

**JOSEPHUS**  
**JEWISH ANTIQUITIES**  
**BOOKS XVIII–XIX**

**WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY**  
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τὸν εἰς εὐνοίαν πολλὴν προὔχῳρει παρά τε Ῥωμαίοις αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις.<sup>1</sup> προὔων δ' ἐξίλοτο τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φρονεῖν ὑπὸ μεγέθους τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκθειάζων ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐπ' ἀτιμία τοῦ θεοῦ πολιτεύειν ἤτρο.

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

<sup>1</sup> τοῖς ὑπηκόοις] apud Graecos Lat.

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>b</sup> The notorious anti-Semite against whom Josephus wrote his *Antes Apionem*

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

259 τὸ ὄνομα ποιεῖσθαι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ χαλεπὰ Ἀπίωνος εἰρηκότος, ὃφ' ὧν ἀρθῆναι ἤλπιζε τὸν Γάϊον καὶ εἰκὸς ἦν, Φίλων ὁ προσετώσ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τῆς πρεσβείας, ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα ἔνδοξος Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ τοῦ ἀλαβάρχου ἀδελφὸς ὧν καὶ φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἄπειρος, οἷος ἦν ἐπ' ἀπολογία χωρεῖν τῶν καταγορημένων. διακλείει δ' αὐτὸν Γάϊος κελεύσας ἐκποδῶν ἀπελθεῖν, περιοργῆς τε ὧν φανερὸς ἦν ἐργασούμενός τι δεινὸν αὐτούς. ὁ δὲ Φίλων ἔξεισι περιυβρισμένους καὶ φησι πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ἦσαν, ὡς χρῆ θαρρεῖν, Γάϊου λόγῳ μὲν αὐτοῖς ὠργισμένου, ἔργῳ δὲ ἤδη τὸν θεὸν ἀντιπαρ-  
εξάγοντος.

261 (2) Γάϊος δὲ ἐν δεινῷ φέρων εἰς τοσόνδε ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων περιώφθαι μόνων πρεσβευτὴν ἐπὶ Συρίας ἐκπέμπει Πετρώνιον διάδοχον Οὐτελλίῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς, κελεύων χειρὶ πολλῇ εἰσβαλόντι εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, εἰ μὲν ἐκόντες δέχονται, ἰστᾶν αὐτοῦ ἀνδριάντα ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰ δ' ἀγνωμοσύνη χρωῖντο, πολέμῳ κρατήσαντα τοῦτο ποιεῖν. καὶ  
262 Πετρώνιος Συρίαν παραλαβὼν ἠπειγέτο διακονεῖσθαι ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος, συμμαχίαν τε πλείστην ὅσῃν ἠδύνατο ἀρροίσας καὶ τάγματα δύο

<sup>1</sup> ἐρεθισθῆναι coni. Richards et Shut.

<sup>2</sup> τε post οἷος omisi. <sup>3</sup> διακλείει] ex secretario excludi Lat.

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

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned in §§ 159-160 as one who lent a large sum of money to Agrippa.

<sup>2</sup> V. A. Tcherikover, in the prolegomena to his *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, i, 1957, p. 67, emphasizes that Philo represented the higher and wealthier circles of the

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

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

Petronius is sent to Judaea to erect Gaius' statue in the temple.

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

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

τῆς Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεως ἄγων ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίδος  
 παρῆν αὐτόθι χειμάσιον ὡς πρὸς ἕαρ τοῦ πολεμῆν  
 οὐκ ἀφεξόμενος, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Γάιον ἔγραφεν περὶ  
 τῶν ἐπεγνωσμένων. ὁ δὲ ἐπήγει τῆς προθυμίας  
 αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκέλευεν μὴ ἀνιέναι πολεμῆν δὲ μὴ πει-  
 263 θομένοις ἐντεταμένους. Ἰουδαίων δὲ πολλὰ μυρι-  
 ἀδες παρῆσαν ὡς τὸν Πετρώνιον εἰς Πτολεμαῖδα  
 κατὰ δεήσεις μηδὲν ἐπὶ παρανομία σφᾶς ἐπαναγ-  
 264 κάζειν καὶ παραβάσει τοῦ πατρίου νόμου.<sup>1</sup> “ εἰ δέ  
 σοι πάντως πρόκειται τὸν ἀνδριάντα φέρειν καὶ  
 ἰστᾶν, ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς πρότερον μεταχειρισάμενος  
 πῶσσε τὰ δεδογμένα· οὐδὲ γὰρ δυνάμεθα περιόντες  
 θεωρεῖν<sup>2</sup> πράγματα ἡμῖν ἀπηγορευμένα ἀξιωματί-  
 τε τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ προπατόρων τῶν ἡμετέρων  
 τῶν εἰς ἀρετὴν ἀνήκειν αὐτὰ κεχειροτονηκότων.”  
 265 Πετρώνιος δὲ ὄργην<sup>3</sup> λαβὼν εἶπεν· “ ἄλλ’ εἰ μὲν  
 αὐτοκράτωρ ὢν βουλευμασι χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἐμαντοῦ  
 τάδε πᾶσαι ἐπέουσι, καὶ<sup>4</sup> δίκαιος ἦν ὑμῖν πρὸς  
 με οὗτος ὁ λόγος. νυνὶ δέ μοι Καίσαρος ἐπεσταλ-  
 κότης πᾶσα ἀνάγκη διακονεῖσθαι τοῖς ἐκείνῳ προ-  
 ανεψηφισμένοις διὰ τὸ εἰς ἀνηκεστοτέραν φέρειν  
 266 ζημίαν τὴν παρακράσιν αὐτῶν.” “ ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὐ-  
 τως φρονεῖς, ὦ Πετρώνιε,” φασὶν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, “ ὡς  
 μὴ ἂν ἐπιστολὰς τὰς Γαίου παρελθεῖν, οὐδ’ ἂν αὐτοὶ  
 παραβαίημεν τοῦ νόμου τὴν προαγόρευσιν θεοῦ<sup>5</sup>  
 πεισθέντες ἀρετῇ<sup>6</sup> καὶ προγόνων πόνοις τῶν ἡμετέ-

<sup>1</sup> νόμου A : om. MWE.

<sup>2</sup> A : συγχωρεῖν MW : ammittere Lat.

<sup>3</sup> ὄργην] codd. : ὄργη conl. Niese : πρὸς ὄργην conl. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>4</sup> ὄργην . . . εἶπεν] respondit Lat.

<sup>5</sup> θεοῦ . . . ἀρετῇ] MW : καὶ ἀρετῇ (καὶ suppl.) A.

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

Jewish embassy to Petronius at Ptolemais protesting.

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

<sup>b</sup> θεοῦ] θεῶ | τε, θεῶ suppl., τε ex θυ (h.e. θεοῦ) corr. A : οὐ MW.

<sup>c</sup> ἀρετῇ] MW : καὶ ἀρετῇ (καὶ suppl.) A.

ρων εἰς νῦν ἀπαράβατοι μεμενηκότες, οὐδ' ἂν τολμήσαιμεν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον κακοὶ γενέσθαι, ὥστε ὀπόσα ἐκείνῳ δόξειεν μὴ πρασσόμενα ἀγαθοῦ ῥοπῆν ἡμῖν φέρειν αὐτοὶ παραβαίνειν ποτ' ἂν θάνατον φοβη-  
 267 θέντες. ὑπομενοῦμεν δὲ εἰς τύχας ἰόντες ἐπὶ φυλακῆν τε πατρῶν καὶ κινδυνεύειν προθεμῆνοις ἐλπίδα οὐσαν ἐξεπιστάμενοι κἂν περιγενέσθαι διὰ τε τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ στησόμενον μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τιμῆν τε τῆν ἐκείνου τὰ δεινὰ ὑποδεχομένων καὶ τῆς τύχης τὸ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα φιλοῦν τοῖς πράγμασι παρατυγχάνειν,  
 268 ἐκ δὲ τοῦ σοὶ πείθεσθαι πολλὴν μὲν λοιδορίαν τοῦ ἀνάνδρου προσκεισομένην ὡς δι' αὐτὸ<sup>1</sup> παράβασιν τοῦ νομίμου προσποιουμένοις,<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἅμα πολλὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅς καὶ παρὰ σοὶ δικαστῆν γένοιτ' ἂν βελτίων Γαῖου."

269 (3) Καὶ ὁ Πετρῶνιος ἐκ τῶν λόγων θεασάμενος δυσνίκητον αὐτῶν τὸ φρονεῖν καὶ μὴ ἂν ἀμαχεὶ δύναμιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι διακονήσασθαι Γαῖῳ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν τοῦ ἀνδριάντος πολὺν δὲ ἔσεσθαι φόνον, τοὺς τε φίλους ἀναλαβὼν καὶ θεραπείαν, ἣ περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν, ἐπὶ Τιβεριάδος ἠπέειγετο χρήζων κατα-  
 270 νῆσαι τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὰ πράγματα ὡς ἔχοι. καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι μέγαν ἠγούμενοι τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίων πολέμου κίνδυνον, πολὺ μείζονα δὲ κρίνοντες τὸν ἐκ τοῦ παρανομεῖν, αἴθις πολλὰι μυριάδες ὑπηγνίαζον Πετρῶνιον εἰς τὴν Τιβεριάδα γενό-  
 271 μενον, καὶ ἱκετεῖα χρώμενοι μηδαμῶς εἰς ἀνάγκας τοιαύτας αὐτοὺς καθιστᾶν μηδὲ μαινεῖν ἀνδριάντος

<sup>1</sup> δ' αὐτῷ] ed. pr. : δ' αὐτῶν A : δ' αὐτὸν MW : δέει αὐτῶν Cocceji.

<sup>2</sup> ὡς . . . προσποιουμένοις] quod timore transgressores legis efficitur Lat.

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

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

Jewish petition to Petronius at Tiberias.

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

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

273 (4) Ἐν τούτοις ὄντων τῶν πραγμάτων Ἀριστό-  
 βουλος ὁ Ἀγρίππου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφὸς καὶ  
 Ἑλκίας ὁ μέγας<sup>1</sup> ἄλλοι τε οἱ κράτιστοι τῆσδε τῆς  
 οἰκίας καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι σὺν αὐτοῖς εἰσίσαιιν ὡς τὸν  
 274 Πετρώνιον παρακαλοῦντες αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν προ-  
 θυμίαν ὄρᾳ τῆς πληθύος, μηδὲν εἰς ἀπόνοιαν αὐτῆς  
 παρακινεῖν,<sup>2</sup> ἀλλὰ γράφειν πρὸς Γάιον τὸ ἀνήκεστον  
 αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀποδοχὴν τοῦ ἀνδριάντος, πῶς τε  
 ἀποστάντες τοῦ γεωργεῖν ἀντικαθέζονται, πολεμεῖν  
 μὲν οὐ βουλόμενοι διὰ τὸ μηδ' αὐτὸ δύνασθαι, θανεῖν  
 δ' ἔχοντες ἡδονὴν πρὶν παραβῆναι τὰ νόμιμα αὐτοῖς,  
 275 φύοιντο ἀδυναμίᾳ καταβολῆς τῶν φόρων. ἴσως

<sup>1</sup> ὁ μέγας] maior Lat.

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

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

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

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

<sup>a</sup> Cf. the similar phrase in § 59 in the description of the  
 Jewish entreaty to Pilate.

<sup>b</sup> Fifty, according to the parallel account in *B.J.* ii. 200.

<sup>c</sup> Philo, *Leg.* 249, places this incident at the harvest time.

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

γὰρ ἂν ἐπικλασθέντα τὸν Γάιον μηδὲν ὤμον δια-  
νοηθῆναι μηδὲ ἐπ' ἀναστάσει φρονῆσαι τοῦ ἔθνους·  
ἐμμένοντος δὲ τῇ τότε βουλῇ τοῦ πολεμῆν τότε δὴ  
276 καὐτὸν ἄπτεσθαι τοῦ πράγματος. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ  
τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν Πετρώνιον παρ-  
εκάλουν. Πετρώνιος δὲ τοῦτο μὲν τῶν περὶ τὸν  
Ἀριστόβουλον παντοίως ἐπικειμένων διὰ τὸ ὑπὲρ  
μεγάλων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν δέησιν καὶ πάσῃ μηχανῇ  
277 χρησαμένων εἰς τὰς ἰκετείας, τοῦτο δὲ τῶν Ἰου-  
δαίων θεώμενος τὴν ἀντιπαράταξιν τῆς γνώμης καὶ  
δεινὸν ἡγούμενος τοσαῦτα ἀνθρώπων μυριάσιν  
μανία τῇ Γαίου διακονούμενος ἐπαγαγὼν θάνατον  
ἐν αἰτία τὸ πρὸς θεὸν σεβάσμιον ἔχειν καὶ μετὰ  
πονηρᾶς τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα βίον ἐλπίδος διαιτᾶσθαι,  
πολλὴ κρείσσον ἡγείτο ἐπιστεῖλας τῷ Γαίῳ<sup>1</sup> τὸ ἀν-  
ηκεστον αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> (τῆς) ὄργης<sup>3</sup> φέρειν<sup>4</sup> μὴ ἐκ τοῦ  
278 ὀξέως<sup>5</sup> δεδιακονημένου αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς<sup>6</sup>. τάχα  
μὲν γὰρ καὶ πείσειν· καὶ τῇ τὸ πρῶτον μανία τῆς  
γνώμης ἐπιμένοντος ἄψεσθαι<sup>7</sup> πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς  
αὐτούς, εἰ δ' ἄρα τι καὶ κατ' αὐτοῦ τρέποι τῆς  
ὄργης,<sup>8</sup> καλῶς ἔχειν τοῖς ἀρετῆς μεταποιουμένοις  
ὑπὲρ τοσῆσδε ἀνθρώπων πληθῆος τελευτᾶν, ἔκρινε  
πιθανὸν ἡγείσθαι τῶν δεομένων τὸν λόγον.  
279 (5) Συγκαλέσας δὲ εἰς τὴν Τιβεριάδα τοὺς Ἰου-  
δαίους, οἱ δὲ ἀφίκοντο πολλὰι μυριάδες, καταστὰς

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

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

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

<sup>8</sup> ἐπιστεῖλας . . . ὄργης] ut scriberet Gaio et aut eius ani-  
mum mitigans nihil per eum iniquum contingeret; aut si  
forsitan indignatione concitaretur, quod eius minime mandata  
compleverit et adversus eum aliquid mali decerneret I et

<sup>1</sup> post Γαίῳ lacunam indicat Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> ed. pr.: αὐτῶν AE: αὐτῷ MW.

<sup>3</sup> <τῆς> ὄργης] Petersen: ὄργην codd.: ὄργῃ ed. pr.

<sup>4</sup> Petersen: φέροντος codd.

<sup>5</sup> ὀξέος Dindorf.

<sup>6</sup> ὄργην . . . ἐπιστολαῖς] om. E.

<sup>7</sup> Bekker: ἄψεσθαι codd. F.

Petronius  
decides to  
write Gaius

ἐπ' αὐτῶν τὴν τε ἐν τῷ παρόντι στρατείαν οὐ γνώμης ἀπέφαινε τῆς αὐτοῦ τοῦ δὲ αὐτοκράτορος τῶν προσταγμάτων, τὴν ὀργὴν οὐδὲν εἰς ἀναβολάς, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ παρακρήμα ἐπιφέρεισθαι τοῖς προστάγμασι<sup>1</sup> τοῖς παρακροᾶσθαι θάρσος εἰσφερομένοις· "ὦ<sup>2</sup> καλῶς ἔχον ἔστιν τὸν γε τιμῆς τοσαύτης ἐπιτετευχότα συγχωρήσει τῇ ἐκείνου οὐδὲν ἐναντίον  
 280 πράσσειν· οὐ μὴν δίκαιον ἡγοῦμαι ἀσφάλειάν τε καὶ τιμὴν τὴν ἑμαντοῦ μὴ οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὑμετέρου μὴ ἀπολουμένου τοσοῦτων ὄντων ἀναλοῦν διακονουμένων<sup>3</sup> τῇ ἀρετῇ τοῦ νόμου, ὃν πάτριον ὄντα περιμάχητον ἡγείσθε, καὶ τῇ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀξιώσει καὶ δυνάμει τοῦ θεοῦ, οὐ<sup>4</sup> τὸν ναὸν οὐκ ἂν περιδεῖν τολμήσαιμι ὑβρεῖ πεσεῖν τῆς τῶν ἡγεμονουόντων  
 282 ἐξουσίας. στέλλω δὲ ὡς Γάιον γνώμας τε τὰς ὑμετέρας διασαφῶν καὶ πῃ καὶ συνηγορία χρώμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς παρὰ<sup>5</sup> γνώμην πείσεσθαι<sup>6</sup> οἷς<sup>7</sup> προὔθεσθε ἀγαθοῖς.<sup>8</sup> καὶ συμπράσσοι μὲν ὁ θεός, βελτίων γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνης μηχανῆς καὶ δυνάμεως ἢ κατ' ἐκείνον ἐξουσία, πρυστανεύων ὑμῖν τε τὴν τήρησιν τῶν πατριῶν καὶ αὐτῷ τὸ μηδὲν ἀνθρωπείας παρὰ γνώμην βουλευέσσει τιμῶν τῶν εἰωθιῶν ἀμαρ-  
 282 τείν. εἰ δ' ἐκπικραυθεῖς Γάιος εἰς ἐμέ τρέψει τὸ

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Petersen : πεισομένην codd. : πεισομένου Cocceji : πεισομένου conl. Niese.

<sup>2</sup> καθ' ἡμᾶς . . . οἷς] μὴ ὑμᾶς παρορᾶν πεισομένους ἐφ' οἷς Hudson.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ πῃ . . . ἀγαθοῖς] quantum possum causam adiuvans et vestrum in bono propositum Lat.

<sup>1</sup> τοῖς προστάγμασι] Thackeray : τοῖς πράγμασιν codd. om. Bekker, Holwerda.

<sup>2</sup> ed. pr. : ὦ (i. ras. A) AMW.

<sup>3</sup> Hudson et Cocceji : διακονούμενον codd.

<sup>4</sup> Cocceji : om. codd.

<sup>5</sup> παρὰ] μὴ παρὰ Holwerda.



ἀνήκεστον τῆς ὀργῆς, πλῆσομαι πάντα κίνδυνον καὶ  
 πᾶσαν τλαιπωρίαν συνιοῦσαν τῷ σώματι καὶ τῇ  
 τύχη<sup>1</sup> ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ὑμᾶς τοσοῦδε ὄντας ἐπὶ οὕτως  
 283 ἀγαθαῖς ταῖς πράξεσι διολλυμένους θεωρεῖν. ἅπιτε  
 οὖν ἐπὶ ἔργα τὰ αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι καὶ τῇ γῆ ἐπι-  
 πονεῖτε. πέμψω δ' αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Ῥώμης καὶ τὰ  
 πάντα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν δι' ἑμαντοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων οὐκ  
 ἀποτραπήσομαι διακονεῖν."

284 (6) Ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ διαλύσας τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὸν  
 σύλλογον προμηθεῖσθαι τῶν εἰς τὴν γεωργίαν ἡξίου  
 τοὺς ἐν τέλει καὶ καθομιλεῖν τὸν λαὸν ἐλπίσι χρη-  
 σταῖς. καὶ ὁ μὲν εὐθυμεῖν τὸ πλῆθος ἔσπευδεν. ὁ  
 θεὸς δὲ παρουσίαν<sup>2</sup> ἔπεδείκνυτο τὴν αὐτοῦ Πετρω-  
 285 νίω καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄλοις σύλληψιν. ἅμα τε γὰρ  
 ἐπαύετο τοῦ λόγου, ὃν πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἶπεν,  
 καὶ αὐτίκα ὑετὸν ἠφίε μέγαν παρ' ἐλπίδα τοῖς  
 ἀνθρώποις γενόμενον διὰ τὸ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν  
 αἴθριον ἔωθεν οὐσαν οὐδὲν ὄμβριον ἀποσημαίνειν ἐκ  
 τῶν περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἔτος αὐχμῶ με-  
 γάλω κατεσχημένον ἐπ' ἀπογνώσει ποιεῖν τοὺς ἀν-  
 θρώπους ὕδατος τοῦ ἀνωθεν, εἰ καὶ σύννεφόν ποτε  
 286 θεόσαιντο τὸν οὐρανόν. ὥστε δὴ τότε πολλοὺ καὶ  
 παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς καὶ παρὰ τὸ ἑτέρω δόξαν ἀφίγγμενον  
 ὕδατος τοῖς τε Ἰουδαίοις ἐλπίς ἦν ἐπ' οὐδαμοῖς  
 ἀτυχῆσειν Πετρώνιον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δεόμενον, ὃ τε  
 Πετρώνιος κατεπέπληκτο μεζόνως ὄρων ἑναργῶς  
 τὸν θεὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων προμηθεύμενον καὶ πολλὴν  
 ἀποσημήναντα τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, ὡς μηδ' ἂν τοῖς  
 ἔργω προθεμένοις τᾶναντία φρονεῖν ἰσχὺν ἀντι-

<sup>1</sup> καὶ τῇ τύχη] A: καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ WE: καὶ ψυχῇ M: om. Lat.  
<sup>2</sup> E: praesentiam Lat.: παραρσίαν codd.

<sup>a</sup> Variant "soul."

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

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

<sup>b</sup> MSS. "showed Petronius His frankness."

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

<sup>d</sup> i.e. that God was *not* favourable to the Jews.

287 λέξεως καταλελείφθαι.<sup>1</sup> ὡς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Γάϊον  
 σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς ὅποσα ἔγραψεν, ἐπαγωγὰ δὲ ἦν τὰ  
 πάντα<sup>2</sup> καὶ παντοίως παρακαλοῦντα μὴ τοσαύτας  
 μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων ἀπονοεῖν, ὡς εἰ κτεινοί, οὐ γὰρ  
 δίχα γε πολέμου παραχωρήσειν τοῦ νομίμου τῆς  
 θρησκείας, προσόδου τε τῆς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀποστει-  
 σθαι καὶ τῷ ἀποτροπαίῳ<sup>3</sup> τῆς ἀρᾶς ὑποτίθεσθαι τὸν  
 288 μέλλοντα αἰῶνα.<sup>4</sup> κἀλλως θεῖου τοῦ προεστηκότος  
 αὐτῶν τὴν δύναμιν ὡς ἀκραιφνῆ ἀπέφαιεν καὶ μη-  
 δὲν ἐνδοιαστὸν ἐπὶ δυνάμει τῇ αὐτῆς ἐπιδείκνυσθαι  
 καταλείπουσαν. καὶ Πετρώνιος μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.  
 289 (7) Ἀγρίππας δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἐτύγχανεν γὰρ ἐπὶ  
 Ῥώμῃς διαιτώμενος, προῦκοπτε φιλίᾳ τῇ πρὸς τὸν  
 Γάϊον μεζόνως. καὶ ποτε προθεῖς δεῖπνον αὐτῷ  
 καὶ πρόνοιαν ἔχων πάντας ὑπερβαλέσθαι τέλει τε  
 τοῖς εἰς τὸ δεῖπνον καὶ παρασκευῇ τοῦ εἰς ἡδονὴν  
 290 φέροντος, ὡς μὴ ὅπως ἂν τινα τῶν λοιπῶν, ἀλλὰ  
 μηδ' αὐτὸν Γάϊον πιστεύειν<sup>5</sup> ποτε ἰσωθῆναι θελή-  
 σοντα οὐχ ὅπως ὑπερβαλέσθαι τοσοῦτον ὁ ἀνήρ  
 τῇ παρασκευῇ πάντα ὑπερῆρεν καὶ τῷ τὰ πάντα  
 291 Καίσαρι<sup>6</sup> ἐκφροντίσας<sup>7</sup> παρασχεῖν.<sup>8</sup> καὶ ὁ Γάϊος

<sup>1</sup> ante ὡς lacunam statuit Hudson: post ἔγραψεν lacunam statuit Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> γράμματα conl. Niese.

<sup>3</sup> Cocceji: τροπαίῳ codd.: ἀποτροπή conl. Thackeray (cf. Ant. xix. 268).

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

<sup>5</sup> A: om. MW Exc.

<sup>6</sup> Καίσαρι] Hudson: Καίσαρος MW Exc.: ἡ Καίσαρος AE.

<sup>7</sup> A: i. marg. γὰρ ἐκφορτίσας A: ἐκφροντίσαι MW Exc.: ἐκφροντίσει ed. pr.

<sup>8</sup> τοσοῦτον . . . παρασχεῖν] om. Lat.

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

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

Agrippa at Rome advances in favour with Gaius.

<sup>a</sup> There appears to be a lacuna in this sentence, though the meaning seems clear.

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

ἐκθαυμάσας τὴν τε διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μεγαλο-  
 πρέπειαν, ὡς ἐπ' ἄρεσκείᾳ τῇ αὐτοῦ βιάζοιτο καὶ  
 ὑπὲρ δύναμιν τῶν χρημάτων εὐπορία χρῆσασθαι,  
 βουλόμενός τε μιμήσασθαι τὴν Ἀγρίππου φιλο-  
 τιμίαν ἐφ' ἡδονῇ τῇ αὐτοῦ πρασσομένην, ἀνείμενος  
 ὑπὸ οἴνου καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν εἰς τὸ ἰλαρώτερον ἐκτε-  
 τραμμένος, φησὶν ἐν συμποσίῳ παρακαλοῦντος εἰς  
 292 πότον· " Ἀγρίππα, καὶ πρότερον μὲν σοι τιμὴν  
 συνῆδειν ἢ ἐχρῶ τὰ πρὸς ἐμέ καὶ πολλὴν εὐνοίαν  
 μετὰ κινδύνων ἀποδειχθείσαν, οἷς ὑπὸ Τιβερίου  
 περιέστης δι' αὐτὴν, ἐπιλείπεις τε οὐδὲν καὶ ὑπὲρ  
 δύναμιν ἀρετῇ χρῆσθαι τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ὅθεν, αἰσ-  
 χρὸν γὰρ ἡσῶσθαί με ὑπὸ τῆς σῆς σπουδῆς, ἀνα-  
 293 λαβεῖν βούλομαι τὰ ἔλλειμμένα πρότερον· ὀλίγον  
 γὰρ πᾶν ὅπόσον σοι δωρεῶν ἐχόμενον ἀπεμοιρασά-  
 μην. τὸ πᾶν, ὅπερ σοι ῥοπήν ἂν προσθίῃ τοῦ  
 εὐδαίμονος, δεδιακονῆσαι γάρ σοι προθυμία τε  
 καὶ ἰσχὺ τῇ ἐμῇ." καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγεν οἰό-  
 μενος γῆν τε πολλὴν<sup>1</sup> τῆς προσόδου<sup>2</sup> αἰτήσασθαι· ἢ  
 294 καὶ τινων προσόδους πόλεων, ὃ δὲ καίπερ τὰ πάντα  
 ἐφ' οἷς αἰτήσαι παρασκευασάμενος οὐκ ἐφάνερον  
 τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἀμείβεται τὸν  
 Γάιον, ὅτι μήτε πρότερον κέρδος τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ  
 παραδοκῶν παρὰ τὰς Τιβερίου ἐπιστολὰς θερα-  
 πεύσειεν αὐτὸν οὔτε νῦν πράσσειεν τι τῶν εἰς χάριν  
 295 τὴν ἐκείνου κερδῶν οἰκειῶν ἐν τισὶ λήψεσι. μεγάλα  
 δὲ εἶναι τὰ προδεδωρημένα καὶ περαιτέρω τοῦ θρά-  
 σει χρωμένου τῶν ἐλπιδῶν· " καὶ γὰρ εἰ τῆς σῆς  
 ἐλάττονα γέγονεν δυνάμειος, τῆς γ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ εἰλη-

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

Gaius' offer  
to grant  
Agrippa  
any request.

<sup>1</sup> γῆν τε πολλὴν] A: τὴν τε πόλιν MW Exc.: τὴν τε πολλὴν E.  
<sup>2</sup> τῆς προσόδου] E: τῆς προσόδου codd.: om. ed. pr.

- 296 φότης διανοίας τε καὶ ἀξιώσεως μείζονα." καὶ ὁ Γάιος ἐκπλαγείς τὴν ἀρετὴν<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῦ πλείωνος ἐνεκεῖτο εἰπεῖν, ὃ τι χαρίζοιτ' ἂν αὐτῷ παρασχόμενος. ὁ δέ, " ἐπεὶ περ, ὦ δέσποτα, προθυμία τῇ σῆ δωρεῶν ἀξίον ἀποφαίνεις, αἰτήσομαι τῶν μὲν εἰς ὄλβον φερόντων οὐδὲν διὰ τὸ μεγάλως με ἐνδιαπρέπειν
- 297 οἷς ἤδη παρέσχες· ὃ τι δ' ἂν σοὶ δόξαν προσποιῶ<sup>2</sup> τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς καὶ τὸ θεῖον σύμμαχον ἐφ' οἷς θελήσειας παρακαλοῖ<sup>3</sup> κάμοι πρὸς εὐκλείας γένοιτο παρὰ τοῖς πυνθανομένοις, ὡς μνηθεὶς ὦν χρησαίμην ὑπὸ τῆς σῆς ἐξουσίας ἀτυχεῖν πώποτε γνόντι<sup>4</sup>. ἀξιώ γάρ σοι τοῦ ἀνδριάντος τὴν ἀνάθεσιν, ἣν ποιήσασθαι κελεύεις Πετρώνιον εἰς τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἱερόν, μηκέτι πράσσειν διανοεῖσθαι."
- 298 (8) Καὶ ὁ μὲν καίπερ ἐπικίνδυνον τοῦτο ἡγούμενος, εἰ γὰρ μὴ πιθανά ἔκρινε Γάιος, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ εἰς θάνατον ἔφερεν, διὰ τὸ μέγιστα νομίζεν τε καὶ εἶναι κύβον ἀναρριπτεῖν τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἡγεῖτο.
- 299 Γάιος δὲ ἅμα τε τῇ θεραπείᾳ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ἀνελθμμένος καὶ ἄλλως ἀπρεπῆς ὑπολαμβάνων ἐπιτοσῶνδε μαρτύρων ψευδῆς γενέσθαι περὶ ὧν προθύμως ἐβιάζετο αἰτεῖσθαι τὸν Ἀγρίππαν μετὰ τοῦ
- 300 ὀξέος μεταμέλω χρώμενος, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου τὴν ἀρετὴν θαυμάσας ὅτι ἐν ὀλίγῳ (θέμενος)<sup>5</sup> αὔξειν<sup>6</sup> τὴν οἰκείαν ἀρχὴν ἤτοι προσόδοις χρημάτων ἢ ἄλλῃ δυνάμει τοῦ κοινου<sup>7</sup> τῆς εὐθυμίας ἐπιμελοῖτο

<sup>1</sup> A : διάνοιαν MW Exc. et i. marg. A : continentiam Lat.

<sup>2</sup> Niese : προσποιῶ codd. F Exc.

<sup>3</sup> Niese : παρακαλῶ codd. Exc. : παρακαλῆ Bekker.

<sup>4</sup> ὡς . . . γνόντι) quod nihil a te petierim ad usus pertinens temporalium rerum Lat. : γνόντι corruptum indicat Niese.

<sup>5</sup> δὲ] WE : δὲ καὶ AM.

<sup>6</sup> <ὅτι> ἐν ὀλίγῳ <θέμενος>] Petersen : ἐν ὀλίγῳ codd. : ὅτι ἐν

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

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

ὀλίγῳ Cocceji : post ὀλίγῳ lacunam indicat Ernesti, excidit θοῖτα vel aliud : post θαυμάσας <εἰ ποιοῖται> vel sim. conl. Thackeray : ποιοῦμενος supplet Bekker.

<sup>7</sup> ἐν ὀλίγῳ αὔξειν] quod . . . non . . . amplificare cupiverit Lat. <sup>8</sup> κοινου] MWE Exc. : κοινου δὲ A.

πρεσβεύων τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸ θεῖον, συνεχώρει καὶ γράφει πρὸς τὸν Πετρώνιον, ἐκείνον τῆς τε ἀθροίσεως τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπαινῶν καὶ τοῦ πρὸς  
 301 αὐτὸν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπεσταλκότος. " νῦν οὖν εἰ μὲν φθάνεις τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἑστακῶς, ἑστάτω.<sup>1</sup> εἰ δὲ μήπω πεποιήσῃ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν, μηδὲν περαιτέρω κακοπαθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸν τε στρατὸν διάλυε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἃ τὸ πρῶτόν σε ἔστειλα ἄπιθι· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔτι δέομαι τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ ἀνδριάντος Ἀγρίππα χαριζόμενος ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἐμοὶ τιμωμένῳ μειζόνως ἢ ὥστε με χρεῖα τῇ ἐκείνου καὶ οἷς κελεύσειεν ἀντει-  
 302 πεῖν." Γάιος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα γράφει πρὸς τὸν Πετρώνιον πρότερον ἢ ἐντυχεῖν ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει καταδοξάσας αὐτοὺς<sup>2</sup> ἐπείγεσθαι,<sup>3</sup> μηδὲν γὰρ ἕτερον ἀποσημαίνειν τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ πόλεμον  
 303 ἀντικρὺς Ῥωμαίοις ἀπειλεῖν.<sup>4</sup> καὶ περιαλήθσας ὡς ἐπὶ πείρᾳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῦ τετολημηκότων, ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἡσσω μὲν τοῦ αἰσχροῦ, κρείσσω δὲ τοῦ βελτίστου καὶ ἐφ' ὅστισι κρίνειεν ὀργῇ χρῆσθαι παρ' ὄντινόν ἐπιγόμενος παίδευσιν αὐτῆς οὐδ' ἡντινὸν προστιθείς, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἡδονῇ τιθεὶς τῇ

<sup>1</sup> ἑστάτω] μὴ ἑστάτω Clementz.

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

<sup>3</sup> ἐντυχεῖν . . . ἐπείγεσθαι] ἐντυχεῖν ταῖς αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολαῖς ἐμφανούσας ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει τοῦ Ἰουδαίου κατὰ δόξας αὐτοὺς ἐπείγεσθαι E, lacuna ex coniectura expleta: lacunam post ἐντυχεῖν indicat Niese.

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

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

Petronius' letter to Gaius arrives.

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

<sup>b</sup> The text is doubtful. If we follow the reading of the Epitome, the meaning would be "before reading Petronius' letters which showed that the Jews were in thought already bent on revolt."

304 ἐκεῖνης τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ εὐδαίμονος, γράφει πρὸς τὸν  
 Πετρώνιον· " ἐπειδὴ δῶρα ὅποσα σοι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι  
 παρέσχον ἐν μείζονι λόγῳ τῶν ἐμῶν πεποίησαι ἐν-  
 τολῶν διακονεῖσθαι τὰ πάντα ἡδονῇ τῇ ἐκείνων  
 ἀρθεῖς ἐπὶ παραβάσει τῶν ἐμῶν ἐντολῶν, κελεύω  
 σε σαυτῷ κριτὴν γενόμενον λογίσασθαι περὶ τοῦ  
 ποιητέου σοι ὑποστάντα<sup>1</sup> ὀργῇ τῇ ἐμῇ, ἐπεὶ τοι  
 παράδειγμα ποιοῦντό σε οἱ τε νῦν πάντες<sup>2</sup> καὶ ὀπό-  
 σοι ὕστεροι γένοιοντ' ἄν,<sup>3</sup> μηδαμῶς ἀκυροῦν αὐτο-  
 κράτορος ἀνδρός ἐντολάς."

305 (9) Ταύτην μὲν γράφει Πετρωνίῳ τὴν ἐπιστολήν,  
 οὐ μὴν φθάνει γε ζῶντος Πετρώνιος δεξάμενος  
 αὐτὴν βραδυνθέντος τοῦ πλοῦ τοῖς φέρουσιν εἰς  
 τσοῦνδε, ὥστε Πετρωνίῳ γράμματα πρὸ αὐτῆς  
 ἀφικέσθαι, δι' ὧν μανθάνει τὴν Γαίου τελευτήν.  
 306 θεὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἄρ' ἀμνημονήσειν ἔμελλε Πετρωνίῳ  
 κινδύνων, οὓς ἀνειλήφει ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Ἰουδαίων  
 χάριτι καὶ τιμῇ τῇ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὸν Γάιον ἀπο-  
 σκευασάμενος ὀργῆς ὧν ἐπὶ σεβασμῷ τῷ αὐτοῦ  
 πράσσειν ἐτόλμησε, τὸν μισθὸν χροολυτεῖν.<sup>4</sup> συν-  
 εργεῖ<sup>5</sup> τῷ Πετρωνίῳ ἢ τε Ῥώμῃ καὶ πάσα ἡ ἀρχή,  
 μάλιστα δ' ὀπόσοι τῆς βουλῆς προὔχοιεν ἀξιώματι,  
 διὰ τὸ εἰς ἐκείνους ἀκράτῳ τῇ ὀργῇ χρῆσθαι τὸν

<sup>1</sup> ὑποστάντι Bekker: ὑπεκατάτα coni. Niese.

<sup>2</sup> ποιοῦντό . . . πάντες] codd.: ποιοῦμι (ποιοῦμι E) ἄν σε τοῖς  
 τε νῦν πᾶσι E et i. marg. A.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπεὶ τοι . . . γένοιοντ' ἄν] ut exemplum efficiare cunctis et  
 praesentibus et futuris Lat.

<sup>4</sup> lacunam post χροολυτεῖν indicat Niese.

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

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

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

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

307 Γάιον.<sup>1</sup> καὶ τελευτᾷ μὲν οὐ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον ἢ γράψαι τῷ Πετρωνίῳ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θανεῖν ἀνακειμένην ἐπιστολήν, τὴν δ' αἰτίαν, ἐξ ἧς τελευτᾷ, καὶ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τὸν τρόπον ἀφηγήσομαι προϋόντος  
308 τοῦ λόγου. Πετρωνίῳ δὲ προτέρα μὲν παρῆν ἡ διασαφύουσα τοῦ Γαίου τὴν τελευταίαν ἐπιστολή, μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἡ κελεύουσα αὐτὸν τελευτᾶν αὐτόχειρα, καὶ ἦσθη τε τῇ συντυχίᾳ τοῦ ὀλέθρου, ὃς τὸν Γάιον  
309 κατέλαβεν, καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν πρόνοιαν ἐξεθαύμασεν οὐδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος μισθὸν αὐτῷ τιμῆς τε τῆς εἰς τὸν ναὸν καὶ βοθηθείας τῆς Ἰουδαίων σωτηρίας παρασχομένου.<sup>2</sup> καὶ Πετρωνίῳ μὲν οὕτως μὴ ἂν τοπασθεῖς<sup>3</sup> διεφεύχθη ῥάδιως ὁ κίνδυνος τοῦ θανεῖν.

310 (ix. 1) Γίνεται δὲ καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ καὶ μάλιστα τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν οἰκοῦντας Ἰουδαίους συμφορὰ δεινὴ καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς ἦστινος ἐλάσσων φόνος τε αὐτῶν πολὺς καὶ ὀπίστος οὐχ ἱστορημένος πρότερον. περὶ ὧν δὴ τὰ πάντα ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς διηγησάμενος ἐκθήσομαι καὶ τὰς αἰτίας,  
311 ἀφ' ὧν αὐτοῖς τὸ πάθος συνέτυχεν. Νέαρδα<sup>4</sup> τῆς Βαβυλωνίας ἐστὶ πόλις ἄλλως τε πολυανδρούσα καὶ

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

<sup>2</sup> Hudson: παρασχόμενον codd.

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

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

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

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

<sup>b</sup> *Ant.* xix. 15-114.

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

<sup>3</sup> οὕτως μὴ ἀντοπθεῖς] A: οὕτως μὴ ἀντοπισθεῖς M: οὕτως μὴ ἀντοπθεῖς W: οὕτως μὴ αὐτῷ ὀφθεῖς Hudson: τρόπον μὴ προϋπόντων coni. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>4</sup> Νέαρδα] Nearda MW: Νεέρδα A: Neerda E: Neerda Lat.: Νάαρδα apud Steph. Byz. vocatur.

## BIBAIION IO

(i. 1) Γάιος δὲ οὐκ εἰς μόνους Ἰουδαίους τοὺς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ τοὺς ὅποσοι τῆδε οἰκοῦσιν ἐπεδείκνυτο τῆς ὑβρεως τὴν μανίαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ πάσης

<sup>a</sup> T. Mommsen's theory ("Cornelius Tacitus und Cluvius Rufus," *Hermes* iv, 1870, p. 322) that Josephus' source for the long account of the conspiracy against Gaius and the accession of Claudius is the historian Cluvius Rufus has won rather general acceptance (*cf.*, *e.g.*, Groag, in Pauly-Wissowa, iv, 1901, pp. 123-125). The chief support for this theory is the conversation recorded between Cluvius and a senator named Bathybius in which Cluvius gives an apt quotation from Homer urging Bathybius to be silent (§§ 91-92). Such an anecdote, it has been said (see Mommsen, p. 320; accepted by R. Syme, *Tacitus*, I, 1958, p. 287), can derive only from Cluvius Rufus himself, and not verbally, but precisely from his writings. Moreover, M. P. Charlesworth, "The Tradition about Caligula," *Camb. Hist. Jour.* iv, 1933, p. 116, cites a number of examples from this section of Book XIX in which Josephus' style is more metaphorical and more highly coloured than is usual for him; and he suggests that Josephus had before him a Latin original written in a highly rhetorical and metaphorical style, namely Cluvius Rufus. It has even been argued by A. Momigliano, "Osservazioni sulle fonti per la storia di Caligola, Claudio, Nerone," *Rend. d. Accad. d. Lincei* viii, 1932, p. 305, that Cluvius was the main source not only of Josephus but also of the two other chief extant writers on the subject of Gaius' assassination, Suetonius and Dio Cassius. But Mommsen's theory seems to rest on

## BOOK XIX

(i. 1)<sup>a</sup> GAIUS not only exhibited the madness<sup>b</sup> of his insolence in relation to the Jews who dwelt in Jerusalem and throughout Judaea, but he also sent

Insolence  
and mad-  
ness of  
Gaius  
Caligula.

tion that Cluvius Rufus' history covered the period of Gaius and Claudius, since the references to it in Tacitus, *Ann.* xiii. 20 and xiv. 2, and in Pliny, *Epist.* ix. 19. 5, deal with the period of Nero alone. The anecdote in §§ 91-92 might well have been recorded by another writer, perhaps Servilius Nonianus or Aufidius Bassus (see Syme, I, pp. 287-288) or, because it was so striking, might well have been transmitted orally. There is no indication that Josephus' style in Book XIX is more metaphorical than it is in large parts of the rest of the work; and even if it is, there is no evidence that these metaphors were borrowed from Cluvius, about whose style we know almost nothing firsthand, inasmuch as his works are lost except for very slight fragments (H. Peter, *Hist. Rom. Relig.* ii, 1906, p. 114). The rhetorical style was widely cultivated among the Romans, and Josephus might have borrowed these metaphors from another writer who worked within the same rhetorical tradition. Several reasons have been advanced for the length of this digression on Gaius' murder and Claudius' accession. But Josephus' own moralistic reasons (§ 16), coupled with his desire to glorify the Jewish king Agrippa, who played a key rôle in Claudius' accession (§§ 236 ff.), seem sufficient.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Suetonius, who divides his biography of Gaius Caligula into two parts, Caligula the emperor and Caligula the monster (*Calig.* 22). Gaius' madness is also referred to by Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium* 34, Dio Cass. lix. 29. 1, Tac. *Ann.*



ἐσομένην γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἔσπελλον αὐτήν, ὅποση  
 Ῥωμαίοις ὑπακούει, μυρίων τε ἀνέπλησεν αὐτήν  
 2 κακῶν ὅποσα μὴ ἰστόρητο πρότερον. μάλιστα δὲ  
 ἠθάνετο τοῦ δεινοῦ τῶν πρᾶσσομένων ἢ Ῥώ-  
 μη κατ' οὐδὲν αὐτὴν τιμιωτέραν τῶν λοιπῶν πό-  
 λεων ἡγουμένου, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τε ἄλλους ἄγοντος καὶ  
 φέροντος καὶ μάλιστα τὴν σύγκλητον καὶ ὅποσοι  
 3 τούτων εὐπατρίδαι καὶ προγόνων ἐπιφανείαις τι-  
 μὲν καλουμένων, ἀξιώματι δὲ καὶ δυνάμει χρη-  
 μάτων ὅμοια τοῖς συγκλητικοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως  
 ἀγομένων διὰ τὸ ἐκ τούτων εἰς τὴν βουλήν εἶναι  
 κατακλήσεις· ὧν ἀτίμωσις ἦν καὶ μετανάστασις  
 κτεινομένων τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα συλωμένων διὰ τὸ  
 καὶ τὰς σφαγὰς ὡς τὸ πολὺ ἐπ' ἀφαιρέσει τῶν  
 4 χρημάτων αὐτοῖς συντυγχάνειν. ἐξεθείαζεν τε ἑαυ-  
 τὸν καὶ τὰς τιμὰς οὐκέτ' ἀνθρωπίνως ἡξίου γίνε-  
 σθαι παρὰ τῶν ὑπῆκόων αὐτῷ· εἰς τε τοῦ Διὸς  
 φοιτῶν τὸ ἱερόν, ὃ Καπετώλιον<sup>1</sup> μὲν καλοῦσιν

<sup>1</sup> ed. pr.: Καπιτώλιον (i. ante τ. i. ras. A) AME: Καπετωλίον  
 W.

\* At first, according to Dio lix. 6. 1, Gaius showed great deference to the senators. But later, according to Suetonius, *Calig.* 26, Gaius made some of the senators run for several miles in their togas beside his chariot and serve as waiters when he dined. He abused the senate as having been adherents of Sejanus and as having acted as informers against his mother and brothers (Suet. *Calig.* 30). See also Sen. *De Ira* iii. 18. 3-19. 2 and *De Ben.* ii. 12. 1-2, and Dio lix. 23. 3.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Suetonius, *Calig.* 35, who notes that Caligula deprived the noblest men of their ancient family emblems. Thus he took away Tarquinius' gold collar, Ciceronius' lock

it forth to spread over every land and sea which was subject to the Romans, and infected the empire with countless ills, such as had never before been chronicled in history. Rome above all felt the horror of his actions, since he gave it no more privilege than other cities, but harried the citizens, especially the senators<sup>a</sup> and those who were of the patrician class or had special honours because of distinguished ancestors.<sup>b</sup> He also devised countless attacks upon the equites,<sup>c</sup> as they were called. The standing and financial influence of this group gave them equal status with the senators in the eyes of the city because it was from their ranks that the senate was recruited. He deprived the equites of their privileges and expelled them from Rome or put them to death and robbed them of their wealth; for it was usually as a pretext for confiscating their property that he had them slain.<sup>d</sup> He would also have deified himself and demanded from his subjects honours that were no longer such as may be rendered to a man. When he visited the Temple of Jupiter<sup>e</sup> which they call the Capitol<sup>f</sup> and which is first in honour among their

of hair, and Gnaeus Pompey's surname "the great," which the Pompeian family had long held.

<sup>a</sup> According to Suetonius, *Calig.* 30, Gaius asserted that the equestrian order had incurred his displeasure because of their excessive devotion to attending dramas and sporting events.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. the story of how Gaius interrupted a game of dice, went out into the courtyard, caused two rich equites who passed by to be arrested, confiscated their property, and then returned to the game boasting of his good luck (Suet. *Calig.* 41).

<sup>c</sup> The temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus stood on the Capitoline hill, so called on account of the temple.

<sup>f</sup> The temple of Jupiter was also called the *aedes Capitolinae*.

τιμώτατον δ' ἄρα αὐτοῖς ἔστιν ἱερῶν, ἀδελφῶν  
 5 ἐτόλμησε προσαγορεύειν τὸν Δία· καὶ ἅλλα ἔπρα-  
 σεν μανίας οὐδὲν ἀπολελεμμένα,<sup>1</sup> ἐπεὶ καὶ ἀπὸ  
 Δικαιαρχείας<sup>2</sup> τῆς πόλεως ἐν Καμπανίᾳ κειμένης  
 εἰς Μισηνοῦς<sup>3</sup> ἑτέραν πόλιν ἐπιθαλάσσιον, καὶ τὴν  
 6 διάβασιν δευῶν ἡγουμένους τριήρει περατοῦν, καὶ  
 ἄλλως ἐπιβάλλειν ἡγουμένους αὐτῷ δεσπότῃ ὄντι  
 τῆς θαλάσσης ταῦτα καὶ ὅποια καὶ παρὰ γῆς  
 ἀπαιτεῖν, ἀπ' ἄκρων ἐπ' ἄκρα σταδίου τριάκοντα  
 μέτρον τῆς θαλάσσης<sup>4</sup> ζεύξας<sup>5</sup> καὶ εἰσω τὸν κόλπον  
 ἀπολαβῶν πάντα ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τῇ γεφύρᾳ τὸ ἄρμα·

<sup>1</sup> ex Lat.: ἀπολελεμμένος codd. E.

<sup>2</sup> Dindorf: Δικαιαρχίας codd. E.

<sup>3</sup> Hudson: Μεσηνοῦς codd. E.: Mesena Lat.

<sup>4</sup> ταῦτα . . . θαλάσσης] om. W.

<sup>5</sup> E: om. codd.

\* It was here that the consuls made their first public sacrifice, here that the senate met, here that triumphal processions ended, and here that archives dealing with foreign relations were kept. Cf. S. B. Platner and T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 1929, pp. 297-302.

<sup>1</sup> Suetonius, *Calig.* 22, notes that Gaius would engage in conversation with Jupiter Capitolinus, alternately whispering and shouting angry threats. Gaius finally announced that Jupiter had persuaded him to live with him, and so he built a bridge connecting the imperial palace with the Capitol. Dio lix. 4. 2 remarks that though at first he forbade anyone to set up images of himself, he even went on to manufacture statues himself and to order temples to be erected and sacrifices offered to himself as a god. Dio also (lii. 28. 5; similarly Suet. *Calig.* 22) notes that Gaius called himself Jupiter Latiaris, i. e. Jupiter of Latium, and remarks (lii. 28. 5) that he used to impersonate all the gods.

<sup>2</sup> Of Baiae.

<sup>3</sup> Roman Puteoli. See *Ant.* xviii. 160.

<sup>4</sup> mss. Meseni (for other instances of the plural "Miseni" see Pauly-Wissowa, xv<sup>2</sup>, 1932, p. 2046); modern Miseno. This was the chief naval base in the Bay of Naples.

temples,<sup>a</sup> he had the audacity to address Jupiter as brother.<sup>b</sup> His other actions too did not fall short of madness. For instance, it was insufferable, he thought, to cross the bay<sup>c</sup> from the city of Dicaearchia<sup>d</sup> in Campania to Misenum,<sup>e</sup> another maritime city, in a trireme. Then, too, he considered it his privilege as lord of the sea to require the same service from the sea as he received from the land. So the thirty<sup>f</sup> furlongs of sea from headland to headland were connected by pontoons, which cut off the whole bay, and over this bridge<sup>g</sup> he drove in his chariot.

<sup>a</sup> Twenty-six furlongs in Dio lix. 17. 1, who says that the bridge extended from Puteoli to Bauli.

<sup>b</sup> For a further description of this bridge see Dio lix. 17. 1-3, who notes that it had resting-places, lodging-rooms, and even running water for drinking. Gaius celebrated the dedication of the bridge by throwing some people off it. Suetonius, however, by including the building of this bridge among the acts of Caligula the emperor (*Calig.* 19) rather than of Caligula the monster indicates, as Balsdon, *op. cit.*, p. 52, points out, that the bridge was not mere irrational caprice. Suetonius gives three reasons for the building of the bridge: (1) to improve upon Xerxes' feat of bridging the much narrower Hellespont; (2) to arouse the awe of the Germans and Britons; and (3) to fulfil the prophecy of Thrasylus the astrologer, who had assured Tiberius that Gaius had no more chance of becoming emperor than of riding over the Gulf of Baiae with horses. Suetonius says that he heard the last reason from his own grandfather, who asserted that it had been revealed to him by courtiers in Caligula's confidence. Seneca, *De Brev. Vitae* 18. 5-6, like Josephus, alludes to it as an instance of Gaius' madness; for, he says, at a time when Rome had enough food for at most seven or eight days, Gaius was making bridges of boats and playing with the resources of the empire. Josephus and Seneca apparently place the episode in the last few months of Gaius' reign, while Dio lix. 17. 1-3 and Suetonius seem to put it before A. D. 39; but this discrepancy gives no ground for the conjecture that the whole incident may have been fabricated.

θεῶ γὰρ ὄντι τοιαύτας ποιείσθαι καλῶς ἔχειν τὰς  
 7 ὁδοὺς.<sup>1</sup> τῶν τε ἱερῶν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν οὐδὲν ἔτι  
 ἀσύλητον κατέλιπεν, ὅποσα γραφῆς ἢ γλυφῆς ἐχό-  
 μενα καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς κατασκευὰς ἀνδριάντων καὶ  
 ἀναθημάτων ἄγεσθαι κελεύσας παρ' αὐτόν· οὐ γὰρ  
 ἐν ἐτέρῳ τὰ καλὰ κείσθαι καλῶς ἔχειν ἢ ἐν τῷ  
 καλλίστῳ, τυγχάνειν δὲ τοῦτο οὐσαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων  
 8 πόλιν. ἐκόσμηε τε τοῖς ἐνθένδε ἀγομένοις τῆν τε  
 οἰκίαν καὶ τοὺς κήπους ὅποσα τε αὐτῷ καταγωγῆ  
 διὰ γῆς τῆς τῶν Ἰταλῶν. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Ὀλύμπιον  
 τιμώμενον Δία ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ οὕτως ἄνω-  
 μασμένον Ὀλύμπιον<sup>2</sup> Φειδίδου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου πε-  
 ποιηκότος ἐτόλμησε κελεῦσαι εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην  
 9 μεταφέρειν. οὐ μὴν ἔπραξεν γε τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων  
 φαιμένων πρὸς Μέμμιον Ῥῆλλον,<sup>3</sup> ὃς ἐπετέτακτο τῆ  
 κινήσει τοῦ Διός, ἀπολεῖσθαι τοῦργον κινήσεως αὐ-  
 τοῦ γενομένης. λέγεται δὲ Μέμμιον διὰ ταῦτα καὶ  
 σημείων μειζόνων γενομένων, ἢ ὡς ἂν τινα μῆ<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἄλλως . . . ὁδοὺς] subicere sibi etiam hoc elementum posse velut domino maris existenti talia volebat etiam in fluctibus gerere, qualia solet terrae natura sustinere. voluit ergo, ut a litore ad litus stadia ferme trecenta in medio mari et intra tam vastum sinum pontem construeret, super quem carrucis et diversis vehiculis iteneret efficere Lat.

<sup>2</sup> τὸν Ὀλύμπιον . . . Ὀλύμπιον] Iovem Olympium, qui

That way of travelling, said he, befitted his godhead. Of the Greek temples<sup>a</sup> he left none unpillaged, giving orders that paintings and sculptures and all other statues and dedicatory offerings with which they were furnished should be brought to him; for it was not right, he said, that beautiful objects should stand anywhere but in the most beautiful place, and that was the city of Rome. With the spoils which he brought from Greece, he adorned his palace and gardens and all his residences throughout the land of Italy. He even dared<sup>b</sup> to give orders to transport to Rome the "Zeus" that was worshipped by the Greeks at Olympia and was therefore called Olympian, a work of the artist Phidias of Athens. He did not, however, carry out this intention, for the chief technicians reported to Memmius Regulus,<sup>c</sup> who had the assignment of moving the Zeus, that the work would be ruined if it were moved. It is said that Memmius postponed removing the statue not only

<sup>a</sup> Dio lix. 28. 1 reports that Gaius desired to appropriate to his own use the large and very beautiful temple that the Milesians were building for Apollo.

<sup>b</sup> A.D. 40. Cf. Dio lix. 28. 3, who says that Gaius blamed Jupiter for occupying the Capitoline hill ahead of him and consequently hastened to build another temple on the Palatine, to which he proposed to transfer the statue of Olympian Zeus after remodelling it to resemble himself. The transfer of the statue is also mentioned by Suetonius, *Calig.* 22.

<sup>c</sup> Publius Memmius Regulus, consul suffectus in 31 and later governor of Moesia, Macedonia, and Achaia. According to Tacitus, *Ann.* xiv. 47, when Nero was ill and his flatterers said that if anything befell him the empire would come to an end, he replied that the state still had a resource, namely, Memmius Regulus.

<sup>3</sup> Ῥῆλλον, ἢ ἰν ἰ corr. A: Ῥηροβλον MW: Ῥίγλον E.

10 πιστὰ ἡγεῖσθαι, ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὴν ἀνάρεσιν. καὶ γράφει τὰδε πρὸς τὸν Γάιον ἐπ' ἀπολογία τοῦ ἐκλιπεῖν ἀδιακόνητον τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ἀπολέσθαι τε ἐκ τούτων αὐτῷ κινδύνου γενομένου σώζεται φθάνοντος ἤδη Γαίου τελευτήσῃ.

11 (2) Εἰς τοῦτο δὲ προῦβη τὸ μανικὸν αὐτῷ, ὥστε δὴ καὶ θυγατρὸς αὐτῷ γενομένης ἀνακομίσας ἐπὶ τὸ Καπετώλιον ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασι κατατίθεται τοῦ ἀγάλματος, κοινὸν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῷ Διὶ γεγονέναι τὸ τέκνον καὶ δύο χειροτονεῖν αὐτῆς πατέρας, ὁπότερον

12 μείζονα φάμενος ἐν μέσῳ τε καταλιμπάνειν.<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὰδε ἡνείχοντο πράσσοντα αὐτὸν οἱ ἄνθρωποι. ἐπεχώρησε<sup>2</sup> δὲ καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις κατηγορίας ποιέσθαι τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐφ' οἷσιν ἐβελήσειαν ἐγκλήμασιν· δεινὰ γὰρ πάντα ἦν, ὅποσα μέλλοι λέγεσθαι,<sup>3</sup> διὰ τὸ χάριτί τε καὶ ὑπαγορεύσει τῇ ἐκείνου τὰ

13 πολλὰ γίνεσθαι, ὥστε ἤδη καὶ Κλαυδίου ἐτόλμα ποιήσασθαι Πολυδεύκης ὁ δοῦλος κατηγορίαν, καὶ Γάιος ἡνείχετο κατὰ πατρῶου τοῦ αὐτοῦ δίκης θανάτου λεγομένης ἐπ' ἀκροάσει συνελθεῖν ἐλπίδι τοῦ παραλαβεῖν δύναμιν ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν. οὐ μὴν ἐξ-

<sup>1</sup> ὁπότερον . . . καταλιμπάνειν] om. Lat.

<sup>2</sup> conl. Niese: ἐπεχώρησε codd.: i. marg. γρ ἐπέτρεψε A: molitus est . . . (servos) . . . excitare Lat. <sup>3</sup> A: γινέσθαι MW.

<sup>a</sup> Dio lix. 28. 3 reports that the ship built to transport the statue was shattered by thunderbolts and that loud laughter was heard whenever anyone approached as if to take hold of the pedestal of the statue.

<sup>b</sup> The Epitome omits the μη: "that were beyond what anyone could believe." This would indicate that Josephus did not accept the story.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. the similar rescue of Petronius (Ant. xviii. 305), who had similarly violated an order of Gaius, by the death of the emperor. According to Dio lix. 28. 3, Gaius, after hearing

for this reason but because of certain portents<sup>a</sup> that were too serious to be discredited.<sup>b</sup> He sent Gaius a letter reporting these matters and explaining his failure to carry out his orders. In consequence, he risked being executed, but he was saved by the death of Gaius which intervened.<sup>c</sup>

(2) So far did Gaius' frenzy go, that when a daughter was born to him he actually carried her to the Capitol<sup>d</sup> and deposited her on the knees of the statue,<sup>e</sup> remarking that the child belonged to both him and Zeus and that he had appointed two fathers for her, but left open the question which of the two was the greater. Such was the behaviour that the world had to put up with. He also permitted<sup>f</sup> servants to bring accusations against their masters on whatever charges they pleased. Anything that was reported was bound to have serious consequences, because most of the charges were brought for his gratification or at his suggestion. Thus Polydeuces, the slave of Claudius, dared to bring an accusation against Claudius, and Gaius was tolerant enough to attend court when a capital charge was brought against his own uncle, expecting to receive authority to put him to death. He was, however, disappointed.

why the statue could not be transported, uttered threats against the statue and set up a new one of himself.

<sup>d</sup> The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

<sup>e</sup> According to Suetonius, *Calig.* 25, Gaius carried his daughter, Julia Drusilla, to the temples of all the goddesses before finally placing her in the lap of Minerva, whom he called upon to direct his child's growth and education. Dio lix. 28. 7 says that Gaius placed her on the knees of Jupiter, thereby hinting that she was Jupiter's child, and put her in charge of Minerva to be suckled.

<sup>f</sup> Niese's emendation. Variants "entrusted to," "attemped to arouse."

- 14 ἐγένετό γε αὐτῷ. ἀναπεπληρωκότι δὲ αὐτῷ συκοφαντιῶν καὶ κακῶν πᾶσαν οἰκουμένην, ἧς ἐπήρχεν, καὶ πολλήν τὴν δουλοκρατίαν ἐπληρούμενος τοῖς δεσπόταις ἐπιβουλαὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἤδη συνίσταντο, τῶν μὲν ἐπ' ἀμύνην ὦν πάθοιεν ὀργὴν ποιουμένων, τῶν δὲ πρὶν ἐμπροσθέντες κακῶν τυχεῖν μεγάλων<sup>1</sup> τιθεμένων τὸ μεταχειρίσασθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον.<sup>2</sup> ὅθεν, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς τε ἀπάντων νόμοις καὶ τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ μεγάλῃν συνήνεγκεν εὐδαιμονίας ῥοπήν ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ ἔθνη τε τῷ ἡμετέρῳ οὐδὲ εἰς ὀλίγον ἐξεργόνει μὴ οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι μὴ ταχείας αὐτῷ τελευτήσῃ παραγενομένης, βούλομαι<sup>3</sup> δι' ἀκριβείας τὸν πάντα
- 16 περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον διελθεῖν, ἄλλως τε ἐπειδὴ καὶ πολλήν ἔχει πίστιν τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ παραμυθίαν τοῖς ἐν τύχαις κειμένοις καὶ σωφρονισμόν τοῖς οιομένοις αἰδίων τὴν εὐτυχίαν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐπιμεταφέρειν<sup>4</sup> κακῶς ἀρετῆς αὐτῇ μὴ παραγενομένης.
- 17 (3) Ὅδοὺς μὲν δὴ τρεῖς ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάζετο καὶ τούτων ἐκάστης ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἶχον. Αἰμιλίος τε γὰρ Ῥήγγλος ἐκ Κορδύβης τῆς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γένος συνεῖχεν τινὰς ἢ δι' ἐκείνων ἢ δι' αὐτοῦ πρόθυμος ὦν ἀρασθαι Γάιον.
- 18 ἑτέρα δὲ αὐτοῖς συνεκροτεῖτο, ἧς Χαϊρέας Κάσσιος χιλιάρχος ἡγεμῶν ἦν. Βινουκιανός<sup>5</sup> δὲ Ἄννιος<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> μέγα coni. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>2</sup> τῶν δὲ . . . ἀνθρώπων] ab aliis autem praevēnīre homines cupientibus, cum sibi ab eis pro culpīs suis aliquod supplicium immīnere sentirent Lat.

<sup>3</sup> βούλομαι] Hudson ex Lat. : βούλομαι δὲ codd. : βούλομαι δὴ coni. Niese.

<sup>4</sup> ἐπιμεταφέρειν] AM : ἐπιφέρειν W : ἐπὶ μήκιστον φέρειν ed. pr. : ἐπὶ μέγα φέρειν ooni. Niese.

<sup>5</sup> [vel Βινουκιανός] coni. Niese (vol. III, praef., p. xviii) : Mi-

As he had made all of the inhabited world over which he ruled a prey to informers and their evil work and had raised high the power of slaves over their masters, conspiracies were now commonly formed against him. Some of the conspirators were angry and sought vengeance for the wrongs they had endured, others counted on doing away with the creature before they fell foul of him and suffered disaster. Therefore, since his death not only was of great importance in the interest of all men's laws and the safeguarding of them, but our own nation was brought to the very verge of ruin and would have been destroyed but for his sudden death, I am resolved to give an exact account of everything that happened. I have another particular motive in that the story provides good evidence of God's power.<sup>a</sup> It will comfort those who are in unhappy circumstances, and will teach a lesson in sobriety to those who think that good fortune is eternal and do not know that it ends in catastrophe unless it goes hand in hand with virtue.

(3) There were three schemes in preparation for his death, and each of them had good men as leaders. Aemilius Regulus of Cordova in Iberia was the centre of one ring and heartily hoped to dispose of Gaius either by the hands of his colleagues or by his own. A second ring was in process of organization to aid them, of which Cassius Chaerea the military tribune<sup>b</sup> was leader. Finally, Annus Vinicianus<sup>c</sup> was no

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 306.

<sup>b</sup> According to Suetonius, *Calig.* 56, he was tribune of a cohort of the praetorian guard.

<sup>c</sup> There seems to be a good deal of confusion in Josephus in the name: he seems to use the name Minucianus for both

Josephus' reasons for recounting Gaius' death.

Three conspiracies against Gaius.