 (18) Οὕπῳ δέ μοι πάντα λελάλητο, καὶ τινος
ἐξήκουσα τῶν οἰκείων καταβαίνειν κελεύοντος· οὐ
γάρ μοι καιρὸν εἶναι φροντίζειν τῆς παρὰ Τιβεριέων
εὐνοίας, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας σωτηρίας καὶ πῶς
95 τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐκφύγω. πεπόμφει δ' ὁ Ἰωάννης
τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ὀπλιτῶν ἐπιλέξας τοὺς πιστοτάτους
ἐκ τῶν χιλίων οἵπερ ἦσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ προσέταξεν
τοῖς πεμφθείσιν ἀνελεῖν με πεπυσμένος ὡς εἶην
96 μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων μεμονωμένος. ἤκον δ' οἱ πεμ-
φθέντες, κὰν ἐπεπράχισαν τοῦργον, εἰ μὴ τοῦ
τριγχοῦ θάπτον ἀφαλόμενος ἐγὼ μετὰ τοῦ σωματο-

THE LIFE, 89-96

of the intention of the citizens and exhorting me to make haste, since, if I delayed, the town would pass into the hands of others. Having read Silas's dispatch I mustered two hundred men and marched all night long, sending a courier in advance to inform the people of Tiberias that I was coming. As I approached the city at dawn I was met by the population, including John, who saluted me in evident confusion and, fearing that the exposure of his proceedings would endanger his life, hastily retired to his lodging.^a On reaching the stadium I dismissed my bodyguard, except one man whom I retained along with ten soldiers. Then standing on a high parapet ^b I endeavoured to address the crowd of citizens. I urged them not to be so hasty in revolting; such fickleness would be a blot on their character, and they would justly be suspected by a future governor, as likely to prove equally disloyal to him.

Josephus,
recalled to
Tiberias,

(18) I had not completed my speech when I heard one of my men bidding me come down, as it was no time for me to be thinking of the loyalty of the Tiberians, but of my own life and how to elude my foes. John, on hearing that I was left isolated with my personal attendants, had selected the most trustworthy of the thousand armed men at his disposal and sent them with orders to kill me. They duly arrived and would have done their business, had I not instantly leapt from the parapet, with

flees for his
life to
Tarichaeae.

^a In *B.* John feigns sickness and sends a representative to meet Josephus.

^b *B.* "on a hill six cubits high."

¹ Niese: γερῆσθαι MSS.

JOSEPHUS

φύλακος Ἰακώβου καὶ ὑπό τινος Τιβεριέως Ἡρώδου προσανακουφισθεῖς, ὀδηγηθεῖς ὑπὸ τούτου ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην καὶ πλοίου λαβόμενος καὶ ἐπιβάς, παρὰ δόξαν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς διαφυγῶν εἰς Ταριχέας ἀφικόμην.

- 97 (19) Οἱ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην κατοικοῦντες ὡς ἐπύθοντο τὴν τῶν Τιβεριέων ἀπιστίαν σφόδρα παρωξύνθησαν. ἀρπάσαντες οὖν τὰ ὄπλα παρεκάλουν σφᾶς ἄγειν ἐπ' αὐτούς· θέλειν γὰρ ἔφασκον ὑπὲρ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ δίκας λαβεῖν παρ' αὐτῶν.
- 98 διήγγελλον δὲ τὰ γεγονότα καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν πᾶσιν,¹ ἐρεθίσαι καὶ τούτους κατὰ τῶν Τιβεριέων διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχοντες, παρεκάλουν τε πλείστους συναχθέντας ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς αὐτούς, ἵνα μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πράττωσιν τὸ δόξαν.
- 99 ἦκον οὖν οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι πολλοὶ πανταχόθεν μεθ' ὀπλων καὶ παρεκελεύοντό μοι προσβαλεῖν τῇ Τιβεριάδι καὶ κατὰ κράτος αὐτὴν ἐξελεῖν καὶ πᾶσαν ἔδαφος ποιήσαντα τοὺς ἐνοίκους σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἀνδραποδίσασθαι. συνεβούλευον δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν φίλων οἱ ἐκ τῆς Τιβεριάδος διασωθέντες.
- 100 ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ συνεπένευον δεινὸν ἡγούμενος ἐμφυλίου πολέμου κατάρχειν· μέχρι λόγων γὰρ ὤμην εἶναι δεῖν τὴν φιλονεικίαν. καὶ μὴν οὐδ' αὐτοῖς ἔφασκον συμφέρειν τοῦτο πράξαι, Ῥωμαίων ταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους στάσεσιν αὐτοὺς ἀπολείσθαι² προσδοκόντων. ταῦτα δὲ λέγων ἔπαυσα τῆς ὀργῆς τοὺς Γαλιλαίους.
- 101 (20) Ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης ἀπράκτου τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς αὐτῷ γενομένης ἔδεισε περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ὀπλίτας ἀναλαβὼν ἀπῆρεν ἐκ τῆς Τιβεριάδος

¹ c.l. πᾶσαν.

James my bodyguard, and been further aided by one Herod of Tiberias, who picked me up and conducted me to the lake, where I seized a boat, embarked, and, escaping thus beyond all expectation from my enemies, reached Tarichaeae.

(19) The inhabitants of this city, on hearing of the treachery of the Tiberians, were highly indignant, and, seizing their arms, besought me to lead an attack upon them, professing their desire to avenge their general. They also spread the news throughout Galilee, doing their utmost to arouse indignation against the Tiberians, and exhorting the inhabitants to muster in full strength and join them, in order that, with the concurrence of the general, they might act as should seem best.^a The Galilaeans accordingly came in large numbers from all quarters under arms, and entreated me to attack Tiberias, to take it by storm, raze the whole place to the ground and reduce the inhabitants, women, children and all, to slavery. Their advice was shared by those of my friends who had escaped from Tiberias. I, however, could not assent to their proposal: I was horrified at the thought of opening a civil war, and considered that the quarrel should not go further than verbal remonstrances. Moreover, I told them that the action suggested would not be to their own advantage; since the Romans were only waiting for the rival factions to bring about their own ruin. With these words I appeased the anger of the Galilaeans.

(20) John, when his plot failed, in terror of his life moved off with his armed men from Tiberias to

^a Or, perhaps, "accomplish their determined purpose."

² Niese: most mss. ἀπολέσθαι, R (perhaps rightly) ἀπολέσαι.

JOSEPHUS

εἰς τὰ Γίσχαλα, καὶ γράφει πρὸς με περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπολογούμενος ὡς μὴ κατὰ γνώμην τὴν αὐτοῦ γενομένων, παρεκάλει τε μηδὲν ὑπονοεῖν κατ' αὐτοῦ, προστιθεὶς ὄρκους καὶ δεινάς τινας ἀράς, δι' ὧν ᾤετο πιστευθήσεσθαι περὶ ὧν ἐπέστειλεν.

- 102 (21) Οἱ δὲ Γαλιλαῖοι, πολλοὶ γὰρ ἕτεροι πάλιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας πάσης ἀνήχθησαν μεθ' ὀπλων, εἰδότες τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὡς πονηρὸς ἐστίν καὶ ἐπίορκος, παρεκάλουν ἀγαγεῖν σφᾶς ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἄρδην ἀφανίσαι ἐπαγγελλόμενοι σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ Γίσχαλα.
- 103 χάριν μὲν οὖν ἔχειν αὐτῶν ταῖς προθυμίαις ὡμολόγουν ἐγὼ καὶ νικήσειν αὐτῶν τὴν εὐνοίαν ἐπηγγελλόμεν, παρεκάλουν δ' ὅμως ἐπισχεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀξίων καὶ συγγινώσκειν μοι δεόμενος προηρημένῳ τὰς ταραχὰς χωρὶς φόνων καταστέλλειν. καὶ πείσας τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Γαλιλαίων εἰς τὴν Σέπφωριν ἀφικνούμεν.
- 104 (22) Οἱ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην κατοικοῦντες ἄνδρες κεκριότες τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐμμεῖναι πίστει, δεδιότες δὲ τὴν ἐμὴν ἄφιξιν, ἐπειράθησαν ἑτέρα με πράξει περισπάσαντες ἀδεεῖς εἶναι περὶ αὐτῶν.
- 105 καὶ δὴ πέμψαντες πρὸς Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἀρχιληστήν εἰς τὴν Πτολεμαΐδος μεθορίαν ὑπέσχοντο δώσειν πολλὰ χρήματα θελήσαντι μετὰ τῆς σὺν αὐτῷ δυνάμεως, ἦσαν δ' ὀκτακόσιοι τὸν ἀριθμόν, πόλεμον ἐξάψαι
- 106 πρὸς¹ ἡμᾶς. ὁ δ' ὑπακούσας αὐτῶν ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν ἠθέλησεν ἐπιπεσεῖν ἡμῖν ἀνετοίμοις καὶ μηδὲν προγινώσκουσιν. πέμψας γοῦν πρὸς με παρεκάλει λαβεῖν ἐξουσίαν ἀσπασόμενον ἀφικέσθαι. συγχωρήσαντος δέ μου, τῆς γὰρ ἐπιβουλής οὐδὲν

¹ εἰς PRA.

THE LIFE, 101-106

Gischala. Thence he wrote to me, defending himself on the ground that all that had taken place had been done without his sanction, and entreating me not to entertain any suspicions of him. He ended with oaths and horrible imprecations, by which he thought to gain credit for the statements in his letter.

(21) The Galilaeans, many more of whom had again come up in arms from the whole district, knowing the man to be a perjured villain, pressed me to lead them against him, undertaking to exterminate both him and Gischala. I expressed my gratitude for their zeal on my behalf and promised to outrival their goodwill; but, none the less, I begged and entreated them to desist,^a and craved their indulgence for my determination to quell these disturbances without bloodshed. My persuasion having proved successful with the Galilaeans, I departed to Sepphoris.

(22) The inhabitants of this city, having decided to remain loyal to Rome,^b were alarmed at my arrival and sought to secure themselves by diverting my attention elsewhere. They accordingly sent to Jesus, the brigand chief, on the borderland of Ptolemais, and promised him a large sum if he would, with his force, which numbered eight hundred, bring me ^c under the fire of war. Responding to these offers, he was anxious to fall upon me ^c while I was unprepared and knew nothing of his plans. So he sent and requested my permission to come and pay me his respects. Completely ignorant of his designs I gave

An intercepted plot at Sepphoris.

^a Or "restrain themselves."

^b Cf. § 30 above.

^c "Us"; the first pers. sing. and plural are constantly interchanged in Josephus.

JOSEPHUS

- προηπιστάμην, ἀναλαβὼν τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν ληστῶν
 107 ἔσπευδεν ἐπ' ἐμέ. οὐ μὴν ἔφθασεν αὐτοῦ τέλος
 λαβεῖν ἢ κακουργία· πλησιάζοντος γὰρ ἤδη τῶν
 σὺν αὐτῷ τις αὐτομολήσας ἤκεν πρὸς με τὴν
 ἐπιχείρησιν αὐτοῦ φράζων, καὶ γὰρ [ὡς] πυθόμενος
 ταῦτα προῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν σκηψάμενος ἀγνοεῖν
 τὴν ἐπιβουλήν· ἐπηγόμην δὲ πολλοὺς ὀπλίτας
 108 Γαλιλαίους, τινὰς δὲ καὶ Τιβεριέων. εἶτα προσ-
 τάξας τὰς ὁδοὺς πάσας ἀσφαλέστατα φρουρεῖσθαι
 παρήγγειλα τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν πυλῶν μόνον Ἰησοῦν,
 ἐπειδὴν παραγένηται, μετὰ τῶν πρώτων εἰσελθεῖν
 εἶσαι, ἀποκλείσαι δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους, βιαζομένους δὲ
 109 τύπτειν. τῶν δὲ τὸ προσταχθὲν ποιησάντων εἰσ-
 ἦλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς μετ' ὀλίγων. καὶ κελεύσαντος ἐμοῦ
 ρίψαι τὰ ὄπλα θᾶπτον, εἰ γὰρ ἀπειθοίη τεθνήξεσθαι,
 περιεστῶτας ἰδὼν πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ τοὺς ὀπλίτας
 φοβηθεῖς ὑπήκουσεν· οἱ δ' ἀποκλεισθέντες τῶν
 ἐπακολουθούντων αὐτῷ πυθόμενοι τὴν σύλληψιν
 110 ἔφυγον. καὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἰησοῦν προσκαλεσάμενος κατ'
 ἰδίαν οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν ἔφην τὴν ἐπ' ἐμέ συσκευασθεῖσαν
 ἐπιβουλήν οὐδ' ὑπὸ τίνων πεμφθείη· συγγνώσεσθαι
 δ' ὅμως αὐτῷ τῶν πεπραγμένων, εἰ μέλλοι μετα-
 111 νοήσειν καὶ πιστὸς ἐμοὶ γενήσεσθαι. ὑπισχνου-
 μένου δὲ πάντα ποιήσειν ἐκείνου ἀπέλυσα, συγχω-
 ρήσας αὐτῷ συναγαγεῖν πάλιν οὓς πρότερον εἶχεν.
 Σεπφωρίταις δ' ἠπέιλησα, εἰ μὴ παύσαιντο τῆς
 ἀγνωμοσύνης, λήψεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν δίκας.
 112 (23) Κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἀφικνοῦνται πρὸς
 με δύο μεγιστᾶνες τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ βασι-
 λέως ἐκ τῆς τῶν Τραχωιτῶν χώρας ἐπαγόμενοι
 τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἵππους καὶ ὄπλα, καὶ χρήματα
 113 δ' ὑπεκκομίζοντες.¹ τούτους περιτέμνεσθαι τῶν

my consent ; whereupon he made a rapid march upon me with his band of brigands. However, his malicious purpose did not attain its end, for, when he was close upon me, one of his men deserted and came and told me of his meditated attack. On receipt of this intelligence, I proceeded to the market-place, feigning ignorance of the plot ; though I brought with me a large body of Galilaeans, under arms, with some Tiberians. I then gave orders for all the roads to be strictly guarded, and instructed the sentries at the gates to admit none but Jesus and the leaders on his arrival, and to exclude the rest, repelling with blows any who tried to force their way in. My orders were carried out and Jesus entered with a few others. On my commanding him instantly to drop his arms, on peril of death, he, seeing himself surrounded by the soldiers, was panic-stricken and complied. His excluded followers fled on hearing of his arrest. I then called Jesus aside and told him that I was not ignorant of the plot which he had contrived against me, nor who were his employers ; I would, nevertheless, condone his actions if he would show repentance and prove his loyalty to me. All this he promised, and I let him go, allowing him to reassemble his former force. The Sepphorites I threatened to punish if they did not abandon their unreasonable conduct.

(23) About this time there came to me from the region of Trachonitis two nobles, subjects of the king,^a bringing their horses, arms, and money which they had smuggled out of their country. The Jews

Josephus prevents forcible circumcision of refugees.

^a Agrippa II.

¹ Niese : ὑποκομίζοντες MSS.

Ἰουδαίων ἀναγκαζόντων, εἰ θέλουσιν εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς, οὐκ εἴασα βιασθῆναι, φάσκων δεῖν ἕκαστον [ἄνθρωπον] κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ προαίρεσιν τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ μετὰ βίας, χρῆναι δὲ τούτους δι' ἀσφάλειαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς καταφυγόντας μὴ μετανοεῖν. πεισθέντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους, τοῖς ἤκουσιν ἀνδράσιν τὰ πρὸς τὴν συνήθη δίαιταν ἅπαντα παρείχον δαψιλῶς.

- 114 (24) Πέμπει δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας δύναμιν καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπ' αὐτῆς Αἴκουον Μόδιον¹ Γάμαλα τὸ φρούριον ἐξαιρήσοντας. οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες κυκλώσασθαι μὲν τὸ φρούριον οὐκ ἤρκεσαν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς φανεροῖς τῶν τόπων ἐφεδρεύοντες ἐπολιόρκουν τὰ
- 115 Γάμαλα. Αἰβούτιος δὲ ὁ δεκάδαρχος ὁ τοῦ μεγάλου πεδίου τὴν προστασίαν πεπιστευμένος, ἀκούσας ὅτι παρείην εἰς Σιμωνιάδα κώμην ἐν μεθορίῳ² κειμένην τῆς Γαλιλαίας, αὐτοῦ δ' ἀπέχουσαν ἐξήκοντα σταδίους, [νυκτὸς] ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ἑκατὸν ἵππεῖς οὓς εἶχεν σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ τινὰς πεζοὺς περὶ διακοσίους, καὶ τοὺς ἐν Γάβα πόλει κατοικοῦντας ἐπαγόμενος συμμάχους, νυκτὸς ὀδεύσας
- 116 ἦκεν εἰς τὴν κώμην ἐν ἣ διέτριβον. ἀντιπαραταξαμένου δὲ κάμου μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς, ὁ μὲν Αἰβούτιος εἰς τὸ πεδίου ὑπάγειν ἡμᾶς ἐπειράτο, σφόδρα γὰρ τοῖς ἵππεῦσιν ἐπεποίθει. οὐ μὴν ὑπηκούσαμεν· ἐγὼ γὰρ τὸ πλεονέκτημα συνιδὼν τὸ γενησόμενον τοῖς ἵππεῦσιν, εἰ καταβαίημεν εἰς τὸ πεδίου, πεζοὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς σύμπαντες ἦμεν, ἔγνω
- 117 αὐτοῦ τοῖς πολεμίοις συνάπτειν. καὶ μέχρι μὲν τινος γενναίως ἀντέσχεν σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ὁ

¹ Μονόδιον R ; cf. § 61.

² μορίῳ P : μεθορίοις the other mss.

THE LIFE, 113-117

would have compelled them to be circumcised as a condition of residence among them. I, however, would not allow any compulsion to be put upon them, declaring that every one should worship God in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience and not under constraint, and that these men, having fled to us for refuge, ought not to be made to regret that they had done so. Having brought over the people to my way of thinking, I liberally supplied our guests with all things necessary to their customary manner of life.

(24) King Agrippa now sent a force under the command of Aequus Modius to destroy the fortress of Gamala. The troops sent, being insufficient to invest the place, lay in wait on open ground and attempted a siege. Aebutius, the decurion, who had been entrusted with the charge of the Great Plain,^a hearing that I was at Simonias,^b a village on the frontier of Galilee, sixty furlongs away from him, set off with the hundred horse at his disposal, some two hundred infantry, and the inhabitants of the town of Gaba^c as auxiliaries, and by a night march reached the village where I had my quarters. I confronted him with a large force in order of battle. Aebutius, relying mainly on his cavalry, endeavoured to decoy us into the plain. We, however, refused to accommodate him; realizing the advantage which his horse would have over our troops, composed entirely of infantry, should we descend into the plain, I determined to engage the enemy on my own ground. For a time Aebutius and his men

His first
encounter
with a
Roman
force.

^a Of Esdraelon.

^b *Semūnieh*, due west of Nazareth.

^c In the Great Plain; founded by Herod the Great and called "City of Cavalry" after the discharged troops there quartered, *B.* iii. 36, *cf.* *A.* xv. 294.

JOSEPHUS

Αἰβούτιος, ἀχρεῖον δ' ὄρων κατὰ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον
 οὐσαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἰππικὴν δύναμιν ἀναζεύγνυσιν
 ἄπρακτος εἰς Γάβαν πόλιν, τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἀποβαλὼν
 118 κατὰ τὴν μάχην. εἰπόμην δὲ κατὰ πόδας ἐγὼ
 δισχιλίους ἐπαγόμενος ὀπλίτας· καὶ περὶ Βησάραν
 πόλιν γενόμενος, ἐν μεθορίῳ μὲν τῆς Πτολεμαΐδος
 κειμένην εἴκοσι δ' ἀπέχουσαν στάδια τῆς Γάβας,
 ἔνθα διέτριβεν Αἰβούτιος, στήσας τοὺς ὀπλίτας
 ἔξωθεν τῆς κώμης καὶ φρουρεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλῶς
 τὰς ὁδοὺς προστάξας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἐνοχλῆσαι τοὺς
 119 πολεμίους ἡμῖν ἕως τὸν σίτον ἐκφορήσομεν, πολὺς
 γὰρ ἀπέκειτο Βερενίκης τῆς βασιλίδος ἐκ τῶν
 πέριξ κωμῶν εἰς τὴν Βησάραν συλλεγόμενος,
 πληρώσας τὰς καμήλους καὶ τοὺς ὄνους, πολλοὺς
 δ' ἐπηγόμην, διέπεμψα τὸν σίτον εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν.
 120 τοῦτο δὲ πράξας προεκαλούμην εἰς μάχην τὸν
 Αἰβούτιον· οὐχ ὑπακούσαντος δ' ἐκείνου, κατ-
 επέπληκτο γὰρ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐτοιμότητα καὶ τὸ
 θράσος, ἐπὶ Λεοπολιτανὸν ἐτραπόμην, τὴν Τι-
 βεριέων χώραν ἀκούσας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεηλατεῖσθαι.
 121 ἦν δὲ ὁ Λεοπολιτανὸς ἱλῆς μὲν ἑπαρχος, παρειλήφει
 δὲ τὴν Σκυθόπολιν εἰς φυλακὴν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν
 πολεμίων. τοῦτον οὖν κωλύσας ἐπὶ πλεόν τὴν
 Τιβεριέων κακοῦν περὶ τὴν τῆς Γαλιλαίας πρόνοιαν
 ἐγινόμην.

122 (25) Ὁ δὲ τοῦ Λευὶ παῖς Ἰωάννης, ὃν ἔφαμεν ἐν
 τοῖς Γισχάλοις διατρίβειν, πυθόμενος πάντα κατὰ
 νοῦν μοι προχωρεῖν, καὶ δι' εὐνοίας μὲν εἶναί με
 τοῖς ὑπηκόοις, τοῖς πολεμίοις δὲ δι' ἐκπλήξεως, οὐκ
 εὖ τὴν γνώμην διετέθη,¹ κατάλυσιν δ' αὐτῷ τὴν
 ἐμὴν εὐπραγίαν φέρειν νομίζων εἰς φθόνον ἐξώκειλεν
 46

THE LIFE, 117-122

made a gallant stand ; but seeing that his cavalry were useless in such surroundings, he withdrew to the town of Gaba, having failed in his object and lost three men in the engagement. I followed close behind with two thousand infantry, and on reaching the neighbourhood of the town of Besara, on the borders of Ptolemais, twenty furlongs from Gaba, where Aebutius was stationed, I posted my men outside the village, with orders to keep strict guard on the roads, so as to prevent interference from the enemy, while we were removing the corn. Of this a large quantity, belonging to Queen Berenice, had been collected from the neighbouring villages and stored in Besara. I then loaded the camels and asses, which I had brought with me in large numbers, and dispatched the corn to Galilee. This done, I offered Aebutius battle ; and when he declined it, overawed by my readiness for action and intrepidity, I turned upon Neopolitanus, who, I heard, was ravaging the district of Tiberias. Neopolitanus was commander of a squadron of horse, who had been commissioned to protect Scythopolis from the enemy. Having prevented him from doing further injury to the Tiberian territory, I devoted my attention to the welfare of Galilee.

(25) But when John, son of Levi, who, as I said,^a John attempts to alienate Galilee from Josephus. was now at Gischala, heard that everything was proceeding to my satisfaction, that I was popular with those under my authority and a terror to the enemy, he was in no good humour ; and, believing that my success involved his own ruin, gave way to

^a § 101.

¹ Niese: ἐτέθη mss.

JOSEPHUS

- 123 οὗτι μέτριον. καὶ παύσειν με τῆς εὐτυχίας ἐλπίσας, εἰ παρὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων μῖσος ἐξάψειεν, ἔπειθεν τοὺς τὴν Τιβεριάδα κατοικοῦντας καὶ τοὺς τὴν Σέπφωριν¹ πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ τοὺς Γάβαρα, πόλεις δ' εἰσὶν αὗται τῶν κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν αἱ μέγισται, τῆς πρὸς με πίστεως ἀποστάντας αὐτῷ προστίθεσθαι· κρεῖττον γὰρ ἐμοῦ στρατηγήσειν αὐτῶν ἔφασκεν.
- 124 καὶ Σεπφωρεῖς μὲν, οὐδετέρῳ γὰρ ἡμῶν προσεῖχον διὰ τὸ Ῥωμαίους ἡρῆσθαι δεσπότας, οὐκ ἐπένευον αὐτῷ, Τιβεριεῖς δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀπόστασιν οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, [καὶ] αὐτοῦ δὲ συγκατένευον γενήσεσθαι φίλοι. οἱ δὲ Γάβαρα κατοικοῦντες προστίθενται τῷ Ἰωάννῃ· Σίμων δ' ἦν ὁ παρακαλῶν αὐτούς, πρωτεύων μὲν τῆς πόλεως, ὡς φίλῳ δὲ καὶ ἐταίρῳ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ
- 125 χρώμενος. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τοῦ φανεροῦ τὴν ἀπόστασιν οὐχ ὠμολόγουν· σφόδρα γὰρ ἐδεδοίκεσαν τοὺς Γαλιλαίους ἅτε δὴ πείραν αὐτῶν τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς πολλάκις εὐνοίας λαβόντες· ἐκ τοῦ λεληθότος δὲ καιρὸν παραφυλάσσοντες ἐπιτήδειον ἐπεβούλευον. καὶ δὴ ἀφικόμην εἰς κίνδυνον τὸν μέγιστον διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν.
- 126 (26) Νεανίσκοι τινὲς θρασεῖς, Δαβαριττηνοὶ γένος, ἐπιτηρήσαντες τὴν Πτολεμαίου γυναῖκα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιτρόπου, μετὰ πολλῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ τινων ἰππέων ἀσφαλείας χάριν ἐπομένων διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου πεδίου τὴν πορείαν ποιουμένην ἐκ τῆς τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ὑποτελοῦς χώρας εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων
- 127 ἐπικράτειαν, ἐπιπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς ἄφνω· καὶ τὴν μὲν γυναῖκα φυγεῖν ἠνάγκασαν, ὅσα δ' ἐπεφέρετο²

¹ So R: the other mss. add *νομίζων*.

² ὑπεφέρετο PR.

^a Daberath (Josh. xix. 12), mod. *Debūrieh*, under the

immoderate envy. Hoping to check my good fortune by inspiring hatred of me in those under my command, he tried to induce the inhabitants of Tiberias, Sepphoris, and Gabara—the three chief cities of Galilee—to abandon their allegiance to me and go over to him, asserting that they would find him a better general than I was. Sepphoris, in pursuance of its policy of submission to Rome, lent no ear to either of us and rejected these overtures. Tiberias, while declining the suggestion of revolt, consented to befriend him. Gabara, at the instigation of Simon, a leading citizen and a friend and associate of John, went over to his side. The people of Gabara, it is true, did not openly admit their defection; their dread of the Galilaeans, of whose devotion to me they had had frequent experience, was too great a deterrent. But they secretly laid their plots and watched for a favourable opportunity for their execution; whereby I incurred the gravest peril under the following circumstances.

(26) Some adventurous young men of Dabaritta^a lay in wait for the wife of Ptolemy, the king's overseer.^b She was travelling in great state, protected by an escort of cavalry, from territory subject to the royal jurisdiction into the region of Roman dominion,^c when, as she was crossing the Great Plain, they suddenly fell upon the cavaleade, compelled the western slopes of Mt. Tabor. With the whole of this story *cf.* the parallel account in *B.* ii. 595 ff.

The affair of the highwaymen of Dabaritta and the stolen property.

^b Or "finance officer." The Greek word is that elsewhere used for the Roman *procurator*.

^c Agrippa's kingdom was the district E. and N.E. of the Sea of Galilee. The lady, who was probably *en route* for Caesarea, would, after crossing the independent region of Decapolis, enter the Roman province shortly before reaching the Great Plain of Esdraelon.

JOSEPHUS

πάντα διήρπασαν. καὶ ἦκον εἰς Ταριχέας πρὸς με
 τέσσαρας ἡμιόνους καταφόρτους ἄγοντες ἐσθήτος
 καὶ σκευῶν· ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀργυρίου σταθμὸς οὐκ
 123 ὀλίγος καὶ χρυσοῖ πεντακόσιοι. ταῦτ' ἐγὼ βου-
 λόμενος διαφυλάξαι τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ, καὶ γὰρ ἦν
 ὁμόφυλος, ἀπηγόρευται δ' ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων
 μηδὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀποστερεῖν, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς
 κομίσαντας ἔφην φυλάττειν αὐτὰ δεῖν, ἴν' ἐκ τῆς
 πράσεως αὐτῶν ἐπισκευασθῇ τὰ τεῖχη τῶν Ἱερο-
 129 σολύμων. οἱ δὲ νεανῖαι χαλεπῶς ἔσχον οὐ λαβόντες
 μοῖραν ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων καθάπερ προσεδόκησαν,
 καὶ πορευθέντες εἰς τὰς πέριξ τῆς Τιβεριάδος
 κώμας προδιδόναι μέλλειν με Ῥωμαίοις τὴν χώραν
 130 αὐτῶν ἔλεγον· κεκρῆσθαι γὰρ σοφίσματι πρὸς
 αὐτοὺς λέγοντα τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς κομισθέντα
 φυλάττειν εἰς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν τῶν τειχῶν τῆς
 Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλεως, ἐγνωκέναι δὲ πάλιν τῷ
 131 δεσπότῃ ἀποδοῦναι.¹ καὶ κατὰ τοῦτό γε τῆς ἐμῆς
 γνώμης οὐ διήμαρτον· ἀπαλλαγέντων γὰρ αὐτῶν
 μεταπεμφάμενος δύο τοὺς πρώτους, Δασσίωνα καὶ
 Ἰανναῖον τὸν τοῦ Ληουῖ, φίλους ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα
 τοῦ βασιλέως καθεστῶτας, τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς
 σκεύη λαβόντας διαπέμψασθαι πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐκέ-
 λευον, θάνατον ἀπειλήσας αὐτοῖς τὴν ζημίαν, εἰ
 πρὸς ἕτερον ταῦτα ἀπαγγελοῦσιν.

132 (27) Ἐπισχούσης δὲ φήμης τὴν Γαλιλαίαν
 ἄπασαν ὡς τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν μελλούσης ὑπ' ἐμοῦ
 τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προδίδοσθαι καὶ πάντων παροξυν-
 θέντων ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμὴν τιμωρίαν, οἱ τὰς Ταριχέας
 κατοικοῦντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς νεανίσκους ἀληθεύειν
 ὑπολαβόντες πείθουσι τοὺς σωματοφύλακας καὶ
 τοὺς ὀπλίτας κοιμώμενόν με καταλιπόντας παρα-

lady to fly, and plundered all her baggage. They then came to me at Tarichaeae with four mules laden with apparel and other articles, besides a large pile of silver and five hundred pieces of gold. My own desire was to keep these spoils for Ptolemy, seeing that he was a compatriot and we are forbidden by our laws to rob even an enemy;^a to the bearers I said that the goods must be reserved for sale and the proceeds devoted to the repair of the walls of Jerusalem. Indignant at not receiving their expected share of the spoils, the young men went to the villages around Tiberias, declaring that I intended to betray their country to the Romans. My assertion about keeping the outcome of their raid for the repair of the walls of the capital was, they said, a mere blind; I had really decided to restore it to its owner. So far, indeed, they correctly interpreted my intention; for, when they left me, I sent for two of the leaders, Dassion and Jannaeus, son of Levi, who were special friends of the king, and ordered them to take the stolen goods and dispatch them to him, threatening them with capital punishment if they reported the matter to anyone.

(27) A rumour had now spread throughout Galilee that I was intending to betray the country to the Romans, and the feelings of all were roused to demand my punishment. The young men's statement was credited even by the inhabitants of Tarichaeae, who now urged my bodyguards and soldiers to leave me while I was asleep and come at

Josephus suspected of treason. The plot against his life at Tarichaeae.

^a Cf. Ex. xxiii. 4.

¹ + τὰ ἠρπασμένα most mss. (omit R).

JOSEPHUS

- γενέσθαι θάπτον εἰς ἵππόδρομον, ὡς ἐκεῖ βουλευσομένους μετὰ πάντων περὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ.
- 133 πειθομένων δὲ τούτων καὶ συνελθόντων πολὺς ὄχλος ἤδη προσυνηθροιστο, μίαν τε πάντες ἐποιούντο φωνήν, κολάζειν τὸν προδότην πονηρὸν περὶ
- 134 αὐτοὺς γεγενημένον. μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς ἐξέκαιεν ὁ τοῦ Σαπφία¹ παῖς Ἰησοῦς, ἄρχων τότε τῆς Τιβεριάδος, πονηρὸς ἄνθρωπος καὶ ταραῖαι μεγάλα πράγματα φύσιν ἔχων, στασιοποιός τε καὶ νεωτεριστῆς ὡς οὐχ ἕτερος. καὶ τότε δὴ λαβὼν εἰς χεῖρας τοὺς Μωυσέως νόμους καὶ προελθὼν² εἰς
- 135 μέσον “εἰ μὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν,” ἔφη, “πολίται, μισεῖν δύνασθε Ἰώσηπον, εἰς τοὺς πατρίους ἀποβλέψαντες νόμους, ὧν ὁ πρῶτος ὑμῶν στρατηγὸς προδότης ἔμελλε γίνεσθαι, καὶ μισοπονηρήσαντες ὑπὲρ τούτων τιμωρήσασθε τὸν τοιαῦτα τολμήσαντα.”
- 136 (28) Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπιβοήσαντος ἀναλαβὼν τινὰς ὀπλίτας ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐν ἣ κατηγόμην ἔσπευδεν ὡς ἀναιρήσων. ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν προαισθόμενος διὰ κόπον πρὸ τῆς ταραχῆς κατ-
- 137 εσχήμεν.³ Σίμων δ' ὁ τοῦ σώματός μου τὴν φυλακὴν πεπιστευμένος, ὁ καὶ μόνος παραμείνας, ἰδὼν τὴν ἐπιδρομὴν τῶν πολιτῶν διήγειρέ με καὶ τὸν ἐφεστῶτά μοι κίνδυνον ἐξήγγειλεν, ἠξίου τε γενναίως θνήσκειν ὡς στρατηγὸν ὑφ' αὐτοῦ,⁴ πρὶν δ' ἢ ἐλθεῖν⁵ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀναγκάσοντας ἢ κτενοῦντας.
- 138 ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, ἐγὼ δὲ τῷ θεῷ τὰ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἐπιτρέψας εἰς τὸ πλήθος ὠρμήθη προελθεῖν. μετενδύς οὖν μέλαιναν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὸ ξίφος ἀπαρ-

¹ Σαπφία Hudson, cf. § 66 and B.J.: Σαπίθα mss.

² Niese: προσελθὼν mss.

once to the hippodrome, to take part in a general discussion on their commander's conduct. Their persuasion prevailed, and the men joining the assembly found a large crowd already collected, unanimously crying for vengeance on one who had proved so base a traitor. The principal instigator of the mob was Jesus, son of Sapphias, at that time chief magistrate of Tiberias, a knave with an instinct for introducing disorder into grave matters,^a and unrivalled in fomenting sedition and revolution. With a copy of the laws of Moses in his hands, he now stepped forward and said : " If you cannot, for your own sakes, citizens, detest Josephus, fix your eyes on your country's laws, which your commander-in-chief intended to betray, and for their sakes hate the crime and punish the audacious criminal."

(28) After this speech, which was loudly applauded, he hurried, with some soldiers, to the house where I was lodging, intending to kill me. I, quite unaware of what was coming, had, from fatigue, succumbed [to sleep] before the riot. Simon, who was entrusted with the charge of my person and had alone remained with me, seeing the citizens rushing towards me, awoke me and, telling me of my imminent peril, entreated me to die honourably, as a general, by my own hand, before my foes arrived to force me to such action or to kill me themselves. Such were his words ; but I, committing my fate to God, hastened to go forth to the people. Changing my raiment for one of black and suspending my sword from my

^a The same phrase in *A.* xvii. 325.

³ ὕπνω has probably dropped out ; *cf.* *A.* v. 148.

⁴ ὑφ' αὐτοῦ (= ὑπ' ἐμαυτοῦ) *cod.* R : omit M, ὑπ' (ἐπ') αὐτοῦ the rest.

⁵ Text emended : πρὶν δὴ ἐλθεῖν R, πρὶν διελθεῖν the rest.

JOSEPHUS

τησάμενος ἐκ τοῦ αὐχένος καθ' ὁδὸν ἑτέραν, ἧ
 μηδένα μοι τῶν πολεμίων ὑπαντιάσειν ὤμην, ἦειν
 εἰς τὸν ἵππόδρομον, ἄφνω τε φανείς καὶ πρηγῆς
 πεσῶν καὶ τὴν γῆν δάκρυσιν φύρων ἔλεεινὸς ἔδοξα
 139 πᾶσιν. συνεῖς δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τὴν μεταβολὴν
 διστάσαι τὰς γνώμας αὐτῶν ἐπειρώμην πρὸ τοῦ
 τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας ὑποστρέψαι. καὶ
 συνεχώρουν μὲν ἀδικεῖν, ὡς αὐτοὶ νομίζουσιν,
 ἐδεόμην δὲ διδάξαι πρότερον εἰς τίνα χρεῖαν ἐφύ-
 λαττον τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς κομισθέντα χρήματα
 140 καὶ τότε θνήσκουν, εἰ κελεύοιεν. τοῦ δὲ πλήθους
 λέγειν κελεύοντος ἐπήλθον οἱ ὀπλίται καὶ θεασά-
 μενοί με προσέτρεχον ὡς κτενοῦντες. ἐπισχεῖν
 δὲ τοῦ πλήθους κελεύοντος ἐπείσθησαν προσ-
 δοκῶντες, ἐπειδὴν ὁμολογήσω πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὰ
 χρήματα τῷ βασιλεῖ τετηρηκέναι, ὡς ὁμολογηκότα
 τὴν προδοσίαν ἀναιρήσειν.

141 (29) Σιγῆς οὖν παρὰ πάντων γενομένης,
 “ἄνδρες,” εἶπον, “ὁμόφυλοι, θανεῖν μὲν εἰ δίκαιόν
 ἐστίν, οὐ παραιτοῦμαι, βούλομαι δ' ὅμως πρὸ τοῦ
 142 τελευτῆσαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν φράσαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς. τὴν
 γὰρ πόλιν ταύτην φιλοξενωτάτην οὖσαν ἐπιστά-
 μενος πληθύουσάν τε προθύμως¹ τοσοῦτων ἀνδρῶν,
 οἱ τὰς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδας καταλιπόντες ἀφίκοντο
 κοινωνοὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενόμενοι² τύχης, ἐβου-
 λήθην τείχη κατασκευάσαι ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων
 τούτων, περὶ ὧν ἢ παρ' ὑμῶν ἐστὶν ὀργή, δαπανω-
 143 μένων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν αὐτῶν.” πρὸς ταῦτα
 παρὰ μὲν τῶν Ταριχεωτῶν καὶ ξένων ἐγείρεται
 φωνὴ χάριν ἔχειν ὁμολογούντων καὶ θαρρεῖν προ-
 τρεπομένων, Γαλιλαῖοι δὲ καὶ Τιβεριεῖς τοῖς θυμοῖς
 ἐπέμενον, καὶ γίνεται στάσις πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τῶν

neck, I proceeded by another road, on which I expected that no enemy would encounter me, to the hippodrome; where my sudden appearance, as I flung myself on my face and rained tears upon the ground, aroused universal compassion. Observing the effect produced upon the people, I endeavoured to create dissension among them before the soldiers returned from my house. I admitted that, according to their view of the matter, I was guilty, but craved leave to inform them for what purpose I was reserving the money obtained by the raid, before, if they so ordered, I was put to death. The crowd were just bidding me proceed, when the soldiers appeared and, at sight of me, rushed forward to kill me. At the people's order, however, they stayed their hands; expecting, as soon as I had owned to having kept the money for the king, to slay me as an avowed traitor.

(29) Thereupon, amid profound silence, I spoke as follows: "My countrymen, if I deserve to die, I ask no mercy; but, before my death, I desire to tell you the truth. Knowing the lavish hospitality of this city and that it is crowded with vast numbers of persons who have left their homes and gladly come to throw in their lot with ours, I proposed to provide fortifications for it with the money, about which, though it was to be expended on their erection, you are now so indignant." At this a shout was raised by the Tarichaeans and their guests, who expressed their gratitude and bade me not be disheartened. The Galilaeans and Tiberians, however, still maintained their resentment, and a quarrel arose, one party

He appeals
to the people
and hardly
escapes
alive.

¹ Probably misplaced.

² γενησόμενοι conj. Niese.

JOSEPHUS

- μέν κολάσειν ἀπειλούντων με, τῶν δὲ καταφρονεῖν.
 144 ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐπηγγειλάμην καὶ Τιβεριάδι κατα-
 σκευάσειν τείχη καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν αὐτῶν ταῖς
 ἀναγκαίαις, πιστεύσαντες ὑπεχώρουν ἕκαστος εἰς
 τὴν ἑαυτοῦ. καὶ γὰρ παρὰ πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα διαφυγῶν
 τὸν προειρημένον κίνδυνον μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ
 ὀπλιτῶν εἴκοσιν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ὑπέστρεψα.
 145 (30) Πάλιν δ' οἱ λησταὶ καὶ τῆς στάσεως αἴτιοι,
 δείσαντες περὶ ἑαυτῶν μὴ δίκας εἰσπραχθῶσιν ὑπ'
 ἐμοῦ τῶν πεπραγμένων, ἀναλαβόντες ἑξακοσίους
 ὀπλίτας ἤκον ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἔνθα διέτριβον ἐμπρή-
 146 σοντες αὐτήν. ἀπαγγελθείσης δέ μοι τῆς ἐφόδου
 φεύγειν μὲν ἀπρεπὲς ἠγησάμην, ἔκρινα δὲ παρα-
 βαλόμενος χρήσασθαι τι καὶ τόλμη. προστάξας
 οὖν ἀποκλείσαι τῆς οἰκίας τὰς θύρας αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ
 ὑπερῶον ἀναβὰς παρεκάλουν εἰσπέμψαι τινὰς ληψο-
 μένους τὰ χρήματα· παύσεσθαι¹ γὰρ οὕτως τῆς
 147 ὀργῆς αὐτοὺς ἔφην. εἰσπεμψάντων δὲ τὸν θρα-
 σύτατον αὐτῶν,² μᾶστιξιν αἰκισάμενος τὴν ἑτέραν
 τε τῶν χειρῶν ἀποκόψαι κελεύσας καὶ κρεμάσαι
 ἐκ τοῦ τραχήλου, τοιοῦτον ἐξέβαλον πρὸς τοὺς
 148 ἑξαποστείλαντας. τοὺς δ' ἔλαβεν ἑκπληξίς καὶ
 φόβος οὗτι μέτριος. δείσαντες οὖν καὶ αὐτοὶ ταῦτ' αὐτὰ
 πείσεσθαι εἰ μένοιεν, εἵκαζον γὰρ ἔνδον ἔχειν με
 πλείους αὐτῶν,³ εἰς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν. καὶ γὰρ τοιούτῳ
 στρατηγήματι χρησάμενος τὴν δευτέραν ἐπιβουλήν
 διέφυγον.
 149 (31) Πάλιν δὲ τὸν ὄχλον τινὲς ἠρέθιζον τοὺς

¹ Niese: παύσασθαι mss.

² Cod. R adds *εἰς τὸ μυχαιτάτον παρασύρας τῆς οἰκίας καὶ*: probably a gloss from B. ii. 612.

³ So P: the rest add *ὀπλίτας*.

threatening to have my blood, the other [exhorting me] to disregard [these opponents].^a But when I further promised to provide fortifications for Tiberias and for any other of their cities which needed them, they, on the strength of this undertaking, retired to their several homes. Having thus, beyond all expectation, escaped from the peril which I have described, I returned to my house, accompanied by my friends and twenty soldiers.

(30) I was not long left in peace. The brigands and the promoters of the disturbance, fearing that they would be called to account by me for their proceedings, again visited my residence, with six hundred armed men, to set it on fire. Apprised of their coming, and considering it undignified to fly, I decided to risk a course requiring some courage. Ordering the house-doors to be closed, I ascended to the upper story and invited them to send some of their number to receive the money,^b thinking thus to allay their anger. They sent in the most stalwart among them, whereupon I had him soundly scourged, ordered one of his hands to be severed and hung about his neck and in that condition dismissed him to his employers. Panic-stricken and in great alarm, supposing that I had indoors a force outnumbering their own, and fearing, if they remained, to meet the same fate themselves, my opponents made off in haste. Such was the stratagem by which I eluded this second plot.

A second plot to burn down the house of Josephus.

(31) The feelings of the masses were once again aroused against me by certain persons who asserted

Further persecution of refugees.

^a There is possibly a lacuna in the text.

^b Viz. from the spoils taken by the highwaymen of Dabaritta.

JOSEPHUS

ἀφικομένους πρὸς με βασιλικούς μεγιστᾶνας οὐκ ὀφείλεις ζῆν λέγοντες, μὴ μεταβῆναι θέλοντας εἰς τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔθνη, πρὸς οὓς σωθησόμενοι πάρεισι· διέβαλλόν τε φαρμακείας εἶναι λέγοντες καὶ κωλυτὰς τοῦ Ῥωμαίων περιγενέσθαι.¹ ταχὺ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπέειθετο ταῖς τῶν λεγομένων πρὸς χάριν αὐτοῖς
 150 πιθανότησιν ἀπατώμενοι. πυθόμενος δὲ περὶ τούτων ἐγὼ πάλιν τὸν δῆμον ἀνεδίδασκον μὴ δεῖν διώκεσθαι τοὺς καταφυγόντας πρὸς αὐτούς, τὸν δὲ φλύαρον τῆς περὶ τῶν φαρμάκων αἰτίας διέσυρον, οὐκ ἂν τοσαύτας μυριάδας στρατιωτῶν Ῥωμαίους λέγων τρέφειν, εἰ διὰ φαρμακείων² ἦν νικᾶν τοὺς
 151 πολεμίους. ταῦτα λέγοντος ἐμοῦ πρὸς ὀλίγον μὲν ἐπέειθοντο, πάλιν δ' ἀναχωρήσαντες ὑπὸ τῶν πονηρῶν ἐξηρεθίζοντο κατὰ τῶν μεγιστάνων, καὶ ποτε μεθ' ὄπλων ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐν Ταριχέα
 152 ἐπῆλθον ὡς ἀναιρήσοντες. ἔδεισα δ' ἐγὼ πυθόμενος μὴ τοῦ μύσου τέλος λαβόντος ἀνεπίβατος
 153 γένηται τοῖς καταφυγεῖν εἰς αὐτὴν θέλουσιν. παρεγενόμην οὖν εἰς τὴν τῶν μεγιστάνων οἰκίαν μετὰ τινων ἐτέρων, καὶ κλείσας διώρυγὰ τε ποιήσας ἀπ'³ αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην ἄγουσαν μεταπεμφάμενός τε πλοῖον καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐμβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν μεθόριον τῶν Ἰππηνῶν διεπέρασα, καὶ δούς αὐτοῖς τὴν τιμὴν τῶν ἵππων, οὐ γὰρ ἠδυνήθην αὐτοὺς ἐπαγαγέσθαι τοιαύτης γενομένης τῆς ἀποδράσεως, ἀπέλυσα πολλὰ παρακαλέσας τὴν προσπεσοῦσαν ἀνάγκην
 154 γενναίως ἐνεγκεῖν. αὐτός τε μεγάλως ἠχθόμην βιασθεῖς τοὺς προσφυγόντας ἐκθεῖναι πάλιν εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν, ἄμεινον δὲ νομίσας παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις

¹ Emended: τοὺς (τοῦ A) Ῥωμαίους παραγενέσθαι MSS.

² φαρμάκων PR.

³ ἐπ' MSS.

that the noble vassals of the king, who had come to me,^a ought not to live if they refused to conform to the customs of those with whom they had sought refuge; they also falsely accused them of being sorcerers who made it impossible to defeat the Romans. Deluded by specious assertions designed to catch their ear, the people readily believed them to be true. On hearing of this, I again^b impressed upon the community that such refugees ought to be free from persecution; and ridiculed the absurdity of the charge of sorcery by remarking that the Romans would not maintain so vast an army if they could defeat their enemies by enchantments. My words had a temporary effect; but, after their departure, their passions were again aroused against the nobles by their villainous advisers, and on one occasion they made an armed assault on their house in Tarichaeae, intending to kill them. On being informed of this I feared that, if so abominable a crime were committed, the place would be rendered untenable as an asylum for would-be refugees. So I went with some others to the residence of the nobles, locked it up, made a canal leading from the house^c to the lake, summoned a boat, and, embarking with them, crossed over to the frontiers of the district of Hippos.^d I paid them the price of their horses, which the conditions of our flight made it impossible for me to bring, and so took my leave, earnestly entreating them to bear their hard fate with fortitude. I was myself deeply distressed at being driven to expose these refugees once more on enemy soil; but I thought it better

^a Cf. § 112.

^b § 113.

^c Presumably close to the water.

^d A Greek town of Decapolis, just outside the frontier of King Agrippa's territory.

JOSEPHUS

ἀποθανεῖν αὐτούς, εἰ συμπέσοι, μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν χώραν. οἱ δ' ἄρα διεσώθησαν· συνεχώρησεν γὰρ αὐτοῖς βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας τὰ ἡμαρτημένα. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ ἐκείνους τοῦτ' ἔσχε τὸ τέλος.

- 155 (32) Οἱ δὲ τὴν τῶν Τιβεριέων πόλιν κατοικοῦντες γράφουσι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα παρακαλοῦντες πέμψαι δύναμιν τὴν φυλάξουσαν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν· θέλειν γὰρ αὐτῷ προστίθεσθαι. κακείνω μὲν ταῦτ' ἔ-
- 156 γραφον. ἀφικόμενον δέ με πρὸς αὐτοὺς παρεκάλουν τὰ τεῖχη κατασκευάζειν αὐτοῖς ὡς ὑπεσχήμην· ἠκηκόεισαν δὲ τὰς Ταριχέας ἤδη τετειχίσθαι. κατανεύσας οὖν ἐγὼ καὶ πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὴν οἰκοδο-
- 157 ἐνεργεῖν. μετὰ δὲ τρίτην ἡμέραν εἰς Ταριχέας ἀπερχομένου μου, τῆς Τιβεριάδος ἀπεχούσας στάδια τριάκοντα, συνέβη τινὰς Ῥωμαίων ἵππεῖς οὐ πρόρρωθεν τῆς πόλεως ὁδοιποροῦντας ὀφθῆναι, οἱ δόξαν παρέσχον τὴν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως δύναμιν ἦκειν.
- 158 εὐθέως γοῦν εἰς μὲν τὸν βασιλέα μετὰ πολλῶν ἐπαίνων ἠφίεσαν φωνάς, κατ' ἐμοῦ δὲ βλασφήμους. καὶ ἐπιδραμῶν τις ἀπήγγειλέν μοι τὴν διάνοιαν
- 159 αὐτῶν, ὡς ἀφίστασθαί μου διεγνώκασιν. ἐγὼ δ' ἀκούσας ἐταράχθην μὲν σφόδρα· τοὺς γὰρ ὀπλίτας ἔτυχον ἐκ τῶν Ταριχεῶν ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτῶν οἰκήσεις ἀφεικῶς διὰ τὸ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν σάββατον ὑπάρχειν· οὐ γὰρ ἐβουλόμην ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ πλήθους ἐνοχλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς Ταριχέαις.
- 160 ὁσάκις γοῦν ἐν αὐταῖς διέτριβον οὐδὲ τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα φυλακῆς ἐποιούμην πρόνοιαν, πείραν παρὰ τῶν ἐνοικούντων τῆς πρὸς με πίστεως λαβὼν
- 161 πολλάκις. μόνους δ' ἔχων περὶ ἑμαυτὸν ἑπτὰ τῶν

THE LIFE, 154–161

that they should perish, if such destiny awaited them, under Roman hands than within my own province. After all they escaped, obtaining pardon for their errors from King Agrippa. So ended this episode.

(32) The citizens of Tiberias now wrote^a to the king, requesting him to send some troops to protect their territory, as they desired to attach themselves to him. Such was their letter to him; while they asked me, on my coming among them, to build walls for them in fulfilment of my promise,^b having heard that Tarichaeae had already been fortified. I agreed and, having made all preparations for building, ordered the foremen to take the work in hand. Three days later, however, as I was on the road to Tarichaeae, which is thirty furlongs distant from Tiberias, some Roman cavalry happened to be seen on the march not far from the town; this created an impression that the king's troops were approaching. Instantly there was an outburst of shouts; the king was loudly applauded, curses were heaped upon my head. I was informed of their intended defection by one who ran off to me from the town. The news filled me with alarm; for I had dismissed my soldiers from Tarichaeae to their homes because, the next day being the Sabbath, I desired that the Tarichaeans should be spared any annoyance from the presence of the military. Indeed, whenever I had my quarters there, I took no precautions even for my personal security, having received so many proofs of the loyalty of the inhabitants.^c My present company com-

Revolt of Tiberias, which declares for Herod.

^a With this narrative *cf.* *B.* ii. 632 ff.

^b § 144.

^c An instance of lack of ordinary precautions has been given in §§ 132 ff., on which occasion, however, little "loyalty" was shown!

JOSEPHUS

ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἠπόρουν ὁ πράξω. μετα-
 πέμπεσθαι γὰρ τὴν ἐμὴν δύναμιν διὰ τὸ λήγειν
 ἤδη τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἡμέραν οὐκ ἔδοκίμαζον· οὐδὲ
 γὰρ ἀφικομένης αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ὄπλα
 λαβεῖν <ῆν>,¹ κωλυόντων ἡμᾶς τῶν νόμων, καὶ
 162 μεγάλη τις ἐπείγειν ἀνάγκη δοκῆ. εἰ δὲ τοῖς
 Ταριχεώταις καὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῖς ξένοις ἐπι-
 τρέψαιμι τὴν πόλιν διαρπάζειν, ἐώρων οὐχ ἱκανοὺς
 ἔσομένους, τὴν δ' ἐμὴν ὑπέρθεσιν ἐώρων μακρο-
 τάτην· φθήσεσθαι γὰρ καὶ τὴν παρὰ βασιλέως
 δύναμιν ἀφικομένην, καὶ ἐκπεσεῖσθαι τῆς πόλεως
 163 ὥομην. ἐβουλευόμην οὖν στρατηγήματι χρῆσθαι
 τινι κατ' αὐτῶν. παραχρῆμα δὴ τοὺς πιστοτάτους
 τῶν φίλων ταῖς πύλαις τῶν Ταριχεῶν ἐπιστήσας
 φυλάξοντας μετ' ἀσφαλείας τοὺς ἐξιέναι² θέλοντας
 καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν οἴκων προσκαλεσάμενος,
 αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἐκέλευσα καθελκύσαντα πλοῖον
 ἐμβάντα συνεπαγόμενον τὸν κυβερνήτην ἔπεσθαι
 164 μοι πρὸς τὴν Τιβεριέων πόλιν. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ
 τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, οὓς ἔφην ἑπτὰ τὸν
 ἀριθμὸν εἶναι, ἐμβὰς ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν Τιβεριάδα.
 165 (33) Τιβεριεῖς δὲ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως δύναμιν
 ὡς ἔγνωσαν οὐχ ἤκουσαν αὐτοῖς, πλοίων δὲ τὴν
 λίμνην πᾶσαν ἐθέασαντο πλήρη, δείσαντες περὶ τῆ
 πόλει καὶ καταπλαγέντες ὡς ἐπιβατῶν πλήρεις
 166 εἶναι νέας,³ μετατίθενται τὰς γνώμας. ρίψαντες
 οὖν τὰ ὄπλα μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων ὑπηντίαζον,
 πολλὰς μετ' ἐπαίνων εἰς ἐμέ φωνὰς ἀφιέντες,
 εἵκαζον γὰρ οὐ προπεπύσθαι με τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν,
 167 καὶ παρεκάλουν φείσασθαι τῆς πόλεως. ἐγὼ δὲ

¹ ῆν inserted by Holwerda.

² So the *editio princeps*: ἐξεῖναι mss.

THE LIFE, 161–167

prising only seven soldiers and some friends, I was at a loss what to do. I was reluctant to recall my disbanded force, because the day was already far spent; and even had they come, it would have been impossible for them to bear arms on the morrow, such action being forbidden by our laws,^a however urgent the apparent necessity. If, on the other hand, I were to permit the Tarichaeans and their resident aliens to sack Tiberias, I foresaw that their numbers would be insufficient and action on my part would be seriously delayed; the king's troops would have entered ahead of me, and I expected to be repulsed from the town. I determined, therefore, to have recourse to a ruse. Without a moment's delay I posted the friends in whom I placed most confidence at the gates of Tarichaeae, to keep a strict watch on any persons desiring egress. I then summoned the heads of families and ordered each of them to launch a vessel, bring the steersman with them, and follow me to Tiberias. I myself, with my friends and the seven soldiers already mentioned, then embarked and set sail for that city.

(33) The Tiberians, when they understood that no troops from the king had arrived and saw the whole lake alive with shipping, were alarmed for the city, and, terrified in the belief that the vessels were fully manned, changed their plans. Throwing down their arms they came out, with wives and children, to meet me, and, not imagining that I had got wind of their intentions, showered encomiums upon me and besought me to spare the city. On nearing Tiberias

Josephus
quells the
revolt by
a ruse: the
sham fleet.

^a *i.e.* the oral law; *cf.* 1 Macc. ii. 34 ff.

³ Text doubtful: for *εἶναι νέας* MW read *εἶεν αἱ νῆες*.

JOSEPHUS

πλησίον γενόμενος ἀγκύρας μὲν ἔτι πόρρω τῆς γῆς
 ἐκέλευον βαλέσθαι τοὺς κυβερνήτας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ
 κατάδηλα τοῖς Τιβεριεῦσιν εἶναι τὰ πλοῖα κενὰ
 τῶν ἐπιβατῶν ὄντα, πλησιάσας δ' αὐτὸς ἔν τινι
 πλοίῳ κατεμεμφόμην αὐτῶν τὴν ἄνοιαν,¹ καὶ ὅτι
 δὴ οὕτως εὐχερεῖς εἶεν πάσης δικαίας ἄνευ προφά-
 168 σεως ἐξίστασθαι τῆς πρὸς με πίστεως. ὠμολόγουν
 δ' εἰς γε² τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτοῖς συγγνώσεσθαι βεβαίως,
 εἰ πέμψειαν δέκα τοῦ πλήθους προεστῶτας. ὑπ-
 ακουσάντων δ' ἑτοίμως καὶ πεμφάντων ἄνδρας οὓς
 προεῖπον, ἐμβιβάσας ἀπέλυον εἰς Γαριχέας φυλαχθη-
 σομένους.

169 (34) Τῷ στρατηγῆματι δὲ τούτῳ τὴν βουλήν
 πᾶσαν κατ' ὀλίγους λαβὼν εἰς τὴν προειρημένην
 πόλιν καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς τοῦ δήμου
 πρῶτους ἄνδρας οὐκ ἐλάττους ἐκείνων ὄντας
 170 διεπεμφάμην. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος, ὡς εἶδον εἰς οἶον
 κακῶν ἤκουσι μέγεθος, παρεκάλουν με τὸν αἴτιον
 τῆς στάσεως τιμωρήσασθαι. Κλείτος δ' ἦν ὄνομα
 171 τούτῳ, θρασύς τε καὶ προπετῆς νεανίας. ἐγὼ δ'
 ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν οὐχ ὅσιον ἠγούμενος ὁμόφυλον
 ἄνδρα, κολάσαι δ' ἀνάγκην ἔχων, τῶν περὶ ἐμέ
 τινι σωματοφυλάκων Ληουεῖ προσέταξα προ-
 ελθόντι κόψαι τοῦ Κλείτου τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν χειρῶν.

172 δείσαντος δὲ τοῦ κελευσθέντος εἰς τοσοῦτο πλῆθος
 προελθεῖν μόνου, τὴν δειλίαν τοῦ στρατιώτου μὴ
 βουληθεὶς κατάδηλον γενέσθαι τοῖς Τιβεριεῦσιν,
 αὐτὸν Κλείτον φωνήσας “ ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἄξιος,” εἶπον,
 “ ὑπάρχεις ἀμφοτέρας τὰς χεῖρας ἀποβαλεῖν οὕτως
 ἀχάριστος εἰς ἐμέ γενόμενος, γενοῦ σαυτοῦ
 173 δημόσιος,³ μὴ καὶ ἀπειθήσας χείρονα τιμωρίαν
 ὑπόσχῃς.” τοῦ δὲ τὴν ἑτέραν αὐτῷ συγχωρῆσαι

THE LIFE, 167-173

I ordered the pilots to cast anchor at some distance from the land, in order to conceal from the Tiberians the absence of any marine force on board the vessels. I myself approached the shore with one ship and severely reprimanded the people for their folly and readiness to abandon their allegiance to me without any just excuse whatever. As to the future, however, I promised that they might rely on my pardon if they would send me ten of their leaders. Promptly accepting this proposal they sent me the men whose names I mentioned first; these I put on board and dispatched to Tarichaeae to be kept under arrest.

(34) By this ruse I made prisoners, in batches, of the whole council, and had them conveyed to Tarichaeae, along with most of the leading commoners, who numbered as many again. Seeing the wretched plight to which they were reduced, the people now urged me to take measures against the author of the sedition, a rash and headstrong youth named Cleitus. Deeming it impious to put a compatriot to death, yet imperatively necessary to punish him, I ordered Levi, one of my bodyguard, to step forward and cut off one of his hands. The man, notwithstanding these orders, was afraid to advance alone into such a crowd, whereupon, wishing to screen the soldier's cowardice from the Tiberians, I called up Cleitus and said: "For such base ingratitude to me you deserve to lose both hands. Act as your own executioner, lest, if you refuse, a worse punishment befall you." To his urgent request to spare him one hand I

Punishment
of the
ringleader.

¹ Emended (*cf. e.g.* §§ 323, 352): ἀγνοίαν MSS.

² Niese: τε MSS.

³ *v.l.* δήμιος.

JOSEPHUS

πολλὰ δεομένου μόλις κατένευσα. κακείνος ἄσμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὰς δύο χεῖρας ἀποβαλεῖν λαβὼν μάχαιραν κόπτει τὴν ἀριστερὰν ἑαυτοῦ. καὶ τοῦτο τὴν στάσιν ἔπαυσεν.

- 174 (35) Τιβεριεῖς δέ, ὡς εἰς τὰς Ταριχέας ἀφικόμην, γνόντες τὴν στρατηγίαν ἧ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐχρησάμην, ἀπεθαύμαζον ὅτι χωρὶς φόνων ἔπαυσα τὴν ἀγνωμο-
 175 σύνην αὐτῶν. ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς εἴρκτης μεταπεμψάμενος τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Τιβεριέων, ἧν δὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἰουῆτος καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Πίστος, συνδείπνους ἐποίησάμην, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἐστίασιν ἔλεγον ὅτι τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἀγνοῶ πασῶν διαφέρουσαν, σιγῶν μέντοι περὶ
 176 αὐτῆς διὰ τοὺς ληστὰς. καὶ αὐτοῖς δὲ ταῦτα συνεβούλευον ποιεῖν τὸν ἐπιτήδειον περιμένουσι καιρὸν καὶ μὴ δυσανασχετεῖν ἐμοὶ στρατηγῶ· μηδενὸς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐτέρου δυνήσεσθαι ῥαδίως
 177 ἐπιεικοῦς ὁμοίως τυχεῖν. τὸν Ἰουῆτον δὲ καὶ ὑπεμίμησκον ὅτι πρόσθεν ἢ με παραγενέσθαι ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι τὰδελφοῦ τὰς χεῖρας ἀποκόψειαν αὐτοῦ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου πλαστῶν αὐτῷ γραμμάτων κακουργίαν ἐπικαλέσαντες, καὶ ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τὴν Φιλίππου Γαμαλίται πρὸς Βαβυλωνίους στασιάζοντες ἀνέλοιεν Χάρητα, συγγενῆς δ' ἦν οὗτος τοῦ Φιλίππου,
 178 καὶ ὡς Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, ἄνδρα τῆς ἀδελφῆς Ἰουῆτου, ὠμοφρόνως¹ κολάσειαν. ταῦτα παρὰ τὴν ἐστίασιν διαλεχθεὶς τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰουῆτον ἔωθεν ἐκέλευσα πάντα τῆς φυλακῆς ἀπολυθῆναι.

- 179 (36) Πρὸ δὲ τούτων συνέβη τὸν Ἰακίμου Φιλίππον ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ Γάμαλα τοῦ φρουρίου τοιαύτης

THE LIFE, 173-179

grudgingly consented ;^a at which, to save himself the loss of both, he gladly drew his sword and struck off his left hand. His action brought the sedition to an end.

(35) The Tiberians, discovering, on my arrival at Tarichaeae, the trick which I had played upon them, were amazed at the manner in which I had checked their arrogance without bloodshed. I now sent for my Tiberian prisoners, among whom were Justus and his father Pistus, and made them sup with me. During the entertainment I remarked that I was well aware myself of the unrivalled might of the Roman arms, but, on account of the brigands, kept my knowledge to myself. I advised them to do the same, to bide their time and not to be intolerant of my command, as they would not easily find another leader as considerate as myself. I further reminded Justus that, before I came from Jerusalem the Galilaeans had cut off his brother's hands on a charge of forging letters prior to the outbreak of hostilities ; also how the people of Gamala, after Philip's departure, in an insurrection against the Babylonians, slew Chares, Philip's kinsman, and savagely murdered his brother Jesus, husband of the sister of the man I was addressing.^b Such was the nature of my conversation at table with Justus and his companions. In the morning I gave orders that all my prisoners should be discharged.

(36) Some time before the revolt of Tiberias, Philip, son of Jaemus, had left the fortress of Gamala

^a The narrative, as here told, is confused and ridiculous ; the parallel account in *B.* ii. 642 ff. is consistent.

^b For the events referred to *cf.* §§ 179, 186 below.

¹ Naber : σωφρόνως or σώφρονος mss.

JOSEPHUS

- 180 αἰτίας γενομένης. Φίλιππος πυθόμενος μεθεστάναι
 μὲν Οὐάρων ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα, διάδοχον
 δὲ ἀφίχθαι Μόδιον¹ Αἴκουον ἄνδρα φίλον αὐτῷ καὶ
 συνήθη πάλαι, γράφει πρὸς τοῦτον τὰς καθ' ἑαυτὸν
 τύχας ἀπαγγέλλων καὶ παρακαλῶν τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ
 181 πεμφθέντα γράμματα πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέας ἀπο-
 στείλαι. καὶ Μόδιος² δεξάμενος τὰς ἐπιστολάς
 ἐχάρη σφόδρα, σώζεσθαι τὸν Φίλιππον ἐξ αὐτῶν
 ἐπιγνούς, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέας ἔπεμψε τὰ
 182 γράμματα περὶ Βηρυτὸν ὄντας. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς
 Ἀγρίππας ὡς ἔγνω ψευδῆ τὴν περὶ Φιλίππου
 φήμην γενομένην, λόγος γὰρ διήλθεν ὡς στρατηγοίη
 τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον,
 ἔπεμψεν ἱππεῖς τοὺς παραπέμψοντας τὸν Φίλιππον.
 183 καὶ παραγενόμενον ἀσπάζεται τε φιλοφρόνως τοῖς
 τε Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμόσιν ἐπεδείκνυεν ὅτι δὴ Φίλιππος
 οὗτός ἐστιν περὶ οὗ διεξήει λόγος ὡς Ῥωμαίων
 ἀποστάντος. κελεύει δ' αὐτὸν ἱππεῖς τινὰς ἀνα-
 λαβόντα θάπτον εἰς Γάμαλα τὸ φρούριον πορευθῆναι,
 τοὺς οἰκείους αὐτῷ πάντας ἐκεῖθεν ἐξάξοντα καὶ
 τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους εἰς τὴν Βαταναίαν πάλιν ἀπο-
 184 καταστήσοντα. παρήγγειλε δὲ καὶ πᾶσαν ποιή-
 σασθαι πρόνοιαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι τινὰ νεω-
 τερισμόν παρὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων. Φίλιππος μὲν οὖν,
 ταῦτα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιστείλαντος, ἔσπευδε ποιή-
 σων ἃ προσέταξεν.
- 185 (37) Ἰώσηπος δ' ὁ³ τῆς ἰατρίνης πολλοὺς
 νεανίσκους θρασεῖς προτρεψάμενος αὐτῷ συνάρα-
 σθαι καὶ ἐπαναστὰς τοῖς ἐν Γάμαλα πρώτοις

¹ Μονόδιον R ; cf. §§ 61, 114.

² Μονόδιος R.

³ δ' ὁ Naber : δὲ mss.

THE LIFE, 180-185

under the following circumstances.^a On hearing that Varus had been deposed by King Agrippa and that his old friend and comrade, Modius Aequus, had come as his successor, Philip wrote to the latter, relating his recent experiences and requesting him to forward to the king and queen the letters which he had previously transmitted.^b Modius, delighted at receiving an epistle which assured him of Philip's escape, dispatched the letters to their majesties, who were then in the neighbourhood of Berytus.^c King Agrippa, on learning that the current rumour concerning Philip was false—it was commonly said that he had taken command of the Jews for the war with the Romans—sent a body of horse to escort him to Berytus. On his arrival, he gave him a warm greeting and presented him to the Roman officers as the identical Philip about whom reports were circulating that he had revolted from Rome. He then instructed him to lose no time in returning with a body of cavalry to the fortress of Gamala, to bring all his friends out of that place, and to reinstate the Babylonians in Batanaea^d; charging him at the same time to take every precaution to prevent insurrection on the part of his subjects. These royal commands Philip hastened to execute.

(37) [Not long after this]^e Josephus, the midwife's son, induced a number of adventurous youths to join him, and, assaulting the magistrates^f of Gamala,

^a This digression gives the sequel to the history narrated in §§ 46-61 above.

^b Cf. § 48.

^c Beirūt.

^d On the origin of the colony of Babylonian Jews in Batanaea see note on § 54 above.

^e There is no note of time in the Greek; the sequence of events may be inferred from § 177.

^f "Head-men."

Philip ben-
Jacimus
joins
Agrippa.

Gamala
revolts from
Agrippa.

JOSEPHUS

ἔπειθεν αὐτοὺς ἀφίστασθαι τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ὄπλα, ὡς διὰ τούτων τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀποληψομένους. καὶ τινὰς μὲν ἐβιάσαντο, τοὺς δὲ μὴ συναρεσκομένους αὐτῶν ταῖς γνώμαις
 186 ἀνήρουν. κτείνουσι δὲ καὶ Χάρητα, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ τινα τῶν συγγενῶν Ἰησοῦν καὶ Ἰούστου δὲ τοῦ Τιβεριέως ἀδελφὸν¹ ἀνεῖλον, καθὼς ἤδη προείπομεν. γράφουσι δὲ καὶ πρὸς με παρακαλοῦντες πέμψαι καὶ δύναμιν αὐτοῖς ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀναστήσοντας αὐτῶν τῇ πόλει τείχη. καὶ γὰρ πρὸς
 187 οὐδέτερον ἀντεῖπον ὧν ἠξίωσαν. ἀφίσταται δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἡ Γαυλανίτις χώρα μέχρι κώμης Σολύμης. Σελευκεία δὲ καὶ Σωγάνη φύσει κώμαις ὀχυρωτάταις ὠκοδόμησα τείχη, τὰς τε κατὰ τὴν ἄνω Γαλιλαίαν κώμας, καὶ πάνυ πετρώδεις οὔσας,
 188 ἐτείχισα παραπλησίως· ὀνόματα δ' αὐταῖς Ἰάμνια Ἀμηρῶθ Ἀχαράβη. ὠχύρωσα δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ κάτω Γαλιλαίᾳ, πόλεις μὲν Ταριχέας Τιβεριάδα Σέπφωριν, κώμας δὲ Ἀρβήλων σπήλαιον, Βηρσουβαὶ Σελαμὴν Ἰωτάπατα Καφαράθ Ἰκωμὸς Σωγαναὶ Παφὰ[†] καὶ τὸ Ἰταβύριον ὄρος. εἰς ταύτας καὶ σῖτον ἀπεθέμην πολὺν καὶ ὄπλα πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα.

189 (38) Ἰωάννη δὲ τῷ τοῦ Ληουεὶ τὸ κατ' ἐμοῦ μῖσος προσηύξετο βαρέως φέροντι τὴν ἐμὴν εὐπραγίαν. προθέμενος οὖν πάντως ἐκποδῶν με ποιήσασθαι τῇ μὲν αὐτοῦ πατρίδι τοῖς Γισχάλοις κατα-
 190 σκευάζει τείχη, τὸν ἀδελφὸν δὲ Σίμωνα καὶ τὸν τοῦ Σισέννα Ἰωνάθην <μεθ' >² ὀπλιτῶν περὶ ἑκατὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πέμπει πρὸς τὸν τοῦ

¹ Most mss. read ἀδελφὴν.

² Inserted by Niese.

THE LIFE, 185-190

brought pressure to bear on them to revolt from the king and take up arms, with the prospect of thereby regaining their independence. Some they forced into compliance; those who declined to acquiesce in their views they put to death. Among others, as already mentioned, they slew Chares and one of his kinsmen, Jesus, and the brother of Justus of Tiberias.^a To me they wrote, asking me to send them troops and workmen to repair the town walls; neither of these requests did I refuse. The region of Gaulanitis, as far as the village of Solyma, likewise revolted from the king. I erected walls at Seleucia and Sogane, villages with very strong natural defences, and provided similar protection for certain villages in Upper Galilee, also in very rugged surroundings, named Jamnia, Ameroth,^b and Acharabe. In Lower Galilee I fortified the cities of Tarichaeae, Tiberias, and Sepphoris, and the villages of the Cave of Arbela, Beersubae, Selame, Jotapata, Kapharath, †Kōmus, Soganae, Papha^c † and Mount Tabor. These places I stocked with ample supplies of corn and arms for their future security.

Josephus
fortifies
Galilee.

(38) Meanwhile, the hatred borne me by John, son of Levi, who was aggrieved at my success, was growing more intense, and he determined at all costs to have me removed. Accordingly, after fortifying his native town of Gischala, he dispatched his brother Simon and Jonathan, son of Sisenna, with about a hundred armed men, to Jerusalem, to Simon, son of

Attempt of
John of
Gischala
to have
Josephus
superseded.

^a There is some confusion here. In §§ 177 f. only two persons are named: Chares, kinsman of Philip, and Jesus, brother of Chares and brother-in-law of Justus.

^b Or Meroth (*cf.* *B.* ii. 573).

^c Text corrupt (*cf.* *B. ibid.*).

JOSEPHUS

Γαμαλιήλου Σίμωνα, παρακαλέσοντας αὐτὸν πείσαι
 τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφελο-
 μένους ἐμὲ τῶν Γαλιλαίων αὐτῷ ψηφίσασθαι τὴν
 191 ἐξουσίαν τούτων. ὁ δὲ Σίμων οὗτος ἦν πόλεως
 μὲν Ἱεροσολύμων, γένους δὲ σφόδρα λαμπροῦ,
 τῆς δὲ Φαρισαίων αἱρέσεως, οἱ περὶ τὰ πάτρια
 νόμιμα δοκοῦσιν τῶν ἄλλων ἀκριβεῖα διαφέρειν.
 192 ἦν δ' οὗτος ἀνὴρ πλήρης συνέσεως καὶ λογισμοῦ
 δυνάμενός τε πράγματα κακῶς κείμενα φρονήσει
 τῇ ἑαυτοῦ διορθώσασθαι, φίλος τε παλαιὸς τῷ
 Ἰωάννῃ καὶ συνήθης, πρὸς ἐμὲ δὲ τότε διαφόρως
 193 εἶχεν. δεξάμενος οὖν τὴν παράκλησιν ἔπειθεν
 τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς Ἄνανον καὶ Ἰησοῦν τὸν τοῦ Γαμαλά
 τινὰς τε τῶν τῆς αὐτῆς στάσεως ἐκείνοις¹ ἐκκόπτειν
 με φυόμενον καὶ μὴ περιδεῖν ἐπὶ μήκιστον αὐξή-
 θέντα δόξης, συνοίσειν αὐτοῖς λέγων εἰ τῆς Γαλι-
 λαίας ἀφαιρεθεῖην. μὴ μέλλειν δὲ παρεκάλει τοὺς
 περὶ τὸν Ἄνανον, μὴ καὶ φθάσας γνῶναι μετὰ
 194 πολλῆς ἐπέλθω τῇ πόλει δυνάμεως. ὁ μὲν Σίμων
 ταῦτα συνεβούλευεν, ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἄνανος οὐ
 ῥάδιον εἶναι τὸ ἔργον ἀπέφαιεν· πολλοὺς γὰρ τῶν
 ἀρχιερέων καὶ τοῦ πλήθους προεστῶτας μαρτυρεῖν
 ὅτι καλῶς ἐγὼ στρατηγῷ, ποιεῖσθαι δὲ κατηγορίαν
 ἀνδρὸς καθ' οὗ μηδὲν λέγειν δύνανται δίκαιον
 φαύλων ἔργον εἶναι.
 195 (39) Σίμων δ' ὡς ἤκουσεν ταῦτα παρὰ τοῦ
 Ἀνάνου, σιωπᾶν μὲν ἐκείνους ἠξίωσεν μηδ' εἰς
 πολλοὺς ἐκφέρειν τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν· προνοήσεσθαι²
 γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔφασκεν ἵνα θάπτον μετασταθείην ἐκ τῆς
 Γαλιλαίας. προσκαλεσάμενος δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ

¹ Bekker: τῆς αὐτῶν στάσεως ἐκείνους MSS.

² Niese: προνοήσασθαι MSS.

THE LIFE, 190-195

Gamaliel, to entreat him to induce the national assembly of Jerusalem to deprive me of the command of Galilee and to vote for his appointment to the post. This Simon was a native of Jerusalem, of a very illustrious family, and of the sect of the Pharisees, who have the reputation of being unrivalled experts in their country's laws.^a A man highly gifted with intelligence and judgement, he could by sheer genius retrieve an unfortunate situation in affairs of state. He was John's old and intimate friend, and, at the time, was at variance with me. On receiving this application he exerted himself to persuade the high-priests Ananus and Jesus, son of Gamalas, and some others of their party to clip my sprouting wings and not suffer me to mount to the pinnacle of fame. He observed that my removal from Galilee would be to their advantage, and urged them to act without delay, for fear that I should get wind of their plans and march with a large army upon Jerusalem. Such was Simon's advice. In reply, Ananus, the high-priest, represented the difficulties of the action suggested, in view of the testimonials from many of the chief priests and leaders of the people to my capacity as a general; adding that to accuse a man against whom no just charge could be brought was a dishonourable proceeding.

(39) On hearing this speech of Ananus, Simon implored the embassy to keep to themselves and not divulge what had passed at the conference; asserting that he would see to it that I was speedily superseded in Galilee. Then calling up John's brother

^a Or "in the rules of their fathers." The *νόμιμα* are the traditional rules (*Halakoth*, etc.) which grew up round the Law (*νόμος*).

JOSEPHUS

Ἰωάννου προσέταξεν πέμπειν δωρεὰς τοῖς περὶ τὸν
 Ἄνανον· τάχα γὰρ οὕτως ἔφη πείσειν αὐτοὺς
 196 μεταθέσθαι τὰς γνώμας. καὶ τέλος ἔπραξεν ὁ
 Σίμων ὁ προύθετο· ὁ γὰρ Ἄνανος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ
 τοῖς χρήμασιν διαφθαρέντες συντίθενται τῆς Γαλι-
 λαίας ἐκβαλεῖν με, μηδενὸς ἄλλου τῶν κατὰ τὴν
 πόλιν τοῦτο γνώσκοντος. καὶ δὴ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς
 πέμπειν ἄνδρας κατὰ γένος μὲν διαφέροντας, τῇ
 197 παιδείᾳ δ' ὁμοίους. ἦσαν δ' αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν δημοτικοὶ
 δύο, Ἰωνάθης καὶ Ἀνανίας, Φαρισαῖοι τὴν αἵρεσιν,
 ὁ δὲ τρίτος Ἰώζαρος¹ ἱερατικοῦ γένους, Φαρισαῖος
 καὶ αὐτός, Σίμων δ' ἐξ ἀρχιερέων νεώτατος
 198 ἐκείνων. τούτους ἐκέλευον ἀφικομένους εἰς τὸ
 πλῆθος τῶν Γαλιλαίων πυθέσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν
 αἰτίαν δι' ἣν ἐμὲ φιλοῦσιν· εἰ δὲ φαῖεν ὅτι πόλεως
 εἶην τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνων
 λέγειν ὑπάρχειν τοὺς τέσσαρας, εἰ δὲ διὰ τὴν
 ἐμπειρίαν τῶν νόμων, μηδ' αὐτοὺς ἀγνοεῖν ἔθη
 τὰ πάτρια φάσκειν, εἰ δ' αὖ διὰ τὴν ἱερωσύνην
 λέγοιεν ἀγαπᾶν με, καὶ αὐτῶν ἀποκρίνεσθαι δύο
 ἱερεῖς ὑπάρχειν.
 199 (40) Ταῦθ' ὑποθέμενοι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην
 τέσσαρας μυριάδας ἀργυρίου διδόασιν αὐτοῖς ἐκ
 200 τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων. ἐπεὶ δέ τινα Γαλιλαῖον
 ἤκουσαν, Ἰησοῦν ὄνομα, περὶ αὐτὸν τάξιν ἑξακο-
 σίων ὀπλιτῶν ἔχειν, ἐπιδημοῦντα τοῖς Ἱεροσο-
 λύμοις τότε, μεταπεμφάμενοι τοῦτον καὶ τριῶν
 μηνῶν μισθὸν δόντες ἐκέλευον ἔπεσθαι τοῖς περὶ
 τὸν Ἰωνάθην πειθαρχοῦντα αὐτοῖς, καὶ τῶν

¹ So (or Ἰωάζαρος) § 324 etc.: the mss. here have Γόζορος (Γόζαρος).

THE LIFE, 195-200

he instructed him to send presents to Ananus and his friends, as a likely method of inducing them to change their minds. Indeed Simon eventually achieved his purpose ^a ; for, as the result of bribery, Ananus and his party agreed to expel me from Galilee, while every one else in the city remained ignorant of the plot. The scheme agreed upon was to send a deputation comprising persons of different classes of society but of equal standing in education. Two of them, Jonathan and Ananias, were from the lower ranks and adherents of the Pharisees ; the third, Jozar, also a Pharisee, came of a priestly family ; the youngest, Simon, was descended from high priests. Their instructions were to approach the Galilaeans and ascertain the reason for their devotion to me. If they attributed it to my being a native of Jerusalem, they were to reply that so were all four of them ; if to my expert knowledge of their laws, they should retort that neither were they ignorant of the customs of their fathers ; if, again, they asserted that their affection was due to my priestly office, they should answer that two of them were likewise priests.

The plot succeeds.

The deputation from Jerusalem.

(40) After thus prompting Jonathan and his colleagues, they presented them with forty thousand pieces of silver ^b out of the public funds ; and, on hearing that a Galilaeon, named Jesus, was staying in Jerusalem, who had with him a company of six hundred men under arms, they sent for him, gave him three months' pay and directed him to accompany the party and obey their orders. They

^a Cf. the shorter account in *B.* ii. 627-9.

^b If *denarii* are meant, the sum would be about £1200. Perhaps a smaller silver coin is intended.

JOSEPHUS

πολιτῶν δὲ τριακοσίοις ἀνδράσιν δόντες ἀργύριον
εἰς τροφήν τῶν ὄλων προσέταξαν ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς
201 πρέσβεσιν. πεισθέντων οὖν αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν
ἔξοδον εὐτρεπισθέντων ἐξήρσαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰω-
νάθην σὺν τούτοις, ἐπαγόμενοι καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν
202 τοῦ Ἰωάννου καὶ ὀπλίτας ἑκατόν, λαβόντες ἐντολὰς
παρὰ τῶν πεμφάντων, εἰ μὲν ἐκὼν καταθείμην τὰ
ὄπλα, ζῶντα πέμπειν εἰς τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν,
εἰ δ' ἀντιτασσοίμην, ἀποκτεῖναι μηδὲν δεδιότας·
203 αὐτῶν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ πρόσταγμα. ἐγεγράφεισαν δὲ
καὶ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ πρὸς τὸν κατ' ἐμοῦ πόλεμον
ἐτοιμάζεσθαι, τοῖς τε Σέπφωριν καὶ Γάβαρα
κατοικοῦσιν καὶ Τιβεριεῦσιν προσέταπτον συμ-
μαχίαν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ πέμπειν.

204 (41) Ταῦτά μοι τοῦ πατρὸς γράψαντος, ἐξείπε
δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Γαμαλά, τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ
τῇ βουλῇ γενομένων εἰς, φίλος ὢν καὶ συνήθης
ἐμοί, σφόδρα περιήλγησα τοὺς τε πολίτας οὕτως
περὶ ἐμὲ γενομένους ἀχαρίστους, ἐπιγνοὺς διὰ
φθόνον ἀναιρεθῆναί με προστάξαι, καὶ τῷ τὸν
πατέρα διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων πολλά με παρακαλεῖν
ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν· ποθεῖν γὰρ ἔφη θεάσασθαι
205 τὸν υἱὸν πρὸ τοῦ τελευτῆσαι. ταῦτα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς
φίλους εἶπον καὶ ὅτι μετὰ τρίτην ἡμέραν κατα-
λιπὼν τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα πορευ-
σοίμην. λύπη δ' ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀκούσαντας¹
κατέσχε, παρεκάλουν τε κλαίοντες μὴ ἐγκαταλιπεῖν
αὐτοὺς ἀπολουμένους εἰ τῆς ἐμῆς στρατηγίας
206 ἀποστερηθεῖεν. οὐ κατανεύοντος δέ μου ταῖς
ἰκετεῖαις αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς ἐμαντοῦ φρον-
τίζοντος σωτηρίας, δείσαντες οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι μὴ
ἀπελθόντος εὐκαταφρόνητοι τοῖς λησταῖς γένοιτο,

further requisitioned three hundred citizens to follow the deputies, providing money for the maintenance of the whole number. The consent of these recruits being obtained and their preparations for the journey completed, the party of Jonathan set out with them ; John's brother and a hundred regulars also accompanied them. They had orders, in the event of my volunteering to lay down my arms, to send me alive to Jerusalem, but if I offered any resistance to kill me regardless of consequences, having the weight of their masters' commands behind them. They had also written to John to be prepared for an attack upon me, and were issuing orders to Sepphoris, Gabara, and Tiberias to send assistance to John.

(41) My information reached me in a letter from my father, to whom the news was confided by Jesus, son of Gamalas, an intimate friend of mine, who had been present at the conference. I was deeply distressed, both by the base ingratitude of my fellow-citizens, whose jealousy, as I could see, had prompted the order to put me to death, and also by the earnest request in my father's letter that I would come to him, as he longed to see his son before his death. I told my friends exactly what had happened and of my intention, in three days' time, to quit the district and go home. All who heard me were overcome with grief and besought me, with tears, not to abandon them to the ruin which awaited them if deprived of my leadership. To these entreaties, out of concern for my own safety, I refused to yield ; whereupon the Galilaeans, fearing that my withdrawal would leave them an easy prey

Josephus
decides to
quit Galilee.

¹ *κακούσοντας* P, *ἀκούσαντα* RA, *ἀκούοντας* MW.

JOSEPHUS

- πέμπουσιν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἅπασαν τοὺς σηματοῦντας τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην περὶ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς.
- 207 πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πανταχόθεν συνήχθησαν, ὡς ἤκουσαν, μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων, οὐ πόθῳ, δοκῶ¹ μοι, τῷ πρὸς ἐμὲ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ περὶ αὐτῶν δέει τοῦτο πράττοντες· ἐμοῦ γὰρ παραμένοντος πείσεσθαι κακὸν οὐδὲν ὑπελάμβανον. ἤκον οὖν πάντες εἰς τὸ μέγα πεδῖον ἐν ᾧ διέτριβον· Ἄσωχίς ἐστὶν ὄνομα αὐτῷ.
- 208 (42) Διὰ δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης θαυμάσιον οἶον ὄνειρον ἐθεασάμην. ἐπεὶ γὰρ εἰς κοίτην ἐτραπόμην διὰ τὰ γραφέντα λυπούμενος καὶ τεταραγμένος,
- 209 ἔδοξά τινα λέγειν ἐπιστάντα μοι· “παῦσαι τὴν ψυχὴν, ὦ οὔτος, ἀλγῶν, παντὸς δ’ ἀπαλλάσσου φόβου· τὰ γὰρ λυποῦντά σε μέγιστον ποιήσει καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν εὐτυχέστατον, κατορθώσεις δ’ οὐ μόνον ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα. μὴ κάμνε δὴ, μέμνησο δ’ ὅτι καὶ Ῥωμαίοις δεῖ σε πολεμῆσαι.”
- 210 τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ὄνειρον θεασάμενος διανίσταμαι καταβῆναι προθυμούμενος εἰς τὸ πεδῖον. πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐμὴν ὄψιν πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Γαλιλαίων, ἦσαν δ’ ἐν αὐτοῖς γυναῖκές τε καὶ παῖδες, ἐπὶ στόμα ρίψαντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ δακρύοντες ἰκέτευον μὴ σφᾶς ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις, μηδ’ ἀπελθεῖν ἐάσαντα τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐνύβρισμα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς
- 211 ἐσομένην. ὡς δὲ ταῖς δεήσεσιν οὐκ ἔπειθον, κατηνάγκαζον ὄρκοις μένειν παρ’ ἑαυτοῖς, ἐλοιδοροῦντό τε τῷ δήμῳ πολλὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ὡς εἰρηνεύεσθαι τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐῶντι.
- 212 (43) Ταῦτα δὴ καὶ ἐπακούων αὐτῶν καὶ βλέπων τοῦ πλῆθους τὴν κατήφειαν ἐκλάσθην πρὸς ἔλεον,

¹ δοκεῖ R.

THE LIFE, 206-212

to the brigands, sent messengers throughout Galilee to announce my intended departure. On hearing of this, large numbers assembled from all quarters, with their wives and children, influenced, I imagine, as much by alarm for themselves as by affection for myself; being convinced that while I remained at my post no harm would befall them. All flocked to the great plain, called the plain of Asochis,^a in which my quarters lay.

Rally of Galilaeans to his support.

(42) That night I beheld a marvellous vision in my dreams. I had retired to my couch, grieved and distraught by the tidings in the letter, when I thought that there stood by me one who said: "Cease, man, from thy sorrow of heart, let go all fear. That which grieves thee now will promote thee to greatness and felicity in all things.^b Not in these present trials only, but in many besides, will fortune attend thee. Fret not thyself then. Remember that thou must even battle with the Romans." Cheered by this dream-vision I arose, ready to descend into the plain. On my appearance, the whole crowd of Galilaeans, which included women and children, flung themselves on their faces and with tears implored me not to abandon them to their enemies nor, by my departure, leave their country exposed to the insolence of their foes. Finding entreaties unavailing, they sought with adjurations to coerce me to stay with them; bitterly inveighing against the people of Jerusalem for not allowing their country to remain in peace.

His dream.

(43) With these cries in my ears and the sight of the dejected crowd before my eyes, my resolution broke down and I was moved to compassion; I felt

^a Sahel el Buttäuf, running E. and W., in the break in the hills between Jotapata on the north and Nazareth on the south.

^b Or perhaps "above all men."

JOSEPHUS

ἄξιον εἶναι νομίζων ὑπὲρ τοσούτου πλήθους καὶ
 προδήλους κινδύνους ὑπομένειν. κατανεύω δὴ
 μένειν, καὶ πεντακισχιλίους ἐξ αὐτῶν ὀπλίτας
 ἤκειν κελεύσας ἔχοντας ἑαυτοῖς τροφὰς ἐπὶ τὰς
 213 οἰκήσεις διαφήκα τοὺς ἄλλους. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ πεντακισ-
 χιλιοὶ παρεγένοντο, τούτους ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τρισ-
 χιλίους τοὺς σὺν ἑμαυτῷ στρατιώτας, ἵππεῖς δ'
 ὀγδοήκοντα, τὴν πορείαν εἰς Χαβωλὴν κώμην,
 Πτολεμαΐδος μεθόριον οὖσαν, ἐποίησάμην, κακεῖ
 τὰς δυνάμεις συνεῖχον ἐτοιμάζεσθαι σκηπτόμενος
 214 ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Πλάκιδον πόλεμον. ἀφίκετο δ' οὗτος
 μετὰ δύο σπειρῶν πεζοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ ἵππέων
 ἴλης μιᾶς ὑπὸ Κεστίου Γάλλου πεμφθείς, ἵν'
 ἐμπρήσῃ τὰς κώμας τῶν Γαλιλαίων αἱ πλησίον
 ἦσαν Πτολεμαΐδος. βαλλομένου δ' ἐκείνου χάρακα
 πρὸ τῆς Πτολεμαέων πόλεως τίθεμαι καὶ γὰρ στρατό-
 πεδον, τῆς κώμης ὅσον ἐξήκοντα σταδίου ἀποσχών.
 215 πολλάκις μὲν οὖν τὰς δυνάμεις προηγάγομεν ὡς
 εἰς μάχην, πλεον δ' οὐδὲν ἀκροβολισμῶν ἐπράξα-
 μεν· ὁ γὰρ Πλάκιδος ὅσῳ περ ἐγίνωσκεν σπεύδοντά
 με πρὸς μάχην αὐτὸς καταπληττόμενος ὑπεστέλ-
 λετο· τῆς μέντοι Πτολεμαΐδος οὐκ ἐχωρίζετο.
 216 (44) Κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἀφικόμενος
 Ἰωνάθης μετὰ τῶν συμπρέσβειων, ὧν ἔφαμεν ἐκ
 τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Σίμωνα καὶ
 Ἄνανον τὸν ἀρχιερέα πεπέμφθαι, λαβεῖν <με>¹ δι'
 ἐνέδρας ἐπεβούλευεν· φανερώς γὰρ ἐπιχειρεῖν οὐκ
 217 ἐτόλμα. γράφει δὲ πρὸς με τοιαύτην ἐπιστολήν·
 “ Ἰωνάθης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν
 Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν Ἰωσήπῳ χαίρειν. ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν
 ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πρώτων, ἀκουσάντων τὸν ἀπὸ

¹ ins. ed. princeps, om. mss.

that it was right to face even manifest perils for so vast a multitude. So I consented to remain ; and, giving orders that five thousand of them were to join me in arms, bringing their own provisions, I dismissed the rest to their homes. When the five thousand arrived, I set out with them, the three thousand infantry already with me and eighty horse, and marched to Chabolo,^a a village on the frontiers of Ptolemais, where I kept my forces together, feigning to be making preparations for an engagement with Placidus. The latter had been sent by Cestius Gallus, with two cohorts of infantry and a squadron of horse, to burn the Galilaean villages in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais. While he was entrenching himself in front of that city, I on my side encamped about sixty furlongs from the village of Chabolo. On several occasions we led out our forces, as for battle, but did not proceed beyond skirmishes, because Placidus, in proportion as he saw my eagerness for a combat, became alarmed and declined it. He did not, however, quit his post at Ptolemais.

Josephus
consents to
remain in
Galilee.

(44) At this juncture Jonathan arrived with his fellow-envoys, who, as I said, had been sent from Jerusalem by Simon and Ananus the high-priest. Not venturing to attack me openly, he laid a plot to entrap me, writing me the following letter :

Arrival of
the Jerusa-
lem embassy
in Galilee :
correspond-
ence with
Josephus.

“ Jonathan and his fellow deputies from Jerusalem to Josephus, greeting. The Jerusalem authorities, having heard that John of Gischala

^a Cabul (Kābūl), half-way between the Plain of Asochis (§ 207 above) and Ptolemais (Acre).

JOSEPHUS

Γισχάλων Ἰωάννην ἐπιβεβουλευκέναι σοι πολλάκις,
 ἐπέμφθημεν ἐπιπλήξοντες αὐτῷ καὶ παραινέσοντες
 218 εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν ὑπακούειν σοι. βουλευσασθαι δὲ
 σὺν σοὶ θέλοντες περὶ τῶν κοινῇ πρακτέων παρα-
 καλοῦμεν ἤκειν θάττον πρὸς ἡμᾶς μὴ μετὰ πολλῶν·
 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ κώμη δύναιτ' ἂν στρατιωτῶν πλῆθος
 219 ἐπιδέξασθαι." ταῦτα δ' ἔγραφον προσδοκῶντες
 δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ ὅτι χωρὶς ὀπλων ἀφικόμενον πρὸς
 αὐτοὺς ἔξουσιν ὑποχείριον, ἢ πολλοὺς ἐπαγόμενον
 220 κρινοῦσι πολέμιον. ἤκεν δέ μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν
 ἱππεὺς κομίζων, θρασὺς ἄλλως νεανίας τῶν παρὰ
 βασιλεῖ ποτὲ στρατευσαμένων· ἦν δ' ὥρα νυκτὸς
 ἤδη δευτέρα, καθ' ἣν ἐτύγχανον μετὰ τῶν φίλων
 καὶ τῶν τῆς Γαλιλαίας πρώτων ἐστιώμενος.
 221 οὗτος δὴ, προσαγγείλαντος οἰκέτου μοι ἤκειν τινὰ
 ἱππέα Ἰουδαῖον, εἰσκληθεὶς ἐμοῦ κελεύσαντος
 ἠσπάσατο μὲν οὐδ' ὄλως, τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δὲ προ-
 τείνας, "ταύτην," εἶπεν, "οἱ ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων
 ἤκοντες πεπόμφασί σοι. γράφε δὴ τάχιστα καὶ
 σύ· καὶ γὰρ ἐπείγομαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑποστρέφειν."
 222 οἱ μὲν οὖν κατακείμενοι τὴν τοῦ στρατιώτου
 τόλμαν ἐθαύμασαν, ἐγὼ δὲ καθέζεσθαι παρεκάλουν
 καὶ συνδειπνεῖν ἡμῖν. ἀρνησαμένου δὲ τὴν μὲν
 ἐπιστολὴν μετὰ χεῖρας εἶχον ὡς ἐδεξάμην, πρὸς
 δὲ τοὺς φίλους περὶ πραγμάτων ἐτέρων τὴν ὁμιλίαν
 223 ἐποιούμην. μετ' οὐ πολλὴν δ' ὥραν ἐξαναστάς καὶ
 τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀπολύσας ἐπὶ κοίτην, τέσσαρας
 δέ μοι μόνον τῶν ἀναγκαίων φίλων προσμείναι
 κελεύσας καὶ τῷ παιδί προστάξας οἶνον ἐτοιμάσαι,
 τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀναπτύξας μηδενὸς ἐμβλέποντος καὶ
 αὐτῆς ταχὺ συνεῖς τὴν τῶν γεγραφότων ἐπίνοιαν,
 224 πάλιν αὐτὴν ἐσημηνάμην. καὶ ὡς μὴ προανεγνωκῶς,

has frequently plotted against you, have commissioned us to reprove him and to admonish him in future to show you proper respect. Wishing to confer with you on a concerted line of action, we request you to come to us with all speed, and with but few attendants, as this village could not accommodate a large military force.”

In so writing they expected one of two things to happen : either I would come unprotected and they would have me at their mercy, or, should I bring a large retinue, they would denounce me as a public enemy. The letter was brought to me by a trooper, an insolent young fellow who had formerly served in the king’s army. It was the second hour of the night, and I was dining with my friends and the chief men of Galilee. My servant announcing the arrival of a Jewish horseman, this fellow, being called in by my orders, gave me no salute whatever, but reached out the letter and said : “ The party who have come from Jerusalem have sent you this. Write your reply immediately, as I am in a hurry to return to them.” My guests were astonished at the soldier’s audacity ; I, for my part, invited him to sit down and join us at supper. He declined. I kept the letter in my hands, as I had received it, and conversed with my friends on other subjects. Not long after I rose and, dismissing the others to their repose, directed four only of my closest friends to stay and ordered my servant to set on wine. Then, when no one was looking, I unfolded the letter, took in at a glance the writers’ design and sealed it up again. Holding it in my hands as though I had not

JOSEPHUS

ἀλλὰ μετὰ χεῖρας αὐτὴν ἔχων, προσέταξα τῷ
 στρατιώτῃ δραχμὰς εἴκοσιν ἑφόδιον δοθῆναι.
 τοῦ δὲ λαβόντος καὶ χάριν ἔχειν φήσαντος συνεῖς
 τὴν αἰσχροκέρδειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς ταύτῃ μάλιστα
 ἐστὶν ἀλώσιμος, “ ἀλλ’ εἰ συμπιεῖν ἡμῖν,” ἔφην,
 “ θελήσεις, λήψει κατὰ κύαθον δραχμὴν μίαν.”
 225 ὁ δ’ ἄσμενος ὑπήκουσεν, καὶ πολὺν τὸν οἶνον
 προσφερόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλείον λαβεῖν τὸ ἀργύριον
 καὶ μεθυσθεὶς οὐκέτι τὰ ἀπόρρητα στέγειν ἐδύνατο,
 ἀλλ’ ἔφραζεν οὐκ ἐρωτώμενος τὴν τε συνεσκευα-
 σμένην ἐπιβουλήν καὶ ὡς κατεψηφισμένος εἶην
 θάνατον παρ’ αὐτοῖς. ταῦτ’ ἀκούσας ἀντιγράφω
 226 τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· “ Ἰώσηπος Ἰωνάθῃ καὶ τοῖς
 σὺν αὐτῷ χαίρειν. ἐρρωμένους ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν
 Γαλιλαίαν ἤκειν πυθόμενος ἡδομαι, μάλιστα δ’
 ὅτι δυνήσομαι παραδοῦς ὑμῖν τὴν τῶν ἐνθάδε
 πραγμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα πορευ-
 227 θῆναι· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ πάλαι ποιεῖν ἠθέλον. ἔδει
 μὲν οὖν μὴ μόνον εἰς Ξαλῶθ παραγενέσθαι με πρὸς
 ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ πόρρω καὶ μηδὲ κελευσάντων, συγ-
 γνώμης δὲ τυχεῖν ἀξιῶ μὴ δυνάμενος τοῦτο
 ποιῆσαι, παραφυλάσσω¹ ἐν Χαβωλῷ Πλάκιδον εἰς
 τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἀναβῆναι δι’ ἐννοίας ἔχοντα. ἤκετε
 οὖν ὑμεῖς πρὸς με τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀναγνόντες.
 ἔρρωσθε.”
 228 (45) Ταῦτα γράψας δούς τῷ στρατιώτῃ φέρειν
 συνεχέπεμψα τριάκοντα τῶν Γαλιλαίων δοκιμω-
 τάτους, ὑποθέμενος αὐτοῖς ἀσπάσασθαι μὲν ἐκεί-
 νους, ἕτερον δὲ μηδὲν λέγειν. ἔταξα δὲ καὶ καθ’

¹ Niese: παραφυλάσω sic P, παραφυλάσσω γὰρ the rest.

^a The standard silver coin, roughly a franc.

yet read it, I ordered twenty drachmas to be presented to the soldier for travelling expenses. He accepted the money and thanked me for it. Noting his cupidity as offering the surest means of gulling him, I said, "If you will consent to drink with us, you shall receive a drachma^a for every cup." He readily assented and, in order to win more money, indulged so freely in the wine that he became intoxicated and unable to keep his secrets any longer to himself. He told me, without being asked, of the plot that had been hatched and how I had been sentenced to death by his employers. On hearing this I wrote the following reply :

"Josephus to Jonathan and his colleagues, greeting. I am delighted to hear that you have reached Galilee in good health ; more especially because I shall now be able to hand over to you the charge of affairs here and return home, as I have long wished to do. I ought certainly to have gone, not merely to Xaloth,^b but further, to wait upon you, even without your instructions ; I must, however, request you to excuse me for my inability to do so, as I am here at Chabolo, keeping watch on Placidus, who is meditating an incursion up country into Galilee. Do you, therefore, on receipt of this letter, come and visit me. Fare you well."

(45) Having written this letter and handed it to the soldier, I sent him off, accompanied by thirty Galilaeans of the highest repute, whom I instructed to pay their respects to the deputies, but to say not a word more. To each of them I attached a soldier

^b A village in the Great Plain, on the southern frontier of Galilee, elsewhere called Exaloth (*B.* iii. 39).

JOSEPHUS

ἕκαστον αὐτῶν πιστῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἓνα παραφυλάξοντα,
 μή τις τοῖς πεμφθείσιν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πρὸς τοὺς περὶ
 τὸν Ἰωνάθην ὀμιλία γένηται. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπο-
 229 ρεύθησαν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην τῆς πρώτης
 πείρας ἀμαρτόντες ἑτέραν ἐπιστολὴν μοι τοιαύτην
 ἔπεμψαν· “ Ἰωνάθης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ Ἰωσήπῳ
 χαίρειν. παραγγέλλομέν σοι χωρὶς ὀπλιτῶν εἰς
 τρίτην παραγενέσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰς Γαβαρῶθ
 κώμην, ἵνα διακούσωμεν τῶν πρὸς Ἰωάννην
 230 ἐγκλημάτων σοι γεγονότων.” ταῦτα γράψαντες
 καὶ ἀσπασάμενοι τοὺς Γαλιλαίους οὓς πεπόμφειν¹
 ἀφίκοντο εἰς Ἰάφαν κώμην μεγίστην οὖσαν τῶν
 ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ, τείχεσιν ὀχυρωτάτην καὶ πολλῶν
 οἰκητόρων μεστήν. ὑπήντίαζεν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος αὐ-
 τοὺς μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων καὶ κατεβόων
 231 τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. παρηρεθίζοντο δὲ ταῖς φωναῖς οἱ
 περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην, καὶ φανεροῦν μὲν τὴν ὀργὴν
 οὐκ ἐτόλμων, οὐκ ἀξιώσαντες δ' αὐτοὺς ἀπο-
 κρίσεως εἰς τὰς ἄλλας κώμας ἐπορεύοντο. ὅμοιαι
 δ' ὑπήντων αὐτοῖς παρὰ πάντων αἱ καταβοήσεις
 μεταπίσειν αὐτοὺς βοῶντων οὐδένα περὶ τοῦ μὴ
 232 στρατηγὸν ἔχειν Ἰώσηπον. ἀπρακτοὶ δὲ παρὰ
 τούτων ἀπελθόντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην εἰς
 Σέπφωριν μεγίστην τῶν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ πόλιν
 ἀφικνοῦνται· οἱ δ' ἐντεῦθεν ἄνθρωποι πρὸς Ῥω-
 μαίους ταῖς γνώμαις ἀποβλέποντες ἐκείνοις μὲν
 ὑπήντων, ἐμὲ δὲ οὔτ' ἐπήγουν οὔτ' ἐβλασφήμουν.
 233 παρὰ δὲ Σεπφωριτῶν εἰς Ἀσωχὶν καταβάντες,² οἱ
 ἐντεῦθεν παραπλησίως τοῖς Ἰαφηνοῖς κατεβόων

¹ Niese: πεπόμφασιν mss., πέπομφα ed. pr.

² καταβάντων should perhaps be read.

whom I could trust, to watch them and see that no conversation took place between my emissaries and the other party ; and so they set off. Foiled in their first attempt, Jonathan and his friends sent me another letter as follows :

“ Jonathan and his colleagues to Josephus, greeting. We charge you in three days’ time to join us, without military escort, at the village of Gabaroth,^a that we may give a hearing to your accusations against John.”

Having written this letter and taken leave of the Galilaeans whom I had sent, they went on to Japha,^b the largest village in Galilee, very strongly fortified and containing a dense population. There they were met by a crowd, including women and children, who in abusive language bade them be off and not grudge them their excellent general. Irritated though they were by these outcries, Jonathan and his colleagues did not dare to show their displeasure, and, not deigning to reply, proceeded to the other villages on their route. But on all sides they were met by similar denunciations, the people loudly protesting that none should induce them to alter their determination to have Josephus for their general. Unsuccessful in the villages the delegates withdrew to Sepphoris, the largest city in Galilee. Here the inhabitants, who inclined to the side of the Romans, went to meet them ; refraining, however, from either praise or censure of myself. From Sepphoris they descended to Asochis, which gave them a noisy reception similar to that which had greeted them at

Popular demonstrations in favour of Josephus.

^a Elsewhere called Gabara ; some six miles N.E. of Josephus’s quarters at Cabul.

^b Doubtless Japhia (*Yāfā*), a few miles S.W. of Nazareth.

JOSEPHUS

αὐτῶν· οἱ δὲ τὴν ὀργὴν οὐκέτι κατασχόντες κελεύουσιν τοῖς μετ' αὐτῶν ὀπλίταις τύπτειν ξύλοις τοὺς καταβοῶντας. κατὰ Γάβαρα δὲ γενομένους ὑπαντιάζει μετὰ τρισχιλίων ὀπλιτῶν ὁ Ἰωάννης.

234 ἐγὼ δ' ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἤδη συνεικῶς ὅτι διεγνώκασι πρὸς με πολεμεῖν, ἀναστὰς ἀπὸ Χαβωλῶν μετὰ τρισχιλίων ὀπλιτῶν, καταλιπὼν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὸν πιστότατον τῶν φίλων, εἰς Ἰωτάπατα παρεγενόμην, πλησίον αὐτῶν εἶναι βουλόμενος [ὅσον] ἀπὸ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων, καὶ

235 γράφω πρὸς αὐτοὺς τάδε· “ εἰ πάντως με πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν βούλεσθε, διακόσμαι καὶ τέσσαρες κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν εἰσὶν πόλεις καὶ κῶμαι. τούτων εἰς ἣν θελήσετε παραγενήσομαι χωρὶς Γαβάρων καὶ Γισχάλων· ἡ μὲν γὰρ πατρίς ἐστὶν Ἰωάννου, ἡ δὲ σύμμαχος αὐτῷ καὶ φίλη.”

236 (46) Ταῦτα τὰ γράμματα λαβόντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην οὐκέτι μὲν ἀντιγράφουσιν, συνέδριον δὲ τῶν φίλων καθίσαντες καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην παραλαβόντες ἐβουλεύοντο τίνα τρόπον ἐπιχειρήσωσί μοι.

237 καὶ Ἰωάννη μὲν ἐδόκει γράφειν πρὸς πάσας τὰς ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ πόλεις καὶ κώμας, εἶναι γὰρ ἐν ἐκάστη πάντως ἓνα γοῦν καὶ δεύτερον διάφορον ἐμοί, καὶ καλεῖν τούτους ὡς ἐπὶ πολέμιον. ἐκέλευέ τε¹ πέμπειν τὸ δόγμα τοῦτο καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν, ἵνα κἀκεῖνοι γνόντες ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλιλαίων κεκρίσθαι με πολέμιον καὶ αὐτοὶ ψηφίσωνται· γενομένου γὰρ τούτου καὶ τοὺς εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοντάς μοι Γαλιλαίους ἐγκαταλείψειν ἔφη φοβηθέντας.

238 ταῦτα συμβουλεύσαντος Ἰωάννου σφόδρα καὶ τοῖς

239 ἄλλοις ἤρρεσεν τὰ λεχθέντα. περὶ δ' ὥραν τῆς

¹ Niese: ἐκελεύετο πέμπειν P, πέμπειν δ' ἐκέλευε the rest.

Japha. Unable longer to restrain their wrath, they ordered their military escort to beat the rioters with cudgels. On their arrival at Gabara they were met by John with three thousand men in arms. Having already understood from their letter that they were determined to attack me, I set out from Chabolo, with a force three thousand strong, leaving my most trusted friend in command of the camp ; and, being anxious to be near them, removed to Jotapata, where I was about forty furlongs away. I then wrote to them as follows :

“ If you seriously desire me to come to you, there are two hundred and four cities and villages in 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.”

(46) On receipt of this letter Jonathan and his colleagues, abandoning further correspondence, summoned a meeting of their friends, John included, and deliberated how they should proceed against me. John was of opinion that they should write to every city and village in Galilee, in each of which there would certainly be found at least one or two adversaries of mine, and call out these persons as against an enemy. He further recommended that a copy of this resolution should be sent to Jerusalem, in order that the citizens, on learning that I had been declared an enemy by the Galilaeans, might be induced to pass a similar vote. In that event, he added, even my Galilaeian partisans would abandon me in alarm. John’s advice was highly approved by the rest of the council. About the third hour of the

Plots of the embassy and counter-measures of Josephus.

JOSEPHUS

νυκτὸς τρίτην εἰς γνῶσιν ἤκέ μοι ταῦτα, Σακχαίου
 τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς τινὸς αὐτομολήσαντος πρὸς με καὶ
 τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν αὐτῶν ἀπαγγείλαντος· οὐκέτι δὴ
 240 δεῖν ὑπερτίθεσθαι τὸν καιρόν. ἄξιον δὲ κρίνας
 Ἰάκωβον ὀπλίτην τῶν περὶ ἐμὲ πιστὸν¹ κελεύω
 διακοσίους ὀπλίτας λαβόντα φρουρεῖν τὰς ἀπὸ
 Γαβάρων εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐξόδους, καὶ τοὺς
 παριόντας συλλαμβάνοντα πρὸς ἐμὲ πέμπειν, μά-
 λιστα δὲ τοὺς μετὰ γραμμάτων ἀλισκομένους.
 241 Ἱερεμίαν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν φίλων μου μεθ'
 ἑξακοσίων ὀπλιτῶν εἰς τὴν μεθόριον τῆς Γαλιλαίας
 ἔπεμψα τὰς ἀπὸ ταύτης εἰς τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν
 πόλιν ὁδοὺς παραφυλάξοντα, πρόσταγμα δὸς
 κακείνω τοὺς μετ' ἐπιστολῶν ὁδεύοντας συλλαμ-
 βάνειν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας ἐν δεσμοῖς ἐπὶ τόπου
 φυλάττειν, τὰ δὲ γράμματα πρὸς ἐμὲ διαπέμπειν.
 242 (47) Ταῦτα τοῖς πεμπομένοις ἐντειλάμενος Γαλι-
 λαίοις διήγγειλα κελεύων εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἀνα-
 λαβόντας τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τριῶν ἡμερῶν τροφήν εἰς
 Γαβαρῶθ κώμην παραγενέσθαι πρὸς με. τῶν δὲ
 περὶ ἐμὲ ὀπλιτῶν μοίρας τέτταρας νείμας τοὺς
 πιστοτάτους αὐτῶν περὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος φυλακὴν
 ἔταξα, ταξιάρχους αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας καὶ φροντίζειν
 κελεύσας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδένα στρατιώτην ἄγνωστον
 243 αὐτοῖς συναναμίγνυσθαι. τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ περὶ
 πέμπτην ὥραν ἐν Γαβαρῶθ γενόμενος εὕρισκω
 πᾶν τὸ πεδῖον τὸ πρὸ τῆς κώμης ὀπλιτῶν πλήρες
 τῶν ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν παρόντων,
 ὡς αὐτοῖς παρηγγέλκειν· πολὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἐκ
 244 τῶν κωμῶν ὄχλος συνέτρεχεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καταστὰς
 εἰς αὐτοὺς λέγειν ἠρξάμην, ἐβόων ἅπαντες εὐ-
 εργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν καλοῦντες.

night news of these proceedings was brought to me by Sacchaeus, one of their party who deserted and reported their design to me, adding that there was no time to be lost. So, selecting James, a faithful soldier of my bodyguard, as a fit person, I ordered him to take two hundred men and guard the routes leading from Gabara into Galilee, and to arrest all who passed, especially any caught with letters upon them, and to send them to me. I also dispatched Jeremiah, another of my friends, with six hundred men to the frontier of Galilee, to watch the roads leading from the province to Jerusalem, with similar orders to arrest all found travelling with dispatches; such persons were to be kept in chains on the spot, the letters he was to forward to me.

(47) Having given these orders, I sent directions to the Galilaeans to join me on the following day at the village of Gabaroth, with their arms and three days' provisions. I then divided my troops into four companies, formed a bodyguard for myself of those whom I most trusted, and appointed officers to take command, charging them to see that no soldier who was unknown to them mixed with their men. Reaching Gabaroth about the fifth hour on the following day, I found the whole plain in front of the village covered with armed men, who, in obedience to my orders, had rallied to my aid from Galilee; while another large crowd was hurrying in from the villages. When I stood up and was beginning to speak, they all greeted me with acclamations, calling me the benefactor and saviour of their country. I thanked

Josephus
meets the
embassy at
Gabaroth.
Fresh de-
monstra-
tions in his
favour.

¹ ΠΙΣΤΩΝ MSS.

JOSEPHUS

κὰ γὼ χάριν αὐτοῖς ἔχειν ὁμολογήσας συνεβούλευον
 πρὸς μηδένα μήτε πολεμεῖν μήτε ἀρπαγῇ μολύνειν
 τὰς χεῖρας,¹ ἀλλὰ σκηνοῦν κατὰ τὸ πεδῖον ἀρκου-
 μένους τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐφοδίοις· θέλειν γὰρ ἔφασκον
 245 τὰς παραχὰς χωρὶς φόνων καταστέλλειν.² συνέβη
 δ' αὐθημερὸν εἰς τὰς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ κατασταθείσας τῶν
 ὁδῶν φυλακὰς τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Ἰωνάθου πεμφθέντας
 μετὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἐμπεσεῖν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες
 ἐφυλάχθησαν ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων, ὡς παρήγγειλα, τοῖς
 δὲ γράμμασιν ἐντυχὼν πλήρεσι βλασφημιῶν καὶ
 ψευσμάτων, οὐδενὶ ταῦτα φράσας ὁρμᾶν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
 διενοοῦμην.

246 (48) Ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην περὶ
 τῆς ἐμῆς ἀφίξεως τοὺς ἰδίους πάντας ἀναλαβόντες
 καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ὑπεχώρησαν εἰς τὴν Ἰησοῦ οἰκίαν·
 βᾶρις δ' ἦν αὕτη μεγάλη καὶ οὐδὲν ἀκροπόλεως
 ἀποδέουσα. κρύψαντες οὖν λόχον ὀπλιτῶν ἐν
 αὐτῇ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀποκλείσαντες θύρας, μίαν δὲ
 ἀνοιξάντες, προσεδόκων ἦκειν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ με πρὸς
 247 αὐτοὺς ἀσπασόμενον. καὶ δὴ διδόασιν ἐντολὰς
 τοῖς ὀπλίταις, ἐπειδὰν παραγένωμαι, μόνον εἰσ-
 ελθεῖν ἑᾶσαι τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπείρξαντας· οὕτως γὰρ
 ὄντό με γενήσεσθαι ῥαδίως αὐτοῖς ὑποχείριον.

248 ἐψεύσθησαν δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος· ἐγὼ γὰρ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν
 προαισθόμενος, ὡς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ παρεγενόμην,
 καταλύσας ἄντικρυς αὐτῶν καθεύδειν ἐσκηπτόμην.

249 καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ὑπολαμβάνοντες ὄντως
 ἀναπαύεσθαί με καθυπνωμένον ὥρμησαν κατα-
 βάντες εἰς τὸ πεδῖον³ μεταπείθειν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐμοῦ
 250 κακῶς στρατηγοῦντος. τάναντία δὲ αὐτοῖς συν-
 ἔπεσεν· ὀφθέντων γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐγένετο βοή παρὰ τῶν
 Γαλιλαίων⁴ πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν εὐνοίας ἀξία,

them and advised them neither to attack anyone nor to sully their hands with rapine, but to encamp in the plain and be content with their rations, as my desire was to quell these disturbances without bloodshed.

It happened, on that very day, that Jonathan's couriers, carrying dispatches, fell into the hands of my sentries posted to guard the roads. The prisoners were, in accordance with my directions, detained on the spot; the letters I perused and, finding them full of slander and lies, decided, without mentioning a word of them to anyone, to advance to meet my foes.

(48) Jonathan, hearing of my coming, retired, with all his own followers and John, to the mansion of Jesus, which was a great castle, as imposing as a citadel. Here they concealed an armed ambuscade, and, locking all but one of the doors, they waited for me to come, after my journey, and pay my salutations. In fact, they gave orders to the soldiers to admit me only, on my arrival, and to exclude my attendants, hoping thus to have me easily at their mercy. In these expectations they were disappointed; for I, discovering their plot, at the end of my march took up my quarters immediately opposite them and pretended to be asleep. Jonathan and his friends, imagining that I was actually resting and asleep, hastened down to the plain, to create disaffection on the ground of my inefficiency as a general. The result was quite the reverse; for, no sooner had they appeared, than the Galilaeans raised a shout as hearty as their loyalty for me, their

¹ So R: the rest have *χώρας*.

² So P: the rest have *καταστείλαι*.

³ *πληθους* MW.

⁴ Probably *της* should be inserted.

JOSEPHUS

κατάμεμψίν τὲ ἐποιοῦντο τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην, ὅτι πάρειςιν οὐδὲν μὲν αὐτοὶ κακὸν προπεπονηότες, ἀνατρέφοντες δὲ τὰ ἐκείνων πράγματα. καὶ παρεκελεύοντο ἀπιέναι· μὴ γὰρ ἂν ποτε μεταπεισθῆναι
 251 προστάτην ἕτερον ἀντ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν. τούτων ἀπαγγεληθέντων μοι προελθεῖν εἰς μέσους οὐκ ὤκησα. κατέβαινον οὖν εὐθέως ὡς αὐτούς,¹ τί λέγουσιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἀκουσόμενος. προελθόντος δέ μου κρότος παρὰ παντός τοῦ πλήθους εὐθὺς ἦν καὶ μετ' εὐφημιῶν ἐπιβοήσεις χάριν ἔχειν ὁμολογούντων τῇ ἐμῇ στρατηγίᾳ.

252 (49) Ταῦτα δ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἀκούοντες ἐφοβήθησαν μὴ καὶ κινδυνεύσωσιν ἀποθανεῖν, ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὀρμησάντων τῶν Γαλιλαίων κατὰ τὴν πρὸς ἐμὲ χάριν. δρασμὸν οὖν ἐπενόουν· μὴ δυνηθέντες δὲ ἀπελθεῖν, προσμεῖναι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἠξίωσα, κατ-
 253 ηφεῖς ἤνυπέμειναν ἐνστησάμενοι² τῷ λόγῳ. προστάξας οὖν τῷ μὲν πλήθει τὰς εὐφημίας κατασχεῖν, καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τοὺς πιστοτάτους ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐπιστήσας ὑπὲρ τοῦ φρουρεῖν μὴ ἀπροσδοκῆτως ἡμῖν ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐπιπέσῃ, παραιέσας δὲ καὶ τοῖς Γαλιλαίοις ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ὄπλα, μὴ πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον τῶν πολεμίων, εἰάν γένηται τις αἰφνίδιος, ταρα-
 254 χθῶσιν, πρῶτον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ὑπεμίμησκον, ὃν τρόπον γράψειαν ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πεπέμφθαι διαλύσοντές μου τὰς πρὸς τὸν Ἰωάννην φιλονεικίας, ὡς
 255 παρακαλέσειάν τέ με πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀφικέσθαι. καὶ ταῦτα διεξιὼν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν εἰς μέσους προύτεινον, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀρνήσασθαι δυνηθῶσιν ἐλεγχόντων αὐτοὺς
 256 τῶν γραμμάτων. “καὶ μὴν,” ἔφην, “Ἰωνάθη

¹ ὡς αὐτοὺς R: the rest αὐτὸς, “to hear with my own ears.”

general, and reproached Jonathan's party for coming, unprovoked, upon the scene to throw the province into disorder. They bade them be off, declaring their fixed determination never to receive another governor in my place. Informed of these proceedings I no longer hesitated to show myself, but instantly went down to them to hear what Jonathan was saying. My appearance was the signal for universal applause, and I was hailed with encomiums and expressions of gratitude for my services as commander.

(49) Jonathan and his friends, on hearing these demonstrations, fearing that the Galilaeans, out of devotion to me, might make a rush upon them, became alarmed for their lives. They accordingly meditated flight; but on my requiring them to stay, were unable to escape and stood there shamefacedly while I spoke. After bidding the people restrain their applause, I posted the most trusted of my soldiers on the roads to secure us against any surprise attack from John, and advised the Galilaeans to pick up their arms, in order to avoid confusion in the event of a sudden assault of the enemy. I then began by reminding Jonathan and his colleagues of their letter, how they had written that they had been commissioned by the general assembly at Jerusalem to settle my quarrels with John and how they had desired me to visit them. While relating these facts I held out the letter for all to see, to prevent any possibility of denial, the document being there to convict them. "Moreover, Jonathan and

Josephus
addresses
the embassy.

² The text is corrupt. That printed above follows cod. R, which alone supplies the finite verb.

JOSEPHUS

ὑμεῖς τε οἱ συμπρέσβεις, εἰ πρὸς Ἰωάννην κρινόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ παραστήσαι τὸν ἑμαυτοῦ βίον δύο τινὰς ἢ τρεῖς μάρτυρας καλοὺς καγαθοὺς ἤγαγον, δῆλον ὡς ἀνάγκην ἂν εἴχετε προεξετάσαντες καὶ τοὺς τούτων βίους ἀπαλλάξαι με τῶν ἐγκλημάτων.

257 ἴν' οὖν γνῶτε καλῶς πεπραχθαί μοι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, τρεῖς μὲν μάρτυρας ὀλίγους εἶναι νομίζω τῷ καλῶς βεβιωκότι, τούτους δὲ πάντας ὑμῖν δί-

258 δωμι. παρὰ τούτων οὖν πύθεσθε τίνα τρόπον ἐβίωσα, εἰ μετὰ πάσης σεμνότητος καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς ἐνθάδε πεπολίτευμαι. καὶ δὴ ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς, ὦ Γαλιλαῖοι, μηδὲν ἐπικρύψασθαι τῆς ἀληθείας, λέγειν δ' ἐπὶ τούτων ὡς δικαστῶν εἴ τι μὴ καλῶς πέπρακται."

259 (50) Ταῦτ' ἔτι λέγοντος κοιναὶ παρὰ πάντων ἐγίνοντο φωναὶ καλούντων εὐεργέτην με καὶ σωτήηρα, καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐμαρτύρουν, περὶ δὲ τῶν πραχθησομένων παρεκάλουν· πάντες δ' ὤμνον ἀνυβρίστους μὲν ἔχειν τὰς γυναῖκας, λελυπηῆσθαι δὲ μηδέποτε μηδὲν ὑπ'

260 ἐμοῦ. μετὰ τοῦτο δύο τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, ἃς οἱ κατασταθέντες ὑπ' ἐμοῦ φρουροὶ πεμφθείσας ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἐλόντες ἀπεστάλκεσαν πρὸς ἐμέ, παρανεγίνωσκον τοῖς Γαλιλαίοις, πολλῶν βλασφημιῶν πλήρεις καὶ καταψευδομένας ὅτι τυραννίδι μᾶλλον ἢ στρατηγίᾳ χρῶμαι κατ' αὐτῶν·

261 ἕτερα ἢ τε πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις ἐνεγέγραπτο μηδὲν παραλιπόντων ἀναισχύντου ψευδολογίας. ἔφην δ' ἐγὼ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τὰ γράμματα λαβεῖν δόντων ἐκουσίως τῶν κομιζόντων· οὐ γὰρ ἐβουλόμην [αὐτοὺς]¹ τὰ περὶ τὰς φρουρὰς τοὺς ἐναντίους εἰδέναι, μὴ δείσαντες τοῦ γράφειν ἀποστῶσιν.

¹ Bekker omits.

THE LIFE, 256-261

you, his colleagues," I proceeded, "had my case against John been tried and had I produced some two or three excellent men as witnesses to my behaviour, it is evident that you would have been compelled, after inquiries into their character, to acquit me of the charges brought against me. Now, in order to convince you of the propriety of my conduct in Galilee, I consider three witnesses too few for one who has lived an honourable life, and I present you with all these here present. Ask *them* what my life has been, and whether in my official capacity here I have acted with perfect dignity, perfect integrity. And you, Galilaeans, I adjure to conceal nothing of the truth, but to declare in the presence of these men, as before judges in court, whether I have done anything amiss."

(50) Before I had finished speaking, there was a chorus of voices from all sides calling me benefactor and saviour. They bore testimony to my past conduct and exhorted me upon my course in future; and they all swore that the honour of their women-folk had been preserved and that they had never received a single injury from me. I then read aloud to the Galilaeans two of the letters dispatched by Jonathan, which had been intercepted and forwarded to me by the scouts whom I had picketed on the roads. These were full of abuse and maligned me as acting the part of a tyrant rather than a general, with much else beside, including every variety of shameless falsehood. I told the people that these dispatches had been voluntarily surrendered to me by the bearers, because I did not wish my opponents to know of the scouts' share in the matter, lest they should be deterred from writing again.

JOSEPHUS

- 262 (51) Ταῦτ' ἀκούσαν τὸ πλῆθος σφόδρα παροξυνθέν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ὄρμα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ συμπαρόντας ὡς διαφθεροῦντες· κὰν ἐπεπράχρισαν τὸ ἔργον, εἰ μὴ τοὺς μὲν Γαλιλαίους ἔπαυσα τῆς ὀργῆς, τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην δ' ἔφην συγγινώσκειν τῶν ἤδη πεπραγμένων, εἰ μέλλοιεν μετανοήσειν καὶ πορευθέντες εἰς τὴν πατρίδα λέγοιεν τοῖς πέμψασι
- 263 τάληθῆ περὶ τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπολιτευμένων. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀπέλυον αὐτοὺς καίτοι γινώσκων ὅτι μηδὲν ὦν ὑπέσχητο ποιήσουσιν. τὸ πλῆθος δ' εἰς ὀργὴν ἐξεκαίετο κατ' αὐτῶν κὰμὲ παρεκάλουν ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτοῖς τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα τολμήσαντας.
- 264 παντοῖος μὲν οὖν ἐγινόμην πείθων αὐτοὺς φείσασθαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν· πᾶσαν γὰρ ἤδειν στάσιν ὀλέθριον οὔσαν τοῦ κοιῆ συμφέροντος· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἔσχεν τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν ὀργὴν ἀμετάβλητον, καὶ πάντες ὄρμησαν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐν ἧ κατήγοντο οἱ περὶ τὸν
- 265 Ἰωνάθην. ἐγὼ δὲ συνορῶν τὴν ὀρμὴν οὔσαν αὐτῶν ἀνεπίσχετον ἀναπηδήσας ἐφ' ἵππον ἐκέλευσα τοῖς πλήθεσιν πρὸς Σωγάνην κώμην ἔπεσθαι, Γαβάρων ἀπέχουσαν εἴκοσι στάδια. καὶ τοιούτῳ στρατηγήματι χρησάμενος παρέσχον ἐμαυτῷ τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν ἐμφυλίου πολέμου κατάρχειν.
- 266 (52) Ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ τὰς¹ Σωγανέας ἐγενόμην, ἐπιστήσας τὸ πλῆθος καὶ παραινέσει χρησάμενος περὶ τοῦ μὴ πρὸς τὰς ὀργὰς καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπ' ἀνηκέστοις τιμωρίαις ὀξέως φέρεσθαι, κελεύω τοὺς καθ' ἡλικίαν ἤδη προβεβηκότας καὶ πρώτους παρ' αὐτοῖς ἑκατὸν ἀνδρας ὡς πορευσομένους² εἰς τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν εὐτρεπίζεσθαι, μέμψιν ποιη-

¹ τοὺς Hudson.

² Bekker: πορευομένους MSS,

THE LIFE, 262–266

(51) The Galilaeans, on hearing these calumnies, were so much exasperated that they were starting to kill Jonathan and his companions ; and they would have effected their purpose had I not repressed their indignation. To Jonathan and his colleagues I promised pardon for the past on condition that they showed their contrition and returned home and gave a true report of my public life to those who had sent them. With that I let them go, well though I knew that they would fulfil none of their promises. The people, however, burning with rage against them, entreated my permission to punish those who had been guilty of such effrontery. I tried by all means to induce them to spare the men, knowing that party quarrels are invariably fatal to the common weal. Popular feeling was, however, too deep-seated to be affected, and they all rushed towards the house in which Jonathan and his friends had their quarters. Perceiving that their passions were now beyond restraint, I sprang to the saddle, ordering the crowd to follow me to the village of Sogane, twenty furlongs distant from Gabara. By this manœuvre I guarded myself against the imputation of initiating a civil war.

and pardons them conditionally.

Flies to Sogane to avoid responsibility for civil war.

(52) On approaching Sogane ^a I called a halt, and advised the people not to let themselves be so impetuously carried away by their passions, especially where the consequences would be fatal.^b I then directed a hundred of their leading men, well advanced in years, to make ready for a journey to Jerusalem in order to lodge a complaint before the

Josephus sends counter-embassy to Jerusalem.

^a Most mss. here have "Soganeae."

^b Literally, "especially in the case of irremediable punishments," *i.e.* (probably) those which they wished to inflict.

JOSEPHUS

σομένους ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν τὴν χώραν διαστα-
 267 σιαζόντων. “καὶ ἐὰν ἐπικλασθῶσιν,” ἔφην, “πρὸς
 τοὺς λόγους ὑμῶν, παρακαλέσατε τὸ κοινὸν γράψαι
 πρὸς ἐμὲ μένειν κελεύοντας ἐπὶ τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ, τοὺς
 268 δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἀναχωρεῖν ἐκεῖθεν.” ταύτας
 αὐτοῖς τὰς ὑποθήκας δούς, ἐναρμοσαμένων τε
 ταχέως ἐκείνων, ἡμέρα τρίτη μετὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
 τὴν ἀποστολὴν ἐποιησάμην, συμπέμψας ὀπλίτας
 269 πεντακοσίους. ἔγραψα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ
 φίλοις προνοήσασθαι τοῦ ἀσφαλῆ γενέσθαι τὴν
 πορείαν αὐτοῖς· ἤδη γὰρ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἦν ἡ
 Σαμάρεια καὶ πάντως ἔδει τοὺς ταχὺ βουλομένους
 ἀπελθεῖν δι’ ἐκείνης πορεύεσθαι· τρισὶν γὰρ ἡμέραις
 ἀπὸ Γαλιλαίας ἔνεστιν οὕτως εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα
 270 καταλῦσαι. συμπαρέπεμψα δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις καὶ γὰρ
 μέχρι τῶν τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὄρων, φύλακας ἐπιστήσας
 ταῖς ὁδοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ῥαδίως τινὰ μαθεῖν ἀπ-
 αλλαττομένους. καὶ ταῦτα πράξας ἐν Ἰάφοις τὴν
 διατριβὴν ἐποιούμην.

271 (53) Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην διαμαρτόντες τῆς
 κατ’ ἐμοῦ πράξεως Ἰωάννην ἀπέλυσαν εἰς τὰ
 Γίσχαλα, αὐτοὶ δ’ εἰς τὴν Τιβεριέων πόλιν πεπό-
 ρευντο λήψεσθαι προσδοκῶντες αὐτὴν ὑποχείριον,
 ἐπειδὴ καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον
 [ἄρχων]¹ ἐγεγράφει πρὸς αὐτοὺς πείσειν ἐπαγγελ-
 λόμενος τὸ πλῆθος ἐλθόντας ὑποδέχεσθαι καὶ
 272 αὐτοῖς ἐλέσθαι προστεθῆναι. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ
 τοιαύταις ἐλπίσιν ἀπῆλθον, ἀπαγγέλλει δέ μοι
 ταῦτα Σίλας διὰ γραμμάτων, ὃν ἔφην τῆς Τιβε-
 ριάδος ἐπιμελητὴν καταλελοιπέναι, καὶ σπεύδειν
 ἡξίου. καὶ γὰρ ταχέως ὑπακούσας αὐτῷ καὶ παρα-

people against those who were splitting the country into factions. "If," I continued, "they are affected by what you say, use your influence with the assembly to send written orders directing me to remain in Galilee and Jonathan and his colleagues to withdraw." Having given these instructions, and their arrangements being quickly made, on the third day after the meeting I sent them off, with an escort of five hundred men-at-arms. I further wrote to my friends in Samaria to provide for their safe convoy through that district; for Samaria was now under Roman rule and, for rapid travel, it was essential to take that route, by which Jerusalem may be reached in three days from Galilee. I accompanied the delegates myself as far as the frontier of Galilee, posting scouts on the roads to screen their departure. This task accomplished, I settled at Japha.^a

(53) Foiled in their designs upon me, Jonathan and his colleagues, leaving John to return to Gischala, had proceeded to Tiberias, expecting to receive its submission; for Jesus, at that time its chief magistrate, had written to them, promising that he would persuade the inhabitants to welcome them, if they came, and to decide to join their party. On the strength of these expectations they set out. News of these proceedings reached me in a letter from Silas, urging me to lose no time in coming; I had left him, as I have mentioned already,^b in charge of Tiberias. Responding instantly to his advice I went,

Jonathan's
embassy
incite
Tiberias
to revolt.

^a See § 230 with note.

^b § 89.

¹ om. ἀρχων P.

JOSEPHUS

γενόμενος εἰς κίνδυνον ἀπωλείας κατέστην ἐξ
 273 αἰτίας τοιαύτης. οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην γενόμενοι
 παρὰ τοῖς Τιβεριεῦσιν καὶ πολλοὺς πείσαντες
 ἀποστήναί μου διαφόρους ὄντας, ὡς ἤκουσαν τὴν
 ἐμὴν παρουσίαν, δείσαντες περὶ ἑαυτῶν ἤκον πρὸς
 ἐμέ, καὶ ἀσπασάμενοι μακαρίζειν ἔλεγον οὕτως
 περὶ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἀναστραφέντα, συνήδεσθαί τε
 274 διὰ τιμῆς ἀγομένῳ· κόσμον γὰρ ἑαυτῶν εἶναι τὴν
 ἐμὴν δόξαν ἔφασαν, ὡς ἂν διδασκάλων τέ μου
 γενομένων καὶ πολιτῶν ὄντων, δικαιοτέραν τε τῆς
 Ἰωάννου τὴν ἐμὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν ὑπάρχειν
 ἔλεγον, καὶ σπεύδειν μὲν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπελθεῖν,
 περιμένειν δ' ἕως¹ ὑποχείριον τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐμοὶ
 275 ποιήσωσιν. καὶ ταῦτα λέγοντες ἐπώμοσαν τοὺς
 φρικωδεστάτους ὄρκους παρ' ἡμῖν, δι' οὓς ἀπιστεῖν
 οὐ θεμιτὸν ἠγούμην. καὶ δὴ παρακαλοῦσίν με τὴν
 κατάλυσιν ἀλλαχοῦ ποιήσασθαι διὰ τὸ τὴν ἐπιούσαν
 ἡμέραν εἶναι σάββατον· ὀχλεῖσθαι δὲ μὴ δεῖν ὑπ'
 αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν τῶν Τιβεριέων ἔφασκον.
 276 (54) Καὶ γὰρ μηδὲν ὑπονοήσας ἐς τὰς Ταριχαίας
 ἀπῆλθον, καταλιπὼν ὅμως ἐν τῇ πόλει τοὺς πολυ-
 πραγμονήσοντας τί περὶ ἡμῶν λέγοιτο. διὰ πάσης
 δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἀπὸ Ταριχαιῶν εἰς Τιβεριάδα
 φερούσης ἐπέστησα πολλούς, ἵνα μοι δι' ἀλλήλων
 σημαίνωσιν ἅπερ ἂν παρὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει κατα-
 277 λειφθέντων πύθωνται. κατὰ τὴν ἐπιούσαν οὖν
 ἡμέραν συνάγονται πάντες εἰς τὴν προσευχήν,
 μέγιστον οἶκημα καὶ πολὺν ὄχλον ἐπιδέξασθαι
 δυνάμενον. εἰσελθὼν δὲ ὁ Ἰωνάθης φανερώς μὲν
 περὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως οὐκ ἐτόλμα λέγειν, ἔφη δὲ

¹ ὁ ἕως Dind. : ὁ ἕως MSS.

^a Greek "us."

but at the peril of my life, as will appear from the following circumstances.

Jonathan and his party having, during their stay at Tiberias, induced a number of aggrieved persons to desert me, on hearing of my arrival were alarmed about their own safety, and came and paid me their salutations. They congratulated me on my exemplary conduct of affairs in Galilee and professed to be delighted at the honour in which I was held, remarking that my reputation was a tribute to themselves, as my fellow-citizens to whom I owed my instruction. They added that they had more reason to be on friendly terms with me than with John; and that, though anxious to return home, they were waiting until they had delivered him into my hands. As they corroborated these assertions by the most awe-inspiring oaths known to us, I felt that it would be impious to disbelieve them. They ended by requesting me to take up my quarters elsewhere, as the next day was the sabbath, on which, they professed, they ought not to put the city to inconvenience.

(54) Suspecting nothing, I departed for Tarichaeae. I left, however, some of my party in the city to discover what was said about me ^a; and all along the road from Tarichaeae to Tiberias I posted a number of others to pass down the line to me any information obtained from those in the town. The next day there was a general assembly in the Prayer-house,^b a huge building, capable of accommodating a large crowd. Jonathan, who entered with the rest, while not venturing to speak openly of defection, said that

Meeting in
the Prayer-
house at
Tiberias.

^b *Proseuche*, 'oratory,' another name for synagogue; cf. Acts xvi. 13, 16; Juv. *Sat.* iii. 296. The distinction sometimes drawn between the two words seems untenable (Schürer).

JOSEPHUS

στρατηγοῦ κρείττονος χρείαν τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν
 278 ἔχειν. Ἰησοῦς δ' ὁ ἄρχων οὐδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος
 ἀναφανδὸν εἶπεν· “ ἄμεινόν ἐστιν, ὦ πολῖται,
 τέσσαρσιν ἡμᾶς ἀνδράσιν ὑπακούειν ἢ ἐνί, καὶ
 κατὰ γένος λαμπροῖς καὶ κατὰ σύνεσιν οὐκ ἀδόξοις”·
 279 ὑπεδείκνυε δὲ τοὺς περὶ Ἰωνάθην. ταῦτ' εἰπόντα
 τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπήγει παρελθὼν Ἰοῦστος καὶ τινὰς
 ἐκ τοῦ δήμου συνέπειθεν. οὐκ ἠρέσκετο δὲ τοῖς
 λεχθεῖσιν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ πάντως ἂν εἰς στάσιν
 ἐχώρησαν, εἰ μὴ τὴν σύνοδον διέλυσεν ἐπελθοῦσα
 ἕκτη ὥρα, καθ' ἣν τοῖς σάββασιν ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι
 νόμιμόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν. καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην εἰς
 τὴν ἐπιούσαν ὑπερθέμενοι τὴν βουλήν ἀπήεσαν
 ἄπρακτοι.
 280 Εὐθύς δέ μοι τούτων ἀπαγγελθέντων πρῶτ'
 διέγνων εἰς τὴν Τιβέριων πόλιν ἀφικέσθαι.
 καὶ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ περὶ [πρώτην]¹ ὥραν ἦκον ἀπὸ
 τῶν Ταριχαιῶν, καταλαμβάνω δὲ συναγόμενον
 ἤδη τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τὴν προσευχήν· ἐφ' ὅ τι δ' ἦν
 αὐτοῖς ἡ σύνοδος οὐκ ἐγίνωσκον οἱ συλλεγόμενοι.
 281 οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἀπροσδοκῆτως θεασάμενοί
 με παρόντα διεταράχθησαν· εἶτ' ἐπινοοῦσιν δια-
 δοῦναι λόγον ὅτι Ῥωμαίων ἵππεῖς ἐν τῇ μεθορίῳ
 πόρρω τριάκοντα σταδίων ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως, κατὰ
 282 τόπον λεγόμενον Ὀμόνοϊαν, εἰσὶν ἐωραμένοι. καὶ
 προσαγγελθέντων τούτων ἐξ ὑποβολῆς παρεκάλουν
 οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην μὴ περιδεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν πολε-
 μίων λεηλατουμένην αὐτῶν τὴν γῆν. ταῦτα δ'
 ἔλεγον δι' ἐννοίας ἔχοντες ἐμὲ προφάσει τῆς
 κατεπειγούσης βοηθείας μεταστήσαντες αὐτοὶ τὴν
 πόλιν ἐχθρὰν μοι κατασκευάσαι.

¹ πρώτην MW: τ μ the other mss.: Niese conj. τρίτην.

their city required a better general. Jesus, the magistrate, however, had no such scruple and said bluntly, "Citizens, it is better for us to take our orders from four men than from one, men, too, of illustrious birth and intellectual distinction," indicating Jonathan and his colleagues. Justus next came forward, and, by his approval of the previous speaker, aided in converting some of the people to his views. The majority, however, were not convinced by these speeches, and a riot would inevitably have ensued, had not the arrival of the sixth hour, at which it is our custom on the Sabbath to take our midday meal, broken off the meeting. Jonathan and his friends, accordingly, adjourned the council to the following day and retired without effecting their object.

These proceedings being at once reported to me, I decided to visit Tiberias early on the morrow. Arriving there about the first hour^a next day, I found the people already assembling in the Prayer-house, although they had no idea why they were being convened. Seriously perturbed by my unexpected appearance, Jonathan and his party conceived the idea of spreading a report that some Roman cavalry had been descried on the frontier, at a place called Homonoia,^b at a distance of thirty furlongs from the city. A fictitious message arriving to this effect, Jonathan exhorted me not to remain idle while their country was being plundered by the enemy. Their object in this was to get me away, on the pretext of an urgent call for my services, and to alienate the city from me in my absence.

^a *i.e.* 7 A.M.

^b = "Concord." Probably Umm Jūnieh on the Jordan (the frontier between Galilee and Decapolis), some two miles south of Tarichaeae and seven miles from Tiberias.

The meeting adjourned: unexpected arrival of Josephus.

JOSEPHUS

283 (55) Ἐγὼ δὲ καίπερ εἰδὼς αὐτῶν τὸ ἐνθύμημα
 ὅμως ὑπήκουσα, μὴ δόξαν παράσχω τοῖς Τιβε-
 ριεῦσιν οὐ προνοούμενος αὐτῶν τῆς ἀσφαλείας.
 ἐξῆλθον οὖν, καὶ γενόμενος κατὰ τὸν τόπον, ὡς
 284 οὐδ' ἴχνος πολεμίων εὔρον, ὑποστρέφω συντόνως
 ὀδεύσας, καὶ καταλαμβάνω τὴν τε βουλήν πᾶσαν
 συνεληλυθυῖαν καὶ τὸν δημοτικὸν ὄχλον, ποιουμέ-
 νους τε πολλὴν κατηγορίαν μου τοὺς περὶ τὸν
 Ἰωνάθην, ὡς τοῦ μὲν τὸν πόλεμον ἐπελαφρύνειν
 αὐτοῖς ἀμελοῦντος, ἐν τρυφαῖς δὲ διάγοντος.
 285 ταῦτα δὲ λέγοντες πρὸς ἐπιστολὰς τέσσαρας
 ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ μεθορίᾳ τῆς Γαλιλαίας γεγραμ-
 μένας πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ βοήθειαν ἤκειν παρα-
 καλούντων, Ῥωμαίων γὰρ δύναμιν μέλλει ἰππέων
 τε καὶ πεζῶν εἰς τρίτην ἡμέραν τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν
 λεηλατεῖν, ἐπισπεύδειν τε καὶ μὴ περιοφθῆναι
 286 δεομένων. ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες οἱ Τιβεριεῖς, λέγειν
 ἀληθῆ δόξαντες αὐτούς, καταβοήσεις ἐποιοῦντο,
 μὴ καθέζεσθαι με δεῖν λέγοντες, ἀλλ' ἀπελθεῖν
 287 ἐπικουρήσοντα τοῖς ὁμοεθνέσιν αὐτῶν. πρὸς ταῦτ'
 ἐγὼ, συνῆκα γὰρ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην,
 ὑπακούσεσθαι μὲν ἔφην ἐτοίμως καὶ χωρὶς ἀνα-
 βολῆς ὀρμήσειν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπηγγειλάμην,
 συνεβούλευον δ' ὅμως, ἐπεὶ τὰ γράμματα κατὰ
 τέσσαρας τόπους Ῥωμαίους σημαίνει προσβαλεῖν,
 εἰς πέντε μοῖρας διελόντας τὴν δύναμιν ἐκάστη
 288 ἐταίρους αὐτοῦ· πρέπειν γὰρ ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς μὴ
 μόνον συμβουλεύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρείας ἐπειγούσης
 ἡγουμένους βοηθεῖν· ἐγὼ γὰρ πλὴν μιᾶς μοῖρας οὐκ
 289 ἔφην ἀφηγεῖσθαι δυνατὸς εἶναι. σφόδρα τῷ πλήθει
 συνήρεσεν ἢ ἢ μὴ συμβουλίᾳ, κἀκείνους οὖν ἠνάγκαζον

(55) Though well aware of their design, I complied, to avoid giving the Tiberians ground for thinking me careless of their safety. I set out, accordingly, but discovering, on reaching the spot, no trace of an enemy, I returned post haste, and found the whole of the council and populace in conclave, and Jonathan and his associates making a violent tirade against me, as one who lived in luxury and neglected to alleviate their share of the burden of the war. In support of these assertions they produced four letters purporting to have been addressed to them by persons on the Galilee frontier, imploring them to come to their aid, as a Roman force of cavalry and infantry was intending in three days' time to ravage their territory, with entreaties to hasten to their relief and not to abandon them to their fate. On hearing these statements, which they believed to be authentic, the Tiberians began loudly to denounce me for sitting there when I ought to have gone to the assistance of their countrymen. Fully alive to Jonathan's designs, I replied that I was quite ready to act on their instructions, and promised to start without delay for the scene of action. At the same time I advised them, as the letters indicated an impending Roman attack on four points, to form their troops into five divisions and to put these severally under the command of Jonathan and his companions. It became brave men (I urged) to give not merely advice but practical assistance by assuming the lead in an emergency ; and it was impossible for me to take command of more than a single division. My suggestion was warmly endorsed by the people, who now put compulsion on my opponents also to take

JOSEPHUS

ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξιέναι. τοῖς δ' οὐτι μετρίως
 συνεχύθησαν αἱ γνώμαι μὴ κατεργασαμένοις ἃ
 διανοήθησαν, ἐμοῦ τοῖς ἐπιχειρήμασιν αὐτῶν ἀντι-
 στρατηγήσαντος.

- 290 (56) Εἷς δέ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν Ἀνανίας τοῦνομα,
 πονηρὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ κακοῦργος, εἰσηγεῖτο τοῖς πλή-
 θεσι πανδημεὶ νηστείαν εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν τῷ θεῷ
 προθέσθαι, καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὥραν ἐκέλευεν εἰς
 τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον ἀνόπλους παρῆναι, τῷ θεῷ φανερόν
 ποιήσοντας ὅτι μὴ τῆς παρ' ἐκείνου τυγχάνοντες
 βοηθείας πᾶν ὄπλον ἄχρηστον εἶναι νομίζουσιν.
 291 ταῦτα δ' ἔλεγεν οὐ δι' εὐσέβειαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 λαβεῖν ἀνοπλὸν με καὶ τοὺς ἐμούς. καγὼ δι'
 ἀνάγκην ὑπήκουον, μὴ δόξω καταφρονεῖν τῆς περὶ
 292 τὴν εὐσέβειαν ὑποθήκης. ὡς οὖν ἀνεχωρήσαμεν
 ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην γράφουσι
 τῷ Ἰωάννῃ, πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔωθεν ἀφικέσθαι κελεύον-
 τες μεθ' ὅσων ἂν στρατιωτῶν δυνηθῆ· λήψεσθαι
 γὰρ εὐθύς με¹ ὑποχείριον καὶ ποιήσειν ἄπερ² ἔχει δι'
 εὐχῆς. δεξάμενος δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐκείνος ὑπ-
 293 ακούειν ἔμελλεν. ἐγὼ δὲ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας δύο
 τῶν περὶ ἐμὲ σωματοφυλάκων, τοὺς κατ' ἀνδρείαν
 δοκιμωτάτους καὶ κατὰ πίστιν βεβαίους, κελεύω
 ξιφίδια κρύψαντας ὑπὸ τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἐμοὶ συμπρο-
 ελθεῖν, ἵν' εἰ γένοιτο παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπίθεσις
 ἀμυνώμεθα. θώρακα δ' ἔλαβον αὐτὸς καὶ μάχαιραν
 ὑπεζωσάμην ὡς οἶόν τ' ἦν ἀφανέστατα, καὶ ἦλθον
 εἰς τὴν προσευχήν.

- 294 (57) Τοὺς μὲν οὖν σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντας ἐκκλείσαι
 προσέταξεν Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἄρχων, αὐτὸς γὰρ ταῖς θύραις
 ἐφειστήκει, μόνον δ' ἐμὲ μετὰ τῶν φίλων εἰσελθεῖν

¹ εὐθύς με R : εὐ ἐμέ the rest.

² R : ὅπερ the rest.

the field. The failure of their scheme through this counter-manceuvre on my part caused them no little embarrassment.

(56) One of their number, however, a depraved and mischievous man named Ananias, proposed to the assembly that a public fast should be announced, in God's name, for the following day, recommending that they should reassemble at the same place and hour, without arms, in order to attest before God their conviction that without his aid no armour could avail them. This he said, not from motives of piety, but in order to catch me and my friends in this defenceless condition. I felt bound to acquiesce, for fear of being thought contemptuous of a pious suggestion. As soon, therefore, as we had retired to our homes, Jonathan's party wrote instructions to John to come to them next morning with as large a force as he could muster, as he might have me at once at his mercy and do what he chose with me. On receipt of this letter John prepared to act accordingly. For my part, on the following day I ordered two of my bodyguard, of the most approved valour and staunch loyalty, to accompany me, with daggers concealed under their dress, for self-defence in the event of an assault on the part of our foes. I wore a breastplate myself and, with a sword so girt on as to be as little conspicuous as possible, entered the Prayer-house.

A further meeting :
plot to seize
Josephus.

(57) Orders having been given by Jesus, the chief magistrate,^a who kept a watch on the door himself, to exclude all my companions, he allowed only me

^a § 271 ; possibly also a " ruler of the synagogue."

JOSEPHUS

295 εἶασεν. ἤδη δ' ἡμῶν τὰ νόμιμα ποιούντων καὶ
 πρὸς εὐχὰς τραπομένων ἀναστὰς ὁ Ἰησοῦς περὶ τῶν
 ληφθέντων ἐκ τοῦ ἐμπρησμοῦ τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς
 σκευῶν <καὶ> τοῦ ἀσήμου ἀργυρίου ἐπυνθάνετό μου,
 παρὰ τίνι τυγχάνει κείμενα. ταῦτα δ' ἔλεγεν
 διατρίβειν τὸν χρόνον βουλόμενος, ἕως ἂν ὁ Ἰωάν-
 296 νης παραγένηται. καὶ γὰρ πάντα Καπέλλαν ἔχειν
 ἔφην καὶ τοὺς δέκα πρώτους Τιβεριέων. “ἀνάκριτε
 δ' αὐτός,¹” εἶπον, “οὐ ψεύδομαι.” τῶν δὲ παρ' ἑαυ-
 τοῖς εἶναι λεγόντων, “οἱ δ' εἴκοσι,” εἶπεν, “χρυσοῖ
 οὓς ἔλαβες πωλήσας τινὰ σταθμὸν ἀσήμου, τί
 297 γεγόνασιν;” καὶ τούτους ἔφην δεδωκέναι πρέ-
 σβεσιν αὐτῶν ἐφόδιον πεμφθεῖσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.
 πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην οὐ καλῶς
 ἔφασαν πεποιηκέναι με δόντα τοῖς πρέσβεσιν τὸν
 298 μισθὸν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ. παροξυνθέντος δὲ τοῦ πλή-
 θους ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐνόησαν γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν
 πονηρίαν, συνεῖς ἐγὼ στάσιν μέλλουσαν ἐξάπτεσθαι
 καὶ προσεξερεθίσαι μᾶλλον βουλόμενος τὸν δῆμον
 ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, “ἀλλ' εἴ γε μὴ ὀρθῶς,”
 εἶπον, “ἔπραξα δούς τὸν μισθὸν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ τοῖς
 πρέσβεσιν ὑμῶν, παύεσθε χαλεπαίνοντες· ἐγὼ γὰρ
 τοὺς εἴκοσι χρυσοῦς αὐτὸς ἀποτίσω.”
 299 (58) Ταῦτ' εἰπόντος οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην
 ἡσύχασαν, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἔτι μᾶλλον κατ' αὐτῶν
 παρωξύνθη φανεράν ἔργῳ δεικνυμένων² τὴν ἄδικον
 300 πρὸς ἐμὲ δυσμένειαν. συνιδὼν δὲ τὴν μεταβολὴν
 αὐτῶν Ἰησοῦς τὸν μὲν δῆμον ἐκέλευεν ἀναχωρεῖν,
 προσμεῖναι δὲ τὴν βουλήν ἠξίωσεν· οὐ γὰρ δύνασθαι

¹ αὐτός R : αὐτοῦς the rest.

² ἔργῳ δεικ. PR : ἐπιδεικνυμένων AMW.

and my [two]^a friends to enter. We were proceeding with the ordinary service and engaged in prayer, when Jesus rose and began to question me about the furniture and uncoined silver which had been confiscated after the conflagration of the royal palace,^b asking who had the keeping of them. He raised this point merely in order to occupy the time until John's arrival. I replied that they were all in the hands of Capella and the ten head-men of Tiberias. "Ask them yourself;" I said, "I am not lying." On their admitting that the property was in their custody, "Well," continued Jesus, "what has become of the twenty pieces of gold which you realized from the sale of a quantity of bullion?" I answered that I had given these, for travelling expenses, to their deputies who had been sent to Jerusalem; on which Jonathan and his friends remarked that I had acted wrongly in paying the deputies out of public money. This statement exasperated the people, who now detected the malice of these men; and I, seeing a quarrel impending, and anxious still further to excite the general indignation against them, said, "Well, if I did wrong in paying your deputies out of public money, you need have no further cause for resentment; I will pay the twenty pieces of gold myself."

Josephus
cross-
questioned.

(58) This rejoinder silenced Jonathan's party, while the feelings of the people were roused still further against them by this open exhibition of groundless animosity against me. Perceiving their altered mood, Jesus ordered the people to withdraw, requesting the council to remain, as it was impossible

He barely
escapes with
his life

^a See § 293 (with § 303 below). Jesus apparently excluded the further escort, if any, but allowed the two to pass.

^b Cf. §§ 66-69.

JOSEPHUS

301 θορυβουμένους περὶ πραγμάτων τοιούτων τὴν
 ἐξέτασιν ποιείσθαι. τοῦ δὲ δήμου βοῶντος μὴ
 καταλείψειν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐμὲ μόνον, ἤκέν τις ἀγγέλ-
 λων κρύφα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν Ἰωάννην μετὰ
 τῶν ὀπλιτῶν πλησιάζειν. καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην
 οὐκέτι κατασχόντες αὐτούς, τάχα καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ
 προνοοῦντος τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας, μὴ γὰρ ἂν γε-
 νομένου τούτου πάντως ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωάννου δι-
 302 εφθάρην, “παύσασθε,” ἔφη, “ὦ Τιβεριεῖς, τὴν
 ζήτησιν εἴκοσι χρυσῶν ἔνεκεν· διὰ τούτους μὲν γὰρ
 οὐκ ἄξιός ἐστιν Ἰώσηπος ἀποθανεῖν, ὅτι δὲ τυραν-
 νεῖν ἐπεθύμησεν καὶ τὰ τῶν Γαλιλαίων πλήθη λόγοις
 ἀπατήσας τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ κατεκτήσατο.” ταῦτα
 λέγοντος εὐθύς μοι τὰς χεῖρας ἐπέβαλον¹ ἀναιρεῖν²
 303 τ' ἐπειρῶντο. ὡς δ' εἶδον οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ τὸ γινόμενον,
 σπασάμενοι τὰς μαχαίρας καὶ παίειν³ ἀπειλήσαντες
 εἰ βιάζοντο, τοῦ τε δήμου λίθους ἀραμένους καὶ
 βάλλειν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ὀρμήσαντος, ἐξαρπάζουσί
 με τῆς τῶν πολεμίων βίας.
 304 (59) Ἐπεὶ δὲ προελθὼν ὀλίγον ὑπαντιάζειν ἔμελ-
 λον τὸν Ἰωάννην ἰόντα⁴ μετὰ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, δείσας
 ἐκείνους μὲν ἐξέκλινα, διὰ στενωποῦ δὲ τινος ἐπὶ τὴν
 λίμνην σωθεὶς καὶ πλοίου λαβόμενος, ἐμβὰς εἰς τὰς
 Ταριχαίας διεπεραιώθην ἀπροσδοκῆτως τὸν κίν-
 305 δυνον διαφυγών. μεταπέμπομαί τ' εὐθύς τοὺς πρω-
 τεύοντας τῶν Γαλιλαίων καὶ φράζω τὸν τρόπον ᾧ
 παρασπονδηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην καὶ
 τοὺς Τιβεριεῖς παρ' ὀλίγον παρ' αὐτῶν διαφθαρείην.
 306 ὀργισθὲν δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν Γαλιλαίων τὸ πλήθος
 παρεκελεύετό μοι μηκέτι μέλλειν τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς

¹ *r.l.* ἐπέβαλλον.

² ἄρχειν PR.

³ παίσειν Cobet.

to investigate such matters in a tumultuous assembly. The people were just crying out that they would not leave me alone with them, when a messenger arrived and whispered to Jesus that John was approaching with his troops. Thereupon Jonathan, throwing off all restraint—the providence of God perhaps, co-operating to save me ; for, but for this turn of events, I should undoubtedly have been murdered by John—exclaimed : “ Have done with this inquiry, men of Tiberias, about twenty pieces of gold. It is not for them that Josephus deserves to die, but for aspiring to make himself a despot and gaining a position of absolute power by deceitful speeches to the people of Galilee.” As he said these words, he and his party laid hands on me and attempted to kill me. My companions, seeing what was happening, drew their swords and threatened to use them, if recourse were had to violence ; and, while the people were starting to hurl at Jonathan the stones which they had picked up, hurried me out of reach of the ferocity of my enemies.

(59) I had not proceeded far when I found myself nearly facing John, advancing with his troops. I turned from him in alarm, and, escaping by a narrow passage to the lake, seized a boat, embarked and crossed to Tarichaeae, having, beyond all expectation, come safe out of this perilous situation. I at once summoned the leading Galilaeans and described how, in violation of the pledges received from Jonathan and the Tiberians, I had so nearly been murdered by them. Indignant at this treatment, the Galilaeans urged me to hesitate no longer to make

⁴ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ προσιόντι R ; but the accus. is normal in Josephus.

JOSEPHUS

πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν, ἀλλ' ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτοῖς ἐλθοῦσιν
 ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἄρδην αὐτὸν ἀφανίσει καὶ τοὺς
 307 περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην. ἐπεῖχον δ' ὅμως αὐτοὺς ἐγὼ
 καίπερ οὕτως ὀργιζομένους, περιμένειν αὐτοὺς
 κελεύων ἕως μάθωμεν τί οἱ πεμφθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν
 εἰς τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ἀπαγγελοῦσιν· μετὰ
 τῆς ἐκείνων γὰρ γνώμης τὰ δοκοῦντα πράξειν
 308 αὐτοὺς ἔφην. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἔπεισα. τότε δὴ
 καὶ Ἰωάννης, οὐ λαβούσης αὐτοῦ τέλος τῆς ἐνέδρας,
 ἀνεξεύγνυεν εἰς τὰ Γισχάλα.

309 (60) Μετ' οὐ πολλὰς δ' ἡμέρας ἀφικνοῦνται
 πάλιν οὓς ἐπέμψαμεν καὶ ἀπήγγελλον σφόδρα τὸν
 δῆμον ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἄνανον καὶ τὸν Σίμωνα
 τὸν τοῦ Γαμαλιήλου παρωξύνθαι, ὅτι χωρὶς γνώμης
 τοῦ κοινοῦ πέμψαντες εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐκπεσεῖν
 310 με [ταύτης]¹ παρεσκεύασαν. ἔφασαν δ' οἱ πρέσβεις
 ὅτι καὶ τὰς οἰκίας αὐτῶν ὁ δῆμος ὤρμησεν ἐμ-
 πιπράναι. ἔφερον δὲ καὶ γράμματα δι' ὧν οἱ τῶν
 Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πρῶτοι, πολλὰ τοῦ δήμου δεηθέντος
 αὐτῶν, ἐμοὶ μὲν τὴν τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἀρχὴν ἐβεβαίουν,
 τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην δὲ προσέτασσον εἰς τὴν
 311 οἰκίαν ὑποστρέφειν θᾶσσον. ἐντυχὼν οὖν ταῖς
 ἐπιστολαῖς εἰς Ἀρβηλα κώμην ἀφικόμην, ἔνθα
 σύνοδον τῶν Γαλιλαίων ποιησάμενος ἐκέλευσα τοὺς
 πρέσβεις διηγείσθαι τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ὑπὸ
 τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ὀργὴν καὶ μισοπονηρίαν,
 312 καὶ ὡς κυρώσειαν ἐμοὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν τὴν
 προστασίαν, τὰ τε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην
 γεγραμμένα περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς, πρὸς οὓς δὴ καὶ τὴν
 ἐπιστολὴν εὐθέως διεπεμψάμην, πολυπραγμονῆσαι
 τὸν κομίσαντα κελεύσας τί ποιεῖν μέλλουσιν.

THE LIFE, 306-312

war upon them, and to permit them to proceed against John and utterly exterminate him and Jonathan and his party. Furious as they were, I was yet able to restrain them ; advising them to hold their hands until we heard the report of the delegates whom they had sent to Jerusalem, without whose concurrence no action should be taken. This advice had its effect upon them. John, having failed to accomplish his plot, now returned to Gischala.

(60) Not many days later our delegates returned and reported that popular indignation had been deeply roused against Ananus and Simon, son of Gamaliel, for having, without the sanction of the general assembly, sent emissaries to Galilee to procure my expulsion from the province ; they added that the people had even set off to burn down their houses. They also brought letters, whereby the leading men of Jerusalem, at the urgent request of the people, confirmed me in my command of Galilee, and ordered Jonathan and his colleagues to return home forthwith. After reading these instructions, I repaired to the village of Arbela,^a where I convened a meeting of the Galilaeans and instructed the delegates to tell them of the anger and detestation aroused at Jerusalem by the conduct of Jonathan and his colleagues, of the ratification of my appointment as governor of their province, and of the written orders to my rivals to quit. These I at once dispatched to the latter, giving orders to the bearer to take pains to discover how they intended to proceed.

Return of
Josephus'
embassy :
confirmation
of his ap-
pointment.

^a *Irbid*, N.W. of Tiberias.

¹ Inserted only in R.

JOSEPHUS

- 313 (61) Δεξάμενοι δ' ἐκεῖνοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τα-
 ραχθέντες οὐτι¹ μετρίως μεταπέμπονται τὸν Ἰωάν-
 νην καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς τῶν Τιβεριέων τοὺς
 τε πρωτεύοντας Γαβάρων, βουλήν τε προτιθέασιν
 σκοπεῖσθαι κελεύοντες τί πρακτέον ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς.
- 314 Τιβεριεῦσι μὲν οὖν ἀντέχεσθαι μᾶλλον ἔδοκει τῶν
 πραγμάτων· οὐ δεῖν γὰρ ἔφασαν ἐγκαταλείπεσθαι
 τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἅπαξ ἐκείνοις προστεθειμένην,
 ἄλλως τε μηδ' ἐμοῦ μέλλοντος αὐτῶν ἀφέξεσθαι·
 τοῦτο γὰρ ὡς ἠπειληκότος ἐμοῦ κατεψεύδοντο.
- 315 ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης οὐ μόνον τούτοις συνηρέσκετο, [καὶ]²
 πορευθῆναι δὲ συνεβούλευεν αὐτῶν τοὺς δύο κατηγο-
 ρήσοντάς μου πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, ὅτι μὴ καλῶς τὰ
 κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν διοικῶ, καὶ πείσειν ῥαδίως
 αὐτοὺς ἔφη διὰ τε τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ παντὸς πλήθους
- 316 εὐτρεπῶς³ ἔχοντος. δόξαντος οὖν τοῦ Ἰωάννου
 κρατίστην εἰσηνηγοχένοι γνώμην, ἔδοξε δύο μὲν
 ἀπιέναι⁴ πρὸς τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας, Ἰωνάθην καὶ
 Ἀνανίαν, τοὺς ἑτέρους δὲ δύο μένοντας ἐν τῇ Τιβε-
 ριάδι καταλιπεῖν. συνεπηγάγοντο δὲ φυλακῆς ἕνεκα
 τῆς ἑαυτῶν ὀπλίτας ἑκατόν.
- 317 (62) Τιβεριεῖς δὲ τὰ μὲν τείχη προυνόησαν
 ἀσφαλισθῆναι, τοὺς ἐνοίκους δὲ κελεύουσιν ἀνα-
 λαβεῖν τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ παρὰ Ἰωάννου δὲ μετεπέμψαντο
 στρατιώτας οὐκ ὀλίγους συμμαχήσοντας, εἰ δεή-
 σειεν, αὐτοῖς τὰ πρὸς ἐμέ. ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐν
- 318 Γισχάλοις. οἱ τοίνυν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἀναζεύ-
 ξαντες ἀπὸ τῆς Τιβεριάδος, ὡς ἤκον εἰς Δαβάριττα
 κώμην ἐν ταῖς ἐσχατιαῖς τῆς Γαλιλαίας κειμένην ἐν
 τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ, περὶ μέσην νύκτα τοῖς ἐμοῖς
 φύλαξιν ἐμπίπτουσιν, οἳ καὶ κελεύσαντες αὐτοὺς

¹ So Josephus usually writes : οὐχι mss.

THE LIFE, 313-318

(61) Profoundly agitated by the receipt of this letter, my opponents summoned John and the Tiberian councillors and the leading men of Gabara, and called a meeting to consider what action they should take. The Tiberians were of opinion that they should tighten their hold on the government, since their own city, having once gone over to them, ought not to be abandoned to its fate, particularly as I did not intend to leave them unmolested—falsely implying that I had made such a threat. John not only agreed to this, but further advised that two of their number should proceed to Jerusalem, to accuse me before the people of maladministration of the province of Galilee; adding that their high rank and the usual fickleness of a crowd would facilitate the task of persuasion. John's proposal being voted the best, it was resolved that two of the envoys, Jonathan and Ananias, should go off to Jerusalem, leaving the other two behind them at Tiberias. The emissaries took with them an armed escort of a hundred men.

Counter-measures of the Jerusalem embassy.

Two of the envoys sent to Jerusalem

(62) The Tiberians now took precautionary measures to secure their fortifications, ordered the inhabitants to be ready in arms, and requisitioned from John, who was back at Gischala, a large force to assist them against me, should the need arise. Meanwhile, Jonathan's party had left Tiberias and reached the village of Dabaritta, situated on the confines of Galilee in the Great Plain.^a Here, about midnight, they fell into the hands of my guards, who ordered them to lay down their arms and kept

are arrested by Josephus's guards.

^a Cf. § 126 above.

² cod. P: omitted by the rest.

³ ἐντρέπτως R.

⁴ So *ed. pr.*: ἀπειναι MSS.

JOSEPHUS

τὰ ὄπλα καταθέσθαι ἐφύλασσον ἐν δεσμοῖς ἐπὶ
 319 τόπου, καθὼς αὐτοῖς ἐντετάλμην. γράφει δὲ πρὸς
 ἐμὲ ταῦτα δηλῶν Λευίς, ὧ τὴν φυλακὴν πεπι-
 στεύκειν. παραλιπὼν οὖν ἡμέρας δύο καὶ μηδὲν
 ἐγνωκέμαι προσποιησάμενος, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς
 Τιβεριεῖς συνεβούλευον αὐτοῖς τὰ ὄπλα καταθεμέ-
 νους ἀπολύειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν.
 320 οἱ δέ, δόξαν γὰρ εἶχον [τοὺς]¹ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην εἰς
 τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἤδη διαπεπορευῆσθαι, βλασφήμους
 ἐποιήσαντο τὰς ἀποκρίσεις. μὴ καταπλαγεῖς δ'
 321 ἐγὼ καταστρατηγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐπενόουν. πρὸς μὲν
 οὖν τοὺς πολίτας ἐξάπτειν πόλεμον οὐκ ἐνόμιζον
 εὐσεβὲς εἶναι, βουλόμενος δ' αὐτοὺς ἀποσπάσαι τῶν
 Τιβεριέων, μυρίους ὀπλίτας τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐπιλέξας
 εἰς τρεῖς μοῖρας διεῖλον, καὶ τούτους μὲν ἀφανῶς
 ἐν Ἀδώμαις² προσέταξα λοχῶντας περιμένειν,
 322 χιλίους δ' εἰς ἑτέραν κώμην, ὀρεινὴν μὲν ὁμοίως,
 ἀπέχουσαν δὲ τῆς Τιβεριάδος τέσσαρας σταδίους,
 εἰσῆγαγον κελεύσας ἐκείνους ἐπειδὰν λάβωσιν
 σημεῖον εὐθὺς καταβαίνειν. αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς κώμης
 323 προελθὼν ἐν προύπτῳ καθεζόμεν. οἱ δὲ Τιβεριεῖς
 ὄρωντες ἐξέτρεχον συνεχῶς καὶ πολλὰ κατεκερτό-
 μουν· τοσαύτη γοῦν ἀφροσύνη κατέσχευ αὐτοὺς
 ὥστε ποιήσαντες εὐτρεπῆ κλίνην προύθεσαν καὶ
 περὶ αὐτὴν ἰστάμενοι ὠδύροντό με³ μετὰ παιδιᾶς
 καὶ γέλωτος. διετιθέμην δ' ἐγὼ τὴν ψυχὴν ἠδέως
 τὴν ἄνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐπιβλέπων.
 324 (63) Βουλόμενος δὲ δι' ἐνέδρας λαβεῖν τὸν Σί-
 μωνα καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Ἰώζαρον, πέμψας πρὸς αὐτοὺς
 παρεκάλουν ὀλίγον τῆς πόλεως πόρρω μετὰ φίλων

¹ τοὺς *ed. pr.*: mss. omit.

² mss. δώμαις or κώμαις. This emendation, I venture to

them, in chains, on the spot, in accordance with my instructions. The news was reported to me in writing by Levi, to whom I had entrusted the command of the outpost. I then let two days elapse and, feigning ignorance of these events, sent to the Tiberians, advising them to lay down their arms and dismiss the envoys to their home. They, imagining that Jonathan and his colleague had by now reached Jerusalem, sent me an abusive reply. Nothing daunted, I laid my plans to outwit them. To open a campaign upon my fellow-citizens^a I regarded as impious; my object was to entice them away from the Tiberians. I accordingly selected ten thousand of my finest troops, and, forming them in three divisions, gave them orders to remain concealed in ambush in Adamah. A thousand more I posted in another village in the hills, four furlongs distant from Tiberias, with instructions to come down as soon as they received a signal. I then advanced and took up a position in the open in front of the village. Seeing this, the Tiberians used constantly to sally out of the town and indulge freely in mockery of me. Indeed, so far did they carry their foolery, that they prepared and laid out a bier, and, standing round it, mourned for me with jests and laughter. I was myself amused at the spectacle of their mad behaviour.

(63) Desiring to lay a trap to catch Simon and Jozar,^b I now sent them an invitation to come out a short distance from the city, with numerous friends

A third
envoy
entrapped.

^a The two envoys from Jerusalem left at Tiberias, § 316.

^b § 197.

think, seems convincing. A place-name is needed, and Adamah (*Dāmīeh*), some six miles S.W. of Tiberias, in the hills, meets the requirements.

³ $\mu\epsilon$ omitted by PRA.

JOSEPHUS

πολλῶν τῶν παραφυλαξόντων αὐτοὺς ἔλθειν· βού-
 λεσθαι γὰρ ἔφην καταβὰς σπείσασθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς
 καὶ διανείμασθαι τὴν προστασίαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας.
 325 Σίμων μὲν οὖν διὰ <τε> νεότητα¹ καὶ πρὸς ἐλπίδα²
 κέρδους ἀπατηθεὶς οὐκ ὤκνησεν ἔλθειν, ὁ δὲ Ἰώζα-
 ρος ἐνέδραν ὑποπτεύσας ἔμεινεν. ἀναβάντα δὴ τὸν
 Σίμονα μετὰ φίλων τῶν παραφυλασσόντων αὐτὸν
 ὑπαντιάσας ἠσπαζόμεν τε φιλοφρόνως καὶ χάριν
 326 ἔχειν ὡμολόγουν ἀναβάντι. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ συμ-
 περιπατῶν ὡς κατὰ μόνας τι βουλόμενος εἰπεῖν,
 ἐπεὶ πορρωτέρω τῶν φίλων ἀπήγαγον, μέσον
 ἀράμενος ἀγαγεῖν εἰς τὴν κώμην τοῖς μετ' ἐμοῦ
 φίλοις ἔδωκα, τοὺς ὀπλίτας δὲ καταβῆναι κελεύσας
 327 προσέβαλλον μετ' αὐτῶν τῇ Τιβεριάδι. μάχης δὲ
 γενομένης ἀμφοτέρωθεν καρτερᾶς καὶ ὅσον οὐπω
 τῶν Τιβεριέων νικῶντων, πεφεύγεισαν γὰρ οἱ παρ'
 ἡμῶν ὀπλίται, τὸ γινόμενον ἰδὼν καὶ τοὺς μετ'
 ἐμαυτοῦ παρακαλέσας νικῶντας ἤδη τοὺς Τιβεριεῖς
 εἰς τὴν πόλιν συνεδίωξα. ἑτέραν δὲ δύναμιν
 εἰσπέμφσας³ διὰ τῆς λίμνης προσέταξα τὴν πρώτην
 328 λαβοῦσιν οἰκίαν ἐμπρῆσαι. τούτου γενομένου νομί-
 σαντες οἱ Τιβεριεῖς εἰλήφθαι κατὰ κράτος αὐτῶν
 τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ φόβου ρίπτουσιν τὰ ὄπλα, μετὰ
 γυναικῶν δὲ καὶ τέκνων ἰκέτευον φείσασθαι τῆς
 329 πόλεως αὐτῶν. ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τὰς δεήσεις ἐπικλα-
 σθεὶς τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας τῆς ὀρμῆς ἐπέσχον,
 αὐτὸς δέ, καὶ γὰρ ἑσπέρα κατέλαβεν, μετὰ τῶν
 ὀπλιτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πολιορκίας ὑποστρέψας περὶ τὴν
 330 τοῦ σώματος θεραπείαν ἐγινόμεν. καλέσας δὲ ἐπὶ
 τὴν ἐστίασιν τὸν Σίμονα παρεμυθούμην περὶ τῶν

¹ τε νεότητα. text emended: στενότητα P, νεότητα RMW,
 τε ἄνοιαν A

THE LIFE, 324-330

to protect them, explaining that I was anxious to come down and make terms with them with a view to a division of the supreme command of Galilee. Simon, owing to his years and expectations of personal profit, was deluded and came without hesitation; Jozar, suspecting a plot, remained behind. Simon, accordingly, came up country with his escort of friends; I met him, gave him a friendly greeting, and thanked him for coming. Not long after, walking beside him as though I desired to speak with him in private, I drew him a considerable distance from his party, and then seized him round the waist and handed him over to the friends who attended me, to be conducted to the village. I then ordered down my troops and proceeded with them to the assault of Tiberias. A stubbornly contested engagement ensued, and the Tiberians, owing to the flight of our men, had the battle almost in their hands, when, seeing the situation of affairs, I cheered on the troops that were with me and drove the Tiberians, now on the verge of victory, back into the town. I had also dispatched another contingent to enter the city by way of the lake, with orders to set fire to the first house which they took. This being successfully done, the Tiberians, supposing that their city had been carried by storm, threw down their arms in alarm, and, with their wives and children, implored me to spare it. Moved by their entreaties, I restrained the fury of the soldiers, and, as dusk had now fallen, abandoned the assault together with my troops, and retired for refreshment. I invited Simon to dine with me and consoled him for his fate,

Josephus
attacks
Tiberias: its
submission.

² *v.l.* ἐλπίδι; πρὸς being then adverbial.

³ εἰσπέμψαι PRA.

JOSEPHUS

γεγονότων, ὑπισχνούμην τε δοῦς ἐφόδια αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ παραπέμψειν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας.

- 331 (64) Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν μυρίους ἐπαγόμενος ὀπλίτας ἤκον εἰς τὴν Τιβεριάδα, καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος εἰς τὸ στάδιον τοὺς πρώτους αὐτῶν τοῦ πλήθους ἐκέλευσα φράζειν οἷτινες εἶεν
- 332 αἴτιοι τῆς ἀποστάσεως. ἐνδειξαμένων δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἐκείνους μὲν δεδεμένους εἰς τὴν Ἰωταπάτην πόλιν ἐξέπεμψα, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην καὶ Ἀνανίαν λύσας τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ δοῦς ἐφόδια μετὰ Σίμωνος καὶ Ἰωζάρου καὶ ὀπλιτῶν πεντακοσίων, οἱ παραφυλάξουσιν αὐτούς, ἐξέπεμψα εἰς τὰ
- 333 Ἱεροσόλυμα. Τιβεριεῖς δὲ πάλιν προσελθόντες συγγινώσκειν αὐτοῖς παρεκάλουν περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων, ἐπανορθώσεσθαι τὰς ἀμαρτίας τῇ μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς ἐμὲ πίστει λέγοντες· τὰ δ' ἐκ τῆς διαρπαγῆς περισσεύσαντα σῶσαί με τοῖς ἀπολέσα-
- 334 σιν ἐδέοντο. καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἔχουσιν προσέταπτον εἰς μέσον πάντα φέρειν· ἀπειθούντων δὲ μέχρι πολλοῦ, θεασάμενός τινα τῶν περὶ ἐμὲ στρατιωτῶν λαμπροτέραν τοῦ συνήθους περικείμενον στολὴν ἐπυθόμην
- 335 πόθεν ἔχοι. εἰπόντος δὲ ἐκ τῆς κατὰ πόλιν ἀρπαγῆς, ἐκείνον μὲν πληγαῖς ἐκόλασα, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἠπειλήσα μείζω τιμωρίαν ἐπιθήσειν μὴ κομίσασιν εἰς τοῦμφανὲς ὅσα ἠρπάκεισαν. πολλῶν δὲ συνενεχθέντων¹ ἐκάστῳ τῶν Τιβεριέων τὸ ἐπιγνωσθὲν ἀπέδωκα.

- 336 (65) Γεγονὸς δ' ἐνταῦθα τῆς διηγήσεως βούλομαι πρὸς Ἰουστον, καὶ αὐτὸν τὴν περὶ τούτων πραγματείαν γεγραφότα, πρὸς τε τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς

THE LIFE, 330-336

promising him and his companions a safe escort, with supplies for the journey, to Jerusalem.

(64) On the following day I entered Tiberias with an army of ten thousand men, and summoning the leading citizens to the stadium, commanded them to give me the names of the authors of the revolt. The information being supplied, I dispatched the incriminated individuals, in chains, to the town of Jotapata. Jonathan and Ananias I released and, providing them with supplies, sent them off together with Simon and Jozar and five hundred soldiers to escort them to Jerusalem. The Tiberians now approached me again and implored my forgiveness for their conduct, promising to make amends for the errors of the past by their loyalty in future. They besought me at the same time to recover what still remained of the plunder for those who had lost their property. I accordingly ordered all the possessors to produce everything. As there was considerable delay in obeying these orders I, observing that one of my soldiers was wearing an unusually magnificent garment, asked him whence he obtained it. On his replying "From the sack of the city," I punished him with the lash, and threatened the rest with severer penalties if they failed to surrender their spoils. A mass of property being thus collected, I restored to each individual what he recognized as his own.

The envoys
dismissed to
Jerusalem.

(65) Having reached this point in my narrative, I propose to address a few words to Justus, who has produced his own account of these affairs, and to others

Digression
on Justus of
Tiberias,
a rival
historian of
the war.

¹ P: συναχθέντων the rest.

JOSEPHUS

ἱστορίαν μὲν γράφειν ὑπισχνουμένους, περὶ δὲ τὴν
 ἀλήθειαν ὀλιγώρους καὶ δι' ἔχθραν ἢ χάριν τὸ
 337 ψεῦδος οὐκ ἐντρεπομένους, [μικρὰ διελθεῖν].¹ πράτ-
 τουσι μὲν γὰρ ὅμοιόν τι τοῖς περὶ συμβολαίων
 πλαστὰ γράμματα συντιθεῖσι, τῷ δὲ μηδεμίαν ὁμοίως
 τιμωρίαν ἐκείνοις δεδιέναι καταφρονοῦσι τῆς ἀλη-
 338 θείας. Ἰουστὸς γοῦν συγγράφειν τὰς περὶ τοῦτον²
 ἐπιχειρήσας πράξεις τὸν πόλεμον, ὑπὲρ τοῦ δοκεῖν
 φιλόπονος εἶναι ἐμοῦ μὲν κατέψευσται, ἠλήθευσε
 δὲ οὐδὲ περὶ τῆς πατρίδος. ὅθεν, ἀπολογήσασθαι
 γὰρ νῦν ἀνάγκην ἔχω καταψευδομαρτυρούμενος,
 339 ἐρῶ τὰ μέχρι νῦν σεσιωπημένα. καὶ μὴ θαυμάση
 τις ὅτι μὴ πάλαι περὶ τούτων ἐδήλωσα· τῷ γὰρ
 ἱστορίαν ἀναγράφοντι τὸ μὲν ἀληθεύειν ἀναγκαῖον,
 ἕξεστιν δ' ὅμως μὴ πικρῶς τὰς τινῶν πονηρίας
 ἐλέγχειν, οὐ διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνους χάριν ἀλλὰ διὰ
 τὴν αὐτοῦ μετριότητα.

340 Πῶς οὖν, ἵνα φῶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς παρόντα, Ἰουστε,
 δεινότατε συγγραφέων, τοῦτο γὰρ ἀρχεῖς περὶ σε-
 αυτοῦ, αἴτιοι γεγόναμεν ἐγὼ τε καὶ Γαλιλαῖοι τῇ
 πατρίδι σου τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους καὶ πρὸς τὸν
 341 βασιλέα στάσεως; πρότερον γὰρ ἢ ἐμὲ τῆς
 Γαλιλαίας στρατηγὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἱεροσο-
 λυμιτῶν χειροτονηθῆναι, σὺ καὶ πάντες Τιβεριεῖς
 οὐ μόνον ἀνειλήφατε τὰ ὅπλα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ
 Συρίᾳ δέκα πόλεις ἐπολεμεῖτε. σὺ γοῦν τὰς κώμας
 αὐτῶν ἐνέπρησας καὶ ὁ σὸς οἰκέτης ἐπὶ τῆς παρα-
 342 τάξεως ἐκείνης ἔπεσεν. ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἐγὼ λέγω
 μόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς Οὐεσπασιανοῦ τοῦ αὐτο-

¹ The bracketed words occur in A only.

² W: the rest τούτων.

THE LIFE, 336-342

who, while professing to write history, care little for truth, and, either from spite or partiality, have no scruples about falsehood. The procedure of such persons resembles indeed that of forgers of contracts, but, having no corresponding penalty to fear, they can afford to disdain veracity. Justus, for instance, having taken upon himself to record the history of this war, has, in order to gain credit for industrious research, not only maligned me, but even failed to tell the truth about his native place. Being, therefore, now compelled to defend myself against these false allegations, I shall allude to matters about which I have hitherto kept silence. My omission to make such a statement at an earlier date should not occasion surprise. For, while veracity is incumbent upon a historian, he is none the less at liberty to refrain from harsh scrutiny of the misdeeds of individuals, not from any partiality for the offenders, but because of his own moderation.

How, then, Justus—if I may address him as though he were present—how, most clever of historians, as you boast yourself to be, can I and the Galilaeans be held responsible for the insurrection of your native city against the Romans and against the king; seeing that, before I was elected by the general assembly at Jerusalem to the command of Galilee, you and all the citizens of Tiberias had not only resorted to arms, but were actually at war with the towns of the Syrian Decapolis? It was you who burnt their villages, and your domestic fell in the engagement on that occasion. This is no unsupported assertion of my own. The facts are recorded in the *Commentaries*^a

Justus, not Josephus, responsible for the revolt of Tiberias from Rome.

notes of Vespasian. Cf. § 358, and the *Commentaries* of Julius Caesar on the Gallic War.

JOSEPHUS

κράτορος ὑπομνήμασιν οὕτως γέγραπται, καὶ τίνα
τρόπον ἐν Πτολεμαΐδι Οὐεσπασιανοῦ κατεβόησαν
οἱ τῶν δέκα πόλεων ἔνοικοι, τιμωρίαν ὑποσχεῖν
343 σε τὸν αἴτιον ἀξιούντες. καὶ δεδώκεις ἂν δίκην
Οὐεσπασιανοῦ κελεύσαντος, εἰ μὴ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίπ-
πας λαβὼν ἐξουσίαν ἀποκτεῖναί σε, πολλὰ τῆς
ἀδελφῆς Βερενίκης δεηθείσης, οὐκ ἀνελὼν δεδε-
344 μένον ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐφύλαξεν. καὶ αἱ μετὰ
ταῦτα δὲ πολιτεῖαί σου σαφῶς ἐμφανίζουσιν τὸν τε
βίον τὸν ἄλλον καὶ ὅτι σὺ τὴν πατρίδα Ῥωμαίων
ἀπέστησας· ὧν τὰ τεκμήρια καὶ γὰρ δηλώσω μετ'
ὀλίγον.

345 Βούλομαι δ' εἰπεῖν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Τιβε-
ριεῖς ὀλίγα διὰ σέ καὶ παραστήσαι τοῖς ἐντυγχά-
νειν μέλλουσιν ταῖς ἱστορίαις ὅτι μήτε φιλορώμαιοι
346 μήτε φιλοβασιλεῖς γέγονατε. τῶν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ
πόλεων αἱ μέγιστα Σέπφωρις καὶ Τιβεριὰς ἡ σὴ
πατρίς, ὧ Ἰοῦστε. ἀλλὰ Σέπφωρις μὲν ἐν τῷ
μεσαιτάτῳ τῆς Γαλιλαίας κειμένη καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν
κώμας ἔχουσα πολλάς, καί τι καὶ θρασύνεσθαι
δυναμένη πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, εἴπερ ἠθέλησεν, εὐχερῶς,
διεγνωκυῖα τῇ πρὸς τοὺς δεσπότας ἐμμένειν πίστει
καὶ μὲ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν ἐξέκλεισε καὶ στρατεύ-
σασθαί τινα τῶν πολιτῶν Ἰουδαίοις ἐκώλυσεν.
347 ὅπως δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀσφαλεῖς εἶεν, ἠπάτησάν
με τείχεσιν αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν ὀχυρῶσαι προ-
τρέψαντες, καὶ παρὰ Κεστίου Γάλλου τοῦ τῶν ἐν
τῇ Συρίᾳ Ῥωμαϊκῶν ταγμάτων ἡγεμονεύοντος φρου-
ρὰν ἐκόντες ἐδέξαντο, καταφρονήσαντες ἐμοῦ τότε
μέγα δυναμένου καὶ πᾶσιν δι' ἐκπλήξεως ὄντος.
348 πολιορκουμένης τε τῆς μεγίστης ἡμῶν πόλεως

THE LIFE, 342-348

of the Emperor Vespasian, which further relate how insistently the inhabitants of Decapolis pressed Vespasian, when at Ptolemais, to punish you, as the culprit. And punished you would have been under his orders, had not King Agrippa, though empowered to put you to death, at the urgent entreaty of his sister Berenice, commuted the death penalty to a long term of imprisonment. Moreover, your subsequent public life is a sure index of character and proves that it was you who caused the revolt of your native city from Rome. Proofs of these statements I shall adduce presently.

I have, however, a few words which I would address, on your account, to the other inhabitants of Tiberias, in order to demonstrate to future readers of this history^a that you and your fellow-citizens were friendly neither to the Romans nor to the king. Of the cities of Galilee the largest are Sepphoris and Tiberias — your native Tiberias, Justus. Now, Sepphoris, situated in the heart of Galilee, surrounded by numerous villages, and in a position, without any difficulty, had she been so inclined, to make a bold stand against the Romans, nevertheless decided to remain loyal to her masters, excluded me from the town, and forbade any of her citizens to take service with the Jews. Moreover, in order to secure themselves against me, they inveigled me into fortifying the city with walls, and then voluntarily admitted a garrison provided by Cestius Gallus, commander-in-chief of the Roman legions in Syria; flouting me at a time when I exercised great power and was universally held in awe. Again, when Jerusalem,

Contrast
between
pro-Roman
Sepphoris

A. D. 70.

^a Literally "the histories," perhaps meaning "our (rival) histories."

JOSEPHUS

Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ πάντων ἱεροῦ κινδυνεύοντος ἐν τῇ τῶν πολεμίων ἐξουσία γενέσθαι, συμμαχίαν οὐκ ἔπεμψαν, μὴ βουλόμενοι δοκεῖν
 349 κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ὄπλα λαβεῖν. ἡ δὲ σὴ πατρίς, ὧ Ἰουῦστε, κειμένη ἐν¹ τῇ Γεννησαρίτιδι² λίμνη καὶ ἀπέχουσα Ἰππου μὲν στάδια τριάκοντα, Γαδάρων δὲ ἐξήκοντα, Σκυθοπόλεως δὲ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τῆς ὑπηκόου βασιλεῖ, μηδεμιᾶς δὲ πόλεως Ἰουδαίων παρακειμένης, εἰ ἤθελεν τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πίστιν
 350 φυλάττειν, ῥαδίως ἐδύνατο. καὶ γὰρ πολὺς ἦτε δῆμος καὶ ὄπλων ἠὺπορεῖτε. ἀλλ', ὡς σὺ φῆς, αἴτιος ὑμῶν³ ἐγὼ τότε. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τίς, ὧ Ἰουῦστε; πρὸ γὰρ τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων πολιορκίας οἶδας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἐμὲ γενόμενον, καὶ Ἰωτάπατα κατὰ κράτος ληφθέντα φρούριά τε πολλά, πολὺν τε
 351 Γαλιλαίων ὄχλον κατὰ τὴν μάχην πεσόντα. τότε οὖν ἐχρῆν ὑμᾶς παντὸς ἀπηλλαγμένους τοῦ δι' ἐμὲ φόβου ῥῦψαί τε τὰ ὄπλα καὶ παραστήσαι τῷ τε βασιλεῖ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὅτι δὴ οὐχ ἔκόντες ἀλλ' ἀναγκασθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὠρμήσατε πόλε-
 352 μον. ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ περιεμείνατε Οὐεσπασιανόν, ἕως αὐτὸς ἀφικόμενος μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως προσέλθοι τοῖς τείχεσιν, καὶ τότε διὰ φόβον τὰ ὄπλα κατέθεσθε⁴· καὶ πάντως ἂν ὑμῶν ἡ πόλις ἦλω κατὰ κράτος, εἰ μὴ τῷ βασιλεῖ δεομένῳ καὶ τὴν

¹ ἐπὶ Cobet.

² Γεννησαρίδι PR.

³ Niese: mss. ἡμῶν (perhaps rightly) or ὑμῶν.

⁴ Hudson: καταθέσθαι mss.

^a "This only means that Scythopolis was on the side of Agrippa and the Romans." It was "an independent town

THE LIFE, 348-352

our capital, was besieged, and the Temple, which was common to us all, was in danger of falling into the enemy's hands, they sent no assistance, wishing to avoid all suspicion of having borne arms against the Romans.

Your native city, Justus, on the contrary, situated on the lake of Gennesaret, and distant from Hippos^{and anti-Roman Tiberias.} thirty furlongs, from Gadara sixty and from Scythopolis, which was under the king's jurisdiction,^a one hundred and twenty, with no Jewish city in the vicinity, might easily, had it so desired, have kept faith with the Romans. You were a populous community and well supplied with arms. But, you maintain, it was I who was responsible for your revolt at that time. Well, who was responsible, Justus, later on? For you are aware that before the siege of Jerusalem I was taken prisoner by the Romans, that Jotapata and many other fortresses had been carried by storm, and that a large number of Galilaeans had fallen in battle. That was the proper occasion for you, when you had nothing whatever to fear from me, to abandon hostilities and to convince the king and the Romans that it was not your own free will but compulsion which drove you into war against them. Instead, you waited until Vespasian arrived in person, with his whole army, beneath your walls; and then, at last, in alarm, you did lay down your arms. But your city would undoubtedly have been taken by storm, had not

under Roman supremacy," and never, apparently, in the possession of any of the Herods. Schürer, *H.J.P.*, div. ii., vol. i. p. 112. "You had pro-Roman towns at hand to protect you" is the argument. Josephus is here hard put to it to answer Justus, since, for all his temporizing, he did take the lead against the Romans in the opening campaign.

JOSEPHUS

ἄνοιαν ὑμῶν παραιτουμένῳ συνεχώρησεν Οὐεσπα-
 σιανός. οὐκ ἐγὼ τοίνυν αἴτιος, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς οἱ
 353 πολεμικὰ φρονήσαντες. ἢ οὐ μέμνησθε ὅτι τοσαυ-
 τάκις ὑμῶν ἐγκρατῆς γενόμενος οὐδένα διέφθειρα,
 στασιάζοντες δ' ὑμεῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὐ διὰ τὴν
 πρὸς Ῥωμαίους καὶ τὸν βασιλέα εὐνοιαν, διὰ δὲ
 τὴν ὑμετέραν αὐτῶν πονηρίαν, ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα
 πέντε τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπεκτείνατε, κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν
 ἐκείνον ἐμοῦ πολιορκουμένου ἐν Ἰωταπάτοις ὑπὸ
 354 Ῥωμαίων; τί δ'; οὐχὶ καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἱερο-
 σολυμιτῶν πολιορκίαν δισχίλιοι Τιβεριέων ἐξ-
 ητάσθησαν, οἱ μὲν πεπτωκότες οἱ δὲ ληφθέντες
 αἰχμάλωτοι; ἀλλὰ σὺ πολέμιος οὐ γεγονέναι φή-
 σεις, ὅτι πρὸς βασιλέα τότε ἔφυγες. καὶ τοῦτο δὲ
 355 διὰ τὸν ἐξ ἐμοῦ φόβον φημί σε πεποιηκέναι. καὶ γὰρ
 μὲν πονηρός, ὡς λέγεις· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας ὁ
 τὴν ψυχὴν σοι συγχωρήσας ὑπὸ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ
 θανεῖν κατακριθέντι, ὁ τοσούτοις δωρησάμενος
 χρήμασιν, τίνος ἕνεκεν ὕστερον δὲ μὲν ἔδησε,
 τοσαυτάκις δὲ φυγεῖν τὴν πατρίδα προσέταξεν καὶ
 ἀποθανεῖν δὲ κελεύσας ἅπαξ τῇ ἀδελφῇ Βερενίκῃ
 356 πολλὰ δεηθείση τὴν σὴν σωτηρίαν ἐχαρίσατο; καὶ
 μετὰ τοσαῦτα δέ σου κακουργήματα τάξιν ἐπι-
 στολῶν σοι πιστεύσας, ὡς καὶ ταύταις εὔρε ῥαδι-
 ουργόν, ἀπήλασε τῆς ὄψεως. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων
 ἐλέγχειν ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς ἐῶ.
 357 Θαυμάζειν δ' ἐπεισὶ μοι τὴν σὴν ἀναίδειαν, ὅτι
 τολμᾶς λέγειν ἀπάντων τῶν τὴν πραγματείαν
 ταύτην γεγραφότων αὐτὸς ἄμεινον ἐξηγγελκέναι,
 μήτε τὰ πραχθέντα κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐπιστάμενος,

^a Or " your native place."

THE LIFE, 352-357

Vespasian yielded to the king's intercession to condone your folly. The responsibility therefore rests not with me, but with you, Tiberians, and your passion for war. Have you forgotten how, often as I had you in my power, I put not one of you to death ; whereas you in your party quarrels, not from any loyalty to the Romans and the king, but of your own malice, slew one hundred and eighty-five of your fellow-citizens at the time when I was besieged in Jotapata by the Romans ? Again, were there not two thousand Tiberians found at the siege of Jerusalem, of whom some fell and others were taken prisoners ?

But you, Justus, will urge that you at least were no enemy [of Rome], because in those early days you sought refuge with the king. I reply that it was fear of me which drove you to do so. I too, then, you assert, was a knave. Well, how do you account for your treatment by King Agrippa, to whom you owed your life, when condemned to death by Vespasian, and all that wealth which he lavished upon you ? Why did he subsequently twice put you in irons and as often command you to quit the country,^a and once order you to execution, when he spared your life only at the earnest entreaty of his sister Berenice ? And when, after all your knavish tricks, he had appointed you his private secretary, he detected you once more in fraudulent practices and banished you from his sight. But I forbear to scrutinize these matters too closely.

I cannot, however, but wonder at your impudence in daring to assert that your narrative is to be preferred to that of all who have written on this subject, when you neither knew what happened in Galilee—

Relations
between
Justus and
Agrippa.

Justus's
belated and
erroneous
History of
the War

JOSEPHUS

ἥς γὰρ ἐν Βηρυτῶ τότε παρὰ βασιλεῖ, μήθ' ὅσα
 ἔπαθον Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰωταπάτων πολιορκίας
 ἢ ἔδρασαν ἡμᾶς παρακολουθήσας, μήθ' ὅσα κατ'
 ἑμαυτὸν ἔπραξα πολιορκούμενος δυνηθεὶς πυθέσθαι·
 πάντες γὰρ οἱ ἀπαγγείλαντες ἂν διεφθάρησαν ἐπὶ
 358 τῆς παρατάξεως ἐκείνης. ἀλλ' ἴσως τὰ κατὰ τὴν
 Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πραχθέντα μετὰ ἀκριβείας φήσεις
 συγγεγραφέναι. καὶ πῶς οἶόν τε; οὔτε γὰρ τῷ
 πολέμῳ παρέτυχες οὔτε τὰ Καίσαρος ἀνέγνωσ
 ὑπομνήματα. μέγιστον δὲ τεκμήριον· τοῖς [γὰρ]¹
 Καίσαρος ὑπομνήμασιν ἐναντίαν πεποίησαι τὴν
 359 γραφήν. εἰ δὲ θαρρεῖς ἄμεινον ἀπάντων συγγεγρα-
 φέναι, διὰ τί ζώντων Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καὶ Τίτου τῶν
 αὐτοκρατόρων τοῦ πολέμου γενομένων² καὶ βασιλέως
 Ἀγρίππα περιόντος ἔτι καὶ τῶν ἐκ γένους αὐτοῦ
 πάντων, ἀνδρῶν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας ἐπὶ
 πλείστον ἠκόντων, τὴν ἱστορίαν οὐκ ἔφερες εἰς
 360 μέσον; πρὸ γὰρ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν εἶχες γεγραμμένην
 καὶ παρ' εἰδότων ἔμελλες τῆς ἀκριβείας τὴν
 μαρτυρίαν ἀποφέρεσθαι. νῦν δ', ὅτ' ἐκείνοι μὲν
 οὐκέτ' εἰσὶν μεθ' ἡμῶν, ἐλεγχθῆναι δ' οὐ νομίζεις,
 τεθάρρηκας.
 361 Οὐ μὴν ἐγὼ σοι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον περὶ τῆς
 ἑμαυτοῦ γραφῆς ἔδεισα, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς ἐπέδωκα τοῖς
 αὐτοκράτορσι τὰ βιβλία μόνον οὐ τῶν ἔργων ἔτι
 βλεπομένων· συνήδειν γὰρ ἑμαυτῷ τετηρηκότι τὴν
 τῆς ἀληθείας παράδοσιν, ἐφ' ἣ μαρτυρίας τεύξεσθαι
 362 προσδοκήσας οὐ διήμαρτον. καὶ ἄλλοις δὲ πολλοῖς
 εὐθὺς ἐπέδωκα τὴν ἱστορίαν, ὧν ἔνιοι καὶ παρα-
 τετεύχισαν τῷ πολέμῳ, καθάπερ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίπ-

¹ ins. R: the rest omit.

² τοῦ πολ. γεν.] τῶν τὸν πόλεμον κατεργασαμένων R.

for you were then at Berytus ^a with the king—nor acquainted yourself with all that the Romans endured or inflicted upon us at the siege of Jotapata ; nor was it in your power to ascertain the part which I myself played in the siege, since all possible informants perished in that conflict. Perhaps, however, you will say that you have accurately narrated the events which took place at Jerusalem. How, pray, can that be, seeing that neither were you a combatant nor had you perused the *Commentaries* of Caesar,^b as is abundantly proved by your contradictory account ? But, if you are so confident that your history excels all others, why did you not publish it in the lifetime of the Emperors Vespasian and Titus, who conducted the war, and while King Agrippa and all his family, persons thoroughly conversant with Hellenic culture, were still among us ? You had it written twenty years ago, and might then have obtained the evidence of eyewitnesses to your accuracy. But not until now, when those persons are no longer with us and you think you cannot be confuted, have you ventured to publish it. After
A.D. 100.

I had no such apprehensions concerning my work. No ; I presented the volumes to the Emperors themselves, when the events had hardly passed out of sight, conscious as I was that I had preserved the true story. I expected to receive testimony to my accuracy, and was not disappointed. To many others also I immediately presented my *History*, some of whom had taken part in the war, such as King

^a Beirut.

^b *i.e.* Titus ; *cf.* § 342 (note).

JOSEPHUS

363 πας καί τινες αὐτοῦ τῶν συγγενῶν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοκράτωρ Τίτος [οὕτως]¹ ἐκ μόνων αὐτῶν ἐβουλήθη τὴν γνῶσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παραδοῦναι τῶν πράξεων, ὥστε χαράξας τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ τὰ
364 βιβλία δημοσιῶσαι προσέταξεν· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας ἐξήκοντα δύο γέγραφεν ἐπιστολάς τῇ τῆς ἀληθείας παραδόσει μαρτυρῶν. ὧν δὴ καὶ δύο ὑπέταξα καὶ βουλευθέντι σοι τὰ γεγραμμένα γνῶναι πάρεστιν ἐξ αὐτῶν·

365 “Βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας Ἰωσήπῳ τῷ φιλτάτῳ χαίρειν. ἡδιστα διήλθον τὴν βίβλον,² καὶ μοι πολὺ ἐπιμελέστερον ἔδοξας τῶν ταῦτα συγγραψάντων ἠκριβωκέναι. πέμπε δέ μοι καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς. ἔρρωσο.³”

366 “Βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας Ἰωσήπῳ τῷ φιλτάτῳ χαίρειν. ἐξ ὧν ἔγραψας οὐδεμιᾶς ἕοικας χρῆζειν διδασκαλίας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μαθεῖν ἡμᾶς ὅλους ἀρχῆθεν. ὅταν μέντοι συντύχῃς μοι, καὶ αὐτός σε πολλὰ κατηχήσω τῶν ἀγνοουμένων.”

367 Ἐμοὶ δὲ⁴ ἀπαρτισθείσης τῆς ἱστορίας ἀληθείας,⁵ οὐ κολακεύων, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπέβαλλεν αὐτῷ, οὐδὲ εἰρωνευόμενος, ὡς σὺ φήσεις, πόρρω γὰρ ἦν ἐκεῖνος τοιαύτης κακοηθείας, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐμαρτύρει, καθάπερ πάντες οἱ ταῖς ἱστορίαις ἐντυγχάνοντες. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρὸς Ἰοῦστον ἀναγκαίαν λαβόντα τὴν παρέκβασιν⁶ μέχρι τούτων [ἡμῖν]⁷ λελέχθω.

¹ om. PR.

² βύβλον PA.

³ RAMW add φίλτατε.

⁴ Text doubtful: R οὕτως δέ μοι: Niese marks a lacuna.

⁵ Doubtful: Hudson suggests Ἀγρίππας.

⁶ παράθεσιν PR.

⁷ P: the rest omit.

Agrippa and certain of his relatives. Indeed, so anxious was the Emperor Titus that my volumes should be the sole authority from which the world should learn the facts, that he affixed his own signature to them and gave orders for their publication; while King Agrippa wrote sixty-two letters testifying to the truth of the record. Two of these I subjoin, from which you may, if you will, learn the nature of his communications :

“ King Agrippa to dearest Josephus, greeting. I have perused the book with the greatest pleasure. You seem to me to have written with much greater care and accuracy than any who have dealt with the subject. Send me the remaining volumes. Farewell.”

“ King Agrippa to dearest Josephus, greeting. From what you have written you appear to stand in no need of instruction, to enable us all to learn (everything from you) from the beginning.^a But when you meet me, I will myself by word of mouth inform you of much that is not generally known.”

And, on the completion of my *History*, not in flattery, which was contrary to his nature, nor yet, as *you*^b no doubt will say, in irony, for he was far above such malignity, but in all sincerity, he, in common with all readers of my volumes, bore witness to their accuracy. But here let me close this digression on Justus which he has forced upon me.

^a The king's alleged “ culture ” here fails him ; the Greek is vulgar and obscure. For *ἡμᾶς ὅλους*, “ us all,” perhaps we should read *ἡμᾶς ὅλως*, “ us completely.”

^b *i.e.* Justus, whom he again addresses.

JOSEPHUS

- 368 (66) Διοικήσας δ' ἐγὼ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Τιβεριάδα καὶ καθίσας τῶν φίλων συνέδριον ἐβουλευόμην περὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἰωάννην πραχθησομένων. ἐδόκει μὲν οὖν πᾶσι τοῖς Γαλιλαίοις ὀπλίσαντα πάντας ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ λαβεῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ δίκας
- 369 ὡς πάσης τῆς στάσεως αἰτίου γεγονότος. οὐκ ἠρεσκόμην δ' ἐγὼ ταῖς γνώμαις αὐτῶν προαίρεσιν ἔχων τὰς ταραχὰς χωρὶς φόνου καταστέλλειν. ὅθεν δὴ παρήνεσα πᾶσαν εἰσενέγκασθαι πρόνοιαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γνῶναι τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ὑπὸ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ
- 370 ὄντων. ποιησάντων δ' ἐκείνων γνοὺς ἐγὼ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οἵτινες ἦσαν ἐξέθηκα πρόγραμμα, διὰ τούτου πίστιν καὶ δεξιὰν προτείνων τοῖς μετὰ Ἰωάννου θελήσασιν λαβεῖν μετάνοιαν, καὶ ἡμερῶν εἴκοσι χρόνον προέτεινα τοῖς βουλευσασθαι θέλουσιν περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῖς συμφερόντων. ἠπείλουν δέ, εἰ μὴ ρίψουσιν τὰ ὄπλα, καταπρήσειν αὐτῶν τὰς οἰ-
- 371 κήσεις καὶ δημοσιώσειν τὰς οὐσίας. ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ταραχθέντες οὐ τι μετρίως καταλείπουσιν μὲν τὸν Ἰωάννην, τὰ δ' ὄπλα ρίψαντες ἦκον πρὸς με τετρακισχίλιοι τὸν
- 372 ἀριθμὸν ὄντες. μόνοι δὲ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ παρέμειναν οἱ πολῖται¹ καὶ ξένοι τινὲς ἐκ τῆς Τυρίων μητροπόλεως ὡς χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. Ἰωάννης μὲν οὖν οὕτω καταστρατηγηθεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι περίφοβος ἔμεινεν.
- 373 (67) Κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν Σεπφωρίται θαρρήσαντες ἀναλαμβάνουσιν ὄπλα, πεποισθότες τῇ τε τῶν τειχῶν ὀχυρότητι καὶ τῷ πρὸς ἑτέροις ὄντα με ὀρᾶν. πέμπουσι δὴ πρὸς Κέστιον Γάλλον, Συρίας δ' ἦν οὗτος ἡγεμῶν, παρακαλοῦντες ἢ αὐτὸν ἦκειν θάπτον παραληψόμενον αὐτῶν τὴν

THE LIFE, 368-373

(66) Having settled the affairs of Tiberias,^a I called a meeting of my friends, to deliberate on the measures to be taken against John. The Galilaeans were unanimously of opinion that I should arm them all, march against him and punish him as the author of all these disturbances. This opinion I was unable to share, being determined to quell these disorders without bloodshed. I, accordingly, advised them to do their utmost to discover the names of John's followers. This they did, and I, on learning who these men were, issued a proclamation tendering pledges of security to any of John's adherents who were prepared to change their policy. I allowed twenty days' grace for deliberation as to the course most conducive to their own interests; threatening, on the other hand, unless they abandoned their arms, to burn their houses to the ground and confiscate their property. On hearing this they were in the utmost alarm, deserted John, flung down their arms, and joined me, to the number of four thousand. John was left with no more than his fellow-citizens and some fifteen hundred foreigners from the Tyrian metropolis. Thus outmanœuvred by me, he remained thenceforth, completely cowed, in his native town.

John of Gischala deserted by most of his adherents.

(67) About this time the Sepphorites, emboldened by the strength of their walls and my pre-occupation with other affairs, ventured to take up arms.^b They accordingly sent a request to Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, either to come himself without delay and take over their city, or to send them a

Sepphoris, making overtures to C. Gallus, is taken by Josephus and nearly destroyed by his soldiers.

^a The narrative, broken off at § 335, is here resumed. Cf. *B.* ii. 622-625.

^b Cf. *B.* ii. 645 f.

¹ So, surely rightly, MW: *ὀπλῖται* PRA.

JOSEPHUS

374 πόλιν ἢ πέμψαι τοὺς φρουρήσοντας. ὁ δὲ Γάλλος
 ἐλεύσεσθαι μὲν ὑπέσχετο, πότε δὲ οὐ διεσάφησεν.
 καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα πυθόμενος, ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς σὺν ἑμοὶ
 στρατιώτας καὶ ὀρμήσας ἐπὶ τοὺς Σεπφωρίτας
 375 εἶλον αὐτῶν κατὰ κράτος τὴν πόλιν. λαβόμενοι
 δ' ἀφορμῆς οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι καὶ παρεῖναι τοῦ μίσους
 τὸν καιρὸν οὐ βουλευθέντες, εἶχον γὰρ ἀπεχθῶς καὶ
 πρὸς ταύτην τὴν πόλιν, ὥρμησαν ὡς ἄρδην ἀφανί-
 376 σοντες πάντας σὺν τοῖς ἐποίκοις. εἰσδραμόντες
 οὖν ἐνεπίμπρασαν αὐτῶν τὰς οἰκίας ἐρήμους
 καταλαμβάνοντες· οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι δείσαντες εἰς
 τὴν ἀκρόπολιν συνέφυγον· διήρπαζον δὲ πάντα
 καὶ τρόπον οὐδένα πορθήσεως κατὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων
 377 παρελίμπανον. ταῦτ' ἐγὼ θεασάμενος σφόδρα
 διετέθην ἀνιαρῶς καὶ παύεσθαι προσέταπτον αὐτοῖς,
 ὑπομιμνήσκων ὅτι τοιαῦτα δρᾶν ὁμοφύλους οὐκ
 378 ἔστιν ὄσιον. ἐπεὶ δ' οὔτε παρακαλοῦντος οὔτε
 προστάσσοντος ἤκουον, ἐνῖκα δὲ τὸ μῖσος τὰς
 παραινέσεις, τοὺς πιστοτάτους τῶν περὶ ἑμέ φίλων
 ἐκέλευσα διαδοῦναι λόγους ὡς Ῥωμαίων μετὰ
 μεγάλης δυνάμεως κατὰ τὸ ἕτερον μέρος τῆς
 379 πόλεως εἰσβεβληκότων. ταῦτα δ' ἐποίουν ὑπὲρ
 τοῦ τῆς φήμης ἐμπεισούσης ἐπισχεῖν μὲν¹ τῶν
 Γαλιλαίων τὰς ὀρμάς, διασῶσαι δὲ τὴν τῶν
 Σεπφωριτῶν πόλιν. καὶ τέλος προυχώρησε τὸ
 380 στρατήγημα· τῆς γὰρ ἀγγελίας ἀκούσαντες ἐφοβή-
 θησαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ καταλιπόντες τὰς ἀρπαγὰς
 ἔφευγον, μάλιστα δ' ἐπεὶ καμὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν
 ἑώρων ταῦτα ποιοῦντα· πρὸς γὰρ τὸ πιστὸν τῆς
 φήμης ἐσκηπτόμην ὁμοίως αὐτοῖς διατίθεσθαι.
 Σεπφωρίται δὲ παρ' ἐλπίδα τὴν ἑαυτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ
 ἑμοῦ σοφίσματος ἐσώθησαν.

THE LIFE, 374-380

garrison. Gallus promised to come, but named no date. Apprised of these negotiations, I marched with such troops as I had against Sepphoris and took the city by assault. The Galilaeans, seizing this opportunity, too good to be missed, of venting their hatred on one of the cities which they detested, rushed forward, with the intention of exterminating the population, aliens and all. Plunging into the town they set fire to the houses, which they found deserted, the terrified inhabitants having fled in a body to the citadel. They looted everything, sparing their countrymen no conceivable form of devastation. I was deeply distressed by this spectacle and ordered them to desist, reminding them that such treatment of one's compatriots was impious. As, however, they refused to listen to either remonstrance or command, my exhortations being overborne by their hatred, I instructed some of my friends around me, on whom I could fully rely, to circulate a report that the Romans had made their way into another quarter of the city with a large force. I did this in order that, when the rumour reached their ears, I might check the fury of the Galilaeans and so save Sepphoris. The ruse was eventually successful; for on hearing the news they were in terror of their lives, and abandoned their spoils and fled. They were the more impelled to do so, when they saw me, their general, setting them the example; for, in order to lend colour to the rumour, I pretended to share their alarm. Thus were the Sepphorites, beyond their own expectations, saved by this device of mine from destruction.

¹ Hudson: $\mu\epsilon$ MSS.

JOSEPHUS

381 (68) Καὶ Τιβεριᾶς δὲ παρ' ὀλίγον ἀνηρπάσθη
 ὑπὸ Γαλιλαίων τοιαύτης αἰτίας ὑποπεσοῦσης. τῶν
 ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς οἱ πρῶτοι γράφουσι πρὸς τὸν
 βασιλέα παρακαλοῦντες ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς
 382 παραληψόμενον τὴν πόλιν. ὑπέσχετο δ' ὁ βασι-
 λεὺς ἔρχεσθαι καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς ἀντιγράφει καὶ
 τῶν περὶ τὸν κοιτῶνά τι, Κρίσπῳ μὲν τοῦνομα,
 τὸ δὲ γένος Ἰουδαίῳ, δίδωσι πρὸς τοὺς Τιβεριεῖς
 383 φέρειν. τοῦτον κομίσαντα τὰ γράμματα γνωρί-
 σαντες οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι καὶ συλλαβόντες ἄγουσιν ἐπ'
 ἐμέ· τὸ δὲ πᾶν πλῆθος, ὡς ἤκουσεν, παροξυνθὲν
 384 ἐφ' ὄπλα τρέπεται. συναχθέντες δὲ πολλοὶ παντα-
 χόθεν¹ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἤκον εἰς Ἀσωχὴν πόλιν,
 ἔνθα δὴ τὴν κατάλυσιν ἐποιούμην, καταβοήσεις τε
 σφόδρα ἐποιούντο προδότιν ἀποκαλοῦντες τὴν
 Τιβεριάδα καὶ βασιλέως φίλην, ἐπιτρέπειν τε
 ἡξίουν αὐτοῖς καταβᾶσιν ἄρδην ἀφανίσαι· καὶ
 γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς Τιβεριεῖς εἶχον ἀπεχθῶς ὡς πρὸς
 τοὺς Σεπφωρίτας.

385 (69) Ἐγὼ δ' ἀκούσας ἠπόρουν τίνα τρόπον
 ἐξαρπάσω τὴν Τιβεριάδα τῆς Γαλιλαίων ὀργῆς.
 ἀρνήσασθαι γὰρ οὐκ ἐδυνάμην μὴ γεγραφέναι τοὺς
 Τιβεριεῖς καλοῦντας τὸν βασιλέα· ἤλεγχον γὰρ αἱ
 παρ' ἐκείνου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀντιγραφαὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

386 σύννουσ οὖν πολλὴν γενόμενος ὥραν, “ὅτι μὲν
 ἡδικήκασιν,” εἶπον, “Τιβεριεῖς οἶδα καὶ γώ, τὴν
 πόλιν δ' αὐτῶν ὑμᾶς οὐ κωλύσω διαρπάσαι. δεῖ δ'
 ὅμως καὶ μετὰ κρίσεως τὰ τηλικαῦτα πράττειν.
 οὐ γὰρ μόνοι Τιβεριεῖς προδόται τῆς ἐλευθερίας
 ἡμῶν γεγόνασιν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἐν Γαλιλαίᾳ
 387 δοκιμωτάτων. προσμείνατε δὴ μέχρι τοὺς αἰτίους
 ἀκριβῶς ἐκμάθω, καὶ τότε πάντας ὑποχειρίους

THE LIFE, 381–387

(68) Tiberias, likewise, had a narrow escape from being sacked by the Galilaeans. The occasion was as follows. The leading councillors had written to the king, inviting him to come and take over their city. The king promised to come, writing a letter in reply, which he handed to a Jew named Crispus, a groom of the bedchamber, to convey to the Tiberians. On his arrival with the letter he was recognized by the Galilaeans, who arrested him and brought him to me. The news created general indignation and all were up in arms. On the following day large numbers flocked together from all quarters to the town of Asochis^a where I was then residing, loudly denouncing the Tiberians as traitors and friendly to the king, and requiring permission to go down and exterminate their city. For they had the same detestation for the Tiberians as for the inhabitants of Sepphoris.

Tiberias, making overtures to Agrippa, is in similar danger.

(69) On hearing this uproar, I was at a loss to discover means of rescuing Tiberias from the rage of the Galilaeans. I could not deny that the Tiberians had sent a written invitation to the king; for his letter in answer to them proved this to be a fact. So, after long and anxious reflection I said: “That the Tiberians have done wrong I am well aware, nor shall I forbid you to sack their city. Yet even such things must be done with discretion. The Tiberians are not the only persons who have betrayed our country’s independence; many of the most eminent men in Galilee have done the same. Wait, therefore, until I have discovered exactly who are guilty, and

How Josephus saved it.

^a Cf. §§ 207, 233.

¹ πολλαχόθεν PMW.

JOSEPHUS

388 ἔξετε καὶ ὅσους ἰδία ἐπάξαι δυνήσεσθε.” ταῦτ’
 εἰπὼν ἔπεισα τὸ πλῆθος καὶ παυσάμενοι τῆς ὀργῆς
 διελύθησαν. τὸν παρὰ βασιλέως δὲ πεμφθέντα
 δῆσαι κελεύσας, μετ’ οὐ¹ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τινα
 τῶν ἔμαντοῦ χρεῶν ἐπείγουσαν σκηψάμενος ἐκ-
 δημεῖν τῆς βασιλείας, καλέσας τὸν Κρίσπον λάθρα
 προσέταξα μεθύσαι τὸν στρατιώτην φύλακα καὶ
 389 φυγεῖν πρὸς βασιλέα· μὴ γὰρ διωχθήσεσθαι. καὶ
 ὁ μὲν ταῖς ὑποθήκαις πεισθεὶς διέφυγε, Τιβεριὰς
 δὲ μέλλουσα δεύτερον ἀφανίζεσθαι στρατηγία τῇ
 ἐμῇ καὶ προνοία τῇ περὶ αὐτῆς ὄξυν οὕτως κίνδυνον
 διέφυγεν.

390 (70) Κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν Ἰουῆτος ὁ
 Πίστου παῖς λαθὼν ἐμὲ διαδιδράσκει πρὸς τὸν
 βασιλέα· τὴν αἰτίαν δὲ δι’ ἣν τοῦτ’ ἔπραξεν ἀφ-
 391 ηγήσομαι. λαβόντος ἀρχὴν Ἰουδαίοις τοῦ πρὸς
 Ῥωμαίους πολέμου Τιβεριεῖς διεγνώκεισαν ὑπ-
 ακοῦειν βασιλεῖ καὶ Ῥωμαίων μὴ ἀφίστασθαι.
 πείθει δ’ αὐτοὺς Ἰουῆτος ἐφ’ ὅπλα χωρῆσαι,
 νεωτέρων αὐτὸς ἐφιέμενος πραγμάτων καὶ δι’
 ἐλπίδος ἔχων ἄρξειν Γαλιλαίων τε καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
 392 πατρίδος. οὐ μὴν τῶν προσδοκηθέντων ἐπέτυχεν.
 Γαλιλαῖοί τε γὰρ ἐχθρῶς ἔχοντες πρὸς τοὺς Τι-
 βεριεῖς διὰ μῆνιν ὦν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου
 πεπόνθεισαν, οὐκ ἠνείχοντο στρατηγοῦντος αὐτῶν
 393 Ἰουῆτου, καὶ γὰρ τὴν προστασίαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας
 πιστευθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν
 πολλάκις εἰς τοσαύτην ἦκον ὀργὴν ὡς ὀλίγου δεῖν
 ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν Ἰουῆτον, φέρειν αὐτοῦ τὴν μοχθη-

¹ μετ’ οὐ *ed. gr.*: μετὰ MSS.

^a Tiberias now formed part of the “kingdom” of Agrippa II

then you shall have them all at your mercy, together with any whom you may be able to produce on your own account." With these words I pacified the crowd; their anger subsided and they dispersed. I gave orders to keep the king's messenger a prisoner, but, a few days later, pretending to be leaving the kingdom ^a on urgent business of my own, I summoned Crispus and gave him secret instructions to make the soldier who guarded him drunk and then escape to the king; assuring him that he would not be pursued. He acted on this hint and took himself off. Thus was Tiberias, when for the second time on the verge of destruction, delivered by my adroitness and considerate forethought from such imminent peril.

(70) It was about this time that Justus, son of Pistus, without my knowledge, absconded to the king. I will explain why he did so. On the outbreak of the war between the Jews and the Romans, the Tiberians had determined to maintain their allegiance to the king and not to revolt from Rome.^b Justus endeavoured to persuade them to resort to arms, being personally anxious for revolution and having hopes of obtaining the command of Galilee and of his native place. In these expectations he was disappointed; for the Galilaeans, resenting the miseries which he had inflicted on them before the war,^c were embittered against the Tiberians and would not tolerate him as their chief. Moreover, I myself, when entrusted by the general assembly at Jerusalem with the command of Galilee, was often so bitterly enraged with Justus that, unable to endure his

Justus goes
over to
Agrippa.

(*B.* ii. 252, *A.* xx. 159); Asochis, the headquarters of Josephus (§ 384), apparently did not.

^b *Cf.* § 32 ff.

^c *Cf.* § 341.

JOSEPHUS

ρίαν οὐ δυνάμενος. δείσας οὖν ἐκεῖνος μὴ καὶ λάβῃ
 τέλος ἅπαξ ὁ θυμός, ἔπεμψε πρὸς βασιλέα Κρίσπον,
 [ὡς]¹ ἀσφαλέστερον οἰκήσειν παρ' ἐκείνῳ νομίζων.
 394 (71) Σεπφωρίται δὲ παραδόξως τὸν πρῶτον
 κίνδυνον διαφυγόντες πρὸς Κέστιον Γάλλον ἔπεμψαν
 ἦκειν παρακαλοῦντες ὡς αὐτοὺς θάπτον παραληψό-
 μενον τὴν πόλιν, ἢ πέμπειν δύναμιν τὴν ἀνα-
 κόψουσαν τὰς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιδρομάς.
 καὶ τέλος ἔπεισαν τὸν Γάλλον πέμψαι δύναμιν
 αὐτοῖς ἰππικὴν τε καὶ πεζικὴν πάνυ συχνήν, ἣν
 395 ἔλθοῦσαν νυκτὸς εἰσεδέξαντο. κακουμένης δὲ ὑπὸ
 τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς πέριξ χώρας ἀναλαβῶν
 ἐγὼ τοὺς περὶ ἐμὲ στρατιώτας ἦκον εἰς Γαρεῖς
 κώμην· ἔνθα βαλόμενος χάρακα πόρρω τῆς Σεπφω-
 ριτῶν πόλεως ἀπὸ σταδίων εἴκοσι, νυκτὸς ἔτι²
 αὐτῇ προσέμιξα καὶ τοῖς τείχεσι προσέβαλλον,
 396 καὶ διὰ κλιμάκων ἐμβιβάσας συχνοὺς τῶν στρα-
 τιωτῶν ἐγκρατῆς τοῦ πλείστου τῆς πόλεως μέρους
 ἐγενόμην. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν τόπων
 ἄγνοιαν ἀναγκασθέντες ὑπεχωρήσαμεν, ἀνελόντες
 μὲν δυοκαίδεκα πεζοὺς³ ὀλίγους δὲ Σεπφωριτῶν,
 397 αὐτοὶ δ' ἓνα μόνον ἀπεβάλομεν. γενομένης δ'
 ὕστερον ἡμῖν κατὰ τὸ πεδίου μάχης πρὸς τοὺς
 ἰππεῖς μέχρι πολλοῦ καρτερῶς διακινδυνεύσαντες
 ἠττήθημεν· περιελθόντων γὰρ τῶν Ῥωμαίων οἱ μετ'
 ἐμοῦ δείσαντες ἔφυγον εἰς τοῦπίσω. πίπτει δ' ἐπὶ
 τῆς παρατάξεως ἐκείνης εἰς τῶν πεπιστευμένων
 τὴν τοῦ σώματός μου φυλακὴν, Ἰούστος τοῦνομα,
 καὶ παρὰ βασιλεῖ ποτὲ τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν ἐσχηκώς.

¹ Κρίσπον P, +ὡς R : κρεῖσσον (+ καὶ A) the rest.

² Niese: ἐπ' mss.

³ I retain the shorter text of P. The other mss., in a

THE LIFE, 393-397

villainy, I had almost killed him. Fearing, therefore, that my indignation might one day proceed to extremes, he sent overtures by Crispus to the king, in the hope of enjoying a life of greater security with him.

(71) The Sepphorites, after their unexpected escape from the first crisis,^a dispatched a messenger to Cestius Gallus, requesting him either to come at once and take over the city, or to send sufficient troops to repel the incursions of the enemy. They eventually prevailed on him to send quite a large force of both cavalry and infantry, which arrived and was admitted under cover of night. The neighbourhood being now molested by the Roman troops, I proceeded with such soldiers as I had to the village of Garis, where I entrenched myself at a distance of twenty furlongs from Sepphoris. I then made a night attack upon it, and, assailing the walls, threw in a considerable number of my men by means of scaling-ladders and so became master of the greater part of the city. Our ignorance of the locality, however, compelled us before long to retire, after killing twelve of the infantry and a few Sepphorites, with the loss of only one of our own men. In a subsequent encounter with the cavalry in the plain we, after a long and stubborn resistance, were defeated; for, on being surrounded by the Romans, my men took alarm and fled. In that engagement I lost one of my bodyguard, named Justus, who had formerly served the king in the same capacity.

Sepphoris,
on renewed
application,
obtains help
from C.
Gallus.

^a § 373 ff.

variety of forms, which betrays the glossator, insert an unnecessary *Ῥωμαίων* and, unfamiliar with the form *δύοκαίδεκα*, expand the twelve infantry into two cavalry and ten infantry.

JOSEPHUS

- 398 Κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἢ παρὰ βασιλέως δύναμις ἦκεν ἰππικὴ τε καὶ πεζικὴ καὶ Σύλλας ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἡγεμών, ὃ ἐπὶ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων. οὗτος οὖν βαλόμενος στρατόπεδον Ἰουλιάδος ἀπέχον σταδίους πέντε φρουρὰν ἐφίστησιν ταῖς ὁδοῖς, τῇ τε εἰς Σελεύκειαν¹ ἀγούσῃ καὶ τῇ εἰς Γάμαλα τὸ φρούριον, ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰς παρὰ τῶν Γαλιλαίων ὠφελείας τοῖς ἐνοίοις ἀποκλείειν.
- 399 (72) Ταῦτα δ' ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπυθόμην πέμπω δισχιλίους ὀπλίτας καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Ἰερεμίαν, οἳ δὴ καὶ χάρακα θέντες ἀπὸ σταδίου τῆς Ἰουλιάδος πλησίον τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ πλέον ἀκροβολισμῶν οὐδὲν ἔπραξαν, μέχρι τρισχιλίου στρατιώτας αὐτὸς
- 400 ἀναλαβὼν ἦκον πρὸς αὐτούς. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἔν τινι φάραγγι καθίσας λόχον οὐκ ἄπωθεν αὐτῶν τοῦ χάρακος προεκαλούμην τοὺς βασιλικοὺς εἰς μάχην, παραινέσας τοῖς μετ' ἐμοῦ στρατιώταις στρέψαι τὰ νῶτα μέχρις ἂν ἐπισπάσωνται τοὺς πολεμίους προελθεῖν· ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο.
- 401 Σύλλας γὰρ εἰκάσας ταῖς ἀληθείαις τοὺς ἡμετέρους φεύγειν προελθὼν ἐπιδιώκειν οἷός τε ἦν, κατὰ νώτου δ' αὐτὸν λαμβάνουσιν οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας καὶ
- 402 σφόδρα πάντας ἐθορύβησαν. ἐγὼ δ' εὐθύς ὀξείᾳ χρησάμενος ὑποστροφῇ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ὑπήντησα² τοῖς βασιλικοῖς καὶ εἰς φυγὴν ἔτρεψα. κὰν κατώρθωτό μοι κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἢ πρᾶξις
- 403 μὴ ἐμποδῶν γενομένου δαίμονός τινος· ὃ γὰρ ἵππος ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν μάχην ἐποιούμην εἰς τελματώδη τόπον ἐμπεισὼν συγκατήνεγκέ με ἐπὶ τοῦδαφος, θραύσεως δὲ τῶν ἄρθρων γενομένης ἐπὶ τὸν ταρσὸν τῆς

¹ Kanâ MW.

² ἀπήντησα P.

^a Cf. § 381.

THE LIFE, 398-403

About this time reinforcements arrived from the king,^a both horse and foot, under the command of Sulla, the captain of his bodyguard. He pitched his camp at a distance of five furlongs from Julias,^b and put out pickets on the roads leading to Seleucia^c and to the fortress of Gamala,^d to prevent the inhabitants [of Julias] from obtaining supplies from Galilee.

(72) On receiving intelligence of this, I dispatched a force of two thousand men under the command of Jeremiah, who entrenched themselves a furlong away from Julias close to the river Jordan, but took no action beyond skirmishing until I joined them with supports, three thousand strong. The next day, after laying an ambush in a ravine not far from their earthworks, I offered battle to the royal troops, directing my division to retire until they had lured the enemy forward; as actually happened. Sulla, supposing that our men were really flying, advanced and was on the point of following in pursuit, when the others, emerging from their ambush, took him in the rear and threw his whole force into the utmost disorder. Instantly wheeling the main body about, I charged and routed the royalists; and my success on that day would have been complete, had I not been thwarted by some evil genius. The horse on which I went into action stumbled on a marshy spot and brought me with him to the ground. Having fractured some bones in the wrist, I was carried to a

Arrival of Agrippa's troops under Sulla.

Josephus's encounter with the "royalists."

His fall from his horse.

^b Bethsaida Julias (*et-Tell*) at the northern extremity of the Lake of Gennesaret, E. of the Jordan.

^c *Selukiye*, N.E. of Julias.

^d Probably identified on the E. side of the Lake of Gennesaret, *i.e.* S. of Julias.

JOSEPHUS

χειρός, ἐκομίσθην εἰς κώμην Κεφαρνωκὸν λεγο-
 404 μένην. οἱ δ' ἐμοί¹ ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες καὶ δεδοι-
 κότες μή τι χεῖρον ἔπαθον, τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ πλέον
 διώξεως ἀπέσχοντο, ὑπέστρεφον δὲ περὶ ἐμέ λίαν
 ἀγωνιῶντες. μεταπεμψάμενος οὖν ἰατροὺς καὶ
 θεραπευθεὶς τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ κατέμεινα
 πυρέξας, δόξαν τε τοῖς ἰατροῖς τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς
 Ταριχαιίας μετεκομίσθην.

405 (73) Σύλλας δὲ καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ πυθόμενοι τὰ
 κατ' ἐμέ πάλιν ἐθάρρησαν, καὶ γνόντες ἀμελεῖσθαι
 τὰ περὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, διὰ νυκτὸς
 ἰππέων λόχον ἰδρύσαντες ἐν τῷ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορ-
 δάνου, γενομένης ἡμέρας εἰς μάχην ἡμᾶς προ-
 406 ἐκαλέσαντο. τῶν δ' ὑπακουσάντων καὶ μέχρι τοῦ
 πεδίου προελθόντων ἐπιφανέντες οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας
 ἵππεῖς καὶ ταραξάντες αὐτοὺς εἰς φυγὴν ἔτρεψαν,
 ἔξ τε τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπέκτειναν. οὐ μὴν μέχρι
 τέλους τὴν νίκην ἤγαγον· καταπεπλευκέναι γάρ
 τινας ὀπλίτας ἀκούσαντες ἀπὸ Ταριχαιῶν εἰς
 Ἰουλιάδα φοβηθέντες ἀνεχώρησαν.

407 (74) Μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον Οὐεσπασιανὸς εἰς
 Τύρον ἀφικνεῖται καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίπ-
 πας. καὶ οἱ Τύριοι βλασφημεῖν ἤρξαντο τὸν
 βασιλέα, Τυρίων² αὐτὸν καλοῦντες καὶ Ῥωμαίων
 πολέμιον· τὸν γὰρ στρατοπεδάρχην αὐτοῦ Φίλιππον
 ἔλεγον προδεδωκέναι τὴν βασιλικὴν αὐλὴν καὶ τὰς
 Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεις τὰς οὐσας ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις
 408 κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ πρόσταξιν. Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ
 ἀκούσας Τυρίοις μὲν ἐπέπληξεν ὑβρίζουσιν ἄνδρα
 καὶ βασιλέα καὶ Ῥωμαίοις φίλον, τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ
 παρήνεσεν πέμψαι Φίλιππον εἰς Ῥώμην ὑφέξοντα

THE LIFE, 403-408

village called Cepharnocus.^a My men, hearing of this, and fearing that a worse fate had befallen me, desisted from further pursuit and returned in the deepest anxiety on my account. I sent for physicians and, after receiving their attention, remained there for that day in a feverish condition ; at night, under medical advice, I was removed to Tarichaeae.

(73) Sulla and his troops, learning of my accident, again took heart ; and, finding that the watch kept in our camp was slack, placed, under cover of night, a squadron of cavalry in ambush beyond the Jordan, and at daybreak offered us battle. Accepting the challenge, my troops advanced into the plain, when the cavalry, suddenly appearing from their ambush, threw them into disorder and routed them, killing six of our men. They did not, however, follow up their success ; for, on hearing that reinforcements shipped at Tarichaeae had reached Julias, they retired in alarm.

(74) Not long after this Vespasian arrived at Tyre, accompanied by King Agrippa. The king was met by the invectives of the citizens, who denounced him as an enemy of their own and of the Romans ; because, as they asserted, Philip,^b his commander-in-chief, had, under orders from him, betrayed the royal palace and the Roman forces in Jerusalem. Vespasian, having heard them, reprimanded the Tyrians for insulting one who was at once a king and an ally of the Romans ; at the same time advising the king to send Philip to Rome to render an

Arrival of
Vespasian.
A.D. 67,
spring.

^a Or "Capharnomon" ; the name takes divergent forms in the mss. Capernaum is doubtless meant.

^b Cf. §§ 46 ff., 179 ff.

¹ P omits *ἐμοί*, reading *οἱ δὲ*.

² *Τύριον* mss.

JOSEPHUS

409 λόγον Νέρωνι περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων. Φίλιππος
 δὲ πεμφθεὶς οὐχ ἤκεν εἰς ὄψιν Νέρωνι· καταλαβὼν
 γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ὄντα διὰ τὰς ἐμπεσούσας
 παραχὰς καὶ τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ὑπέστρεψε πρὸς
 410 τὸν βασιλέα. ἐπεὶ δὲ Οὐεσπασιανὸς εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα
 παρεγένετο, οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν τῆς Συρίας Δεκα-
 πόλεως κατεβόων Ἰούστου τοῦ Τιβεριέως, ὅτι τὰς
 κώμας αὐτῶν ἐμπρήσειεν. παρέδωκεν οὖν αὐτὸν
 Οὐεσπασιανὸς τῷ βασιλεῖ κολασθησόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν
 τῆς βασιλείας ὑποτελῶν· ὁ βασιλεὺς δ' αὐτὸν
 ἔδθησεν, ἐπικρυψάμενος τοῦτο Οὐεσπασιανόν, ὡς
 411 ἀνωτέρω δεδηλώκαμεν. Σεπφωρίται δ' ὑπαντή-
 σαντες καὶ ἀσπασάμενοι Οὐεσπασιανὸν λαμβάνουσι
 δύναμιν καὶ στρατηγὸν Πλάκιδον, ἀναβάντες δὲ
 μετὰ τούτων . . .¹ ἐπομένου μου ἄχρι τῆς εἰς
 412 Γαλιλαίαν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἀφίξεως. περὶ ἧς τίνα
 τρόπον ἐγένετο, καὶ πῶς περὶ Γάρις² κώμην τὴν
 πρώτην πρὸς ἐμὲ μάχην ἐποιήσατο,³ καὶ ὡς ἐκεῖθεν
 εἰς τὰ Ἰωτάπατα ἀνεχώρησα, καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα
 μοι κατὰ τὴν ταύτης πολιορκίαν, καὶ ὃν τρόπον
 ζῶν ληφθεὶς ἐδέθην, καὶ πῶς ἐλύθην, πάντα τε
 τὰ πεπραγμένα μοι κατὰ τὸν Ἰουδαϊκὸν πόλεμον
 καὶ τὴν Ἱεροσολύμων πολιορκίαν μετ' ἀκριβείας
 ἐν ταῖς περὶ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου βίβλοις ἀπ-
 413 ἠγγελκα. ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἐστίν, ὡς οἶμαι, καὶ ὅσα
 μὴ κατὰ τὸν Ἰουδαϊκὸν πόλεμον ἀνέγραψα τῶν ἐν
 τῷ βίῳ μου πεπραγμένων νῦν προσαναγράψαι.

414 (75) Τῆς γὰρ τῶν Ἰωταπάτων πολιορκίας
 λαβούσης τέλος γινόμενος παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις μετὰ
 πάσης ἐπιμελείας ἐφυλασσόμενην, τὰ πολλὰ διὰ

account of his actions to Nero. Thither, accordingly, Philip was dispatched, but never had audience of Nero, whom he found in extremities owing to the prevailing disorders and the civil war, and so returned to the king.

On reaching Ptolemais, Vespasian received indignant remonstrances from the chief men of the Syrian Decapolis against Justus of Tiberias for setting fire to their villages. Vespasian handed him over to the king for execution by the subjects of his realm. The king, however, merely detained him in prison, concealing this from Vespasian, as previously narrated.^a

The Sepphorites, who met and saluted Vespasian, were given a garrison under the command of Placidus. With this force they proceeded into the interior, being closely followed by me until Vespasian's arrival in Galilee. Of the manner of his arrival and of his first engagement with me in the neighbourhood of the village of Garis; of my withdrawal from there to Jotapata and my conduct during the siege of that place; of my capture, imprisonment, and subsequent liberation; of my conduct throughout the whole campaign and at the siege of Jerusalem, I have given a detailed description in my books on the Jewish War. It is, however, I think, incumbent upon me now to append an account of such particulars of my life as were not recorded in my earlier work.

The reader referred to the *Jewish War* for subsequent history.

(75) After the siege of Jotapata I was in the hands of the Romans and was kept under guard, while receiving every attention. Vespasian showed in

After the war. A.D. 67.

^a Cf. §§ 341-3.

¹ Lacuna in text.

² Τάρις (Ταριχέας) MSS.: B. iii. 129 supplies the correct name.

³ ἐποιήσαντο PRA.

JOSEPHUS

τιμῆς ἄγοντος με Οὐεσπασιανοῦ. καὶ δὴ κελεύ-
 σαντος αὐτοῦ ἡγαγόμεν τινὰ παρθένον ἐκ τῶν
 αἰχμαλωτίδων τῶν κατὰ Καισάρειαν ἀλουσῶν
 415 ἐγχώριον· οὐ παρέμενε δ' αὕτη μοι πολὺν χρόνον,
 ἀλλὰ λυθέντος καὶ μετὰ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ πορευθέντος
 εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀπηλλάγη.¹ γυναῖκα δ'
 416 ἑτέραν ἡγαγόμεν κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. κακεῖ-
 θεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἱεροσολύμων πολιορκίαν συμπεμφθεὶς
 Τίτω πολλάκις ἀποθανεῖν ἐκινδύνευσα, τῶν τε Ἰου-
 δαίων διὰ σπουδῆς ἐχόντων ὑποχείριόν με λαβεῖν
 τιμωρίας ἕνεκα, καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὅσακι νικηθεῖεν
 πάσχειν τοῦτο κατ' ἐμὴν προδοσίαν δοκούντων
 συνεχεῖς καταβοήσεις ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐγί-
 νοντο, κολάζειν με ὡς καὶ αὐτῶν προδότην ἀξιούν-
 417 των. Τίτος δὲ Καῖσαρ τὰς πολέμου τύχας οὐκ
 ἀγνοῶν σιγῇ τὰς ἐπ' ἐμέ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐξέλυεν
 ὀρμάς. ἤδη δὲ κατὰ κράτος τῆς τῶν Ἱεροσο-
 λυμιτῶν πόλεως ἐχομένης Τίτος Καῖσαρ ἔπειθén
 με πολλάκις ἐκ τῆς κατασκαφῆς τῆς πατρίδος πᾶν
 ὅ τι θέλοιμι λαβεῖν· συγχωρεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔφασκεν.
 418 ἐγὼ δὲ τῆς πατρίδος πεσοῦσης μηδὲν ἔχων τιμιώ-
 τερον, ὃ τῶν ἑμαυτοῦ συμφορῶν εἰς παραμυθίαν
 λαβῶν φυλάξαιμι, σωμάτων ἐλευθέρων τὴν αἴτησιν
 ἐποιούμην Τίτον καὶ βιβλίων ἱερῶν . . .² ἔλαβον
 419 χαρισαμένου Τίτου. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ τὸν
 ἀδελφὸν μετὰ πενήκοντα φίλων αἰτησάμενος οὐκ
 ἀπέτυχον. καὶ εἰς τὸ ἱερόν δὲ πορευθεὶς Τίτου
 τὴν ἐξουσίαν δόντος, ἔνθα πολὺ πλῆθος αἰχμαλώτων
 ἐγκέκλειστο γυναικῶν τε καὶ τέκνων, ὅσους
 ἐπέγνων φίλων ἐμῶν καὶ συνήθων ὑπάρχοντας

¹ So *ed. pr.*: ἀπηλλάγην mss.

² Apparent lacuna: Bekker inserts καὶ.

THE LIFE, 414-419

many ways the honour in which he held me, and it was by his command that I married one of the women taken captive at Caesarea, a virgin and a native of that place. She did not, however, remain long with me, for she left me on my obtaining my release and accompanying Vespasian to Alexandria. There I married again. From Alexandria I was sent with Titus to the siege of Jerusalem, where my life was frequently in danger, both from the Jews, who were eager to get me into their hands, to gratify their revenge, and from the Romans, who attributed every reverse to some treachery on my part, and were constantly and clamorously demanding of the Emperor that he should punish me as their betrayer. Titus Caesar, however, knowing well the varying fortunes of war, repressed by his silence the soldiers' outbursts against me. A.D. 70.

Again, when at last Jerusalem was on the point of being carried by assault, Titus Caesar repeatedly urged me to take whatever I would from the wreck of my country, stating that I had his permission. And I, now that my native place had fallen, having nothing more precious to take and preserve as a solace for my personal misfortunes, made request to Titus for the freedom of some of my countrymen ; I also received by his gracious favour a gift of sacred books. Not long after I made petition for my brother and fifty friends, and my request was granted. Again, by permission of Titus, I entered the Temple, where a great multitude of captive women and children had been imprisoned, and liberated all the friends and acquaintances whom I recognized, in

JOSEPHUS

ἐρυσάμην, περὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑνενήκοντα ὄντας τὸν
 ἀριθμὸν, καὶ οὐδὲ λύτρα καταθεμένους ἀπέλυσα
 420 συγχωρήσας αὐτοὺς τῇ προτέρᾳ τύχῃ. πεμφθεὶς δ'
 ὑπὸ Τίτου Καίσαρος σὺν Κεραλίῳ καὶ χιλίοις
 ἵππεῦσιν εἰς κώμην τινὰ Θεκῶαν λεγομένην
 προκατανοήσων εἰ τόπος ἐπιτήδειός ἐστιν χάρακα
 δέξασθαι, ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ὑποστρέφων εἶδον πολλοὺς
 αἰχμαλώτους ἀνεσταυρωμένους καὶ τρεῖς ἐγνώρισα
 συνήθεις μοι γενομένους, ἠλγησά τε τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ
 421 μετὰ δακρύων προσελθὼν Τίτῳ εἶπον. ὁ δ' εὐθὺς
 ἐκέλευσεν καθαιρεθέντας αὐτοὺς θεραπείας ἐπι-
 μελεστάτης τυχεῖν. καὶ οἱ μὲν δύο τελευτῶσιν
 θεραπευόμενοι, ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἔζησεν.
 422 (76) Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπαυσεν τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ
 παραχὰς Τίτος, εἰκάσας τοὺς ἀγροὺς οὓς εἶχον ἐν
 τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀνονήτους ἐσομένους μοι διὰ
 τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐκεῖ Ῥωμαίων φρουρὰν ἐγκαθ-
 ἔξεσθαι, ἔδωκεν ἑτέραν χώραν ἐν πεδίῳ· μέλλων τε
 ἀπαίρειν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην σύμπλουν ἐδέξατο πᾶσαν
 423 τιμὴν ἀπονέμων. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἤκομεν,
 πολλῆς ἔτυχον παρὰ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ προνοίας· καὶ
 γὰρ καὶ κατάλυσιν ἔδωκεν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῇ πρὸ τῆς
 ἡγεμονίας αὐτῷ γενομένη, πολιτεία τε Ῥωμαίων
 ἐτίμησεν καὶ σύνταξιν χρημάτων ἔδωκεν, καὶ
 τιμῶν διετέλει μέχρι τῆς ἐκ τοῦ βίου μεταστάσεως
 οὐδὲν τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ χρηστότητος ὑφελών· ὁ μοι
 424 διὰ τὸν φθόνον ἤνεγκε κίνδυνον. Ἰουδαῖος γάρ τις,
 Ἰωνάθης τοῦνομα, στάσιν ἐξεγείρας ἐν Κυρήνῃ καὶ

^a Meaning doubtful. Traill renders: "paying that compliment to their former fortune."

THE LIFE, 419-424

number about a hundred and ninety ; I took no ransom for their release and restored them to ^a their former fortune. Once more, when I was sent by Titus Caesar with Cerealius and a thousand horse to a village called Tekoa,^b to prospect whether it was a suitable place for an entrenched camp, and on my return saw many prisoners who had been crucified, and recognized three of my acquaintances among them, I was cut to the heart and came and told Titus with tears what I had seen. He gave orders immediately that they should be taken down and receive the most careful treatment. Two of them died in the physicians' hands ; the third survived.

(76) When Titus had quelled the disturbances in Judaea, conjecturing that the lands which I held at Jerusalem would be unprofitable to me, because a Roman garrison was to be quartered there, he gave me another parcel of ground in the plain. On his departure for Rome, he took me with him on board, treating me with every mark of respect. On our arrival in Rome I met with great consideration from Vespasian. He gave me a lodging in the house which he had occupied before he became Emperor ; he honoured me with the privilege of Roman citizenship ; and he assigned me a pension. He continued to honour me up to the time of his departure from this life, without any abatement in his kindness towards me.

My privileged position excited envy and thereby exposed me to danger. A certain Jew,^c named Jonathan, who had promoted an insurrection in

^b The birth-place of Amos, some twelve miles S. of Jerusalem.

^c Cf. *B.* vii. 437-450 (Jonathan is tortured and burnt alive).

JOSEPHUS

δισχιλίους τῶν ἐγχωρίων συναναπέισας ἐκείνοις
 μὲν αἴτιος ἀπωλείας ἐγένετο, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς
 χώρας ἡγεμονεύοντος δεθείς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτοκρά-
 τορα πεμφθεὶς ἔφασκεν ἐμὲ αὐτῷ ὄπλα πεπομφέναι
 425 καὶ χρήματα. οὐ μὴν Οὐεσπασιανὸν ψευδόμενος
 ἔλαθεν, ἀλλὰ κατέγνω θάνατον αὐτοῦ, καὶ παρα-
 δοθεὶς ἀπέθανεν. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα
 τῶν βασκαιόντων μοι τῆς εὐτυχίας κατηγορίας
 ἐπ' ἐμὲ συνθέντων θεοῦ προνοία πάσας διέφυγον.
 ἔλαβον δὲ παρὰ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ δωρεὰν γῆν οὐκ
 426 ὀλίγην ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ. καθ' ὃν δὴ καιρὸν καὶ τὴν
 γυναῖκα μὴ ἀρεσκόμενος αὐτῆς τοῖς ἡθεσιν ἀπ-
 επεμψάμην, τριῶν παίδων γενομένην μητέρα, ὧν οἱ
 μὲν δύο ἐτελεύτησαν, εἰς δὲ ὃν Ἰρκανὸν προσηγό-
 427 ρευσά περιέστιν. μετὰ ταῦτα ἡγαγόμενῃ γυναῖκα
 κατωκηκυῖαν μὲν ἐν Κρήτῃ, τὸ δὲ γένος Ἰουδαίαν,
 γονέων εὐγενεστάτων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν
 ἐπιφανεστάτων, ἡθεὶ πολλῶν γυναικῶν διαφέ-
 ρουσαν, ὡς ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα βίος αὐτῆς ἀπέδειξεν.
 ἐκ ταύτης δὴ μοι γίνονται παῖδες δύο, πρεσβύτερος
 μὲν Ἰουῆστος, Σιμωνίδης δὲ μετ' ἐκείνον, ὁ καὶ
 428 Ἀγρίππας ἐπικληθεὶς. ταῦτα μὲν μοι τὰ κατὰ
 τὸν οἶκον.

Διέμεινε δὲ ὅμοια καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοκρα-
 τῶρων. Οὐεσπασιανοῦ γὰρ τελευτήσαντος Τίτος
 τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδεξάμενος ὅμοίαν τῷ πατρὶ τὴν
 τιμὴν μοι διεφύλαξεν, πολλάκις τε κατηγορηθέντος
 429 οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν. διαδεξάμενος δὲ Τίτον Δομετιανὸς
 καὶ προσηύξῃσεν τὰς εἰς ἐμὲ τιμὰς· τοὺς τε γὰρ
 κατηγορήσαντάς μου Ἰουδαίους ἐκόλασεν καὶ
 δοῦλον εὐνοῦχον, παιδαγωγὸν τοῦ παιδός μου,
 κατηγορήσαντα κολασθῆναι προσέταξεν, ἐμοὶ δὲ
 156

THE LIFE, 424-429

Cyrene, occasioning the destruction of two thousand of the natives, whom he had induced to join him, on being sent in chains by the governor of the district to the Emperor, asserted that I had provided him with arms and money. Undeceived by this mendacious statement, Vespasian condemned him to death, and he was delivered over to execution. Subsequently, numerous accusations against me were fabricated by persons who envied me my good fortune ; but, by the providence of God, I came safe through all. Vespasian also presented me with a considerable tract of land in Judaea.

At this period I divorced my wife, being displeased at her behaviour. She had borne me three children, of whom two died ; one, whom I named Hyrcanus, is still alive. Afterwards I married a woman of Jewish extraction who had settled in Crete. She came of very distinguished parents, indeed the most notable people in that country. In character she surpassed many of her sex, as her subsequent life showed. By her I had two sons, Justus the elder, and then Simonides, surnamed Agrippa. Such is my domestic history.

The treatment which I received from the Emperors continued unaltered. On Vespasian's decease Titus, A.D. 79. who succeeded to the empire, showed the same esteem for me as did his father, and never credited the accusations to which I was constantly subjected. Domitian succeeded Titus and added to my honours. A.D. 81. He punished my Jewish accusers, and for a similar offence gave orders for the chastisement of a slave, a eunuch and my son's tutor. He also exempted my



JOSEPHUS

τῆς ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ χώρας ἀτέλειαν ἔδωκεν, ἥπερ ἐστὶ
μεγίστη τιμὴ τῷ λαβόντι. καὶ πολλὰ δ' ἡ τοῦ
Καίσαρος γυνὴ Δομετία διετέλεσεν εὐεργετοῦσά με.
430 Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ πεπραγμένα μοι διὰ παντὸς
τοῦ βίου ἐστίν, κρινέτωσαν δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸ ἦθος
ὅπως ἂν ἐθέλωσιν ἕτεροι. σοὶ δ' ἀποδεδωκώς,
κράτιστε ἀνδρῶν Ἐπαφρόδιτε, τὴν πᾶσαν τῆς
ἀρχαιολογίας ἀναγραφὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐνταῦθα
καταπαύω τὸν λόγον.

THE LIFE, 429-430

property in Judaea from taxation—a mark of the highest honour to the privileged individual. Moreover, Domitia, Caesar's wife, never ceased conferring favours upon me.

Such are the events of my whole life ; from them let others judge as they will of my character.

Having now, most excellent Epaphroditus, rendered you a complete account of our antiquities,^a I shall here for the present conclude my narrative.

^a The *Life* (at least in its final edition) formed an appendix to the *Antiquities*. See *Ant.* xx. 266, with Introduction to this volume, p. xiii.