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FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS & FLAVIAN ROME

EDITED BY

Jonathan Edmondson, Steve Mason, and James Rives

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Preface and Acknowledgements

WHEN the editors conceived the idea of this book, we quickly made two further decisions: that the dimensions of the study would require essays from a variety of experts, and that the resulting book would benefit greatly from a preliminary, personal exchange of views. The book's rationale seemed almost to require a conference, indeed, because the study of Josephus had traditionally fallen into various disciplines (religious and Jewish studies, Christian origins, classical studies, ancient history, archaeology of ancient Judaea) or been lost in the interstices among them. Contemporary scholarship on Josephus' histories had focused much more on the phenomena to which they referred, primarily in Judaea but also in Roman history, than on the author-audience context in Rome, where Josephus was writing. Correspondingly, scholarship on imperial Roman literature had tended to ignore the substantial (thirty-volume) corpus of this prolific new citizen. Since our purpose was to bring the two sides of the scholarly divide into direct engagement, it seemed advisable to host a conference in which experimental ideas could be tested by an audience with deep knowledge of the relevant areas.

The conference convened from 6 to 8 May 2001, on the picturesque campus of York University's Glendon College in Toronto. It was complemented by a two-week intensive (and international) graduate seminar, which met daily to pursue in greater detail issues raised by the conference. The conference itself was rather intensive, keeping the participants together from morning until evening, and afforded the first opportunity many of us had to get to know some famous names from the other side. The editors wish to thank our academic colleagues who presented main papers or formal responses, the registrants who helped constitute a rigorous audience for presenters, the graduate students who presented their analyses in the concluding session or joined the seminar afterwards, and the conference's financial sponsors: the Social Sciences and Humanities

Preface and Acknowledgements

Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), which provided the main conference grant, the Principal of Glendon College, York's Centre for Jewish Studies, the Vice-President (Academic), the Vice-President (Research and Innovation), the Dean of Arts, the Division of Humanities, the Departments of History and Philosophy, the Programmes in Religious Studies and Classical Studies, and the York-Glasgow Exchange. Evy Strong in the Humanities office was a vigilant ally in watching our budget and offering all manner of practical advice. Dianne Cole helped make the conference memorable with her design of posters and programme brochure.

This book is by no means, however, a set of conference papers. A conference is one thing, a useful book something else. Because the book must have a coherent structure and balanced coverage, nearly a dozen of the conference presentations have not found a place here. Two new contributions (by Fergus Millar and James Rives) have been added, two conference presenters have collaborated on a single essay here, one author's chapter has an entirely different topic from his conference presentation, and all the contributors who first presented at the conference have clarified, developed, and more fully documented those initial offerings. Jonathan Edmondson has written a full introductory essay for the book, charting the integrative themes and significant points of divergence.

In addition to its support for the conference, SSHRC funding enabled us to hire Rachel Urowitz, whose expert assistance throughout both conference and book preparation has been invaluable. Zuleika Rodgers prepared the main index and that of modern authors; James Rives prepared the Index of Sources. Richard Wenghofer helped with tracking down references. We wish to thank the Division of Humanities and the Department of History at York for their further assistance with incidental costs of book preparation. Our editors at Oxford University Press, Lucy Qureshi and Hilary O'Shea, have offered constant encouragement and guidance, while the Press's anonymous readers provided a discipline that helped us better realize our goals. We are also very grateful to Lavinia Porter and the staff at the Press for seeing the book so efficiently through production. Finally, it needs recording that the contributors have proved most cooperative—and prompt—in their rewriting.

Preface and Acknowledgements

This is the first study of Josephus' Roman context in such scope and detail. We hope that readers will find it a valuable resource for both Josephus and Flavian Rome, as well as a reference-point for the developments that are sure to follow.

January 2004

S.M.

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations of primary sources and journal titles follow *OCD*³ and *The SBL Handbook of Style* (Peabody, Mass., 1999) for classical studies and for Jewish and Christian studies respectively. Note also the following:

<i>ABD</i>	D. N. Freedman (ed.), <i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> (New York, 1992)
<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i> (Paris, 1888–)
<i>ANRW</i>	H. Temporini and W. Haase (eds.), <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> (Berlin and New York, 1972–)
<i>BDAG</i>	W. Bauer, F. W. Danker, W. F. Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich, <i>A Greek–English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> , 3rd edn. (Chicago, 1999)
<i>BMCRE</i>	H. Mattingly and R. A. G. Carson, <i>Coins of the British Empire in the British Museum</i> (London, 1923–62)
<i>CCSL</i>	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina</i> (Turnhout, 1953–)
<i>Chron. Min.</i>	T. Mommsen (ed.), <i>Chronica Minora Saec. IV. V. VI. VII</i> , i (Berlin, 1892)
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (Berlin, 1863–)
<i>CPJ</i>	V. A. Tcherikover, A. Fuks, and M. Stern, <i>Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum</i> (Cambridge, Mass., 1957–64).
<i>CSEL</i>	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i> (Vienna, 1866–)
<i>FD</i>	É. Bourguet <i>et al.</i> (eds.), <i>Fouilles de Delphes III: Épigraphie</i> (Paris, 1929–)
<i>GLAJJ</i>	M. Stern, <i>Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism</i> (Jerusalem, 1974–84)
<i>HJP</i>	E. Schürer, <i>A History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ</i> , trans. and rev. G. Vermes, F. Millar, M. Black, and M. Goodman (Edinburgh, 1973–87)
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> (1873–)
<i>IGLS</i>	L. Jalabert <i>et al.</i> (eds.), <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie</i> (Beirut and Paris, 1929–)
<i>ILS</i>	H. Dessau (ed.), <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> (Berlin, 1892–1916)

Abbreviations

LSJ	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , 9th edn. with revised supplement (Oxford, 1996)
LTUR	E. M. Steinby (ed.), <i>Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae</i> (Rome, 1993–2000)
OCD ³	S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (eds.), <i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , 3rd edn. (Oxford, 1996)
PIR ²	E. Groag, A. Stein, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saeculi I, II, III</i> , 2nd edn. (Berlin, 1933–)
P Oxy.	<i>Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> (London, 1898–)
RAC	T. Klauser <i>et al.</i> (eds.), <i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> (Stuttgart, 1950–)
RE	G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, <i>et al.</i> (eds.), <i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Berlin, 1893–)
RIC	H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, <i>et al.</i> (eds.), <i>The Roman Imperial Coinage</i> (London, 1923–84)
SIG ³	W. Dittenberger (ed.), <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , 3rd edn. (Leipzig, 1915–24)

Introduction

Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome

JONATHAN EDMONDSON

FROM YOSEF BEN MATTITYAHU TO
T. FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

In late July 67 CE the self-confessedly reluctant leader of the Judaeen forces in the Galilee during their great revolt against Rome found himself a prisoner of the Romans. Yosef ben Mattityahu, born into an aristocratic family of priestly rank from Jerusalem in 37 CE, had surrendered after unsuccessfully attempting to defend the town of Jotapata from capture by the Roman army led by T. Flavius Vespasianus (Jos. *Bġ* 3. 316–97). Vespasian spared his life, allegedly prompted by the persuasive intercessions of his son Titus. But just as Vespasian was about to send him off to Rome to stand trial before the emperor Nero, Yosef requested an interview with the Roman general. At this crucial meeting, he prophesied that one day Vespasian would be ‘Caesar and emperor’ of the Romans, ‘master of land and sea and the whole human race’, as in turn would his son Titus. At first Vespasian was sceptical, but on learning that a number of Yosef’s earlier prophecies had come true, including his accurate prediction of the length of the siege of Jotapata, he ameliorated the conditions of his captivity by granting him clothing and other gifts and allowing him to marry a fellow prisoner. Titus also helped to make his life as prisoner more comfortable (*Bġ* 3. 396–408; cf. *Vit.* 414; the prophecy: *Bġ* 3. 400–2; Gray 1993: esp. 35–79).

Two years later on 1 July 69 Vespasian was acclaimed emperor by the legions stationed at Alexandria in Egypt and soon afterwards the other eastern legions swore allegiance to him (Levick 1999: ch. 4; Griffin 2000a: 1–11). At this point Vespasian remembered the prophecy that Yosef ben Mattityahu had made and on the recommendation of his advisory body (*consilium*) liberated

him from captivity, ordering that his chains be cut with an axe, symbolically to remove the stigma of his two years of imprisonment (*Bḡ* 4. 622–9). For this ‘new man’ from a relatively undistinguished family from Sabine Reate, Yosef’s prophecy along with the host of others that had emanated from various oracular sources in Judaea, Egypt, and Cyprus (Suet. *Vesp.* 4. 5; 5. 2–7; Levick 1999: 67–70) suggested that a great variety of divinities supported, and hence legitimated, his elevation to the principate. From this point on, the life of Yosef ben Mattityahu was to be irrevocably linked with the fortunes of the Flavian house: the new emperor Vespasian and his sons Titus and Domitian.

After his liberation Yosef attached himself to the entourage of Vespasian and Titus, following them to Alexandria in December 69 (*Vit.* 415) and then returning with Titus to Judaea to witness the siege of Jerusalem and then the fall and destruction of the Temple in 70. Further benefactions followed, with Titus granting Yosef land in the fertile coastal plain between Jerusalem and the Mediterranean to recompense him for the fact that he would henceforth lose access to his own estates near Jerusalem (*Vit.* 422 with the comments of Mason 2001 ad loc.). These had probably been commandeered to supply the Legio X Fretensis and the units of auxiliary infantry and cavalry, now all stationed in Jerusalem. That Yosef was held in a position of some esteem is suggested by the fact that he was able, so he claimed, to intercede with Titus to win the release of his elder brother and numerous friends and acquaintances from captivity without their needing to pay ransom money (*Vit.* 418–21).

In the spring of 71 Yosef accompanied Titus back to Rome. This was not the first time he had visited the city. He had travelled there in 63 or 64 to petition for the release of some Jewish priests sent by M. Antonius Felix, procurator of Judaea, to await investigation by Nero. He claims that he was introduced to Nero’s wife, Poppaea Sabina, by one of Nero’s favourites, a Jewish mime-actor called Aliturus, whom he had met soon after arriving via Puteoli. Poppaea interceded with Nero on Yosef’s behalf, won the release of the priests, and then bestowed ‘enormous gifts’ upon him (*Vit.* 13–16).¹ This expedition had

¹ For the suggestion that Nero’s court may have been residing in the Bay of Naples area at this time, see Rajak, below, Ch. 4. For the possibility that Josephus’ narrative of this episode was purposely ironic, see Mason, below, Ch. 12.

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marked Yosef's debut in the public affairs of Jerusalem when he was in his mid-twenties. In the summer of 71 soon after his return to Rome Yosef witnessed the famous and glittering triumphal parade of Vespasian and Titus 'over the Judaeans' (*ex Iudaeis*) (*Bj* 7. 123–57). The vivid details and positive tone with which he describes the event sit incongruously alongside the fact that it must have been a hugely dispiriting event for Jews everywhere, and in particular for the large Jewish community of Rome (Goodman 1994b: 33 1–2 and Ch. 8, below). He soon received further benefactions: lodgings in Vespasian's old family home on the Quirinal, a stipend, and, not least, Roman citizenship (*Vit.* 423; cf. Suet. *Dom.* 1). As was normal in such circumstances, the Judaeian priest assumed a Roman name which patently linked him to the patron responsible for his grant of Roman status: Yosef ben Mattityahu henceforth became T(itus) Flavius Josephus.

In this way he joined the sizeable community of diaspora Jews resident in the city of Rome, unable and/or unwilling to return to his native land, where detractors continued to carp against his conduct during the campaigns against Rome in the Galilee that had ultimately resulted in Roman victory (*Vit.* 425). He described himself by implication as 'as one of the most renowned of the Jews living in Rome' (*Bj* 7. 447): in other words, one of the leading members of the diaspora Jewish community in the capital (Leon 1960; Gruen 2002: 15–53). Like a number of others in the Graeco-Roman world who had been compelled to withdraw from public life and leave their native communities (for instance, Herodotus, Thucydides, Polybius, or Sallust), in his enforced leisure at Rome Josephus turned to the writing of history (*Ap.* 1. 50). First, he prepared a seven-volume account of the 'War of the Jews against the Romans' that lasted from 66 to 73/4 CE (the so-called *Bellum Judaicum*). His main reason for composing this was, he claims (*Bj* 1. 1–2), to counter the tendentious histories of the war that were already circulating: some put together from hearsay and containing inaccurate or contradictory versions of events, others written by eye-witnesses, but misrepresenting the events either to flatter the Romans or attack the Jews. He had first composed an account of the war in his 'native language' (i.e. Aramaic) for 'barbarians [that is, non-Greek speakers] in the interior' (*Bj* 1. 3), by which he meant, as he himself went on to

explain, 'Parthians, Babylonians, the remote peoples of Arabia, Jews beyond the Euphrates, and inhabitants of Adiabene' (*Bḡ* 1. 6). As Rajak (1983: 174–84, 230–2) and Millar (1993: 499–500) have argued, this must mean that he wrote this first version in Aramaic for both Jewish and gentile readers beyond the frontiers of the Roman Empire. He then translated this work into Greek (*Bḡ* 1. 3)—with the help of certain 'associates' (*synergoi*) (*Ap.* 1. 50)—explicitly so that 'Greeks and Romans not involved in the campaigns should not remain ignorant of these events, relying on flattering or fictitious accounts' (*Bḡ* 1. 6).²

The last datable reference in the work concerns the dedication of the Temple of Peace in the centre of Rome in 75 CE (*Bḡ* 7. 158–62; cf. Dio 66. 15. 1), and Josephus later claimed that he 'presented the volumes [of the *Bellum Judaicum*] to the emperors [Vespasian and Titus] when the events were still fresh in people's minds' (*Vit.* 361). This would suggest that some parts at least of the Greek version were ready for presentation prior to Vespasian's death on 23 June 79. He then goes on to state that it was Titus who endorsed the work, now perhaps complete, with his signature and ordered that it 'be made public' (*Vit.* 363). Furthermore, the passage in which Josephus describes Vespasian's former supporter, A. Caecina Alienus, in highly unflattering terms (*Bḡ* 4. 644) could only have been written after Caecina's fall from grace and execution by Vespasian in 78 (Barnes, Ch. 6, below). In short, Josephus appears to have completed his work between 78 and 81 after previously receiving the encouragement and approval of Vespasian and Titus (C. P. Jones 2002: 113–14). It is distinctly possible that Josephus later revised the final book to give a more prominent and flattering role to Domitian after the latter had assumed power on his brother's death on 13 September 81.³

At some point in the 80s he embarked on his most substantial work, the *Jewish Antiquities*, which came to fill twenty volumes comprising no fewer than 60,000 lines of text, as he himself was

² The older view that he was commissioned to write this by his Flavian benefactors as official propaganda has little to recommend it: see Mason 1998: esp. 72–4.

³ S. Schwartz 1986; but Schwartz's crucial argument that the Catullus governor of Cyrenaica of *Bḡ* 7. 437–53 should be identified as L. Valerius Catullus Messallinus, cos. ord., 73, is seriously flawed: see C. P. Jones 2002: 114; Cotton and Eck, Ch. 1, below. For other reasons for a Domitianic version, see Barnes, Ch. 6, below.

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proud to boast (*AJ* 20. 267). He claims to have been encouraged to write this work by one Epaphroditus, ‘a lover of literature and of history in particular’ (*AJ* 1. 5) and someone who ‘had been associated with great events and diverse vicissitudes’ (*AJ* 1. 8–9), but whose identity continues to tantalize (Laqueur 1920: 23–30; Mason 1998b: 98–101; Cotton and Eck, below, Ch. 1; C. P. Jones, below, Ch. 10). In this work he provided a detailed account of the origins of the Jews—their ‘archaeology’, a term highly and consciously reminiscent of Thucydides’ ‘archaeology’ of the Sicilians at the start of Book 6 of his history of the Peloponnesian War (6. 1–5)—and of their constitution, law, and customs. He then traced their history right down to the outbreak of the revolt against Rome in 66 CE. The work was finished, according to its author, ‘in the thirteenth year of Domitian’s reign’ (*AJ* 20. 267): that is, between September 93 and September 94 (C. P. Jones 2002: 114–18). But for whom did Josephus write this massive work?

In the opening section, he states that he was writing for a Greek audience (*AJ* 1. 5) and confirms this at the very end of the work, when he boasts unabashedly that he alone of Jews and gentiles possessed the necessary combination of a deep knowledge of Judaism and sufficient Greek rhetorical skills to ‘write so accurately for Greeks’ (*AJ* 20. 262). Some have claimed that he wrote the work for his fellow Greek-speaking Jews to salvage his reputation, which had been significantly tarnished by his capitulation to the Roman army at Jotapata in 67, his acceptance of Roman gifts, and his celebratory account of the triumph of Vespasian and Titus in the final book of the *Jewish War*.⁴ In particular, he may have been hoping to convince the Jewish diaspora communities of the eastern Mediterranean cities and especially the new rabbinic centre at Jamnia (Yavneh) of his credentials as a serious Jew, proud of his heritage. This ‘apologetic’ interpretation has recently come under close scrutiny and

⁴ On the latter, see Beard 2003, characterizing Josephus as a ‘Flavian apparatchik’, who ‘picked up the official spin and made the spectacular ceremonial of 71 the key dynastic moment where Julio-Claudian history stopped—and Flavian history started’ (p. 558). One wonders whether Josephus’ glittering account of this triumph spurred Plutarch to produce a similarly detailed description of the triumph of L. Aemilius Paullus after his victories over the last Macedonian king Perseus in his biography of this leading Roman (Plut. *Aem.* 32–4).

some now prefer to accept Josephus' claim that he was addressing a gentile audience, who were keen to learn more about the customs and history of the Jews (e.g. Mason 1998*b* and 2003*b*). Some of these gentiles may have included Romans from the city of Rome, who looked to history to provide moral *exempla* for good and bad conduct and who also might have found interesting material in Josephus' detailed discussion of the 'constitution' of the Jews for a comparative assessment of Rome's political system under the increasingly autocratic Domitian (Mason 2003*b*: esp. 573–89).

Even if he did not enjoy as close a relationship with Domitian in the 80s and 90s as he had with Vespasian and Titus in the 70s, Josephus still received privileges from the last of the Flavian emperors and his wife Domitia Longina, including tax exemption on the property given to him by Titus in Judaea. Domitian also allegedly protected Josephus from scurrilous accusations, as his father had done earlier when Josephus had first settled in Rome (*Vit.* 429 with comments of Mason 2001 *ad loc.*; cf. *Bῃ* 7. 447–50).

Buoyed with enthusiasm from having completed such a monumental task, Josephus announced in the final chapters of the *Antiquities* his plans for two further works: first, he proposed to append to the *Antiquities* a brief review of his own ancestry (*genos*) and the events of his life 'while there are still people alive who can either disprove or corroborate' this account (*Aῃ* 20. 266); this work, he explained, would contain a summary account of the Jewish war and of 'what has happened to us' down to 93/4 CE (*Aῃ* 20. 267); and secondly he hoped to write a work in four books on the beliefs that 'we Jews hold concerning God and his essence, as well as about the laws whereby we are permitted to do some things, but forbidden from doing others' (*Aῃ* 20. 268). Josephus completed the first of these works, the *Life*, it appears, shortly after the *Antiquities*. As we have seen, it ends by mentioning the personal honours and protection he received from Domitian, material which could hardly have been included after the assassination of Domitian on 18 September 96 and the formal damning of his memory. The years 94 and 95 thus seem the best in which to place the composition of the work. However, references in the work to the death of King Agrippa II (*Vit.* 2, 359) have called this dating into question, since Photius, the

Introduction: Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome

ninth-century Patriarch of Constantinople, categorically placed Agrippa's death in the year 100 CE (*Bibl.* 33). If correct, this would mean that Josephus was at work on his *Life* at least until 100 or 101. However, it has now been decisively shown that Photius was in error and that Agrippa II died (or was at least deposed) in 88/9 (Kushnir-Stein 2002). This resolves the difficulties and allows the *Life* to have been written immediately after the *Antiquities*, with which it shares many stylistic similarities (Mason 2001: pp. xiv–xix; C. P. Jones 2002: 118–20).

As for the second work announced at the end of the *Antiquities*, on Jewish theology and customs, it is unclear whether Josephus ever produced this or at least in the manner in which he had initially envisaged. Some have argued that this was indeed Josephus' final work, *On the Antiquity of the Jews*, better known as the *Against Apion*. However, this comprises two books, not the anticipated four, and it only partially fits the description provided by Josephus at the end of the *Antiquities*. Thus Josephus either changed his plans completely or, more plausibly, modified his initial scheme to address head-on certain contemporary criticisms of his *Jewish Antiquities*. It is the necessarily polemical aim of his final work that Josephus underlines in its opening chapters:

Since I observe that a considerable number of persons, influenced by the malicious calumnies of certain individuals, discredit the statements in my history concerning our antiquity, and adduce as proof of the comparative modernity of our race the fact that it has not been thought worthy of mention by the best known Greek historians, I consider it my duty to devote a brief treatise to all these points; in order at once to convict our detractors of malignity and deliberate falsehood, to correct the ignorance of others, and to instruct all who desire to know the truth regarding the antiquity of our race. (*Ap.* 1. 2–3, Loeb trans.)

In the *Against Apion* he developed a systematic and vigorous defence of Judaism in the face of Greek ignorance or wilful misrepresentation of it (Feldman and Levison 1996). It is not entirely clear when Josephus completed this work, but most scholars argue for a date in the 90s, probably before the death of Domitian. The fact that he mentions neither Nerva nor Trajan has led to the assumption that he died not long after Domitian, but this is essentially an argument from silence (C. P. Jones 2002: 120).

He might either have died shortly before Domitian or have lived on for some time after completing his final work, the *Against Apion*, but there is no way of confirming this.

FLAVIAN ROME

As we have seen, it was his personal links with Vespasian and Titus that brought Flavius Josephus to the city of Rome, and it was here that he wrote his four major works, filling thirty volumes. Since Vespasian had come to power through civil war, he had to move quickly to legitimate his new regime. In this process his bringing of peace to the entire Roman Empire after civil strife was certainly of major importance, but the Flavian victory in putting down the serious revolt in Judaea was also central. Just as one hundred years earlier Augustus had packaged his victory over M. Antonius and Cleopatra at Actium as a victory over a dangerous foreign queen, so now the Flavians recast their campaigns in Judaea as an 'external war' (*externum bellum*) which threatened the whole security of the Roman Empire (cf. Tac. *Hist.* 2. 76, where Vespasian's army is described as 'toughened by experience and the queller of an external war (*belli domitor externi*)'). The Roman victory restored concord and peace to the Roman world, a theme that also received plenty of emphasis in the years that followed. Vespasian, born on 17 November 9 CE, was almost sixty on his *dies imperii*, 1 July 69. To alleviate any concerns about the succession, he gave his son Titus a prominent role from the start (Levick 1999: 184–95), and Josephus' *Jewish War* certainly fits well with that agenda. There was also a feeling of moral regeneration as Vespasian, proud of his roots in small-town Italy, represented himself as a down-to-earth, frugal, and hard-working leader in distinct contrast to the extravagant tastes and style of rule of predecessors such as Nero or Vitellius. Furthermore, the fabric of the city of Rome had suffered first at the hand of Nero's megalomania and then in various assaults during the civil wars of 68–9. To remedy this, Vespasian undertook a major programme of public building, which was continued by Titus and then by Domitian. It was thus in an atmosphere of marked political, moral, and physical renewal that Josephus settled down to live and write in Rome.

The city's major sanctuary, the Capitoline temple of Jupiter

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Optimus Maximus, had been destroyed by fire during the conflicts of 69, and Vespasian made it a priority to rebuild it in its traditional style. Its immediate restoration had great symbolic value for advertising the resurgence of Rome under the new dynasty; the Flavians were to be seen as pious restorers of the Roman state (Levick 1999: 126). Other parts of the urban centre were radically remodelled to remove all trace of the memory of the tyrant Nero. His gargantuan 'Golden House' was demolished to make way for buildings that left a distinctly Flavian stamp on the urban landscape. The 'Flavian amphitheatre' (known since the eleventh century as the 'Colosseum' after the 'Colossus', the colossal statue of the sun-god Sol that had stood outside the amphitheatre ever since it had been moved there by Hadrian) quickly rose to occupy the site of the monumental lake of Nero's pleasure palace; Nero's private baths were remodelled to become the Baths of Titus, a major public amenity; and to demonstrate his piety towards a neglected predecessor, Vespasian completed the Temple of the Deified Claudius on the Caelian hill, a project begun in 54 by Claudius' widow Agrippina, but then abandoned after her death in 59. The poet Martial aptly summed up the symbolic force of this building programme in one of his epigrams commemorating the inauguration of the Flavian Amphitheatre in 80 (*Spect.* 2. 11-12):

reddita Roma sibi est et sunt te praeside, Caesar,
deliciae populi, quae fuerant domini.

Rome is now restored to herself, and with you as our
leader, Caesar,
the delights which had once been those of a master
are now those of the people.

Suetonius hints at the importance of the suppression of the revolt in Judaea in the official Flavian version of events at the start of his life of Vespasian. The *gens Flavia*, he relates, had 'taken in hand and eventually stabilized an empire that had been unsteady for a long time and almost tottering' (*Vesp.* 1. 1: *incertum diu et quasi vagum imperium suscepit firmavitque tandem gens Flavia*). Josephus makes the same connection immediately after his description of the triumph of Vespasian and Titus: 'After the triumphal ceremonies and after restoring the empire of the Romans to its strongest state, Vespasian decided to erect a temple

of Peace' (*Bj* 7. 158). The Flavian victory was proclaimed far and wide. Coins issued first by Vespasian and then by Titus trumpeted the fact that 'Judaea had been taken' (IUDAEA CAPTA), with a female personification of Judaea slumped and bound as a captive beneath a Roman military trophy or, on later issues, a palm tree. Their similarity to Augustus' coins with the legend 'Egypt taken' (AEGYPTO CAPTA) was hardly a coincidence. The fact that Domitian, who had played no part in the military campaigns, also issued coins with IUDAEA CAPTA as late as 85 shows how important the event was to the Flavian dynasty (Cody 2003: esp. 105–13).

But Roman military victories such as this brought peace to the world, and Romans were to be permanently reminded of this achievement in another part of the monumental centre of the city (see Millar, below, Ch. 5). For in 75 CE Vespasian dedicated the Temple of Peace, whose precinct was no less than ten times the size of the 'Altar of Peace' dedicated by Augustus in 9 BCE. Its construction, like that of the Flavian Amphitheatre, was funded from the booty of the military campaigns; and, as a further reminder of the Flavian achievement, the treasures seized from the Temple in Jerusalem—including the golden menorah, the golden table, and various golden vessels—embellished the shrine, as did an impressive collection of masterpiece Greek statues by renowned classical sculptors such as Polyclitus, Praxiteles, Myron, Lysippus, and others (La Rocca 2001: 195–201, with figs. 17–19). Many of these had previously belonged to Nero's private art collection; they now became publicly accessible to anyone who visited the Temple of Peace, a further example of the Flavians making 'the delights which had once been those of a master now those of the people' (*deliciae populi quae fuerant domini*) in Martial's formulation.

Vespasian also set up a public library of major works of Greek and Latin literature in the two halls flanking the shrine. This helped not just to advertise the new dynasty's general support for literature, but also to emphasize that literature should be available for all Romans, not just the elite. A striking analogue to Augustus' public libraries on the Palatine, it provided another link between the Flavians and the first *princeps*, who had also brought peace to the world after civil war. It is not completely fanciful to suppose that the works of T. Flavius Josephus were

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added to this library on their completion. Indeed his *Jewish War* may have served as a key text for the explication of the monument, as it accentuated the valuable contribution that the Flavians had made to restoration of peace to the Roman Empire. The triumph *ex Iudaeis* was recalled by the monumental arches erected to Titus during his own lifetime at the curved end of the Circus Maximus and soon after his death on the Sacred Way leading into the main Roman Forum (see further Millar, below, Ch. 5).

The establishment of a permanent *fiscus Iudaicus* ('Jewish Treasury') further reminded both Romans and Jews of the subjugation of Judaea. Previously all practising Jews, no matter where they resided, had paid a small annual levy to the Temple in Jerusalem, but its destruction in August 70 had brought all cult activity there to an end (see further Rives, below, Ch. 7). Henceforth Vespasian required that all Jews now pay an annual levy of two *denarii* to support the cult of Jupiter Capitolinus and in particular to subsidize the rebuilding of his temple (*BJ* 7. 218; Dio 66. 7. 2; Smallwood 1976: 371–85). The victory of Jupiter over Yahweh could not have been advertised more dramatically. The operations of the *fiscus Iudaicus* seem to have become even more intrusive under Domitian, as general hostility towards the Jews increased, despite some elite Roman interest in Jewish customs and history. As Martin Goodman stresses (below, Ch. 8), Josephus found himself in the somewhat paradoxical position of trying to convince Jews that their God had acquiesced in the victory of Rome (as in the speech he had himself deliver during his account of the siege of Jerusalem at *BJ* 5. 362–419, esp. 367–8, 412) and to persuade Romans of the essential compatibility between Jews and Romans and of the validity and antiquity of Jewish traditions at a time when the dynasty ruling Rome needed to stress their role in subjugating Judaea.

The supposed concord between Vespasian and his sons Titus and Domitian was another important theme of Flavian ideology (Griffin 2000a: 56–60), and one that found expression in Josephus' *Jewish War* (4. 597–9; 7. 119, 152). Hence it is no surprise that Domitian highlighted the continuity of the Flavian *gens* in his own public building programme in Rome. He completed the Temple of the Deified Vespasian in the Forum, the Temple of the *gens Flavia* on the Quirinal on the site of the

family's home, and the Portico of the Deified in the Campus Martius with its shrines to both the Deified Vespasian and the Deified Titus. Like his father, he underlined his traditional piety by magnificently restoring—after yet another fire—the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitol. He also followed his father's lead in providing buildings for the pleasures of the people, adding further tiers to the Flavian Amphitheatre and building a new stadium and odeum in the Campus Martius. His Forum Transitorium linked the Temple of Peace with the Forums of Augustus and Julius Caesar, thereby creating a visible vertebrate link between the Julian past and the Flavian present.

However, Domitian gradually moved away from the civic-minded and populist style of his father and brother to one that was more aloof and autocratic. No longer the *civilis princeps*, he insisted on being addressed as 'master and god' (*dominus et deus*) (Suet. *Dom.* 13. 1–2; Mart. *Epigr.* 5. 5; 7. 34; 9. 28; Griffin 2000a: 80–3). His huge expansion of the imperial residence on the Palatine, now a true *palatium* with its massively domineering structures such as the 'royal court' (*aula regia*), left none in doubt of the changed tone of the dynasty.⁵ Suetonius singles out the rebellion of Antonius Saturninus in 89 as a key turning-point after which he became crueller and more tyrannical (*Dom.* 10. 5). Relations between senate and *princeps* were strained still further in 93 with a series of expulsions and executions of senators (Syme 1978 and 1983) until things became so intolerable that on 18 September 96 Domitian was murdered by a group of friends, freedmen, and perhaps even his wife (Suet. *Dom.* 17. 3; the date is confirmed by the *Fasti Ostienses*).

The city of Rome witnessed a period of great literary creativity under the Flavian emperors (Boyle and Dominik 2003; Boyle 2003; Hutchinson 1993; Hardie 1993; Coleman 1986). Epic poets such as Valerius Flaccus, Silius Italicus, and Papinius Statius flourished under Flavian patronage, as did gifted epigrammatists such as Martial and historians such as Pliny the Elder and the young Tacitus, even if the latter preferred not to complete his first historical work during the dark final years of Domitian's rule (Sullivan 1991; Beagon 1992; Wallace-Hadrill 1990b; Syme

⁵ For Domitian's buildings in Rome, see B. W. Jones 1992: 79–98 (with bibliography); Packer 2003. For the oppressiveness of the new palace, cf. Stat. *Silv.* 4. 2, with Fredrick 2003.

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1958a: esp. ch. 3). Pliny the Elder was not just a historian; he collected a multitude of 'miraculous facts' from all over the known world for his encyclopaedic *Natural History*, dedicating the spoils of his researches to Titus (*NH* praef. 1). He was working at the same time as Josephus was sitting down to write his *Jewish War*, and the two were both supported in their literary endeavours by Titus. It was Vespasian who established the first publicly funded chair of rhetoric at Rome, with M. Fabius Quintilianus, from Calagurris in Hispania Citerior, its first salaried incumbent. Quintilian trained many leading Romans in oratory, including the younger Pliny, and after his retirement in the late 80s canonized the principal elements of Roman rhetoric in his monumental *Training in Oratory* (*Institutio Oratoria*) (Clarke 1996: chs. 10–11; Kennedy 1969; Winterbottom 1975). Rome under the Flavians was also an important centre of Greek letters: Dio Chrysostom, the rhetorician and philosopher from Prusa in Bithynia, was well connected to Vespasian and Titus, although he eventually ran afoul of Domitian and was exiled, as were other Greek intellectuals including Epictetus and Artemidorus (C. P. Jones 1978; Sidebottom 1996). The moral philosopher and biographer, Plutarch from Chaeronea in Boeotia (whose full Roman name was L.(?) Mestrius Plutarchus), spent some time in Rome giving lectures—perhaps under Domitian (C. P. Jones 1971; Russell 1972). How the historian Josephus fitted into this very active literary milieu has not to date received much scholarly attention; it is one of the main aims of this volume to attempt to locate him more clearly in his Roman literary context.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS AND FLAVIAN ROME

It is clear, therefore, that Yosef ben Mattityahu, later T. Flavius Josephus, spent much of his life operating at the intersection of three powerful cultural traditions: Jewish, Greek, and Roman. Born into an aristocratic Hellenized Jewish milieu in Jerusalem, he remained fiercely proud of his Jewish origins throughout his career. Jerusalem as an important city of the eastern Mediterranean could not avoid experiencing the impact of Greek language, culture, and philosophical ideas, especially in the wake of Alexander the Great's liberation of the city from Persian control

in 332 BCE, after which it, along with the whole of Judaea, fell under the sway of two powerful Hellenistic dynasties: first, the Ptolemies and then the Seleucids. Hellenizing tendencies were balanced by a growing pride in Jewish traditions, especially after the Hasmonean priests emerged to rule an expanded Judaea from 152 BCE as the power of the Seleucids was on the wane after their military defeat by Rome and then under the pressure of dynastic struggles in Antioch. The elites of Judaea had constantly to strike an acceptable balance between greater integration within the broad cultural *koine* of the Hellenistic eastern Mediterranean and the need to preserve the distinctive traditions of Judaism (Rajak 1983: 11–64). The spread of Roman control over Judaea following Pompey's settlement of the East in 63 BCE added a further layer of complexity. In short, the fact that Judaea fell under a series of different imperial masters was of prime importance, as Seth Schwartz (2002) has recently emphasized, for shaping the cultural and political experience of those who lived there.

A significant body of scholarship has been devoted to the interplay between Hellenism and Judaism in Josephus. The many contributions of Louis Feldman and Tessa Rajak have over the last twenty-five years clarified and deepened our understanding of how Josephus navigated between these Jewish and Hellenized traditions or, better, how these traditions were becoming increasingly integrated in first-century Jerusalem (Rajak 1983 and 2001; Feldman 1993 and 1998*a*). But since all of Josephus' works were written in the city of Rome, it seems appropriate to shift the focus to explore the extent to which his Roman situation affected his view of the world he wrote about. To what extent did social relations with his patrons, friends, and fellow diaspora Jews in Rome affect his writings? How well did he know earlier Roman literature and to what extent did he seek to locate himself within its traditions, especially those of Roman historiography? How much did the distinct milieu of Flavian Rome, with its new ideologies and sense of renewal after the excesses of Nero and the subsequent civil wars, affect his description and explication of the experiences and customs of the Jews? In what ways did his personal relationship with Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian colour the way he viewed and represented the past, both Jewish and Roman?

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More ambitiously, this volume seeks to bring together approaches to Josephus that are too often kept apart as a result of the artificial disciplinary boundaries of the academic world. Scholarship on Josephus has generally fallen to scholars in religious studies and theology rather than to classicists or Roman historians. There are many good reasons for this. Josephus' works mainly describe Jewish, rather than Roman, *realia*. His narratives are full of references to biblical and post-biblical personalities, to Jewish law and custom, and to places and conditions in Judaea. It was inevitable that scholars whose primary interests lay in that region's history and literature, or in biblical interpretation, would lead the effort to interpret Josephus (Drexler 1925; Guttman 1928; Thackeray 1929; Schlatter 1932; Attridge 1976; Cohen 1979; Sterling 1992; Feldman 1998a).

At the same time, most classicists and Roman historians were happy to cede Josephus to their colleagues in religious studies. Only those portions of his narrative that dealt directly with Roman affairs were taken up by Roman historians (e.g. Crook 1951; Timpe 1960; Brunt 1977; Barrett 1989: ch. 10; Levick 1999: chs. 3–4). Necessarily, these were read to some extent without the contextual benefits provided by an in-depth study of Josephus' entire corpus. We would not wish to exaggerate the separation of disciplines with respect to the study of Josephus, and it is true that some scholars who have used Josephus for aspects of Roman history have done so in a contextualized manner (e.g. Vidal-Naquet 1978; Wiseman 1991; Shaw 1993 and 1995). Furthermore, classicists did some of the fundamental work on Josephus, for example, Niese (1896) and Laqueur (1920), and many of those who devote their energy to studying Josephus today have significant classical training. Recently, a number of studies of Josephus, the province of Judaea, or the Jews under Roman rule have shown a detailed awareness of both Jewish and Roman issues (Yavetz 1975; Cohen 1979; Moehring 1984; Goodman 1987; Bilde 1988; S. Schwartz 1990 and 2001; Price 1992; Gruen 2002). Yet it remains true that this major author who lived and wrote in Rome under the Flavian emperors is hardly ever studied with attention to his Roman audiences by either community of scholars. Josephus' name does not often come up in scholarly accounts of Roman literature in this period, even of Greek writers in Rome. There is thus nothing on him in

the canonical *Cambridge History of Greek Literature* (Easterling and Knox 1985) or in important recent studies of Hellenism and Greek literature in the Roman Empire (Swain 1996; Whitmarsh 2001). Furthermore, he only very rarely makes an appearance in general accounts of Graeco-Roman historiography (for example, Fornara 1983; Plass 1988).

There are some promising signs that Josephus' exclusion from the classical canon is starting to come to an end. Two essays are devoted to him in a wide-ranging and important collection of papers on Flavian Rome (Beard 2003; Mason 2003*b*), while he has been considered worthy of inclusion in recent volumes on the history of Greek and Roman political thought (Rajak 2000) and on Greek cultural identity under the Roman Empire (Gleason 2001). Moreover, a recent study of authority and tradition in ancient historiography (Marincola 1997) includes liberal reference to Josephus. But we still find ourselves at a significant crux in the history of disciplinary specialization: most Josephan scholars lack the background in Flavian Roman history and literature to locate him effectively in that context, while those who have the requisite background have not often been interested or trained in the peculiarities of Josephan scholarship. Flavian Rome has certainly become a field of growing interest for historians and literary scholars alike (B. W. Jones 1984 and 1992; Levick 1999; Griffin 2000*a*; Coleman 1986; Hardie 1993; Boyle and Dominik 2003) and the time is ripe to explore in detail the place that Josephus occupied within that Roman world.

There are obvious benefits to be gained by both sides in studying Josephus in his Roman context. Increasingly, whether as a function of the new historicism or simply out of the need to understand Josephus in a more adequate way, scholars are beginning to ask about his audiences. After all, much of an ancient author's literary technique can be appraised only on the basis of working assumptions about the audience and what that audience knew. When Josephus talked about political constitutions (Mason 1998*b* and 2003*b*: 573–88) or spoke of the dangerously fickle 'masses' (e.g. *AJ* 4. 37) or of aristocracy as the 'noblest' form of constitution (*AJ* 4. 223) or of the 'tyranny' of rebel leaders or monarchs (*BJ* 4. 208 on the rebel John of Gischala; *AJ* 1. 114 on King Abimelech), when he included moralistic assessments of his characters (of Herod the Great,

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for instance, at *AJ* 16. 1–5, 395–404; 17. 168–71; Mason 2003b: 570–1) or celebrated the simple agrarian life (*Ap.* 2. 293–4; *AJ* 18. 19 on the Essenes), when he described the foibles of Nero and Poppaea (*BJ* 2. 250–1; *AJ* 20. 196; *Vit.* 16), how would all of this have sounded against the grid of Roman assumptions? How did he see—or practise—the relationship between rhetoric and historiography?⁶ A fully engaged literary interpretation of Josephus, therefore, must involve an investigation of Josephus' social world and cultural milieu in Rome. This holistic approach should yield a Josephus who is both more intelligible as a real author to Josephan specialists and simply more interesting to scholars of Flavian Rome.

This book is organized into three parts: 'Josephus in the Social and Political Context of Flavian Rome', 'The Impact of the Jewish War in Flavian Rome', and 'Josephus: Historiography and Literature in Flavian Rome'. Part I discusses the context for understanding Josephus' social and political position in Rome and seeks to advance the discussion about possible primary audiences for his works. It seems clear from their stated aims that Josephus wanted his works to be read immediately, and so he was not like the elder Pliny, who preferred to suppress his histories until after his own death, not wishing to be accused of toadying to the ruling *princeps* (*NH* praef. 20). To help orient the investigation, Hannah Cotton and Werner Eck (Chapter 1) begin by defining what it meant to be a member of the elite in Flavian Rome and then consider Josephus' possible connections with this elite. In the end, they find little firm evidence to link him on a regular and ongoing basis to the imperial court or to the leading senators of his day. They suggest that he was a rather lonely and isolated figure, a theme picked up later by Christopher Jones (Chapter 10).

In the course of their analysis, Cotton and Eck probe the identity of one of the most elusive figures in Josephus' works, the Epaphroditus to whom he dedicated the *Antiquities* (*AJ* 1. 8) and its pendant, the so-called *Life* (*Vit.* 430), as well as his final work, the *Against Apion* (*Ap.* 1. 1; 2. 296). They argue decisively against identifying him with Nero's *a libellis*, who lived on in

⁶ For the relationship, see Cic. *Fam.* 5. 12; *De or.* 2. 51–64; Plin. *Ep.* 5. 8; Wiseman 1981; Woodman 1988.

Rome until Domitian executed him in 95/6 as an example to other members of the imperial court of the dangers of assisting an emperor's suicide (Suet. *Dom.* 14.4; Dio 67. 14. 4). The other preferred candidate, M. Mettius Epaphroditus, mentioned in the *Suda* (E 2004 Adler) as a teacher of grammar and literary critic who specialized in Homer, Hesiod, and Callimachus and received a statue in Rome in his honour (*CIL* 6. 9454 = *ILS* 7769), is just as problematic. Cotton and Eck make the telling observation that if this freedman of relatively low rank was his patron, then Josephus had indeed become a rather peripheral figure in Roman society under Domitian despite his protestations about the patronal favours bestowed by that emperor and his wife (*Vit.* 429). To this we might add that by the early 90s he could not have still been living in the lodgings provided by Vespasian on his arrival in the city in the Flavian family home on the Quirinal, since Domitian was now turning this into the Temple of the *gens Flavia*, on which work was completed in 94 CE. Perhaps in the end Josephus' status as an observant Jew did marginalize him in Rome and prevent him from participating fully in the life of the imperial court. Jewish dietary laws would not have allowed him to dine with the Caesars or other members of the Roman elite.

A rather different picture, however, is sketched in Glen Bowersock's contribution (Chapter 2), where he sets Josephus' career against the fortunes of other eastern aristocrats who developed close ties with the Roman elite, including the imperial house, and spent much time in Rome, participating in the social, cultural, and political life of the *urbs*. Nicolaus of Damascus may have served, Bowersock suggests, as something of a model for Josephus. A Greek-speaking Syrian, Nicolaus first came to Rome as an ambassador, as did Josephus in 63 or 64 (*Vit.* 13–16). Nicolaus continued to lobby Augustus on behalf of Herod the Great and the Judaean kingdom and eventually became a significant historian, interpreting the Roman revolution and Augustan solution for Hellenophone inhabitants of the eastern provinces. A number of notables from the Near East were prominent in Flavian Rome: for example, Agrippa II and his sister Berenice, mentioned frequently in Josephus' works (*Bj* 2. 344–407; *Vit.* 343, 355–6, 364–7, 393), or Antiochus IV of Commagene, a king who had supported Rome with troops during the war in Judaea,

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but in 72 found himself a Roman prisoner, suspected of collusion with the Parthians. Like Josephus, he was just about to be sent in chains to Rome for trial when Vespasian intervened to release him and provide him with revenues and patronal support. Bowersock sees Josephus as part of an influential group of eastern aristocrats in Rome who not only gained the political and material support of the Flavian house, but also produced a 'new historiography that explained the Jews to the Graeco-Roman world and the Romans to the Jews'; in other words, they were worth supporting since they might serve as mediators between Rome and one of the potentially most troublesome subject peoples of the Roman Empire.

Daniel Schwartz in Chapter 3 pursues further the nexus between Rome and Judaea by asking why the Flavians never appointed Agrippa II client king of Judaea as a reward for his active support of the Romans during the 'war against the Judaeans'. Josephus certainly portrayed him in highly favourable terms as a loyal and courageous Roman ally in his *Jewish War*, although he receives a much more hostile press in *Jewish Antiquities*. Schwartz's answer is to suggest that the reason for this may have been that 'Judaea' was no more: the Flavians had once and for all, they hoped, subjugated the old kingdom. As their coins proclaimed, Judaea was now 'in captivity' (IUDAEA CAPTA); it no longer had coherence as a geographical territory. Roman authors of the Flavian period almost universally prefer to describe the region as 'Idumaea' or 'Palaestina'. Hence in a conceptual sense there was no kingdom of Judaea left for Agrippa II to rule over.

This has important ramifications for our understanding of the problematic term 'Ioudaios' in Greek / 'Iudaeus' in Latin. The ongoing debate whether we should translate this as 'Judaean' or 'Jew' reverberates across several chapters of this book, and we have purposely not tried to force all contributors to a unified position on this. Of all the contributors, Schwartz discusses it at greatest length and shows how 'Ioudaios/Iudaeus' was initially an ethnic term that referred to a people who lived in a physical place: 'Judaean' in the sense of someone who dwelt in Judaea. But after the Romans suppressed the revolt in 70 and chose not to restore a Herodian king to a place called 'Judaea', the term became more a religious or national label, Schwartz argues,

than an ethnic one, with 'Jew' or 'Jewish' now its overwhelmingly dominant cadence. In some sense it was parallel to the expanding sense of 'Romanus' as this term came to refer to many more people than just those who resided in the city of Rome. With the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem, as Rives also emphasizes (Chapter 7), there was no longer any physical cult centre or any fixed location for 'Ioudaioi/Iudaei'. And as another religious group without an easily identifiable cult centre, the Christians, grew in prominence in the later first century, this 'definitely religious movement, not a territorial one' provided 'Ioudaioi/Iudaei' with a useful parallel. 'Jews' and 'Christians' now became widely scattered, diasporic communities, defined by religion rather than by place of residence.

It is on the Jewish diaspora that Tessa Rajak focuses our attention in Chapter 4. She lays out the evidence for the continued importance of Josephus' personal connections with diaspora 'Ioudaioi' in the years after he had settled in Rome. First, he needs to be related to the large diaspora community in Rome itself, a community that is now more clearly understood as a result of work by scholars such as Leon (1960), Noy (2000), and Gruen (2002). However, we need to remember that most of the archaeological and epigraphic evidence for it dates to the second or third centuries (Rutgers 1995), which makes it difficult to be certain about its precise nature in the later first century, when such evidence is far from plentiful. Rajak makes a strong argument for interpreting 'Rome' in a much broader sense. From this it follows that any attempt to set Flavius Josephus into his 'Roman' context needs to consider his place in the Roman Empire of the Flavian period. In some ways, this view gently challenges one of the main propositions of this volume: namely that it was Josephus' experiences in the city of Rome, his contact with Roman patrons and Roman audiences, and his increased exposure to, and understanding of, Greek and Roman literature and rhetorical traditions that had a formative influence on his own writings. Rajak prefers to emphasize that he may also have maintained connections in various parts of the eastern Mediterranean even after he had settled in Rome. His second wife was from Alexandria, where they had met when Josephus arrived as part of Vespasian's entourage in December 69 (*Vit.* 414, 426). His third wife was from the diaspora Jewish community on

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Crete. Rajak surmises that they may have met in Crete during a possible visit to the island by Josephus rather than in Rome, as many have assumed (see the comments of Mason 2001 on *Vit.* 5). He also had some dealings with the diaspora community in Cyrene, where he was accused before the proconsul Catullus (*Vit.* 424; cf. *Bj* 7. 447–8).⁷ She also suggests, rather more speculatively, that he may have returned to Judaea to visit his estates and possibly the emerging Rabbinic centre at Jamnia (Yavneh) and may even have visited the diaspora communities of Asia Minor. So for Rajak, Flavius Josephus—despite his Roman citizenship and obvious links to the Flavian emperors—still retained a strong Jewish identity. Romans and Roman literary traditions were important to his development as a historian. He also learned Greek and became increasingly proficient in it. But still he could not help seeing the world through Jewish eyes.

This led to occasional cultural blind-spots in interpreting Roman actions. As Levick has noted (1999: 227 n. 8), his narrative of the omens and oracles presaging Vespasian's rise to power (*Bj* 3. 399–408; 4. 623–6) retains a number of distinctly Jewish features: for example, the use of the messianic singular in Josephus' own prediction of Vespasian's ascent. Similarly in this volume Rives shows (Chapter 7) how Josephus' understanding of what a 'religion' constituted remained essentially Jewish; despite his years in Rome, he simply never came to see religion in the same terms as Romans such as Vespasian and Titus. Furthermore, some of his narrative elements, for example, having God speak in the early books of the *Jewish Antiquities*, were clearly drawn from Biblical traditions and, as Christopher Jones comments (Chapter 10), 'must have struck Greek readers' (and many Roman readers too, we may add) as 'rather outlandish'.

The second part of this volume focuses on a defining event for all inhabitants of Judaea, all diaspora Jews, including Josephus, and also for the Flavian dynasty: the Roman victory in Judaea and the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem in 70. The

⁷ The identification of this proconsul with L. Valerius Catullus Messalinus, *consul ordinarius* with Domitian in 73 and consul for a second time in 85, is decisively rejected by Cotton and Eck (Ch. 1, below), a dissociation that strikes an important blow against the arguments for the supposed second edition of Josephus' *Jewish War* produced after Domitian's death or even as late as the reign of Trajan (S. Schwartz 1986).

impact of this event on Judaism hardly needs comment, but it also provided a source of legitimacy for the new Flavian dynasty. In Josephus' works, written against this double backdrop, we see his ongoing efforts to interpret the fall of his native city in terms comprehensible to his Roman audience.

Fergus Millar begins the section in Chapter 5 by exploring in detail the role of the Flavian victory in Judaea in the physical transformation of the city of Rome. He begins with a detailed reading of the triumph of Vespasian and Titus *ex Iudaeis* in June 71, an event made more memorable by Josephus' lavish description of it (cf. Künzl 1988: 9–29; Beard 2003; and see Chapman, below, Chapter 13). The defeat of the Jews and the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple were enshrined in the very fabric of the urban centre and hence in Roman public memory, reminding the inhabitants of the city of the decisive role played by Vespasian and Titus in that victory. Millar emphasizes how the triumphal arches to Titus (erected in 81 and after his death), the Flavian Amphitheatre (inaugurated in 80), and, most of all, the Temple of Peace (dedicated in 75) were all related to the Flavian victory in Judaea and helped give the dynasty a lasting legitimacy.

That legitimacy was bolstered, as Millar shows, by the way in which Vespasian made a conscious effort to present himself as the absolute antithesis of Nero, whose buildings, especially his 'Golden House', served his own selfish excesses rather than the public good. How the diaspora Jewish community of Rome reacted to the triumph and to the display of the most sacred treasures from the Temple at Jerusalem in a Roman shrine, the Temple of Peace, is further explored by Goodman in Chapter 8. He points out how the spectacle and the later monuments that recalled that event would all have contributed, along with the institution of the 'Jewish Treasury' (the *fiscus Iudaicus*), towards the creation of a generally oppressive atmosphere for Jews in Flavian Rome. Indeed for Goodman, one of the defining features of the Flavian dynasty was its hostility to Jews and Millar's study creates a very vivid impression of how this was achieved through spectacle, monument, and public memory.

Timothy Barnes in his contribution (Chapter 6) comparing Josephus' and Tacitus' (lost) account of the sack of the Temple from *Histories* Book 5 underlines the importance of the Jewish

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War as a central defining event, or in his words even a 'foundation myth', for the Flavian dynasty. Barnes goes on to nuance this considerably by arguing that there was not one, but in fact three successive versions of this foundation myth. The first, developed in the 70s, glorified Vespasian, the second gave much greater prominence to Titus, while the third integrated Domitian into the story. Tacitus in the *Histories*, whose lost account is partially recoverable from the early-fifth-century universal chronicle of Sulpicius Severus from Aquitania, had Titus consult his *consilium* and then give the order to his troops to torch the Temple. Cassius Dio, writing a century or so after Tacitus, also gave Titus a leading role in precipitating the destruction (66. 6. 2–3). Josephus' narrative, on the other hand, suggests that Titus was more favourable to Judaism than he really was and tries to exculpate him from responsibility for destroying the Temple. Downplaying the role of Vespasian, Josephus perhaps reproduces something of the 'second version' that boosted the image of Titus (on which see also Yavetz 1975; Thérond 1981; Paul 1993; Leoni 2000). Barnes's discussion is also very important for our understanding of Josephus' working methods as a historian and the chronology of his works. For he goes on to show that Josephus, just like Plutarch and Tacitus, may well have used as a source the (lost) histories of Pliny the Elder, which probably ended by describing the triumphal procession of 71. As a result, we have some evidence for Josephus using a Latin historian and, more generally, for his conscious reworking of such material to suit the particular situation in which he found himself while writing the *Jewish War*.

James Rives in Chapter 7 returns to the destruction of the Temple, but looks at it from a different angle, that of Flavian religious policies. Vespasian and Titus, he argues, were fully aware of the ramifications of the destruction. In Roman religious terms, their actions would result in the elimination of the major cult centre of the Jews. The removal of the chief cult objects (the menorah, the table, and the sacred vessels) to Rome symbolized the end of the cult in Jerusalem, and emphasized the notion, found in Josephus (*Bj* 6. 299–300; cf. Tac. *Hist.* 5. 13), that the Jewish God had abandoned his people and gone over to the Roman side. In some senses then, Rives argues, this amounted to a sort of *evocatio* of a foreign deity, as so often

occurred when Roman armies captured enemy cities. The fact that Vespasian soon closed the only other temple in diaspora Judaism, at Leontopolis in Egypt (*Bj* 7. 421), confirms that he was keen to close down cult centres that he considered potential focal points for further Jewish resistance against Rome. The impact then of the Roman victory extended right into the very cult organization of Judaism. Rives's conclusions intersect with the observations of Daniel Schwartz (Chapter 3) on the disappearance of a fixed topographical sense to the term 'Ioudaios/Iudaeus' under the Flavians. From the moment that the Temple was destroyed, Jerusalem and, more broadly, Judaea lost their defining centrality to Judaism. Henceforth, Judaism would become by definition a diasporic cult, as was that other cult that derived from it, Christianity.

The destruction of the Temple is also the starting point for Martin Goodman's Chapter 8, since its disappearance provided a context for Vespasian to devise what became for Jews the most hated symbol of their subjugation to Rome following their revolt. For all Jews throughout the Roman Empire were now required to contribute two *denarii* per annum to the 'Jewish Treasury' (*fiscus Iudaicus*) in Rome to support the cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitol rather than to Yahweh's Temple in Jerusalem, as had been their previous practice. Goodman underlines how this institution served to commemorate the Flavian victory in Judaea just as effectively as the monuments erected in Rome and analysed here by Millar (Chapter 5) or the official Flavian version, or better versions, of the event, discussed by Barnes (Chapter 6). Domitian was particularly punctilious in collecting this tax, thus associating himself by proxy with the campaigns his father and older brother had waged, but from which he had been excluded. Goodman goes on to suggest—in distinctly heterodox fashion—that the coins issued by Domitian's successor, Nerva, in 96 and 97 advertising the 'removal of the abuse of the Jewish treasury' (*FISCI IUDAICI CALUMNIA SUBLATA*) may refer to a temporary abolition by Nerva of the *fiscus Iudaicus*. Even though this view may not convince everyone, his discussion of the traditional interpretation of these coins, namely that Nerva outlawed malicious accusations against gentiles in Rome who had allegedly adopted a Jewish way of life, throws considerable light on the diverse attitudes towards Judaism in

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Domitianic Rome. There was hostility, but also sympathy, and in some cases enough interest to prompt conversion to Judaism. In the course of his discussion, Goodman isolates some further possible acquaintances and supporters of Josephus: especially T. Flavius Clemens (the grandson of Vespasian's brother) and his wife Flavia Domitilla (the daughter of Domitian's sister), who in 95 were condemned to death and exile respectively by Domitian on a charge of 'atheism', that is, for converting to Jewish ways.

In the third part, 'Josephus: Historiography and Literature in Flavian Rome', the focus shifts from the social and political context to the literary world of Flavian Rome and to Josephus' place within that world. To what extent was Josephus connected to Roman literary and historiographical developments? How familiar did he become with earlier and contemporary Roman literature, especially historiography? Was he influenced by contemporary trends in Greek and Roman literature and rhetoric?

Christina Kraus begins in Chapter 9 with an analysis of history-writing in Latin in the first century CE, to provide a Roman context for the subsequent contributors' analysis of Josephus as a literary author. She demonstrates how from the late Republic onwards exemplarity became a key feature of Roman historiography. Historians provided their readers and listeners with many competing examples of good and bad conduct, inviting them to reflect upon these individuals and, in a sense, to reassess the past. Kraus shows how the exemplary figure is at the same time an individual and a type; as history concentrates our gaze on these figures, we see them both as unique, historically determined individuals whose actions are available for (re)interpretation, and as didactic—and hence relatively fixed—paradigms. In the early imperial period, there was increasing interest in exemplarity, most starkly in the disembodied *exempla* that make up Valerius Maximus' *Memorable Words and Deeds* or Frontinus' *Strategemata*. As history came to focalize increasingly on the emperor, it took an incontrovertibly biographical turn. Despite Plutarch's insistence in the early second century on the essential difference between history and biography (*Alex.* 1), it is no surprise that what was strictly in terms of genre 'history' was increasingly identified as 'biography'. Thus Tertullian and Jerome both later referred to Tacitus' *Annals* as 'Lives of

the Caesars' (Tert. *Scorpiace* 15. 3, with Barnes 1971: 202; Jer. *Comm. Zach.* 3. 14. 1–2). Individuals became more and more conspicuous in the narrative, none more so than the emperor himself. Like the statues that peopled the public spaces of Rome, these literary portraits, or self-portraits, were designed to captivate readers and listeners, with vivid description (*enargeia*) and rhetorical emphasis helping to retain their attention.

Much scholarship has been devoted to how Josephus was influenced by his reading of Greek historians of the distant and more recent past, notably Thucydides, but also Polybius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Strabo, and Nicolaus of Damascus (Thackeray 1929: 100–24; Shutt 1961: 59–109; Attridge 1976: 53; Mason 2003*b*: 572–3). The Attic Greek in which he chose to write was certainly a medium with a long and distinguished literary pedigree. But much less attention has been paid to the extent to which he was influenced by contemporary Greek literature. To explore this issue, Christopher Jones attempts in Chapter 10 to piece together what we know about the Greek literature that was produced in Flavian Rome. It is difficult, as he explains, to locate very many specific Greek writers in the city precisely during Josephus' period of residence there. Josephus wrote his *Jewish War* in part to counter the work of others who had already produced unsatisfactory tendentious accounts of the war, some probably in Greek (*BJ* 1. 1–2). Towards the end of his career he came to detest strongly the subsequent account of the war produced by Justus of Tiberias (*Vit.* 40, 336–67), and Jones wonders if Josephus' resentment can be explained at least in part by the fact that Justus was more fully assimilated than he was to Greek literature and Roman culture. He was also influenced to a degree, Jones argues, by Dio Cocceianus (later known by the name Chrysostom), the sophist and rhetorician from Prusa in Bithynia, who was in Rome until his relegation by Domitian. Dio's Alexandrian oration (*Or.* 32), written under Vespasian, may have given Josephus ideas for his narrative in Books 18–19 of *Jewish Antiquities* of the troubles in that city between the Greek and Jewish communities and for his treatment of the Alexandrian Greeks Chaeremon and Apion, his two main targets in the *Against Apion*. For Jones, of all contemporary Greek authors who operated in Rome, Plutarch may have had the most impact on Josephus, especially his imperial lives, but he cautions

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against pushing the connection too far. After all, they may both have been reacting independently to events current in the 70s, as Jones demonstrates with regard to their examination of the role of Tyche/Fortuna in shaping history. At least they both seem to have used as a source a historian writing in Latin, Pliny the Elder (see also Barnes, Chapter 6). This provides some support for the argument that as a historian Josephus was interested in many of the same political themes as his Latin predecessors and contemporaries (Mason 2003*b*). However, Jones suggests that after the death of Titus in 81, and especially as Domitian's attacks on Jewish sympathizers became more virulent in the 90s, Josephus may have worked in increasing literary isolation, though not necessarily in ignorance of current affairs. If his last works are all to be dated before 96, then he may have died with little expectation that he would be read and appreciated.

Louis Feldman probes the relationship between Josephus and Plutarch further in Chapter 11 by comparing their treatment of two famous lawgivers: Josephus on Moses and Plutarch on the Spartan Lycurgus. Feldman isolates a whole series of similar themes in their narratives, including the moral virtues that both Moses and Lycurgus shared: wisdom, courage, justice, and especially moderation and piety, as well as their overlapping political views. In particular, he shows how both felt strongly that the introduction of alien principles and institutions would destroy the internal harmony of the state. However, as Feldman points out, even though Josephus cites no fewer than sixty-one authors by name, Plutarch is not among them. Plutarch was certainly interested in, and knowledgeable about, Judaism and one might expect them to have had common interests if they had met in Rome. Plutarch, however, was quite hostile towards the Flavian dynasty and this may explain Josephus' silence. Another way of explaining the common features would be to posit a common source. Although the texts do not allow any firm conclusions to be drawn, Feldman's detailed discussion throws light upon the sort of issues that were of interest to these two Greek authors in Flavian Rome, as well as upon their working methods as writers. His analysis confirms the general point made by Kraus (Chapter 9) that historical writing at Rome was becoming increasingly biographical as more and more emphasis was placed on moral exemplarity. Plutarch's

Lycurgus and Josephus' Moses provide a clear example of that trend.

Kraus's discussion of the development of Roman historiography in the first century CE reminds us of the centrality of rhetoric to the shaping of historical narrative; the last three contributions to this volume, by Steve Mason, Honora Chapman, and John Barclay, provide detailed and rich analyses of some of the rhetorical techniques that formed such a hallmark of Josephus' writing. Mason in a challenging contribution (Chapter 12) argues for the importance of irony in Josephus' historical narratives, and, in so doing, adds an unexpected playfulness and depth to the historian's narrative voice. As he demonstrates, this is what a Roman audience would have been looking for in a historian, and the only reason previous scholars have not unearthed this quality is because they have not read Josephus in his Roman context. Using Ahl's classic article (1984) on the art of safe criticism as his starting point and locating his discussion firmly within the context of Graeco-Roman rhetorical theory, Mason proceeds to re-read passages of the *War*, the *Antiquities*, and the *Life* to demonstrate the ironic content of those works. He shows how Josephus uses irony to undercut the standard image of the supposedly clement Titus, in so doing 'systematically undermining the Flavian representation of the war'. In this regard, his analysis confirms the earlier contribution of Barnes (Chapter 6), in which he excavates three separate Flavian versions of the war. Mason also suggests that Josephus depicted the Jewish revolt not as a war against Rome, but simply as civil strife (*stasis*), again a rather subversive view for an author who has too quickly been written off as a mouthpiece of Flavian propaganda.

In his reading of *Antiquities*, Mason finds a number of 'points of intersection between Judaeian origins and traditional accounts of Rome's beginnings'. Josephus fails to make the comparisons explicit, but Mason plausibly suggests that a Roman audience would have made the necessary connections. In his view, Josephus' narrative would have been read as 'serial biographies with moral force', which relates him once more to the general Roman historiographical trends of his age that Kraus has outlined in Chapter 9. Moreover, he shows how Josephus' description of affairs in Rome between the end of Tiberius' reign and

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the accession of Claudius in Books 18–19 would have been full of ironic undertones for an audience experiencing the worst of Domitian's excesses from 89 onwards. Building on another recent essay where he has argued for a distinctly political reading of this section of the *Antiquities* (Mason 2003*b*), he here tracks the ironic tone that adds considerable bite to Josephus' political analysis.

In the final section of his chapter, Mason concentrates on several key episodes in the *Life* to unpack the highly rhetorical nature of Josephus' own self-image. Here too irony plays its full part, as Josephus fashions himself at times as a trickster almost worthy of Homer's Odysseus, who needed to employ 'double-speak' and all sorts of rhetorical strategies to negotiate his difficult position, first, within Judaeian society and, later, between his Judaeian compatriots and his Roman patrons. In short, in a manner reminiscent of Tacitus, Josephus 'conjures up a world of appearances detached from reality'. Josephus has rarely received such a thorough-going literary analysis, but as Syme showed in his classic work on Tacitus (1958*a*), it is only by means of a combined literary and historical approach that one can come anywhere near to a full understanding of a historian and thus be able to use him satisfactorily as a historical source. Josephus, like many other supposedly 'second-rank' historians, has long suffered by being used as a supposedly straightforward 'quarry of facts'. The sort of ironic reading that Mason undertakes here should provide a salutary warning about the dangers of using him in this naive manner. Literary style and rhetorical subtlety mattered to Josephus. Even if his Greek was not of the first order nor his speeches specimens of the very highest oratorical quality, as Jones emphasizes in Chapter 10, this does not diminish the extent of his literary ambitions.

Exemplarity and vivid description (*enargeia*) were techniques that historians were increasingly using by the Flavian period, in particular as they came to be influenced by those rhetoricians and writers who formed part of the so-called 'Second Sophistic'. Simon Goldhill (2001*a*) and Froma Zeitlin (2001) have recently illustrated how vivid description was a central strategy in the Second Sophistic, used to attract the viewer's or listener's or reader's attention. Josephus was affected by this development, as Maud Gleason has argued (2001) by showing how crucial

body language and the highly visual treatment of bodies was to Josephus' narrative strategies. His participation in many of the events he describes in the *Jewish War* and *Life* gives his accounts a rhetorical 'vividness' and hence authority, while also tying him into a historiographical tradition that goes back to Julius Caesar, Polybius, and Thucydides.

In Chapter 13 of this volume Honora Chapman explores the importance of vivid narrative further by probing the importance of spectacle in Josephus' *Jewish War*. She provides a close reading of the spectacles that took place in the arenas of Caesarea and Berytus to mark Domitian's and Vespasian's birthdays in October and November 70 (BJ 7. 37–40) and the spectacular triumph that Vespasian and Titus held in Rome in the summer of 71 (BJ 7. 123–57). But to show how important *enargeia* was to Josephus, she focuses in particular on two spectacles narrated at some length in the *Jewish War*: first, his description of his own capture by the Romans at Jotapata, where he makes a historiographical spectacle of his own body, and, secondly, the detailed and vivid account of the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem, where the Temple becomes a central spectacle in his narrative. The rhetorical emphasis that marks these episodes served to focalize a reader's or listener's attention, Chapman argues, and allowed the historian to underscore some key themes of the entire work: to celebrate the power of his Flavian patrons; to damn the rebels for their conduct during the rebellion; to enhance his own reputation as a Jewish general and priest, now resident in Rome; and, finally, to highlight the former grandeur of Jerusalem and its Temple, as well as the magnitude and tragedy of their destruction. For Chapman, Josephus promotes all of these motives through the medium of spectacle in order to suggest to his audience that they should view the destruction as tragic and support the reconstruction of Jerusalem and its sanctuary for the law-abiding Jewish people. Once again we see the historian using rhetorical techniques typical of his age to shape his historical narratives.

The final contribution, by John Barclay (Chapter 14), focuses on the most overtly rhetorical of Josephus' works, the *Against Apion*, and demonstrates how Josephan rhetoric can fruitfully be explored by an analysis of the cultural codes it utilizes. Building on earlier studies that have suggested that his *Against Apion* was

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carefully composed for a Roman or Romanized audience (Mader 2000; Mason 2001), Barclay argues that we should examine the means by which Josephus designs his portrait of Judaism in line with aspects of the Roman cultural tradition, as well as how he deploys Romanized norms for the defence and eulogy of his non-Roman tradition. Throughout his discussion he relies on insights provided by current research on post-colonialism, which has explored the ways in which hybrid cultures are formed and the mechanisms by which subordinate (or 'subaltern') cultures redeploy the norms of the dominant culture for their own ends. Taking account of the constraints under which Josephus was writing, we should look out, Barclay suggests, for the ways in which he shapes Roman cultural values to his own ends and should be ready to hear hints of an assertion of Jewish superiority even in the midst of his general deference to Rome. Barclay then provides a close reading of a particularly revealing sample of Josephan rhetoric from the work (*Ap.* 1. 125–34). Its multiple and sometimes contradictory argumentative moves suggest that Josephus utilized Roman presumptions about power, as well as Roman denigration of Egyptian religion, but managed to turn Jewish history into one of 'friendship with', not 'slavery to', Rome. At two significant points Josephus also comments on the future of empires and the destruction of temples in ways which make no direct comment on Rome, but could be heard to bear implications for the political and moral evaluation of the Roman Empire. This would suggest that Josephus' Roman experiences, both in Judaea and in Rome, and perhaps also in the Jewish diaspora, all coloured his vision of his contemporary world and his sense of his Jewish past. Or, to paraphrase Barclay, Josephus transposed Jewish themes into a specifically Roman key.

As should be clear from these introductory remarks, the unity of the collection is assured not simply by the fact that all the papers concern Josephus and Flavian Rome, but also by a number of recurring themes and questions. We do not pretend that all contributors have reached a consensus on Josephus' relation to Flavian Rome. A number of details about Josephus' life while in Rome remain matters of dispute. Cotton and Eck and Jones tend to see Josephus at the margins, not very well integrated either with the social elite or with contemporary Greek writers operating in the city; for them he was a lonely, somewhat

isolated, even marginal figure. Others—for example, Bowersock, Mason, and Barclay—see him more connected to the social and literary elite and to contemporary Roman intellectual and cultural life: he was writing for a direct, primary Roman audience, and presented his narratives and arguments very much in a style that would have been appreciated by such an audience. On the other hand, Rajak argues for the continued importance of his links with diaspora Jewish communities of the eastern Mediterranean, preferring to emphasize his Jewish identity. To this end, she makes the good point that his children would not have been Roman citizens, since his various wives, their mothers, were all *peregrinae*, non-Romans. In addition, several details of his life such as the identity of his later patron Epaphroditus or his relation to Greek writers such as Plutarch remain controversial, as do some aspects of the chronology of his works.

However, on a number of points consensus does emerge. All the contributions in Part II of the volume, for instance, reinforce the centrality of Vespasian's and Titus' campaigns in Judaea and the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple as defining moments for the Flavian dynasty. And there can be little doubt that the story as Josephus told, and later retold, it in the *War* and in the autobiographical pendant to the *Antiquities* contributed towards the enshrining of that moment in Roman and Jewish memory. Several of the essays provide much needed literary analyses of Josephus' writing, and their conclusions have important repercussions for our use of Josephus as a source for both Jewish and Roman history. Cultural identity and cultural interaction are now much discussed questions in the study of the Graeco-Roman Mediterranean, and the sophisticated picture of Josephus that emerges from this volume will, we hope, make a fruitful contribution to those debates. His experiences as a local Judaeian political leader and military commander, Roman captive, partially favoured protégé of a new ruling dynasty, and prolific author make him a fascinating, if controversial, witness to the political and cultural impact of the Roman Empire on those subjected to it. As a Hellenized Jew (and Judaeian) who eventually became a Roman citizen, he was able to describe that world from a richly textured perspective. But it is his experiences—political, social, and cultural—in the city of Rome, a relatively neglected topic in both Josephan and Roman studies,

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that provide the main focus for this volume. It is hoped that its contributions will increase our understanding of, and also stimulate debate on, both Flavian Rome and T(itus) Flavius Josephus.

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PART I

Josephus in the Social and Political
Context of Flavian Rome

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Josephus' Roman Audience: Josephus and the Roman Elites

HANNAH M. COTTON and WERNER ECK

This chapter does not address the question of Josephus' intended audience in general—an issue raised more than once in the past in different contexts, and especially in the attempt to find out to what extent Josephus can be considered a Jewish apologist or a Flavian propagandist. Our purpose is more modest. Our starting point is not the audience which Josephus deliberately aimed to reach. We wish to explore whether or not Josephus had contacts in Rome with persons whom we know to have belonged to the Roman elites, and who could, therefore, provide him with an audience in the city. In other words, we are mainly concerned with his social standing in the capital: did Josephus have contacts in Rome with members of the Roman elite? The question is more easily asked than satisfactorily answered.¹

Who could count as a member of the Roman elite in the city of Rome?² The Roman elite was composed of three groups. The members of two groups belonged to the elite by dint of their socio-political status alone; these were members of the *ordo senatorius* and of the *equester ordo*. Distinctions inside the *ordo senatorius* were merely a matter of nuance and all members, at least theoretically, counted as members of an elite group. The *equester ordo* on the other hand was split into two socially distinct groups: the numerous ordinary members, the *equites Romani*,

We wish to thank our friend David Wasserstein for his invaluable help.

¹ Cf. Yavetz 1975: 431: 'The relationship between Josephus and the upper classes in Rome still remains to be studied.'

² On the definition of persons considered to have belonged to the Roman elite under the empire see, e. g., Alföldy 1984: 85–132 = Alföldy 1985: 94–156; Vittinghoff 1990: 214–40.

and the relatively few who, on account of their being in the emperor's service as prefects or procurators, and consequently in direct contact with his person, could count amongst the leading equestrian elite. The third group embraced all those who, though not part of either of the two orders just mentioned, nevertheless entered into a relationship with the emperor and his family, that is his wife and children—if there were any. In the case of members of this last group neither their social nor their legal status was relevant. All that mattered was their relationship to the sovereign or to someone very close to him. They could be slaves, freedmen, freeborn persons, intellectuals, artists, bankers, architects, etc. However, the moment their ties with the sovereigns were severed, they dropped out of the ranks of the elites.

Hence we should ask whether Josephus had personal contacts with persons belonging to these three groups. But first we should inquire into his relationship with the imperial house. We know that Josephus had personal contacts with Vespasian and even closer ones, if we can trust his words, with his son Titus; and later on he had contacts also with Domitian and his wife, Domitia Augusta.³ At first sight it could be thought that he belonged to the third group—and indeed perhaps he did. However, we should look more closely into his relations with each one of the rulers just mentioned: how strong, lasting, and intimate was the relationship? We should not lose sight of the fact that aside from the much later evidence of the Christian author Eusebius⁴ we have only Josephus' own statements for his contacts with individual members of the imperial family. On the other hand, Josephus surely would have stressed, if not exaggerated, his closeness to the imperial family, had such closeness existed. But in fact he has surprisingly little to tell us about it.

Josephus accompanied Vespasian in 69 to Alexandria, but returned to Judaea with Titus to witness the siege and fall of Jerusalem. After the fall of Jerusalem he escorted the emperor's

³ For the sources see *PIR*² F 293.

⁴ Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 3. 9. 2) claims that a statue honouring Josephus had been erected in Rome. It is difficult to know whether his testimony is to be taken seriously, intriguing though it is to wonder who would have been responsible for such a statue, had one really been erected. Jerome (*Vir. ill.* 13) goes back to Eusebius and cannot, therefore, be regarded as an independent source.

son to Rome, reaching the city in the early part of the summer of 71 (*Vit.* 415–22). He lived in a house which Vespasian had occupied before being sent to put down the revolt in Judaea (*Vit.* 423). It would be rash to infer from this fact the existence of a close relationship between the two. Clients were sometimes put up, at least temporarily, in their patron's own house, and Josephus was a client (one of many) of the Flavian imperial house. Senatorial families treated their clients in much the same way. Lucian (*Merc. cond.*) complains about the unhappy conditions facing the client who finds himself in such a situation. It was not necessarily a position of privilege. Furthermore, Josephus was not put up in Vespasian's house on the Palatine, but in the more modest *domus* located on the Quirinal in *regio* VI of the city of Rome (Eck 1995), a fair distance from the new imperial residence. Consequently, like other clients, except on the occasions on which the emperor held audience, Josephus would not have entered the emperor's palace on the Palatine. Josephus did not move freely in the corridors of power.

At about the same time, Vespasian granted him the Roman citizenship (*Vit.* 423) and his name was changed to T. Flavius Iosephus.⁵ The grant of citizenship alone would have severed the legal connection between Josephus and his children. Thus it is likely to have been accompanied by some other grant, such as the right of *conubium* or the *patria potestas*, to ensure that his children continued to be legally his (Millar 1977: 483–6). All the speculations found in modern literature are simply implausible.⁶ Vespasian also gave Josephus a tract of land in Judaea (*Vit.* 425). It is not clear whether or not this was merely an act confirming his right to the piece of land granted him already by Titus in lieu of lands he had once possessed in Jerusalem (*Vit.* 422). Domitian exempted this tract of land from taxation (*Vit.* 429). In addition he received from Vespasian *σύνταξις χρημάτων* (*Vit.* 423), which may have been a pension or (less likely) a one-time gift of a sum of money.

⁵ Hata (1994: 327) makes the preposterous claim that Josephus received the Roman citizenship in order to be able to don a Roman name. For the structure of the name see Eck 2000: 281–2.

⁶ Despite Goodman 1994b: 337. Both *conubium* and *patria potestas* would hardly be mentioned outside purely legal texts such as the military diplomas that cite imperial constitutions: see e.g. Roxan and Holder 2003: nos. 203–4.

Seen by itself and out of context the list of imperial *beneficia* bestowed on Iosephus seems impressive enough. But, as has already been pointed out by others, the *beneficia* must be viewed in the right perspective (Yavetz 1975: 431–2; Mason 1998b: 74–9, and now Mason 2001: 167–9, nn. 1742–5). We must not forget that countless people in Rome and all over the empire received Roman citizenship from Vespasian (and his sons)—as is shown by the great number of new citizens bearing the name T. Flavius. And in contrast to Iosephus, a number of these new T. Flavii, some time later, entered the service of the emperors in equestrian and senatorial positions (see also Mason 1998b: 75; Mason 2001: 168 n. 1742).

The bestowal of *beneficia* on clients and hangers-on, and especially their piecemeal bestowal, was the most characteristic attribute of every Roman emperor.⁷ No emperor, not even the parsimonious Vespasian, would withhold his *beneficia*. Viewed in isolation, Iosephus may look like one of the more favoured provincial clients of the Flavian house. Seen in context, however, what we know about him is immediately seen to be no more and no less than the routine working of the imperial patronage system (*Klientelsystem*). Iosephus' station in life and privileges are thereby cut down to size; the *beneficia* bestowed on him are reduced to normal, commonplace dimensions. The only difference between him and other clients bearing the Flavian name is that for once we have the detailed story behind the name 'T. Flavius Iosephus'. This alone (that is, his report about himself), however, does not make his association with the imperial house closer and more intimate than was normal for a man in his position, and in consequence it does not make him prominent enough to have attracted the attention of members of the Roman elite. To postulate the latter we need more pointers, more evidence—above all from Iosephus himself.

It may come as a surprise to those misled by the apparent difference between Iosephus and other Flavian clients to discover

⁷ It is enough to consult Millar 1977: 133–44. The same is true of the gifts bestowed on Iosephus by Nero's wife, Poppaea, upon his departure to Judaea (*Vit.* 16), after pleading for the liberation of some priests. Such behaviour was only to be expected on the part of the ruler and his consort in the case of ambassadors representing the subject communities and peoples. In fact the withholding of gifts would call for an explanation.

that Josephus nowhere says explicitly that he had contact with members of the senatorial or equestrian orders in Rome, let alone close contact. The three people with whom he does directly or indirectly claim to have been in contact all belonged, or at least may have belonged, to the third category of the capital's elite:

1. Thaumastus, a former slave of Caligula, who passed into Agrippa I's hands and was set free by him. Later on he attended on his children, Agrippa II and Berenice (*AJ* 18. 192–4).⁸

2. Haliturus, an actor, a Jew by birth,⁹ who was instrumental in introducing Josephus to Poppaea, Nero's wife, during his first visit to Rome in 63 or 64 (*Vit.* 16).

3. Epaphroditus, to whom he dedicated the *Antiquities*, the *Life*, and *Against Apion* (*AJ* 1. 8; *Vit.* 430; *Ap.* 1. 1; 2. 1). To the identification of this Epaphroditus—a moot point—we shall return below.

It is impossible not to be impressed by how few these persons are, especially considering the fact that one or even two of them belonged to an earlier phase of Josephus' life, namely his prior visit to Rome under Nero.

On the journey with Vespasian to Alexandria in the summer of 69 (*Vit.* 415–16), and then back to Jerusalem in Titus' company (*Vit.* 416; *BJ* 4. 659–63), and during the three-month siege of Jerusalem, Josephus must have been in contact with members of the senatorial and equestrian class who made up Titus' entourage—if he was indeed on such intimate terms with Titus as he seems to be implying throughout the fifth and sixth books of the *War*. Such contacts should have multiplied when he accompanied Titus in 71 to Alexandria and from there to Rome (*BJ* 7. 116–22; *Vit.* 422), where Vespasian triumphed together with his son over the Jews. But contrary to such expectations there are no references to any contacts with persons belonging to the senatorial or equestrian class in Josephus' work. Josephus sent copies of his *War* to Vespasian and Titus as well as to 'many Romans who had taken part in the campaign' (*Ap.* 1. 51; cf. the version in *Vit.* 362). We can in part identify these people since Josephus

⁸ This person could have been his source for Roman politics before the Flavians, cf. Hadas-Lebel 1994: 103.

⁹ Cohen (1994: 23–38), followed by Mason (2001: 26), translates 'Judaean by birth'. On Haliturus see further Mason, Ch. 12 below.

himself introduces them as the military commanders taking part in the Jewish war. Above all we know the names of those present in the war council convened by Titus to decide the fate of the Temple in August of the year 70 (*Bj* 6. 236–7).

1. Ti. Iulius Alexander, 'the prefect of all the forces' (*PIR*² J 139)
2. Sex. Vettulenus Cerialis, legate of the *Legio V Macedonica* (Franke 1991: 111–12)
3. Larcius Lepidus, legate of the *Legio X Fretensis* (Franke 1991: 196–8)
4. M. Titius Frugi, legate of the *Legio XV Apollinaris* (Franke 1991: 254–5)
5. Aeternius Fronto, *praefectus castrorum* of the two Egyptian legions (*PIR*² L 287).

Of these five people it is likely that Larcius Lepidus and Iulius Alexander were no longer among the living by the time that the *War*, even in its first edition, was completed. Larcius Lepidus died before he reached the praetorship, probably before 74 or 75 (*ILS* 987), and Iulius Alexander must have died shortly after the triumph; at any rate he subsequently disappears from our sources. Josephus was acquainted with the third person on the list, Sex. Vettulenus Cerialis, whom he accompanied on a reconnaissance tour to the village of Tekoa, near Herodium (*Vit.* 420). Cerialis became the first senatorial governor of Judaea while Josephus was still in the province, but he virtually ignores the fact (*Bj* 7. 163). It is mentioned as an aside in Josephus' brief report on his successor: 'Lucilius Bassus had been dispatched to Judaea as legate, and, taking over the command from Cerialis Vettulenus, had reduced the fortress of Herodium with its garrison to surrender'. Would Josephus have given a copy of his book to the man whose later career in Judaea he did not care to mention? Still, both Cerialis and the other three people in the list just mentioned may have been among those to whom Josephus sent a copy of his book, but there is nothing in the *War* to give us a hint that he had close personal ties with them.

Josephus fails to mention any personal acquaintance with other commanders who participated in the Jewish war, or events connected with their careers after the conclusion of the war. And this is all the more surprising if one believes in the existence of

a second edition. The omission is especially disturbing in the case of M. Ulpius Traianus, the father of the future emperor, who from the end of 66 to the end of 69 commanded the *Legio X Fretensis*, and thus must have been known to Josephus. Later on as governor of Syria between 73 and 76 or 77 Trajan senior had to deal with the aftermath of the war in Commagene (for his legateship see Franke 1991: 191–6; cf. Dąbrowa 1998: 64–8), allegedly triggered off by the governor of Syria at the time, Caesennius Paetus (*BJ* 7. 219–43). Josephus lingers over the course of events of this war at some length in Book 7 of the *War*; he must have been aware of the senior Trajan's role in it, and yet there is no hint in Josephus of Trajan's involvement in the aftermath of this war. He could have made this omission good in the second edition of the book (if there actually was one), and mentioned the father of the man who had become in the mean time sole emperor in Rome.¹⁰ But he did not do this either. All this does not mean of course that Josephus did not know Trajan senior, or that he did not send him a copy of the *War* when the latter returned from Syria to Rome. However, Josephus' omission of the senior Trajan's career in Syria and his reticence about his acquaintance with the man shows once more how far removed Josephus was from any person of that class. Trajan, Vettulenus Cerialis, and Titius Frugi received the consulate between 70 and 80 and therefore belonged to the very top of the capital's senatorial elite, the *crème de la crème* of Roman high society. In the urban *domus* of such people the intellectual life of the city of Rome, or at least of this social group, was displayed. Here there could have been an ideal audience for Josephus. But this obviously was not the case (see Mason, Ch. 12 below, for an alternative view).

Of the three military tribunes sent after the fall of Jotapata to persuade Josephus to come out of the cave and surrender himself to the Romans (*BJ* 3. 344–6), Nicanor is said to be 'an acquaintance and friend of Josephus', and he will resurface during the siege of Jerusalem in Josephus' company trying to parley with the besieged. Nevertheless, all three tribunes, including Nicanor—to say nothing of the other two, Paulinus

¹⁰ On the issue of a possible second edition, see S. Schwartz 1986 and C. P. Jones 2002; see also Barnes, Ch. 6 below.

and Gallicanus—remain little more than names to us. We do not know whether they took up military or civil posts after the end of the Jewish war, and above all whether they originated from Rome and went back there after the war. Thus, to follow the present line of inquiry, we do not know whether or not they received copies of the *War* from Josephus.

It seems that we have to cast our net wider. Who else amongst the elite of Rome could have been interested in Josephus' works, and in him as a representative of Judaism after the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem? Such interest might be found in intellectual, philosophical, or religious circles.¹¹ We know from Cassius Dio (67. 14. 1–2) that T. Flavius Clemens, the emperor Domitian's cousin, and his wife, Flavia Domitilla, who was herself a relative of the emperor, were charged in 95 with ἀθεότης, and Clemens, at any rate, was executed. Dio attempts to clarify in the next sentence what precisely is meant by the term ἀθεότης: ὅφ' ἧς καὶ ἄλλοι ἐς τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἥθη ἐξοκέλλοντες πολλοὶ κατεδικάσθησαν, 'a charge on which many others who drifted into Jewish ways were condemned'. This is usually taken to mean that Flavius Clemens and his wife adopted either Judaism or (less likely, if only on grounds of the early date) Christianity. Clemens himself, however, could not have been either a Jew or a Christian in the full sense of the word, if as late as 1 January 95—that is, very late in Domitian's reign—he became *consul ordinarius* together with Domitian: on entering office on 1 January he would not have been able to get around the need to sacrifice to the gods of the Roman state, above all to Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Thus there is no question here of conversion to Judaism or Christianity, but at the most of interest in the one religion or the other, without the final step of conversion to it.

Was it interest in Judaism or Christianity? We can be sure that such ambiguity did not exist for Xiphilinus and Zonaras, who transmitted Dio's text. Had they been, like the modern interpreter, in doubt as to its precise meaning, they would have resolved the ambiguity by touching up the text so as to gain an early convert from the imperial house itself to the Christian faith. In other words, the text as it stands now contains Dio's

¹¹ We do not necessarily subscribe to Mason's theory that Josephus' later works were intended for a gentile audience: see Mason 1996; 1998b; 2000: pp. xvii–xx; 2001: pp. xix–xxi.

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actual report (see further Lampe 1989: 166–71). And yet, notwithstanding the authenticity of the passage, which would imply that Flavius Clemens and his wife were ‘godfearers’, that is, standing close to Judaism, we cannot exclude Christianity altogether, since Cassius Dio never talks about Christianity in his work, even in those places where he should have done.

Flavius Clemens is a likely candidate for the type of Roman aristocrat who might have been interested in Josephus’ history of the Jewish people, the *Antiquities*, concluded in the later part of Domitian’s reign. At the same time, it must be admitted that there is absolutely nothing to show that Josephus had close ties with Flavius Clemens and his wife, whose sons were intended by Domitian to be successors to the throne—or for that matter with any other members of the *domus Augusta*. All we know from him is that Domitia Augusta ‘never ceased conferring favours (ἐνεργεσάτω)’ upon him (*Vit.* 429). What these favours consisted of or amounted to is left unclear.

Be this as it may, it remains true that Flavius Clemens, his wife, and others who hankered after ‘Jewish ways’ could have provided an audience for Josephus.

Did the future emperor M. Cocceius Nerva also belong to those circles? He was well aware of the treatment meted out to the Jews after the destruction of their Temple; he always stood near to the powers that were, close to where decisions were made. It was not for nothing that he became consul for the second time in 90, together with the emperor Domitian. What can we make of the slogan, *FISCI IUDAICI CALUMNIA SUBLATA* (*BMCRE* 3. 15 no. 88, 17 no. 98, 19 nos. 105–6), advertising the removal of the injustice committed by the *fiscus Iudaicus* in connection with the collection of the tax,¹² which appeared on Nerva’s coins as soon as he came to power, that is already in 96? May we infer from this action special sympathy for Judaism or close ties with Jewish circles in Rome? Probably not. Messages carried by imperial coins were on the whole intended for a Roman public; and this time too they conveyed information relevant to Romans, to those Romans who had fallen victim to false accusations, to the *calumnia*, now removed. It referred

¹² The injustice (*calumnia*) presumably consisted in exacting the tax by means of false accusations.

to those individuals like Flavius Clemens and other members of the Roman elite who had suffered discrimination and persecution at Domitian's hands on account of their involvement with Judaism though without having taken the final step of joining its ranks. Nerva was more than willing to satisfy the demands made by this group to put an end to their discrimination—and to make it public! This had nothing necessarily to do with sympathy for Judaism. Nerva hardly belonged to Josephus' potential Roman audience.¹³

Did Josephus have enemies amongst the members of the capital's elite? If he did, this could be a sign of deeper involvement with them. With one notable exception there is no sign of such enmities in his works. In the *War* he mentions one Catullus, designated there ἡγεμὼν of Cyrene (*Bj* 7. 437–53; cf. *Vit.* 424). This must have been the proconsul of Crete and Cyrene. According to Josephus (*Bj* 7. 447–8), Catullus induced the Jewish agitator, Jonathan, whom he had taken prisoner, to incriminate prominent Jews in Alexandria and Rome—among them the historian Josephus himself—as having instigated the riots. If Catullus himself was responsible for the inclusion of Josephus' name, which is clearly implied in *War* (*Bj* 7. 448), then Catullus must have become acquainted with Josephus in Rome before he set off for his proconsulate in Crete and Cyrene. He could not have done so before early summer 71 when Josephus first reached Rome with Titus Caesar.¹⁴ In other words, Catullus' proconsulate cannot be dated before 72 or 73—which fits also the chronology of *War* Book 7.

This date is crucial for the identification of Catullus. Whereas prosopographers have long ago given up the attempt to identify this Catullus with any known person of the same name, some Josephus scholars either explicitly or tacitly identify him with L. Valerius Catullus Messalinus—not without important consequences (S. Schwartz 1986: 375–6 and 1990: 11 n. 35). For

¹³ For the opposite interpretation of the slogan on the coins, suggesting that it implies the abolition *tout court* of the *fiscus Iudaicus*, see Goodman, Ch. 8 below. His suggestion was anticipated by Hadas-Lebel 1984. We are grateful to Carla Salvaterra for discussing the issue with us.

¹⁴ Theoretically they could have become acquainted already in Judaea. But what was Catullus doing there at the time? All the legionary commanders are known and he could not have become governor of Crete and Cyrene in 72 or 73 had he been a *tribunus militum* in Judaea when Josephus was still there.

L. Valerius Catullus Messalinus belonged to a senatorial family whose ancestors can be traced back at least to the Augustan period, and alone on this score could lay claim to the highest place in the *ordo*. This Valerius Catullus Messalinus was *consul ordinarius* together with Domitian on 1 January 73 and *cos.* II in 85. Juvenal shows him taking part in Domitian's *consilium* on the Alban hill in 83 (4. 113–22); similarly Pliny the Younger assigns him to the circle of Domitian's closest advisers (*Ep.* 4. 22. 4–6). Although this Valerius Catullus was still alive (Tac. *Agr.* 44. 1) when Tacitus' father-in-law, Iulius Agricola, died on 23 August 93 (*Agr.* 45. 1), he was no longer alive in the year 97 as attested by Pliny the Younger (*Ep.* 4. 22. 6).

Josephus' vehement and even aggressive tone when reporting his actions in Book 7 has in the past led to the conclusion that at least this passage (*Bř* 7. 437–53) could only have been written after Catullus' death, that is at the earliest after August 93. For this senator and *consul iterum* was one of the most powerful representatives of the senatorial aristocracy already under Vespasian, and even more so under Domitian. Nothing of this kind could have been written against him while he was still alive, and, for that matter, for as long as Domitian was in power. Consequently Valerius Catullus' death between 93 and 97 was turned into an argument for a second edition of the *War*, either after Domitian was murdered or even later, under Trajan.¹⁵

The identification of Catullus, proconsul of Crete and Cyrene, with his namesake, the ordinary consul of the year 73, is to be dismissed on three grounds, and with the rejection of the identification all the conclusions drawn from it come to nothing:

1. The proconsulate of Catullus in Crete and Cyrene cannot be dated, as already pointed out, before the year 72 or 73 (see further Eck 1982: 290–2, s.v. Creta-Cyrenae). Consequently, he cannot be identified with the *cos. ord.* of 1 January 73, Valerius Catullus Messalinus: no proconsul of a praetorian province like Creta and Cyrene is known ever to have entered the consulate, *in absentia*, that is, while still on duty in the province.

2. Even if Catullus' proconsulate could be dated back to 71 or 72, the identification is excluded since the rank of a proconsul

¹⁵ S. Schwartz 1986; 1990: 11–12. For a flat dismissal of Schwartz's chronology see now C. P. Jones 2002: 114.

of Crete and Cyrene, like all other praetorian proconsuls—so far as we know—was far too low to serve as a stepping stone to the ordinary consulate. After Augustus there are no examples of senators who served in this capacity, that is, as a praetorian proconsul, reaching the ordinary consulate.¹⁶ This argument weighs so much that it should tilt the balance against any attempted identification of the proconsul Catullus with the ordinary consul Valerius Catullus Messalinus.

3. Josephus tells us that Catullus was not punished by Vespasian for his criminal behaviour. 'However, not long after'—*οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν δέ*—he was afflicted by a relentless and incurable disease of which he died. This was, according to Josephus, divine retribution for his heinous crimes (*Bj* 7. 450–3). Although *οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν* is vague enough to allow for the passage of an indefinite length of time, it is nevertheless extremely unlikely that we should see it as marking Catullus' death twenty years (or more) later—extremely painful though that was—as punishment for what he had done in the year 72 or 73 in Cyrene and later on in Rome—and even less likely that it can be described as taking place 'not long after'.

Taken together these arguments make it impossible to identify Catullus, the proconsul of Crete and Cyrene, with the ordinary consul of 73, Valerius Catullus. These conclusions have manifold consequences for different questions concerning Josephus' life and work, but there is no reason to go into them here. What we can be certain of is that Josephus was prominent enough to be known to a member of the senatorial aristocracy who tried to destroy him by charging him with high treason. Our familiarity with the tensions and conflicts rending the Roman aristocracy allow us to speculate that in reaction (or as a countermove) other members of this social group would have found in Josephus a worthy partner—if only because he was attacked by one of their class. Such social mechanisms are often set into motion by the intrusion of an outsider. This is as far as one can go.

¹⁶ See the lists in Eck 1983: 211–28 with the information about the consulate; Thomasson 1984 s.v. the individual proconsular provinces. The ordinary consulate of the proconsul of Gallia Narbonensis under Nero, Vinus Rufus, in the year 69, together with the emperor Galba, does not contradict the general observation made above in the text. Vinus Rufus' unexpected elevation to the ordinary consulate in recognition of his services to Galba was a political act; it cannot serve as an example for a normal senatorial career. No such factors operated in 72 or 73.

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We can suggest that L. Flavius Silva Nonius Bassus, the conqueror of Masada, would have found in Josephus an interesting interlocutor once it had come to his knowledge that Josephus was writing the history of the Jewish war. Pliny the Younger will not have been alone in his desire to see the name of his family enshrined forever in a literary monument by sending the historian Tacitus for his *Histories* a fulsome account of the eruption of the Vesuvius in August 79 (*Ep.* 6. 16 and 20). Why would such a thought not have crossed Flavius Silva's mind too? Josephus, who was not present at the siege and fall of Masada, had to rely on someone else's account—why not on that of the victorious general? Indeed, he might have, given that the *War* names none of its sources. However, nothing in the story of the fall of Masada suggests that Josephus used information from Flavius Silva (*BJ* 7. 252, 275–406).

The one person in Rome with whom Josephus was conversant is Epaphroditus, whom he mentions in the *Antiquities*, *Life*, and *Against Apion*, and to whom he dedicated the three works (*AJ* 1. 8–9; *Vit.* 430; *Ap.* 1. 1; 2. 1, 296). He talks about the man's learning (*παιδεία*), his special interest in history, his involvement with affairs, and his overcoming the turns of changing fortune (*AJ* 1. 8). Twice he addresses him as 'noblest of men' (*κράτιστε ἀνδρῶν*) (*Vit.* 430; *Ap.* 1. 1)—a form of address too vague to allow us to determine the man's social status. The only safe conclusion we may draw from the name is that in all likelihood its bearer was a freedman. In the city of Rome, where the name Epaphroditus is attested more than 300 times, only twice does it indisputably refer to freeborn men, as against 117 times where it certainly refers to slaves and freedmen (Solin 1982: 1. 320–4; 1996: 2. 281–3). Even if we cannot be absolutely sure, it is very probable that this was the status of Josephus' Epaphroditus. This status, as observed above, would not automatically prevent Epaphroditus from being counted amongst Rome's elite classes, granted that other criteria operated in his case which make it likely or even certain that he did belong to the city's elite.

Two identifications of the man with known personalities have been proposed. At least one of the two identifications rests on the observation that people to whom literary works were dedicated were almost without exception members of the city elite, either on account of their socio-political status, and/or because

of their particular closeness to the emperor or to a person who stood immediately near to the latter, his relatives or *amici*.

It has been suggested that we should identify Epaphroditus with Nero's homonymous freedman and a *libellis*, who played a crucial role in the detection and suppression of the Pisonian conspiracy in 64, for which he received the *dona militaria*—an unheard of distinction for a freedman which set at naught all known rules of social etiquette.¹⁷ This man is to be identified with the owner of the *horti Epaphroditiani* in *regio V* in Rome (Mancioli 1996), and probably also with Epictetus' master (cf. Millar 1965: 141; Weaver 1994: 475–9 is sceptical). Suetonius tells us that Domitian (*Dom.* 14. 4) had him killed in order to lay his hands on his enormous property. He had his huge tomb erected in his gardens on the Esquiline, emulating attempts by the senatorial elite to leave their mark on the physical aspect of the city of Rome for coming generations through the erection of extravagant monuments (Eck 1999*b*). This freedman without doubt possessed certain qualities which put him in that rank of freedmen who belonged to the Roman elite. That he might have played the part of patron to a historian cannot be dismissed out of hand. Several attributes might well have made a close relationship with this particular personage most attractive for Josephus' stay in the city of Rome—not least his enormous wealth: the imperial *libertus* counted among the richest men in Rome, and on this account alone had his share of influence.

And yet certain facts cast grave doubts on the identification with Nero's a *libellis*, and render it unlikely. Would the man who assisted Nero to commit suicide have remained influential in Roman society under the new dynasty? There is no reason to think that Nero's freedman continued to serve as a *libellis* under the Flavians, as emphasized by Weaver (1994: 468–73). At any rate his relations with Domitian must have deteriorated in the later part of the latter's reign, if they had ever been cordial before, since he was first exiled *c.*90 and then executed in 94–5. Thus the difficulties outlined above are compounded by chronological difficulties: the respective dates of *Antiquities*, the *Life*, and *Against Apion*—between 93 or 94 and the death of Domi-

¹⁷ For this Epaphroditus see *PIR*² E 69; Eck 1976; cf. B. W. Jones 1992: 63, 65, 189, 193.

tian in 96—make it unlikely that their dedicatee is the Neronian Epaphroditus.¹⁸ Would Josephus have dedicated his works to a man who had fallen out of favour with the regime? Could Josephus have afforded to parade this literary patron unabashedly in his works? Could this pose have coexisted with his allegedly close connection to Domitian and his wife Domitia Augusta? For what it is worth we may add that we have no information about this freedman's literary or scholarly propensities.

The other popular identification of Josephus' patron is with an Epaphroditus who, according to the early Byzantine *Suda* (E 2004 Adler), came from Chaeronea in Achaea, was a slave of a Modestus, who according to the *Suda* was a *praefectus Aegypti*, and later on was set free by him. He was a *grammaticus* who owned 30,000 scrolls, for the storing of which he needed two houses (or apartments) in Rome. He lived in Rome from Nero's time and died under Nerva.¹⁹ However, recently it has been shown that a prefect of Egypt with the name Modestus (or rather M. Mettius Modestus) is nowhere attested in Nero's time; nor can he be fitted into the *fasti* of the province of Egypt (Bastianini 1988: 505). This means that we know nothing about the grammarian's patron, and therefore we are totally in the dark about his social status, which in the case of a freedman was a direct corollary of his master's (Eck 1996): the higher the master stood on the social scale, the more important the real social standing of the freedman could be.

If we are still ready to identify the *Suda's* Epaphroditus²⁰—albeit without a prefect of Egypt for a master—with Josephus' patron, then the possessor of a magnificent library located in two houses was not a poor man (even if they were located in a warehouse: Rigsby 1997). He was well equipped to give Josephus literary advice. But would anyone who had strong ties with

¹⁸ For the chronology see Frankfort 1961, C. P. Jones 2002, and Kokkinos 2003.

¹⁹ This Epaphroditus in his turn was for a long time identified with one M. Mettius Epaphroditus, whom an inscription from Rome describes as a *grammaticus* (CIL 6. 9454 = ILS 7769): see PIR² M 563.

²⁰ Both Weaver (1994: 475) and C. P. Jones (2002: 114–15), for example, think that the evidence is insufficient for identification with either one of the two Epaphroditoi discussed here, or with any other of the bearers of the name in Flavian Rome.

people from the real elite of the city have dedicated three of his works to such a man? The question must be asked, and if it be answered positively, staggering conclusions, never drawn before, must follow: Josephus was in all likelihood extremely lonely and extremely isolated in Rome²¹—at least from the socio-political elite. So isolated was Josephus that he dedicated three of his works—and the act of dedication must be taken in earnest—to a man who had, if at all, hardly a prominent place in that aristocracy.²² This observation, combined with the absence of any evidence of intimate or close ties with any personage who belonged to the Roman elite class, lends the identification of Epaphroditus with the *Suda's grammaticus* a certain pathos, charm, and even verisimilitude. It throws the total isolation of the Jewish historian in Rome into deep relief.

This isolation is not altogether unlikely. For who amongst the Roman elite would be interested in this descendant of a priestly family, who belonged to the defeated Jewish people, much hated by most Romans in the Flavian period (see Goodman, Ch. 8 below)? True, he could write a not impartial history of the war against the Jews and thereby render some service to the new imperial house (Rajak 1983: 185–229). But, even if he was not so already, would he not now be regarded as a political renegade? Conditions in Rome for Josephus were far from ideal. He may well have jumped on the chance of friendship and patronage offered him by a Greek grammarian.

Was this the scenario in which Josephus found himself in Rome? It is not unlikely. And yet so much about Josephus' life in Rome cannot be either known or proven. There is no justification for the confident tone found in some studies of Josephus' life in Rome nor for the hypotheses built on tenuous evidence. Above all it seems certain that he held no prominent position in the social life of Flavian Rome. Neither his stature as a historian nor his literary output can be used as a tool to determine his social position. This we must leave to the writers of novels.

²¹ Goodman's (1994b: 332) description of Josephus as 'an important person in Roman society' is unsupported by the evidence; equally unsupported is Hata's (1994: 326) assumption that Josephus' incomplete mastery of the Greek language proves that he lived in a Jewish neighbourhood in Rome.

²² Of course a *grammaticus* could have contacts in aristocratic houses, cf. e.g. the *grammaticus* Seleucus, who participated in banquets in Tiberius' house (Suet. *Tib.* 56).

Foreign Elites at Rome

G. W. BOWERSOCK

Among the representatives of foreign elites to be found in Flavian Rome the Jewish aristocrat and historian, Flavius Josephus, is arguably the most famous. His support of the Roman regime in the Jewish War and his conduct at Rome afterwards, as a cosseted protégé of the imperial government, brought him the severe censure of co-religionists. But favour and eminence inevitably induce hostility, and Josephus was not the only Jew to incur ill will at the time. The voluptuous Queen Berenice was also the subject of gossip, much of it malicious. Her reputation oscillated between accusations of incest with her brother and of a scandalous liaison with Titus, when he was heir apparent.

Many will know that the Jewish milieu at Rome in 79 CE, the year of Vespasian's death, formed the centrepiece of an extravagant Tacitean fantasy concocted by Ronald Syme in his youth and published in his old age, together with a parody of a learned commentary (Syme 1991). Syme could not restrain himself from the delicious speculation that Berenice might have gone to Campania just in time for the eruption of Vesuvius. And pointing out the undeniable truth that this Jewish Cleopatra was in fact fifty years old, he showed some understanding for Titus' noble repudiation of her. He amused himself with erudite speculation about a possible new husband for Berenice, such as the elderly king Sohaemus from Emesa.

But we have to distance ourselves from the titillating details of Jews in the Flavian court in order to understand the social and political context in which both Josephus and Berenice took up their residence in the capital city of the Roman empire. It is necessary to look more broadly at the evolving pattern of the

settlement of royal personages and provincial worthies at Rome from at least the time of Augustus. Immigration into the city was nothing new even then, but the system that functioned in the Flavian era took shape under the Julio-Claudians, to whom the Flavians presented themselves as the legitimate successors.

In a recent book entitled *Foreigners at Rome*, David Noy has attempted to document and categorize the mass of immigrants known to us from epigraphy and literature. He largely confined himself, as he put it, to 'foreigners who were free, civilian, and below equestrian rank' (Noy 2000: p. xii). Occasionally slaves, soldiers, and elites attract his attention for comparative analysis, but his self-imposed limitation is entirely reasonable. Elites constitute a very small part of a foreign population at Rome that was conspicuous for its diversity and its ubiquity. In his Third Satire Juvenal was eloquent on the city's multiculturalism. Jews alone must have numbered somewhere in the area of 40,000 people, and if one cannot hazard an estimate of the much smaller Syrian population in the area of Trastevere it is safe to say that it was nonetheless substantial. Greeks, Anatolians, North Africans, Spaniards, and Gauls could not easily have been missed. This teeming backdrop of an immigrant population in a city of perhaps a million people (Lo Cascio 2000) must never be forgotten when the rich and powerful march across the stage and inevitably attract the spotlight. Those who were not elites were capable, by virtue of sheer numbers, of bringing pressure on their grandiose compatriots who took up residence in their midst.

The family of Seneca, Nero's counsellor and Rome's resident philosopher, came from the provincial aristocracy of Cordoba in Spain. His father, the elder Seneca, settled in Rome for its educational opportunities, and he was assisted in doing so by the personal support of Asinius Pollio (Griffin 1976: 32). This instance immediately highlights the importance of education and patronage in the process of elite migration to Rome. The younger Seneca, doubtless mindful of his origins, seems to have been the only Roman writer to have reflected at any length on Rome's foreign population and why all those people were there. His remarks in the letter of consolation he wrote from exile to his mother Helvia show clearly how his father's experience and his own fitted into the larger picture of the foreign population at

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Rome. In mitigation of the conventional view that it is intolerable to be deprived of one's *patria* (*carere patria intolerabile est*), Seneca tells his mother to look at the mass of people in Rome, most of whom are already deprived of their *patria* (Sen. *Helv.* 6. 2–3). This is an exaggeration, but it certainly has underlying truth.

The immigrants come from everywhere, according to Seneca. He then draws up a striking list of their various reasons for coming: ambition (*ambitio*), the necessity of holding public office (*necessitas officii publici*), serving on an embassy (*legatio*), a desire to indulge in vice (*luxuria opportunum et opulentum vitiis locum quaerens*), eagerness for education in the liberal arts (*liberalium studiorum cupiditas*), public entertainments (*spectacula*), friendship (*amicitia*), a desire to display talent (*virtus*) on a wider stage, and finally the prostitution either of body or of mind (*venalem formam . . . venalem eloquentiam*). It has not escaped attention that Seneca's list omits two large categories, military service and slavery, and must therefore be reckoned heavily weighted to the wealthy. With a few exceptions, such as selling one's body and attending public spectacles, Seneca's list admirably registers many of the reasons why various foreign elites could be found in Rome. In particular, friendship and service on embassies, under both Republic and Empire, brought many important foreigners to Rome, although they did not often stay for any substantial period of time (Bowersock 1965: 10–11, 123–4). Education brought the young, sometimes under duress as when the sons of the Parthian king were remitted to the capital in 10/9 BCE for training as future rulers in the interest of the Roman government (Bowersock 1965: 159).

But Seneca does omit one crucial category, probably overlooked along with his neglect of soldiers and slaves. This is the group of foreign elites brought back to Rome by magistrates who served abroad. Such persons were often of high birth and high literacy. They had the potential of glorifying the career of their patron and illuminating his world for contemporaries and posterity. Sometimes the families of these transplanted elites would take root in Rome, and in subsequent generations their presence would fall into Seneca's category of the necessity of holding public office (*necessitas officii publici*), although by Seneca's day some were already starting to come to Rome precisely in order

to sit in the senate, to hold office, and even to participate in the rituals of upper-class priesthoods such as the Arval brethren (Syme 1980).

The process of incorporating foreign elites can be clearly observed at the beginning of the Principate as an inheritance from the Republic. Among the distinguished ambassadors to visit Rome under Augustus were the Athenian Eucles, from the rich and influential family of Herodes of Marathon, which was later to produce Herodes Atticus (*IG III²* 3175; Bowersock 1965: 96), and the powerful vizier of the Nabataean Arabs, Syllaeus, who was a counsellor to Romans and Arabs alike until hostile compatriots on an embassy of their own engineered his ignominious downfall at the accession of Aretas IV (Bowersock 1983: 50–3; Abbadi 1996). Other elites arrived in the city at the initiative of Roman patrons, much as the wealthy Rhodian philosopher Panaetius a century earlier in the company of the Scipios (Bowersock 1965: 3). Pompey had brought back an aristocratic historian from Mytilene, Theophanes, who served as his *praefectus fabrum* in the civil wars. Equipped with the citizenship from Pompey himself, he himself adopted another immigrant from the provincial elite, Cornelius Balbus from Gades in the Iberian peninsula. Theophanes' son was charged with the organization of the public libraries at Rome and served as a procurator back in Asia, while producing a son, Q. Pompeius Macer, who became a praetor in 15 CE (Bowersock 1965: 2–3, 41). Mytilene was so proud of Theophanes that the city established a cult for him after his death (Robert 1969).

It was obviously useful to Roman magistrates to have well-placed and literate supporters in their entourage at Rome as well as in the provinces. Strabo seems to have reached the capital through the patronage of a Roman commander, perhaps Servilius Strabo, who would have encountered the geographer's Pontic family when in residence at Nysa in Asia Minor (Bowersock 2000). Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who provided such a herculean service to the Roman government through his compilation of *Roman Antiquities* in the Greek language, had been similarly attached to a Roman aristocrat, Q. Aelius Tubero (Bowersock 1965: 130–1). These examples could easily be multiplied in the early days of the Principate, but it will suffice to single out Nicolaus of Damascus for particular attention in the

present context (Wacholder 1962; Bowersock 1965: 124, 134–8; Bellemore 1984; Toher 2003).

This prolific and astute Syrian, from a wealthy and influential family in Damascus, was an ambassador (like his father Antipatros), a courtier, a lobbyist, and an historian. The family was thoroughly Greek in culture and undoubtedly played a role in the negotiations with the Nabataean king Aretas, known as Philhellene, who ruled in Damascus in the lifetime of Nicolaus' father. Nicolaus himself became a major spokesman for Herod and his Jewish state from 14 BCE and probably well before that. Nicolaus was in Rome on at least three important occasions to look after the interests of Herod and the Jews, and his residences appear to have been protracted ones. His attachment to the first *princeps* can be seen in the surviving fragments of his biography of Augustus, drawing on autobiographical material from Augustus himself. His universal history (*ἱστορία καθολική*), which proved so serviceable later to Josephus, appears to have done for the Semitic world what Dionysius had done for the Roman. Nicolaus at Rome stands as a prefiguration of Josephus later. His advocacy of the Jews, his closeness to the Roman imperial court, and his services as an historian writing in Greek are all strikingly similar. Like Josephus he attracted criticism at Rome, but not for betraying his people, who were, after all, Syrians, but of consorting too readily with common people and having too little respect for wealth. This was not a criticism that was ever levelled at Josephus.

Not all foreign elites were as powerful or prolific as Nicolaus, and after provincials began their irreversible ascendancy into the senatorial order more and more of the elite foreigners in the capital can be connected with social mobility in the provinces. A steady stream of eastern senators followed the example of the family of Theophanes, with M. Calpurnius Rufus of Attaleia leading the way in the reign of Claudius; the Sergii Pauli from Pisidian Antioch joined him about the same time (Halfmann 1979: 101). Perge, with M. Plancius Varus, supplemented the roster of eastern cities producing senators (Halfmann 1979: 104). Although Cyrene and Syria generated at least one senator each, in the form of Antonius Flamma and Iulius Marinus (Halfmann 1979: 103, 110), the preponderance of Asia Minor became ever more pronounced with the rise of the great senatorial families

of Sardis and Pergamum, as exemplified by Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus and C. Antius A. Iulius Quadratus (Halfmann 1979: 11–12, 112–15). Both of these grand persons were adlected under the Flavians.

By contrast the elites of the Near East were poorly represented in the senate of Flavian Rome. Perhaps two brothers from Berytus and a Syrian of indeterminate provenance could be named (Bowersock 1982: 665). Yet, as every reader of Josephus is aware, the presence of Berenice and Agrippa at Rome, to say nothing of Josephus himself, points to a significant presence through the patronage of the imperial court. The successful conclusion of the Jewish War clearly led to this small but conspicuous immigration. To understand it better we might examine the less notorious but no less remarkable installation at Rome of the antecedents of the consul of 109 CE, C. Iulius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappus, whose monument at Athens will be familiar to every adept of that city (for full documentation, see Halfmann 1979: 131).

Philopappus' grandfather was the last king of Commagene, Antiochus Epiphanes (Antiochus IV). He returned to the throne after an interval in which the region had been a province, established in 17 CE by Tiberius. It was none other than Gaius, who put Antiochus back in power, perhaps because, as Cassius Dio tells us (59. 24. 1), this astute monarch was thought to have learned the arts of tyranny from him. Gaius being Gaius, he then removed Antiochus from his kingdom, but Claudius promptly restored him in 41 CE (Dio 60. 8. 1). Dio reports that the companion of Antiochus in his imperial pedagogy was none other than Herod Agrippa I. The two kings are said to have consorted with Gaius as if they were *τυραννοδιδάσκαλοι* (Dio 59. 24. 1).

We must therefore ask under whose auspices these two powerful foreign elites had come to Rome. The answer is pretty clearly the auspices of the younger Antonia, daughter of Marcus Antonius the triumvir and the widow of the elder Drusus. As Conrad Cichorius argued a century ago (1922: 363–5), this highly intellectual woman was a patron of poets, notably Crinagoras, and an aggressive cultivator of foreign nobility. She was close to the mother of Agrippa I, Berenice, as Josephus informs us (*AJ* 18. 143). The boy Agrippa II was also part of the Herodian presence, which prospered in common with Antiochus. Claudius

even wanted to install the young Agrippa II immediately after his father's death in 44 CE. As for Antiochus, his place at Rome in Antonia's circle, which appears to have outlasted her death in 37 CE, may help to explain the extraordinary circumstances of his later career under the Flavians.

As king, Antiochus demonstrated his commitment to the Flavian cause in the Jewish War when he sent a contingent of his own troops to fight with Titus. His son joined in the siege of Jerusalem. According to Tacitus, Antiochus was among the first to declare for Vespasian in 69, and with him came considerable ancestral wealth and a network of lesser kings (*Hist.* 2. 81: *vetustis opibus ingens et servientium regum ditissimus*). The roots of this support probably went back to attachments formed in court society in the days of Antonia.

Yet, with all this overt display of allegiance to the Flavians, Antiochus was definitively driven out of his kingdom in 72 on suspicion of collusion with the Parthian king. The bearer of this bad news to Vespasian was the governor of Syria, Caesennius Paetus (*PIR*² C 173), who had ruined his military reputation under Nero through a disastrous campaign in Armenia (*Tac. Ann.* 15). Historians have long wondered why the first Flavian emperor chose to entrust him with so important a province as Syria. The answer seemed to lie in a connection to the dynasty through his wife Flavia Sabina. Josephus records (*Bḡ* 7. 220) with an almost Tacitean ambivalence that, in reporting to Vespasian the alleged treason of Antiochus, Caesennius Paetus may have either been telling the truth (*ἀληθεύων*) or acting out of hatred towards Antiochus (*διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἀντίοχον ἔχθραν*). Paetus seized the opportunity to do something worthy of note by annexing Commagene on behalf of Vespasian and joining battle with Antiochus' sons. The king himself retreated to Cilicia with his wife and daughters, and his sons took refuge in Parthia. Paetus had put Antiochus in chains and was planning to send him as a prisoner to Rome, when an extraordinary reversal of fortune occurred.

Mindful of ancient friendship (*παλαιὰ φιλία*), Vespasian suddenly decided to stop the remission to Rome, and, as Josephus asserts (*Bḡ* 7. 239), not to remain inexorable (*ἀπαράιτητος*) in his anger on the basis of Paetus' allegation. Antiochus was sent first to Sparta, where Vespasian equipped him with enormous

revenues so that he could resume a royal style of life. With its long tradition in the *clientela* of the Claudii, ties with the Near East (especially the Jews), and loyal government in the hands of the Euryclids (Bowersock 1961), who were already on their way to senatorial status, the city in which Antiochus was installed cannot have been chosen accidentally. Among the monuments he would have seen there were benefactions of Herod the Great. But Antiochus was only a transient in Sparta. Vespasian then brought him to Rome, together with his son, the father of Philopappus, and they both lived thereafter in splendour as foreign elites in the Flavian capital. Josephus presumably met them there and as a result was in a position to provide the precious details on the later and honourable career of both of them. The ascendancy of the king's grandson to the consulate in 109 was preceded by election to the Arval brotherhood and adlection to the senate at praetorian rank. Plutarch counted Philopappus among his friends and could even have met him during his sojourn in Rome under Domitian (C. P. Jones 1971: 59).

What exactly precipitated the dramatic reversal in the fortune of Antiochus after the onslaught from Caesennius Paetus cannot be divined. But Vespasian's ultimate favour reflected, as Josephus said, an ancient friendship (*παλαιὰ φιλία*) that Caesennius Paetus had vainly attempted to subvert, perhaps in a frantic effort to restore his own tarnished reputation. That ancient friendship must have extended back at least as far as the last years of Tiberius, when Antonia welcomed the elder Berenice, Agrippa I, and Antiochus into her salon. But, ancient as it was, the more recent reaffirmation of that friendship through support in the Jewish War must have weighed heavily with the emperor. Strategic reasons alone might have counselled the annexation of Commagene, with its Euphrates frontier, and we cannot ignore the fact that with all the comfort and wealth that Vespasian gave to Antiochus he conspicuously did not restore him to his kingdom, which remained incorporated into Syria. The fallout from the Jewish War affected the entire Near East, not only in Syria, as the reorganization carried out there by the elder Trajan as governor makes plain, but in Commagene and, obviously, Judaea. Even the kingdom of the Nabataeans in Transjordan was subjected to the rule of Agrippa II at its northern extremity (Kushnir-Stein 2002; C. P. Jones 2002), and

an increased prominence for the city of Bostra anticipated its transformation into a legionary camp, if not a provincial capital, a few decades later (Bowersock 1983: 81, 105).

This background helps to explain the striking fact that although Caesennius Paetus' tenure in Syria was eventful, it came to a sudden end immediately after the seizure of Commagene. He was out of the province in 73, and after enigmatic tenure of only few months by Marius Celsus, the legateship of Syria passed to the emperor Trajan's father, who, as we have noted, was the architect of the reorganization of the area in the middle 70s (Bowersock 1973). He appears to have been already in charge by the end of 73. This means that the rehabilitation of Antiochus was carried out, in all probability, under his administration and upon his recommendation. The elder Trajan had served with distinction in the Jewish War and knew the region as well as the local eminences whose support had strengthened the Roman cause. In recalling the two sons of Antiochus from the Parthian refuge to which they had fled when their father was in chains, he was able to call upon an experienced Syrian soldier, a centurion in the Jewish War who had been decorated by Vespasian and Titus. C. Velius Rufus, whose brilliant military career we know from a long inscription in Heliopolis, was, as we read, 'sent into Parthia and brought back Epiphanes and Callinicus, the sons of Antiochus, to the Emperor Vespasian' (*ILS* 9200 = *IGLS* 6. 2796: *missus in Parthiam Epiphanen et Callinicum regis Antiochi filios ad Imp(eratorem) Vespasianum . . . reduxit*).

Although we do not know precisely when Antiochus arrived in Rome after his honourable exile in Sparta, it cannot have been far removed in time from the arrival of Berenice and Josephus. All this would appear to reflect the planning of the elder Trajan in Syria. It betokened a new policy of administrative reorganization that was calculated to bring an end to the turbulence of the war years and to such violent operations as the forcible annexation of Commagene. In this new phase of Flavian government the loyalty of regional elites, which had contributed significantly to the victory in the Jewish War, required recognition and, to the extent possible, exploitation in Rome's interest.

Hence the reception into Flavian Rome of leading representatives from the elites of this altered world fits nicely into the larger pattern of imperial restructuring. The presence of

Josephus himself, Berenice, and Agrippa belongs to a context and a time that equally included Antiochus Epiphanes IV and his homonymous son. All were there, in one way or another, for the purpose of consolidating the Roman victory in Jerusalem (and, of course, by now the fall of Masada, in whichever year it occurred). Yet these people were at the same time re-enacting roles that had been conspicuously played out earlier by Nicolaus of Damascus, Herod the Great, the elder Berenice, Agrippa I, and others. The old king Antiochus IV was a link between what might be called the 'residential' diplomacy of the Julio-Claudians and its revival by the Flavians.

Just as Vespasian learned about the constitutional structure of the empire by scrutinizing the practices of the Julio-Claudians and inscribed the appropriate precedents in what we now designate the *Lex de imperio Vespasiani* (CIL 6. 930 = ILS 244), so too did he return to their cultivation of loyal elites. He provided patronage and material support at the level to which such people had been accustomed in the homes from which they came. In the process he brought into being a new generation of Roman aristocrats from royal and priestly houses as well as a new historiography that explained the Jews to the Graeco-Roman world and the Romans to the Jews. The grandson of Antiochus IV became a consul in the reign of the old Trajan's son. The Flavian encouragement of residential foreign elites did not, in the end, prevent another Jewish War, but the emperors might have hoped that it would.

Herodians and *Ioudaioi* in Flavian Rome

DANIEL R. SCHWARTZ

This chapter focuses on the intersection between two topics: the fate of the Herodian dynasty under the Flavian emperors and the precise meaning of the Greek and Latin term *Ioudaioi/Iudaei*. The fact that Vespasian did not restore the Herodian monarchy in Judaea has come to seem inevitable, largely because this is in fact what happened. But at the time other options did exist, and it is worthwhile considering why Vespasian made the decision he did. As for the term *Ioudaioi/Iudaei*, even with regard to the Roman period a certain trend in recent scholarship prefers the translation 'Judaean' to the traditional 'Jews'—whether for historical-philological reasons or to avoid, especially in nasty contexts, a term that applies to people alive today.¹ I argue that these two apparently disparate issues, one historical and one philological, are actually closely related, and that attitudes towards the Herodians in Flavian Rome had everything to do with the understanding of *Ioudaioi/Iudaei*.

According to Josephus, writing the introduction to his account of Agrippa I (*Ag* 18. 128), all or almost all of the Herodian house died out within a hundred years of Herod's death, that is, around the time Josephus himself was nearing the conclusion of his *Antiquities* in 93/4. It is interesting to contemplate this displaced priest of Jerusalem considering the displaced dynasty of Judaea. For Josephus, however, several Herodians were still prominent in his day. Berenice was of course the most notable example, but there were others, and Josephus could not be sure which of them

¹ For what may be the most influential conquest of this new fashion, see *BDAG*, s.v. *Ἰουδαῖος*. For my own understanding of how the term changed, during the Second Temple period, from the territorial sense that corresponds to 'Judaean' to the more nebulous national and religious sense(s) better represented by 'Jew', see D. R. Schwartz 1992: 5–15.

would or would not be favoured. Indeed, it may well be that Josephus himself thought he could play a role in their future.

Although it is clear in hindsight that Rome would not restore the Herodian monarchy in Judaea, and perhaps it should have been clear to contemporaries as well, there was nothing impossible about such a thing happening. An empire which had given up provincial rule of Judaea three decades after it had been instituted, in order to appoint Agrippa I king of Herod's kingdom (41 CE), might well do the same a few decades later and appoint that man's son, Agrippa II—especially in light of the fact that he had put himself squarely in the Roman camp in the Roman-Jewish war. Thus, whatever we think, or whatever contemporaries thought, about the chances of Agrippa II becoming Titus' brother-in-law, it was definitely possible that he would be enthroned as a Roman client in a restored kingdom of Judaea.

Let us look at things from Agrippa II's point of view, beginning in the 70s. It seems that Agrippa could justifiably be very optimistic about his chances to be made king of Judaea. After all, he had actively supported the Roman cause during the great Jewish revolt (*HJP* 1. 476–7) beginning from the outset in 66 CE, throwing first all his resources as a politician and speaker, then his kingdom's army, into the Roman cause. His troops had been there alongside Rome's from the start. He had entertained Vespasian sumptuously upon the latter's arrival at Caesarea Philippi in 67. He had been wounded while on the Roman side at the siege of Gamala a few months later. He had stolen out of Vitellius' Rome in the summer of 69 to pay homage to Vespasian. Agrippa had hosted Titus' victory games in his own capital city, Caesarea Philippi, featuring the entertaining deaths of great numbers of Jewish prisoners, and even issued his own coins celebrating the Flavians and linking them with Nike/Victoria. Surely Vespasian owed him some return? Again, Agrippa's sister Berenice was Titus' best friend, and it might have seemed reasonable to think that that relationship would enhance Herodian fortunes (Levick 1999–2000). Finally, one Josephus of Jerusalem, who was a Flavian mouthpiece, was working hard in his work of the 70s, his *Jewish War*, to portray Agrippa as a monarch who was both peace-loving and courageous, a loyal subject of Rome and one who should be acceptable to the Jews too (S. Schwartz 1990: 131–42).

Moreover, apart from statements directly in support of Agrippa II, Josephus, in his *Jewish War*, also took another line which tended to redound to Agrippa's benefit. I refer to the fact that Josephus as author adopts one of the angles that he makes the first major theme of Agrippa's great anti-war speech in Book 2 of the *War*, namely, the poor quality of the provincial governors, who all too often were corrupt and/or incompetent. Thus Agrippa, in his speech, begins by focusing upon, and admitting the truth of, the Jews' complaints against their cruel and corrupt governors (*BJ* 2. 350–4); Josephus too, elsewhere in his narrative, makes the point that such governors exasperated the Jews and were therefore responsible in large measure for the revolt (see esp. *BJ* 2. 272–9; Bilde 1979: 188–9). But what was the alternative? Although the Romans eventually moved to remedy the situation by raising the level of the provincial governors (*HJP* 1. 514), a more obvious solution would be to revert to the option which the governors had replaced, that is, a Herodian client king. Agrippa II certainly knew that the turbulent period of Pontius Pilate's term as governor, which ended in 37 CE, had been followed by a restored Herodian kingdom, that of Agrippa I, his father (see D. R. Schwartz 1990: 62–6). What happened once could happen again.

Indeed, Josephus' account of the years preceding the restoration of the Judaeian monarchy by the installation of Agrippa I in 41 (*AJ* 18–19) can easily be read as suggesting a second round. Namely, we read (i) of the turbulent years of Pontius Pilate's tenure as governor of Judaea; (ii) of intervention by the Roman governor of Syria (Vitellius); (iii) of further deterioration which led to a major Roman threat to the Temple (Gaius' attempt to erect a statue in it); but then (iv) of a turnabout, a reconciliation sealed by the installation of a king who combined Hasmonean and Herodian pedigrees and who had been close to the emperor. All of that, apart from the fact that the Roman threat to the Temple had been carried out in 70 as opposed to 41, could well have been written about Agrippa II as well. And that one difference—that in 41 the Temple had not been defiled but in 70 was destroyed—could, in fact, have been put to Agrippa II's advantage.

For it must have been clear to Agrippa II that the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem had put an end to Jewish nationalist

hopes. He might have emphasized that the Jews who had rebelled had done so because of hopes and memories which centred upon the Temple—which too many of them had persisted in viewing as God's House, that is, as the palace of a supreme Jewish monarch who in no way could be considered a vassal of Rome. With the removal of that competition in the destruction of the Temple, there was no reason to fear renewed trouble, such as might require direct Roman rule. Hence, if the Romans wanted to make a gesture of goodwill toward the Jews, to help heal the wounds of the war, it would not be risky to appoint a descendant of the royal house that had proved itself so loyal to Rome for over a century.

So much, on the one hand, for the rosy future, as king of Judaea, which Agrippa II could have set as his goal in the early 70s (see Levick 1999: 27, 185). However, Agrippa not only failed to become king of Judaea; he disappeared from the historical record, leaving it to epigraphists and numismatists as well as some historians (such as C. P. Jones 2002; Kushnir-Stein 2002; and Kokkinos 2003) to decide when he actually died. Let us ask what went wrong.

Levick pins Vespasian's failure to install Agrippa as king of Judaea on his incompetence during the Judean war; he had failed to keep order (Levick 1999: 27). Yet Agrippa had never been king in Jerusalem or Caesarea, nor anywhere in Judaea for that matter. He had had no responsibility for law and order there. Why hold the rebellion against him? Rather, we should look elsewhere. First of all, consider some personal data. Agrippa, born c.28 CE, was over 40 years old with no heir. This alone could well explain why an emperor would not think it worthwhile to build upon him a new future for Judaea. Berenice too, born only about a year after Agrippa (*AG* 19. 354), was no longer young. Berenice's age might help explain why Titus—who was some twelve years her junior—tired of her after a while (*GLAJ* 2. 127–8). But it might also have contributed to the casting of her, in Roman public opinion, in the image of a Cleopatra, a wicked eastern princess who had seduced and subjugated a good but inexperienced Roman boy.² Her brother, Agrippa II, would have been stained by the same brush.

² For the comparison of Berenice to Cleopatra, see Levick 1999: 185, 194. For

It is also the case that in general the last decades of the first century were not good for client kingdoms. The early 70s had witnessed the disappearance of three other client kings, all of whom were somehow close to Agrippa II (Levick 1999: 165–6; see Bowersock, Ch. 2 above). First, in 71 or 72 Vespasian deposed King Aristobulus of Lesser Armenia and annexed that kingdom's territory to the province of Galatia. Aristobulus was Agrippa's first cousin (*AJ* 20. 158), and that did not bode well. Second, a year or two later Roman forces invaded Commagene and deposed King Antiochus IV (*BJ* 7. 219–43); after the Roman invasion, Commagene received legionary garrisons and was attached to the Roman province of Syria. Antiochus had been a close associate of Agrippa I, and Antiochus' daughter, Jotape, was married to another cousin of Agrippa II (*AJ* 18. 140). This was getting even closer to home. Although Josephus goes out of his way to tell this story at length (*BJ* 7. 219–43), and to portray the deposition of Antiochus as a wicked and dishonest measure initiated by a wicked Roman governor of Syria—that is, although Josephus portrays this in a way which any client king like Agrippa II would want him to—the fact is that Vespasian allowed the matter to stand. Presumably, there was a Roman version of the affair that explained why Antiochus deserved his fate. Third, around the same time, in the early 70s, the kingdom of Emesa disappeared and its territory likewise was attached to Syria. This too hit close to home for Agrippa, for Sohaemus of Emesa, Antiochus of Commagene, and Agrippa repeatedly figure as a trio of loyal client kings who stood closely by Rome, and by Vespasian in particular, during the Judaean war (*BJ* 2. 501; 3. 68; 5. 460). If their loyalty had not saved Antiochus and Sohaemus, Agrippa had reason to worry that his loyalty would not help him either.

In other words, if we ask ourselves why the kingdom of Judaea was not restored in 70 CE and instead Roman provincial rule was allowed to continue, one might argue that it is natural for empires to rule and unnatural for them to parcel out authority to client kings. Although the Romans had allowed such anomalies to exist in the East for over a century since Pompey, even occasionally restoring a local kingdom after provincialization as in the cases

Cleopatra's image, in the context of Roman fears of the East, see Charlesworth 1926: 10–11; Volkmann 1953: 213–18.

of Judaea and Commagene, ultimately they had annexed them. When we note with hindsight that the last of the eastern client kingdoms, that of the Nabataeans, was annexed as a province in the very first decade of the second century, it may perhaps seem superfluous to ask why the Judaeian kingdom was not restored just a few decades earlier.

So either the personal facts about Agrippa and Berenice, or the general tendencies of the Empire in the last decades of the first century, might suffice to explain why Agrippa II was not made king of Judaea. It seems, however, that there is more. A fundamental element of the matter is to be found in the fact that the years after 70 saw the demise of the notion that *Ioudaioi* constituted the type of collective for which a king would be natural or relevant. With the demise of that notion the Herodians became irrelevant.

It seems that it was clear in antiquity, as today, that kings rule *territories*; for Greek usage it is enough to cite Aristotle's introduction to kings, which takes for granted that they rule over places, such as cities or countries (*Pol.* 3.9, 1284b). This was self evident in antiquity (as today), as is evidenced by use of 'kingdom' in such phrases as μέχρι τῶν ὁρῶν τῆς βασιλείας ('right up to the boundaries of the kingdom'; cf. the material collected by Bickerman 1938: 3-4), but it was particularly the case with the Jews and Judaea. This is shown plainly by the events of the late second century BCE and the first century BCE. After the Hasmoneans had expanded their state so as to include non-Jews, they took, beginning with Aristobulus I in 104 BCE, the royal title (*AJ* 13. 301). That is, the move from an ethnic entity to a territorial one entailed the inauguration of kingship (see D. R. Schwartz 1992: 38-9). Conversely, when forty years later Pompey detached non-Jewish territories from Hasmonean jurisdiction he also reduced Hyrcanus II's title from 'king' to '(high priest and) ethnarch' (*AJ* 14. 191, 194, 196, etc.); but when a generation later Herod was installed as client ruler of more or less all the territories and populations which had formerly been ruled by the Hasmoneans, the royal title was restored to him. For while ethnarchs rule a given people, kings rule territories, which might be inhabited by a variety of peoples. Accordingly, had the *Ioudaioi* basically been understood, in Flavian Rome, to be the people of or from a certain country, Judaea, it would

have made sense to wonder whether that country should have a Jewish king. If, in contrast, they were taken to be adherents of a religion, or members of a *collegium* or the like (see Rives, Ch. 7 below), the notion of a King of Judaea would have become irrelevant. Indeed, the very toponym 'Judaea' would become problematic, just as we would find it hard to deal with a toponym such as 'Protestantland'.

There is some Roman evidence for such a reorientation of the understanding of the *Ioudaioi*, and of the Herodians, in this period, and also some Christian evidence, but the main evidence comes from Josephus himself. Let us begin with the Roman evidence.

First, anyone who peruses the final sections of the first volume of the late Menahem Stern's *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* (1974) will discover that almost no one in the Flavian period calls the Jews 'Judeans'; that is, almost no one links the *Ioudaioi* to Judaea. The evidence falls very neatly into two groups. Many writers speak not of Judaea but rather of 'Idumaea' and/or 'Palaestina' as the scene of the war and the site of Vespasian's and Titus' great victory; for 'Idumaea' see Valerius Flaccus (*GLA* 77, no. 226), Silius Italicus (no. 227), Statius (nos. 232, 235, 237), and Martial (nos. 238, 244); for 'Palaestina', Silius Italicus (no. 227), Statius (nos. 233-4, 236), and Dio Chrysostom (no. 251). Others, in contrast, refer to *Iudaei* or *Ioudaioi* in connection with Jewish practice but do not link them with Judaea: Frontinus (no. 229) refers to the *Iudaei* who keep the Sabbath; Quintilian (no. 230) refers to Moses (?) as the *Iudaicae superstitionis auctor*; Damocritus (no. 247) wrote a book about the *Ioudaioi* and their sacrifices; Nicarchus (no. 248) wrote a book about the *Ioudaioi* and their legislator, Moyses; Antonius Diogenes (no. 250) says Pythagoras learned from the 'Hebrews'; and Epictetus (no. 254) refers to the opinions of the *Ioudaioi* on food and compares *Ioudaioi* to Epicureans and Stoics. Epicureans and Stoics were types of philosophers, and no one would think of appointing kings for them.

It thus seems to have been becoming problematic for Romans to speak about a place called Judaea or, accordingly, of the Jews as people from such a place. I would not say it was impossible for them to do so, only that it seems to have been something of a problem. I suggest that we could understand the situation if

we compare it to that of German speakers who were once used to calling Jews *Israeliten*, especially when they wanted to use a definitely respectful term, given the fact that *Juden* was at times pejorative; accordingly, it was very common to call the Jewish community of a given place its *israelitische Gemeinde*. After the foundation of the State of Israel, however, it became confusing to call Jews *Israeliten*, and no one uses that term any longer; post-war Jewish communities in Germany prefer to term themselves *jüdische Gemeinden*. It seems that Greek and Latin speakers of the first century were solving the same problem by the opposite process. Namely, the continued existence of *Ioudaioi*, despite the Roman conquest of *Ioudaia* and destruction of its capital,³ made it difficult to go on defining the *Ioudaioi* by reference to *Ioudaia*. This could be resolved by finding a new name either for the Jews (à la *Juden* instead of *Israeliten*) or for Judaea. For the former the obvious alternative was Hebrews, *Hebraioi*; but although we find this here and there it never really got off the ground.⁴ Rather, it seems to have been adjudged simpler to take the other route, namely, to refer to that far-off tiny region of the Middle East by another name—and that is what already the Flavian evidence shows, as we have seen. Two generations later Hadrian would make this official, by changing the name of the province to Syria Palaestina (see Smallwood 1976: 463–4).

What is important for us, in this process, is that to the extent people were finding it difficult to maintain the notion of there being a place called Judaea, to that extent it would be less likely that a descendant of the royal house of what had once been Judaea would be re-enthroned.

Of course, the very fact that 'Idumaea' was one of the common substitutes for 'Judaea'—we find it in Valerius Flaccus, Silius Italicus, Statius, and Martial (in this connection, note also Appian, *B.Civ.* 5. 75, 319 along with *GLA* 2. 189–90)—might have helped Agrippa II to a kingdom, had he been willing to bill himself as an Idumaeon. Indeed, it may well be that it was the Herodians' Idumaeon descent which helped engender the use of

³ To which one may add that Jews, *qua* rebels, lost their ownership of much land in Judaea, although this should not be overstated; see Isaac 1984; Levick 1999: 149–50.

⁴ For the evidence, which indicates that the term usually retained an archaic flavour, see Harvey 1996: 104–47; Runia 1994: 14–17.

'Idumaea' instead of 'Judaea'. However, close to two hundred years after their conversion to Judaism, and after generations of having to defend themselves as *Ioudaioi* and not Idumaeans or mere 'half-Jews' (see *AJ* 14. 403; cf. 19. 332; m. *Sotah* 7: 8; and D. R. Schwartz 1990: 124–30, 219–22), Agrippa was not about to do that. Even if there were still some Jews who had their doubts about it, Agrippa was a *Ioudaios*, certainly in Roman eyes, and in his own. To cite just a few data: he seems to have insisted that his sister's husband convert to Judaism (*AJ* 20. 139), and in the 40s and 50s he now and then applied his influence in order to support this or that Jewish cause in Rome (*AJ* 20. 9, 135), just as in Jerusalem he had accepted and fulfilled the role of overseeing the Temple of the Jewish God (*AJ* 20. 16, 104, 179, etc.). Accordingly, the popularity of the term 'Idumaea', just as that of 'Palaestina', did nothing to make it seem reasonable that he be made king of the country. It functioned only to undercut the notion that the *Ioudaioi* constituted an entity for which kings were natural or relevant.

Another factor that contributed to the same result was the growing prominence of Christianity in Rome of the late first century. For it was obvious to all that Christianity came from Judaism—whether one said that it was a type of Judaism, or rather that it had grown out of it. But whatever it was—*religio?* *collegium?* *philosophia?*—Christianity was definitely not a territorial entity or phenomenon. The more prominent Christianity became, the more people there would be who would have to formulate, for themselves or for others, what the difference was between Christians and *Ioudaioi*—and the answer would necessarily be given with regard to matters of religion, not of state. Thus, the importance of distinguishing between Christians and *Ioudaioi* served to point up the religious characteristics of the latter. But just as no one would contemplate appointing a king of the Christians, for a king is simply irrelevant to a non-territorial entity, so too would it become less and less relevant to consider doing the same for *Ioudaioi*.

Moreover, Christianity was to make a very specific contribution to such a reevaluation of the relevance of Herodian kingship, for the Gospels used, and perhaps put into circulation, the term 'Herodians' (Matt. 22: 16; Mark 3: 6, 12: 13), using it in such a way that any reader would infer that it was of the same league

as 'Pharisees', 'Sadducees', and 'Christians'. That is precisely how the term is used by its earliest Christian interpreters—to denote those who believed that Herod was the messiah (Schalit 2001: xii, 470–80). Whether or not that is what was meant by the tradition underlying the Gospels is irrelevant. What is important is that the presentation of the supporters of the Herods as if they were at the centre of a religious belief is part and parcel of the same process which assumes that the Jews have a religion but no state, no territory. Hence there was no reason for them to have a king.

But our main evidence for such a reorientation of an understanding of the *Ioudaioi*, in Flavian Rome, comes from Josephus. Here I would like to focus on two expressions of this process and indicate especially the implications they had for the question of the restoration of a Herodian monarchy in Judaea.

First, I would underline the implication of a central theme of Josephus' *Jewish War*, which is that the Jewish God had abandoned the Jews. This point is made at numerous places throughout the work, not all as explicit as 2. 539 and 7. 327–31, 358–60, at the beginning and end of the *War*. In fact, the entire narrative of the *War* is governed by the notion that it was due solely to God's initiative and intervention that the Romans were able to inflict such a defeat upon the Jews. This is underlined, in the very same way, at all three decisive junctures of the war: in each case, the Romans would not have succeeded had it not been for God's help. No attentive reader can miss the point. Namely, at *Bj* 4. 76 we read that at Gamala the Jews had at first been impregnable but were finally defeated when the 'daemonic wind' (θύελλα δαιμόνιος) turned in such a way as to aid Roman arrows and deflect those of the Jews, the storm also preventing the Jews from being able to defend the city walls. Thus ended the northern campaign. Next, at 6. 252, although Titus had forbidden the burning of the Temple, a soldier acting on 'daemonic impulse' (δαιμονίῳ ὀρμῇ) nevertheless threw in a torch and it proved impossible to put out the flames. Thus ended the central stage of the *War*. Finally, at 7. 318–19 we read again that it was from 'daemonic provision' (ἐκ δαιμονίου προνοίας) that the wind turned the flames against the Jews and allowed the Roman success at Masada; and this time, so as to leave no doubt about the identity of the 'daemon' who controls the winds, Josephus

adds explicitly that the Romans had the advantage of a military alliance with God (τοῦ θεοῦ συμμαχία). The same notion is implied in the other two cases as well; see *B´* 4. 26; 6. 250, 268.

That is, at these three crucial junctures which punctuate his *Jewish War*, the Roman victories in the north, centre, and south of the country, Josephus accepts the notion that the war was not so much between the Jews and Rome as between the Jews and their God.⁵ The Romans were God's agents; alone, without His assistance, they could not have succeeded. But since He did help them, to the extent of having them destroy His house in Jerusalem even against their own better judgement, it follows that He has abandoned the Jews and—as Josephus put it at *War* 5. 367—taken up residence in Italy.

This corresponds to a theme I have developed elsewhere, namely, Josephus' claim in his *Jewish War* that Jewish religious figures were among the main sponsors of the war against Rome (for the next two paragraphs, see D. R. Schwartz 1992: 29–43). True, Josephus does not like those religious figures—he prefers to call them 'false prophets' and 'charlatans'—but he admits they were doing what they did as religious figures. His stance in the *Jewish War* is that Jewish religion and Jewish state went hand in hand and, having been misled into a course of collision with Rome, had been destroyed.

This was a line that might have suited Agrippa II well. For the more the Romans thought that it was representative of the Jews, the more they would think that now Judaea was just another territory, whose Jewish residents could have no further thought of a competing sovereign apart from Rome and its agents. Agrippa could hope to be made one such agent; he, in fact, had the most promising credentials and *curriculum vitae*.

In the *Antiquities*, by contrast, Josephus takes quite another tack, one familiar from the Hebrew Bible and then again from diaspora Judaism of the Second Temple period, although such Judean, or basically Judean, works as I Maccabees and Josephus' *War* largely ignored it. Namely, from the prologue of *Antiquities* (1. 14) on, Josephus emphasizes that the relationship of the Jews and their God is alive and well, but it includes

⁵ For the finality of a thrice-repeated theme, cf. Acts 13: 46, 18: 6, and then, finally, 28: 28.

clauses which require obedience to the law and allow for condign and edifying punishment—including at the hands of unwitting agents—when it is disobeyed (Cohen 1979: 87–9, 148–51; D. R. Schwartz 2003: 112 n. 10). He also strives to separate rebel leaders from the Jewish religion, substituting, for the armed prophets of the *War*, unarmed prophets and nonreligious rebels (compare, especially, *Bḥ* 2. 258–65 with *Aḥ* 20. 167–72, also *Bḥ* 7. 437–41 with *Vit.* 424–5).

But acceptance of this point of view, which makes being Jewish a function of law rather than place, makes Jewish monarchy irrelevant. And this is not only implicit. It is also explicit in Josephus' work of the 90s: in the claim (*Ap.* 2. 165) that the Jews' constitution is not—we might add 'any more' (D. R. Schwartz 1983/4)—one of the standard political types, such as monarchy or oligarchy, but, rather, a 'theocracy', ruled by priests. It is also implied, quite clearly, by *Antiquities*' emphasis upon liberty (ἐλευθερία) as the Jews' goal;⁶ although Josephus' main interest is in portraying the Jews' liberty as the freedom to obey their ancestral laws, it is nevertheless true that classical and Hellenistic usage viewed liberty and rule by kings as mutually exclusive categories; see *Antiquities* 14. 41 and its parallel in Diodorus 40. 2 (*GLAḥḥ* 1. 185–6). But especially we would direct attention, here, to Josephus' expansive development, in the early books of his *Antiquities*, of the strictures in Deuteronomy 17 and I Samuel 8 concerning the evils of monarchy (*Aḥ* 4. 223–4; 6. 40–2). In these passages, especially the latter, Josephus waxes eloquent about the wicked behaviour to be expected of kings and their servants.

This is particularly important because Agrippa II turns into something of a villain in the *Antiquities*. Here, as opposed to the *War* which judges him *qua* vassal monarch and gives him very high marks, Josephus applies religious standards and condemns him time and again.⁷ If in elements of the *Antiquities*

⁶ 'One might almost say that liberty is the leitmotif of the history of the Jewish people as Josephus sees it' (Feldman 1998: 148, referring to *Aḥ* 1–8; see also 435, 504). For Josephus' changing views of 'liberty', from political sovereignty to religious autonomy, see D. R. Schwartz 2002. On this theme, see e.g. Herodotus 1. 62; Jos. *Aḥ* 6. 61; Charlesworth 1926: 10. On this theme in Josephus' own days, see Shotter 1978.

⁷ For the mixed image of Agrippa II in *Aḥ*, as opposed to the positive one in *Bḥ*, see S. Schwartz 1990: 151–60.

which were not at all paralleled in the *War* Josephus portrays Agrippa I as a loyal devotee of the Jewish religion and a hero (19. 328–34), Agrippa II, in similarly new elements, is not only sullied by a rumour of incest (*AJ* 20. 145) but also condemned for financing idolatry in Berytus (20. 212) while at the same time being disrespectful and sacrilegiously innovative with regard to various aspects of the Jerusalem Temple and its cult (*AJ* 20. 189–96, 216–18). Indeed, the younger Agrippa is made explicitly responsible for bringing divine wrath down upon Jerusalem (*AJ* 20. 218).⁸ Similarly, Josephus severely condemns two of the sisters of Agrippa II, who married unconverted gentiles (*AJ*. 20. 141–7). In this connection Cleopatra also comes off terribly in the *Antiquities*, as one who subjugated Antony and tried to seduce Herod too (see *AJ* 14. 324, 15. 65, and esp. 15. 88–95 and 97–9). While there is one nasty passage in *War* (1. 359–60), it continues in a restrained vein (1. 362) while the parallel in *Antiquities* 15. 97 becomes even nastier as it proceeds. Similarly, note the venom against Cleopatra in *Against Apion* (*Ap.* 2. 56–60), which is more or less contemporary with *Antiquities* and equally as nasty. This seems to go hand in hand with the new negative picture of Berenice, just as, correspondingly, there is nothing in the *Antiquities* to correspond to the picture of a religious Berenice offered in *War* 2. 313–14. Again, in the *Antiquities* (20. 214) Josephus blames other relatives of Agrippa II—Saul and Costobar—for hooliganism which contributed to the breakdown of law and order in Jerusalem; although these individuals are mentioned in the *War*, there they are positively portrayed as seekers of peace, loyal subjects of Rome (*BJ* 2. 418, 556).

Other descendants of Herod, from his son Alexander, are condemned for dissociating themselves from the Jewish religion (*AJ* 18. 127, 141); the fact that some of them had been vassal kings here and there no longer impressed Josephus. After all, Josephus himself told at length the story of the royal house of Adiabene which converted to Judaism and nevertheless continued ruling successfully, indeed bringing God's beneficent providence upon their kingdom (*AJ* 20. 17–96). But this meant all the more clearly

⁸ Elsewhere, I have argued that Josephus borrowed his anti-Agrippa II material in *AJ* 20 from another source; see D. R. Schwartz 1981–2. Although the present recognition that this material conforms to a Josephan bias in *AJ* somewhat weakens the point of departure in that article, it need not affect its conclusion.

that kings who were born Jewish could and should remain Jewish even when ruling Armenia or—like another cousin, Alexander—some part of Cilicia (*AJ* 18. 140); those who did not were to be condemned. In short, as Josephus writes (*AJ* 18. 127–8), if the whole Herodian house died out within a century of Herod's death, this is because only piety vis-à-vis God matters, and piety was sorely lacking among the Herodians.

This development in Josephus' thought is also reflected, I believe, in his use of the adjective *Ἰουδαϊκός* 'Jewish', and I would suggest that the question of whether to translate *Ioudaios* by 'Jew', as was once usual, or by 'Judaean', as some now prefer, may be illuminated by the investigation of this adjective and its nuances in Josephus' different works. Anyone who checks Josephus' usage will find, first of all, that in the *War* the reference seems almost always ethnic, referring neither to a place nor to a religion, but rather to a people. Thus, in *BJ* 1. 88 τὸ *Ἰουδαϊκόν* revolts against Alexander Jannaeus, but at 1. 93 τὸ *εὐνοοῦν Ἰουδαϊκόν* are the Jews who have good will toward that king; at 1. 351 τὸ *Ἰουδαϊκόν* refers to the Jewish part of Herod's army; 2. 105 has τὸ *Ἰουδαϊκόν* being the Jewish population of Rome, and various other passages in *War* 2 refer to τὸ *Ἰουδαϊκόν* as being the Jewish population of a given city (2. 399, 478, 487, 492, 495). These are more or less all of the cases; to them we may add one each where it seems to refer more to territory (1. 543) or to religion (2. 560). What is important for us to note, however, is what changed by the time we get to the *Antiquities*. Here, fifteen years or so after writing the *War*, while Josephus preserved some of the same usage, especially τὸ *Ἰουδαϊκόν* being the Jewish population of a given place, and while we frequently find it being used to render the title of Josephus' *Jewish War* (*AJ* 13. 173, 298; 20. 258; *Vit.* 412), where it apparently means 'Judaean War',⁹ it frequently now refers to the Jewish religion. First, and most strikingly, I would note several Roman documents (*AJ* 14. 228, 234, 237, 240, 258) that refer to the *ἱερὰ Ἰουδαϊκά* observed by Jews living in the diaspora. Here we must translate 'Jewish rites', and we are basically in the realm of religion, not state. Indeed, the last of these documents specifies that those Jews who so desire

⁹ The parallel with 'African War', 'Gallic War' and the like has often been noted, the implication ('Judaean' rather than 'Jewish') not always as often; see e.g. Thackeray 1929: 29–30.

may observe the *ἐπὶ Ἰουδαϊκά*, thus indicating that there is here a matter of choice. But choice goes together with religion, not state or ethnicity. Similarly, at 18. 55 Josephus speaks of Pilate, the Roman governor of Judaea, violating the *νόμιμα Ἰουδαϊκά*. It is clear that Josephus does not mean the Roman governor violated the laws of his realm, and so the adjective here should be rendered by 'Jewish' or 'Judaic', not 'Judaean'.¹⁰ Similarly, at *Αἵ* 17. 41, speaking of the Pharisees, Josephus refers to the Pharisees as a *μόριόν τι Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἀνθρώπων*, 'a group of Jewish men', not just a group of *Ioudaioi*. It seems that this phrasing bespeaks the knowledge that a *Ioudaios* need not adhere to Judaism, however normal it might be to do so.

That is, to summarize: in this way too, concerning *Ἰουδαϊκός*, if one compares the *War* and the *Antiquities*, Josephus' usage seems to show a growing notion of the Jews as people defined not by virtue of their relationship to a place, but, rather, by virtue of their relationship to a religion. Although the term *Ioudaioi* would survive, more and more it would be understood not as if it referred to people of or from a place called *Ioudaia* (Judaea), but, rather, as if it referred to *ἄνθρωποι Ἰουδαϊκοί*, which I take to denote people devoted to *Ioudaïsmos*— what we call 'Jews', not Judaeans. Such people had no need for a king. To the extent that even the toponym 'Judaea' was becoming problematic and was tending to be changed to something else, whether popularly ('Idumaea') or officially ('Palaestina'), the dynasty which had once ruled Judaea, but now remained *Ioudaioi*, would become even less relevant. Indeed, the Flavian period would even see Christian writers coining or using a term, 'Herodians', which tended to remove Herod's descendants from the political sphere and make them also religious figures. Finally, to the extent that other Jews too, and not just Josephus, tended to adopt a notion of themselves which gave up on statehood or at least shelved hopes for it, the Romans would have little to gain by a gesture to the Jews similar to that of 41 CE, when Agrippa I was installed to calm the situation after Gaius Caligula's threat to the Temple.

Just before introducing Agrippa I, Josephus gives a detailed genealogy of Herod's descendants, tracing especially the

¹⁰ In this context, I would note that it is a mistake to translate *πάτριοι νόμοι* as 'laws of the country', although this is frequently done in the Loeb translation; see D. R. Schwartz 1998: 251–2.

descendants of his two semi-Hasmonean children, Aristobulus and Alexander. Josephus notes that the descendants of Alexander left Judaism behind (*AJ* 18. 141). He says no such thing of the descendants of Aristobulus, for he was on the verge of telling the story of one such descendant, Agrippa I, whom he would portray as a pious Jewish king. In the parallel narrative in his *Jewish War*, Josephus went on to preserve the reputation of Agrippa II as well, whether because he was hoping for Agrippa's enthronement as King of Judaea or because he was simply being prudent and taking such a possibility into consideration. But by the time he wrote the *Antiquities* Josephus had no such doubts,¹¹ and he had no difficulty applying to Agrippa II the same standard which he had applied to Alexander's descendants. To my mind, this is part and parcel of Josephus' transformation from Judaeon into Jew.

¹¹ Whether or not Agrippa was still alive; see C. P. Jones 2002; Kushnir-Stein 2002; and Kokkinos 2003.

Josephus in the Diaspora

TESSA RAJAK

Flavius Josephus, as man of action and as historian, is associated with two places, first Jerusalem and then Rome. He moves, in our imagination, on an axis between the two poles of Jerusalem priesthood—representing the first part of his life—and imperial court—representing the second half. The latter period contains his entire literary output. Rome is paramount for Josephus, and to interpret the meaning of Josephus' Roman life and 'career' is the focus of this volume. But Rome, of course, means more than the city alone. Josephus the Roman had come to the heart of a Mediterranean empire at its height. The eastern segment, especially, of that empire contained a developing Jewish diaspora, whose growth was visibly accelerated by the influx of refugees and émigrés (like Josephus himself) from the Roman military operations in Judaea and Galilee. The future of Jewry depended on the condition of that diaspora at least as much as on whatever treatment the Romans meted out to Jerusalem.

Through his enforced move, and his continued residence in Rome, which was at least to some extent enforced, Josephus became not just a Jewish Roman citizen in Flavian Rome but also, and perhaps more importantly, a diaspora Jew in the Roman Empire. To understand him fully as a Roman, then, we need to look beyond the city of Rome itself. This same principle can, moreover, usefully be applied to Josephus' career in its entirety. We should see him not just as a well-heeled Jerusalem priest and property owner who was awarded Roman citizenship and was constrained to move to the capital after the failed revolt of his people and the destruction of his city, but from the beginning the alert and thoughtful inhabitant of a Roman province, and therefore also of the empire. And yet there has been a curious

neglect of the historian's linkage with the Mediterranean world and with the Jewish communities in their Roman imperial context, as though his physical placement in Vespasian's house on the Quirinal in Rome is the end of the story.

That enterprising Roman historian, New Testament scholar, epigrapher, archaeologist, and tireless traveller, Sir William Ramsay, published in 1895 a book called *St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen*. This was one of a number of works in which he interpreted the Acts of the Apostles via the physical context of Paul's journey and sojourns. I was tempted to call my study 'Josephus the Traveller and Roman Citizen'. Obviously, we do not possess the stories of Josephus' journeys as we do of Paul's, which are not only described in Acts but also lie behind the Epistles. The narratives in Josephus' *Antiquities* regrettably lack, on the whole, the physical rootedness of the Pauline literature. But indirectly we can surmise that Josephus' horizons were also extensive and his connections similarly wide. What is more, I shall suggest that Josephus too was something of an itinerant.

The historian tells us (*Vit.* 423) that, once in Rome, he was granted an apartment (*κατάλυσις*)—Hata reminds us (1994: 326) that this need have been no more than temporary—in a Flavian family property, the former house of Vespasian, now emperor, who had first imprisoned and then liberated him, later granting him Roman citizenship. However, Josephus' cultural acclimatization, at least that of which he chooses to speak, consists of studying not Latin (which is not to say he did not know some, and he does once cite Livy: *AJ* 14. 68) but Greek literature. And this is the foreign language (*ξένην*, *AJ* 1. 7) in which he chose to compose, even though he makes a point of saying that he could not get his accent right (if this is the correct translation of the word *προφορά* at *AJ* 20. 263), declaring that Jews put little value on this kind of accomplishment. The eastern part of the Roman empire was in fact largely Greek-speaking and the culture of most of its cities was Greek. There was a traditional presence in Rome of notable exponents of this culture, including historians. This was the intellectual milieu in which Josephus laboured to make himself at home. When he says that the purpose of his *Antiquities* is to make the Jewish past and Jewish traditions familiar to Greeks (*AJ* 1. 5–10), he expects everyone to know who and what he means. Arguably, this could include Jewish users of Greek

among the rest. The dedicatee and patron of his later works is one of these Greeks, Epaphroditus, a freedman judging by his name, to whom Josephus ascribes wide interests and curiosity about Judaism, as well as many ups and downs in his own life (*AJ* 1. 89; see Cotton and Eck, Ch. 1 above). Already, then, this linguistic choice indicates that Rome for Josephus was not just Roman society and the court—which for him in particular must have felt awkward at times—but Rome in the wider sense, and especially the Greek-speaking cities: *orbs* as well as *urbs*. The addressees of his work of the 70s and 80s, the *Jewish War*, are precisely defined in the preface to that work as those who are under Roman imperial rule (οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ρωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν, *BJ* 1. 3).

This was precisely the setting in which the Jewish diaspora, in the form in which we now understand it, had emerged and developed into a collection of diverse communities, many well-established even if none of them was ever quite secure. The Hellenistic monarchs, successors to Alexander the Great, had begun the process, by transplanting Jewish soldiers and facilitating migration. But Roman control was, in Josephus' view, decisive in rooting such settlements, confirming and extending their existing legal protection (Pucci Ben Ze'ev 1998: 444–6) and thus allowing them to remain a permanent feature of the civic scene. In fact, a significant consequence of Josephus' studying Greek was to connect him with Jews in different parts of the empire.

The first question to consider is what awareness Josephus professes of the diaspora. We observe, from his earliest work, a sense of the unity of the Jewish *ethnos*, which for him comprised both the Jewish people in their own land and those everywhere else. He speaks of 'the Jews in the whole of the known world' (τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην Ἰουδαίων) as contributors to the Temple (*AJ* 14. 110). It is striking, on the other hand, that, in writing about the destruction or about the post-70 period, Josephus seems unaware of the biblical understanding of dispersion as a place of exile, or as a form of punishment, from which the people will need eventually to be redeemed and returned—the phenomenon later known as *galuth*. The occasional expression of such a sense of exile in the biblical narrative of the *Antiquities* (*AJ* 4. 190; 8. 127, 296–7; 10. 59) does not carry over into the rest of the history. Indeed, neither the Greek term 'diaspora',

extremely common in the Septuagint, nor any other word for the concept of diaspora appears in any of his writings, although the verbal form is not absent from his biblical narrative.¹ The same absence is noticeable in Philo, Josephus' forerunner when it came to expressing Judaism in Greek. In Philo's writings the word 'diaspora' appears only in a non-technical meaning. One scholar, Mélèze-Modrzejewski, interestingly goes so far as to ascribe the beginnings of a similar conceptual shift already to the Greek Bible translators (1993: 70). Although they coined and exploited the term 'diaspora', they transmuted its connotation from the affliction of exile to a historical colonization like that of the early Greeks.¹

In the case of Josephus, it is perhaps as a consequence of his failure to identify a phenomenon of exile as applied to his own day that no sharp conceptual divide can emerge between the land of Israel—Judea, Samaria, Galilee—and Jews everywhere else. All Jews owed allegiance to Temple and priests, while they were still there, and had been required to make pilgrimages when they could. They were expected subsequently to make Jerusalem a central point of religious reference. Josephus' dramatization of the physical demolition of Temple and city as utter and absolute—he says that the impression for those who came to see was that it had never been inhabited (*BĴ* 7. 3)—does not imply that he envisaged the loss of Jerusalem as irreparable, that the Jews would not be getting back to reconstruct it. After all, he explicitly mentions the total destruction of the first Temple by the Babylonians, which had by no means proved irreversible, when he sums up the events of 70 CE in Book 6 of the *War* (*BĴ* 6. 437, 439). Louis Feldman (1998c) draws far-reaching conclusions from the absence in Josephus of any explicit expectation of restoration, the absence of any vestige of expression of hope, of the type of Jeremiah's 'renew our days as before' (Lam. 5: 21). This is an acute observation. But the silence on this score can be explained in other ways, that is to say, in terms of patronage (there were certain things which Josephus simply could not

¹ Already pointed out by Schlatter 1932; see also van Unnik 1993: 137; Feldman 1998c: 15. It is also worth noticing that, already in the *Jewish War*, Josephus describes the spread of the Jews through the *oikoumene* with a Greek word which contains the same root, *παρέσπαρται* (*BĴ* 7. 43).

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write) or else of genre (he eschews the prophetic mode throughout his works as inappropriate to historiography) or even of real emotion (the shock had been too great and it was too early to assess its impact) and Josephus, whatever his intellectual and social talents, was no spiritual giant.

Josephus did something different, and more oblique. He continued to write as though Jerusalem and its institutions were still in place. It is therefore surprising to read an assertion of Hanan Eshel (1999: 233) that, in the aftermath of the destruction Josephus saw world Jewry—presumably both in Eretz Israel and in the diaspora—as having come to an end. His entire literary output was predicated on the indestructible value of Judaism.

But which Judaism and where? If we attend carefully to his words, we find that, without forgetting Jerusalem, Josephus shows himself deeply aware of the importance of the scattered Jewish communities, *tefutsot*, and of their concerns. He is apparently proud to assert that no part of the *oikoumene* was without its Jews (*B*ῥ 7. 42). By implication, all fall within the subject matter of his history, even if he cannot cover all areas of Jewish habitation.

There are, it must be admitted, striking gaps. Checking against a list given by his predecessor, Philo (*Leg.* 281–2), we can register the notable absence in Josephus of reference to the Jewish communities of the Black Sea area, of mainland Greece, and of the island of Euboea. Again, the book of Acts provides information on a range of Jewish communities, particularly interesting to us because the time of composition may be not far distant from that of Josephus' *Antiquities*. Notable is the attestation there of Jewish communities and of synagogues (at least at the time of composition) in a number of towns of Anatolia and in Macedonia, which altogether escape mention in Josephus. Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe are never mentioned by him; neither Beroea nor Philippi makes any appearance in a Jewish connection.

And yet, without either theorizing exile or surveying the diaspora, Josephus displays a powerful sense of common problems among the communities—a matter to which I shall return. In the conclusion to his *Antiquities* (*A*ῥ 20. 259–60), he defines the subject of the post-biblical part of this large work as 'what happened to us in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and all that we suffered under the Assyrians and Babylonians and how Persians and Macedonians

treated us and after them the Romans'. This lachrymose summary is what he believes his history to be about.

It is also worth noting that Josephus' conception of Jewish life around the world is not exclusively dependent on a narrow Graeco-Roman vantage point. It is striking that he also had an enduring interest in the major Jewish centres of Babylon and Mesopotamia, subjects at this time of Rome's rival, Parthia. And it was, of course, for these communities that he had written his very first historical work, the version of the *Jewish War* in his own language (*BJ* 1. 3, 6), perhaps just a brief report that he sent to the peoples of the East. When it came to composing the *Antiquities*, he somehow had access to traditions from those parts and indeed some of his most vivid diaspora stories come from there, about Jewish robber barons in control of entire Parthian provinces (see below) and, in the remarkable conversion narrative of the house of Queen Helena of Adiabene (*AJ* 20. 17), about a monarch determined to become Jewish and to get circumcised against the advice of his ministers (*AJ* 20. 35–41).

We shall later look briefly at a sample of those and see what Josephus makes of them. Before this, however, we should perhaps try to build up some sort of picture of the writer's activities, deducing them, as we have to, from the writings themselves—there is no other way. Perhaps it is fair to say that in the case of this particular writer biographical matters have a special significance, because of the nature of his career. There is little new to be deduced, but the synthesis is worth making. So let us see if we can compile a list of diaspora connections we may attribute to him. And let us keep in mind the possibility of those journeys.

1. Josephus started his travelling career early. He went to Rome as a young man of 26, following a characteristic road as ambassador to the capital, quite possibly self-appointed, to liberate certain priests whom he describes as friends of his. This is a typical route to Rome for a young provincial. Two contacts are mentioned (*Vit.* 16). The first was not particularly auspicious: it was with a mere actor by the name of Aliturus (on whom see Cotton and Eck, Ch. 1 above, and Mason, Ch. 12 below), whom he met at some point after he had landed at the port of Puteoli, which he refers to by its Greek name, Dicaearchia. The second was no doubt a greater coup, for he was assisted, presumably in

the capital, by the empress Poppaea, the captivating but shameless second wife of Nero, who was apparently in some sense a sympathizer with Judaism, surprising though this may seem (*AJ* 20. 195).

A legitimate inference from these encounters is that Josephus could already communicate in Greek, which would have worked well enough in Roman court circles, though admittedly the use of an interpreter is feasible. Conceivably he knew some Latin as well. While it is unclear from Josephus' syntax whether Aliturus himself was encountered in the vicinity of Puteoli, where Nero and his court were often to be found, or in the capital, the historian's presence in the port city raises the question of connections with the Jewish community there. This community's earlier existence and its significance are attested by Josephus' statement in both *War* (*BJ* 2. 104) and *Antiquities* (*AJ* 17. 328) that the Jews there had rallied to the false Hasmonean king of the Jews, Alexander, some time after Herod the Great's death in 4 BCE, in the company of others in Crete. Since the Puteolians bestowed gifts on Alexander, there must have been at least a few persons of some means among them. We later hear that at the meeting at Alexandria between the deeply-indebted Herodian minor monarch Agrippa I and the wealthy Jew C. Iulius(?) Alexander, the so-called alabarch, which took place some time in the late 30s, Agrippa was promised that he would receive the second instalment of an agreed loan when he landed at Puteoli (*AJ* 18. 160). It has been suggested that Alexander had a 'branch office' there, as of a modern bank (Feldman 1965: note ad loc., citing Baron 1937: 1. 409–10). Paul too landed at Puteoli (Acts 28: 13).

Another outcome of Josephus' mission to Rome could have been a taste for diplomacy: Josephus was evidently successful, since the mission was accomplished and in addition Poppaea gave him handsome presents (*Vit.* 16). Hata maintains (1994: 314–15) that these gifts must be a Josephan invention. He further suggests that the real exchange of services consisted in Josephus' being entrusted with a pacifying mission by Nero himself, which is considerably harder to believe. Feldman finds the direction of the gifts worthy of comment (1992: 982). In his opinion the transaction should have been the other way. An ancient writer, however, is expected to show gratitude for benefactions rather than to offer a factual record of two-way

transactions, and Josephus, never a modest man, is at pains to show how he was honoured (see Mason 2001: 27 n. 118 and Cotton and Eck, Ch. 1 above). So let us leave the story as it is.

We cannot say whether this journey left Josephus with a taste for maritime adventures or rather the reverse, for he tells us how he, among some six hundred other passengers, suffered a shipwreck in the Adriatic en route, and how he managed to come out alive (*Vit.* 15). We may surmise, at any rate, that he will not have missed the opportunity of becoming acquainted with those on board the Cyrenaican vessel which rescued him from the Adriatic, along with seventy-nine other good swimmers. Paul's Adriatic shipwreck (Acts 27: 27–41) might be used to add to our picture of this one, presenting a picture of intense interchange among the 276 passengers, who included his fellow prisoners and their custodians, prior to their decision to jump ship and swim to shore.

2. There is much that is mysterious about the historian's notorious prediction of Vespasian's accession as Roman emperor, supposedly made after the fall of the town of Jotapata in 67 CE, which marked the end of Josephus' career as military organizer of revolt in the Galilee (*Bġ* 3. 400–2). This prophecy led to Josephus' liberation and acquisition of Roman citizenship, once it had come true, on 1 July 69. Unless we regard the story as pure fabrication, we will probably seek a rational explanation, and one is to hand, in the observation that Josephus is likely to have been connected with those eastern circles that manufactured the declaration of Vespasian as *imperator* by the legions of Alexandria, followed closely by those in Palestine. By this means, amidst the Roman civil wars, Vespasian became emperor (Levick 1999: ch. 4). Especially we can point to one key figure, Ti. Julius Alexander, prefect of Egypt, who is known from all our sources to have orchestrated the declaration (*Bġ* 4. 16–18; Tac. *Hist.* 2. 79; Suet. *Vesp.* 6. 3). As is also well known, this man, nephew of the Alexandrian philosopher Philo and son of that wealthy alabarch whom we encountered earlier, was an apostate—or perhaps merely non-observant Jew—for Josephus' Greek wording is not wholly transparent (*Aġ* 20. 100). At this moment, Josephus need not, and indeed probably could not, have gone out of his way to meet Alexander. But there were earlier opportunities, for Alexander had been prefect of Judaea

when Josephus was growing up amidst the Jerusalem ruling elite. He went on to command troops for Titus after Vespasian's accession (*Bj* 5. 46) as well as participating in the council of war about the destruction of the Temple, as Josephus describes it (*Bj* 6. 237, 242).

There is in fact evidence of Josephus' presence in Alexandria on at least one telling occasion, albeit too late for the purpose in question. He accompanies Vespasian to Alexandria straight after the latter's declaration as emperor and liberation of his Jewish prisoner (*Vit.* 415). But a prior connection with the Jewish community there may be attested by his finding from its midst a second wife.

3. By 77 Josephus had another new wife (it seems his third), mother of his sons Justus and Simonides Agrippa, born in 77 and 79 respectively (*Vit.* 5, 427). She too was Jewish and even if Josephus conspicuously fails to designate her a Roman citizen, as Martin Goodman pertinently observes (1994: 337), he still says that she came from one of the prime families in Crete and lived there; in which town, we are not told. We may ask where Josephus is likely to have met this new wife, if not in Crete. And, given that the point of elite marriage in ancient society was precisely the forging of a social and political alliance, the consequence for Josephus will have been lasting family links, quite likely even property acquired as a dowry somewhere in Crete. We may enquire why he fails to mention any such matter. There are two obvious answers: first, the point has no place in his extremely brief outline of his life and career after leaving Judaea; second, any mention would detract from the focus on the imperial benefactions to a supposedly needy and helpless client, which was how Josephus had to cast himself. Still, it must be allowed that the Cretan hypothesis would be strengthened were the historian to have revealed special knowledge of the affairs of Crete's Jews at some other point in his writing.

4. Emigré revolutionaries, *sicarii*, who were tried after the revolt (probably in 73) for violent insurrection in Cyrene surprisingly named Josephus as supplier of arms and money (*Vit.* 424). Josephus recounts the incident at length at the very end of his *Jewish War* (*Bj* 7. 437–53), where he tells that the charismatic leader of this disturbance, a certain Jonathan, successfully incriminated before the governor Catullus 3,000 well-to-do

Cyrenaican Jews, before dragging in the names of others from Alexandria and Rome (the identification of Catullus is uncertain: see Cotton and Eck, Ch. 1 above).

A necessary inference is that Josephus was visible and active in Jewish politics on an empire-wide scale at this period. Moreover, it may be easier to understand Jonathan's accusation as arising from Josephus' presence in Cyrene itself at some stage. If this were not the case, then the story at least proves Josephus to be well-known among the Jews of that region. Probably his doings in the Galilee and the nature of his surrender had been widely discussed. And maybe he kept up his contact with acquaintances from that shipwrecked boat. In the *Antiquities* Josephus cites a document relating to Cyrenaica and concerning permission to transmit Temple contributions in one of his dossiers concerning Jewish rights (*AJ* 16. 169–79; Pucci Ben Ze'ev 1998: 233–4).

5. Josephus talks of the need to defend himself against further, apparently widespread and frequent accusations which continued into Domitian's reign (*Vit.* 425, 429). It is true that Josephus is here eager to demonstrate the protection accorded by the emperor at Rome. But in practice such service would be likely to amount to enabling the imperial client to go out into the world armed with letters of imperial recommendation, rather than merely offering reassurance to a man cowering in the palace with an imperial guard at the door.

6. Josephus retained links with the homeland, as a landowner, both 'in the plain' (presumably the *shefelah*), where he was given holdings by imperial grant to compensate for the loss of those he had possessed in the territory of Jerusalem (*Vit.* 422), and in Judaea, where Vespasian made additions to his first allocation (*Vit.* 425). It is hard to imagine that Josephus was so much an absentee landlord as never to set eyes on his properties, even if conditions in the country and his personal standing were not such as to encourage a long stay. Gohei Hata, in an imaginative study (1994: 327–8), puts before us a picture of the historian planning and preparing for a journey home, which was never achieved. The preparations are inferred from that much-discussed phenomenon, Josephus' supposedly more favourable treatment of the Pharisees, presumed precursors of the rabbis, in his later writings as compared with the *War* (e.g. S. Schwartz 1990; but

contrast Mason 1991). It seems simpler to take Josephus right to his destination, perhaps even, let us say, to Yavneh (Jamnia), the refuge and new home of emergent rabbinism towards the end of the century. At any rate, Josephus says nothing that would preclude this and, once again, no conclusions should be drawn from silence, given that he vouchsafes so very little information about his post-revolt doings.

7. Josephus was at various times in his life rather closely involved with the Herodian monarch Agrippa II, and it is probable that there was collaboration of various kinds between the two at certain stages of the revolt. They had common interests, even if they started out on opposing sides, and Josephus had extensive dealings—mostly hostile, it is true—with a man who was to become Agrippa's secretary and then a rival writer, Justus of Tiberias. Contact with Agrippa continued at least through the 70s and early 80s, producing sixty-two letters (Josephus gives this exact figure) from king to historian on the subject of the latter's *Jewish War* (*Vit.* 364–7). Only later does the relationship seem to have soured.

Agrippa, like all his forebears, and following his illustrious great-grandfather Herod, was usually to be found on the move, and circumstances dictated the need for a fair amount of shuttle diplomacy for the preservation of his position. We might also mention the comings and goings of his sister Berenice, in accordance with the whims of her lover Titus and of a disapproving Roman public (Crook 1951; B. W. Jones 1984: 61–2). Unfortunately, very little is known of Agrippa's later activities. But it may be noted that parts of his territory, comprising Batanea and Trachonitis, in present-day Syria, were during the 80s taken out of his control, and Josephus seems to suggest that the complaints of the communities of Babylonian Jews residing there about the weight of taxation imposed on them had a part in this demotion (*AJ* 17. 27, as interpreted by S. Schwartz 1990: 118). For us all this is hazy, but the historian seems to be well-informed about what went on within the Jewish population of Agrippa's kingdom. Perhaps these erstwhile Babylonians were also a source for him of material on the important communities 'beyond the Euphrates'.

8. We have to consider the likelihood that, when Josephus cites in his *Antiquities* decrees and edicts in favour of the Jews,

he is drawing not on the versions displayed at Rome, to which he twice proudly refers, but rather on local sources of documents. Of the collections of the Roman and civic charters guaranteeing Jewish privileges in Asia Minor, he says at one point (*AJ* 14. 188) that they are kept in the public buildings in the cities, as well as being engraved on bronze on the Capitol. Shortly afterwards (*AJ* 14. 243), he has the magistrates of Laodicea deposit the document in the public archives. We also learn that at Antioch in Syria Jewish rights were inscribed on bronze tablets (*BJ* 7. 110). It is for various reasons improbable that Josephus visited every city about which he offers information. It may even have been difficult for him to take his dossiers directly from local archives. Furthermore, their poor ordering and fragmentary, sometimes garbled text seem to indicate a lengthy process of transmission. But the existence of local compilations in accessible form of these politically useful texts has been mooted, and it is these that Josephus might have seen, in one or other of the larger urban centres. So we might still suggest a 'research' trip or two, funded perhaps by Epaphroditus, the patron of his later writings.

9. We have also already mentioned the question of local sources of literary material in connection with Babylonia. The question should be considered more generally. It would of course be absurd to suggest that an investigator of the Jewish past, or any assistant of his, needed physically to travel far and wide in search of material. There are other ways of securing material. Josephus might have sat in Rome like a spider at the centre of a web. He will not have been short of potential go-betweens. And there is, as far as I can see, no particular case where an interpretation different from this is actually forced upon us, even if we might suggest that Babylonian Jews in particular are not very likely to have reached Italy. Yet we should give due weight to the wide range of Josephus' knowledge of Jewish affairs around the *oikoumene* (in spite of his omissions): from the family history and legends, over several generations, of an Egyptian/Transjordanian family of Jewish tax collectors (*AJ* 12. 160–228), to the Alexandrian narrative about the translation of the Septuagint by seventy-two sages from Palestine (*AJ* 12. 17–100) and the story of the Jewish temple at Leontopolis (*AJ* 13. 65–70); from North Africa to Iraq, from Turkey to Lebanon.

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In the light of this breadth of interest, it is reasonable to adopt the simplest explanation.

Josephus puts one of the most explicit statements on diaspora problems to be found anywhere in his writings into the mouth of Herod's historian and minister, Nicolaus of Damascus, within the narrative of the *Antiquities*. By the time Josephus came to write this, the physical Temple and Jewish Jerusalem were a thing of the past. As is usually the case with the speeches in Josephus' text, the opinions expressed are clearly designed to resonate with the readers' concerns at the same time as being relevant to the time of writing. The dramatic year is 20 BCE and the situation a fraught one for the Jews of Ionia. Their position had become eroded. In recent years the rights and protection guaranteed by the Roman government had not been honoured. They had come now in great number to appeal to M. Agrippa, Augustus' right hand man (as Nicolaus was Herod's), who was in the area hearing cases and dispensing favours. Josephus says specifically that the emissaries were seeking relief from the violence they were enduring (*AJ* 16. 58). They told, Josephus writes:

of the mistreatment which they had suffered in not being allowed to observe their own laws and in being forced to appear in court on their holy days and because of the inconsiderateness of the judges. And they recounted how they had been deprived of the money sent off as offerings to Jerusalem and how they had been forced to take part in military and civic duties and to spend the sacred funds on this, from all of which they had been exempted when the Romans allowed them to live by their own laws. (*AJ* 16. 27–8)

Nicolaus is, by contrast, made to say a great deal about the benefits accruing to the Jews through their being under Roman rule:

Is there any race or city or community of people for which the protection of your empire and the power of the Romans have not been the greatest of benefits? (*AJ* 16. 38)

He also speaks highly of the merits of Judaism and about the virtues of the Herodian family. The entire speech, though put into the mouth of a prominent Greek, is one which expects nothing from the Greek fellow-citizens of the Jews, but everything from the Romans. The opposing side, we are then told, did not deny

the specific charges, but took refuge in what looks uncannily like a characteristic cry of modern antisemitism: the Jews were occupying other people's cities and causing mischief (*AJ* 16. 59). Not long afterwards, according to Josephus, a similar situation arises in other cities of Asia and in Cyrene, and again the Jews are driven to listing documents in their possession which testify to former grants and concessions (*AJ* 16. 160–1).

As part of this last narrative, Josephus makes the noteworthy statement that his purpose in arguing for toleration of Judaism is 'to reconcile the nations'. This, then, is not an impossible mission, in his eyes. There would seem to be something positive on the horizon. And yet it is decidedly an uphill task, and the very next phrase makes this clear, for the further definition of the writer's purpose is 'to abolish the causes of hatred rooted in our irrational people as well as theirs' (*AJ* 16. 175). We may guess that those Jewish irrationalists are to be identified as the element who constitute Josephus' perennial target, to put it simply, political extremists (Pucci Ben Ze'ev 1998: 6). And there follows a remarkably contemporary appeal for a multi-ethnic or multi-cultural society under the aegis of Rome: 'for there is no people whose customs are always the same and there can be great differences among cities' (*AJ* 16. 176). It is those who have the wrong attitude to justice who should be regarded as foreign, not those whose practices are different (*AJ* 16. 177–8). This is a vision hard to parallel in ancient literature. It is impossible to tell whether we owe it to Nicolaus, to Josephus, or to the creativity of those Jews of the cities who had somehow to cope with their difficult circumstances.

In any event, this striking piece of moralizing is a one-off statement in Josephus. The point from Nicolaus' speech which recurs, however, in many places is that peace and quiet at the local level is crucially dependent on the Roman regime, on their blessing and active support. Nor is this just a matter for the patronage of the Roman emperors. Before that, the Republican senate is seen as the collective patron, many of whose decrees are cited in Book 14, at a point where Josephus wishes to show that 'the kings of Asia and Europe respected us and admired our courage and faith', though this is a fact denied by many (*AJ* 14. 185).

Encapsulated in these representations is a familiar, triangular

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diaspora dynamic. Thus, the problem of this kind of minority existence, from the point of view of the minority, lies precisely in the dependence on the ruling power, the need to 'put trust in princes'. There is built-in impermanence—the ever-present possibility of a Pharaoh who 'knew not Joseph' or of a Haman at the court. Equally, harmonious neighbourly relations turn sour, and worse, when the central protection falls away and the minority is perceived as vulnerable, or when the society is under stress, or else with the advent of a new element in the population. Frequently, the result is to split the minority itself.

I should like to suggest that Josephus is peculiarly aware of such constellations and depicts them with precision. It is possible here only to look briefly at two examples, but others will come to mind. First, we shall return eastwards to Babylonia. Josephus offers his readers, in his introductory paragraph, one overarching reason for including in the *Antiquities* the lengthy picaresque narration, to which I have already alluded, concerning the adventures, successes, and ultimate fall of the Jewish strong men of Babylonia, Anilaeus and Asinaeus, and of their changing fortunes in relation to the Parthian ruling house (*AJ* 18. 310–79; Rajak 1998). This material is not, as might be expected, introduced in such a way as to stoke Jewish pride and impress the world with Jewish power. For Josephus' lead-up to the story runs, on the contrary, as follows:

The Jews in the region of Mesopotamia, in particular those living in Babylonia, were struck with a terrible and unparalleled disaster, of dimensions greater than any previously found in recorded history. I shall narrate the whole story in detail and I shall also set out the reasons why the misfortune came upon them. (*AJ* 18. 310)

There is no need here to recount the adventures and the lapses of the two leaders. But it was as a result of local persecution following Anilaeus' final debacle that the Jews moved, probably around 36 CE, from the well-fortified Babylonian cities of Neardea and Nisibis to the nearby Greek polis of Seleucia on the Tigris. It might be preferable, they thought, to live among Macedonians, Greeks, and Syrians (so-called), all of them proud possessors of citizen rights. Yet it turns out that the emigrants have gone from the frying pan into the fire. The two major groups in the city, after five years of civil conflict, solve their

problems by turning on the Jews. 50,000 is the figure given for Jews massacred (*AJ* 18. 376). The few who escaped to Ctesiphon were pursued by people from Seleucia and eventually had to slink back to Neardea and Nisibis whence they had earlier fled.

The second paradigm case is set in the great Syrian city of Antioch on the Orontes, and is made up of a double crisis, the first phase arising in the turbulent period leading up to the Great Revolt, when relations between Jews and gentiles in many cities around and beyond Israel were much disturbed, and the second phase falling during the messy and extremely nasty aftermath of the end of the revolt (*BJ* 7. 43–62). The Jewish race (*genos*) was particularly dense in Syria, Josephus says, and especially in Antioch, where they had been given equal rights with the Greek citizens by the city's founder, nearly 400 years earlier. They had a magnificent synagogue, contributed lavishly to the Temple (*BJ* 7. 45: if that is what Josephus means here by *hieron*, rather than their own synagogue), and attracted many Greek converts. Yet clearly all was not well. The son of the leading Jewish official in the city laid a charge of arson against his own father and other Jews before a large public in the theatre. The populace was enraged beyond measure, many Jews were massacred, and the rest subjected to brutal attempts to make them worship the pagan gods (an event, in fact, foreshadowing and more typical of treatment of the early Christians), and they were also compelled to desecrate the sabbath. Then we move with Josephus to the post-revolt period, when a new charge of arson came up, from which the Jews were in the end protected by Vespasian. A little later, Titus came through and rejected out of hand, so says Josephus, ardent petitions from the Antiochenes to expel the Jews altogether from the city of Antioch or at least to abolish their rights. This seemed to Titus scarcely fair, given that the Jews' own country was in ruins (*BJ* 7. 100–11)—or so says Josephus.

Even if we allow that the positive programme of improving inter-communal relations brought up by Nicolaus is an expression of Josephus' own sentiments, it must be said that the cumulative effect of such narratives is a fairly pessimistic overall view of the Jewish situation on the local political front. This emerges as an enduring state of affairs, in Josephus' eyes, a perpetual see-saw—his particular version of the 'Jewish problem'

if you like. It is telling, and not often mentioned, that still in the *Antiquities*, published more than twenty years after the fall of Jerusalem, Josephus sees fit to assert that the consequences for Jewish status of that catastrophe were minimized by the good offices of the first two Flavians (*AJ* 12. 119–28), who overcame their resentment and anger and resisted anti-Jewish demands from Alexandria and Antioch. Readers may or may not wish to believe this. What interests us is Josephus' view of the matter. Of course he knew that the tensions of 66 to 74 heaped fuel on the fire. The point is that the potential for exacerbation was already and always there. Of the episodes we have just glanced at, two precede the revolt, the third is associated with it.

Three major questions are raised by the diaspora dynamic we have teased out of Josephus.

1. What in Josephus' view is the cause of that enduring hatred? He uses one very telling term, *ἐναντιώσις τῶν νόμων*, 'opposition' or 'difference of customs', in explaining what happened at Seleucia (*AJ* 18. 371): the implication is that the Jews were perceived by the local population as living under perverse laws; whether the Jews, for their part, felt the same about the Greeks was less relevant, given the usual balance of power. That is central to the way Josephus sees his world.

2. What was to be done? Perhaps he would have suggested a programme of shuttle diplomacy. Whatever the case, his personal answer was evidently to write. Culture was an extension of politics, and his writings explicitly a part of the struggle for national survival. Respect from monarchs and governments, he could show, was never enough, being prone to wax and wane and anyway often insufficient to guarantee tranquillity at the local level. It is in his final work, the *Against Apion*, that Josephus illustrates most directly his conception of the politics of culture. And that is a work whose assertiveness is laced with indignation and discomfort.

3. How does this stance relate to Josephus' apologetic purposes? Apologetic writing is precisely writing that aims to defend a case or a group through the presentation of national traditions, as Sterling has clarified (1992: 16–19). In Josephus' case, there is no doubt that one of his main aims is always to make Jews and Judaism look good in the eyes of outsiders, particularly those on

whom they depended, to justify, to impress, and to please. His later works in particular could be seen as a kind of armour. Yet are we then simply to conclude that all he says about monarchs and imperial governments in general, about the Romans, and about Judaism in particular, is set up to serve these defensive needs? That would be an easy answer. Certainly, in Josephus' experience, rulers had to be courted—and shamelessly if required: with such as the Flavians, nasty, tyrannical characters one and all (Levick 1999: 30–2), it was surely a case of being shameless (but see Mason, Ch. 12 below). And he clearly also thought that it was worth winning over 'the Greeks'. The apologetic reading of his activities can be extended widely, in all sorts of directions. Thus, van Unnik (1993: 127–59) invokes apologetics to explain Josephus' obliviousness of the implications of exile as punishment, a feature of his writing which we have noted and which van Unnik sees as deliberate avoidance, to be explained by the historian's special need to avoid casting any kind of aspersions on the Jewish people. The dubious theological (and perhaps Christianizing) subtext to van Unnik's proposition, as far as I can see, is that, in their heart of hearts, post-70 Jews in general and Josephus in particular fully accepted that what they had undergone was divine punishment, as biblically ordained.

In any event, one task, though not one I shall undertake here, is to define the essence of that apologetic more closely. Another is to see what there is in the texts over and above apologetic. And I think we have had a glimpse of another agenda. There is reason to ascribe to Josephus various important, internal purposes. These are concerned with clarifying, or even redefining, for himself and his circle, and for Jewish readers and sympathizers around the Roman world and across its boundaries, where they 'came from' and where they stood and could hope to stand.

Whatever the real story of his movements, it is clear that Josephus had a view of that world that was far from black and white. His record as networker and indeed manipulator, his continued prosperity, his association with the 'best' Jewish families, his personal adaptability, and his capacity to carve out a niche for himself at the very heart of the empire, all this might lead us to expect from him an upbeat approach to the possibilities for the flourishing of diaspora Jewry. And indeed, Louis Feldman is convinced that Josephus, having written off Jerusalem, took

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a wholly positive view of the diaspora—of life ‘in Rome or Boro Park or Lincoln Square’, as he nicely puts it (Feldman 1998c: 23). I would prefer, however, to ascribe to Josephus significant reservations. The slant he gives to the episodes we have looked at (and others could be added) suggests rather an underlying purpose of maintaining not only respect for Jews, but also their own self-respect and steadfastness in an atmosphere which could be difficult and uncertain, at both centre and periphery. We can only hope they read him and benefited.

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PART II

The Impact of the Jewish War
in Flavian Rome

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Last Year in Jerusalem: Monuments of the Jewish War in Rome¹

FERGUS MILLAR

Readers of Josephus' *Jewish War* will be familiar with the magnificent description in Book 7 of the triumph which Vespasian and Titus celebrated in Rome in 71 CE, a year after the capture of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple (*BJ* 7. 123–57). Not all readers, however, will realize that this is the fullest description which survives of any triumph held in the Imperial period. Nor will all students of Jewish history, accustomed to think of their subject as having been, from the Roman viewpoint, that of a minor, if difficult, province, be aware that in comparative terms the Jewish war, culminating in the siege of Jerusalem, had been a major event in Roman military history, demanding a massive concentration of forces. For the siege itself, which lasted some five months (the longest, to the author's knowledge, in the whole of the Imperial period), the Romans had assembled four legions, with detachments (*vexillationes*) of two others; twenty infantry *cohortes*; eight mounted *alae*; and 18,000 men supplied by four dependent kings: Antiochus of Commagene (whose troops will have had to march some 700 kilometres to reach Jerusalem), Sohaemus of Emesa, Rabel of Nabataea, and Agrippa II (*HJP* 1. 501; Millar 1993: 75–6). To put these figures in perspective, the forces committed to the siege were significantly larger than those which had been deployed for the invasion of Britain in 43 (Frere 1987: 48).

¹ This paper was first given at a meeting in the Hebrew University in memory of Adi Wasserstein, and since then versions of it have been presented on a number of occasions, including at Margareta Steinby's seminar in Oxford in 2000 and at Harvard in Spring 2001. I am very grateful to many colleagues for comments, but above all to Paul Zanker, Margareta Steinby, and Kathleen Coleman, as well as to the editors of this volume.

So there was every reason, in purely military terms, for the celebration of a triumph, even if this one was an anomaly, in being the only triumph ever held to celebrate victory over a provincial population. In this case, however, there was an obvious further factor, namely that it had been while he was serving as the *legatus* for the Jewish War that Vespasian had proclaimed himself Emperor in summer 69, and had then left his elder son Titus to conduct the siege of 70. As a first-generation senator, Vespasian had no inherited social prestige to draw on, and immediate steps needed to be taken to enhance the public standing of the new Flavian dynasty (Griffin 2000a). The memory of the successive emperors who had briefly ruled in 68–9, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, no doubt presented little challenge. But Nero, who had ruled from 54 to 68, was a different matter: not only had he been the last Julio-Claudian, and therefore the descendant of a complex of major Republican aristocratic families, but his building projects, following the fire of 64, had left a major imprint on the city of Rome, above all his ‘Golden House’ which stretched across from the Palatine to the Oppian hill (Griffin 1984: 125–42). Pliny the Elder, finishing his *Natural History* at exactly the same time, namely the later 70s, when Josephus was writing his *Jewish War*, records that Nero had commissioned a colossal statue (106½ feet high, he claims), which had been intended to represent himself, but was now dedicated to Sol, the Sun (*NH* 34. 45). Suetonius, writing some five decades later, sees it as having marked the vestibule of the Golden House (*Nero* 31). As we will see later, Cassius Dio (66. 15. 1) notes that it stood on the *Sacra Via*, hence somewhere on the northern side of the Palatine. As we will also see, this was just the area, to the east of the Forum Romanum, which was to be massively redeveloped by the Flavians and their successors.

Coping with the memory of Nero, and with his physical impact on the urban environment, was thus a significant issue for the new dynasty, and one which interacted in a quite complex way with the memorialization of the Jewish War. For of course the first claim made by the new dynasty—and the first, but not the only, contrast to be established with Nero—was the achievement of a major military victory.

As we will see, even on the most minimal view, the monumental record of the War in Rome was to be extremely striking.

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In fact, however, we should go beyond that and see as memorials of the War not only the arches which between them occupied two of the most prominent and visible locations in the entire city of Rome, but the two greatest monuments of the Flavian period, the Temple of Peace and the Colosseum. But in these cases complex questions arise about the role and associations of these two major structures, in the eyes either of contemporaries or of later Roman viewers.

To understand the complexities of the story, we need to go back to Josephus' account of the triumph, which begins by giving a very detailed topographical impression of the first stage of the route (*BJ* 7. 123–31, Loeb trans.):

(123) The military, while night still reigned, had all marched out in companies and divisions, under their commanders, and been drawn up, not round the doors of the upper palace, but near the temple of Isis; for there the emperors reposed that night. (124) At the break of dawn, Vespasian and Titus issued forth, crowned with laurel and clad in the traditional purple robes, and proceeded to the Octavian walks [the Porticus Octaviae]; (125) for here the senate and the chief magistrates and those of equestrian rank were awaiting their coming. (126) A tribunal had been erected in front of the porticoes, with chairs of ivory placed for them upon it; to these they mounted and took their seats. Instantly acclamations rose from the troops, all bearing ample testimony to their valour: the princes were unarmed, in silk robes and crowned with bays. (127) Vespasian, having acknowledged their acclamations, which they wished to prolong, made the signal for silence; (128) then amidst profound and universal stillness he rose and, covering most of his head with his mantle, recited the customary prayers, Titus also praying in like manner. (129) After the prayers, Vespasian, having briefly addressed the assembled company, dismissed the soldiers to the customary breakfast provided for them by the emperors, (130) and himself withdrew to the gate which, in consequence of the triumphal processions always passing through it has thence derived its name [the Porta Triumphalis]. (131) Here the princes first partook of refreshment, and then, having donned their triumphal robes and sacrificed to the gods whose statues stood beside the gate, they sent the pageant on its way, driving off through the theatres, in order to give the crowds an easier view.

We need not dwell on the complex issues of urban topography at the southern end of the Campus Martius which this passage raises: where exactly was the Porta Triumphalis (evi-

dently lying somewhere between the Capitol and the bank of the Tiber)? What were the 'theatres' through which the triumphal procession then passed? It is perhaps just possible that the Porta Triumphalis lay far enough north for the procession then to go through the Theatre of Marcellus. But if more than one theatre is intended, the only other possibilities, the Theatres of Pompey and Balbus, if the procession really passed through them, must have necessitated its reversing direction, and, what is more, re-crossing the *pomerium*, the ritual boundary of the city. Alternatively, even if the reference to 'theatres' is a rhetorical plural, and only one theatre, that of Marcellus, is at issue, did the structure of a theatre allow for a procession to enter by the *parados* at one side, to pass in front of the stage, and to exit by the other *parados* (which would be required if a theatre were really to afford a privileged viewpoint for spectators)? In fact we can give a positive answer to this question, for a relief of the early imperial period found at Castel S. Elia near Nepi shows a procession passing through a theatre (Fig. 1).²

One other possibility which should be canvassed is that Josephus' terminology is very loose here, and that by 'theatres' he means any large structure for popular entertainment which could provide a vantage-point for the public. This notion needs to be aired, first, because Josephus' account, having begun with so much (if so problematical) topographical detail, gives no other such details until the procession gets to the Capitol, culminating in the execution of Simon bar Giora in the Carcer and in sacrifices at the Capitoline Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (*Bj* 7. 153-5). Secondly, the question touches on a problem of surprising difficulty: what in fact was the established route of the triumphal procession?³ It seems clear that from its starting-point in the southern Campus Martius it must have entered the Forum Boarium. Did it then go round the Palatine on its western and southern sides, thus approximately following the traditional line of the *pomerium*, as is the established view (Künzl 1988, with a plan of the route on p. 15)? If so, was one of the 'theatres' from which people had a particularly good view of

² See Ciotti 1950. I owe my knowledge of this relief to Prof. Paul Zanker, who also very kindly supplied photographs of it.

³ See Makin 1921; Coarelli 1968; 1988: 363-437. For the Porta Triumphalis, see Coarelli 1996, placing it close to the Capitol.



Fig. 1. Relief from Castel S. Elia, showing a procession passing through a theatre

it in fact the Circus Maximus itself? In that case, presumably the procession entered by the *carceres* at the north-west end, leading in from the Forum Boarium, passed through the Circus, and then left through the hemicycle at the south-east end? Surprising as it may seem, there is only one passage in all of the ancient literature relating to Rome which seems to suggest a role for the Circus as a vantage-point for witnessing triumphs. It comes from Plutarch's *Life of Aemilius Paulus*, and relates to his triumph in 167 BCE (*Aem.* 32, Loeb trans.):

The people erected scaffoldings in the theatres for equestrian contests, which they call circuses (ἐν τε τοῖς ἵππικοῖς θεάτροις, ἃ Κίρκους καλοῦσι), and around the forum, occupied the other parts of the city which afforded a view of the procession, and witnessed the spectacle arrayed in white garments.

The passage again uses a plural which might be hard to justify (unless the Circus Flaminius, in the southern corner of the Campus Martius, is relevant: Viscogliosi 1993*b*; Coleman 2000: 217–18), but also offers a use of the word *theatron* which clearly extends to cover structures of a circus type. The implication must, however, surely be that the Circus Maximus (at least) did function to provide a view of the triumphal procession. Some confirmation of this possibility is offered by the report in Athenaeus (5. 197c) that Ptolemy Philadelphus had routed his great procession of 275/4 through the stadium of Alexandria to offer a viewing-point to spectators (Coleman 1996: 51).⁴ If so, the triumphal route did indeed circle the entire Palatine, next proceeding along the east side of it, and then (as has always been presumed) mounting the Velia and descending by the Sacra Via to the Forum, proceeding across it, and finally going up to the Capitol. If this conclusion is correct, it is highly relevant, as we will see, to the memorialization of the Jewish War. For both of the two indubitable monuments of the War, namely the two arches 'of' Titus, lay directly on this route, the one (now destroyed, except for some excavated foundations) constructed on the hemicycle of the Circus Maximus and the other, still stand-

⁴ I owe to Margareta Steinby the reference to Athenaeus, and support for the view that the Circus Maximus did form an element in the route of the triumphal procession.

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ing (if restored), on the crown of the Velia. As we will also see, this raises the further question of whether we should envisage all, or at least many, of the known 'triumphal arches' as standing on, and hence collectively marking out, the triumphal route. Indeed, beyond that, once an arch had been built on the route, did the procession literally pass through it (as a relief on the surviving 'Arch of Titus' in fact suggests, see below and Fig. 2)? It remains puzzling that neither of the two standard treatments of the Circus Maximus discusses its (apparent) role as a viewpoint for the procession.⁵

Returning to Josephus' account of the triumph of 71, most of the rest of it concentrates on the displays offered by the procession itself, including pictures representing episodes from the War (*Bj* 7. 142–7). But a particular importance attaches to Josephus' description of the spoils taken from the Temple (7. 148–50, Loeb trans.):

The spoils in general were borne in promiscuous heaps; but conspicuous above all stood out those captured in the temple of Jerusalem. These consisted of a golden table, many talents in weight, and a lamp-stand, likewise made of gold, but constructed on a different pattern from those which we use in ordinary life. Affixed to a pedestal was a central shaft, from which there extended slender branches, arranged trident-fashion, a wrought lamp being attached to the extremity of each branch; of these there were seven, indicating the honour paid to that number among the Jews. After these, and last of all the spoils, was carried a copy of the Jewish Law.

These details are important, firstly because of the well-known relief from the Arch of Titus showing them being borne in procession (Fig. 2); and secondly because of what Josephus goes on to say about their ultimate destination. For, whatever was or was not recalled in the following centuries about the relevance of the War to major monuments in the centre of Rome, it is certain that some at least of these spoils were still known and identified as such in the fifth and sixth centuries (p. 128 below).

After he has concluded his account of the procession and the festivities which followed, Josephus turns to describing where

⁵ Humphrey 1986; Ciancio Rossetto 1993*b*. For a vivid evocation of the evolution of the Circus, and of the spectacles offered there (but not the triumph), see Coleman 2000: 210–17.



Fig. 2. Arch of Titus, Sacra Via, Rome: relief with triumphal procession

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the various spoils from the Temple were deposited (*Bj* 7. 158–62, Loeb trans.):

The triumphal ceremonies being concluded and the empire of the Romans established on the firmest foundation, Vespasian decided to erect a temple of Peace. This was very speedily completed and in a style surpassing all human conception. For, besides having prodigious resources of wealth on which to draw he also embellished it with ancient masterpieces of painting and sculpture; indeed, into that shrine were accumulated and stored all objects for the sight of which men had once wandered over the whole world, eager to see them severally while they lay in various countries. Here, too, he laid up the vessels of gold from the temple of the Jews, on which he prided himself; but their Law and the purple hangings of the sanctuary he ordered to be deposited and kept in the palace.

By 'in the palace' (ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις) Josephus must mean primarily the complex of Imperial residences on the Palatine. (How much remained of Nero's Golden House at this moment is not known.) Whether these vessels and the Torah were subsequently on display there is not made clear. But other evidence (largely, again, from Pliny the Elder) mentions major works of art to be found in imperial properties and gardens (*horti*), with an apparent implication that they might be viewed there by the public; under what conditions is not known (Millar 1977: 114–16). The question of public access, which is not clearly answerable as regards other locations, but is beyond dispute in the case of the Temple of Peace, is potentially important for understanding how long such items retained a known identity and origin.

By contrast, what Josephus records of the building of the Temple of Peace (*Templum Pacis*) is of the utmost importance. First, there is a clear indication that the decision to create this major new public building was taken at once, and the primary intended message must have been that peace had been re-established after a period of civil war, and the Jewish War itself. The rapidity of construction is confirmed by Cassius Dio's invaluable report that it was dedicated already in 75 CE (66. 15. 1, Loeb trans.):

In the sixth consulship of Vespasian and the fourth of Titus the precinct of Pax was dedicated and the 'Colossus' was set up on the Sacred Way. This statue is said to have been one hundred feet in height and to

have borne the features of Nero, according to some, or those of Titus, according to others.

Whether the 'Colossus', already referred to above, was really set up for the first time in this year, or was merely remodelled to remove the identification with Nero, is not clear (M. Bergmann 1993; Lega 1993). But the fact that the Temple of Peace could be dedicated as early as this is highly important; for Pliny's *Natural History*, presented to Titus in 77, already provides ample evidence, to which we will come in a moment, to confirm Josephus' statement that the temple was filled with major works of art from all over the world, which were now to be on display in a single location. Building must, therefore, have commenced at the very beginning of Vespasian's reign.

What was known as the 'Templum Pacis' was in fact something more extensive than that, a large, rectangular, forum-like space of some 140 by 150 metres, constructed exactly parallel to the Forum of Augustus, and to the south-east (Fig. 3); the space between them would soon be filled by the Forum Transitorium (D'Ambra 1993). Archaeologically, it is very little known, though some excavations are currently in progress (La Rocca 2001: 195–207), since most of it lies under Mussolini's Via dei Fori Imperiali. But its design is known from the Forma Urbis—namely a porticoed square with the actual *templum* set into one side, and with six sequences of four oblong boxes marked as occupying the centre (Fig. 4). These are generally interpreted as flower beds, but may perhaps rather have been stands on which statuary could be displayed; or they may have been fountain basins.⁶

It is very striking that Pliny's *Natural History*, presented to Titus only two years after the dedication of the Templum Pacis, so vividly reflects its role as a public museum or art-gallery. One aspect of the proclaimed public role of the temple is immediately apparent: the contrast between the self-centred acquisition of works of art by Nero, and their location in a newly-constructed public place (or indeed various places) by Vespasian (*NH* 34. 84, Loeb trans.):

Several artists have represented the battles of Attalus and Eumenes against the Gauls, Isigonus, Pyromachus, Stratonicus, and Antigonus, who wrote books about his art. Boëthus did a Child Strangling a

⁶ I owe a report on this latest interpretation to K. M. Coleman.

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Goose by hugging it, although he is better in silver. And among the list of works I have referred to all the most celebrated have now been dedicated by the emperor Vespasian in the Temple of Peace and his other public buildings; they had been looted by Nero, who conveyed them all to Rome and arranged them in the sitting-rooms of his Golden Mansion (*sellariis domus aureae*).

This deliberate contrast, between private gratification and public benefit, will appear again when we look at the 'Colosseum', and the values associated with it (p. 116 below).

Elsewhere Pliny—apart from comparing it with the Circus Maximus, the Basilica Pauli,⁷ and the Forum of Augustus, 'buildings the most beautiful the world has ever seen' (36. 102)—lists a whole series of other works of art as now to be seen in the Templum Pacis: a hero by Timanthes (35. 74), an Ialysus by Protogenes (35. 101–2), a Scylla by Nicomachus (35. 108–9), an anonymous Venus (36. 27), and a massive representation of the river-god Nile, with sixteen of his children playing around him (36. 58).⁸ There were also evidently other valuables, as well as the spoils from the Temple in Jerusalem, on display there: Vespasian, so Pliny says (12. 94), was the first to dedicate *coronae* of cinnamon, embossed with gold, both in the temple (evidently that of Jupiter) on the Capitol and in the Temple of Peace.

A century later, Pausanias (2. 9. 3) adds to the list of works to be seen in the Temple of Peace a statue of an Olympic victor, Cheimon, which he believed to be by Naucydes, while Aulus Gellius reveals that the precinct also contained a library, where rare books could be found (*NA* 5. 11. 9; 16. 8. 2–3). Very significantly, recent excavations have revealed inscribed statue-bases with the names of famous Greek artists: [Prax]ite[les], Cephi[sidorus], and Parthenocles (La Rocca 2001: 196–201).

There is more to say on the history of this great monument, but enough has been recorded to indicate that this was both a major building-project of the new regime, undertaken and completed at the first possible moment, and a deliberate demonstration of the will to make great artworks accessible to the public.

⁷ I do not enter here into the complex and much-debated question of the identification of major Republican basilicas on the Forum; see the revolutionary proposals by Steinby 1989.

⁸ For some of the bases, with inscriptions, for these statues, see La Rocca 2001: 196–201.

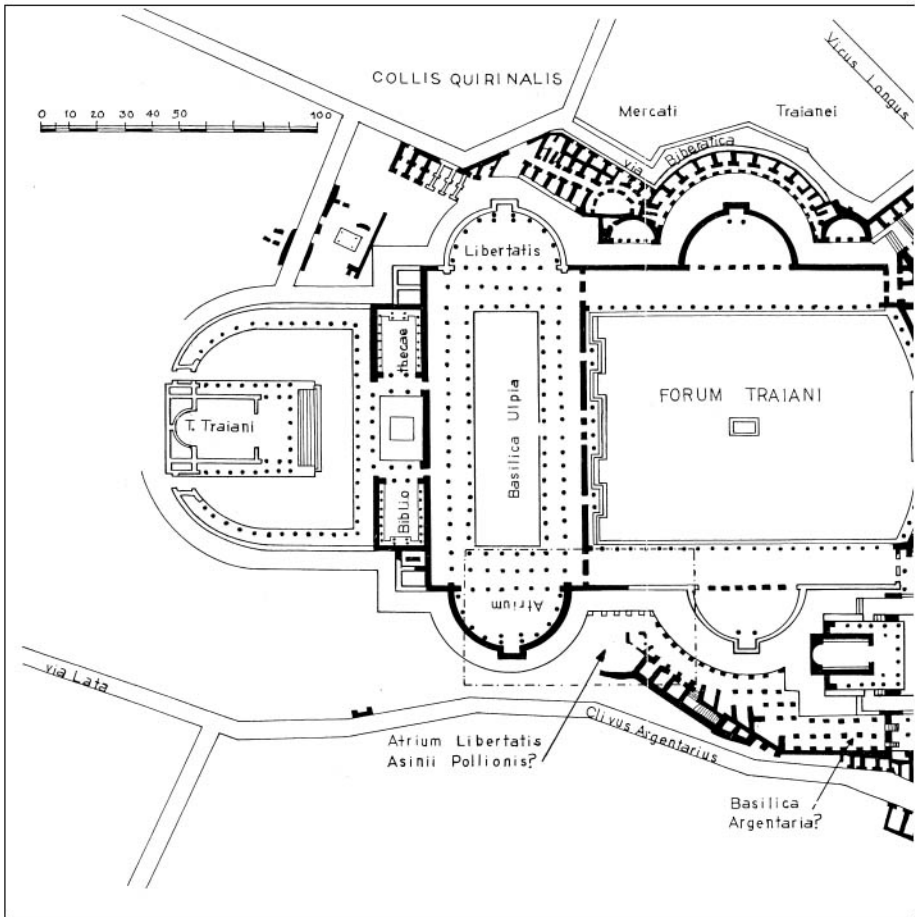
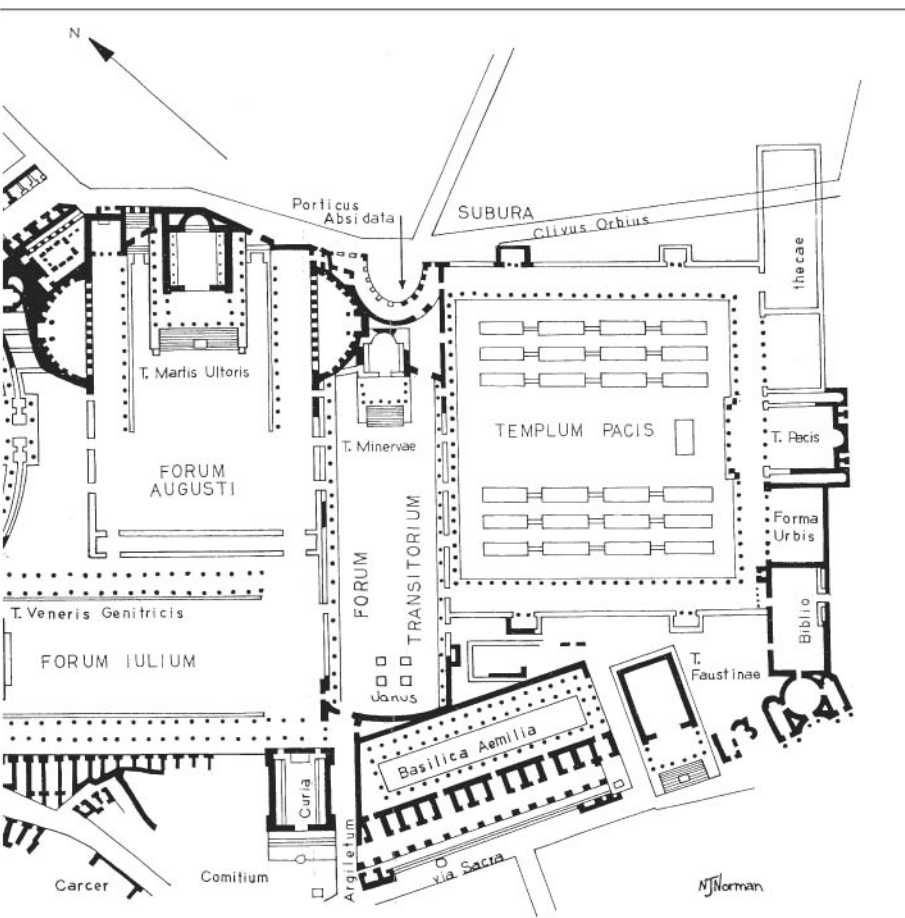


Fig. 3. Imperial Fora, Rome

It is, however, Josephus alone who records that among the works which the visitor could see were gold vessels or fittings (*κατασκευάσματα*) from the Temple in Jerusalem. The name of the Temple, 'Peace', could not fail to be a reference to the Jewish War, one of the most demanding and costly military enterprises of the Imperial period. But the new structure, as a spectacular public monument, had other associations also.

Neither Pliny nor Josephus, in the *Jewish War*, refers to the

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three other major monuments which were, in one way or another, to commemorate the War. Pliny hardly could have, since he was to die in 79; and Josephus, though he continued to live and write in Rome until the 90s, does not return to the topic of Flavian building. Two of the monuments in question were completed, or partially completed, in the reign of Titus (79–81 CE): the ‘Colosseum’ in 80, and the Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus early in 81; while the third, the surviving Arch of Titus, was

completed only after his death later in 81. As regards the 'Colosseum' it is absolutely certain, and in the case of both arches very probable, that construction had begun before Vespasian's death in 79—in the case of the Colosseum surely from the very beginning of his reign (since what is remarkable is that it could have been ready for opening as early as 80; see Suet. *Vesp.* 9. 1). The Chronographer of 354 in fact records that when Vespasian dedicated the Amphitheatrum it had three *gradus*, Titus added two more, and Domitian completed it (*Chron. Min.* 1. 146). In the case of the two arches therefore, the inscriptions reflect the moment of completion, not that of conception.

Given the scale of the Colosseum, and the impact which the process of constructing it must have had in Rome, either Pliny or Josephus (in the *Jewish War*) might indeed have referred to it as a prospective major monument which was in the course being offered to the public by Vespasian. But in the event neither does, and the earliest allusions to it in literature are to the first shows to be given there, by Titus in 80. There is no need to rehearse in detail the well-known evidence. Cassius Dio (66. 25. 1) records the dedication of the 'hunting-theatre' (τὸ δὲ δὴ θέατρον τὸ κυνηγετικόν—another example of *theatron* being used for any large building for public viewing) and the 'baths named after him'—the *Thermae Titi* or *Titianae*, which lay close by on the Oppian (Caruso 1999). More important, the opening of the new amphitheatre, and the shows given there, were the occasion of Martial's *On the Spectacles* (*De spectaculis*) of 80. While we await the major new commentary on this work by K. M. Coleman, any remarks will have to be elementary and provisional.⁹

Martial's conceptions are of the greatest importance. The first poem of his collection makes the comparison with the great historic public works, from the pyramids to Babylonia to the Mausoleum, and identifies the new building as the 'Amphitheatrum Caesareum' (*Spect.* 1. 7).¹⁰ But it is the second poem which is the most revealing for our purposes, and in this case we need

⁹ On the Amphitheatrum ('Colosseum'), see Rea 1993; further bibliography in *LTUR* 5, 1999: 223; on the shows, as a foretaste, Coleman 1998 and Coleman 2000: 227–35.

¹⁰ I was tempted to take 'Amphitheatrum Caesareum' as its official name. But I owe to K. M. Coleman the indication that 'Caesareus' is used only in poetry, and cannot have formed part of its regular name.

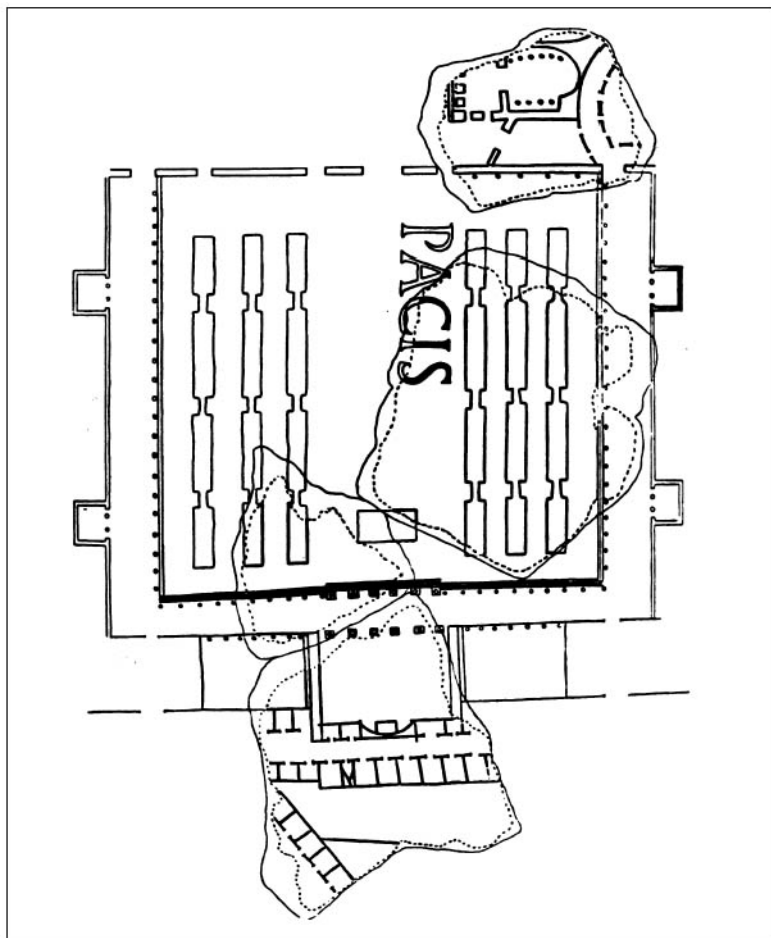


Fig. 4. Templum Pacis, from Forma Urbis

both the Latin and the translation in the Loeb edition by D. R. Shackleton Bailey:

hic ubi sidereus propius videt astra colossus
et crescunt media pegmata celsa via,
invidiosa feri radiabant atria regis
unaque iam tota stabat in urbe domus.
hic ubi conspicui venerabilis Amphitheatri
erigitur moles, stagna Neronis erant.
hic ubi miramur velocia munera thermas,
abstulerat miseris tecta superbus ager.
Claudia diffusas ubi porticus explicat umbras,
ultima pars aulae deficientis erat.
reddita Roma sibi est et sunt te praeside, Caesar,
deliciae populi, quae fuerant domini. (Mart. *Spect.* 2)

Where the starry colossus sees the constellations at close range and lofty scaffolding rises in the middle of the road, once gleamed the odious halls of a cruel monarch, and in all Rome there stood a single house. Where rises before our eyes the august pile of the Amphitheater, was once Nero's lake. Where we admire the warm baths, a speedy gift, a haughty tract of land had robbed the poor of their dwellings. Where the Claudian colonnade unfolds its wide-spread shade, was the outermost part of the palace's end. Rome has been restored to herself, and under your rule, Caesar, the pleasantries that belonged to a master now belong to the people.

The major themes are immediately apparent: first the construction of the Amphitheatrum just where a lake had been, as a feature of Nero's pleasure-garden. Then the Baths of Titus as a gift, or gifts (*munera*), to the people. Suetonius' *Life* of Titus reinforces the point by recording that the Emperor sometimes used the baths himself, at a time when the *plebs* were also allowed in (*Tit.* 8). The populist motif is then emphasized again at the end of the poem: Rome has been restored to herself, and the delights which had once been private to a *dominus* are now shared by the people. We need here to recall the expression of the same motif by Pliny the Elder (*NH* 34. 84) in relation to the Templum Pacis (discussed above, p. 111).

The same motif also appears at the beginning of the poem, in the reference back to the *domus* (the Golden House) which had once occupied the whole of the city (or at least this part of

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it). This was where the Colossus stood, on the Sacra Via as Dio records (pp. 109–10 above), while scaffolding arose *media via* (surely also the Sacra Via): not, presumably, still in 80, a question of re-modelling the Colossus, so perhaps scaffolding for the construction of the Arch of Titus?¹¹

It would be only under Hadrian (117–38), with the construction of the Temple of Venus and Roma on its massive podium (Cassatella 1999), that the Imperial monumentalization of this area of Rome would be almost complete, and that the Colossus would be moved down from the Sacra Via to stand next to the Amphitheatre, to which it finally, in the Middle Ages, seems to have lent the nickname ‘Colosseum’ (Canter 1930, with some doubts about this identification). A medallion of Gordian III shows the Amphitheatre flanked by the Colossus on the one side and the Meta Sudans, erected by Domitian, on the other.¹² It remained only for the Arch ‘of’ Constantine to be erected close to the Meta Sudans (and presumably straddling the triumphal route) (Capodiferro 1993). However close was the association in the monuments of this area with the Jewish War, they were also part of a long process of monumentalization which completely transformed this part of Rome.

So far, we have seen nothing to associate the Amphitheatre with the Jewish War, except the evident fact that construction must have started at the very beginning of Vespasian’s reign. But I owe to Margareta Steinby the suggestion that the structure visible to the right of the Amphitheatre on a *sestertius* of Titus (*RIC* 2. 129 no. 110; *LTUR* 1. 365, fig. 16) may be a triumphal arch. If so (and irrespective of whether an actual arch is being represented), the association is suggestive. However, we also have from Martial an absolutely unambiguous expression of what meaning, in his view, this massive new feature of the Roman landscape was intended to have: a construction to rival the most spectacular ever recorded (as indeed it was) and a benefaction from Emperor to people as a place for the communal enjoyment of ‘gifts’ (*munera*) in the form of shows given by the Emperor.

It was, therefore, a complete surprise when in 1995 Géza

¹¹ I owe this suggestion (once again) to K. M. Coleman.

¹² For a photo, see *LTUR* 1. 365, fig. 17; Coleman 2000: 230, fig. 9.10. For the Meta Sudans and its context, see Panella 1996.



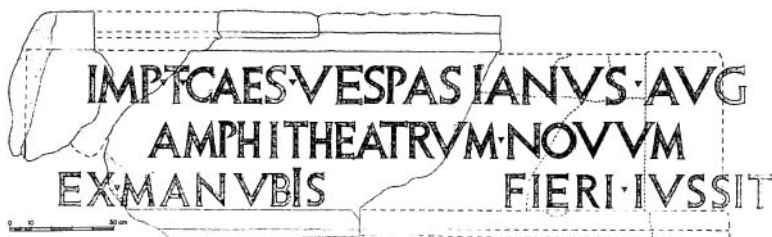
Fig. 5. Dedicatory inscription from the Colosseum

Alföldy, by brilliant detective-work on the holes for the nails holding the bronze letters of a Flavian inscription from the Amphitheatre, established, first, that the construction had been paid for *ex manubi(i)s*, ‘from the spoils of war’; and, second, that the inscription had originally recorded Vespasian as the initiator, with a T being added later to transform the name into that of Titus (Fig. 5).¹³ The final text thus read (*CIL* 6. 40454a = *AE* 1995, 111b):

I[mp(erator)] T(itus) Caes(ar) Vespasi[anus Aug(ustus)]
 amphitheatru[m novum ?]
 [ex] manubi(i)s (vac.) [fieri iussit ?]

The validity of this reading has not been challenged, so we can accept that an inscription with the name of Vespasian was already in place during his lifetime (construction of the ground floor of the Amphitheatre must in any case have been completed long before 79: see p. 114 above), then to be re-modelled to name Titus, presumably before the opening in 80. There was also an unambiguous reference to the fact that construction had been financed out of the spoils of war. Even here of course, as the surviving text stands, there is no reference to Judaea; whether there could have been such a reference, after the gap in the middle of the third line, is not certain. However, there had surely been no other war fought by the Flavian house which had been comparable to the Jewish War, or had led to destruction on such a scale; and no other triumph had been celebrated since 71. It must be accepted that the words *ex manubi(i)s* carried an implied refer-

¹³ Alföldy 1995; see also Barnes, Ch. 6 below.



ence to the Jewish War. In that sense the Amphitheatre, by far the greatest single monument of Imperial Rome, both was and is a memorial to the War. But, if we follow Martial, as we should, when it came to be opened ten years after the destruction of the Temple, it was not that but the relationship of Emperor and people, and the contrast with Nero, which was explicitly celebrated.

That did not mean that Titus' role in the capture of Jerusalem was due now to be downplayed.¹⁴ On the contrary, the most emphatic and detailed of all public proclamations of Titus' role in the capture of Jerusalem was to be found in the inscription on the 'Arch of Titus' which was erected in the centre of the hemicycle at the south-east end of the Circus Maximus. Pliny the Elder had probably been exaggerating when a few years earlier, in the same passage as that in which he celebrated the magnificence of the *Templum Pacis*, he had claimed that the Circus seated 250,000 spectators (*NH* 36. 102, see p. 111 above). The true figure was perhaps more like 150,000 (Humphrey 1986: 126). But even at that total, it remains to this day one of the largest arenas ever created for massed spectators to watch sporting events. The first and most salient feature of the arch dedicated in early 81 was, therefore, its exceptional prominence, a visible reminder to over 100,000 people at a time of the capture of Jerusalem. But the second thing to stress is that both it, and the surviving Arch 'of' Titus on the Velia, are examples of the pattern made clear in a classic article by Andrew Wallace-Hadrill (1990a). What we persistently call the arches *of* Emperors or

¹⁴ For this, see further Barnes, Ch. 6 below.

members of their families were in fact, in all known cases, arches *to* them, dedicated by the Senate and the People of Rome. The same was to be true of the Arch 'of' Constantine, as its dedicatory inscription made clear (*CIL* 6. 1139 = *ILS* 694; see also p. 117 above). Cassius Dio, as so often, gets this right, saying that arches and other honours were voted *to* Vespasian and Titus in celebration of the Jewish War (66. 7. 2). That in fact made all the difference, for it left the way open for grandiloquent and flattering descriptions of the dedicatee's achievements.

How soon construction of the Arch had begun is not known; but, as we will see from the text of the inscription, it was dedicated in early 81. The Arch stood at least until the ninth century, when the author of the manuscript known as the *Anonymus Einsiedlensis* copied the inscription. It is clearly represented on the Severan Marble Plan (Fig. 6), and appears on a *sestertius* of Trajan showing the Circus as seen from the north-west end (looking over the *carceres*). Excavations on the site have also revealed part of the foundations (Ciancio Rossetto 1993a). What matters in this context however is the precise form of the claims made in the inscription placed on it by Senate and People (*CIL* 6. 944 = *ILS* 264; the original layout of the lines is not preserved):

Senatus Populusq(ue) Romanus Imp(eratori) Tito Caesari divi Vespasiani f(ilio) Vespasian[o] Augusto, pontif(ici) max(im)o, trib(unicia) pot(estate) X, imp(eratori) XVII, [c]o(n)s(uli) VIII, p(atr)i p(atriae), principi suo, quod praeceptis patr[is] consiliisq(ue) et auspiciis gentem Iudaeorum domuit et urbem Hierusolymam omnibus ante se ducibus, regibus, gentibus aut frustra petitam aut omnino intemptatam delevit.

The Senate and People of Rome to Imp(erator) Titus Caesar Vespasianus, son of the Deified Vespasianus, pontifex maximus, with *tribunicia potestas* for the tenth time, (hailed as) Imp(erator) for the seventeenth time, consul for the eighth time, their princeps, because on the instructions and advice of his father, and under his auspices, he subdued the race of the Jews and destroyed the city of Jerusalem, which by all generals, kings, or races previous to himself had either been attacked in vain or not even attempted at all.

As has always been noted, this claim was extraordinary in being blatantly false. Even if the Romans might have been excused for ignorance of Biblical history (and Book 5 of Tacitus' *Histories*, written a quarter of a century later, does indeed show

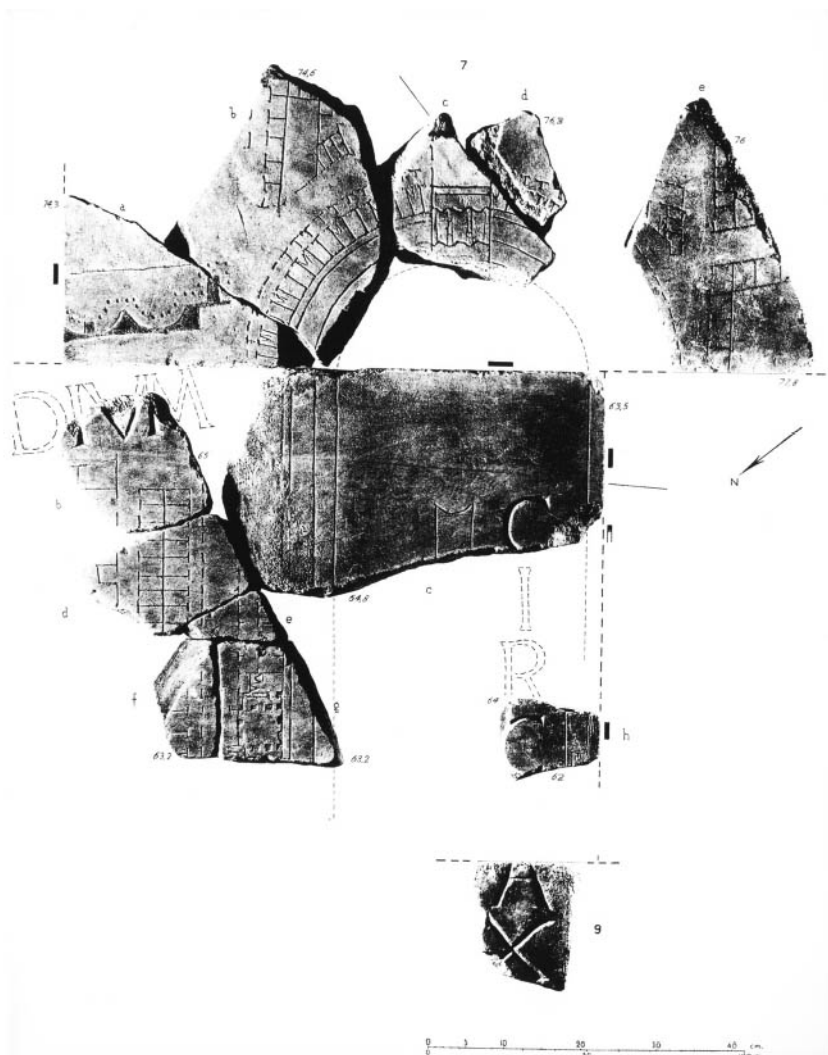


Fig. 6. Arch of Titus, Circus Maximus, from Forma Urbis

almost complete incomprehension), Josephus' *Jewish War*, written in Rome only a few years before, under the patronage of the Flavians, had clearly recorded the capture of the city both by Pompey in 63 BCE (*BJ* 1. 141–54) and by Sosius in 37 BCE (*BJ* 1. 345–57), not to speak of the list of five previous captures which he attaches in Book 6 to his account of the fall of Jerusalem in 70 (*BJ* 6. 435–7). Sosius had celebrated a triumph *ex Iudaea* in 34 BCE and had built the temple near the Theatre of Marcellus sometimes referred to as that of 'Apollo Sosianus' (Viscogliosi 1993*a*). So the claim was a simple and demonstrable falsehood. However, what is significant about it is, first, its straightforward celebration of the subjugation of the Jewish people and of the destruction of Jerusalem (there was no room in this context for the attempts which Josephus alleged had been made by Titus to prevent the final disaster: *BJ* 7. 254–355; see Yavetz 1975; Barnes, Rives, and Mason, Chs. 6, 7, and 12 below). Secondly, there is the very careful emphasis on the fact that Titus, in conducting the siege, had been acting under the auspices and subject to the instructions of his father.

It is not known whether the panels which will have adorned the arch contained any visual representations of the siege, of the sort which had been carried along in the triumphal procession (p. 107 above), or images of the triumphal procession itself, such as are found on the surviving arch on the Velia (Fig. 2). All that we know of the arch is its uniquely prominent and visible location, and the extravagant claims which were made in the name of Senate and People in its inscription.

Titus died not long after the inscription was put in place, but even our fragmentary and indirect knowledge of this arch allows us to see it as one of the major monuments of his brief reign. By contrast, the surviving arch which still stands on the Velia must have been completed after his death. The fact that it is posthumous has led Michael Pfanner, the author of the standard work on it, to suggest that it should be categorized as a consecration-monument rather than as a triumphal arch (Pfanner 1983: 103–4; see also Arce 1993). It is also true that its inscription contains no reference to war, victory, or any other achievements. But the famous relief representing the triumph of 71, with its unmistakable representation of the vessels from the Temple (Fig. 2), is surely enough to allow us to include it in

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the category of triumphal arches. So also, it appears (see p. 125 below), does the fact that it seems to have stood directly over the triumphal route, and indeed the fact that future triumphal processions will have passed under it. If we doubted whether the relatively narrow passage-way (some 2.5 m wide) can have been adequate for the purpose, the much-reproduced relief-panel showing the triumph of 71 (Fig. 2) actually shows the procession passing through an arch; whether any particular arch is meant, and if so which, is a matter of speculation.

In this case too, and even more clearly, given its posthumous character, the arch was not 'of' but 'to' Titus, now already deified ('divus'), as the classically simple inscription shows (*CIL* 6. 945 = *ILS* 265):

Senatus
Populusque Romanus
Divo Tito Divi Vespasiani f(ilio)
Vespasiano Augusto

The Senate and the Roman People to the Deified Titus Vespasianus Augustus, son of the Deified Vespasianus

Here too, we are concerned with a very prominent location, as is graphically shown by a photograph of the east side of the arch, with the inscription, looking down through it to the Forum Romanum (Fig. 7). It stands on the crown of the Velia, the spur which projects north from the side of the Palatine, at almost exactly the point where the roadway called by moderns the *clivus Palatinus*, for someone coming up from the Forum, led off to the right to ascend to the Palatine. Whether the point on which the Arch stands actually lies on the Sacra Via itself is now uncertain, given fundamental debates as to where, and how far, that ran. It will be recalled that Dio states (66. 15. 1) that the Colossus originally stood on the Sacra Via (see above, p. 109)—and that on the interpretation of Martial offered above (p. 117), the Arch and the Colossus were originally close to each other; but no literary source refers to the Arch.

Even more striking, now, after the publication of the new inscription from the Amphitheatre, is the view looking east from the west side of the arch, down the eastern slope of the Velia to the 'Colosseum' (Fig. 8). Now that we know that the



Fig. 7. Arch of Titus, Sacra Via, East Side

Monuments of the Jewish War in Rome

Amphitheatrum was financed, in the first instance by Vespasian, from the spoils of a war which must be the Jewish War, the connection between the two monuments becomes infinitely more powerful.

Here again, as with the progressive monumentalization of the 'Valle del Colosseo', discussed above, we can see the two arches dedicated to Titus by Senate and People as elements in a series stretching from Augustus to Constantine. In briefly recalling this series, I confine myself to those arches where we have specific evidence that they were dedicated communally, by Senate and People. There are various other possible examples, but to survey them here would both require disproportionate space and be entirely dependent on Margareta Steinby's *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*. So we may simply note the most salient cases. First, there is the arch in the Forum Romanum, voted to 'Octavian' (properly 'Imperator Caesar Divi filius') in 30 BCE (Dio 51. 19. 1). If John Rich's powerful arguments (1998) are accepted, this was the one which stood on the south side of the temple of Divus Iulius, and was the only arch 'of Augustus' in the Forum. Then there is the Arch of Septimius Severus, on the west side of the Forum below the Capitol, also voted by Senate and People (Brilliant 1993). Finally, there is the Arch of Constantine, again equipped with an inscribed dedication by Senate and People, and located, as we have noted, just in front of the Meta Sudans, where the triumphal route, leading from the hemicycle of the Circus Maximus and the first 'Arch of Titus', turned up the slope of the Velia towards the second 'Arch of Titus' (p. 117 above).

For the second half of the triumphal route, therefore, from the hemicycle of the Circus to the Capitol, we can immediately understand how the two 'Arches of Titus' took a very prominent place in a process of monumentalization, and of glorification of Emperors, which evolved from Augustus to Constantine. The message as to what it was that the first arch dedicated to Titus was intended to commemorate was spelled out explicitly in words, and was accessible all through the Empire, late Antiquity, and the early Middle Ages to anyone who could read Latin. The message of the second, still surviving, arch, depended on historical knowledge, or on recognition of the vessels from the Temple which were portrayed there as they were carried in the



Fig. 8. Arch of Titus, Sacra Via, West Side

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triumphal procession. These were the two explicit monuments of the War. The Temple, or Forum, of Peace, which Constantius II was to admire when he visited Rome in 357 (Amm. Marc. 16. 10. 14), was also a monument to the War, though not only that. So also was the 'Colosseum', though there is nothing to show that later viewers, any more than ourselves until only a few years ago, were aware of it.

On any interpretation, the theme of the defeat of the Jews and the destruction of Jerusalem, coinciding with the need for self-assertion on the part of a new dynasty, and with the need to establish an emphatic public contrast with Nero, left a remarkable imprint on the evolution of public monuments in Imperial Rome. In this context, we should note a very suggestive recent attempt to read the *Epistle to the Hebrews* as an immediate response to Flavian triumphalism (Aitken 2001). In its ceremonial and monumental legacy, the Jewish War contrasts markedly with the Bar Kochba War, which was equally a major event in Roman military history, but which left no known reflection in Rome at all.¹⁵ The monumental legacy of that war was elsewhere, in the *colonia* of Aelia Capitolina, founded on the site of Jerusalem (Eck 1999a).

But, whatever efforts were made by the Flavian Emperors or by the Senate and People of their time, was the Jewish War in fact remembered in Rome? Both Tacitus in the early second century and, a century later, Cassius Dio, recorded the War in great detail.¹⁶ Even more significantly, for a Christian educated public, Josephus' narrative of the war, and his interpretation of its meaning, apparently ignored by pagans, was taken up by Christians, and eventually earned extensive quotation in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* (3. 5–10). Though Eusebius does not speak of the triumph itself, or still less of any buildings commemorating the War, any informed Christian in the following centuries, whether living in Rome or elsewhere, will have been aware of the great turning-point which the War had represented. Even more significant, two allusions in rabbinic texts of different

¹⁵ No monument recording the Bar Kochba War is listed in Boatwright 1987 on Hadrian's buildings in Rome.

¹⁶ Tac. *Hist.* 5. 1–13, on which see Stern at *GLA* 2. 17–63, as well as Barnes and Rives, Chs. 6 and 7 below. The rest of his account is missing. Dio 63–6 (*passim*), with commentary by Stern at *GLA* 2. 369–78.

dates record that treasures from the Temple could still be seen in Rome (Yarden 1991: 64).

But that is not quite all. For Procopius, writing in the sixth century under Justinian, records, first, that in 455 the Vandal king Gaiseric, from his base in Africa, had reconquered and sacked Rome (*Vand.* 3. 5. 3–4). In Justinian's time, however, Africa was recaptured by an expeditionary force from Constantinople under Belisarius. At the 'triumph', or triumphal procession, which Belisarius celebrated in Constantinople in 534 Procopius relates, second, that there were carried 'the ornaments of the Jews' (4. 9. 5–7: τὰ Ἰουδαίων κειμήλια) which Titus had brought to Rome after the capture of Jerusalem and had been taken by Gaiseric from Rome.¹⁷ If any of these ornaments could still be identified as such, they must surely have been those put on public display by Vespasian in the Temple of Peace. Christians at least—including the Vandals—still knew what they were. So the effort of commemoration bore some long-term fruit, even if in unintended ways. As for Justinian, according to Procopius (4. 9. 9), his view of the right destination for the ornaments was to send them back to Jerusalem—but to the Christian community there. If we return to Rome, for all the vicissitudes of the last two millennia, the monumental centre of the city still offers extraordinarily vivid testimony to the significance of the capture of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple.

¹⁷ For a brief discussion of the fate of these spoils, see *HJP* 510 n. 133; Yarden 1991: 64–5. For possible indications that the Table of the Presence might have been brought to Spain after an earlier barbarian sack of Rome, by Alaric in 410, see Yarden 1991: 84–6.

The Sack of the Temple in Josephus and Tacitus

T. D. BARNES

In Flavian Rome the sack of the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem was invested with a symbolic importance perhaps even greater than the defeat of Cleopatra in Augustan Rome a century earlier. In 29 BCE the future Augustus had celebrated three triumphs on successive days in the month later named after him *de Dalmatis*, for the defeat of Cleopatra at Actium, and *ex Aegypto* (Degrassi 1947: 570). During the next hundred years both the emperor Claudius and princes of the dynasty founded by Augustus celebrated triumphs or *ovationes* for new conquests and other victories.¹ But none of these had the political and dynastic resonance of the triumph over the Jews which Vespasian and Titus celebrated jointly when the latter arrived in Rome from the East (c. June 71). The Jewish victory provided the equivalent of a foundation myth for the Flavian dynasty, which came to power in 69 through civil war: the routine suppression of a provincial insurrection was turned into a great and glorious triumph of Roman arms (Goodman 1987: 235–9; 1994a: 42–5). Like Augustus, Vespasian closed the Temple of Janus to proclaim that there was no more war, though, again like Augustus, he soon reopened it, after the lapse of only a year (Orosius *Hist. adv. paganos* 7. 9. 9, 18. 9). The closure, whose date is nowhere directly attested, is normally and plausibly assigned to 71, immediately after the triumph.² The subsequent reduction of

¹ See *PIR*² C 941 (Tiberius); Degrassi 1963: 398–400 (16 Jan.), 462 (26 and 28 May), 524–5 (23 Oct.), with Barnes 1998b: 144–6 (Tiberius, Germanicus, and Tiberius' son Drusus); Levick 1990: 142–3, 227 n. 23 (Claudius).

² P. Weyand, *RE* 6 (1909), 2650–1; Syme 1979: esp. 205–6; Levick 1999: 71; Griffin 2000a: 15.

the last Jewish stronghold at Masada in May 73 received no public celebration or commemoration in Rome: although Vespasian and Titus received an imperatorial acclamation in the spring of 73, which is normally correlated with the capture of Masada (*BMCRE* 2. xxiv-xxvi), L. Flavius Silva Nonius Bassus, who was the Roman commander at Masada, though adlected *inter patricios* in 73/4 and honoured with an ordinary consulate in 81, was conspicuously not awarded *ornamenta triumphalia* for his success in the final episode of the Jewish War.³

Monuments in the very centre of Rome perpetuated the memory of Titus' victory in stone.⁴ In 75 Vespasian completed the Temple of Pax (Dio 66. 15. 1): on the occasion of its consecration he deposited in it the golden vessels from the Jewish Temple (*Bj* 7. 161). A triumphal arch, completed after Vespasian's death and dedicated to Titus in the early months of the year 81, used to stand in the Circus Maximus: its inscription proclaimed that on the orders, with the advice and under the auspices of his father, Titus had subdued the Jewish race and destroyed the city of Jerusalem (*CIL* 6. 944 = *ILS* 264, cited in full and discussed by Millar, Ch. 5 above; for the most important recent bibliography, see *CIL* 6. 8. 2 (1996) pp. 4308-9). The extant Arch of Titus, which still stands on the Via Sacra close to the forum, was erected shortly after his death in September 81 and celebrates his consecration as *Divus Titus* (*CIL* 6. 945 = *ILS* 265): its two main relief panels depict respectively Titus as a *triumphator* in a four-horse triumphal chariot and Roman soldiers carrying the golden Table of the Shewbread and the golden Seven-branched Candlestick from the Jewish Temple (see Millar, Ch. 5 above).⁵

³ Silva's career is known from two partially preserved inscriptions which recorded his building of an amphitheatre in his home town of Urbs Salvia: *AE* 1961, 140 (no text) = 1969-70, 183; cf. Eck 1970: 93-111. Eck proposed to redate the fall of Masada to 74, and his new date was promptly accepted in *HjP* 1. 508-13, 515. But Eck's a priori deduction from the order in which Silva's career is recorded is far from peremptory: see C. P. Jones 1973b: 689; 1974: 89-90. Josephus states that Masada fell on 15 Xanthicus, which probably corresponds to early May in the Julian calendar (*Bj* 7. 401): Cotton (1989) argues persuasively that, even if the context in Josephus is compatible with either date, the papyri found on the site indicate that the year was 73 rather than 74.

⁴ For a full discussion, see Darwall-Smith 1996: 55-68 (Temple of Pax), 76-90 (the Colosseum), 166-72 (the arch of Titus). See also Millar, Ch. 5 above.

⁵ For an excellent detailed photograph of the Spoils panel, see above, p. 108, Fig. 2; for both panels, see Pfanner 1983: Taf. 45-67 (photographs by H. Schwanke). On the depiction of the Table and Menorah, see also Yarden 1991.

The Sack of the Temple in Josephus and Tacitus

Most spectacular and insistent of all, the original dedication of the Flavian Amphitheatre or Colosseum, as reconstituted by Géza Alföldy in a brilliant piece of epigraphical detective work (1995), informed all who attended games and shows there that the emperor Titus built it from spoils captured in war, that is, with the proceeds of the plunder of Jerusalem (*CIL* 6. 40454a: *amphitheatru[m] - - / ex] manubi(i)s*; see Millar, Ch. 5 above and Fig. 5). Moreover, if the Flavian emperors lacked a Vergil to immortalize the victory of 70 as the defeat of a foreign foe in the manner of the *Aeneid* on the Battle of Actium (*Aen.* 8. 678–713), lesser poets did their best to keep its memory alive. Domitian composed a poem on his brother's victory, and epic poets included the Jewish victory in their praise of the Flavian emperors (Plin. *NH* praef. 5; Quint. *Inst.* 10. 1. 91; Stat. *Silv.* 3. 3. 140; 5. 2. 138–9). In the preface to his *Argonautica*, which invokes Vespasian as still alive, Valerius Flaccus (1. 12–14) associates Domitian with his brother's victory as its poet:

versam proles tua pandit Idumen,
sancte pater,⁶ Solymo nigramtem pulvere fratrem
spargentemque faces et in omni turre furentem.

After both Vespasian and Titus were dead, Silius Italicus transformed Domitian from the poet of his elder brother's martial prowess into his superior in military achievement (*Pun.* 3. 607–29: *at tu transcendes, Germanice, facta tuorum* etc.). Silius also identifies Titus' adversaries as Palestinian rather than Jewish (3. 605–6: *hic fera gentis / bella Palaestinae primo delebit in aevo*). He thus foreshadows the official renaming of the province of Judaea as Syria Palaestina during or after the revolt of 132–5,⁷ as does

⁶ I follow E. Courtney (Teubner, 1970) and G. Liberman (Budé, 1997) against W. W. Ehlers (Teubner, 1980) in accepting the transposition of *sancte pater* and *namque pates* from their transmitted positions (as the first two words of lines 11 and 13 respectively), first proposed by Samuelsson 1905–6: 82–3. Courtney also inserts *et* before *pulvere* with appeal to Getty 1940: 269–70. That hardly seems necessary.

⁷ P. Calpurnius Atilianus, cos. ord. 135, is unambiguously attested as governor of Syria Palaestina on a diploma of 22 Nov. 139 (*CIL* 16. 87). Cn. Minicius Faustinus Sex. Julius Severus, cos. suff. 127, was summoned from Britain to deal with the revolt c. 133 (Dio 69. 13. 2) and is securely attested as imperial legate of the province of Judaea (*ILS* 1056, near Burnum in Dalmatia). A fragmentary inscription from Aequum (also in Dalmatia) appears to show that the title of the province was changed to Syria Palaestina while Severus was governor (*AE* 1904, 9), though the inference is disallowed by Eck 1983: 178 n. 441. The name of the governor between

Josephus when, speaking about the period after 70 at the very end of his *Jewish Antiquities* in 93 or 94, he refers in the first person plural to 'us Jews in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine' (20. 259).

I

The account of the burning and destruction of the Temple which Josephus gives in his *Jewish War* contrasts sharply with the propaganda of the Flavian dynasty (see Weiler 1968). While Josephus perforce admits that Titus ordered the plundering of the city when it was taken by storm (*Bj* 7. 1-4), he denies outright that Titus ordered the Temple to be set on fire. On the contrary, Josephus alleges that Titus both promised to save the Temple during the siege of Jerusalem (6. 124-8, 214-16), did everything in his power to prevent its destruction when the city was captured, and later expressed regret at the destruction (7. 112-13). The preface to the *Jewish War* promises to record 'how the Temple was burned against the Caesar's wishes' (1. 28). The narrative of the capture is built around this assertion. Although Josephus concedes that Titus ordered the gates to the Temple to be set on fire, he states that Titus gave the order only because he saw that his attempt to spare the Temple was causing excessive casualties among his own troops (6. 220-8). Moreover, on the following day Titus ordered the fire to be extinguished, called a meeting of his *consilium* which agreed with his decision to spare the Temple, and then reiterated his order to extinguish the fire (6. 236-43). On Josephus' presentation, which is consistently slanted in this direction throughout the *Jewish War* (Mader 2000 without analysing this episode), it was fanatical Jews, not the Romans, who were morally responsible for the burning of the Temple, which occurred, in accordance with God's will, on the anniversary of the destruction of the Temple of Solomon by Nebuchadnezzar (6. 250-1). When the conflagration started, Titus, who was resting, 'leapt up and ran to the Temple to prevent the fire' with his generals, but he was in the event unable to 'restrain the impetuosity of his frenzied soldiers', even though he continued to urge the Roman soldiers to quench the

Severus and Atilianus is not known—if indeed there was one. See D. R. Schwartz, Ch. 3 above.

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fire after he had inspected the holy of holies (6. 254–65). Thus the Temple was destroyed against the wishes of Titus (6. 266): Josephus repeats the phrase (ἅκοντος Καίσαρος) which he had used to make the same claim in his preface.

II

Tacitus was aged fifteen or a little younger when Titus captured Jerusalem. He gave a full account of the siege and storming of the city in his *Histories*, which covered the years 69–96 in twelve books, but the one early manuscript of the work to survive the later Middle Ages breaks off suddenly in Book 5 during Tacitus' narrative of events of the year 70—possibly because a Christian who disliked the tenor of its account of the capture of Jerusalem deliberately mutilated the text.⁸ Nevertheless, something important can be discovered about Tacitus' presentation of the event from Sulpicius Severus and Orosius, who both drew on the full text of the *Histories* when composing their own historical works three centuries later (Barnes 1977).

The relationship of Sulpicius Severus to Tacitus was carefully and accurately defined in 1861 by Jacob Bernays, whose conclusions have too often been either misapplied or disregarded. Bernays, who demonstrated in detail Severus' use of Tacitus for the reign of Nero and the events of 69–70, printed in parallel Severus' account of the sack of the Temple and a version of the same passage after the removal of words and phrases which Tacitus himself could not have written, and he argued that the expurgated version of Severus reproduced the substance of Tacitus' account of the sack (Bernays 1861: 57–9). Although Bernays himself (1861: 57) asserted explicitly that his aim was not to reconstruct the lost text of Tacitus, subsequent editors of the *Histories* have proceeded as if Severus were quoting Tacitus verbatim and print Carl Halm's text of Severus as an authentic

⁸ Jerome (*Comm. Zach.* 3. 14. 1–2) attests a total of thirty books for the *Annals* and *Histories* together (*CCSL* 76A. 878). Since Tacitus structured the extant parts of both works in hexads and triads, the *Annals* must originally have comprised eighteen books and the *Histories* twelve: Syme 1958a: 211–15, 263–6, 686–7; Barnes 1998a: 24. Similarly, the loss of Tacitus' account of events between early 29 and late 31 may also be due to Christian annoyance with his omission of the execution of Jesus—a possibility which seems to receive no mention in the recent discussion by Ando 1997.

fragment of the lost portion of Book 5—without even removing the words and phrases which Bernays ejected as un-Tacitean (fr. 2 = Severus *Chronica* 2. 30. 6–7 [85. 7–15 Halm]).⁹ At the other extreme, a recent biographer of Vespasian dismisses Severus and Orosius as ‘late sources’, evaluates their report that Titus discussed whether to raze the Temple with his *consilium* without serious consideration of their use of Tacitus, and sets their report aside as being ‘unlikely’ on historical grounds.¹⁰ Let it be repeated, therefore, that Bernays’ proof that Severus used Tacitus’ account of the sack of the Temple in 70 is incontrovertible and in no way depends upon the assumptions of the mechanical type of source-criticism which was fashionable when he wrote (for example, Nissen 1863).

Jerome’s commentary on Zechariah (3. 14. 1–2) refers readers to Tacitus on the assumption that the complete text of the *Annals* and the *Histories* was still extant c.400. Hence Tacitus was available as a source both to Severus, whose *Chronica* reckons intervals of time backwards from the consulate of Stilicho in the year 400 (2. 9. 7, 27. 5), and to Orosius, whose *Histories against the Pagans*, written in 417–18, shows no knowledge of Severus’ historical work.¹¹ Both Severus and Orosius, therefore, provide independent evidence about the lost portions of Tacitus: the former uses Tacitean phrases when describing events of 68–70 from the death of Nero to the siege of Jerusalem (2. 29. 5–30. 7), while the latter cites and uses Tacitus for the geography of Palestine (1. 5. 1–14, 10. 3–4) and on the wars of Domitian (7. 10. 3–4; Barnes 1977: 226–31).

Both Severus and Orosius report that Titus deliberated before he decided to destroy the Temple. Severus gives a summary report of a formal debate (2. 30. 6–7):

fertur Titus adhibito consilio prius deliberasse an templum tanti operis everteret. etenim nonnullis videbatur aedem sacratam ultra

⁹ e.g. the Oxford edition by C. Fisher (1910) and the successive Teubner editions of C. Halm (4th edn. 1912), E. Koestermann (2nd edn. 1969), and H. Heubner (1978); cf. now Laupot 2000.

¹⁰ Levick 1999: 118, with an endnote (243–4 n. 34) which misleadingly implies that Severus’ dependence on Tacitus is an idiosyncratic opinion advanced by Weber 1921: 72–3.

¹¹ See the full register of writers used by Orosius (which include Jerome, Rufinus, and Augustine) assembled in his edition by K. Zangemeister, *CSEL* 5 (Vienna, 1882), 685–700.

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omnia mortalia illustrem non oportere deleri, quae servata modestiae Romanae testimonium, diruta perennem crudelitatis notam praeberet. at contra alii et Titus ipse evertendum in primis templum censebant . . .

It is reported that Titus first summoned his advisers and deliberated whether to destroy such an enormous building as the Temple. Some of them considered it unwise that a consecrated shrine famous beyond all mortal constructions should be levelled with the ground, since its preservation would display proof of Roman reasonableness, while its demolition would constitute an unending mark of cruelty. Against this, however, others and Titus himself took the view that the Temple ought to be destroyed as a matter of urgency . . .

Orosius, who does not refer to 'Titus' *consilium* explicitly, has something very similar in substance (7. 9. 5–6):

quod [sc. the Temple] tamen postquam in potestatem redactum opere atque antiquitate suspexit, diu deliberavit utrum tamquam incitamentum hostium incenderet an in testimonium victoriae reservaret . . . itaque Titus, imperator ab exercitu pronuntiatus, templum in Hierosolymis incendit ac diruit.

However, after [the Temple] had been captured and he had admired its size and antiquity, he deliberated for a long time whether to burn it because it had inflamed the enemy or to preserve it as proof of his victory . . . And so Titus, proclaimed *imperator* by the army, set fire to and demolished the Temple in Jerusalem.

It can be taken as certain, therefore, that Tacitus not only presented Titus as making a deliberate and considered decision to destroy the Temple, but also, in accordance with his practice elsewhere, analysed the decision by including in his narrative a debate in 'Titus' *consilium* where the case for and the case against destruction were argued in indirect discourse.¹² Although Josephus reports that Titus reached the opposite decision, he too records just such a meeting of 'Titus' advisers, six of whom he names, at exactly the same juncture (*B* 6. 236–43).

¹² Compare the debate in the imperial *consilium* in 47 about enrolling Gallic senators, which Tacitus has imaginatively reconstructed from Claudius' speech in the Senate, which is partly preserved (*ILS* 212) and which the historian had certainly read: *Ann.* 11. 23. 2–4; cf. Syme 1958a: 317–19, 708; Griffin 1982.

Since Josephus' *Jewish War* is primarily an account of the Jewish revolt against Roman rule, the work inevitably has a narrower focus than the surviving portion of Tacitus' *Histories*, which narrates the general history of the Roman Empire from 1 January 69 until the text breaks off in the middle of 70. Josephus nevertheless extended his purview to include as germane to his theme the brief reigns of Otho and Vitellius, the proclamation of Vespasian as emperor, the Flavian victory in North Italy, and the capture of Rome, which together occupy a substantial part of the fourth book of the *War* (4. 491-502, 585-655). Further, the seventh book of the *War* digresses to record the suppression of the Batavian rebellion of 69-70 and the repulse of a Sarmatian incursion across the Danube (7. 75-95). Josephus' account of these events has some obvious similarities to Tacitus' *Histories*: hence the question naturally arises, whether there may be a literary relationship between the two authors. The subject has not been neglected by scholars (see, for example, Briessmann 1955); on the contrary, it has been discussed at a length which some have found wearisome (Syme 1958*c*). It may still be possible, however, to say something new on this apparently hackneyed theme.

Both Josephus and Tacitus present a very unflattering picture of A. Caecina Alienus, the general of Vitellius who opportunely transferred his allegiance to Vespasian before the decisive battle between the partisans of the rival emperors. Both historians stigmatize Caecina's change of allegiance as a premeditated act of treachery, and both give essentially the same story, albeit with divergences over some minor details. In Josephus, Caecina decides to change sides as soon as he reaches Cremona (*Bj* 4. 635), while Tacitus presents him as planning to betray Vitellius from the very start of his joint campaign with Valens to oppose the Flavian invasion of Italy (*Hist.* 2. 99. 2). In both historians, Caecina attempts to seduce his troops from their loyalty to Vitellius by administering an oath of allegiance to Vespasian to the officers under his command, but the rank-and-file soldiers remain loyal to Vitellius and put Caecina in chains (*Tac. Hist.* 3. 13-14; *Bj* 4. 635-40). After their defeat at the second Battle of Bedriacum, the soldiers release Caecina to intercede on their behalf with Antonius Primus, who sends him under escort to

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Vespasian (Tac. *Hist.* 3. 31. 4). When Caecina reached Vespasian, Josephus reports, he was warmly received and 'covered the disgraces of his treachery with unexpected honours' (*Bj* 4. 644). The end of the story is not in the *Histories* as extant: Tacitus presumably postponed it until he summed up Caecina's life and career in a formal obituary of the sort that he provides for T. Vinius, cos. 69 (1. 48. 2-4).

In imperial Rome, no writer with any political awareness at all would have condemned Caecina openly in this way while he was still an imperial favourite—as he was until the evening of the day on which he died. That fact is relevant to establishing both the date at which Josephus composed his *Jewish War* and the identity of the Latin historian whom Josephus shares with Plutarch and Tacitus as a common source for the events of 69.

IV

Caecina came to grief towards the end of the reign of Vespasian in mysterious circumstances. Three extant authors refer to his fall from favour and death. The so-called *Epitome de Caesaribus*, which was written in the year 395 or shortly thereafter, states that Titus killed Caecina on suspicion of illicit sexual relations with Berenice—which could conceivably be true, even though the Jewish princess was technically not his wife as the *Epitome* alleges (10. 4: *ob suspicionem stupratae Berenices uxoris suae*).¹³ The official story, which too many modern scholars have shown a distressing readiness to believe as wholeheartedly as they can (Charlesworth 1936; Rogers 1980: 93; for greater scepticism, Syme 1958a: 101), was that Caecina had treacherously conspired against Titus. According to Suetonius, after Titus had entertained Caecina to dinner (as he habitually did), he had him killed as he departed because he had found a copy of a seditious speech which Caecina had prepared for delivery to the soldiers (*Tit.* 6. 2). Cassius Dio presumably gave a full account of the episode, but only Xiphilinus' abbreviation from the eleventh century survives:

Meanwhile [Vespasian] was plotted against by Alienus and Marcellus,

¹³ It is rejected by Festy 1999: 91-2. He notes, however, that Berenice was living in the imperial palace as if she were the wife of Titus (Dio 66. 15. 3-4).

although he considered them among his best friends and bestowed every honour on them most liberally, but he did not die at their hands. For both were detected. Alienus was cut down on the orders of Titus in the palace immediately after he rose from a dinner with him to forestall a coup that night (for he already had many of the soldiers ready), while Marcellus cut his own throat with a razor after being tried and condemned in the Senate. (Dio 66. 16. 3-4, Loeb trans., modified).

The standard date of 79 for the fall of Caecina is deduced from the fact that the introductory 'meanwhile' in the quoted passage of Xiphilinus links the death of Caecina and M. Eprius Marcellus to the execution of the Gallic rebel Flavius Sabinus and his wife (whose Gallic name is variously transmitted).¹⁴

Both Tacitus and Dio, in their accounts of the suppression of the Gallic rebellion in 70, state that Sabinus spent nine years in hiding before his capture (*Hist.* 4. 67. 2: *quibus artibus latebrisque vitam per novem mox annos traduxerit . . . suo loco reddemus*; Dio 66. 3. 2: preserved only by Xiphilinus). Simple arithmetic, therefore, might appear to establish the standard date of 79 for the death of Caecina, which is duly stated in most works of reference, writers on Vespasian, commentators on Tacitus, and discussions of Josephus.¹⁵ But Tacitus and Dio are not independent witnesses, and their testimony does not in fact suffice to establish the traditional date of 79 either for the death of Caecina or for the capture of Flavius Sabinus. Either Dio took 'nine years' from Tacitus or, more probably, both derived it from the same source. More important, they (and their putative source) may well have used inclusive rather than exclusive reckoning: if so, their 'nine years' corresponds to eight years in the exclusive mode of counting which is standard in modern scholarship. On the evidence of Tacitus and Dio, therefore, Caecina was disgraced and killed in 78, some time before the death of Vespasian on 24 June in the following year.

¹⁴ Plutarch describes how Sabinus was hidden for years by his loyal wife (*Amat.* 770c-771c). Plutarch heard the story from a son of Sabinus who survived and came to Delphi: his manuscripts give the name of Sabinus' wife as Ἐμποιή (770d).

¹⁵ Thus E. Groag, *PIR*² C 99, E 84; L. Petersen, *PIR*² J 535; Bengtson 1979: 144; Cohen 1979: 85-6; B. W. Jones 1984: 92, 108-9, 209; Chilver 1985: 8; K. Christ 1988: 259; C. P. Jones 2002: 113-14. An earlier date for the fall of Caecina was suggested by Rajak 1983: 195 n. 23; Levick 1999: 192-3, even though neither challenged the accepted date of 79 for the capture of Sabinus, on which it depends. That the date is either '78 or 79' is correctly stated by Griffin (2000a: 42, 45, 1009).

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V

Until recently it was generally assumed that Josephus composed the extant Greek version of his *Jewish War* between 75 and 79.¹⁶ For Book 6 ends with the capture of Jerusalem in the late summer of 70,¹⁷ while the latest datable event in Book 7 is the dedication of the Temple of Pax in 75 (7. 158–62).¹⁸ Accordingly, since Josephus states that he presented his work first to Vespasian and Titus, then to Romans who had fought in Judaea (*Ap.* 1. 51; *Vit.* 361), it appears to follow that he completed the *Jewish War* between 75 and 79. But this traditional date is incompatible with the traditional date for the death of Caecina—a difficulty usually overcome by the simple expedient of ignoring it altogether.¹⁹ Hence suggesting that Caecina died before 79 might appear to lend necessary support to the traditional date. Yet the traditional date is wrong for reasons that have nothing whatever to do with the fall of Caecina.

The preface to the *Jewish War* names only Titus, not Vespasian, and it was Titus alone who issued the imperial order for Josephus' work to be made public (*Vit.* 363). Moreover, Josephus displays a perceptible coolness towards Vespasian in much of his narrative, and he calls Titus 'lord of the world' (5.

¹⁶ For the traditional date, see W. Christ 1920: 94; Laqueur 1920: 6; Weber 1921: 56–8; *HJP*: 1. 47–8; Rajak 1983: 195; Bilde 1988: 79. It also appears to be accepted by Yavetz 1975. C. P. Jones (2002: 113–14, 120) deduces from Josephus' apparent claim that he presented the *Βΐ* to Vespasian and Titus (*Vit.* 361) that some books were completed during the lifetime of Vespasian and that Josephus completed the whole work before the death of Titus.

¹⁷ *Βΐ* 6. 435 gives the exact date as 8 Gorpiaeus: the Julian equivalent has not been established with certainty (*HJP* 1. 587–601). Hence the discrepancy in *CAH*² 11, where the date of the capture of Jerusalem is inconsistently stated as Aug. 70 (664) and 8 Sept. (4, 1009).

¹⁸ The identity of the Catullus who executed Jews in Libya as proconsul of Crete and Cyrene in 72/3 and died shortly thereafter in the classic manner of a persecutor of Jews and Christians (7. 437–53) is unfortunately unknown (*PIR*² C 582; Eck 1970: 118; 1982: 291–2). S. Schwartz (1986) identified him as L. Valerius Catullus Messalinus, who became ordinary consul with Domitian in Rome on 1 Jan. 73. That identification is impossible for a variety of reasons, which are set out by Werner Eck and Hannah Cotton (Ch. 1 above), and its impossibility completely invalidates Schwartz's inference that Josephus revised Book 7 of the *Jewish War* after Catullus Messalinus died in 93.

¹⁹ Townend (1964: 338–41) acknowledges the problem, but attempts to evade it by denying that Caecina 'was really held in honour by Vespasian'—despite the evidence of Suetonius and Dio.

88), which would have been quite improper during his father's lifetime.²⁰ Hence, even if Josephus both wrote the lost original Aramaic version of the *Jewish War* and began to compose the extant Greek version under Vespasian, he probably did not complete the main narrative of Books 1–6 before 24 June 79, when Titus became sole emperor on the death of his father.²¹ Furthermore, Book 7 attributes to Domitian an unrealistically prominent role at the start of Vespasian's reign (for another view see Mason, Ch. 12 below). In particular, Josephus states that the new emperor's younger son 'settled affairs in Gaul' in 70 (*Bj* 7. 85–8), a claim whose falsity is exposed by Tacitus' account of Domitian's journey as far as Lugdunum and no further, closely supervised by Licinius Mucianus, who held the real reins of power in Rome until Vespasian arrived from the East (*Hist.* 4. 85–6).²² It follows that, even if Josephus wrote, and perhaps published, Books 1–6 in the reign of Titus, he composed Book 7 after the death of Titus on 24 September 81.²³ It may be relevant that Flavius Silva held office in Rome as ordinary consul for the first two months of 81: he was presumably either still in Rome or at least residing in Italy (he came from Umbria) when Josephus composed his account of his siege and capture of Masada (7. 252–406) with its negative portrayal of the *sicarii* (see Ladouceur 1987).

VI

The date of Caecina's death is also very relevant to the identity of the Latin source on whom Josephus drew for events outside Judaea. Some passages of Josephus have such coincidences in

²⁰ On some of the literary techniques used to enhance Titus' role in Book 5, see further Paul 1993: he draws especial attention to *Bj* 5. 409–11, where Titus' mere presence produces a miracle (*répas*).

²¹ M. Stern 1976; Cohen 1979: 84–6; S. Schwartz 1990: 13–15. Despite the cogency of his arguments, Stern later reverted to the traditional dating (1987: 78 n. 9).

²² See Heubner 1976: 174—though he assumes that Josephus peddles 'die offizielle flavische Version' without ever pausing to enquire whether the official story of Domitian's activities in the winter of 69/70 might have changed after he became emperor in 81.

²³ Cohen 1979: 87–90. Cohen's conclusion is accepted by Attridge 1984: 192–3, while publication of the whole of the *Bj* is assigned to the reign of Titus by Schreckenberg 1998: 771.

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thought and expression with Tacitus that there must be some sort of literary relationship between the two historians:²⁴

Bj 4. 501 and *Hist.* 2. 4. 2

Bj 4. 597 and *Hist.* 2. 5. 1

Bj 4. 586–7 and *Hist.* 2. 88. 3

Bj 4. 602 and *Hist.* 2. 74. 2

Bj 4. 636 and *Hist.* 3. 13. 1

Bj 4. 654 and *Hist.* 4. 1. 1–2

Bj 4. 657–8 and *Hist.* 4. 51. 2

Although Tacitus might perhaps have consulted Josephus for events in Judaea or for information about Jews and Judaism (observe that Suetonius includes the prophecy made by *unus ex nobilibus captivis Iosephus, cum coiceretur in vincula, Vesp.* 5. 6; cf. *Bj* 3. 399–408), he had no reason to regard him as a useful source for events in Italy in 69, so that it is legitimate to deduce that the two historians independently ‘used the same material’ (Chilver 1956: 204). There are similar, even more frequent and extensive coincidences in phraseology, in expression, and in the selection of material between Plutarch’s *Galba* and *Otho* on the one hand and the first two books of Tacitus’ *Histories* on the other (Hardy 1890: pp. ix–lv), which are generally held to indicate that these two writers independently used an earlier historian writing in Latin, whom Plutarch reproduces fairly faithfully, but whose material Tacitus redeploys in order to create his own narrative and interpretation of events.

It has long been recognized that the profile of their common source which can be deduced from Plutarch and Tacitus corresponds closely to what is known of the Elder Pliny: the lost historian was ‘careful in collecting facts, and critical though not penetrating’; he liked anecdotes; he appears to have been neither a senator nor a seasoned military commander; and he was present in Rome in January 69 (Syme 1958a: 180–1). The identity of this ‘nameless historian’ with Pliny has been denied, indeed denied in the most emphatic and authoritative terms, on the grounds that it is precluded by the traditional date for the death of Caecina: since both Plutarch and Tacitus have the same hostile picture of Caecina as he crossed the Alps into Italy,

²⁴ These pairs of passages are conveniently printed in parallel by Briessmann 1955: 2, 5, 7, 18, 30, 48, 88.

'arrogant and offensive in his barbarian trousers' (Plut. *Otho* 6; Tac. *Hist.* 2. 20. 1), it is argued that 'the work of the unknown author' whom Plutarch and Tacitus used 'was composed later than 79' and hence that this 'nameless historian' cannot be Pliny (Syme 1958a: 181).

The argument is vulnerable. To be sure, Pliny had composed a history of his own times, starting at the point where Audifius Bassus ended, before he dedicated his *Natural History* to Titus in 77 or 78 (praef. 20; cf. 3). But Pliny refrained from publishing his history lest he be suspected of currying imperial favour. Since Pliny died during the eruption of Mount Vesuvius on 24 August 79, two months after the death of Vespasian, he had ample opportunity to revise his account of Caecina's actions in 69 between the latter's death, which may well have occurred before the end of 78, and his own. It may be apposite to observe that at least one modern scholar who accepted the traditional date of 79 for the death of Caecina (Townend 1964: 337-44) saw no chronological impossibility in identifying Pliny the Elder as the common source used for their accounts of the events of 69 not only by Plutarch and Tacitus, but also by Josephus.

VII

It has been traditional to regard Josephus as writing the *Jewish War* in the service of Flavian propaganda: for Wilhelm Weber, Josephus was an intimate of Titus, who officially authorized the work, which he wrote as 'der Prophet des neuen Kaisers' (1921: 54-6, 284-7); for Henry St. John Thackeray, Josephus was 'the client of the Flavians' who was 'commissioned to write the history of their triumph' (1928: 532-3; 1929: 15); for Ronald Syme, Josephus was 'a minor source' whose version of events does not merit the slightest consideration where it contradicts Tacitus since 'enough is known about the nature of official history' (Syme 1958c: 53). Richard Laqueur even argued (1920: 126-7) that the original version of the *Jewish War*, which Josephus wrote in Aramaic for the Jews of Mesopotamia (1. 3, 6), must have been produced as propaganda to serve Vespasian's interests in his dealings with Parthia. Hence it has seemed inconceivable to most who have written about the subject since Bernays that Josephus could contradict the official Roman version of events

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(so, e.g., Briessmann 1955: 33; cf. Bernays 1861: 49). But on the sack of the Temple, it is Tacitus, not Josephus, who purveys the official story which the Flavian dynasty advertised on coins, commemorated in stone, and enshrined in literature.

Tacitus' version of the destruction of the Temple must surely be preferred to that of Josephus. Admittedly, historians who are disinclined to reject any evidence outright, however suspect it may be, have argued that Josephus has preserved a truth deliberately concealed by Flavian propaganda: for, if the destruction of the Temple really was unintended by Titus, as Josephus claims, then, once it had happened, Vespasian and Titus had to choose between glorying in the destruction and admitting the mistake and restoring the sacred building—which was politically impossible (Goodman 1999: 54–5; Leoni 2000). However, Josephus contradicts himself in two passages which belie his explicit and lengthy exculpation of Titus. The seventh book of the *Jewish War* admits that Titus ordered the destruction of the Temple immediately after the capture of Jerusalem (7. 1; cf. 6. 435), and an aside in the later *Jewish Antiquities* states as a matter of fact that 'Titus captured and burned the Temple and the city' (20. 250). Moreover, both close analysis of Josephus' account of the siege of Jerusalem and external evidence indicate that he consistently and deliberately presents Titus as more favourably disposed to Judaism than he really was (Alon 1977: 252–68). What Cassius Dio repeated from a closely contemporary source about the destruction of the Temple is far more likely to be true than Josephus' exculpatory account of Titus' behaviour: the Roman soldiers held back from attacking the Temple out of superstitious dread until Titus compelled them to enter and destroy it (Dio 66. 6. 2–3).

VIII

Tacitus complains that historians who wrote under the Flavian dynasty distorted the truth by claiming that Caecina's opportune change of sides from Vitellius to Vespasian resulted from the highest of motives, a desire for peace and disinterested patriotism (*Hist.* 2. 101. 1). Even if the complaint is directed primarily or exclusively against Cluvius Rufus, who wrote early in the reign of Vespasian (so Townend 1964: 364), Tacitus has

formulated it in a way which obscures changes which the official history of the events of 69–70 underwent while the Flavian regime still flourished—first in 79, when Titus became sole emperor in place of his father Vespasian, and subsequently in 81, when Titus died and was succeeded by his resentful younger brother, who had until then been carefully excluded from real power. Many had written about the events of 69 in both Greek and Latin before Josephus composed his *Jewish War* (4. 496). The time-serving historians about whom Tacitus complains must be sought among those to whom Josephus refers, for they wrote before the fall of Caecina and hence also before the death of Vespasian. Josephus was not one of the historians whom Tacitus criticizes. For he shares Tacitus' estimate of Caecina and, even though he wrote the *Jewish War* in Flavian Rome and with imperial encouragement and patronage, he conspicuously diverges from 'the official view' when he narrates the destruction of the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem.

It is a mistake to assume that there was a single unvarying 'Flavian version' of the events of 69/70 or something that can legitimately be called 'das flavische Geschichtsbild' which held sway unvarying and unchallenged until the sudden end of the dynasty in 96, as Tacitus implies. In fact, as is evident from the Flavian poets no less than from Josephus' *Jewish War*, there were three successive 'Flavian versions' of Vespasian's advent to power, of his and Titus' precise role in the suppression of the Jewish revolt, and of Domitian's activities in 69/70. The first gave prominence to Vespasian, the second glorified Titus, and the third exaggerated the role of the youthful Domitian, for each of the three versions was designed to glorify the reigning emperor while he was exercising power as sole ruler of the Roman Empire.²⁵

²⁵ The comments of Tessa Rajak and Christopher Jones have greatly improved an earlier version of this paper: I am very grateful to both of them, and also to Nino Luraghi, who removed some blemishes in my final text.

Flavian Religious Policy and the Destruction of the Jerusalem Temple

JAMES RIVES

In destroying the Temple in Jerusalem, the Romans dealt a devastating blow to Judaism: that much is generally agreed. It is much less clear whether this blow was deliberately aimed or merely an accident of war. That is to say, were the Roman leaders concerned with the effect that their actions would have on Judaism as a religion, or were they instead focused solely on military, political, and financial matters?

In this chapter I will address this question in two stages. First, is there reason to see the destruction of the Temple not simply as incidental to the suppression of the Jewish revolt but as integral to a larger pattern of decisions, that is, as an element of a policy? If there is, to what extent and, more importantly, in what sense was that policy religious, that is, consciously concerned with its effect on Judaism as a religion? Given that Vespasian and Titus were undoubtedly aware of the unique importance of the Temple in Jewish religion, we might reasonably interpret a policy aimed at its suppression as a deliberate attempt to wipe out Judaism. In other respects, however, they seem to have upheld the rights of Jews to practice their religion, suggesting that any policy concerning the Temple could not have been directed against Jewish religion. The crux of this problem, I will argue, lies not so much in determining the facts as in refining what we mean by 'religion'.

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THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE

Before asking whether the destruction of the Temple was an element of a wider Flavian policy, we must consider whether the Flavian leaders actually intended to destroy the Temple at all.¹ This question exists largely because Josephus, who provides the best and most detailed account, says that Titus expressly stated his intention not to destroy the Temple and did all he could to save it when it caught fire. Since Josephus was present in the Roman camp throughout the siege (*Bj* 6. 96–112 and 365; cf. *Ap.* 1. 48–9), had access to Titus' *hypomnemata* in preparing his account of the siege of Jerusalem (*Vit.* 358), and claims to have won for it Titus' approbation (*Vit.* 363), his account has a *prima facie* claim to authority. Yet there are reasons to doubt it.

According to Josephus (*Bj* 6. 236–66), on the eighth of Loös the Romans set fire to the Temple gates and were thus able to breach its outer defences. On the ninth, Titus held a council with his leading officers to discuss the Temple's fate. Some urged him to destroy it, while others argued that he should do this only if the Jews continued to use it as a fortress. For his part, however, Titus declared that he would not destroy it even if it were occupied, but would instead preserve it as an ornament of the empire. The tenth began with skirmishing between the Romans in the outer court and the rebels in the inner court; after Titus withdrew, there was a further engagement between the sanctuary guards and the Roman soldiers who were extinguishing a fire, apparently in the inner court. It was amidst this that a Roman soldier picked up a brand and, 'moved by some divine impulse', threw it into a window, thereby setting on fire the buildings next to the sanctuary. When Titus heard this, he rushed to the scene to have the fire extinguished, but in the resulting confusion was unable to make the soldiers obey. At this point, Titus and his officers entered the sanctuary and viewed the treasures there. Since the fire was still confined to the outer buildings, he then made another attempt to save the building, but the soldiers again would not obey. Finally, one of them thrust a brand into the hinges of the doors, causing a fire

¹ The most important discussions are Bernays 1861: 52–61, Valetón 1899, Montefiore 1962, Weiler 1968, Alon 1977: 252–68, and Rajak 1983: 206–11; see now Leoni 2000, with full references to earlier scholarship.

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within. Titus then withdrew from the scene, so that there was no one to prevent those outside from setting the sanctuary on fire. And so, concludes Josephus, the Temple was burned against Titus' wishes.

Other accounts, however, say nothing about Titus' opposition to the Temple's destruction.² Indeed, Josephus himself, writing some twenty years after he composed the *Jewish War*, could casually refer to the day when 'Titus captured and burned the sanctuary and the city' (*AJ* 20. 250). Dio, in his very different version of these events, which unfortunately survives only in Byzantine epitomes (66. 6. 2–3), simply describes the Romans storming the Temple and says that when the soldiers hung back because of superstitious fear, Titus forced them on. Lastly, there are two accounts from Latin Christian writers of the early fifth century CE. Sulpicius Severus says that Titus summoned a council and considered whether or not to destroy the Temple; some argued there was no need, but others, including Titus himself, thought that it ought to be destroyed so that the *religio* of the Jews and the Christians could be more fully wiped out (*Chron.* 2. 30. 6–7). Orosius reports that after the Temple had been taken, Titus deliberated whether to burn it or preserve it as a monument to his victory. But since the Church was already spreading throughout all the world, it was God's will that the now useless Temple be destroyed, and so Titus did (7. 9. 5–6). Although the evidence of these two late writers would hardly seem to rival that of the contemporary Josephus, there are good reasons to believe that they drew on the account of the Temple's destruction given by Tacitus in the now lost part of *Historiae* Book 5.³ Even though we cannot hope to reconstruct the actual words of Tacitus (Barnes 1977: 227), we can be reasonably confident that he made Titus responsible for the destruction of the Temple.

Josephus was thus apparently alone in his insistence on Titus' attempts to preserve the Temple. Moreover, his account of the

² Rabbinic accounts, notably b. *Git.* 56b, also stress Titus' culpability; but despite Alon 1977: 253–4, their historical value is slight (e.g. Yavetz 1975: 413–14).

³ See Barnes, Ch. 6 above; the objections advanced by Montefiore (1962) have been amply met by van Andel (1976: 42–8) and Barnes (1977: 226–8). The reference to the Christians, however, must be due to Sulpicius rather than Tacitus (Montefiore 1962: 164–5; Barnes 1977: 228); Laupot (2000) presents new arguments for its Tacitean origin, but these seem to me based on a *petitio principii*.

destruction contains discrepancies that confirm the assumption that he deliberately shaped his account.⁴ For one thing, he almost certainly omitted a key episode in the destruction of the Temple. At some point Titus removed from the inner sanctuary the gold menorah and offering table that were later to have a central place in his triumph. But although Josephus describes in some detail how Titus obtained other Temple goods (*BĴ* 6. 387–91), he says nothing at all about the two great treasures from the sanctuary. In the absence of any other indication, we may guess that Titus gave the orders for their removal at the time when, according to Josephus, he entered the inner sanctuary and ‘viewed the things therein’ (*BĴ* 6. 260).⁵ Josephus’ failure to provide any information on this point indicates that at the very least he was carefully selective in describing Titus’ actions.

More importantly, Josephus hedges on the question of whether the destruction of the Temple was ever really avoidable. Control of the Temple was unquestionably a fundamental Roman military objective, and Titus and his staff had clearly decided to take it by storm; such a decision made at least its partial destruction inevitable. Josephus himself explains that Titus decided to set fire to the outer gates because ‘he saw that his sparing of foreign temples was a source of injury and death for his soldiers’ (*BĴ* 6. 228). The same rationale may also explain the mysterious fire in the inner court on the tenth of Loös.⁶ At any rate, there is certainly no need for us, like Josephus, to invoke a ‘divine impulse’ in order to explain why a soldier might throw a brand into a fortress that he was attempting to storm. And as Valeton long ago pointed out (1899: 136), once a fire was raging around the sanctuary, there was little chance that the Roman soldiers, who were busy battling the rebels, would have had an opportunity

⁴ See variously Valeton 1899: 111–17 and 129–37, Weiler 1968: 141–7, Alon 1977: 256–62, and Giovannini 1996: 30–2; for a defence of Josephus’ account, see Rajak 1983: 206–11.

⁵ This is assumed with little or no comment in various modern accounts, e.g. B. W. Jones 1984: 53; Smallwood 1976: 324. Yarden (1991: 29–32), however, who argues that there was more than one sacred menorah and table, suggests that the treasures paraded in the triumph may have been among the spoils mentioned by Josephus in *BĴ* 6. 387–91.

⁶ Josephus says nothing about the origin of this fire, which was the ultimate cause of the sanctuary’s destruction, unless his vague statement that ‘the flames took their origin and cause from the natives’ (*BĴ* 6. 251) is meant to explain it; if so, the very fact that he chose not to say anything more explicit suggests that he was waffling.

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to extinguish it even had there been sound reason to do so. In short, it is highly unlikely that Titus, once he had determined to take the Temple by storm, could have been quite as shocked by its destruction as Josephus says.

Indeed, it is difficult to imagine why Titus should have been so keen to preserve the Temple in the first place. Josephus' claim (*BJ* 6. 241) that it was because of the building's magnificence is not very persuasive, although it is perhaps possible, as Orosius suggests, that Titus hoped to preserve the building as a monument to his own generalship. A more serious possibility is that he may have been hindered by religious scruples (Valeton 1899: 117–28). The Romans generally considered it proper to respect the shrines even of foreign deities. Yet this was by no means a binding obligation: if they took a city by storm, they were just as likely to destroy its temples as to spare them. Although there might be some concern for the power of the gods who inhabited them, there were various ways to handle this. The traditional method was the ritual of *evocatio*, whereby the Roman general would summon deities away from the enemy city and offer them a home among the Romans. It is not impossible, although rather unlikely, that Titus employed this ritual in the siege of Jerusalem.⁷ Yet it was for practical purposes unnecessary, since a story had apparently gained currency that the Jewish god had already vacated his Temple.⁸ Whether Titus originated or simply exploited this story, it would have effectively eliminated any religious scruple that might have restricted his treatment of the Temple.

Lastly, it is worth noting that Titus afterwards did not seem to show the slightest sign of regret for the Temple's destruction. In this case an argument from silence carries some weight, for if Titus had in fact shown any regret, Josephus would surely have said so. Instead, once the Roman victory was complete,

⁷ On *evocatio*, see further Basanoff 1947 and Le Gall 1976. Whether this ritual was maintained in the imperial period is very uncertain: its last known use (in a modified form: cf. Beard, North, and Price 1998: 1. 133–4) was in 75 BCE (*AE* 1977, 816), although the elder Pliny (*NH* 28. 18) notes that it remained part of the pontifical discipline even in his own day. Orlin (1997: 15 n. 13) thinks that the role of *evocatio* even during the Republic has been much exaggerated.

⁸ Jos. *BJ* 6. 299–300; Tac. *Hist.* 5. 13. I am not persuaded by the suggestion of Valeton (1899: 126–7) that this story was invented by Josephus because, as a Jew, he could hardly attribute efficacy to the Roman ritual of *evocatio*.

Titus ordered the remains of the Temple to be razed instead of preserving them as he did other parts of the city (*BJ* 7. 1–2). If anything, Titus seems to have regarded the destruction of the Temple as one of his signal accomplishments: a depiction of it being set on fire was evidently paraded in his triumph (*BJ* 7. 144), and the poet Valerius Flaccus (1. 12–14) evoked it as his most distinctive achievement. Titus' own actions point in the same direction. According to Josephus, it was immediately after the firing of the sanctuary, and indeed while it was still in flames, that his soldiers set up their standards in the Temple courtyard and hailed him as *imperator*, a highly significant acclamation that not only indicated a claim to victory but also marked his status in the new regime (*BJ* 6. 316; cf. B. W. Jones 1984: 80–1, Levick 1999: 186).

There are thus cogent reasons to suspect that Josephus' account of Titus' role in the Temple's destruction is misleading, and a number of scholars have believed this to be the case. If so, however, we must wonder why Josephus would have depicted Titus in the way that he did and how he hoped to get away with it, since as we have seen he submitted his work to Titus himself for approval. Yet the problem is perhaps not so acute as it may seem. For one thing, Josephus' depiction of Titus may be misleading without being absolutely false. Although Titus' primary concern was undoubtedly to wrest control of the Temple from the rebels, he may indeed have hoped, for whatever reason, to preserve the Temple if it could be taken without being destroyed; it is possible that he declared this intention in the council, and that Josephus merely emphasized that declaration while downplaying the more important decision to storm the Temple (Valeton 1899: 111–17; cf. Smallwood 1976: 325–6). It is equally possible that, upon learning that the Temple had been fired in his absence, Titus hurried to the scene and perhaps even attempted to slow the blaze; after all, he had not yet had a chance to ransack the Temple for spoils. In short, Josephus may have been relatively accurate in reporting Titus' actions, but have shaped his account in such a way as to represent those actions in a misleading light.

But why should Josephus have done this at all? There are various possibilities for explaining his motivations. On the one hand, he may have wished to demonstrate to the respectable

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Jewish elite that the Roman high command had not been directly responsible for that crushing disaster; this would fit with his general programme in the *Jewish War* of deflecting the blame for the war from both the Roman rulers and the respectable Jewish elite and assigning it instead to the ruffians who had led the people astray (e.g. Rajak 1983: 81–91). On the other hand, he may have been using this episode to elaborate his rhetorical depiction of Titus' clemency (e.g. Yavetz 1975: 423–6); this might also explain why Titus himself had no objection to the spin that Josephus had put on his actions, since he seems by the later 70s to have been quite eager to appear clement (for other views on Josephus' treatment of Titus' clemency, see Mason and Chapman, Chs. 12 and 13 below). In addition, Josephus may have had private reasons: he may have wanted to distance his personal patron from one of the greatest disasters ever to befall his people. But he may have had historical reasons as well; I will return to this question at the end of my paper.

As I mentioned in my introduction, the Roman leadership could hardly have failed to foresee the religious implications of the Temple's destruction, whether that was one of the deliberate goals of their campaign or merely a possible outcome. It was well known that Jews generally celebrated the sacrificial cult of their god only in the Temple in Jerusalem, with one main exception that I will discuss below.⁹ Consequently, the Flavians must have been aware that in destroying the Temple they were putting an end to this cult: the two were in effect inseparable.¹⁰ Their later actions suggest that, even if they did not intend from the start to end the Temple cult permanently, this soon became a conscious policy.

⁹ There is some slight evidence for Jewish sacrifices in other contexts. Some scholars believe that Jews in the diaspora offered the Passover sacrifice (Philo *Spec.* 2. 145–6; cf. Colautti 2002: 232), and some of the civic decrees from Asia that guarantee Jews the right to observe their ancestral customs seem to refer to sacrifices (*AJ* 14. 244–6, 257–8, 260; cf. Gruen 2002: 117). The Essenes may have made their sacrifices elsewhere than in the Temple (cf. *AJ* 18. 18–19). Sacrifices presumably also continued in the Samaritan Temple, which Titus did not destroy (*AJ* 12. 10); this indicates that the Romans clearly distinguished them from the Jews, despite the ambiguity in their relationship (*AJ* 9. 288–91). I owe these references to Steve Mason.

¹⁰ The possibility that the sacrificial cult continued after the destruction of the Temple is considered, and rejected, in *HJP* 1. 521–3 and by Smallwood 1976: 347–8; Colautti (2002), however, argues for the continued celebration of Passover outside Jerusalem after 70 CE (cf. *AJ* 2. 313).

We must first consider the fact that Vespasian and Titus made the gold menorah and the offering table from the Temple sanctuary a central element in the triumph that they celebrated in June 71 CE.¹¹ According to Josephus (*B*ŷ 7. 148–50), the most conspicuous of the spoils carried in the triumph were the golden table and lamp from the Temple. It would of course hardly be surprising if Josephus personally regarded these treasures as the most conspicuous objects in the procession. Although the Arch of Titus was a memorial dedicated after Titus' death rather than a monument of the actual triumph (see Millar, Ch. 5 above), it nevertheless presumably provides a reliable indication of what the Flavians regarded as its key elements. It is therefore significant that the menorah and offering table are the focus of one of its two great inner reliefs, opposite to that of Titus in a triumphal chariot. Since the Jerusalem Temple notoriously lacked a cult statue, it is likely, as Schwier (1989: 324) has argued, that these two treasures represented the Temple cult as a whole. Their role in the triumph therefore suggests that the Temple cult was central to the Flavian interpretation of the suppression of the Jewish revolt. Further evidence lies in the fact that, four years later, Vespasian placed these two treasures in the great monument of the new dynasty, the Temple of Pax (*Jos. B*ŷ 7. 158–62; cf. Dio 66. 15. 1): the Roman despoiling of the Jewish sacrificial cult was closely bound up with the peace of the empire.

At much the same time as the triumph (*CP*ŷ 2. 113–14), Vespasian took another action that similarly advertised the end of the Temple and its cult. According to Josephus, 'he imposed a tax on Jews wheresoever they were, ordering them to bring each year two drachmas to the Capitolium, just as previously they contributed to the Temple in Jerusalem' (*B*ŷ 7. 218; cf. Dio 66. 7. 2). As Josephus elsewhere explains (*A*ŷ 3. 194–6), there had been a law among the Jews that all free men between the ages of 20 and 50 should annually contribute a half-shekel to the service of their god (cf. Exod. 30: 11–16). In the Roman

¹¹ Titus' return to Rome is generally dated to mid June 71 CE. A papyrus (*P Oxy.* 2725) shows that he reached Alexandria on 25 Apr. 71, and it is usually assumed, following Chambalu 1885: 517, that he would have left Alexandria when the south winds began to blow, around 10 May, and that the trip to Rome would have taken at least a month: so B. W. Jones 1984: 78 and Halfmann 1986: 181. Josephus (*B*ŷ 7. 121) says that the triumph was only a few days later.

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period, this money was gathered by local Jewish communities throughout the world and forwarded to the Temple; the funds collected there were very substantial. Although this practice at times aroused the ill-will of their neighbours and the occasional Roman governor (e.g. Cic. *Flacc.* 67), the central Roman authorities had always upheld the Jews' right to continue it (Jos. *AJ* 16. 27–61 and 160–78; cf. Smallwood 1976: 124–7, Rajak 1984: 113–14). Now, however, with the Temple destroyed and its cult symbolically held captive in Rome, Vespasian transferred this tax from the Jewish god to the chief Roman god. Although his motivations were no doubt in part financial, the decision also had obvious implications for the Temple cult: the funds that once supported it were now redirected to the needs of Rome and its god, thereby precluding any possibility that they might be again available to support the cult of the Jewish god.

Lastly, Vespasian gave orders to close the Jewish temple at Leontopolis in Egypt. This temple had been established around 160 BCE, amidst Antiochus Epiphanes' attempts to Hellenize the Jewish cult, and for the next two hundred years the cult of the Jewish god was celebrated there more or less as it was in the Temple in Jerusalem (*HJP* 3. 145–7). According to Josephus (*BJ* 7. 409–19), after the fall of Masada a group of *sicarii* went to Alexandria and tried to stir up resistance to Rome. The prefect reported these disturbances to Vespasian, and 'he, suspicious of the Jews' incessant tendency to revolution and fearing that crowds might again gather in one place and draw others along with them, ordered Lupus to destroy the temple in the so-called territory of Onias' (*BJ* 7. 421). Lupus removed some of the offerings from the temple and shut its doors, and his successor Paulinus stripped it of all its treasures and closed the gates, barring all access and leaving no trace of worship (*BJ* 7. 433–5). Now this temple, so far as we know, had played no role in the Jewish revolt nor even in the disturbances in Alexandria. The evidence in fact suggests that relatively few Jews, even in Egypt, acknowledged its legitimacy or that of the cult celebrated therein.¹² It is very likely that Vespasian was aware of all this, so that

¹² There are references to it only in Josephus and rabbinic texts. The latter (e.g. m. *Menah.* 13: 10) suggest that at least some Jews vowed offerings in the temple at Leontopolis, although the rabbis thought they should fulfil them in the Jerusalem Temple. Tcherikover (*CPJ* 1. 44–6) notes the absence of any reference to this

his decision to close it and end its cult indicates that he wished to take no chances of allowing a revived Jewish temple cult.¹³

The evidence, therefore, strongly suggests that at least by a year or so after the destruction of the Temple, regardless of whether the destruction itself was planned, Vespasian had decided not to allow the Temple cult to be revived: the parading of its chief cult objects in the triumph and their later placement in the Temple of Peace, the transfer of the Temple tax, and the closing of the temple at Leontopolis all point in this direction. These decisions, taken together, constitute what we may reasonably describe as a policy, even if that policy was something looser and less elaborate than the products of modern think-tanks to which we normally apply the word. It is important to stress that this policy concerned the Temple not simply as a building, a potential fortress for rebels, but as the cultic centre of the Jews: its goal was apparently the permanent abolition of the Jewish sacrificial cult.¹⁴ The question is now to determine what concerns Vespasian was addressing in acting as he did.

FLAVIAN RELIGIOUS POLICY

Given the central importance of the Temple in Judaism, the most obvious interpretation would be that Vespasian, in abolishing the Temple and its cult, intended to destroy the Jewish religion. Since there had long been considerable hostility towards the Jews, which the revolt would have only increased, such a goal would not have been unthinkable. Nevertheless, it is difficult to believe that Flavian policy was meant to wipe out Jewish religion *tout court*, because there is no significant evidence

temple in Hellenistic Jewish literature, in stark contrast to the reverence shown for the Jerusalem Temple.

¹³ Vespasian had close relations with both Agrippa II and Ti. Julius Alexander; the latter, from a prominent Alexandrian Jewish family and a former prefect of Egypt (*HJP* 1. 456–7; see also Rajak, Ch. 4 above), would have been particularly well able to apprise him of the Leontopolis temple's significance.

¹⁴ Contrast the assessment of Smallwood 1976: 346: 'The destruction [of the Temple] was in a sense only accidental, and was certainly only incidental to the crushing of the revolt, and did not symbolize any Roman intention of eliminating Judaism.' Goodman (1987: 234–9; 1994a: 42–4) rightly stresses the deliberateness with which the Roman leaders chose to abolish the Temple cult and the unusualness of their decision.

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that either Vespasian or Titus took any other actions against it.¹⁵ Unlike Antiochus Epiphanes before them or Hadrian after them, they did not prohibit circumcision or the reading of the Law or any other important Jewish practice. On the contrary, they are said by Josephus to have upheld the established privileges of the Jewish populations of Antioch and Alexandria even when petitioned by the local elites to revoke them (Jos. *Bḥ* 7. 100–11; *Aḥ* 12. 121–4), and Vespasian rejected accusations brought by one of his own governors against Jewish leaders in Cyrenaica and elsewhere (Jos. *Bḥ* 7. 447–50). According to rabbinic traditions, Vespasian even authorized R. Yohanan ben Zakkai's foundation of a 'rabbinic academy' in Yavneh.¹⁶

In fact, seen against the background of traditional complaints about the Jews, Vespasian's policy appears rather paradoxical. It was Jewish exclusivity and refusal to worship other gods that had always provoked gentile hostility (e.g. Schäfer 1997), whereas the Temple and its cult were for most gentiles one of the most ordinary and least peculiar aspects of Jewish religion; Roman emperors and their representatives had even patronized it.¹⁷ Yet Vespasian did not interfere with the observances that most sharply distinguished the Jews from their neighbours, such as circumcision or the dietary laws, but instead abolished the Temple cult. This has suggested to some scholars that the Flavian policy was not directed towards Jewish religion at all, but resulted from other considerations. Two recent scholars have advanced comprehensive interpretations along these lines.

Giovannini (1996) has argued that Vespasian's foremost concern was financial. His chief goals were to gain control of the

¹⁵ That is, if we discount the claim of Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 3. 12) that Vespasian's attempt to destroy all descendants of David led to a great persecution of the Jews. As Goodman (1987: 236–9) has suggested, the Jewish War no doubt led the Roman elite to view Jewish tradition with increased hostility, but this hostility does not seem to have resulted in the formal suppression of any particular traditions apart from the Temple cult. Domitian's attitude may well have been different, but even he did not attempt to suppress Jewish traditions (Smallwood 1976: 376–85).

¹⁶ The evidence comes entirely from late rabbinic sources: b. *Git.* 56a–b, *Lam. Rab.* i. 31, and *Abot R. Nat.* 4, all available in Alon 1977: 297–307; see the critical assessments of Alon 1977: 269–313 and Schäfer 1979.

¹⁷ *HḥP* 2. 309–13. In so far as it involved the worship of a national god in a temple with regular blood sacrifices, the Temple cult conformed quite closely to the expectations most people in the Graeco-Roman tradition would have of a typical public cult; only the lack of a cult statue was in any way problematic (see below, n. 22).

immense wealth stockpiled in the Temple and, even more, to transform the Temple tax into a lasting source of income. It was the latter in particular that made necessary the suppression of the Temple cult, for only in this way could he redirect the tax to Rome without incurring the charge of impiety. This interpretation certainly has much to recommend it. Vespasian was fiscally very prudent. Nero had created a huge debt, a problem only exacerbated by the civil wars that followed his death. Vespasian not only erased the debt, but engaged in an extensive building programme and left a substantial surplus of funds at his death (Levick 1999: 95–106). In all this the spoils from the Jewish war and the revenue from the new Jewish tax clearly played an enormous part. We now know that the spoils paid for the Colosseum (Alföldy 1995; see further Millar, Ch. 5 above) and presumably the Temple of Peace as well, and the revenue from the tax is likely to have been enormous (see e.g. *CPJ* 1. 80–2 and 2. 111–16, Smallwood 1976: 371–6).

Quite a different interpretation has been proposed by Schwier (1989: 308–37), who sees Vespasian's motivation as essentially ideological. The point of Flavian policy was primarily to demonstrate the absolute victory of the Roman god Jupiter over the god of the Jews, and thereby obtain legitimacy for the new dynasty. For example, the triumph was designed to display the emperor moving from the temple of the Egyptian gods, who had already given him their blessings, to that of the great Roman god Jupiter, whose recognition he would now obtain by offering to him the attributes of the defeated Jewish god. The new Jewish tax served the same purpose: not only the attributes but also the income of the Jewish god were turned over to the victorious Jupiter. The victory of Jupiter, and the legitimacy of the Flavian dynasty, therefore required the suppression of the Jewish Temple and its cult, since only in this way could its symbols be brought to Rome and its revenues transferred to Jupiter. Again, this analysis is highly plausible. Vespasian was establishing a new dynasty, the first since that of Augustus. Although his career had been successful enough, neither his ancestry nor his accomplishments were such as to justify his claim to the supreme position. As many scholars have emphasized, it was the Jewish war that would serve as his foundation myth.

Without rejecting these analyses, I would argue that Ves-

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pasian was equally concerned with the effect of his policy on Jewish religion, and not only with his own financial or ideological advantage. There has often been an implicit assumption that either Vespasian was hostile to Judaism or he was not. If he was hostile, it is difficult to account for his apparent indifference to Jewish religion apart from the Temple cult, while if he was not we must assume that in abolishing the Temple cult he was unconcerned with religion and interested solely in political or financial issues; neither option is entirely satisfactory. The problem, I would argue, lies in the modern Western conception of a religion as an integrated system of practices and beliefs that springs from and embodies a single fundamental understanding of the divine. (This may describe well enough the view of the Jews themselves, or at least of those Jews who regarded the Torah as governing all their practices and beliefs; but here I am concerned with reconstructing the quite different Roman view.) There is little reason to think that Vespasian himself would have regarded Jewish religion in this way, since his own 'religion' did not itself form such a system. There instead existed in the Graeco-Roman tradition a variety of modes in which people could think about and interact with the divine world, of which cult, myth, iconography, and philosophy were the most important. These overlapped and interacted in various ways, but neither formed an integrated system nor sprang from a unified understanding of the divine.¹⁸ When a Roman leader like Vespasian looked at the Jews and their traditions, therefore, he is not likely to have seen a 'religion'. What might he have seen instead? (In what follows, I am not of course claiming to divine Vespasian's actual thoughts; rather, I am trying to recreate, on the basis of available evidence, how someone of his general background might have perceived things.)

Literary evidence indicates that Greek and Roman observers used several overlapping sets of terms to describe Jewish traditions. One such set centred on the idea of national custom. This idea originated in archaic Greece, when increased contact with other cultures revealed that customs varied from people to people; it later became a central part of the ethnographic

¹⁸ For an expression of this view among ancient scholars, note the so-called *theologia tripertita* expounded by Varro (*Ant. div.* fr. 7 Cardauns = Aug. *De civ. D.* 6. 5) and elaborated by Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 12. 39–48); see further Feeney 1998: 12–21.

tradition. For example, in a famous passage on the Egyptians, Herodotus explains that their *ἥθη* and *νόμοι*, their customs and usages, are the opposite of those of other peoples (2. 35. 2). Since these terms could cover everything from gender relations to hairstyles, they naturally proved useful in describing particular aspects of Judaism. So for example, the geographer Agatharchides of Cnidos in the second century BCE reports that the Jews have the custom (*ἐθίζειν*) of observing the sabbath (Jos. *Ap.* 1. 209). Both Diodorus Siculus (1. 28. 3, 55. 5) and Strabo (17. 2. 5) describe circumcision as a Jewish *νόμιμον*, usage. This was apparently the language normally used by Roman officials when ruling on the rights of Jews to maintain their traditions: Claudius, for example, employed it in his letter to the Alexandrians, and it often appears in the documents included by Josephus in his *Jewish Antiquities*.¹⁹

Another set of terms had to do with philosophy. Greeks and Romans often identified the wisdom traditions of other cultures with their own tradition of philosophy, and identified the carriers of those traditions as philosophers. The result was a category of ‘barbarian philosophers’ that included among others the Egyptian priests, the Persian *magoi*, and the Indian brahmins. Arnaldo Momigliano (1975: 83–92) demonstrated that the earliest Greek writers to discuss the Jews, in the late fourth and early third centuries BCE, put them in the same category, but that this understanding of the Jews did not become widespread. Nevertheless, the language of philosophy continued to be useful for describing certain aspects of Jewish tradition, particularly monotheism and the rejection of divine images. Perhaps more importantly, some Jews embraced the language of philosophy as the best way of interpreting their traditions for others (Mason 1999). So for example Philo can describe the activity of synagogues as ‘instruction in ancestral philosophy’ (*Leg.* 156; cf. *Mos.* 2. 216), and Josephus can present Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes as philosophical sects in the Greek sense (*Bῃ* 2. 119–66; *Aῃ* 18. 11–25).

¹⁹ Claudius: *CPῃ* 2, no. 153, lines 85–6 (*νενομισμένα* and *ἔθῃ*); Josephus: e.g. *Aῃ* 14. 213–16 (letter of proconsul to Parium: *πάτρια ἔθῃ*); *Aῃ* 14. 227 (Dolabella to Ephesus: *πάτριον ἔθισμόν*); *Aῃ* 16. 27–61 (Agrippa in Ionia: *νόμοι οἰκείοι*). On the importance of this language, see Barclay 1996: 407–8; on parallels in Josephus, see Mason 1991: 96–106.

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A third set of terms derived, as we might expect, from the language of cult. Both Greeks and Romans regarded the worship of the gods as consisting primarily in the performance of various rituals. In their own traditions, the most important of these rituals were prayer and sacrifice, especially blood sacrifice, but they acknowledged that a wide variety of practices could fall into this category. In Greek, such practices were called *ἱερά*; in Latin, they were *sacra* or *ritus*. In describing Judaism, writers tended to apply these terms especially to the Temple cult, but they also used them of other Jewish observances, such as the sabbath.²⁰ Roman officials made use of this language as well, and were apparently as likely to describe Jewish traditions as *hiera* as they were to call them customs or usages; it is in fact not uncommon to find both sets of terms together.²¹ Roman observers were therefore prepared to identify a whole range of Jewish customs as types of cult activities, even if they were far removed from the traditional practices of Graeco-Roman cult.

Vespasian, then, is more likely to have understood what we call Judaism as an aggregation of national customs, philosophical positions, and cult practices than as an integrated system. Seen from such a perspective, his actions in abolishing the Temple cult while simultaneously tolerating other aspects of the Jewish tradition are potentially more coherent. To identify that coherence, we must ask what it was about the Temple cult in particular that would have led Vespasian to suppress it. It is extremely unlikely that anything in its actual rituals would have provoked such an action.²² Although 'Roman religious tolerance' is a more problematic notion than is sometimes thought (Garnsey 1984),

²⁰ Roman writers frequently describe the sabbath as a *dies sacra*, a holy day (Tib. 1. 3. 18; Ov. *Ars* 1. 76; Just. *Epit.* 36. 2. 14; cf. Frontin. *Strat.* 2. 1. 17: *nefas* to conduct business). Similarly, Horace declares that he has no *religio* to observe the sabbath (*Sat.* 1. 9. 69–71; cf. Just. *Epit.* 36. 2. 15). There are also references to Jewish *sacra* (Val. Max. 1. 3. 3) and *ritus* (Sen. ap. Aug. *De civ. D.* 6. 11) that seem to refer to general observances; Tacitus (*Ann.* 2. 85. 4) and Suetonius (Tib. 36), in referring to the expulsion of Jews from Rome, refer generically to their *sacra* and *ritus*.

²¹ e.g. Jos. *AJ* 14. 213, 227, and 244–6. One example is particularly striking. According to Josephus (*AJ* 16. 164), Augustus, in a decree guaranteeing the rights of the Jews in Asia and Cyrene, declared that anyone who stole the sacred books or sacred funds from a synagogue would be treated as a *ἱεροδύλος*, a temple robber, and would forfeit his property to the public treasury; in other words, such actions would count in Roman law as *sacrilegium*, the crime of temple-robbery.

it is true that Roman authorities were never much interested in restricting or banning specific cult practices. Despite elite hostility to practices that were at odds with the mainstream of their own tradition, such as ecstatic possession (e.g. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2. 19. 2–5; Apul. *Met.* 8. 24–30) or the depiction of gods in animal shape (e.g. Cic. *Tusc.* 5. 78 and *Rep.* 3. 14; Juv. 15. 1–13), the only cult practice that Roman authorities ever seem to have banned outright was human sacrifice (Plin. *NH* 30. 12; *Paul. Sent.* 5. 23. 16; Porph. *Abst.* 2. 56. 3).

Roman authorities were, however, very much interested in cult organization and structures of religious authority. In this area they seem to have had definite if not explicitly formulated ideas about what was and was not acceptable. The most acceptable form of cult organization was civic cult, that is, cult integrated into the organization of the *civitas*, or city. Civic cult had a number of distinctive features.²³ For one thing, the rituals of civic cult took place in a public space, whether a temple or simply the streets and plazas. Secondly, public funds were used to pay for these rituals; in some cases, specific sources of revenue might be set aside for particular cults. Thirdly, the people who presided over these rituals were civic officials, whether priests or magistrates, who represented the community in its relationship with the gods. Although the actual presence of the populace was often not required, popular participation in major festivals was common enough, and served to strengthen group solidarity and affirm the individual's membership in the larger community; indeed, identification with the gods of one's city was a fundamental aspect of civic identity in the ancient world. Civic cults of this sort, long established in the older cities of the empire, were encouraged and sometimes even mandated by Roman authorities.

In contrast, Roman officials tended to view with suspicion other types of cult organization and other ways of structuring

²² The absence of a cult image was thought peculiar (Schäfer 1997: 34–50), but would not have been a reason to suppress the cult; aniconism existed in other parts of the Roman Near East (Millar 1993: 12–15) and elsewhere, and does not seem to have provoked any formal action.

²³ What follows is a generalization: it would not be difficult to think of exceptions and marginal cases; I nevertheless think that it reflects tolerably well the usual assumptions of the time. For useful discussions, see Sourvinou-Inwood 1990 and 1988, Gordon 1990a and b, and the critical assessments of Woolf 1997 and Bendlin

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religious authority; for example, they restricted the power and influence of the great temples in Egypt and Asia Minor (Gordon 1990b: 240–2). Private cult associations could also cause concern, as indeed did any sort of private association. Nevertheless, there is abundant evidence for an extensive variety of private or semi-public associations in the cities of the imperial period, ranging from ethnic and professional groups to benevolent societies for the poor, and in all these associations cult played a greater or lesser part. The fact that so many private associations apparently existed without any hindrance makes it clear that they enjoyed an extensive if *de facto* acceptance on the part of Roman authorities.

In terms of its organization, then, how might Vespasian have viewed the assemblage of behaviours and traits that constituted Judaism? In the first place, he probably considered the range of beliefs and practices normally characterized as national customs or *sacra* to be matters of individual or family observance, and so lacking altogether in cultic organization. Secondly, he would certainly have been aware that Jews frequently formed local associations that regularly assembled in community buildings to study their holy books and worship their god. Such groups would probably have seemed to him much the same as other ethnic associations that met to worship their ancestral deities. Lastly, he would no doubt have identified what took place in the Temple in Jerusalem as the civic cult of the Jews. It was in the Temple that the hereditary priests performed the appointed rites on behalf of the people as a whole. It was to the Temple that Jews from all over Judaea and even further abroad came to participate in the great public festivals. And it was the Temple that was supported by a special tax to which all adult Jews were liable. Above all, the god whose cult was uniquely celebrated in the Temple was the god whose worship defined Jewish identity. In all these ways the cult of the Jewish god in the Jerusalem Temple would have seemed the equivalent of the cult of Athena Polias in Athens, Artemis in Ephesus, or Jupiter Optimus Maximus in Rome.

Roman authorities had long been aware that the civic cult of the Jews was a potential source of practical problems: the great crowds that filled Jerusalem at the major festivals were well known to be volatile and liable to unrest, and it was no doubt

largely because of them that Roman leaders had taken the unusual step of stationing a garrison in the city (Millar 1993: 45). Nevertheless, they seem on the whole to have regarded the cult without much concern. The Jewish revolt, however, must have led Vespasian to reconsider its role very carefully. As I suggested in the previous section, the ultimate result of this reconsideration was a policy to abolish it. It has often been noted that the Temple was 'the symbol of Jewish resistance' (B. W. Jones 1984: 55) and 'the theological centre of Jewish opposition' (Schwier 1989: 314), and that its destruction was necessary both to bring the revolt to an end and to prevent any future revolts. This is an important observation, but one that can be further refined. Vespasian was no doubt perfectly familiar with the importance that a major civic cult had as a focus for national zeal, and would have been keenly aware that all the areas involved in the revolt had their civic cult in the Jerusalem Temple. But he would have understood the ties that bound these areas to the Temple not merely as symbolic or theological, but also as something much more tangible. In Rome, the greatest physical embodiment of the *populus Romanus* would have been the great crowds that filled the public spaces during the Ludi Romani. Likewise, the greatest physical embodiment of the people who revolted against Rome would have been the great crowds that filled Jerusalem during the major festivals, crowds that came not only from Judaea but also from Galilee, Peraea, and Idumaea. For someone like Vespasian, it was precisely through their participation in the Temple cult that the inhabitants of these various regions became, in a very physical sense, a single people. Consequently, it was only the abolition of the Temple cult that could unravel these strong physical connections and remove the basis for future revolts.²⁴

Yet Vespasian knew that the ties that bound Jews to the Temple cult extended far beyond Judaea and its environs, and that the problems that the cult posed for Roman authorities were consequently not limited to the area of the revolt. It

²⁴ It was also through the Temple cult that the Jewish aristocracy was articulated (cf. Jos. *Vit.* 1–2); if Goodman is right to argue that the Flavian policy of abolishing the Temple cult was a response to the participation of the Jewish ruling class in the revolt (1987: 239; cf. 249), this would highlight another aspect of the cult's importance from the Roman point of view.

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is worth considering how Vespasian might have regarded these problems, even if my treatment must necessarily be rather speculative. I would suggest that in so far as Vespasian identified the Temple cult as the civic cult of the Jews, he would also have regarded its organization as anomalous and problematic. It was not only the inhabitants of Jerusalem or even of Judaea whose identity was defined by their worship of the Temple's god, but Jews all over the empire. Although other immigrant groups maintained their devotion to ancestral cults, that of the Jews went much further by excluding any participation in local cults. Moreover, their ties to the ancestral cult centre were more formally organized than those of other diaspora groups. When possible, Jews from other parts of the empire visited Jerusalem to take part in the great festivals there, just as the citizens of other cities participated in their own festivals.²⁵ More regularly, and therefore more strikingly, all Jews contributed to the support of the Temple in Jerusalem, just as public funds were used to maintain public cults in other cities. The Temple cult therefore functioned as a civic cult, but the people whom it bound together were not the inhabitants of a single city or region. From Vespasian's point of view, this anomalous organization would have made the Jews to some extent a shadow *civitas*, a people who identified themselves primarily not with the city in which they lived nor even with Rome, but with Jerusalem and its cult. Jerusalem would thus have appeared as a kind of rival to Rome, the only other city whose 'citizens', so to speak, were scattered throughout the empire.²⁶

Underlying the immediate problem of the Jewish revolt, then, was the more diffuse problem of the place of the Jews in the Roman empire. Vespasian's creation of the Temple tax and his closing of the temple in Leontopolis suggest that in his policy

²⁵ See esp. Acts 2: 5–11; for pilgrims from Judaea and its environs, see e.g. Jos. BJ 1. 253, 2. 10, 2. 43 (also Galilee, Idumaea, and Peraea), and 2. 232 (also Galilee); see in general Jeremias 1969: 58–84 and Rajak, Ch. 4 above.

²⁶ As Agrippa I allegedly pointed out in a letter to Gaius (Philo *Leg.* 281): '[Jerusalem] is the capital not of the single country of Judaea but also of most other countries, because of the colonies which it has sent out.' For the importance of the ties between diaspora communities and Jerusalem, especially the Temple, see Barclay 1996: 418–21; note also S. Schwartz 2001: 47 and 95, who suggests that Jerusalem's status as the metropolis of the world's Jews was due largely to Herod the Great.

on the Temple cult he was looking beyond the immediate problem to the wider one as well.²⁷ As long as the Temple cult acted as a sort of civic cult for Jews everywhere, it would bind them together into what I have described as a shadow *civitas*, a people with a common shrine and priesthood as well as shared customs and beliefs. And as long as the Temple cult was supported by the regular contributions of Jews all over the world, there would be a physical centre in which the wealth and power of this far-flung people could be concentrated. I would suggest that in abolishing the cult, Vespasian was not simply taking a precaution against further revolts in Judaea, but hoping to eliminate the anomalous cult organization that made the Jews throughout the Roman world into a people with an alternative focus of loyalty and national identity.²⁸ Without their 'civic cult' centred on the Temple, Jews could be expected to become much more like other groups in the Roman empire: a people with their own national customs, ancestral philosophy, and local ethnic associations, but without any centralizing institution and alternative focus of national allegiance. In this way they would presumably pose much less of a problem for Roman authorities.²⁹

Whether Vespasian had in mind all these implications from the beginning of the siege of Jerusalem is very uncertain. It is important to remember that he had a great deal on his mind in the years 68 to 71, and was faced with a number of more press-

²⁷ Josephus, writing after Flavian policy was firmly established, seems to hint at a Roman concern that a Jewish temple would provide a focus for Jews 'from everywhere' (*B* 7. 239; cf. 7. 421).

²⁸ Martin Goodman has pointed out to me that Vespasian, in establishing a special tax to which all Jews were liable, was simultaneously creating another structure that endowed the Jews with a distinctive corporate identity. Regardless of the extent to which the Jewish tax actually had this effect (see e.g. S. Schwartz 2001: 107–8), I would argue that Vespasian's primary concern was not so much with Jewish corporate identity in and of itself as with its being focused elsewhere than Rome; the new tax, payable as it was to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, clearly worked to link the Jews to Rome and its god.

²⁹ As Millar (1993: 76) has pointed out, the enormous resources required in the siege of Jerusalem would have made all the more apparent 'the degree to which the coherence of the Empire depended on . . . the absence of any coherent local or regional nationalisms which might offer a challenge to Rome'; from Vespasian's point of view, the Temple cult would have provided the framework for such a nationalism on an imperial scale. As Seth Schwartz has recently argued (2001: 105–6 and 110), the abolition of the Temple cult, together with the failure of the later revolts under Trajan and Hadrian, did indeed result in increased integration of Jews into the mainstream of Roman imperial culture.

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ing issues than the role of the Jews in the Roman empire. Yet the evidence suggests that Vespasian was very deliberate in his decisions: cautious, perhaps, but with an eye on the long term (Levick 1999: esp. 207). He certainly had good reason to ponder the situation of the Jews, and good connections to provide him with information. Although as I have argued the destruction of the Temple was probably at least anticipated if not actually planned, it is likely that the larger policy for the permanent abolition of its cult took shape only gradually, as the immediate problems facing the new emperor began to recede and as the advantages arising from the destruction became apparent.

I would argue, then, that Flavian policy was indeed concerned with Judaism as a religion. We can only grasp its coherence, however, when we realize that it was directed not against what we identify as Jewish religion, but against what Vespasian would have identified as the civic cult of the Jews. It was this, in his view, that not only provided the framework for the Jewish revolt but also made the Jews a problematic group within the empire; his policy of abolishing the Temple cult was intended not only to forestall future revolts but also to eliminate the anomalous cultic organization that hindered the integration of Jews into the empire. If this was in fact the case, however, his hopes turned out to be quite misplaced: less than fifty years after the destruction of the Temple, a fierce revolt broke out in Egypt, Cyrenai-ca, and Cyprus, followed some twenty years later by another in Palestine. The reasons for Vespasian's miscalculation, I would suggest, lay in the distance between Roman and Jewish religious traditions. Although Vespasian could understand the importance of the Temple cult in terms of the civic cults with which he was familiar, the role of the scriptures and the law in Jewish life had no real parallel in the Graeco-Roman religious tradition. These provided the basis for a strong national identity that could continue to flourish even in the absence of the Temple cult. It is hardly surprising, however, that someone of Vespasian's background would have failed to foresee this development.

But if Vespasian was unable fully to understand Judaism, Josephus was equally unable to understand Flavian policy regarding his people and their traditions. For a Jewish priest like Josephus, Temple and Torah, cult and custom, formed an indissoluble whole. He must have found the Roman point of view

just as baffling as many modern observers find it, and have had a similar difficulty in understanding how the same rulers could on the one hand deliberately destroy the Temple and on the other hand uphold the Jews' right to observe their ancestral law. I would suggest, somewhat tentatively, that his account of Titus and the Temple may have been in part an attempt to understand what would have appeared to him as contradictory actions on the part of the Flavian leaders. If Titus did give some indication of wishing to avoid or delay destruction of the Temple, Josephus may have seized on this as evidence that the Flavians were not actually hostile to Jewish tradition as such, a fact that elsewhere in the *Jewish War* he seeks to emphasize. It is striking that he nowhere connects later Flavian actions such as the Jewish tax and the plundering of the Temple treasures with the permanent abolition of the Temple cult. In the end, despite his association with Vespasian and Titus and his long residency in Rome, his understanding of religion remained as much Jewish as that of the Flavians was Roman. It was only with the spread of Christianity that the twain would eventually meet.

The *Fiscus Iudaicus* and Gentile Attitudes to Judaism in Flavian Rome

MARTIN GOODMAN

Scholars have suggested that non-Jews were attracted to Judaism in Flavian Rome, and particularly in the time of Domitian (Feldman 1993: 100, 332; Schäfer 1997: 115–16). Historians debate whether sympathetic gentiles became proselytes or god-fearers (Feldman 1993: 288–382), and whether some may have been enticed by Christianity rather than Judaism (Feldman 1993: 347), but attraction of some kind seems to be generally taken for granted. I will suggest in this chapter that this view is not only not well founded but also deeply implausible.

It will be best to start with an analysis of the evidence on which the standard view is based. There turns out to be remarkably little, so that all the evidence can quite easily be cited in full.¹ It consists in three texts, one from the life of Domitian by Suetonius, two from the Roman history of Cassius Dio, and a series of coins issued by Nerva.

In his discussion of the financial affairs of Domitian, Suetonius, writing in the time of Hadrian, stated as follows (*Dom.* 12.2):

praeter ceteros Iudaicus fiscus acerbissime actus est; ad quem deferebantur, qui vel[ut] inprofessi Iudaicam viverent vitam vel dissimulata origine imposita genti tributa non pendissent. interfuisse me

¹ Note that Smallwood (1956 and 1976: 382–3) adds to the classical evidence cited here a number of late rabbinic texts about Onkelos, son of Kalonymus, of dubious relevance (b. *Git.* 56b; *Abod. Zar.* 10b–11a; *Deut. Rab.* 2: 24). Griffin (2000a: 76, n. 380) still refers to these ‘Jewish traditions’, but it is significant that these texts are entirely ignored by Schäfer (1997), who is acutely aware of the need for greater sophistication in the use of such rabbinic material for history.

adulescentulum memini, cum a procuratore frequentissimoque consilio inspiceretur nonagenarius senex, an circumsectus esset.

Translation of some parts of this text is difficult, but I give the Loeb translation:

Besides other taxes, that on Jews was levied with the utmost vigour, and those were prosecuted who without publicly acknowledging that faith yet lived as Jews, as well as those who concealed their origin and did not pay the tribute levied upon their people. I recall being present in my youth when the person of a man ninety years old was examined before the procurator and a very crowded court, to see whether he was circumcised.

A century later, the historian Cassius Dio (as excerpted by the Byzantine monk Xiphilinus in the eleventh century CE) stated in his narrative of the year 95 CE:

And the same year Domitian slew, along with many others, Flavius Clemens the consul, although he was a cousin and had to wife Flavia Domitilla, who was also a relative of the emperor's. The charge brought against them both was that of atheism, a charge on which many others who drifted into Jewish ways were condemned. Some of these were put to death, and the rest were at least deprived of their property. Domitilla was merely banished to Pandateria. But Glabrio, who had been Trajan's colleague in the consulship, was put to death, having been accused of the same crimes as most of the others, and, in particular, of fighting as a gladiator with wild beasts. (67. 14. 1-3, Loeb trans.)

Further on in his history, in his account of the rule of Nerva, Cassius Dio recorded among the liberal acts of the new regime a refusal to accept accusations about Jewish lifestyle:

Nerva also released all who were on trial for *asebeia* and restored the exiles; moreover, he put to death all the slaves and the freedmen who had conspired against their masters and allowed that class of persons to lodge no complaint whatever against their masters; and no persons were permitted to accuse anybody of *asebeia* or of a Jewish mode of life. (68. 1. 2, Loeb trans., adapted)

Finally, this last item has been understood by many scholars in relation to the unusual types found on coins distributed in Rome in three different issues between November 96 CE and summer 97 CE. These proclaimed FISC I IUDAI CI CALUMNIA SUBLATA (literally: 'the malicious accusation of the

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treasury for the Jewish tax has been removed') (*RIC* 2. 227 no. 58, 228 no. 82).

The standard view of these pieces of evidence is that they amount to proof of widespread adoption of Jewish customs by non-Jews in Flavian Rome. Thus the reference by Suetonius to those who *inprofessi Iudaicam viverent vitam* is taken to denote gentiles who had taken up a Jewish way of life but had not professed themselves as Jews. Dio's statement that there were many others besides Flavius Clemens and Domitilla who drifted into Jewish ways and were therefore condemned for atheism is understood as evidence that such drifting was widespread. Nerva's public statement that he would no longer permit anyone to be accused of a Jewish lifestyle, and his boast, advertised on his coins, to have removed any maliciousness from the operation of the treasury for the Jewish tax, have been understood as references to the same phenomenon.

Now, of these four items, in fact only two, Dio's description of the charges on which Flavius Clemens and Domitilla were condemned, and of Nerva's refusal to permit such accusations in the future, unambiguously refer to the adoption of Jewish ways by non-Jews, and, according to Dio, the punishment for such behaviour was death or deprivation of property. In Suetonius' discussion of Domitian's exaction of the Jewish tax, those who *inprofessi Iudaicam viverent vitam* could quite well be native Jews who lived a Jewish life secretly, contrasted by Suetonius with native Jews who practised openly but hoped to avoid the tax by denying their origins. Such a reading makes better sense of the nature of the tax as described by Suetonius for, if the tribute was levied on the Jewish *people* (*inposita genti*), it would be peculiar for non-Jews to be required to pay just for behaving like Jews (Thompson 1982; Goodman 1989). I remain unconvinced by claims that Domitian punished less important non-Jews for Judaizing by subjecting them to the special tax, while more important non-Jews were executed for the same crime (Williams 1990, followed by Griffin 2000a: 75 n. 377). If the concern of the state was about atheism, as Dio stated, this was a serious matter whatever the status of the individual, as Christian martyr acts testify. (For these concerns in the time of Trajan, see Plin. *Ep.* 10. 96.)

But although the evidence on which is based the standard view

that many were attracted to Judaism in the time of Domitian is thus meagre, Dio's description of the fate of Flavius Clemens and Domitilla remains as a clear indication that something was going on, and the normal interpretation of all these texts (including Suet. *Dom.* 12. 2) is not impossible. Nonetheless I hope to show in the rest of this chapter that the standard view is much less plausible than is generally recognized, as will emerge once the issue is put into the historical context of the attitude to Judaism that might reasonably have been expected in Flavian Rome.

The conquest of Judaea in 70 CE was celebrated in Rome with a degree of hostile propaganda unique in Roman celebration of a suppressed revolt. The propaganda lasted long after the triumphal procession recorded in such enthusiastic detail by Josephus (*BJ* 7. 123–57). Whether or not the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple had been in the end an accident (*BJ* 6. 241–3; modern scepticism may be misplaced, but see Barnes and Rives, Chs. 6 and 7 above), the public actions of Vespasian and Titus made abundantly clear their intention not to permit it to be rebuilt. The precious utensils from the Temple were placed on permanent display in the temple of Pax (*BJ* 7. 161; see Millar, Ch. 5 above) and the funds once sent by pious Jews to Jerusalem were redirected, in highly symbolic fashion, to pay for the rebuilding of a pagan temple on the Capitol (*BJ* 7. 218).

In the eyes of ordinary pagans, such actions were most naturally interpreted as the end of worship of the Jewish God (see Rives, Ch. 7 above). Sacrifice, libation, and incense were standard modes of cultic reverence in most religions in the Roman world. The notion that Jews might find new ways to worship by reading a sacred text in synagogue liturgy does not seem to have occurred to any pagan at any time in antiquity. Furthermore, the state appeared opposed to Judaism wherever its practitioners might be. Diaspora as much as Judaeans Jews were devastated by the destruction of Jerusalem, and even the obscure Jewish temple in Leontopolis in Egypt, about which extant pagan sources have nothing whatever to say, was closed down (*BJ* 7. 421). The requirement to pay annually two *denarii* to the special Jewish treasury fell as much on the Jews of Egypt and of Rome as on the suppressed rebels of Judaea. By both symbolic and practical actions the Flavian state had brought Jewish worship to an end.

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The causes of such drastic action lay, in large part if not entirely, in the propaganda needs of the Flavian dynasty. Vespasian had come to the principate without benefit of birth or high reputation, and the glory of a foreign victory was used, as earlier in Roman history, both to justify seizure of political power and to disguise the unpalatable truth of the civil strife through which it had been won (Goodman 1987: 178, 236). The new emperor could boast of no other achievements, so he made as much capital as he could from the defeat of the Jews. The suppression of other revolts in the Julio-Claudian period left no mark at all in the city of Rome itself (Goodman 1991). By contrast, the civic centre was largely remodelled to reflect the victory over the Jews and their God (see Millar, Ch. 5 above).

By 81 CE both Vespasian and Titus, the generals who had directed the Judaean campaign and could take direct credit for its success, were dead, but propaganda about the war did not come to an end. It was in the reign of Domitian that the Arch of Titus was completed (Yarden 1991) and coins proclaiming IUDAEA CAPTA were issued in 85 CE even though the war had been over for fifteen years (*RIC* 2. 189 no. 280).

It is not hard to surmise an explanation. Domitian had been too young to take any part in the Judaean campaign, and during the civil war of 69–70 CE he had been in Rome (Southern 1997: 17–23). But in 71 CE he had participated in the triumphal procession of his father and his brother, riding alongside them in magnificent clothes (*Bj* 7. 152), and on Titus' unexpected death in 81 CE he had nothing else to advertise as justification of his accession to power than his relationship to the brother who had saved the state by defeating the Jews. For whatever reason, neither Vespasian nor Titus had permitted Domitian to demonstrate any military or political ability while Titus was alive (Southern 1997: 27–8), and soon after assumption of the principate Domitian's search for credibility as an emperor led him to undertake a series of campaigns in person on the Rhine and the Danube (Griffin 2000a: 63–5). The same need for credibility will also have encouraged him to stress his dynastic link to the glory of the Jewish war (see further Barnes, Ch. 6 above).

It is easy to imagine the effects of such propaganda on the Jews of the city of Rome. Many were descended from immigrants who had been settled in the city generations earlier (*HjP* 3. 73–9;

Leon 1960; Gruen 2002). They had been used to expressing their devotion to their God by collecting funds for communal sacrifices in the distant Temple in Jerusalem (Barclay 1996). Now the destruction of the Temple was an ever-present reality which they could confirm all too easily by strolling to the temple of Pax to see there the golden vessels on display (*Bḡ* 7. 161). They would know, as did Josephus, that the precious purple hangings from the sanctuary were kept by the emperor as souvenirs in his palace (*Bḡ* 7. 162). By constant reminders Roman Jews found their religion denigrated and themselves marginalized in their own city (Goodman 1994*b*: 331–2).

The obvious parallel in the more recent Jewish past is the plight of the Jews in the early years of the Third Reich, similarly treated by the state as outsiders in their own land, but the parallel is not precise. Anti-Jewish prejudice in Flavian Rome focused not on Jewish origins but on Jewish customs. It must have been possible for at least some Jews born in the city to escape the impact of the state's hostility by apostasy. Thus it appears that Tiberius Julius Alexander, who was a nephew of the philosopher Philo but 'did not stand by the practices of his people' (*Aḡ* 20. 100), enjoyed outstanding success as a close supporter of Vespasian and Titus despite his birth (Burr 1955). But it is no accident that Roman sources, most strikingly Tacitus (cf. *Hist.* 1. 11. 1), consistently ignored altogether his Jewish origins.

Furthermore, it was possible for a few exceptional Jews to retain imperial favour even without renouncing their Jewish identity. It is unknown whether the Herodian princess Berenice, who in 66 CE had been sufficiently devoted to Judaism to take upon herself a Nazirite vow (*Bḡ* 2. 313), continued her commitment to the Jewish God while living in Rome as the paramour of Titus (Kokkinos 1998: 329–30). Nor is it known whether her brother Agrippa II, who had for many years been custodian of the Jerusalem Temple and had devoted much expense to its upkeep (cf. *Bḡ* 5. 36), retained his religious allegiance during the long years after 70 CE when Josephus knew him in Rome (cf. *Vit.* *passim* and *Ap.* 1. 51; see D. Schwartz, Ch. 3 above). But more certain is the continued adherence to Judaism of Josephus himself. Josephus' brave defence of his people's history and customs in the *Antiquities*, composed between 81 and 93 CE, was

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produced in direct contradiction to the anti-Jewish ethos of the Flavian regime (Goodman 1994b: 337–8), but he asserts quite clearly the exceptional favour showered upon him by all three Flavian emperors (*Vit.* 425, 428–9).

But the reasons for such favour were in each case entirely personal. Berenice was Titus' lover, Agrippa his long-standing friend, Josephus the renowned prophet whose alleged visionary proclamation in 67 CE of Vespasian's imperial future proved that his principate was divinely foretold (for pagan awareness of Josephus' role as prophet of Vespasian's rise to the principate, see Suet. *Vesp.* 5–6; Dio 66. 1. 4). Most Jews in Flavian Rome will have had no such advantage. They lived as a small, cowed minority, poverty-stricken and insecure (cf. Leon 1960). They and all the world knew that their God was no longer worshipped in the place and fashion that he had chosen. It must be asked how likely it was that any non-Jew in the city of Rome would be attracted to a cult at such a low ebb in its fortunes.

Gentiles were attracted to Judaism in other places and at other times, as has been amply shown (Feldman 1993). Debate has centred only around the extent of their commitment—did they tend to become proselytes or only god fearers? (Feldman 1993: ch. 9–10)—and the attitude of native Jews towards encouraging conversion (Goodman 1994a). Such issues do not need to be rehearsed here, but only the factors which encouraged attraction. Among such factors will have been aspects of the Jewish lifestyle and the solidarity of Jewish communities (Feldman 1993: 177–287, 369–82), but the prime factor must almost always have been simply the power of the Jewish God (compare MacMullen (1981) on 'conversion' to worship of pagan gods). The motivation to worship a divinity who was claimed by initiates in his cult to be omnipotent needs no elaboration. Before 66 CE numerous gentiles had seen fit to bring offerings to the Jerusalem Temple, both as respectful gentiles, such as M. Vipsanius Agrippa in the time of Herod (*AJ* 16. 14), and as proselytes, such as the unfortunate Fulvia, whose donation to Jerusalem was embezzled by Jewish impostors in the time of Tiberius (*AJ* 18. 65). Before 70 CE the power of the Jewish God was amply confirmed by the splendour of the Temple, whose magnificence was widely admired by gentiles (see, for example, Polybius in *AJ* 12. 136).

For a pious gentile the destruction of this splendid shrine in

70 CE must have thrown grave doubt on the claims of the Jews about the powers of their God. Jews might claim that the disaster was all part of a wider divine plan (as in the speech of Eleazar in *BJ* 7. 327–8, 331), but few pagans could accept the notion that a god would voluntarily permit the desecration of his sanctuary and leave unpunished the perpetrators of the sacrilege. Later Jewish tradition recorded Titus' death in agony as retribution for his crime (cf. Ginzberg 1925: 60, 287), but no extant non-Jewish source expresses any concern about the theological consequences of his actions, despite the general assumption that the destruction of any god's temple requires expiation (Beard, North, and Price 1998: 1. 124–5). The more that the Flavians flourished, the less attractive Judaism will have seemed in the city of Rome.

What, then, is the explanation of the evidence from which the standard view derives and, in particular, of Cassius Dio's reference to the charges of atheism on which, according to the text, those who drifted into Jewish ways were condemned? I shall make two suggestions, which are not mutually exclusive.

All four pieces of evidence cited at the start of this chapter are concerned with accusations, but in an oppressive regime the fact that an accusation has been made does not prove that a crime has been committed. According to Suetonius, accusations were encouraged by Domitian out of greed, while, according to Dio, the condemnation of Flavius Clemens was on political grounds. The charge of atheism can hardly have been formal, since such a charge did not exist in Roman law, although it may well reflect Domitian's well-attested insistence on the maintenance of traditional Roman religion (Griffin 2000a: 76, noting that the context in Dio links the accusation of atheism to a charge of *maiestas*). That is to say, in neither case was it necessary for any gentile actually to have been attracted to Judaism, only for the slur of Jewishness to be available. To be accused of 'drifting into Jewish ways' was to be tainted with all the hostility directed to a people and religion that could be characterized as totally opposed to all others (Tac. *Hist.* 5. 4. 1). Since 'Jewish ways' could include anything from indolence on Saturdays to aversion to pork (cf. Juv. *Sat.* 14. 96–9, 105–6), it could be easy to make the accusation, and hard to disprove its validity.

So perhaps all that this evidence reveals is the rhetoric used

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by the Flavian regime, particularly under Domitian, in attacks on political enemies. If so, it is worth noting the extraordinary obtuseness (or bravery) of Josephus in writing so enthusiastically about converts to Judaism in Adiabene and elsewhere precisely at the time of greatest hostility to the idea in Rome (*Ag* 20. 17–93, 135). To accuse someone of Judaizing was to accuse them of disloyalty to the regime.

Such an explanation may suffice to explain the four items of evidence, but it is worth considering tentatively also a second possibility, that precisely such rhetoric may have encouraged individuals to proclaim that they were Judaizing as a symbol of opposition to the Flavian regime. In favour of this notion is the abundant evidence that the tyranny of Domitian evoked by the end of his rule a public opposition marked by acts of open defiance (e.g. Tac. *Agr.* 45. 1–2). Against it is the total lack of explicit evidence that any such opponents expressed their opposition through Judaizing. But there are reasons to suppose that, on consideration, this lack of explicit evidence may not be as decisive as might be thought.

In the martyrologies of Pliny and Tacitus, written in the time of Trajan, the public opponents of Domitian were portrayed as heroes (cf. Plin. *Ep.* 3. 11; 9.13). Their ideology, in so far as it was defined at all, was taken as the product of Stoicism (cf. Plin. *Ep.* 3. 11. 3; Brunt 1975; Griffin 2000a: 67). Those, like Pliny and Tacitus, who had survived the terror might feel constrained to protest that it was possible for good men to live even under bad emperors, but any suggestion that the motives of those who had died were suspect was ruled out both by their deaths and by the desire for enthusiastic denigration of the tyrant.

It is therefore worth wondering how Pliny and Tacitus would have treated the behaviour of an opponent of Domitian if he or she had espoused Judaizing as a way to demonstrate resistance. The problem for those who wrote in the time of Trajan was that, despite the general repudiation by the new regime of everything that Domitian had upheld, one aspect of Domitianic propaganda held firm under Trajan, and that was hostility towards the Jews.

There are good reasons to suppose that in the immediate aftermath of Domitian's assassination Nerva was quite willing to reverse the anti-Jewish policy of his predecessor. As Cassius

Dio put it in the passage discussed above (68. 1. 2), no one was permitted to accuse anyone else of a Jewish life. Nerva had taken no part in the Judaean war and modelled his image not on the Flavians but on Augustus (Griffin 2000b: 84–5).

The precise import of the legend on his coins, FISC I IUD- AICI CALUMNIA SUBLATA, is debated and debatable. The term *sublata* is otherwise unattested on Roman coins, and, although it was not uncommon to advertise remission of taxes, an abusive term (*calumnia*) in reference either to the treasury responsible for taxes, or to those who brought accusations to the treasury, or to the whole notion of the tax, is extraordinary, and perhaps only possible when a new emperor wished to make an exceptionally strong statement of disassociation from the previous regime. Many historians have asserted that the beneficiaries of Nerva's new policy were non-Jews maliciously accused of Judaizing, but it seems to me equally, if not more, likely that Nerva's reform was aimed at native, practising Jews. '*Fisci Iudaici*' should mean 'of the treasury of Judaea' or 'of the Jewish treasury'. As Hannah Cotton has pointed out to me, the motif of the palm tree was used explicitly to denote Judaea on Roman coinage. Thus the malicious accusation that has been removed (*calumnia sublata*) may have been the very existence of a special Jewish treasury, with its invidious tax which singled out Jews, unlike all other inhabitants of the empire, for payment of annual war reparations after unsuccessful revolt. What is certain is that, unlike the Flavians, Nerva had no reason to discriminate against the Jews of Rome.

But the new tolerance was not to last, for in November 97 CE, less than a year into his principate, Nerva was forced by the praetorian guard into adopting an heir, and his new partner in government was not similarly neutral on the subject of the Jews (see Syme 1958a: 1–18, 628–32). Trajan, adopted by Nerva not least because of his command of the legions in Germany, was the son of the great patrician consular M. Ulpius Traianus, who had made his reputation back in the late sixties CE as a legionary commander alongside Titus in the Jewish war (Alföldy 1998 and 2000).

When Trajan became emperor in January 98, panegyrists made reference as much to his glorious natural father as to the old man Nerva who had adopted him so late in life (Plin. *Pan.* 9.

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2, 14. 1, 58. 3, 89. 2), and in 112 Traianus *pater* was acclaimed as a god (cf. *BMCRE* 3. 100 no. 498 *aureus* with busts of Nerva and Traianus on reverse, with legend DIVI NERVA ET TRAIANUS PAT.).

Thus the Flavian view of the Jews as intrinsically anti-Roman was echoed in Trajan's Rome, most strikingly in the depressing picture of the Jews painted by Tacitus himself (*Hist.* 5. 1-10), who showed himself a sympathetic and conscientious ethnographer in other circumstances (contrast the wholly different approach in his *Germania*). In such an atmosphere, any tradition that adopting Jewish practices had once been thought heroic will have been tactfully suppressed.

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PART III

Josephus: Literature and
Historiography in Flavian Rome

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From *Exempla* to *Exemplar*? Writing History around the Emperor in Imperial Rome

CHRISTINA SHUTTLEWORTH KRAUS

For *exempla* do not stay where they started, but once allowed to enter however small a path, ranging widely they clear their own way, and having once left the straight and narrow, one reaches a precipice; nor do people think something is shameful for themselves if it is profitable to others.

(Vell. Pat. 2. 3. 4)

I

Any consideration of Latin historiography written in the decades between Livy and Tacitus runs headlong into the problem of evidence: most of it is lost. Hence, on the one hand, there is a temptation to join those scholars who have tried to write a history of the invisible, working from fragments, *testimonia*, and the extant texts of later historians. Despite Tacitus' strictures on intellectual achievement in historiography after Actium (*Hist.* 1. 1; *Ann.* 1. 1; Marincola 1999), it would seem—not least from Tacitus' own handling of his sources in the *Histories*¹—that

In this chapter I concentrate—perhaps perversely—on history written in Latin; my intention is to provide a backdrop and foil for the discussion of Josephus' place in Flavian historiography at Rome. I would like to thank Jane Chaplin, Ayelet Lushkov, Chris Pelling, Matt Roller, and Tony Woodman for acute and helpful comments; Jim Adams for advice and bibliography on the problem in Caes. *B Civ.* 3. 1. 1; and the editors, initially for their invitation to and hospitality at the Toronto conference, latterly—and especially Steve Mason—for encouragement, forbearance, and help with the *arcana Iosephi*.

¹ Fabia 1893; Syme 1958a: ch. 16 and 22; Questa 1963. For pre-Tacitean historiography, see Noë 1984. In their (understandable) casting of Tacitus as the *telos* of the period, all these works illustrate one potential stumbling block to understanding Flavian historiography for its own sake.

Flavian historiography, at any rate, was both flourishing and politically engaged. The process of imperial self-creation availed itself of and inspired literary treatment from the start; indeed, in the case of Augustus (the best known, and a fundamental model for Vespasian), the emperor's rewriting-via-reconstruction of the past found a fruitful partnership in the epic and historiographical narratives of Livy, Vergil, Trogus, Ovid, and others now lost, to say nothing of the Greek projects of Diodorus, Dionysius, Timagenes, Nicolaus, Strabo, and more.² Like the historiographical texts produced in the Augustan principate, the histories of the Flavian period, whether treating the Flavians themselves or their immediate precursors, were presumably engaged in a complex process of negotiation and renegotiation of national values and definitions (so e.g. Levick 1999: ch. 5).

The validity of this hypothesis has been illustrated for Josephus most recently by Mader's study (2000) of his use of historiographical *topoi* and narrative conventions in the service of 'impression management'.³ Such historiographical analysis is hard to practise on vanished texts, however; in speculating about the lost Latin histories from the same period, we have to take a different tack.

On the basis of what remains of the Latin historiographical production of the first century CE, taken together with the Greek works of the Second Sophistic (Duff 1999; Whitmarsh 2001; Pelling 2002), it is often argued that a situation developed wherein the focus of historical narrative narrowed progressively from the *res gestae populi Romani* to the *res gestae divi Augusti* (*mutatis mutandis*, with or without the *divus*). Though it was still possible to write narratives about foreign wars starring charismatic generals such as Domitius Corbulo or Gnaeus Agricola, the claustrophobic presence of the emperor meant that the real *telos* of any such narrative was *his* glory, not the glory or achievements of the individual commander or of the state. So Tacitus at *Ann.* 13. 9. 3: 'Nero . . . ordered that the imperial *fasces* be

² If history is written by the winners, it also helps define the winning side; and, as in panegyric, what looks like purely descriptive praise may actually be the tactful, parainetic projection of an image to live up to.

³ But see Gruen 2001; Landau 2001. On Josephus' relationship with the Roman *imperium* see e.g. Cohen 1979; Rajak 1983; Bilde 1988; Mason, Ch. 12 below (with further bibliography).

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decorated with laurel on account of the successes of Quadratus and Corbulo.⁴ Both the Preface to Pliny's *Natural History* (especially 19–20) and Josephus' presentation of his work to Titus (*Vit.* 361–3) reveal a situation in which an emperor, however benign, has become at once the content and the judge of history, its focus and its guarantor, almost its *auctor*.⁵ Indeed, in Pliny's case the imperial addressee so affects the literary process that he not only supplies the material for the *Natural History* (*hoc ipsum tu praestas quod ad te scribimus*) but converts it from narrative into votive offerings (*templis dedicata*), i.e., symbolic objects entirely focused on himself (*NH* praef. 19). As for Pliny's *Historia a fine Aufidii Bassi*, its concentration on Flavian deeds renders it effectively invisible, a 'possession for all time' (but not available today even to Titus: *ubi sit ea quaeres*) solemnly ratified and bequeathed to the future:

As for your sire, your brother, and yourself, we have dealt with you all in a regular book, the *History of our own times*, which begins where Aufidius Bassus' left off. Where is this work? you will inquire. The draft has long since been finished and consecrated (*peracta sancitur*); in any case it was my resolve to entrust it to my heir, to prevent its being thought that my lifetime bestowed anything on ambition: accordingly I do a good turn to those who are trying to seize my place (*occupantibus locum faveo*), and indeed to future generations (*posteris*) who I know will challenge us to battle as we ourselves have challenged our predecessors. (Loeb trans. with modifications)

Half consecrated (*sancitur*), half vehicle for (future) literary *aemulatio*, it is past (*peracta*) and future but has, quite literally, no place in the present (*occupantibus locum faveo*).

It is also frequently observed that the shift outlined above from history about Rome to history about Rome-as-embodied-in-the-emperor produced a concomitant shift in the mode of historiography; to put it crudely, a shift from history to biography, and thence to panegyric.⁶ It does not matter, according to

⁴ For the situation under the principate see e.g. Mayer 2001: 9–10. On these military memoirs see below, n. 17.

⁵ See Tac. *Ann.* 3. 47. 1 and Woodman and Martin 1996: 352–3. On the praise of Domitian and others at the end of the *Vita* see Mason 2001 *ad Vit.* 428–30 and further below, n. 38.

⁶ For an outline of the process see Woodman 1977: 28–56; on the Flavian/Trajanic vogue for 'short lives of the recent dead' see Sherwin-White 1966: 230. Plutarch's *Lives* of the Caesars are an excellent example of history-as-biography in

Tacitus, whether one praises the Carthaginians or the Romans in writing about the Punic wars, but it does matter how one treats more recent figures, even those of the generation previous (*Ann.* 4. 33. 4); it matters especially how one treats the emperor, on whom history's gaze now rests.⁷ And it matters not least because the emperor is likely to interest himself in historical narrative, sometimes as the producer thereof, but just as often as its auditor or reader.⁸ When the emperors figure in the texts, it is often as the irresistible object of narrative desire. *Spectatissimus quisque* becomes *spectatissimus et unus*;⁹ not only is there no longer pluralization or alternation of power, there is also no longer a plurality of focuses available to the historian.

In what follows I consider briefly and schematically one important way in which historians (and some others) responded to what one might call this representational crisis of empire: that is, the problem of how to adjust existing, primarily republican historiographical forms to contain and to represent the figure of the autocrat. It would appear that Velleius, Curtius, and Tacitus—to begin with three authors whose texts are (largely) extant—offer very different solutions. On the one hand, Velleius condenses, showing in brief compass how the development of culture and of Roman imperial rule converge at the apogee of history;¹⁰ on the other, Curtius uses figured language to repre-

this period; on them see the essays in Pelling 2002 and on their exemplarity see the stimulating discussion of Duff 1999.

⁷ On the close mutual involvement of Roman historiography and government see Momigliano 1980: 371; on emperors, performance, and audiences see Bartsch 1994; Kraus 2000.

⁸ So we hear of Augustus attending declamations on historical themes (Suet. *Aug.* 89); of Claudius—who is often figured as a bumbler in such stories—dropping in on Servilius Nonianus' recitation (Plin. *Ep.* 1. 13. 3) and reciting his own history (Suet. *Claud.* 41); and, more sinisterly, of Caligula controlling public reading by removing or replacing historiographical texts in the public libraries (Suet. *Calig.* 16, 34) and of Domitian reacting badly to private reading of historical texts (Suet. *Dom.* 10); of Tiberius producing *commentarii* which were Domitian's bedside reading (Suet. *Dom.* 20); and of Nero's Trojan epic during the fire of Rome which, at least in Tacitus' hands, showed a true historian's method of comparing contemporary with ancient events (Tac. *Ann.* 15. 39). For Vespasian's *commentarii* see below, n. 17; on emperors and literature in general see Bardon 1962.

⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 4. 6. 3: *res suas Caesar spectatissimo cuique . . . mandabat* ('Caesar entrusted his affairs to the worthiest men'). It is by implication the emperor's gaze (4. 6. 2: *spectando*) that produces the *nobilitas* bodied forth in *spectatissimus*; I model *spectatissimus et unus* on Tac. *Dial.* 41. 4: *sapientissimus et unus*.

¹⁰ Cf. Vell. Pat. 2. 36, where the birth of Augustus marks a cultural high point:

sent empire, thinking about *regnum* and the person of the Roman leader through the metaphor of Alexander (Baynham 1998: esp. 11–13, 215–16). Tacitus (to whom I will return) chooses instead the traditional form of *annales* but moulds their ultra-republican format to fit imperial time, overlapping what is to all intents and purposes a sequential biography of the Caesars onto the annual rotation of consuls and the alternation of *res internae* and *externae*.¹¹

Yet these texts share an important feature. In each, a Caesar (or Caesar substitute) grabs the narrative and wrests its focus, even its pace, to his own control (see also Pelling, forthcoming). So, though most of Book 1 of Velleius' brief history of time is lost, it is obvious that as the history approaches the empire it slows down precipitately; upon reaching Julius Caesar, one third of the way through Book 2, it slows almost to a stop. One sixth of the whole, that is, is devoted to the life spans of three men. Eighty years later, in a very different style, Tacitus adopts a shape similar to that of the Velleian narrative, structuring his *Histories* and *Annals* by the successive emperors. So the *Annals*, whose structure we can still see quite clearly, is divided into hexads articulated by imperial lives. The concentration on the emperor is so marked that in the Tiberian books (as many have noted) Tacitus often refers to the man simply by a third person singular verb—no separate subject is needed.

That, and the procedure of Curtius in the *History of Alexander*, suggests something interesting. Alexander is a paradigm for Caesar—but which? The answer is important for dating Curtius; but otherwise it hardly matters (Baynham 1998: 201–19; Spencer 2002: 80–2). In real life, Alexander was a model for

'To the consulate of Cicero 82 years ago the birth of the divine Augustus added considerable glory, a man who was destined by his greatness to cast a shadow over all the peoples of the world. It may now seem almost otiose to note down the lives of great geniuses . . .' (there follows a long list of literary eminences).

¹¹ Ginsburg 1981; Martin and Woodman 1989: 78. For Tacitean 'biography' cf. Jerome *Comm. Zach.* 3. 14. 1–2: 'Tacitus, who . . . wrote thirty rolls of *Lives* of the Caesars' (or 'who wrote the lives of the Caesars in thirty rolls'). The character-driven *Jewish Antiquities*, with their emphasis on history as told through the lives of prominent individuals both Jewish and Roman, show similar characteristics and, despite an arguably concentric structure, build up to the Roman imperial élite (and to Josephus itself, in the appended *Vita*): see Mason 2003*b*, and, on the difficult question of Josephus' relationship to the ruling family, n. 38 below.

most of the Caesars (literature on Alexander-*imitatio* is collected at Baynham 1998: 10 n. 37; add Malloch 2001); in Curtius, he is arguably—at least given the headless state of the text—a model not for one Caesar but for all. So too in Tacitus, on one reading: the emperor dominates to such an extent that he becomes the singular active principle in the Roman world. Momigliano observed that biography is a ‘story of prototypes’ (Momigliano 1980: 374–5). As history narrows to the person of the Caesar, the possibilities for exemplarity narrow as well; eventually, there is tremendous pressure, coming both from the top and from below, to make Caesar the only *exemplum* in town, the model for all ideal leadership.¹² And so his biography becomes the story of a prototype—or, in the official version, panegyric.¹³

Throughout extant Roman historiography, the *exemplum* is deployed as a means of understanding, negotiating, and representing past and present alike.¹⁴ As part of the ancient tradition of rhetorical persuasion, *exempla* are embedded in a system designed to argue both sides of a given question; so any exemplary story or figure can be itself the grounds of contested interpretation, while conflicting *exempla* can offer means of contesting paradigms.¹⁵ The positive benefit arising from this open inter-

¹² On Caesar as model see Sen. *Clem.* 1. 6 (to Nero): ‘But you have imposed a huge burden on yourself: no one now speaks of the Divine Augustus or the early years of Tiberius Caesar; nor, in wishing to imitate you, seeks an *exemplar* apart from you’ (a reference I owe to Susanna Morton Braund); Tac. *Ann.* 3. 55. 4: ‘But Vespasian especially promoted restraint, being himself old-fashioned in dress and diet. Deference toward the emperor and a desire to emulate him (*obsequium inde in principem et aemulandi amor*) were stronger than the fear of punishment by law’; cf. Wardle 2000: 292–3. Ando 2000 explores the consequence for Romanization of this all-encompassing idealization of the imperial image.

¹³ For the deployment of exemplary language in imperial panegyric cf. e.g. Plin. *Pan.* 13. 4–5 (quoted below), 45. 5–6: *eoque obsequii continuatione pervenimus, ut prope omnes homines unius moribus vivamus. . . . nec tam imperio nobis opus est quam exemplo* (‘so that by the firmness of our allegiance we are reaching the point when we shall all conform to the character of a single man . . . nor do we need command so much as example’; Loeb trans., adapted), 63. 1, 75. 4 and on the speech see Bartsch 1994: ch. 5. The shift from Caesar-as-person to Caesar-as-type is greatly facilitated by the development of *Caesar* as a title; see n. 34, below.

¹⁴ The bibliography is large, and growing. On the Augustan period, especially important are Miles 1995 and Chaplin 2000a, with further bibliography; on Valerius Maximus see Bloomer 1992; Skidmore 1996; Wardle 1997 and 2000; on using *exempla* to construct ethical systems see Roller 2001a: 73, 88–97.

¹⁵ On contested and contesting paradigms cf. Fowler 1996 = 2000: 218–34; Dowling 2000; Roller 2001a: 233–64; and 2004. The reverse of the good emperor is

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pretability, as Chaplin has demonstrated, is that *exempla* can be used constructively, to bridge the gap between the historical past and the present:

exempla always involve a relationship between two time-frames. . . . The past can be applied to the present, or the present to the past. . . . Precisely because [they] assume a continuity between two time-frames, they offered Livy and his contemporaries a sense of foundation in their past as well as possible bridges to the future. . . . For a generation undergoing severe dislocation . . . *exempla* had great advantages.

(Chaplin 2000a: 198–202; quotations from 198, 201)

Already in our earliest Latin historical narratives, the exemplary figure is at once an individual and a type; as history concentrates its (and our) gaze on a series of exemplary figures, we are encouraged to see them both as unique, historically determined individuals and as imitable, repeatable, paradigms. In Cato, *Origins* fr. 83 Peter, for example, the spectacular language is conspicuous:

The immortal gods granted the military tribune a fate in keeping with his courage. It happened thus. Though he had been wounded in the battle in many places, yet there was no wound to his head and they identified him among the dead, unconscious because of his wound and from loss of blood. They carried him off and he recovered; often thereafter he performed brave and active service for the state and because he led that march to distract the Carthaginians saved the rest of the army. But it makes a great deal of difference where you perform one and the same service. Leonides the Spartan did something similar at Thermopylae and on account of his virtues all Greece conferred on him exceptional thanks and honours, and decorated him with tributes to his most outstanding renown: with pictures, statues, inscriptions, histories, and in other ways they treated his deed as most welcome, but the tribune of the soldiers was left little praise for his deeds, though he did the same thing and saved the day. (trans. Horsfall 1989: 37).¹⁶

Chaplin (and others) have also shown that these exemplary constructions—be they historiographical narratives or imperial statuary programmes—are prescriptively didactic in nature

the *topos* of the tyrant: O'Daly 1991 and on the rhetorical process see esp. Bartsch 1994: 169–72.

¹⁶ For the role of spectacle in such exemplary didacticism see Solodow 1979; Jaeger 1997; Feldherr 1998; Roller 2001a: 73; for thoughtful viewing see Kraus 1994: 14, 133–4, 171 (on *intueor*); for spectacle in Josephus see Chapman, Ch. 13 below.

even as they are exploratory and encourage rereading. The process of evaluation and imitation happens through thoughtful viewing, that is, spectacle used creatively, as entertainment and education at once. When history's gaze is more or less forcibly directed at the emperor—especially (but not exclusively) to the emperor functioning as positive role model—the prescriptive function of *exempla* becomes dominant. The flexibility inherent in the *exemplum* being thus threatened or even lost, the audience's independent response to the spectacular suggestiveness of exemplarity is repressed or redirected, and its constructive use profoundly compromised.

II

The surviving, semi-autobiographical texts of Julius and Augustus Caesar offer a choice view of the pressure of imperial power on exemplary representation. Caesar, of course, was following a literary tradition in his *Commentarii*: the military memoir, a genre that continued to be written well into the imperial period, including the emperor Vespasian's, which Josephus claims (*Vit.* 358; *Ap.* 1. 56) to have used as a narrative source.¹⁷ Though we have no complete example of these other texts, it seems that Caesar's were innovative—curiously, Josephus' self-portrait as general in Book 3 of the *Jewish War* follows this lead—in eschewing a first-person voice (Marincola 1997: 196). He restricts the first person to the scholarly comments and ethnographical digressions that punctuate his narrative;¹⁸ otherwise, and famously, Caesar is 'he,' not 'I'. Rather than speculating here on the enhanced 'objectivity' which this procedure may or may not have produced, I would like to single out how remarkably this third-person narrative focuses our attention on the actor Caesar. Everyone—even the author—looks at him. The deceptive simplicity of the Caesarian discourse foregrounds the *virtutes imperatoriae*, while its speciously uninvolved narrator

¹⁷ Wilkes 1972; on Josephus' use of Vespasian's *commentarii* see Weber 1921: 123–5, 135–6, 148 and, more sceptically, Cohen 1979: 248–9.

¹⁸ An apparent exception is *B Civ.* 3. 92. 4 'which in our view Pompey did with no good reason'; but there, I think, Caesar speaks as the didactic general, not as the actor 'Caesar'; *B Gall.* 7. 25. 1, 'as we watched', is similarly blurred. His procedure is the same as Thucydides' (Marincola 1997: 184 n. 52; see his whole discussion, 182–205, on 'Person and Perspective').

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spotlights the dynamic central figure, enshrining (the) Caesar as the paragon fixing our gaze. The republican model of the ideal general in a sequence (and partnership) shifts, apparently inevitably, toward a new model of a single leader.¹⁹

In the first of Caesar's *commentarii*, the *Gallic War*, that single leader's exemplarity is constructed implicitly, and in relatively traditional ways. One of Caesar's favourite devices (and one that will be liberally used by Livy in the next generation) is the construction of an internal audience to focus our attention on the figure who is *spectatus* (on spectacular exemplarity see above, n. 16; on internal audiences see further Leigh 1997: 181–4). His last appearance in the book well illustrates the crucial imperial dynamic at its inception.

This is the decisive moment at the climactic battle of Alesia (*B Gall.* 7. 87–8):

When neither the ramparts nor ditches could check the onset of the enemy, Labienus informs Caesar by messengers what he thought best to do. Caesar hastens to share in the action. His arrival is known from the colour of his garment, a notable one which he often wore in battle [*eius adventu ex colore vestitus cognito, quo insigni in proeliis uti consuebat*]; when the cavalry squadrons and cohorts whom he had ordered to follow him are seen [*visis*], as these low and sloping grounds were plainly visible [*cernebantur*] from the eminences, the enemy join battle. A shout was raised by both sides, succeeded by a general shout along the ramparts and whole line of fortifications. . . . The cavalry is suddenly seen [*cernitur*] in the rear of the Gauls; the other cohorts advance; the enemies turn their backs; the cavalry intercept them in their flight; a great slaughter ensues. (trans. Hammond 1996, with modifications)

I believe this to be the only time in the *Gallic War* that Caesar speaks of this 'customary' garment, the *paludamentum*. Though one could argue that he has no need to mention it, since 'every child in Rome knew that the general wore a *paludamentum* in action' (Rice Holmes 1914: 359), that fails to explain why he chooses this moment, and this moment only, to remind us of it. The answer is clear: at the critical juncture in the final battle, the colour heightens our vision of Caesar, as the noise of the redoubled shout coming from all sides focuses our attention

¹⁹ There is a ready, though complex and problematic, *comparandum* in the Alexander-digression at Livy 9. 17–19; see now Morello 2002 and Spencer 2002: 45–53.

on the advance of the Roman forces, whose visibility is in turn stressed—but only after Caesar himself appears, as if in epiphany, among his men. It is equally noteworthy that the first quoted sentence shows a strong concentration on intellectual perception and mediated knowledge (through ‘messengers’); only after Caesar puts on his characteristic speed and we see his cloak do the visual and the auditory come into their own. This is classic spectacular language operating to enhance the person of the general. Yet there is a twist. Caesar nowhere uses the term *paludamentum*, perhaps an example of the historiographical tendency to avoid technical language (though *paludati* occurs at *B Civ.* 1. 6. 6). Nor, in fact, does he specify the colour of the cloak.²⁰ His reticence has an important effect. On the one hand, he expects us to know not only what it is but what it looks like: we are native readers, well versed in Roman military procedure (familiarily underscored by *quo . . . in proeliis uti consuevit*).²¹ On the other hand, by not naming the garment Caesar turns our attention away from the clothing and on to the star who is wearing it. It is, in effect, just a sign (*insigni*), a rhetorical *color*, as it were—important not for its own sake but for the way it adds to the persuasive value of the scene.²²

Less than a decade later, that star is showing signs of escaping his limits entirely as he opens the action of *Civil War* Book 3: *dictatore habente comitia Caesare consules creantur Iulius Caesar et P. Servilius: is enim erat annus, quo per leges ei consulem fieri liceret* (‘When Caesar the dictator held the elections, Julius Caesar and Publius Servilius were made consuls: for this was the year in which it was legally possible for him to become consul’).²³ Caesars are multiplying. Not only do we have the (un-

²⁰ It can be so specified, despite its familiarity, e.g., Plut. *Ant.* 22. 7 (φωμικίδα); see Hor. *Epod.* 9. 27 with Mankin 1995: 177.

²¹ Though there were differing opinions on whether an ideal general should be so visible: see Kraus 1994: 135 (on 6. 8. 2: *in hostes*).

²² See *Rhet. Her.* 3. 37 on *vestis purpurea* and memory. For *color* as a ‘partisan shifting of the truth’ see Lausberg 1998: Index; Roller 2001b; on *colores* in Caesar, Carrel 1970.

²³ Cf. also Vell. Pat. 2. 44. 1: *hoc igitur consule inter eum et Cn. Pompeium et M. Crassum inita potentiae societas* (‘and so when he [Caesar] was consul, he and Gnaeus Pompey and Marcus Crassus entered into a coalition of power’). Caesar elsewhere does bend the conventions of the ablative absolute, but usually by picking up the subject of the absolute phrase in the direct object of the main verb. See Hofmann-Szantyr 1965: 139–40, and for parallels to the construction at *B Civ.* 3.

mentioned) author, but two other Caesars, one a pure *cognomen*, the other identified as a member of a Republican *gens*. On the one hand, Caesar insists on not identifying the person with absolute power (the dictator) with the new consul who shares power. On the other, this insistence—one might even say, hypocrisy—involves him in breaking what was already fast becoming one of the stylistic principles of Latin syntax. The pressure on the absolute construction reflects the uneasiness that this dictatorship produces: a revival of an ancient emergency office, it alludes as much (if not more) to a Sulla, Caesar's spiritual ancestor,²⁴ as it does to a Cincinnatus. Temporal power, and the distortions entailed by hypocritical representation of that power, warp the social conventions of grammar. One might note in passing that the several Caesars are combined again, with uncertain referent, in the anaphoric *ei* of the last clause. At the same time, however, the figure of Caesar begins to fragment into its component parts: dictator and consul, *auctor* and *actor* of the same history.

In the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* we can see the strong influence of Caesar's self-presentation, appearing now in a document that breaks new ground in presenting its subject as a self-fashioned exemplary life not for individuals only to emulate, but for the entire state.²⁵ In this epigraphic testament, not only have the *res gestae populi Romani* become the *res gestae divi Augusti*, but the emperor's life (that is, the imperial life, which will continue indefinitely via hereditary succession) has become the totality of available historical subject matter. The broad, tripartite division of the text is mapped onto its explicit structuring around the *reigning* life of the speaker: his personal honours, his rebuilding of the *urbs*, and his subjection of the *orbis* are all subsumed into

1. 1; cf. *Carm. epigr.* 139. 1 (*monumentum me vivo aedificavi*), 186. 3 (*nobis posuimus vivos*), Plaut. *Asin.* 583.

²⁴ This implicit *exemplum* is complicated, however, as the 'deadly reformer' was also available as an antithesis to Caesar, not only owing to his ties with Pompey but also because he did, in fact, resign the dictatorship, perhaps prompting Caesar's famous remark that Sulla did not know his political alphabet; see Morgan 1997, and see Dowling 2000 for the stages in Sulla's exemplary reception.

²⁵ On biography and the *Res Gestae* see e.g. Gagé 1935: 39–42; André 1993: 113–14. The former notes that the inscription's organization, which mixes chronological with topical principles, is remarkably reminiscent of later imperial biography such as Suetonius, though it is now generally held that both the *Res Gestae* and Suetonius' *Vitae* go back to the Hellenistic biographical tradition (Momigliano 1971a: ch. 4; on the development of Roman biography see Horsfall 1989: 10–11).

the years 44 BCE to 14 CE.²⁶ The text's generic omnivorousness, in which it suggests an identification with a plurality of possible generic models including biography, historiography, epitaph, and the triumphal inscription, simply reinforces its bid to subsume all of history (in both senses) into its eternal bronze.²⁷

But it is particularly the Caesarian *commentarii* that serve the *Res Gestae* as ground texts, providing a patrimony of both tone and style.²⁸ Like those *commentarii*, the style of the *Res Gestae* is closely matched to its content, changing as necessary when greater or lesser degrees of ornament are required.²⁹ Such a range of effects is typical of historiography in general, particularly of Livy, who moves easily from 'annalistic' to elaborated styles; but the overall impression produced by the *Res Gestae* is not of a literary narrative but, like the impression one may take away from reading Caesar, of a sub- or para-literary report; in a word, of simplicity. Above all, the inscription showcases an *imperatoria brevitās* that is a Caesarian inheritance.³⁰

This is no covert legacy. Augustus opens with a strong allusion to the *Civil War*:

annos undeviginti natus exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa comparavi, per quem rem publicam a dominatione factionis oppressam in libertatem vindicavi.

At the age of nineteen on my own responsibility and at my own expense I raised an army, with which I successfully championed the liberty of

²⁶ For the broad divisions of the text see Gagé 1935: 13–15; on the starting date of the inscription's 'narrative' see Galinsky 1996: 42.

²⁷ For the authority and eternity of bronze see Williamson 1987: 168, 183. Though we have almost no evidence, aside from its material, about the original Roman inscription, the several provincial copies were both bilingual and meticulously punctuated, with as many as seven different signs of punctuation, together with word interpuncts. Someone was making very sure that it was legible: see Wingo 1972: 29–49, esp. 48: the punctuation of the *Res Gestae* is intended 'to expedite comprehension of the text by a reader'.

²⁸ For Augustus' emulation of Caesar in the *Res Gestae* see Hoher 1978; Fugmann 1991: 307, 315 n. 44; Kuttner 1995: 96; Sinclair 1995: 96; for the styles see Leeman 1963: 1. 243.

²⁹ A revealing example at 4. 3: *in triumphis meis ducti sunt ante currum meum reges aut regum liberi novem* ('in my triumphs were led before my chariot nine kings or children of kings'), an example of the elevated trope, rare in prose, known as the 'Priam figure', appropriately embellishing the emperor's triumph. For the figure see Wills 1996: 33–41, 254–61.

³⁰ André 1993: 102. On the lack of adornment in Caesar's text see, famously, Cic. *Brut.* 262.

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the republic when it was oppressed by the tyranny of a faction.

(*RG* 1. 1; trans. Brunt and Moore 1967)

cuius orationem Caesar interpellat: se non maleficii causa ex provincia egressum, sed uti se a contumeliis inimicorum defenderet, ut tribunos plebis in ea re ex civitate expulsos in suam dignitatem restitueret, ut se et populum Romanum factione paucorum oppressum in libertatem vindicaret.

But Caesar interrupted him: it was not to do harm that he had crossed the boundary of his province, but to defend himself from the insults of his enemies, to restore to their proper dignity the tribunes who had been expelled from Rome in the course of this affair, and to champion his own liberty and that of the Roman people, who were oppressed by the faction of a few men.

(Caes. *B Civ.* 1. 22. 5; trans. Carter 1991, adapted)

The intertextual reference well illustrates how exemplarity collapses individual and type. The quotation is at once a kind of generic marker (these slogans were current on both sides of several civil war conflicts in the first century BCE³¹) and a specific, politicized, and carefully chosen quotation from a specific text.³² It is the temporal reality of power that tips the scales toward reading this as a univocal, rather than as a flexible, piece of intertextuality: Augustus will be (the new) Caesar.

That filiation suggests, among other things, a carefully detached *ego*. But the epigraphical Augustus' detachment, rather than fostering the impression that he writes *sine ira et studio*, instead simply enhances his own centrality (on the use of the first person in the inscription see Ramage 1987: 21–8). His practice of naming both friends and enemies will illustrate. Of the latter, he speaks in a kind of allusive code: 'a faction' (*RG* 1. 1), 'those who killed my father' (2. 1), 'the man who was *pontifex maximus*' [i.e. Lepidus] (10. 2), 'the man with whom I waged war' [i.e. Antony] (24. 1), 'pirates' [i.e. Sextus Pompeius] (25. 1). Not naming may be euphemistic, but it is also a kind of *damnatio memoriae*, a refusal to commemorate those who have

³¹ The fundamental treatment is Hellegouarc'h 1963; see further Galinsky 1996: 52–3; Roller 2001a: 214–15 and n. 4, 218.

³² For Augustus' skilful combination of specific and general both in the *Res Gestae* and elsewhere see Galinsky 1996: 53: 'the most sophisticated examples of Augustan art . . . use a concrete historical event as a starting point for illustrating, in an associative manner that is never imprecise, some wider dimensions and meanings of Augustus' rule'; in general see now Roller 2004: Section II.

acted against the interests of the state—or of Augustus himself (see Ronnick 1997; Flower 2000: 66). It gives the *Res Gestae* the appearance of not being vindictive, but at the same time undercuts that impression by demonstrating Augustus' power in action: you are with me or you are nothing. History, after all, usually names even its villains.³³

Turning to Augustus' friends, one finds a striking difference. On the one hand, the eponymous consuls. Their names accumulate almost luxuriantly, especially in the first twenty-four chapters, beginning with the doomed pair Hirtius and Pansa (*RG* 1. 2). But they are cited exclusively as dates, the single exception being 12. 1: 'some of the praetors and tribunes of the plebs with the consul Quintus Lucretius and the leading men' (Augustus' return to Rome in 19 BCE). A remarkably Tacitean procedure, in which the repeated citation of named magistrates speciously figures the everyday functioning of the *res publica* (see above, n. 11). Otherwise, the only Roman persons named in the *Res Gestae* are Augustus' potential successors: Marcellus, Agrippa, Gaius and Lucius, Tiberius. Apart from the twice-repeated phrase *aedes divi Iuli* (*RG* 19. 1, 21. 2), Julius himself is referred to only as Augustus' 'father'. That is: the onomastic landscape of the *Res Gestae* looks at the same time backward to the conventional rotation of republican magistrates (incidentally, but not accidentally, invoking the structure of *annales*), and forward to the continuation of the empire as a family affair, the passing of the name 'Caesar' from father to (adopted) son or grandson. That title was critically important, especially to Augustus, the young man who owed everything to his name.³⁴ In Augustus' text(s) succession, and with it exemplary imitation, is increasingly confined to the Caesars.

Both in the *Res Gestae* and in his artistic commissions, Augustus consciously configures himself as a convergence of exemplary times, a conduit of Republican *exempla* and the creator

³³ Even when that naming is to record the man's erasure, e.g. Livy 6. 20. 14; cf. his famous programmatic sentence, *praef.* 10, promising to record examples of good and bad behaviour. There are, however, instances in Herodotus where the historian refuses to commemorate by naming.

³⁴ Cic. *Phil.* 13. 24–5: *et te o puer . . . qui omnia nomini debes*. On Augustus' and Julius' nomenclature see Syme 1958b; Rubincam 1992: esp. 93–4; for their treatment in Valerius Maximus see Wardle 1997: 324–5 and 2000: 483–4; on the development of a canon of 'Caesars' see Pelling 2002: 253–66 with earlier bibliography.

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of new ones for the imperial future. He makes the point conspicuously:

legibus novis me auctore latis multa exempla maiorum exolescentia iam ex nostro saeculo reduxi et ipse multarum rerum *exempla imitanda posteris* tradidi.

by new laws passed on my proposal I brought back into use many exemplary practices of our ancestors which were disappearing in our time, and in many ways I myself transmitted exemplary practices to posterity for their imitation'. (RG 8. 5; trans. Brunt and Moore 1967)

Not only did he habitually collect and copy out *praecepta et exempla* for his friends and associates (Suet. *Aug.* 89. 2), but he lined his forum with statues 'with their triumphal ornaments', in Suetonius' words, 'of the leaders [*duces*] who had found the empire of the Roman people small and left it great . . . also proclaiming too in an edict that he had done this so that he himself, while he lived, and the rulers [*principes*] of later ages would be required by the Roman people to take the lives of these men as their model' (*Aug.* 31. 5, trans. Edwards 2000). The emperor himself formed the apex of this long series of exemplary leaders,³⁵ the whole forming a coherent image in marble of the idea of historical exemplarity inscribed in the long series of Roman historical texts. Crucially, however—by implication in the *Res Gestae* and explicitly in Suetonius' report—it is only *principes* who are invited to model themselves on great men of the past; and presumably only they who will become models for the future. The emperor as imagined by the *Res Gestae* thus becomes the sole natural heir to the traditional historiography of Rome, acting in a setting regularized by the annual change of magistrates, authorized by the proud voices of Republican *triumphatores*, and structured by the passing of *exempla* from one generation of *principes* to the next. The process reaches its due apex in Pliny, *Panegyricus* 13. 4–5:

A general would not seem worthy of such admiration if he lived among

³⁵ On the prominence of Augustus' statue see Galinsky 1996: 133, and for a reconsideration of the forum's statuary programme see Spannagel 1999 with Rich 2002; for the statues themselves and their relation to historiography see esp. Luce 1990; Chaplin 2000a: 173–96. Not all of the figures were *triumphatores* (Luce 1990: 129 n. 19); but Chaplin argues persuasively that one of Augustus' purposes was to enhance the prestige value of *ornamenta triumphalia* as the triumph itself became restricted to members of the imperial family.

the Fabricii and Scipiones and Camilli. For then a burning enthusiasm for imitation—and always the presence of some better man—would inflame him. But now that interest in arms has passed from practical skill to spectacle, to being an amusement from being real work; now that no veteran soldier, decorated with a mural or civic crown, oversees our exercises, but a Greekling teacher: what a great thing it is for one single man to delight in the character (*mos*) and *virtus* of our fathers, and without rival or *exemplum* to vie with himself, to contend with himself, and just as he rules alone, to be the sort of one-and-only who ought to rule!

Dio may have regarded that process as a necessary, even a natural one (cf. e.g. Dio 53. 19; see Manuwald 1979; Gabba 1984: 70–9); but to Tacitus it exemplified the hypocrisy at the root of empire. His vision of the world shows us consuls who are no longer independent actors, but with rare exceptions either collaborators with or doomed opponents of the imperial system (Boissier 1909: 340–6; cf. also Tac. *Agr.* 2. 3 for the alternatives of servitude or silence); for the historian, their primary usefulness is as a kind of superannuated dating system for a literary genre.³⁶

III

To conclude, I return via the multiple Caesars of *B Civ.* 3. 1. 1 to the extant Latin historiographical texts of the early empire.³⁷ One way in which our ancient sources figure the move from republic to empire is in terms of a shift in what we may characterize as politico-historical discourse—epic, oratory, and history—from the forum to the library, as it were. Epic topics shift from historical to mythical (Boyle 1993: 2–3); oratory moves from professional to epideictic, from the forum to the ‘declamation halls’ (the classic treatment, and a diagnosis still widely accepted, is Tacitus’ *Dialogus*); history is written either by men at a distance from politics (a practice which in Rome

³⁶ For the flattery of the senate extending to a proposal to replace the names of consul with those ‘who have held the tribunician power’ (and thereby to invent a new dating convention) see Tac. *Ann.* 3. 57. 1 with Woodman and Martin 1996: 421.

³⁷ ‘Historiographical’ broadly conceived, that is: along with Trogus, Velleius, and Curtius, I will consider Seneca the Elder (who excerpts the texts of many historians, and in whose collection historical *exempla* play a crucial role), Valerius Maximus, and Frontinus’ *Strategemata*. I do not here include epic, which (especially with Lucan and Silius) may present a special case.

goes back at least to Livy) or by those with active involvement, but at risk (Cremutius Cordus and perhaps the Elder Pliny), or by those who produced an 'official' version (Velleius, possibly Josephus).³⁸ Across the board, the transformation has been seen both in ancient times and in modern as a move from content to form; from actual to virtual; from transparent to figured language.³⁹ From the standpoint taken in this paper, it is most interesting that particularly in history and in oratory one concomitantly seems to see from the early Augustan period onward a growing preoccupation with exemplarity. Specifically, there start to appear collections of disembodied *exempla*, such as those of Nepos, Atticus, and Varro (in their *Imagines*), Valerius Maximus, and Frontinus.⁴⁰

Chaplin (2000a) has shown how the great Augustan project of (re)building a system entirely from precedent and yet entirely anew could not have succeeded without the flexible, negotiable rhetorical device that is the *exemplum*. Yet its constructive powers depend upon the matrix in which it is embedded. Without their narrative or spectacular context, *exempla* are up for grabs: that is, when the necessary connections between exemplary figure and authorial interpretation, between story and discourse, break down, then the power of *exempla* to build

³⁸ Velleius: Woodman and Martin 1996: 353 on his version of events 'supporting Tiberius'; Josephus: Cohen 1979: 86 ('if any historian was a Flavian lackey, it was Josephus'), 234 ('his career as Roman apologist and propagandist'); Levick 1999: 3 ('a disingenuous source close to the Emperor'), 202 ('official—semi-commissioned—history'). Many Josephan scholars disagree: Rajak 1983: 202: 'We are in the realms of fantasy if we conclude from a name . . . that Josephus was playing the role of a Roman imperial historian.' In neither case need an 'official' version (see Barnes, Ch. 6 above), however imagined, entail crude propaganda or mendacity; see Woodman 1977: 28–56; Mason 2001: introduction and note on *Vit.* 362; there is a good survey of the issues in Bilde 1988.

³⁹ There is a recent trend against this model: in addition to Roller 2001a, see (though with caution) Bloomer 1997: ch. 4; Dupont 1997; Habinek 1998: ch. 5. It is both fascinating and ironic that it was Asinius Pollio—Syme's ideal ancient historian, the last of the great free voices—who seems to have been instrumental in establishing literary recitation as a formal pastime (Dalzell 1955).

⁴⁰ Collections of *exempla* and related works begin appearing in the triumphal period; the earliest attested is that of Nepos, who had 'an exceptional talent for seeing what was lacking, and would prove a useful and attractive topic' (Horsfall 1989: pp. xvii–xviii). Atticus' book of *Imagines* probably contained words as well as pictures; the priority of Varro's *Liber de imaginibus* (39 BCE)—also containing *elogia*—is 'no more than likely' (Horsfall 1989 *ad Nep. Att.* 18.6). See also Momigliano 1980: 375–6.

any time—past, present, or future—is lost (Goldhill 1994). Yet that is precisely what happens under the empire, at least to judge from the extant texts. Rather than coherent constructions, we find collections of excerpted orations (with a high exemplary content: Seneca's *Controversiae* and *Suasoriae*); rather than one evaluative text about Cicero we get many, fragmented versions of his obituary (Sen. *Suas.* 6); rather than ideal generals we get an indefinite number of their isolated acts (Frontinus, *Strategemata*); and rather than a history of noble behaviour, a constructed story of Romanness, we get the puzzling Valerius Maximus, whose relentlessly utilitarian text cries out for a narrative matrix to be restored.⁴¹ Instead of functioning creatively together, *historia* and *exemplum* collapse into each other, reducing *historia* to its 'smallest indivisible narrative elements', which fail to provide the moral or indeed historical grounding which a narrative would confer. So, as several scholars have noted, Seneca's *exempla* are pronouncedly a-historic; and under Nero's reign, Alain Gowing sees a 'political agenda that sought to devalue the past' in favour of the present—that is, in favour of Nero himself.⁴² Loss of the connectivity provided by a guiding narrative produces a series of discrete stories and scenes which can be juxtaposed, contrasted, or combined at will, producing sense or nonsense, guidance or confusion, depending on the reader or viewer. It is, D'Ambra argues, a technique particularly characteristic of the art of the principate:

The reduction of a narrative into its most telling episode and the substitution of symbolic figures for a coherent narrative sequence constitutes an emblematic narrative, which alludes to abstract moral truths through the juxtaposition of the mythological scene with the personifications. By presenting models of exemplary behaviour and deterrent cases of reckless conduct, the emblematic narrative operates on the principles of analogy and antithesis. (D'Ambra 1993: 104)

What threatens always to step into the gap left behind by the

⁴¹ So Wardle 2000: 473. On Valerius' utility see Bloomer 1992; Skidmore 1996: though differing in their reading of Valerius' intentions, both scholars see him as providing a collection of 'instant ancestors', as it were: a means of constructing character.

⁴² Gowing, forthcoming; see also Roller 2004: section III with n. 71. On the relations among *historia*, *exemplum*, and philosophico-moral narrative see Stierle 1972: 183–4 (*exemplum* as 'unité narrative minimale', 184).

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absence of narrative is the emperor, gradually becoming more and more colossal, gradually usurping all artistic and historiographical attention, becoming both the user and the focus of the typically Roman exemplary thought.⁴³ The learned Annaeus Cornutus, according to Dio (62. 29. 3), was exiled when he said that no one would read Nero's proposed historical epic, claiming that Chrysippus' books—and by implication not the emperor's—were a help in the conduct of men's lives; that is, that they were exemplary in a way that the imperial production would never be. And when the emperor controls exemplarity, he controls interpretation as well: reading, as well as writing, receives intense imperial scrutiny (Bartsch 1994).

But can we really put things so starkly? Mary Beard's experimental study of declamation as *mythopoiesis* posits that the flexibility she sees in the handling of history in surviving declamations shows that 'Roman myth-history was not merely frozen in amber but was in the process of being negotiated, open to change' (Beard 1993: 61): precisely what Chaplin identifies as characteristic of Livian exemplarity. And one can argue much the same for the declamatory Alexander, for instance: removed from the world of politics, poised fantastically on the edge of Ocean, he still provides a way of thinking about greatness that is relevant to contemporary Rome and Roman identity. And of course, at the far end of the period I am considering here, comes Tacitus. Despite the view I presented earlier (and *pace* Saint Jerome), there have been powerful arguments made that he was fighting the pull to biography in the *Annals*, and that the *Agri-cola* is his independent, insistently experimental response to the imperial representational crisis (Syme 1974; Marincola 1999: 318–20). Both the *Histories* and the *Annals* are full of *exempla*: some of them competing imperial ones, it is true (e.g. Germanicus and Tiberius), but the very possibility of competition shows

⁴³ It is often observed that the early imperial collections feature a majority of republican *exempla* (so e.g. Chaplin 2000a: 202 n.; Dowling 2000: 318–19; Roller 2001a: 75, 106–7; the classic treatment is Litchfield 1914; for a new view of such republican *exempla* see Roller 2004: section IV). The emperor is still securely in control, especially of the production of new *exempla*: see Wardle 2000: 492: 'Valerius does not consider it necessary even to present the Caesars as the ultimate exemplars of individual virtues . . . [instead,] [p]raise of members of the imperial family occurs at key structural points and is thus the more prominent, and the presence of such praise in *exempla* in non-crucial positions is not insignificant'.

that there was no successful imposition of a monolithic imperial image.⁴⁴ But some of Tacitus' *exempla* are ordinary mortals, good ones like Agricola, or Lepidus at *Annals* 4. 20, or the nameless *bona exempla* at *Histories* 1. 3. 1—as well as complex figures such as Seneca and Mucianus. They may all be feeling the pinch of *imperium*, and hence Tacitus figures them as good only to the extent to which they showed real independence (and so one could say that his text is responding to the imperial exemplary pressure just the same); but they are nevertheless figured as both imitable and challenging, much like the best Livian *exempla*.

Is Tacitus continuing a line taken by earlier, now lost historians? And if so, is my picture of the dominating imperial *exemplum* unusably simplistic? Or did the lost Tiberian, Claudian, and Flavian (etc.) historians tend to follow the line that is adumbrated in the surviving evidence, and does Tacitus resist, or at least complicate things, looking to Sallust and especially to Livy for a more constructive treatment of *exempla* that challenges imperial pressures on historiography? To return to Tacitus' criticisms of historiography after Actium, the latter possibility might suggest an additional way of understanding his complaints about the unsatisfactory nature of early imperial historians and their susceptibility to the new, centripetal exemplary force.

⁴⁴ On Germanicus and Tiberius see Pelling 1993. Previous emperors regularly serve as bad *exempla* in the panegyric of their successors: cf. e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 1. 10. 7: *comparatione deterrima sibi gloriam quaesivisse* ('he had sought glory for himself by means of a comparison with one far worse'); see Lausberg 1998: §404 and above, n. 15.

Josephus and Greek Literature in Flavian Rome

CHRISTOPHER P. JONES

Despite his claim to be a foreigner (*ἀλλόφυλος*: *Bj* 1. 16), and to have written the first version of the *Jewish War* in Aramaic (*Bj* 1. 3), Josephus deserves more space in the study of Greek literature and historiography than he is customarily given. It is true that when writing the Greek version of the *War* in the reigns of Vespasian and Titus, he had the use of 'collaborators' (*Ap.* 1. 50), whose contribution to the work we cannot now measure precisely. Even in that work, however, there is no ground to suppose that they supplied all his allusions to earlier Greek literature. He does not mention them at all in his *magnum opus*, the *Antiquities*, finished in 93/4, but claims to have studied Greek literature extensively, though never shedding his foreign accent (*Aj* 20. 263–4). Josephus can be held no less a Greek author than an Aramaic-speaking Syrian of the following century, Lucian.¹

Even if we consider him a Greek writer, however, he is the only extant one who certainly wrote in Flavian Rome, as opposed to the Flavian period. In Jewish and Christian literature, several works have a good claim to belong to this time, but only one is written in Rome, the *First Epistle of Clement*. In classical Greek literature there is only a handful of extant works in Greek that can even be ascribed to the Flavian era. We cannot precisely date the fragments of Musonius Rufus; some works of both Plutarch and Dio Chrysostom may well be Flavian, but Dio's *Alexandrian oration* (no. 33), to take only one work whose precise date would be well worth knowing, has sometimes been thought

¹ Josephus is absent from Easterling and Knox 1985, and is barely mentioned in Swain 1996. I assume the chronology of his works proposed by Kushnir-Stein 2002 and C. P. Jones 2002.

Trajanic.² Of the epigrammatists, none seems to be certainly dated between Lucillius in the Neronian era and Ammianus in the Hadrianic, although Nicarchus is sometimes thought to be Flavian (*P Oxy.* 4501–2). This lack of securely dated Greek literature under the Flavians contrasts sharply with the situation in Latin, which exhibits several classics in both prose and verse.

Relating Josephus to the Greek writers of Flavian Rome must therefore be a frustrating task. This chapter considers some types of Greek literature that flourished in the Flavian era, some of it possibly written in Rome, and looks for links between their authors and Josephus. It ends by suggesting some ways of reconstructing his literary and personal career in the general context of his time and place.

To begin with historiography, it was inevitable that the civil wars of 68 and 69, and the accompanying revolts in Judaea and Gaul, should produce their crop of historians and memoirists, and we can form some idea of Latin authors such as Cluvius Rufus and the Elder Pliny. Josephus himself mentions authors who had written about Nero, some favourably, others not, though some extended their hostility to other emperors as well (*Bj* 2. 250–1; *Aj* 20. 153–6); in addition, he claims that many had written about the recent civil wars both in Greek and in Latin (*Bj* 4. 496). No Greeks are known in this company, though they may well have provided some of the material for Plutarch's extant *Galba* and *Otho*. Nonetheless, Josephus' account of the Jewish War, in which justification for his own role plays so large a part, fits a pattern of historiography that can be presumed for the reign of Vespasian.

When justifying his choice of the recent war as a proper subject, Josephus uses a traditional argument of Greek historians, notably Thucydides, that is, the unique importance of his particular war. Again following a tradition of Greek historiography, he asserts his own superiority to his rivals, though he does so with untraditional arguments. These rivals are of three kinds. Some have treated this same war (though Josephus does not say that it formed their only subject), and yet their accounts are mere rhetorical exercises, uninformed by personal knowledge.

² Favouring a Flavian date: C. P. Jones 1973*a*. Favouring a Trajanic one: Swain 1996: 428–9, with further bibliography.

Josephus and Greek Literature in Rome

A second class had personal experience of the war, but flattered the Roman side and denigrated the Jewish (*BĴ* 1. 1). Josephus' third class consists of Greeks who despised the writing of contemporary history altogether (for Greeks writing about the Jewish war, *Ap.* 1. 46), and instead 'write histories of the Medes and Assyrians, as if those who did so in antiquity had insufficient beauty of style' (*BĴ* 1. 13). For this group Josephus might be thinking not of historians in the strict sense, but of romance writers who liked such a setting for their works. One such is perhaps Celer, the writer on rhetoric (*PIR*² C 388), who wrote what Philostratus calls (*VS* 1. 22. 3) a work (*φρόντισμα*) entitled *Araspas in love with Pantheia*, a subject borrowed from Xenophon (Bowersock 1969: 53).

The one person other than Josephus who is known to have written an account of the Jewish War is his *bête noire*, Justus of Tiberias, who would publish more than a decade later. Josephus' dislike appears to stem not only from the fact that the other was a rival and a friend of one of his own patrons, Agrippa II: in addition, he was 'not unversed in Greek culture, and this gave him the effrontery to write a history of these events, hoping to overcome the truth on this account'.³ Though Josephus wrote this comment near the end of his career, the resentment of a foreigner against a better-assimilated compatriot is still audible.

The *Jewish Antiquities*, however, suggests a different literary stance from that of the *Jewish War*. The work belongs to a different tradition from that of the war-history made canonical by Herodotus and Thucydides. The closest extant analogy, and perhaps the immediate model, is Dionysius' *Roman Antiquities*, but we have lost the local histories so popular in the Hellenistic and the Roman eras that might have provided a closer analogy, for example the lost *Bithyniaca* of Arrian. In this work, Josephus sets out to place the whole history of his people 'before the Greeks' (*AĴ* 1. 5). Accordingly, he has recast Jewish history in a form designed to satisfy Greek and no doubt Roman readers, though he allows the possibility of occasional Jewish ones (*AĴ* 4. 197). For this purpose he has, for instance, hellenized Hebrew

³ *Vit.* 40; τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ is surely not 'by his presentation of the facts,' as Thackeray 1926: 17. Mason 2001 translates 'as if he could overcome the truth itself by this speech-craft'. On Justus, *PIR*² I/J 872; *HĴP* 1. 34–7; Mason 2001: pp. xxvii–l, notes to § 34, 36–40, 336–67.

names in order to preserve the proprieties (*euprepes*) and to give pleasure (*AJ* 1. 129); he recasts the Mosaic code in the form of a Greek city-constitution, with most of the clauses in the third person imperative (*AJ* 4. 196–301). It is possible that this hellenizing colour has to do with Josephus' patron Epaphroditus (see Cotton and Eck, Ch. 1 above), but it may also reflect the surge of Hellenism so visible in Domitianic Rome. The emperor was an ardent philhellene: he was the first emperor to hold the archonship at Athens (*IG II²* 1996, to be dated between 85/6 and 91/2 according to Follet 1976: 319), and he also restored the temple of Apollo at Delphi (*FD* 3. 4 (1954) no. 120 = *ILS* 8905). At Rome in the year 86, he founded the Capitolia (Suet. *Dom.* 4. 4; in general, Caldelli 1993), a Greek-style *agôn* that was to remain one of the chief international contests of the Roman empire. Josephus certainly enjoyed imperial favour under the Flavians, and according to Eusebius he received a statue at Rome and the honour of having his book placed in a public library (*Hist. eccl.* 3. 9. 2). There is nonetheless no sign that either of his two major works made any dent in Greek historiography or thought. It was only the Christians, a sect whose existence Josephus barely noticed, who were to preserve his works and his reputation, and there is only a single papyrus fragment of *War* 2. 20 (*P. Rain.* 3. 36 = Pack 1965: no. 1283).

History and oratory were closely related, and Josephus' two historical works are filled with speeches. In the *Jewish War* these are usually in the mode of Greek 'political' history, being addressed to a collective audience, and intended to characterize a situation and to urge a particular course of action. Those in the *Antiquities* are much more varied. So long as Josephus has the Bible as his guide, they are often elaborations of ones in his model, so that God himself is a not infrequent speaker at least in the early books (e.g. *AJ* 1. 46–7, 57, 100–3), a feature that must have struck Greek readers as rather outlandish. As rhetoric, however, Josephus' speeches fall far short of the polish of Dionysius of Halicarnassus or even of Plutarch in the *Lives*. Despite their occasional use of rhetorical devices, they remind the reader more of an Arrian or a Cassius Dio, conscientious efforts of historians not aiming at a high style.

Yet in Josephus' day the Second Sophistic was entering its first, glorious phase. Nero's famous speech to the Hellenes of

the year 68, preserved on an inscription from Boeotia (*SIG*³ 814 = *ILS* 8794 = Oliver 1989: no. 296), shows the influence of the new movement, and perhaps of its reputed founder, Nicetes of Smyrna (C. P. Jones 2000). By the middle of Vespasian's reign, according to Tacitus, Nicetes and his tribe were thrilling the lecture-halls of Ephesus and Mitylene (*Dial.* 15. 3). When the sophist Scopelian left Rome after a brilliant success under Domitian, according to Philostratus he was 'followed by a dazzling band of youths, amorous of his wisdom' (*VS* 1. 21. 6).

Among those whom Philostratus characterizes as philosophers with a reputation as sophists is Dio Chrysostom. The work of Dio that impinges most directly on Josephus, and may be from the reign of Vespasian, is the already mentioned *Alexandrian Oration*. Here Dio gives a lively denunciation of Alexandrian unruliness, illustrating it by a riot that the authorities had recently intervened to put down. The city's restlessness was a subject of considerable interest for Jews of the first century: we need only think of Philo's *Embassy to Gaius*, Claudius' *Letter to the Alexandrians*, and the so-called *Acts of the Pagan Martyrs*. Two of Josephus' especial targets in the tract *Against Apion* are Alexandrian Greeks, Chaeremon and Apion, though he claims that Apion was really from Oasis in Upper Egypt (*Ap.* 2. 29).⁴ Not the least of Josephus' satisfactions under Vespasian may have been the sight of the Alexandrians squandering the good will that they had enjoyed in the first part of the reign.

Even more than with Dio Chrysostom, Josephus might have felt sympathy with another Greek, who like Dio combined elements of philosophy and rhetoric. Plutarch's rhetorical works are often counted among his *juvenilia*, though the only evidence is their style. Two essays, cast in the form of declamations, take up the old theme of the role played by Fortune (*Tychê*) and Virtue (*Arete*) in creating the Roman empire. Characteristically, however, Plutarch leaves the issue undecided, arguing that 'Time, that founded Rome, with God's help (*μετὰ θεοῦ*) mixed and combined it with Fortune and Virtue' (*De fort. Rom.* 316f). The same question is also present in Josephus' *Jewish War*. Thus Agrippa gives a

⁴ *HJP* 3. 601–7; Schäfer 1997: 28–31. Compare Lucian's similar claim about (probably) Pollux of Naucratis, *Rh. Praec.* 24.

long speech urging the Jews that war with Rome is doomed to failure. Though he mainly emphasizes the Romans' military might, he also argues that so great an empire cannot have come into existence without God (*δίχα θεοῦ*) (*Bῃ* 2. 345–402, esp. 390). Similarly, Josephus represents himself as haranguing the Jews besieged in Jerusalem: 'Fortune, he said, had migrated to (the Romans) from every side, and God who had transferred empire from nation to nation was now on the side of Italy' (*Bῃ* 5. 363–419, esp. 367). These similarities, such as they are, only show that both authors had reflected on issues which must have been especially alive in the 70s. Rome had recently escaped the reign of Nero and the ensuing civil wars and revolts, and had managed to re-establish its power under a new regime.

For us Plutarch is above all a biographer, though his only biographies that may belong to the Flavian period are the series running from Augustus to Vitellius, of which we now have merely the next to last two, *Galba* and *Otho*. While these mention the Jews only because of Vespasian's presence, Plutarch can hardly have avoided the topic in earlier lives, especially the *Nero*. His few references to the Jews in other works, while not particularly friendly, are far milder than some of his contemporaries. For example, a new fragment of the Epicurean Diogenes of Oenoanda lumps Jews and Egyptians together for their absurd tendency to superstition (Smith 1998: 132 III 8–IV 2): 'The nations of the Jews and the Egyptians are a clear sign that the gods have no power to check wrongdoing; they are the most superstitious of all peoples, and yet also the most accursed (*μιαρώτατοι*).'⁵ Plutarch visited Rome in the reign of Domitian, but there is no sign that he and Josephus ever met (Plut. *De curios.* 522d–e, mentioning Arulenus Rusticus, executed in 93 (*PIR*² I 730); see also Feldman, Ch. 11 below).

The same is true of another philosopher of Domitianic Rome, Epictetus. At this time he was still, it seems, a slave of Epaphroditus, the well-known *a libellis* of Nero, though he must have already gained an independent name as a philosopher, if it is true that he was one of those whom Domitian banished from Rome.⁵ His master has sometimes been identified

⁵ Epictetus: *PIR*² E 74. Epaphroditus: *PIR*² E 69. For his appearances in

with the person of the same name to whom Josephus addresses the *Antiquities* and the treatise traditionally entitled *Against Apion*. The author calls him 'a man who has embraced every form of culture (*παιδεία*), and especially takes pleasure in experience of affairs (*διαφερόντως χαίρων ἐμπειρίαις πραγμάτων*), since he himself has been involved in high affairs and a variety of fortunes, but in all things he has displayed extraordinary strength of character and an unswerving disposition towards virtue' (*Αἴ* 1. 8). This is certainly not the picture that Epictetus gives of his master, an insecure millionaire grovelling at the feet of court-favourites, and on grounds of chronology as well he should probably be discounted as a possible link between the two authors.⁶ In one passage, Epictetus mentions people who claimed to be Jews without actually fulfilling obligations such as baptism (*Arr. Epict. diss.* 2. 9. 19–21), but he does so with no antipathy to Judaism in itself. We might in fact conjecture that this plain Stoic, with his un-literary Greek and his dislike of ostentation, would have got on rather well with Josephus, but as with Plutarch we do not know that they ever met.

It is not easy to summarize the position of Josephus and his links with the Greek literature of Flavian Rome. Under Vespasian, happily ensconced in an apartment given to him by the emperor (*Vit.* 423), he seems to have stood aloof alike from the Greek and from the Latin culture of the city. When writing the *Jewish War*, he consulted historians in both languages who covered the same events as himself, but the similarities with a Plutarch or a Dio Chrysostom seem slight and incidental. There is even less sign of sympathy with the showier exponents of Greek *paideia*, such as the highly fashionable sophists. We do not know when he began the writing of the *Jewish Antiquities*, but it was presumably under Titus or (more probably) Domitian.

Titus was Josephus' slightly younger contemporary and, if we can believe his protestations, his particular friend and protector. We can imagine him looking forward to a phase of renewed security and prosperity when Titus succeeded to the throne in

Epictetus, see *Arr. Epict. diss.* 1. 1. 20; 1. 19. 19; 1. 26. 11–12. Banishment: *Gell. NA* 15. 11. 4–5, cf. *Lucian De mort. Peregr.* 18.

⁶ I have discussed this question further in C. P. Jones 2002; see also Cotton and Eck, Ch. 1 above.

79. Yet Titus died in 81, and Josephus' main Jewish patron, Agrippa II, appears to have done so about 90 (C. P. Jones 2002: 115), when his kingdom was incorporated into the Roman province (Kushnir-Stein 2002; see further Schwartz, Ch. 3 above). There is no certain indication that the author himself outlived Domitian, who died in 96. It follows that the years when he was completing the *Antiquities*, the *Life*, and *Against Apion*, were the same years of Domitian's reign which saw the most rigorous exaction of the tax on Jews and, according to Cassius Dio, the condemnation of many people for adopting Judaism.⁷ Yet in the *Life* Josephus claims to have enjoyed the unbroken favour of the Flavians, including Domitian and his empress Domitia Longina (*Vit.* 429). We are faced, therefore, with the paradox that he completed his last works, especially his *magnum opus*, the *Antiquities*, while enjoying imperial favour in an atmosphere of growing hostility to Judaism. The closest analogy to his situation is perhaps that of the 'Court Jews' of early modern Europe, useful agents of regimes that were often militantly Christian (Kellenbenz 1972). If so, then the real Josephus' lack of contact with contemporary authors may be an illusion fostered by Josephus the author.

⁷ Dio 67. 14. 2; cf. Suet. *Dom.* 12. 2. Griffin 2000a: 74–7 is a good recent discussion of this question; see also Goodman, Ch. 8 above.

Parallel Lives of Two Lawgivers: Josephus' Moses and Plutarch's *Lycurgus*¹

LOUIS H. FELDMAN

INTRODUCTION

Lawgivers play a crucial role in the revolutionary development of a new society not only with the laws that they promulgate but also by the personal example through which they set the moral tone for their own and for future generations.

In the fourth century the Emperor Julian (*Contra Galilaeos* 168b, 184b-c), who is generally sympathetic with Judaism, suggests, focusing upon three lawgivers, that it is worthwhile to compare the anger of Moses and of Moses' God with the mildness (πραότης) of Lycurgus and the forbearance (ἀνεξικακία) of Solon, though he does not indicate that such a comparison had previously been made. Moreover, though a few modern scholars (Büchler 1898: 181-202; Feldman 1996: 529-52) have studied Plutarch's references to the Jews, no one has hitherto analysed the parallels between his *Lives* and the extended biographical portraits from the Bible in Josephus' *Antiquities*. I propose here to make such a comparison between Josephus' account of Moses in his *Antiquities*, completed in 93/4, and Plutarch's life of *Lycurgus*, written perhaps a few years or a decade or two later (to judge from C. P. Jones' studies in the chronology of Plutarch's works).² Indeed, we would expect to see parallels

¹ I wish to express my thanks to Professor Christopher P. Jones and to my student David Zarmi for several insightful suggestions.

² Jones (1966: 69) dates the lives of Lycurgus and Numa after 96, noting that *Numa* 19. 7 refers to Domitian's death in 96. Jones (70) plausibly suggests that Sosius' consulate in 99 furnished the occasion to dedicate the new undertaking of the *Lives* to him. Flacelière (1969: 486) places little confidence in the chronology proposed by Jones. For a general survey of the range of approaches to the difficult question of the dating of Plutarch's *Lives*, see Ziegler 1951: 899-903.

between Plutarch and Josephus in their methods and goals. On the one hand, most of the heroes of Plutarch's *Lives* were known to him through the writings of Greek and Roman historians; and the *Lives* are, in fact, an offshoot of ancient historiography (Wardman 1974: 1). On the other hand, in his rewriting of the Bible Josephus treats history largely as biography, following Hellenistic traditions that appear to go back to the historiographical schools of Isocrates and Aristotle in the fourth century BCE (Feldman 1998a: 4). Already in the fifth century BCE, as Westlake has argued (1968; cf. Wardman 1974: 5-6), Thucydides was becoming more interested in the characters of his personalities as his work progressed. The distinction during the Hellenistic period between history and biography has been less than generally accepted, for biography came to be recognized as a type of history (Momigliano 1971a: 1-7).

Isocrates pioneered in the writing of eulogistic biography in his *Evagoras*, the purpose of which was to show that Evagoras, king of Salamis in Cyprus, surpassed even the legendary princes of ancient times in valour, piety, and justice—three key qualities that Josephus also singles out for praise in his biblical heroes.³ That Plutarch knew the works of Isocrates and was influenced by them, particularly in his views on education and political philosophy, seems most likely in view of the fact that he cites Isocrates thirty-five times. But the dividing line between the Isocrateans and the Peripatetics was not clear-cut. One of Isocrates' successors, Theodectes, followed his father from the Isocratean to the Aristotelian school. Another of the pupils of Isocrates, Ephorus, was noted for the incorporation of sweeping panegyrics, just what we find at times in Josephus' portraits of his major biblical figures. This tendency to abandon the time-honoured distinction between history and biography and to convert history into biography—one is almost tempted to say psycho-history—we see in the title of a work by Theopompus, another of Isocrates' students: *Philippica*. This label indicates that Theopompus had moved from traditional history to biog-

³ See Hembold and O'Neil 1959: 49. They further note three instances in which Plutarch's *Lycurgus* appears to have drawn from Isocrates: 4. 5, on Lycurgus' visit to the Egyptians, from whom he derived the separation of the military from other classes; 16. 6, on Lycurgus' decision that boys should learn only enough of reading and writing to serve their turn; and 17. 3, on the practice of having boys steal food.

raphy and psychology. Tellingly, he is criticized by Polybius (2. 8. 10) for building his history around a man, Philip II, rather than around Greece. With Theopompus, however, the goal of history was no longer restricted to the narration and explanation of great events; it also devoted much space to evaluating the feelings and motives of major characters (Connor 1967: 133–54). The biographical school frequently sought to reveal the conscious, rational motives behind men's actions. Theopompus was fond of comparing the reaction of two historical figures to similar circumstances. It was such a comparative approach that Plutarch made famous and that we also see, for example, in Josephus' comparison of Agrippa I and Herod (*AJ* 19. 328–31). So Theopompus introduced a quasi-biographical approach to history, which had a profound, if indirect, influence upon such historians as Josephus and such biographers as Plutarch.

Aristotle's followers, the Peripatetics, starting with his successor Theophrastus, tried to classify types of lives, just as they did types of animals and plants; they thus proceeded to write biographies illustrating these various types of life. For this purpose they used anecdotes and historical incidents, just as Josephus and Plutarch would later, even as offensive and defensive weapons in argument (Momigliano 1971*b*: 14). Indeed, Dihle (1956) has suggested that Aristotle's *Ethics* was the main influence on later biography. It is surely significant that Nicolaus of Damascus, one of Josephus' principal sources, was a Peripatetic philosopher who wrote a biography, now lost, of the Emperor Augustus, though Momigliano (1971*a*: 120) properly observes that Aristotelianism alone was neither a necessary nor a sufficient basis for Hellenistic biography.⁴

During the Hellenistic period the gap between historical encomium, biography, and history narrowed, so that it became effectively impossible to separate them (Momigliano 1971*a*: 83). Even Polybius, who is so critical of the Isocratean school, wrote an encomium of Philopoemen, which has an emotional and tragic component. Presumably, he felt that such an encomium was justified as long as it was not included in his history. But such scruples did not endure. Despite Cicero's apparent need to jus-

⁴ Momigliano (1971*a*: 106) is reluctant to attribute the growth of biography in the Hellenistic period to the direct influence of Aristotelian philosophy.

tify stretching the truth in a proposed monograph about his consulship (*Fam.* 5. 12), for practical purposes the difference had by his time diminished. Josephus, like Dionysius of Halicarnassus, seems rather to have fused panegyric and history.

To be sure, Plutarch himself (*Alex.* 1. 2) seems to make a sharp distinction between history, with its emphasis on events, and biography, with its emphasis on character as revealed by actions, sayings, and jests. Yet his biographies generally combine the two without clear distinction. As Momigliano remarks (1971a: 110), the principal form of biography was the encomium,⁵ not a form of which Thucydides would in general have approved; yet it is precisely this form that we find over and over again in Josephus' *Antiquities*, as also in Plutarch's lives. In his account of the war (*Bŷ* 1. 1-2, 13-16), Josephus mirrors Thucydides' interest in contemporary events and in a critical, scientific approach to the writing of history, sharply criticizing the inclusion of invective or encomium. Yet even there he self-consciously includes pathetic or tragic elements (*Bŷ* 1. 10-11). Lucian (*Hist. conscr.* 7) emphatically asserts that a high wall separates history and encomium, though his very emphasis seems to indicate that the distinction had broken down in general usage.

THE CONNECTION BETWEEN SPARTA AND THE JEWS

Plutarch's interest in Sparta, its alleged lawgiver, and its unique practices is well known. Less well known is the tradition linking Sparta and the Jews. According to Tyrtæus (8. 1), Sparta was founded by Heracles. Plutarch (*Lyc.* 1. 3) quotes Xenophon (*Lac.* 10. 8) as remarking that Lycurgus is said to have lived in the times of the Heracleidae and, indeed, makes him the eleventh generation from Heracles (*Lyc.* 1. 4). For Plutarch, even the latest of the Spartan kings were descendants of Heracles (*Lyc.* 1. 3-4; cf. Hdt. 9. 33). Leonidas, of Thermopylae fame, is likewise identified by Herodotus (7. 208) as a descendant of Heracles.

In *Aŷ* 1. 240-1 Josephus quotes Alexander Polyhistor (first cent. BCE), citing the otherwise unknown Cleodemus Malchus, who may have lived in the second century BCE (Schürer 1909:

⁵ For distinctions among history, biography, and encomium see Wardman 1974: 10-18.

481; Charlesworth 1981: 93) and may have been a Jew (Hengel 1974: 1. 74, 2. 51 n. 135; cf. *GLAJJ* 3. 18), a Samaritan (Freudenthal 1875: 131–6), or a pagan (Wacholder 1974: 7, 53–5), to the effect that two of the sons of Abraham by Keturah accompanied Heracles in his expedition against Libya and Antaeus.⁶ Heracles married the daughter of one of them, and she bore him a son, Didoros, from whom in turn a son named Sophon, called Sophakes by the 'barbarians', was born. Plutarch (*Sert.* 9. 8–10) speaks of Heracles' son (grandson, according to Cleodemus) Sophax (presumably the same as Sophakes), from whom was born Diodoros (presumably not the same as Didoros), who conquered several nations of Africa and was an ancestor of the first-century BCE King Juba of Numidia.⁷

Perhaps there is some connection between this story and the statement in 2 Macc. 5: 9 that in 168 BCE the high priest Jason, when he did not find refuge in Egypt, fled to Sparta in the hope of obtaining shelter there by reason of their common origin, and also with 1 Macc. 12: 1–23 (cf. *AJ* 12. 225–7). There we find the letter of the third-century BCE Spartan king Areios to the high priest Onias, referring to a document stating that the Spartans and the Jews are related through Abraham, and a letter in reply sent by Jonathan the Hasmonean confirming this and seeking to renew the pact of friendship. Jonathan asserts (1 Macc. 12: 11) that the Jews remember the Spartans 'at every opportunity, incessantly on the festivals and at other appropriate days, in the sacrifices which we offer and in our prayers, as it is right and fitting to recall our kinsmen'. After the death of Jonathan the Spartans wrote to his successor, Simon, to renew their pact of friendship with the Jews (1 Macc. 14: 20–3). This connection between Spartans and Jews may have arisen from the tradition, cited by the first-century historian Claudius Iolaus, that one of the 'Sown-men' (*Spartoi*) at Thebes was Udaeus, whence the name Judaea (cf. *GLAJJ* 1. 535).

⁶ The legend about Heracles' expedition into Africa is mentioned by King Juba in his Libyan history (*ap.* Plut. *Sert.* 9. 8–10) as well as by Pliny (*NH* 5. 1), Strabo (17. 3. 2), and Pomponius Mela (3. 106).

⁷ Denis (1970: 176) suggests that Cleodemus' source is Juba's second wife Glaphyra, the daughter of King Archelaus of Cappadocia and widow of Herod's son Alexander. Glaphyra claimed to be descended on her father's side from Temenus, a descendant of Heracles (*BJ* 1. 476).

Observing that scholars who have doubted the authenticity of Jonathan's letter cite the lack of apparent motive for Jonathan's raising the matter of common ancestry a century or more after Areios' letter, Katzoff (1985: 485-9) suggests that a motive may lie in the parallel of events in Spartan and Judaeon history. He notes that in 189-8 BCE the Achaeans, led by Philopoemen, had forced the Spartans to annul the laws and customs associated with Lycurgus, notably those associated with the training of the youth (*ἀγωγή*), and to replace them with those of the Achaeans (Livy 38. 34. 3), though the Spartan customs were restored not long afterwards, perhaps in 178 BCE. Similarly, a few years later (175-4 BCE), in Jerusalem, the Hellenists replaced the traditional Torah education with the pagan Greek ephebate (*ἐφηβεία*), though it too was restored shortly thereafter (165 BCE) by the Maccabees. By reminding Hellenized Jews of the long alleged association of Jews and Spartans, Jonathan was perhaps aiming to influence them to accept the changes instituted by the Hasmonean regime, since the struggle against the Hellenizers was far from over.

Moreover, Aristotle (*Pol.* 2. 10. 1271b) observes that the Spartan constitution is reported to be a copy of the Cretan, noting the tradition that when Lycurgus went abroad he spent most of his time in Crete. So also Plutarch (*Lyc.* 4. 1) cites the tradition that Lycurgus, after he had enabled his nephew to become king, set sail for Crete, where he studied the various forms of their government, made the acquaintance of their most distinguished men, and adopted some but disapproved of others of their laws. Polybius (6. 45. 1-47) indicates that such learned and generally reliable writers as Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, Ephorus, and Callisthenes agree in praising Crete for its constitution, which was so similar to Sparta's. Note that one theory of the Jews' origin according to Tacitus (*Hist.* 5. 2. 1) held that they were exiles from Crete.

THE IDEA OF COMPARING LIVES OF NOTABLE FIGURES

The idea of comparing two notable figures is found in several writers before Plutarch, for example in Cornelius Nepos and Valerius Maximus. Titus Pomponius Atticus (*Cic. Brut.* 43) had apparently compared Themistocles and Coriolanus. Jo-

Josephus' Moses and Plutarch's Lycurgus

sephus (*AJ* 19. 328–31) contrasts two notable figures, Herod and Agrippa I, in disposition toward others, generosity, and religiosity. Plutarch regularly compares figures: only four of his pairs—Cato the Younger–Phocion, Themistocles–Camillus, Pyrrhus–Marius, and Alexander–Caesar—lack such comparisons, which may never have been composed in these cases. In the comparisons made by Plutarch and Josephus the emphasis is on differences between them, in particular those relating to morality. In both the differences are illustrated by numerous examples and anecdotes. The comparison thus takes the place of an encomium, such as we often find in Josephus at the end of his discussion of a single character.

LAWGIVERS AND THEIR VIRTUES

Already at the beginning of his *Antiquities* (1. 6) Josephus declares that even while he was writing his account of the war of the Jews against the Romans he had thought of writing a work that would encompass the entire history of the Jews so that readers might see under what sort of lawgiver (ὅφ' οἷον . . . νομοθέτη) the Jews were trained in piety and the exercise of the other virtues.

So also Plutarch (*Per.* 1–2) declares that the aim of his *Lives* is to set forth the virtues of these personalities so that they may serve as a guide for his readers. As Russell remarks (1972: 101–2), for Plutarch ‘to write a life’ (βίον γράφειν) is to describe the way of life of an individual, that is, to describe ‘what sort of man he was’ (ποῖός τις ἦν), precisely the aim also of Josephus (Feldman 1998a: 74–131). Normally, Plutarch is concerned with the influence of his heroes; but when he describes lawgivers, namely Lycurgus, Solon, Numa Pompilius, and Publicola, he is also concerned with the question of how their legal codes affected their respective nations.

Significantly, in his first reference to Moses in the *Antiquities* (1. 6) Josephus omits his name and refers to him as the lawgiver (νομοθέτης). As Meeks remarks (1976: 132; cf. Bloch 1955: 139–40), the Jewish tradition of the rabbis, at least, would not call Moses ‘the lawgiver’, since only God gave the Torah, whereas it came ‘by Moses’ hand’. For Josephus, however, Moses is modelled in Platonic fashion after the founder of a Greek *polis*,

whose laws form the constitution (*πολιτεία*) of the state. So also Josephus is impressed with the effect of Moses' legal code even in his own day. He shows this by his introduction of the anecdote (*AJ* 3. 317-18), quite irrelevant in its context, that some people from beyond the Euphrates had not been permitted to partake of sacrifices because Moses' code forbade it.

PARALLELS BETWEEN THE LIVES OF MOSES AND
LYCURGUS

We may here note a number of similar themes in Plutarch's biography of Lycurgus and Josephus' biography (in effect) of Moses: genealogy; upbringing, virtues of wisdom, courage, justice, and especially moderation and piety; relation to the divine; rejection of kingship; setting up a council of elders; military leadership; educational systems for youths; dealings with the masses and with opponents; suppression of rebellions; attitude toward aliens; opposition to putting laws into writing; attitude toward wealth and poverty; setting up a tribal and sub-tribal system; allotment of lands; laws pertaining to first-fruits; laws and practices pertaining to marriage and parentage; laws pertaining to the modesty of women; the status of women, priests, and slaves; the training of soldiers; diet, burial; laws against sorcery; the manner of the lawgiver's death; laws forbidding modification of the laws. In particular, both felt strongly that the introduction of alien principles and institutions would destroy the internal harmony of the state.

Plutarch begins his biography of Lycurgus (1. 1-2. 3) with a discussion of his date and genealogy. Josephus (*AJ* 2. 210) likewise begins his discussion of Moses with his description of Moses' father Amram as one of the well-born among the Hebrews. He presents the extra-biblical addition (*AJ* 2. 229) that Moses was the seventh—according to the Bible he was the sixth—generation after Abraham and then proceeds to name these ancestors, just as Plutarch (*Lyc.* 1. 4) asserts that Lycurgus was the eleventh generation after Heracles and then proceeds to name these ancestors.⁸

⁸ Talbert (1980: 135) notes that biographies in this period typically began with an illustrious genealogy: cf. Plutarch's lives of not only Lycurgus (1. 4) but also

Josephus' Moses and Plutarch's Lycurgus

Both Josephus' Moses and Plutarch's Lycurgus were reluctant to obtain their position of power. In the case of Lycurgus, the previous king, Polydectes (*Lyc.* 3. 1), died without leaving a son to succeed him, and consequently the kingdom devolved upon Lycurgus, Polydectes' brother. However, it later became known that Polydectes' wife was pregnant, whereupon Lycurgus declared that the kingdom belonged to her offspring if it should be male, and himself administered the government only as guardian. Polydectes' wife then made secret overtures to Lycurgus, proposing to destroy her unborn child on condition that he would marry her. Lycurgus pretended to accept the proposal but told her not to endanger her life, since he would see to it that the child, when born, should be disposed of. Lycurgus actually did save the child, but, as it turned out, the child was king for only eight months.

Similarly, it seems from Josephus that Moses attempted to pass off the role of leader to the person who, he thought, was more fitting for the honour, namely his older brother, Aaron. In the biblical incident of the burning bush (Exod. 3: 11) Moses, told by God to go to Pharaoh and to take the Israelites out of Egypt, shrinks from his commission: 'Who am I that I should go to Pharaoh, and bring the sons of Israel out of Egypt?' He realizes his handicap in speaking (Exod. 4: 10): 'Oh, my Lord, I am not eloquent, either heretofore or since Thou has spoken to Thy servant; but I am slow of speech and of tongue.' In Josephus' version (*AJ* 2. 271) Moses adds: 'I am at a loss, how I, an ordinary person, possessing in abundance no strength, shall either persuade with words my own kinsmen to give up the land that they just now inhabit and to follow me to that to which I myself lead them, or, even if they are persuaded, shall force Pharaoh to allow the departure of those by whose toils and deeds they increase their own prosperity.'

Both Josephus and Plutarch develop the theme of envy to which their respective heroes were subjected.⁹ In Josephus (*AJ*

Theseus, Fabius Maximus, Brutus, and Pyrrhus, Josephus' *Life* (1-6), Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius* (1. 4), and the SHA (*Hadr.* 1. 1-2; *Ant. Pius* 1. 1-7).

⁹ Josephus omits, however, the biblical episode (Exod. 2: 11-15) in which Moses killed an Egyptian overseer who was striking a fellow-Israelite, presumably because this would discredit Moses.

2. 254-5), after Moses defeats the Ethiopians, his rivals at the court of Pharaoh conceived a hatred for him, suspecting that he would start a revolution in Egypt because of his success, whereupon they instructed the Pharaoh about their intention to kill him. The Pharaoh, owing to his envy of Moses and his fear of humiliation, was actually ready to undertake the murder of Moses when the latter escaped (*AJ* 2. 255). In the case of Lycurgus, according to Plutarch (*Lyc.* 3. 5), during the period that he was guardian of his young nephew as king, there was a group including the brother of the queen-mother that envied him. Just as Moses escaped to Midian, Lycurgus travelled abroad to Crete (*Lyc.* 4. 1), determined to continue his wanderings until his nephew should come of age and produce a son who would succeed him. As to the connection with Crete: according to one theory mentioned by Tacitus (*Hist.* 5. 2. 1) the Jews originated from Crete; when they left Crete they settled in the farthest parts of Libya.

In Lycurgus' travel to Crete we have the theme of the wise man who seeks the wisdom of other nations. One is reminded of Abraham's travels to Egypt, as told by Josephus (*AJ* 1. 161): he would become the disciple of the Egyptian wise men if he found them to be better or to convert them if he found that his own thoughts were superior. We similarly think of Moses' acceptance of advice from his father-in-law Jethro, the priest of Midian, with regard to the administration of justice (*AJ* 3. 66-72). Josephus (*AJ* 3. 73-4) is not afraid to have Moses acknowledge the help that he had received from Jethro when he might have claimed as his own the advice given him. Similarly, Plutarch (*Lyc.* 4. 1-2) is not afraid to acknowledge Lycurgus' debt to a Cretan lawgiver named Thales, who was able through his odes to exhort people to obedience and harmony and to renounce their mutual hatred and whom Lycurgus, drawing upon his friendship, persuaded to go on a mission to Sparta and who, he says, in some measure was a forerunner of Lycurgus and his discipline.

From Crete Lycurgus sailed to Asia Minor with the aim of comparing the Cretan civilization, which was simple and severe, with that of Asia Minor, which was extravagant and luxurious (*Lyc.* 4. 3). Here he made his first acquaintance with the poems of Homer and, indeed, was the very first who made them well

Josephus' Moses and Plutarch's Lycurgus

known. In this connection, note that Josephus (*AJ* 2. 346) has Moses, after the miraculous crossing of the Sea of Reeds, compose a poem in the rhythm of Homeric hexameters. Similarly, Josephus (*AJ* 4. 303) states that just before he died Moses recited a poem in hexameter verse that he bequeathed in a book preserved in the Temple.

Plutarch (*Lyc.* 4. 5) also mentions a tradition that Lycurgus visited the Egyptians and so ardently admired their separation of the military from the other classes that he transferred it to Sparta; Lycurgus is also said to have visited Libya and held conferences with the renowned Gymnosophists (*Lyc.* 4. 6). Lycurgus' debt to others for his ideas with regard to military organization is mirrored in the Moses of Josephus' story, as we have noted (cf. *AJ* 3. 70-1). Like Moses, it was only with reluctance that Lycurgus assumed the leadership of his nation—after the Spartans had sent for him many times and were in danger of falling into anarchy (*Lyc.* 5. 1).

Although lawgivers and statesmen above all, Josephus' Moses and Plutarch's Lycurgus are also generals. Josephus (*AJ* 2. 238-53) introduces a whole extra-biblical episode in which Moses leads a successful military campaign against Ethiopia. In his final encomium of Moses (*AJ* 4. 329) he asserts that Moses was in elite company as a general, and in his summary of the sojourn in the wilderness he refers to Moses as the best of generals (*Ap.* 2. 158). As for Lycurgus, Plutarch (*Lyc.* 23. 1) quotes Hippias the Sophist as saying that he was very well versed in war and took part in many campaigns. Plutarch also cites Philostephanus' attribution to Lycurgus of the arrangement of the Spartan cavalry by troops of fifty horsemen in a square formation.

Both Moses and Lycurgus survived rebellions. In the case of Moses, the chief rebellion was led by his cousin Korah (*AJ* 4. 12-58; cf. Num. 16: 1-17: 28); this was reportedly a sedition unparalleled among Greeks or barbarians (*AJ* 4. 12). Korah accuses Moses of being anti-democratic in raising himself above the multitude, with seeking to obtain glory for himself while pretending to act in the name of God (*AJ* 4. 15). Josephus asserts, however (*AJ* 4. 14), further embellishing the Bible, that the cause of Korah's hostility was envy.

Josephus calls attention to Korah's wealth (*AJ* 4. 14); and, according to Plutarch (*Lyc.* 11. 1), it is the wealthy citizens who

were particularly incensed against Lycurgus because of his removal of the concentration of wealth that had been in the hands of the few. According to Josephus, the masses were bent on stoning Moses; they assembled in disorderly fashion with clamour and uproar (*AJ* 4. 22). So also the wealthy citizens of Sparta denounced Lycurgus publicly with angry shouts and cries, and finally many pelted him with stones, so that he was forced to run from the marketplace. One passionate young man (*Lyc.* 11. 1), a certain Alcander, reportedly attacked Lycurgus with his staff and put out one of his eyes. Lycurgus, however, far from yielding, confronted his countrymen (*Lyc.* 11. 2) and bravely showed them his face besmeared with blood and his eye destroyed (cf. Moses in *AJ* 4. 24). Just as Moses showed extraordinary forbearance with the rebels Dathan and Abiram (*AJ* 4. 37), so Lycurgus (*Lyc.* 11. 2) took into his house the man who had put out his eye and shared his life with him.

In summing up the character and achievements of Lycurgus and comparing them with those of Numa, the lawgiver who was the second king of Rome, Plutarch emphasizes his wise moderation (*σωφροσύνη*), piety (*εὐσέβεια*), his talent for governing (*πολιτικόν*), and educating (*παιδευτικόν*) (*Lyc. Num.* 1. 1). In this respect Plutarch's *Lycurgus* follows in the steps of Isocrates' *Panathenaicus* (30–2, 198), which declares that the best citizens are those who are really educated (*πεπαιδευμένοι*) (de Blois and Bons 1995: 106). In particular, Plutarch calls attention to the wisdom (*σοφία*) and foresight (*πρόνοια*) of Lycurgus in knowing when to yield to the people and in avoiding factionalism. As de Blois and Bons remark (1995: 102), Plutarch's Lycurgus is like Numa—and, we would add, like Moses—in that he succeeded in changing the mentality of his people, which was ready for a change because they had had enough of internal strife (*Lyc.* 5. 1).

According to Plutarch (*Lyc.* 11. 4), Lycurgus showed his moderation in the gentle way that he treated the very man who had put out his eye, so that this fellow became not a wild and impetuous youth but a most decorous (*ἐμμελέστατος*) and moderate (*σωφρονικώτατος*) man. Likewise, in the educational system established by Lycurgus (*Lyc.* 12. 4), boys used to come to the public mess as if they were attending schools of sobriety (*σωφροσύνη*). Significantly, it is Josephus' editorial comment (*AJ* 4. 49; cf. *Num.* 16: 30) that the chief lesson to be learned

from Korah's challenge to Moses' authority is the necessity of moderation (*σωφροσύνη*). In connection with the incident when the Israelite men consorted with the Midianite women, Moses remarks that it was not reasonable after the Israelites' sobriety (*σωφρονήσαντας*) in the desert for them to relapse into drunken riot in their present prosperity (*AJ* 4. 144). Though clearly upset by Zimri's brazen action in marrying a foreign wife, Josephus' moderate Moses refuses to provoke him further (*AJ* 4. 150). He also shows the importance of moderation in holding that the goal of the treatment of the rebellious son is that he should return to more moderate (*σωφρονέστερος*) ways (*AJ* 4. 262). In his farewell address to the Israelites (*AJ* 4. 184), Moses commits them to the moderation (*σωφροσύνη*) of the laws and the orderliness of the constitution. Similarly, in his eulogy for Moses Josephus (*AJ* 4. 328–9) describes him as having found favour in every way, but chiefly through the moderation that he showed as master of his passions (*τῶν παθῶν ἀντοκράτωρ*).

Moses' gentleness appears when he tells the Israelites that they have been condemned to forty years of wandering in the wilderness (*AJ* 3. 311); for when the people are consequently plunged in grief, he shows his leadership in calming them and bringing them back to a gentler (*ἡμερότερον*) mood (*AJ* 3. 316).¹⁰ Similarly, in characterizing Lycurgus (*Lyc.* 11. 3), Plutarch relates that the man who had put out Lycurgus' eye used to tell his intimate friends that Lycurgus was not harsh and self-willed, as he had supposed, but the mildest (*ἡμέρος*) and gentlest (*πρᾶος*) of them all.

As for piety (*εὐσέβεια*), in his very first mention of 'the great lawgiver' Josephus states that it was in piety and in the exercise of the other virtues (the implication being that, in the scales of value, piety balances all the other virtues combined) that the Israelites were trained under him (*AJ* 1. 6). At the very outset of his work, Josephus entreats his readers to fix their thoughts on God and to test whether Moses had a worthy conception of His nature, who assigned to Him such actions as befitted His power, and who kept his language free of the unseemly mythology found among other lawgivers, even though in dealing with

¹⁰ Josephus may be thinking of his own ability to pacify angry crowds: *Vit.* 100, 141–2, 146–8, 388.

events of so long ago he would have had ample licence to invent fictions (*AJ* 1. 15). The crucial importance of piety is further seen in Josephus' remark that once Moses had won their obedience to the dictates of piety, he had no further difficulty in persuading the Israelites of all the rest (*AJ* 1. 21).

Josephus stresses Moses' importance as a leader, especially since the human race is by nature morose (*δυσάρεστος*) and censorious (*φιλαίτιος*). He stresses the importance of Moses' leadership by noting that the Israelites had endured hardships in Egypt for four hundred years, and that there was a contest on between the Egyptians, striving to kill off the Israelites with drudgery, and the Israelites, ever eager to show themselves superior to their tasks (*AJ* 2. 204). Similarly, we hear that during Lycurgus' self-imposed absence from Sparta, the Spartans felt that their kings were such in name only and that in all else they were no better than their subjects, while in Lycurgus they saw one who was by nature fitted to lead and a power to make men follow him (*Lyc.* 5. 1). Even the Spartan kings realized that Lycurgus had such qualities of leadership and was so highly respected that they were not opposed to having him return, since they had reason to hope that in his presence the masses would treat them with less insolence.

Moses showed his ability in governing the Israelites, despite their constant complaints, and in his final encomium on the lawgiver Josephus notes (*AJ* 4. 328) that he spoke and dealt with the masses, pleasing them both in other respects and as master of his emotions. Similarly Lycurgus, through his radical innovations, was able to avoid the extremes of tyranny and democracy (*Lyc.* 5. 6-7).

CLAIMS OF A DIVINE ORIGIN FOR LEGAL CODES

Already in the first century BCE, Diodorus (1. 94. 1-2), in enumerating a catalogue of outstanding lawgivers who alleged a divine origin for their laws, mentions Mneves, Minos, Lycurgus, Zathraustes, Zalmoxis, and last of all Moses, who is said to have referred his laws to the god who is invoked as Iao. Implying that the laws were actually Moses' own, he remarks about all of these lawgivers that they did what they did 'either because they believed that a conception that would help humanity was marvel-

lous and wholly divine, or because they held that the common crowd would be more likely to obey the laws if their gaze was directed toward the majesty and power of those to whom their laws were ascribed'.

Diodorus' contemporary, Strabo, similarly states (16. 2. 38-9) that it is impossible for the masses to live in harmony with one another unless they have a system of law; he remarks that the ancients, at least, held that if they believed the laws were of divine origin they regarded them in greater honour and veneration. He then gives a catalogue of lawgivers and prophets who promulgated legal codes. Minos would go up to the cave of Zeus every ninth year and receive decrees from him and carry them to the people. Lycurgus, his zealous admirer (ζηλωτής), did likewise, often going to inquire of the Pythian priestess at Delphi as to what ordinances it was proper for him to institute among the Spartans. Strabo, in a note of scepticism, remarks that whatever truth there may be in these reports, in point of fact they were believed and sanctioned among men; consequently prophets, who acted similarly in promulgating laws as from the gods, not only when they were alive but also when they were dead, were held in so much honour that they were deemed worthy to be kings. Among these prophets he names such illustrious figures as Teiresias, Amphiarus, Trophonius, Orpheus, Musaeus, Zalmoxis, Decaeneus, Achaecarus, the Indian Gymnosophists, the Persian Magi, the Assyrian Chaldaeans, the Tyrrhenian nativity-casters, and finally Moses. It is significant that just before giving this catalogue Strabo has discussed at some length (16. 2. 35-6) the unique view of an imageless God promulgated by Moses, whom he praises as one who 'enjoyed fair repute among these people, and organized no ordinary kind of government, since the people all around, one and all, came over to him, because of his dealings with them and of the prospects he held out to them'. He then contrasts Moses (16. 2. 37) with the lawgiver's successors, who were truly pious at first, but later were succeeded by superstitious and tyrannical people. Again, after the catalogue of the lawgivers, which closes with Moses, he contrasts Moses with the Hasmonean tyrants who were ruling Judaea in his own day. The fact that the catalogue of the lawgivers is sandwiched between the references to Moses appears to indicate that Moses is the climax of that catalogue.

Like Diodorus and Strabo, the first-century Apion mentions the tradition that Moses claimed his legal system was of divine origin, but with his usual anti-Jewish twist he states (*ap. Jos. Ap. 2. 25*) that Moses ascended Mount Sinai and remained there concealed for forty days, after which he gave the Jews laws, but that he pretended he had received them from God. Likewise Tacitus (*Hist. 5. 4. 1*) implies that the legislation introduced by Moses was of his own doing, since he supplies a motive for Moses' promulgation of new religious practices quite opposed to those of all other peoples, namely to establish his influence over the Israelites for all time.

According to Josephus, it was only after communing with God that Moses returned with the Ten Commandments and the rest of the code (*AJ 3. 75-99*). Similarly, Plutarch's Lycurgus, both before and after establishing his constitution, consulted the Delphic Oracle (*Lyc. 5. 3, 29. 2*). Plutarch also reports (*Lyc. 5. 3*) that the Delphic oracle addressed him as 'beloved of the gods, and rather god than man' and promised him a constitution that would be the best in the world. We are also told (*Lyc. 13. 6*) that the ordinances that were introduced by Lycurgus were called *rhetras* (literally, 'things said'), implying that they were of divine origin and were oracles.

THE LEGAL CODES OF MOSES AND LYCURGUS

Both Moses' laws and those of Lycurgus were meant for the purpose of instruction. They were intended to teach a way of life in order to direct people to act in a manner most beneficial for themselves and for society at large. It is surely significant that the laws promulgated by Moses are called *Torah* in the biblical Hebrew known to Josephus (*Josh. 8: 31-2; 2 Kgs. 14: 6; Mal. 3: 22; Neh. 8: 1*). This word comes from a root meaning 'instruction' or 'teaching'. Lycurgus' social system is called *ἀγωγή* (direction, training, guidance, conduct) (*Polyb. 1. 32. 1*), emphasizing the relationship between the laws and the method of their transmission.

Philo (*Spec. 4. 102*) had already thought of comparing Moses to Lycurgus. Moses, he says, 'approved neither of rigorous austerity like the Spartan legislator, nor of dainty living, like him who introduced the Ionians and Sybarites to luxurious

and voluptuous practices. Instead he opened up a path midway between the two.' He compares him, in speaking of the dietary laws, to a musician who blends the highest and the lowest notes of the scale, thus producing a life of harmony and concord, which none can blame.

Josephus is well aware of the reputation of Lycurgus as the legislator who is held in the highest admiration and notes that the city for which he legislated is praised throughout the world for having remained faithful to his laws (*Ap.* 2. 225). Nevertheless, in comparing Moses with Lycurgus and other legislators, he states (*Ap.* 2. 154, Loeb trans.) that 'our legislator' is the most ancient of all: 'Compared with him, your Lycurguses and Solons and Zaleucus, who gave the Locrians their laws, and all who are held in such high esteem by the Greeks, appear to have been born but yesterday.' He then remarks that the very word 'law' (*νόμος*) was unknown in ancient Greece, for Homer never employs it in his poems. To emphasize the durability of the constitution promulgated by Moses as compared with that introduced by Lycurgus, he remarks that Moses' constitution has lasted more than two thousand years, far longer than that of Lycurgus.¹¹ Furthermore, the Spartans adhered to Lycurgus' code only so long as they retained their independence, whereas the Jews retained theirs, even though it imposed far stricter obligations and more demanding physical duties than those of Sparta, for hundreds of years when they were no longer independent and were suffering numerous calamities. Large numbers of Spartans, in defiance of Lycurgus' code, have actually surrendered in a body to the enemy.

In his generally favourable description of Moses and the Jewish constitution, Hecataeus of Abdera (*ap.* Diod. Sic. 40. 36) asserts that 'their lawgiver was careful also to make provision (*πρόνοια*) for warfare, and required the young men to cultivate manliness (*ἀνδρεία*), steadfastness (*καρτερία*), and, generally, the endurance (*ὑπομονή*) of every hardship (*κακοπαθεία*)', the implication being that the laws were of Moses' own devising. Furthermore, according to Hecataeus (*ap.* Diod. Sic. 40. 3. 4), 'the sacrifices that he established differ from those of other nations, as does their way of living, for as a result of their own expulsion

¹¹ The period from Moses to Josephus is in fact approximately 1400 years.

from Egypt he introduced a somewhat unsocial and intolerant mode of life'. Similarly, when Plutarch's Lycurgus returned to Sparta after his travels abroad, he was convinced (*Lyc.* 5. 2) that a mere partial change of laws would not suffice and so introduced a new and different regimen.

Josephus' Moses, in preparing the Israelites for departure from Egypt, arranged them by fraternities (*AJ* 2. 312), this unit (*φρατρία*) being a subdivision of the tribe (*φυλή*) in Greek political usage. Again in connection with the Passover (*AJ* 3. 248) he divided the Israelites into tribes and into subdivisions of tribes known as fraternities or brotherhoods (*φρατρίαι*). The word *φρατρία* (or *φατρία* in Josephus—depending upon the manuscripts) is also used of a group celebrating the pagan festival of the Karneia at Sparta (Demetrius of Scepsis, *ap.* Ath. 4. 141f). Lycurgus also (*Lyc.* 6. 1–2), following advice from the Delphic oracle, divided the people into tribes (*φυλαί*) and subdivisions known as *ὠβαί*, corresponding to *φρατρίαι*.

One of the institutions that Josephus' Moses established to assist him in governing the Israelites was a council of elders (*γερονσία*, *AJ* 4. 186). Similarly, according to Plutarch (*Lyc.* 5. 6) the first and most important of the innovations made by Lycurgus was his institution of a council of elders (*γέροντες*), which, as Plutarch says, citing Plato (*Leg.* 691e), 'by being blended with the feverish government of the kings, and by having an equal vote with them in matters of the highest importance, brought safety and due moderation into counsels of state', through avoiding the extremes of tyranny and democracy.

According to Hecataeus of Abdera (*ap.* Diod. Sic. 40. 3. 7), Moses assigned equal allotments to private citizens, though greater parcels to the priests. As to Lycurgus' reforms, Plutarch (*Lyc.* 8. 2) says that Lycurgus, in his determination to banish insolence, envy, crime, and luxury, persuaded his fellow-citizens to make one parcel of all their territory and allotted equal amounts of land to all citizens, so that later when he traversed the land just after the harvest and saw heaps of grain equal to one another, he remarked (*Lyc.* 8. 4): 'All Laconia looks like a family estate newly divided among many brothers.'

Whereas the Bible (Exod. 20: 4, Deut. 5: 7–9) prohibits making a graven image or any likeness of anything that is in heaven, on earth, or beneath the earth, Josephus (*Ap.* 2. 191, Loeb trans.)

goes much further in explaining why this is so. 'No materials', he says, 'however costly, are fit to make an image of Him; no art has skill to conceive and represent it. The like of Him we have never seen, we do not imagine, and it is impious to conjecture.' Although, of course, Sparta did have statues, the arts were not practised, since, as Plutarch says (*Lyc.* 9. 3), Lycurgus banished the 'unnecessary and superfluous' arts. Instead, the Spartans excelled in producing common and necessary utensils, such as the famous Laconian drinking-cup (*Lyc.* 9. 4-5).

In Deut. 18: 10-11 we read that an enchanter, conjurer, charmer, consulter with familiar spirits, and a wizard are not to be tolerated among the Israelites. Exod. 22: 17 specifically reads 'You shall not permit a sorceress to live.' The Septuagint renders this latter verse as 'You shall not preserve poisoners', and Josephus (*AJ* 4. 279) renders it similarly: 'Let not even one of the Israelites have poison, whether deadly or one of those made for other injuries; and if, having acquired it, he should be discovered, let him die.' Lycurgus, Plutarch says (*Lyc.* 9. 3), by banishing all gold and silver money and by permitting the use of iron money only, which proved to be so heavy and clumsy, effectively made it impossible to acquire a vagabond soothsayer. Moreover, whereas, according to the Bible (Lev. 21: 7; cf. *AJ* 3. 276), only a priest is actually forbidden to marry a prostitute, Josephus has carried this further in stating that it is forbidden for anyone to marry a prostitute (*AJ* 4. 245). Similarly, according to Plutarch (*Lyc.* 9. 3), Lycurgus, by banishing gold and silver money and permitting only cumbersome iron money, made it impractical to purchase a keeper of harlots.

According to the Bible (Num. 18: 12; Jos. *AJ* 4. 70), the first-fruits of all the produce that grows from the ground are to be offered for sacrifice. Similarly, according to the Lycurgan constitution (*Lyc.* 12. 2), whenever anyone made a sacrifice of first-fruits or brought home game from the hunt, he sent a portion to his mess.

Josephus' Moses stresses the particular importance of education in his extra-biblical remark (*AJ* 4. 261) of the parents to the rebellious child: 'Giving the greatest thanks to God we reared you with devotion, sparing nothing of what seemed to be useful for your well-being and education (*παιδεία*) in the best of things.' In an extra-biblical statement (*Ap.* 2. 173-4), Josephus

emphasizes that Moses, starting with the food fed to infants, the persons with whom one may associate, and the period of time to be devoted to strenuous labour and the time to be devoted to rest, left nothing to the discretion and caprice of the individual. The code promulgated by Moses likewise prescribed matters of clothing, notably the prohibition of mixed wool and linen (Lev. 19: 19; Deut. 22: 11; *AJ* 4. 208), with Josephus adding that such clothing had been designated for the priests alone. The code likewise prohibited transvestism (Deut. 22: 5; *AJ* 4. 301), which Josephus applies to warfare, and prescribed laws pertaining to hair for nazirites (Num. 6: 5; *AJ* 4. 72). We find an emphasis on education in Josephus' extra-biblical remark (*AJ* 4. 165) that Joshua had already been given a complete education, Moses having taught him thoroughly, in the laws and in divine matters. A similar importance is attached to education by Lysurgus in Plutarch's statement (*Lyc.* 14. 1) that 'in the matter of education (*παιδεία*), which he regarded as the greatest and noblest task of the lawgiver, he began at the very source, by carefully regulating marriages and births'. Similarly, Lysurgus legislated among other provisions the amount and type of food to be fed (*Lyc.* 8. 4, 10. 1-3, 17. 4), the people with whom one might associate (12. 4-7), the clothing to be worn (14. 2, 16. 6), and the arrangement of hair (16. 6).

Josephus' Moses (*AJ* 3. 270-4) places great emphasis on the laws of marriage, adding numerous extra-biblical remarks, particularly pertaining to the ordeal of women suspected of adultery and the complete prohibition of adultery, 'considering it blessed for men to behave soundly with regard to marriage and advantageous for both states and households that children be legitimate'. He terms it outrageous (*AJ* 3. 275) for a man to have sexual relations with a woman who has become unclean with her natural excretions, with animals, or with other males because of the beauty in them. Being himself a priest, Josephus stresses the special marital prohibitions for priests and, above all, for high priests (*AJ* 3. 276-7). In another statement of the laws of marriage (*AJ* 4. 244-8) he adds further stringencies, such as the requirement to marry free-born virgins, not to marry female slaves, even if compelled by passion, and not to marry a prostitute. In a further restatement of the laws of marriage (*Ap.* 2. 199-203) he again emphasizes the provisions in the Pentateuch,

adding that marriage is solely for the procreation of children and that abortion is prohibited (*Ap.* 2. 199, 202).

Moses (*Deut.* 4: 2, 13: 1), in his address to the Israelites just before his death, forbids adding to or subtracting from the commandments of the Torah (so also *Jos. Ap.* 1. 42). He furthermore forbade deviating from the decisions of judges (*Deut.* 17: 10–11). Similarly Lycurgus (*Lyc.* 29. 1), just before he died, we are told, ardently desired, so far as human forethought could accomplish the task, to make his system of laws immortal and to let it go down unchanged to future ages. Lycurgus accordingly (*Lyc.* 29. 2), like Moses, assembled the Spartans and told them that they must abide by the established laws and make no change in them. He then proceeded to exact an oath from the kings and the councillors, as well as from the rest of the citizens, that they would abide by these laws. He thereupon proceeded to consult the Delphic Oracle (*Lyc.* 29. 3–4), which confirmed that the laws were good and that the city would continue to be held in the highest honour so long as it kept to the policy of Lycurgus. He himself resolved never to release the Spartans from their oath and proceeded to abstain from food until he died (*Lyc.* 29. 5).

For Josephus' Moses the hallmark of education was obedience, and the worst offence for a child was to be disobedient (*Deut.* 21: 18–21; *AJ* 4. 260–4). Moses' success in educating his people, says Josephus, is shown by the fact that his laws survived his own lifetime. Indeed (*AJ* 3. 317–18): 'there is not a Hebrew who does not, just as if he were still there and ready to punish him for any breach of discipline, obey the laws laid down by Moses, even though in violating them he would escape detection.' Josephus notes that only recently, in his own lifetime, when certain non-Jews from Mesopotamia, after a journey of several months, came to venerate the Temple in Jerusalem, they could not partake of the sacrifices that they had offered because Moses had forbidden this to those not governed by the laws of the Torah. Similarly Lycurgus, clearly Plutarch's paragon of the lawgiver, regarded education as the greatest and noblest task of the lawgiver (*Lyc.* 14. 1), and the training of youths was 'calculated to make them obey commands well, endure hardships, and conquer in battle'. Indeed, Plutarch (*Lyc.* 30. 3) expresses amazement at those who claim that the Spartans, under the inspiration of Lycurgus, knew how to obey but did not know

how to command and quotes the remark of the Spartan king Theopompus, who, when someone said that Sparta was safe and secure because her kings knew how to command, replied, 'No, rather because her citizens know how to obey.'¹² Under Lycurgus, according to Plutarch, Sparta attained utter stability. The city maintained the first rank in Greece for 'good government and reputation, observing as she did for five hundred years the laws of Lycurgus, in which no one of the fourteen kings who followed him made any change, down to Agis the son of Archidamus' (*Lyc.* 29. 6).

The main, most serious, and most recurrent charge by intellectuals against Jews was that the Jews hated gentiles. It was the self-isolation of the Jews that was apparently at the heart of these attacks (Sevenster 1975: 89; Feldman 1998a: 125-49; Schäfer 1997: 170-81, 205-11). Even Hecataeus of Abdera (*ap.* Diod. Sic. 40. 3. 4), though on the whole well disposed toward the Jews, characterizes the Jewish mode of life as somewhat unsocial (*ἀπάνθρωπος*) and hostile to foreigners (*μισόξενος*). Though the Pentateuch (Exod. 23: 9) commands the Jew to treat the stranger with respect, the dietary laws, Sabbath laws, and rules pertaining to idolatry were formidable barriers that to a large extent prevented the Jews from fraternizing with gentiles. In a very real sense, Josephus' *Antiquities* is an extended answer to charges that the Jews were guilty of hatred of mankind. Josephus adds to the Bible by explaining (*AJ* 1. 192) that the reason for the commandment of circumcision was to prevent mixture with others and thus to preserve the individual identity of the Jewish people. But, at the same time, Josephus' Moses interprets the law (Exod. 22: 27), as the Septuagint does, as forbidding the cursing of 'gods whom other cities believe in' (*AJ* 4. 207) 'out of respect for the very word "God"' (*Ap.* 2. 237). Moreover, Josephus significantly omits the passages (Exod. 34: 12-13; Deut. 12: 2-3) in which God instructs Moses that when the Israelites enter the land of Canaan they should destroy all the statues, devastate all the high places, and make no covenant with the Canaanites. On the contrary, he stresses (*Ap.* 2. 146) that the Mosaic code was designed to promote humanity toward the world at large, that

¹² De Blois and Bons (1995: 104-5) suggest that Plutarch responds here to criticism that Isocrates had made of Sparta (*Panath.* 46-8).

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'our legislator' inculcated into the Jews the duty of sharing with others (*Ap.* 2. 211-13), and that not only must the Jew furnish food and supplies to those gentile friends and neighbours who ask for them, but he must show consideration even for declared enemies. Moses' lack of prejudice is likewise displayed in the respect shown to Reuel (Jethro), Moses' father-in-law, who is described (*AJ* 2. 258) as a priest held in high veneration by the people in the country (see Feldman 1997: 573-94).

Just as the code promulgated by Moses was intended to make sure that the Israelites would be kept separate and distinct from others, so Plutarch's Lycurgus (*Lyc.* 27. 3-4) introduced measures to isolate the Spartans from foreign influences. In particular, he did not permit Spartans to live abroad and, in turn, kept foreigners away from the city, 'for along with strange people, strange doctrines must come in; and novel doctrines bring novel decisions, from which there must arise many feelings and resolutions which destroy the harmony of the existing political order.'

Josephus (*Ap.* 2. 259) makes specific note of both of these practices of the Spartans, namely forbidding citizens to travel abroad and not permitting foreigners to enter the city, and for the reason given by Plutarch, that such contacts might lead to corruption of their laws. At this point Josephus introduces a major difference between the Spartans and the Jews, namely that the Jews, while having no desire to emulate the customs of others, nonetheless gladly welcome any who wish to share their own (*Ap.* 2. 261).

HOW TO EXPLAIN THE PARALLELS BETWEEN JOSEPHUS AND PLUTARCH

We might have expected that Josephus, given that he names no fewer than sixty-one other authors,¹³ would have mentioned such a polymath as Plutarch if he had known his contemporary's work. Granted that some or even many of his other sources may not have been consulted first-hand, still one would be surprised if Josephus, living in Rome under the auspices of the Flavian

¹³ See Wacholder 1961, citing 44 works in Herod's library, 19 of them well attested and 14 based on fragments of Alexander Polyhistor.

emperors and not having any duties other than writing as far as we know, should not have had contact with other writers living in or visiting Rome.

On the other hand, although there is good reason for thinking that Josephus was influenced by both the *Roman Antiquities* and the rhetorical treatises of Dionysius of Halicarnassus,¹⁴ he never mentions Dionysius. Dionysius wrote a work with a similar title, *Roman Antiquities*, in twenty books, which narrated the fortunes that befell his protagonists: compare τίσι χρησάμενοι τύχαις in Josephus (*AJ* 1. 6) with τίσι τύχαις χρησάμενοι in Dionysius (*Ant. Rom.* 1. 5. 1). Balch (1982: 102–22) has called attention to the fact that Dionysius, in praising Rome (*Ant. Rom.* 1. 9–2. 29), and Josephus, in praising the Jews (*Ap.* 2. 145–295), both follow the same pattern, as later codified by the third-century rhetorician Menander of Laodicea (*Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* 346. 26); though this does not prove that Josephus was influenced by Dionysius, the similarity does increase the likelihood. In particular, Josephus' account of the death of Moses (*AJ* 4. 326) is highly reminiscent of Dionysius' account of the deaths of Aeneas and Romulus (*Ant. Rom.* 1. 64. 4; 2. 56. 2).¹⁵ Furthermore, in the kind of additions that Dionysius makes to the sources that he shares with Livy, he is often similar to Josephus where the latter adds to the Bible. It is true that Dionysius polemicizes against Thucydides, whereas Thucydides is an important model for Josephus' *Jewish War*. Moreover, most of the alleged instances of verbal borrowings from Dionysius are not conclusive,¹⁶ and Dionysius' pur-

¹⁴ See Thackeray 1929: 56–8; Foakes Jackson 1930: 247–8; Heinemann 1939–40; Richards 1939: 36; Schalit 1944: pp. xx–xxvi; Bickerman 1952: 68, 70–1; Shutt 1961: 92–101; Altschuler 1976; Attridge 1976: 43–60; Downing 1980; 1981; 1982; Sterling 1992: 284–90.

¹⁵ Thackeray (1929: 57) thinks that it was from Dionysius (e.g. *Ant. Rom.* 1. 48. 1, 4; 2. 40. 3) that Josephus derived the formula, normally used in the context of wonders, 'Let every one judge as he will' (e.g. *AJ* 1. 108; 2. 349; 3. 81, 269). But the formula is found in other authors, from Herodotus (3. 122. 1) to Lucian (*Hist. conscr.* 60).

¹⁶ Ladouceur (1977, 1983) has observed that of the 47 words cited by Shutt (1961: 94–101) as examples of Josephus' dependence upon Dionysius, at least 22 are found in classical literature of the fourth century BCE and earlier. Of the remainder, more than half are attested in the Septuagint, Strabo, and the Letter of Aristaeas. At least 15 occur in Polybius. Josephus' use of ἑδωκεν in place of the reflexive pronoun, for example, which Shutt attributes to Dionysius' influence, occurs in Polybius and Attic inscriptions of the first century BCE. From the fact that Shutt's argument is untenable as presented, Bilde (1988: 203) regards the theory of dependence as

pose is very different from that of Josephus in that he is seeking to persuade his Greek audience to accept the Romans, on the grounds that the Romans are actually Greeks, whereas Josephus emphasizes the uniqueness of the Jews. Yet they have several points in common: the justification of the selection of their subject (*Ant. Rom.*, I. 2. 1–3. 6; *AJ* I. 5), the address to the Greek audience to remove their prejudice against a non-Greek people, their moralizing, their criticism of their predecessors, their emphasis on their sources, their similar scope, their pleasant style, and their preparation for their task (Sterling 1992: 289).

In particular, Dionysius (e.g. *Ant. Rom.* 2. 68) places a stress on piety similar to that found in Josephus (Downing 1980: 64 n. 8). Dionysius' emphasis upon divine providence and on the importance of repentance is likewise frequently found in Josephus' additions in the Bible. Moreover, the moralizing and psychologizing tone, as well as the motif that power corrupts, are strikingly present in Dionysius (*Ant. Rom.* 10. 54). It is precisely this kind of philosophic reflection against which Lucian inveighs (*Hist. conscr.* 17); but Josephus adopts a viewpoint like that of Dionysius, who praises the historian who scatters philosophic reflections throughout his history (*Ant. Rom.* 6. 7) and who, in particular, lauds Theopompus for numerous fine observations on justice, piety, and the other virtues.¹⁷

If we ask why, if he really was influenced by Dionysius, Josephus does not mention him, we may reply that he felt that he himself was not guilty of plagiarism, since his debt to Dionysius was only of the most general kind. On the other hand, he goes out of his way to call attention to the fact that although Moses might have taken credit himself for the reorganization of his system of adjudicating disputes, he recorded (*AJ* 3. 74) that it was Jethro who gave him the suggestion. Similarly, Josephus makes a point (*AJ* 4. 158) of asserting that Moses modestly recorded

disproved. But as Sterling (1992: 286) rightly concludes, there can be little doubt that Josephus knew Dionysius' work, which has so many structural and thematic parallels to his own.

¹⁷ See Attridge 1976: 173 n. 1. Dionysius (*Pomp.* 4. 1–2) likewise applauds Xenophon for selecting subjects befitting a philosopher: the *Cyropaedia*, which contains the 'portrait of a good and prosperous king' and the *Expedition of the Younger Cyrus (Anabasis)*, which praises the bravery of the Greek mercenaries. He extols Xenophon himself (*Pomp.* 4. 2) for displaying the virtue of piety and the qualities of rectitude, resolution, and geniality.

the prophecies of Balaam, although he could easily have appropriated them for himself, since there was no witness to convict him. This is in obvious contrast to the Greeks' reputation for plagiarism, attested by the numerous works produced in the ancient Greek world that were entitled *Περὶ κλοπῆς* ('On Plagiarism'): see the list in Porphyry as cited by Eusebius (*Praep. evang.* 10. 3. 12). The earliest is a study of Menander by Aristophanes of Byzantium, the learned grammarian who headed the Alexandrian Library at the beginning of the second century BCE. The comic playwright Aristophanes (*Nub.* 553–4) accuses his rival Eupolis of plagiarizing his *Knights*. Isocrates (*Phil.* 5. 94) accuses his rival orators of making free use of his writings. And Aristoxenus, the pupil of Aristotle in the fourth century BCE, asserts (*ap. Diog. Laert.* 3. 37) that nearly all of Plato's *Republic* was taken from Protagoras' *Controversies* (Silk 1996: 1188).

Whatever its cause, Josephus' failure to mention important influences is by no means unique. Plutarch himself, though he had varied interests and numerous friends, does not mention such contemporaries as Quintilian, Martial, Silius Italicus, Statius, Pliny the Younger, Tacitus, Juvenal, and Suetonius; perhaps the fact that they wrote in Latin prevented a close relationship from developing.¹⁸ But neither does he mention the popular Stoic philosopher and orator Dio Chrysostom, the Stoic philosopher and former slave Epictetus, the Neopythagorean sage and ascetic Apollonius of Tyana, or the mathematician and Neopythagorean Nicomachus of Gerasa in Transjordan—contemporary Greek writers, whose literary and philosophical interests one would have expected him to have shared (cf. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1995 [1926]: 54).

One factor that may have militated against Plutarch's development of a relationship with Josephus is that Plutarch's attitude toward the Flavians, unlike that of Josephus (though see Mason, Ch. 12 below), is notably hostile (C. P. Jones 1971: 25).¹⁹

¹⁸ Plutarch was not fluent in Latin: he remarks that the pressure of other duties prevented him from acquiring such facility (*Dem.* 2. 2) and makes the egregious error of claiming that Latin has practically no prepositions (*Quaest. Plat.* 1010d). Still, he uses a number of Latin sources for his *Lives*, and where these can be checked they sometimes indicate first-hand knowledge.

¹⁹ If we ask whether Josephus actually felt differently toward the Flavians but could not say so under Domitian's rule, we would reply that he owed too much to the Flavians—including a pension—to be anything less than positive toward them.

He describes Vespasian as cruel and unhappy (*Amat.* 771c), and he speaks of Domitian's arrogance, superstition, and tasteless extravagance (*Num.* 19. 7; *Quaest. Rom.* 276e; *Publ.* 15. 3–6, cited by Jones 1971: 25). Moreover, as Jones notes (1971: 25), the number of Plutarch's works that may be positively dated from the Flavian period is extremely small compared with the number of those written later, perhaps because under Domitian the most innocuous work, in view of his ban on philosophers (Gell. *NA* 15. 11. 4–5; cf. Jones 1971: 24–5), could be construed as an attack on the emperor (cf. Tac. *Agr.* 3. 1). Nevertheless, in view of Plutarch's gregariousness and his interest in Judaism, and since he was not anti-Jewish, at least in the extant sources, except for his reference to Judaism as a superstitious religion (*De Superst.* 166a, 169c)²⁰—of which we should not make too much, given the similar language in Strabo (16. 2. 37), who is favourably inclined toward Jews and Judaism—one would have expected him to have formed a friendship with the Greek-speaking Josephus during his several visits to Rome (Barrow 1967: 36–42).

Plutarch had ample opportunities to become acquainted with Jews in his native Greece,²¹ in the large Jewish community of Rome,²² and in Alexandria, a city that he visited at least once (*Quaest. conv.* 678c), whose inhabitants included perhaps 180,000 Jews in the first century, as we have noted (Delia 1988: 286–8). Indeed, of the ancient writers who do mention the Jews there are few who refer to them more often than Plutarch.²³

²⁰ The Jews are by no means the only people Plutarch regards as superstitious. In context, his comment at *De superst.* 166a mocks the eastern method of prostration before a deity, which the Greeks regarded as the antithesis of liberty in politics and religion. In another passage (169c) he includes the Jews' failure to defend themselves on the Sabbath with superstitious behaviour by Persians, Messenians, and Athenians (cf. *De Stoic. rep.* 1051e). Contrast *Ap.* 1. 205–11, where Apion isolates the Jews' alleged superstition on the basis of this same issue. One must always make due allowance also for the rhetorical tone of the essay on superstition (Moellering 1962: 154).

²¹ As early as the third century BCE we find a reference to Jews in an inscription from Oropus, not far from Plutarch's birthplace, Chaeronea (Lewis 1957).

²² Leon (1960: 135–6) estimates the Jewish population of early first-century Rome at 50,000.

²³ See *GLA* 1. 545–76. In Stern's collection I count 18 passages (238 lines) from Plutarch on Jews and Judaism, only one of which is of considerable length (*Quaest. conv.* 667c–672c). The only authors of the period who refer to the Jews more often are Strabo (27 passages, 408 lines), Pliny the Elder (23 passages, 257

Plutarch was more than slightly acquainted with the beliefs and practices of Judaism. He is the only extant pagan writer who mentions (and, in fact, describes at some length) the Jewish holiday of Tabernacles (*Quaest. conv.* 671d-e). Likewise, he alone of non-Jews refers to the Levites (671e), to the association of wine with the celebration of the Sabbath (672a), and to the nazirite (672b). He alone describes the clothing of the high priest (672a), notes that it is just as unlawful for Jews to destroy pigs as to eat them (670d), presents various sympathetic theories as to why Jews abstain from eating pork (669d-671a), and sympathetically identifies Adonis and Dionysus with the Jewish God (671b-c; Feldman 1996: 543-6).

If we wonder why, though he mentions several other authors, Plutarch makes no mention of either Philo or his contemporary Josephus, we may reply that Plutarch was basically an antiquarian enamoured principally of those, such as Homer and Hesiod, who lived long before his time, and who mentions few works written shortly before or contemporaneously with his own era. In this he was not alone, since Philo is not mentioned by any extant ancient author other than Josephus (*AJ* 18. 259-60) before the Christian Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* 4. 39. 2) in the latter part of the second century (Smulders 1958: 154-6); and Josephus is not quoted until we find him in the Christian Theophilus of Antioch (*Autol.* 3. 20-3), likewise at the end of the second century. Indeed, it is not until Porphyry (*Abst.* 4. 11. 2-14. 2) at the end of the third century that we know of a pagan who cites the works of Josephus.

Let us return to the matter of the difference between the history of Josephus and the biography of Plutarch. In his proem to the *Antiquities* (1. 15-16) Josephus insists that Moses kept his words concerning God pure of the unseemly mythology current among others, although in dealing with ages so remote he would have had ample licence to invent fictions. In the introduction to his life of Theseus (1. 5), Plutarch admits that in biography, where the emphasis is on the virtues of his characters and where an author enjoys citing insignificant acts and casual remarks or jests (*Alex.* 1. 2), one has the latitude with the facts that one does

lines), Tacitus (22 passages, 446 lines), Suetonius (19 passages, 94 lines), Galen (19 passages, 223 lines), and Cassius Dio (37 passages, 343 lines).

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not have with history, where the emphasis is on events and on factual accuracy. Plutarch is well aware of this contrast. 'May I therefore succeed', he says, 'in purifying fable, making her submit to reason and take on the semblance of history. But where she obstinately disdains to make herself credible and refuses to admit any element of probability, I shall pray for kindly readers, and such as receive with indulgence the tales of antiquity.' Josephus, in the introduction to his *Jewish War* (1. 2), criticizes predecessors who were guilty of misrepresenting the facts, 'their writings exhibiting alternatively invective and encomium, but nowhere historical accuracy'. But *Lycurgus* is not *Theseus*, which clearly is dealing with myth. In *Lycurgus* Plutarch is well aware of the difference, since he asserts at the very beginning (*Lyc.* 1. 1) that there is least agreement among historians as to the times in which Lycurgus lived; and he certainly talks like a critical historian when he says (*Lyc.* 1. 3) that although the history of those times is a maze, he will try to follow those authors who are least contradicted or who have the most notable witnesses. One guesses that the Plutarch who writes thus should have felt a certain kinship with Josephus, who claims to be a critical historian.

In spite of all the suggestive parallels and intersections of life and interest, the possibility of a direct relationship of Josephus and Plutarch remains, we must concede, *sub iudice*.

THE POSSIBILITY OF A COMMON SOURCE

That Josephus was acquainted with the type of rhetorical exercises known as *progymnasmata* (Neyrey 1994: 178–80) and, in particular, with that branch dealing with encomia seems likely in view of the fact that in his defence of the Jewish constitution (*Ap.* 2. 145–295) he apparently followed the standard pattern for such encomia as described most fully in the handbook by the third-century Menander of Laodicea (*Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν*).²⁴ The rhetorician Theon in his preface notes the utility of rhetorical exercises for the writing of history (Spengel 1854: 2. 60–5; Butts 1986), and we may recall Cicero's famous remark (*Leg.* 1. 5) that

²⁴ See Spengel 1854: 3. 331–46; Balch 1975; 1981; 1982.

history is 'a single work particularly fitting for an orator' (*opus . . . unum . . . oratorium maxime*).²⁵

Isocrates, to whom Plutarch is indebted as we have noted, in his *Evagoras* (71) lists six items as crucial to happiness: a noble lineage beyond compare, unequalled physical and mental gifts, sovereignty gloriously achieved and coextensive with life, immortal fame, a life prolonged to old age but immune from the ills that afflict old age, and offspring both numerous and goodly. Xenophon, in his *Agesilaus* (10. 4), another of the earliest biographies, calls his hero blessed because he had realized most completely among men of his time his youthful passion for renown, because never throughout his reign was he baulked in his high ambitions, and because, having attained the farthest limit of human life, he died without having incurred offence either as regards those whom he led or those against whom he made war. Pliny the Elder (*NH* 7. 139), in his encomium of L. Caecilius Metellus, reports that he achieved the ten greatest and most excellent things in the quest for which men of wisdom spend their lives: to be a champion warrior, the best orator, the bravest general, commander in the greatest undertakings, recipient of the highest official preferment, a leader in wisdom, the leading senator, possessor of great wealth gained by honest methods, father of many children, and the most distinguished man of the state. In the type of speech known as an encomium, as delineated in the handbook of such a writer as Theon of Alexandria, attention was given to a person's origin and birth, nurture and training, deeds of the body (beauty, strength, agility, might, health), deeds of the soul (justice, wisdom, temperance, manliness, piety), deeds of fortune (power, wealth, friends, number and beauty of children, fame, fortune, length of life, happy death), and comparison with like personalities (Neyrey 1994: 179–80). Such factors and qualities provide the material for Josephus' own autobiography, and both he and Plutarch exploit them in portraits of their major heroes.

If we examine the key figures in Josephus' narrative—Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Joshua, Samson, Samuel, Saul, David, Solomon, and Daniel—as well as figures

²⁵ See Feldman 1951: 149–69. On progymnastic exercises and their use by historians see Marrou 1956: 194–205; North 1956; Clark 1957: 177–212.

of lesser importance (Feldman 1998a: 223–657; 1998b: 17–538), we find that stress is generally placed on the external qualities of good birth and handsome stature, the four cardinal virtues—wisdom, courage, temperance, and justice—and piety. Lest one think that piety is a Jewish addition to the list of the cardinal virtues, one should note Socrates' question in Plato's *Protagoras* (349b): 'Are wisdom and self-control and courage and justice and piety five names which denote the same thing?' Hence, piety is the fifth of the cardinal virtues, as we see also in the outline of the encomium (above). In general, the Jewish hero must be a Platonic-like philosopher-king, a high priest, a prophet, and a veritable Pericles as described by Thucydides. Since Josephus is addressing a predominantly non-Jewish audience, his hero must match the kind of qualifications that Tacitus ascribed to his revered father-in-law Agricola (*Tac. Agr.* 44–5): a life rich in glory, attainment of the true blessings of virtue, consular and triumphal honours, wealth sufficient for his desires, death before that of wife and child, integrity of position and reputation, unsevered links of relationship and friendship, and immunity from such evils as the massacres that followed on Agricola's death.

The recitation of a hero's virtues is a veritable aretalogy, such as was popular in Hellenistic times, especially for rulers (Goodenough 1928: 55–104; Hadas 1959: 170–81; Faber van der Meulen 1978: 51–60). Both Josephus and Plutarch had access to such aretalogies, and the likelihood that they had common sources may help to explain their similarities.

One specific device shared by Josephus and Plutarch that may indicate a common source is the idea of comparing two personalities with each other. At one point, as we have noted, Josephus (*AJ* 19. 328–31) digresses to compare King Agrippa I with Herod, particularly with respect to their generosity toward Jews and toward non-Jews. It is a black vs. white comparison. Agrippa, he says, was in no way similar in character to Herod, whom he depicts in the most negative terms as one who had an evil nature, 'relentless in punishment and unsparing in action against the objects of his hatred'. On the other hand, he praises Agrippa as one who scrupulously observed Jewish traditions. The point that he stresses is that whereas Agrippa was benevolent to non-Jews but was proportionately more generous and compassionate toward his fellow-Jews, Herod built baths,

theatres, and temples in the cities of non-Jews but did not bestow any gift worth mentioning upon a single city of the Jews. This latter point about Herod is not merely an exaggeration: it is simply false, inasmuch as Herod did not at all neglect buildings in Jewish cities, notably Caesarea, Sebaste, Anthedon, and above all Jerusalem, his most magnificent work being the restoration of the Temple.

This kind of comparison was made a central feature by the first-century BCE Cornelius Nepos in his *Lives of Illustrious Men*, biographies of kings, generals, scholars, orators, poets, philosophers, and historians, whether Romans or foreigners; at the end of the extant Greek lives he compares the Roman individuals with the non-Romans. In viewing the two personalities in diametrically opposite terms, Nepos is reminiscent of imperial panegyric, in which the current emperor is compared to one or more of his predecessors. The best example of a comparison of personalities is perhaps Pliny the Younger's comparison of Domitian and Trajan in the *Panegyricus*. One also thinks of the speech attributed to the second-century Aelius Aristides (ed. Keil, no. 35), in which the speaker says some very harsh things about predecessors of an anonymous person whom he praises. This kind of abusive comparison is anticipated in Xenophon's *Agésilas*, where Xenophon compares Agesilaus to the king of Persia (*Ages.* 9).

The parallel lives of Plutarch seem to involve a kind of comparison that is reminiscent of what we find here in Josephus' comparison between Herod and Agrippa I. Plutarch, however, is generally more balanced and usually leaves it unclear as to which of the two he regards as superior (Stadter 1975: 77–85). C. P. Jones (personal communication) thinks that by 'parallel' Plutarch may have meant merely 'generally similar' or even 'placed side by side'. He suggests that a close analogue to his 'parallels' is the artistic practice of setting two portraits side by side or two contrasting scenes from mythology, in which there is no attempt to contend that one is superior to the other. In this respect, Josephus' comparison of Agrippa I with Herod is radically different, inasmuch as Josephus has so denigrated the character of Herod that he even misrepresents him.

While it is unlikely that Plutarch described Lycurgus with Moses in mind, it is more likely that those such as Hecataeus who

Josephus' Moses and Plutarch's Lycurgus

described Moses thought about Lycurgus. Indeed, Josephus himself, when he thinks of the most renowned legislators, mentions Moses in the same breath as Lycurgus (*Ap.* 2. 154, 225).

CONCLUSION

One would expect to see parallels between Plutarch and Josephus in their methods and goals, since Plutarch's *Lives* are an offshoot of ancient historiography and since Josephus likewise goes back to the historiographical schools of the fourth century BCE. Plutarch's great interest in Sparta, its alleged founder, Heracles, and its alleged lawgiver, Lycurgus, is complemented by Josephus' citation of Cleodemus-Malchus' mention of the marriage of Heracles with the granddaughter of Abraham and the correspondence alleging a relationship of the Spartan king Areios and the high priest of the Jews, Onias.

Josephus and Plutarch emphasize the roles of Moses and Lycurgus, respectively, as lawgivers. Their biographies share a number of similar themes: genealogy, upbringing, subjection to envy, the cardinal virtues (especially moderation), eagerness to learn from others, relation to the divine, rejection of kingship, organization of government, military leadership, educational policies, dealings with opponents, attitude toward aliens, opposition to putting laws into writing, economic provisions, laws pertaining to marriage, status of women, priests, and slaves, diet, burial, sorcery, the manner of the lawgiver's death, and laws forbidding modification of the laws. Furthermore, Lycurgus and Moses appear side by side in other ancient catalogues of lawgivers and in claiming a divine origin for their legal codes.

One would have expected that Josephus, living in Rome under imperial auspices, would have had contact with other writers, such as Plutarch, who visited Rome; but he does not mention any of them. One possible explanation is that Plutarch's attitude toward the Flavians, apparently unlike Josephus', was notably hostile. Yet Plutarch had ample opportunities to become acquainted with Jews, and shows considerable knowledge of Jewish beliefs and practices. Plutarch likewise does not mention such contemporaries as Dio Chrysostom, Epictetus, Apollonius of Tyana, and Nicomachus.

One possible explanation of the similarities between Josephus'

Moses and Plutarch's Lycurgus is that they had a common source, since ancient biographies, such as those by Isocrates, Xenophon, Pliny the Elder, and Tacitus, in their recitation of a hero's virtues, follow a common pattern in their subject matter.

A specific device shared by Josephus and Plutarch may indicate a common source, namely the idea of comparing two personalities with each other, such as Josephus' comparison of Agrippa I and Herod and Plutarch's comparisons of Greek and Roman leaders. But such comparisons are much older than both writers, and if there were a direct relationship between Josephus and Plutarch, Plutarch must have borrowed from Josephus, since he wrote his *Lives* a decade or two after Josephus' completion of the *Antiquities*.

Figured Speech and Irony in T. Flavius Josephus¹

STEVE MASON

In a programmatic article of 1984 Frederick Ahl called for a reappraisal of Graeco-Roman literature against the recognition that the ancients were partial to 'figured' speech. Many preferred Odysseus' way (deferring to 'crooked-counselled' Zeus) to that of Thersites, the plain-speaking fool whom the wily hero attacked (*Il.* 2. 211–77; Ahl 1984: 174–9; cf. Lateiner 1995). Any Scythian could reveal his mind (*Demetr. Eloc.* 216, 297); only a man of refinement could craft his language so as to embed important discoveries for the audience to make (Ahl 1984: 196). This refracted manner of speech was called *ἐμφασις* in ancient rhetoric—in diametric opposition to our usage of the English descendant (Ahl 1984: 176–9) and also Greek usage in other contexts. In a world in which elusive language was valued, even the most egregious kind of flattery, so repugnant to modern readers of the Flavian poets for example, might turn out to be skilfully manipulative of its willing victim. Ahl cites the case of Juvenal's fisherman, who reeled in Domitian with the outrageous claim that an unusually large fish he offered the emperor had presented itself, eager to be served on the imperial table (*Juv.* 4. 69–71; Ahl 1984: 197–8).

Several studies in the past decade have excavated the related

¹ Thanks to members of the SBL Josephus Seminar and the Jewish Studies Seminar at Wolfson College, Oxford, also to Martin Goodman, Christina Kraus, Christopher Pelling, Joseph Sievers, and Jane Lightfoot for critique (much of which remains in play, alas). I prepared this study while enjoying a Killam Research Fellowship (administered by the Canada Council for the Arts), a research grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, and a Visiting Fellowship at All Souls College, Oxford.

phenomena of 'doublespeak', 'dissimulation', and 'dissonance' in the history and literature of the early principate (Rudich 1993: pp. xvii-xxiv, 1997; Bartsch 1994: 63-97). Augustus and Tiberius encouraged language games among the elite by extending the capital charge of 'diminishing the majesty of the Roman people' (*maiestas*) to include slander, or perceived slander, of the *princeps* (Suet. *Aug.* 55; Tac. *Ann.* 1. 72; Dio 57. 22. 5; cf. Bartsch 1994: 66). Throughout the first century senators increasingly accommodated themselves to the new pretences, though the resulting internal dissonance could become unbearable. Titius Rufus committed suicide in 39 CE while awaiting trial for 'having declared that the Senate thought one thing but propounded another view' (Dio 59. 18. 5; cf. Rudich 1993: p. xxiii). 'It was an uncanny world of illusion and delusion, of ambivalences and ambiguities on all levels of social interaction' (Rudich 1993: p. xix).

Whereas the satirical verse of a Juvenal positively invites ironic analysis (Romano 1979) and a recent study of the Domitianic *Argonautica* by Valerius Flaccus can devote a substantial final chapter to dissimulation as theme and meta-theme (Hershkowitz 1998: 224-47), with the notable exception of Tacitus (e.g. Leeman 1973: 169; Keitel 1984; Plass 1988; O'Gorman 2000) and Xenophon perhaps (Nadon 2001: 1-3, 160-6), historians have not often attracted such readings (but Weęowski 1996). Given both a general taste for elusive language in antiquity and the specific constraints of imperial Rome, however, we should at least ask about the ironic dimensions of any text we study from the period.

Among Flavian authors, nowhere is the dearth of scholarly attention to artful speech more patent than in the case of T. Flavius Josephus, new citizen and prolific historian. Traditional scholarship on Josephus had scarcely credited him with the intelligence needed for sustained seriousness (Bilde 1988: 123-41), a precondition of irony. Now we have conquered that summit, from which we can glimpse many promising trails, we may be tempted to rest content with our new image of Josephus as earnest historian, ardent apologist, and creative author (Bilde 1988: 141-71). My goal here is to press further and ask how his works were read in Flavian Rome, and whether they shared in the language games then current. To what degree did he plant

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seeds of self-mockery, arising from his peculiar situation, in his compositions? Did he leave signals for his audience that there was more for them to discover than he had plainly said? Might even some of his much-discussed flattery of the Flavians be better understood as ironic fish stories?

Pursuing irony in Josephus draws our attention not only to the challenging political threads that he might have woven between the lines of a seemingly straightforward narrative, but also to his rhetorical aesthetics in general, and the interposition of a certain playful distance between himself and his language (Kierkegaard 1965 [1841]: 292; Muecke 1969: 159–215; Fowler 2000: 8–9). Inasmuch as it reveals the gap between one's inner disposition and what one says, an ironic outlook is the basis, and literary irony the quintessential manifestation, of rhetoric. The two come together, for example, in Robert Lamberton's keen observation about Plutarch (2001: p. xv): 'Plutarch all too often turns his eloquence to the task of demonstrating a point while leaving in us the suspicion that he would be equally capable of arguing the contrary position.' Rhetorical expertise, the goal of ancient education, enabled its practitioners to make any case whatsoever as the situation demanded (Cic. *Brut.* 322; cf. Marrou 1956: 285; Kennedy 1994: 102–27; Cribiore 2001: 220–44). If sincerity (*sine + ceres*) signifies 'the absence of wax', rhetoric was all about wax (cf. Demetr. *Eloc.* 296): wax tablets that could be inscribed, erased, and re-inscribed as desired. Looking for irony in Josephus takes us to that rhetorical pulse in his writing and illuminates his historiographical values.

After an attempt to clarify terms, I shall proceed through Josephus' narratives in order.

IRONY: DEFINITIONS, MEANS, AND ENDS

Irony and its Relatives: A Brief Family History

What I seek to open up in this exploratory essay is hard to reduce to a single category, for it has to do with Josephus' art as an author, his attitude toward his own writing and portraiture. In particular I wish to investigate the degree to which he, by the evidence of the text, remained detached from the compositions he created, exercising that 'Herrschaft über den Stoff'

which allowed him the transcendental smile of Romantic irony. Ludwig Tieck (in Wheeler 1984: 19):

In most definitions irony is taken too one-sidedly, too prosaically and too materially. Hegel misunderstood Solger on this point. He imagined that Solger was thinking about common irony, that crude irony of Swift. But already in Plato, it is clear that there is another completely different higher irony. The irony of which I speak is not derision, mockery, persiflage or what in a similar vein is usually understood by the term. Rather irony is the most profound seriousness, yet bound up with play and genuine joviality.

We are already here perhaps en route to the position that all human language, because contingent and constructed, is ironic. But whatever philosophical merits that position may have (Rorty 1989), I do not intend to go so far here—and render pointless any investigation of irony in Josephus. If we stay with Romantic irony as point of reference, and include also standard forms of literary or dramatic irony, we shall at least retain some sort of criteria for making arguments. The question is whether Josephus was capable, like Plato, Shakespeare, and Goethe, of recognizing the contingency of his language and his situation, such that he could combine earnest thematic and character development with the playfulness of language that visits only when art is not wholly identified with the artist's ego. A. W. Schlegel (1846 [1808]: 369) wrote, contrasting Shakespeare with other poets:

Most poets who portray human events in a narrative or dramatic form take themselves a part; and exact from their readers a blind approbation or condemnation of whatever side they choose to support or oppose. The more zealous this rhetoric is, the more certainly it fails of its effect. . . . When, however, by a dexterous manœuvre, the poet allows us an occasional glance at the less brilliant reverse of the medal, then he makes, as it were, a sort of secret understanding with the select circle of the more intelligent of his readers or spectators; he shows them that he had previously seen and admitted the validity of their tacit objections; that he himself is not tied down to the represented subject, but soars freely above it; and that, if he chose, he could unrelentingly annihilate the beautiful and irresistibly attractive scenes which his magic pen has produced.

I realize too well that pursuing such questions threatens a hopeless lack of precision in analytical categories, and futility in the means of proof. An immediate objection might concern the

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identification of the real Josephus with the implied author and possibly the narrator too; similar hesitation attends questions of 'audience'. By 'Josephus' I mean the implied author (not necessarily the narrative voice or the real Josephus); by 'audience', however, I mean both the implied audience and his first real audiences in Rome, since we can draw some general conclusions about real conditions among literate Romans in the early 80s from outside the text of Josephus. The best analytical categories I can produce are 'irony', with its many valences, and 'figured speech'. My first task is to survey the ancient terminology that most closely approximates these categories—itsself used quite differently by different ancient critics, however—and to show some connections and disjunctions with our theme. Then I shall offer summary remarks on what we often call 'literary irony'—though a modern development, necessarily part of this investigation. But I am primarily searching for moments in Josephus' narratives where a certain detachment from his language, a willingness to 'play' with language even in very serious contexts, and so an ironic posture, come forward.

It would be useful in a study such as this to consider the Greek and Latin forebears of irony, *εἰρωνεία* and *ironia*, and how they were used in antiquity along with complementary vocabulary for figured speech. There is to my knowledge no existing study that considers all of these questions together. Given space constraints here, however, four summary points must suffice.

1. In much Greek literature, *εἰρωνεία* indicates nothing more than a distasteful evasiveness or lack of candour, and an *εἰρων* is a person exhibiting these traits (Thomson 1926: 3; Dem. *Exord.* 14. 3; *Phil.* 1. 7, 37; Plut. *Fab. Max.* 11. 1; *Tim.* 15. 7; *Mar.* 24. 4, 43. 3; *Luc.* 27. 4; *Pomp.* 30. 6).

2. With Plato (*Resp.* 337a; cf. *Apol.* 37e; *Symp.* 216e; *Grg.* 489e), Aristotle, and many subsequent authors, *εἰρωνεία* gained prestige by its association with Socrates (Cic. *Brut.* 292–3; Quint. *Inst.* 9. 2. 46; Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 612d; Lucian *Demon.* 6. 1; *Dial. mort.* 7. 5. 17; Diog. Laert. 2. 19).² Wherever he was viewed as the embodiment of the *εἰρων*, the word group signified not simple dissimulation but a strategic, knowing self-deprecation

² Note the subtitle of Kierkegaard's 1841 book on irony: *with constant reference to Socrates*.

or pretended innocence in combination with equally strategic praise of others. Although Aristotle can position *εἰρωνεία* (understating one's knowledge) and *ἀλαζονεία* (overstating it) as equally undesirable opposites, with honest assessment (*ἀλήθεια*, *παρρησία*) the preferred middle way (*Eth. Nic.* 2. 7, 1108a; 4. 7, 1127a), he is usually more lenient with the 'Socratic' fault of *εἰρωνεία* (*Eth. Nic.* 1127b. 30–1; cf. *Rh.* 3. 18, 1419b. 8).

3. Cicero and Quintilian fully incorporate irony into their discussions of rhetoric, further dignifying it in the process. Although they continue to associate it chiefly with Socrates (*Brut.* 292; *De or.* 2. 269), they disagree about its precise meaning, and whether it can be adequately rendered by such Latin words as *dissimulatio* (so Cic. *De or.* 2. 269; *Luc.* 15. 18) or *illusio*. Quintilian makes the latter connection in places (*Inst.* 6. 6. 54–7; cf. 6. 9. 50), on the ground that irony involves intending the opposite (*contraria*) of what one says (*Inst.* 9. 2. 65), but elsewhere he insists upon using the Greek word because there is no precise Latin equivalent (*Inst.* 9. 2. 44–6).

4. When ancient writers wanted to highlight the shared but unstated understanding between author and audience, they tended to use terms other than *εἰρωνεία* and *ironia*. They spoke of figured (*τὸ ἐσχηματισμένον*, *σχήματα*, *σχηματίζω*), refracted, or encoded speech (*ἐμφασις*, *ἐμφαίνω*) (*Demetr. Eloc.* 287–98). Significantly, they often mention *εἰρωνεία* in the same context, as a *near* equivalent (*Demetr. Eloc.* 291; *Quint. Inst.* 9. 2. 65). In his discussion of figures of speech (*figurae*, *σχήματα*), Quintilian observes that common usage in his day, following the fourth-century BCE critic Zoilus, narrows the sense of *figura* (and *σχῆμα*) to the case in which 'the speaker pretends to say something other than that which he actually does say' (*Inst.* 9. 1. 14). He also describes an unnamed figure according to which:

we excite some suspicion that our meaning is other than our words would seem to imply (*quod non dicimus accipi volumus*); but our meaning is not in this case contrary to that which we express, as is the case in *εἰρωνεία*, but rather a hidden meaning which is left to the hearer to discover (*latens et auditori quasi inveniendum*). (*Inst.* 9. 2. 65)

Although he distinguishes this from *εἰρωνεία*, it sounds very close to what we often call irony. He gives the figure no name, however, because his contemporaries all but reserve the generic

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term *figura* for it. This *figura* or *σχῆμα* is also very close to *ἐμφασις*—so close, he muses, that the two may be identical (*Inst.* 9. 2. 65).

Since contemporary ironologists find definition of their subject impossible (Muecke 1969: 14; Knox 1972; Fowler 2000: 7–8), they often prefer to test for its presence by a matrix of conditions. For present purposes I borrow the product of someone else's labours. In his classic study D. C. Muecke finds three 'essential elements' in literary irony (Muecke 1969: 19–20):

In the first place irony is a double-layered or two-storey phenomenon. At the lower level is the situation either as it appears to the victim of irony (where there is a victim) or as it is deceptively presented by the ironist (where there is an ironist). . . . At the upper level is the situation as it appears to the observer or the ironist. The upper level need not be *presented* by the ironist; it need only be evoked by him or be present in the mind of the observer. . . .

In the second place there is always some kind of opposition between the two levels, an opposition that may take the form of contradiction, incongruity, or incompatibility. What is said may be contradicted by what is meant . . . ; what the victim thinks may be contradicted by what the observer knows. . . .

In the third place there is in irony an element of 'innocence'; either a victim is confidently unaware of the very possibility of there being an upper level or point of view that invalidates his own, or an ironist pretends not to be aware of it. There is one exception to this; in sarcasm or in a very overt irony. . . .

In brief: 'the art of irony is the art of saying something without really saying it. It is an art that gets its effects from below the surface' (Muecke 1969: 5). On the dramatic level, then, we shall be looking for evidence that Josephus expected his audience to understand more than he explicitly said, where this 'more' stands in some tension with the facile sense of the voices in his narrative. Beyond that, we seek evidence of his posture as author vis-à-vis his narratives.

Means: Two Kinds of Irony

The issue of the clued-in observer, crucial to figured speech, *ἐμφασις*, or irony in modern senses, suggests a classification of irony according to this criterion: What *are* the possible sources

of audience knowledge? At bottom are only two possibilities: either the author (or speaker) furnishes the audience with the necessary information in some other place, outside the ironic episode itself, or he expects them already to possess the extra-textual resources that they need in order to close the circuit. Let us call these two cases text-dependent and audience-dependent irony, respectively. Josephus will use both, but in order to see how he works it is useful to keep the distinction in mind.

Text-dependent irony is the simpler and less risky of the two forms. An author wants to ensure that an audience, or an indefinite number of audiences, will detect his intended irony. So he frames the ironic story within an authoritative statement, for the audience alone, of facts unknown to characters in the story. This was the way of Greek New Comedy. Menander and his peers wrote plays that were largely self-contained, with the necessary information embedded in the work itself. That is perhaps why these Greek plays were so portable for adaptation in other contexts, for example with Plautus and Terence (the latter of whom dropped this element, however, leaving his work harder for us to grasp).³ Authoritative prologues, often from a divine being, guaranteed the audience's readiness to follow the plot and thereby created 'New Comedy's major effect, dramatic irony' (Ireland 1995: 19; cf. Zagagi 1994: 142–3; cf. Balme 2001: p. xix). It is because of this reliable foreknowledge that the audience of Menander's *Aspis* (97–148) knows that Smikrines will be frustrated in his attempt to seize his niece's fortune—for the heir still lives; understands what the misanthrope and the love-struck young man of the *Dyskolos* (1–49) do not know about each other; and is immediately ready to find hilarity, as the *Miles Gloriosus* begins, in the *alazon's* confident ignorance of what is happening next door (Plaut. *Mil.* 79–145).

Comedy was by no means the only venue for such self-contained textual irony. The most famous example is probably the Gospel of John, which includes an authoritative divine prologue (John 1: 1–18) concerning Jesus' heavenly origin (cf. John 3: 11–21; 5: 19–47; 6: 35–58; 8: 12–58; 10: 1–38). The repeated claims of ignorant characters in the story to *certain knowledge* of Jesus' origins (John 1: 45–6; 6: 42; 7: 41–3) are devastating

³ I thank Dr C. S. Kraus for this observation about Terence.

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because the audience—any audience at any time—knows otherwise.

Audience-dependent irony is what the ancient critics had in mind when they discussed 'figured speech' (above). It was also the way of Old Comedy, which was filled with topical references to conditions in Athens around the year 420: many of the main characters are famous figures from the period (Ireland 1995: 1–2). Because of the tacit connections with current affairs, the genre is not easily portable: a modern reader of Aristophanes can only appreciate these references through diligent background study, and a basic aim of the commentary in modern editions is to put the reader in the picture. Greek tragedy and later pantomime also depended upon the audience's familiarity with traditional story lines from epic poetry and myth, presented again in new forms. It was prior audience knowledge of the plot that gave poignancy to Oedipus' vow to find and punish the one who was polluting Thebes (Soph. *OT* 135–45). The watchman of the *Agamemnon* can only 'speak to those who understand, and remain a mystery to those who do not' (Aesch. *Ag.* 39; cf. Ahl 1984: 180).

Audience-dependent irony can be subtler and more effective than text-driven irony, though it is riskier because it operates without the safety net of authoritative guides. The author must be sure not only that the audience will know certain crucial items but, in potentially dangerous contexts, that they will not read the wrong sort of irony into his presentation. In the case of Rome, Shadi Bartsch traces the development of topical allusions on the stage from the late Republic, when these were largely effected by authors and actors through stress and gesture, through the early principate, when the actors and playwrights backed away from such signals out of fear, and audience detection became the definitive side of the ironic dialectic (Bartsch 1994: 71–82). In the absence of obvious clues, it was always possible that an audience's determination to discover topical allusion would itself generate subversive interpretations that had never been intended (Bartsch 1994: 67–8).

Any proposal concerning audience-dependent irony in Josephus will in the nature of the case be more open to debate than observations on language-plays that receive explicit textual authorization. But that should not prevent us from asking the question and making proposals with good reason.

Ends: Elite Discourse and Managing the Masses

In the Flavian period, virtually everyone in elite circles appears to have been speaking and writing elusively (and allusively) at times, relying upon their audiences to make inferences. Under Domitian, Quintilian observes that the 'figured controversies' discussed above were much in vogue, used with great frequency (*qua nunc utimur plurimum . . . quod et frequentissimum est*) (*Inst.* 9. 2. 65). He recognizes three contexts for this language: when it is unsafe to speak frankly, or unseemly to do so, or merely for subtle effect. Under the first heading he insists that one may address tyrants without danger 'as long as the form of speech is susceptible of a different interpretation', for 'if [the risk is neutralized] by ambiguity of expression, everyone will approve of his cunning' (*Inst.* 9. 2. 67). Another rough contemporary of Josephus, Dio Chrysostom, states more bluntly that during Domitian's reign, in which he himself was exiled, 'it used to seem necessary to everyone to lie, on account of fear' (*πᾶσιν ἀναγκαῖον ἔδοκει ψεύδεσθαι διὰ φόβον*, *Or.* 3. 13).

So candid confrontation was out and either lying or irony was in. This point was not lost on the *principes*, who accordingly became accomplished irony-detectors. They sought out figurative sedition in plays, recitals of poetry, gestures, and literary allusions in all genres, trying to censor what Rudich calls the 'uncontrollable subtext' (Rudich 1997: 11). Members of the senatorial class were vulnerable also if they unwisely referred to exempla from the republican era, especially Brutus and Cassius: the senator Cremutius Cordus, prosecuted in 25, is a famous example (Tac. *Ann.* 4. 34–5). Under Nero, by contrast, Seneca prudently denied Stoic justification to Caesar's assassins (*Ben.* 2. 20. 2). Tacitus reports other examples of sensitivity to this issue (*Ann.* 3. 76; 16. 7, 22), as does Pliny (*Ep.* 1. 17. 3; cf. MacMullen 1966: 1–45; Salles 1992: 70–5). Suetonius mentions a number of persons convicted on the basis of their plays (*Calig.* 27. 4; *Ner.* 39. 3; *Dom.* 10. 4; cf. Bartsch 1994: 78–9). It seems that Domitian, possibly inspired by competing senatorial factions (Syme 1983: 122–4), was closely attuned to such figural representation, especially from the autumn of 93 (B. W. Jones 1992: 122–5)—just when Josephus published his *magnum opus* (*AJ* 20. 267). He executed Hermogenes of Tarsus for certain allusions (*figurae*) in

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his history (Suet. *Dom.* 10. 1), the younger Helvidius Priscus for having allegedly criticized the emperor's divorce in a farce concerning the legendary Paris and Oenone (*Dom.* 10. 4), Arulenus Rusticus and Herennius Senecio for praising long-dead critics of Nero and Vespasian (Suet. *Dom.* 10. 3; Tac. *Agr.* 2. 1; Plin. *Ep.* 7. 19. 5; Dio 67. 13. 2). If the need for irony was so obvious in Domitian's Rome, we must wonder whether and how Josephus accommodated himself.

Whereas Quintilian's three contexts for figured speech all apply to the internal discourse of the elite classes, there was a much older and more widely distributed currency of misdirection in relations between the ruling class and the masses they governed. We see this already in Aristotle, who insisted that the great-souled man speak the truth without fear in *almost* all circumstances:

It is also necessary that he [*sc.* the great man, *μεγαλόψυχος*] be both candid in hatred and candid in affection, because concealment (*τὸ λανθάνειν*) implies fear . . . ; for in view of his disdain [for others' opinions] he is frank and truthful, *except of course whatever [he says] by way of irony, to the masses* (*πλὴν ὅσα μὴ δι' εἰρωνείαν πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς*). (Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 3. 28, 1124b, line 1)

Even if we should render *εἰρωνεία* here as 'dissimulation' vis-à-vis the masses, when the deceit is shared among one's peers it becomes irony.

In Josephus' day, Plutarch confirms that Roman hegemony had rendered it an even more urgent necessity to dissemble to the always restive and impetuous masses. Plutarch advises the statesman first to listen and learn about his people's distinctive character, so that he might accommodate himself and win their confidence (*Prae. ger. reip.* 799b–800a). Compare Josephus' first actions in Galilee (*Vit.* 30–61). The statesman must also possess great rhetorical skill (*Prae. ger. reip.* 799b–800a, 801a–804c) for 'softening by persuasion and overcoming by charms the fierce and violent spirit of the people' (801e). Given the inevitability that the masses will dislike politicians, the latter must often resort to clever schemes. They might, for example, arrange for some colleagues to speak against a measure in the assembly and then be won over by the others, so that they bring the audience along with them (813a–c). Plutarch emphasizes that the chief

task and test of the statesman under Roman rule is to maintain peace, avoid internal conflict (στάσις), and keep Roman forces from needing to enter the scene (814f–816a). This all intersects more or less perfectly with Josephus' expressed motives and language in his autobiography (below). Such laudable realism was to be sharply distinguished, of course, from the sordid business of 'flattering the mob' (κολακεία or *adsentio* directed to the *plebs*, δῆμος, *vulgus*; cf. Roller 2001a: 110), which is what one's demagogic rivals did (cf. Hands 1959 on Sallust).

IRONY IN JOSEPHUS' *JUDAEAN WAR* AND *JUDAEAN ANTIQUITIES*

These constraints of literary culture in Flavian Rome seem to require that we ask certain questions of Josephus' narratives.

The Judaeen War

His earliest extant composition is a Greek account of the recent war in Judaea. He claims to have presented a copy to Vespasian (*Vit.* 359–61; *Ap.* 1. 50–1), though there is evidence that Titus was emperor when the bulk of it was released, and some scholars are convinced that volume 7 was finished still later (Cohen 1979: 87–8; S. Schwartz 1986; cf. Barnes, Ch. 6 above). In this work Josephus relies to a significant degree upon his audience's knowledge for ironic effects: in his overall portrait of the Judaeen–Roman war and the Flavian rulers' role therein; in his flattery of the imperial family; and in his use of the 'civil war' motif. Where it is politically innocuous to do so, he also sets up a text-driven irony, unmistakably signing it as such for the audience's benefit.

The Fall of Jerusalem and the Flavians' Role

Nothing about the new regime could have been clearer to residents of Flavian Rome than its investment in the recent subjugation of Judaea (cf. Levick 1999: 53–4). Since the essays in Part II of this volume consider the evidence in detail, I shall not repeat it here. The main points come out in the inscription on the arch of Titus that formerly stood in the Circus Maximus: under his father's guidance Titus had 'subdued the people of

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the Judaeans and destroyed the city of Hierosolyma' (*gentem Iudaeorum domuit et urbem Hierusolymam . . . deleuit*; CIL 6. 944 = ILS 264). Everyone knew what 'subdued' and 'destroyed' meant: a barbarian *urbs direpta*, demolished by the irresistible ferocity of Roman arms and then given to the soldiers for revenge (Ziolkowski 1993; cf. *Bj* 6. 403–8). The joint triumph of 71 concealed nothing of the Roman severity but rather gloried in it, magnificently portraying for those who had not witnessed the events 'whole battalions of the enemy slaughtered . . . an area all deluged with blood . . . fire engulfing sanctuaries and the collapse of houses upon their owners' (*Bj* 7. 143). Titus was assumed to have a character eminently suited to making war: in the decade following the war, while he was assisting his father in the principate, he apparently had a reputation for such extreme brutality (*saevitia*) that people feared his accession—so, at least, Suetonius (*Tit.* 1, 6–7).

Tacitus' truncated presentation of the Judaeans people (*Hist.* 5. 1–13), in which he argues that their rites and customs are at sharp variance with those of the Romans (*Hist.* 5. 4–5), is offered as background to the war itself (5. 2). His portrait, combined with a variety of later statements (Origen *C. Cels.* 5. 41; Min. Fel. *Oct.* 10, 33; Philostr. *VA* 5. 33) and especially the coins and monuments of the 70s and 80s, presents a fairly coherent picture of perceptions in the capital. Namely, this was an external war (*bellum externum*) of the Roman people against a troublesome foreign nation (Mattern 1999: 151, 168, 193). Its conclusion, the irrefragable defeat of the Judaeans and their protective deity, was due to the virtue of the Roman generals (now *principes*), their military superiority, and the favour of Roman deities.

In case anyone had missed these points, a crop of new histories was appearing that stressed the same themes—in highly rhetorical fashion, according to Josephus (*Bj* 1. 1–2):

[Whereas] those who did not happen to be at the events, but are collecting random and incoherent tales through hearsay, are writing them up sophist-like, while others who were there misrepresent the events, *either through flattery toward the Romans or through hatred toward the Judeans—their compositions comprise denunciation in some cases and encomium in others*, but nowhere the precision of history.

While residents of Flavian Rome could have had little doubt

about the meaning of the war for the new rulers, nothing could be clearer in Josephus' history than his claim that Jerusalem fell *not* because of any foreign power but because a *civil war* provoked divine punishment: the Judaeans' purging of his own house to rid it of the pollution caused by 'tyrants' (Bḡ 1. 9–10). In this, the Romans were but useful pawns (cf. Bḡ 6. 409–13), accomplishing under divine manipulation what the nation's leadership itself had been unable to do. Quite irrespective of the Romans, Josephus invokes:

a certain ancient saying (τις παλαιὸς λόγος) that the city would be captured and the holy sanctuary burned down by right of war (νόμῳ πολέμου) whenever factionalism (στάσις) should arrive and domestic hands (χεῖρες οἰκείαι) should take the lead in polluting the sacred precinct of God. (Bḡ 4. 388)

The Romans had had no intention, in particular, of destroying the temple:

That it was internal factionalism (στάσις οἰκεία) that brought it down, and that the Judaeans' drew both the *Romans' unwilling hands* and the fire upon the sanctuary, Titus Caesar—the very one who destroyed it—is witness. . . . And since *no foreigner was the cause* of these things, it was not possible to keep control over one's lamentations. (Bḡ 1. 10–12)

The point is reiterated as necessary: see especially Bḡ 4. 397; 5. 19, 28, 442–5; 6. 128–30, 228. Near the close of the work, the rebel leader Eleazar at Masada is allowed to comfort his doomed comrades with language that, albeit from a different frame of reference, intersects with the author's on this point:

Neither pin the blame on yourselves *nor credit the Romans*, that this war against them has ruined us all; for it is not by their strength that these things have happened, but a more powerful cause has come and furnished them with the appearance of victory (τὸ δοκεῖν ἐκείνοις νικᾶν παρέσχηκε). (Bḡ 7. 360)

Two chapters in this volume (Barnes, Rives) deal with the problem that Josephus' effort to remove Titus from involvement in the temple's destruction fits ill both with the Flavians' celebration of this event and with an alternative account, apparently from Tacitus (preserved in Sulpicius Severus and Orosius), according to which Titus firmly decided that the temple *should*

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be destroyed. In other words, Josephus makes claims in his narrative that sharply diverge from what his audience understands to be the case. Whereas those contributions propose historical solutions to the problem, I would observe that on the narrative level this particular issue of Titus' decision about the temple serves a much larger ironic scheme.

Josephus' entire *War* undermines, albeit in the nicest way, the Flavian presentation of this conflict: 'Er kämpft um seinen persönlichen Beitrag zur Weltgeschichte und muß diesen Kampf selbst gegen das flavische Geschichtsbild durchführen' (Lindner 1972: 65). Even his famous prediction of Vespasian's rise and his ordering of the various legions' acclamations are uncomfortably at odds with the Flavian self-portrait (Lindner 1972: 61–8, 82–4). While he repeatedly adduces Titus' clemency (but see below), he precludes any notion that this was a *Judaean* revolt or war against Rome, that the Judaeans were inferior in courage or cleverness to the Roman legionaries, and that the Romans subdued a recalcitrant people by force of arms, the aid of Roman deities, or the virtue of their generals. Nor does Josephus permit the Romans to occupy the consummate place in world history (cf. *Bj* 5. 367). This is *vom Haus aus* a Judaeans story told by an aristocrat from Jerusalem (*Bj* 1. 3), deferring to prophetic themes (from Jeremiah and Daniel) about the rise and fall of nations under divine supervision and about God's concern to punish those who violate his law and sanctuary (Lindner 1972: 25, 33, 43–4; Mason 1994).

Even without the other literary accounts in circulation, the basic ingredients of Josephus' theme, like the stories of Helen, Achilles, or Iphigeneia for audiences of tragedy, would have been known to his public in advance. All the major protagonists who had survived were familiar in Rome: the conquering generals Vespasian and Titus; Josephus himself, whose personal (mis)fortunes he claims are known to the audience (*Bj* 1. 22); the faithful client king Agrippa II, who had received singular honours and now passed a good deal of his time in the capital (Dio 66. 15. 4); his sister Berenice, who had achieved another sort of fame as Titus' erstwhile lover (Tac. *Hist.* 2. 2; Suet. *Tit.* 7. 1); the brothers, sons, and nephews of the Judaeans convert, King Izates of Adiabene, whom Titus had sent to Rome as hostages against the loyalty of their country because of their

prominence in the revolt (*Bġ* 6. 356–7); and the factional chiefs, Simon bar Giora (since executed) and John of Gischala, who had both been exhibited in the triumph of 71 (*Bġ* 6. 433; 7. 118, 154–5, 263–6), whom Tacitus also mentions (*Hist.* 5. 12).

Broadly speaking, then, the entire *War* is ironic in a way that not all histories are. The *Antiquities* (below) stands in marked contrast on this point. Although the very broad outlines of Polybius' or Livy's histories, or Tacitus' *Annals*, were known to their audiences, those audiences did not have the vivid presence of characters, material, and atmosphere complementing Josephus' monograph on the recent war. Because of this immediate knowledge, every ploy of the rebel leaders, their every mistaken motive and deceitful speech, has a tragic-ironic quality: the audience knows full well where their policies will lead.⁴

Flattery of the Flavians

We may take it for granted that the rival accounts of the war flattered Vespasian and Titus, both on *a priori* grounds and because of Josephus' characterization (*Bġ* 1. 2) and counter-plot: he argues that too much vilification of the Judeans actually diminishes the achievement of the Roman ruling family (1. 8):

I just do not see how those who have conquered insignificant people should seem to be great. And they [these writers] respect neither the length of the war, nor the mass of the army engaged on the Roman part, nor the greatness of the generals, who sweated so much in the vicinity of Jerusalem. I suppose that, by denigrating their [the generals'] achievement, they regard them too as unworthy!

Obviously Josephus' rivals do not intend, in their energetic praise of the Flavians' accomplishments, to disparage the imperial family. Josephus has caught them, however, in a rhetorical trap: 'Your denigration of the Judeans implies that the emperors' victory was not very impressive!' The trap only works if everyone understands that flattery of the imperial family is non-negotiable, regardless of the facts. Josephus' rivals must now amend their accounts, he sarcastically implies, to make the Judeans better enemies in order to aggrandize the Flavians. By

⁴ On tragic themes and tropes of the narrative other than those discussed here, the Stanford dissertation by Honora Chapman (1998) is generally persuasive and highly illuminating.

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driving home the rhetorical nature of imperial praise, this ploy raises the question whether Josephus' own apparent flattery of the Flavians was not often intended, and understood by his first audiences, ironically.

The issue is highlighted by his repeated resort to this ultimate weapon, what we might call the *argumentum ad dignitatem Caesaris*. In BJ 1. 16 he will charge that the Greeks who are preoccupied with their own ancient histories are neglecting the glorious deeds of the leaders. In BJ 2. 26–36, Josephus presents two speeches by accomplished orators on the subject of King Herod's royal succession. The first speaker, who opposes Herod's son Archelaus, goes through a brilliant series of arguments at great length, with choice diction and abundant witnesses for each point, challenging Herod's mental competence when he made the will that appointed Archelaus. The speaker who supports Archelaus, however, can be brief: in that contested will, Herod appointed Caesar the arbiter. Was Herod competent when he chose Caesar? Augustus tells Archelaus that he is a worthy successor to his father (BJ 2. 37).

Point: flattery of the *princeps* is non-negotiable, and it is something of a game to see who can configure an argument most favourable to Caesar. In such passages as these, Josephus appears to tip his hand with respect to his ensuing flattery of Vespasian and Titus, furnishing just the sort of reason for doubt mentioned by Quintilian (above).

A prime candidate is his claim, in a speech crafted for the character Josephus before the walls of Jerusalem, addressed to the recalcitrant rebels inside, that the springs feeding Jerusalem flow more copiously now, with Titus' presence (*παρουσία*) in the region (BJ 5. 409–11; cf. Paul 1993: 64–6). The rebels should see this as proof that God has fled the sacred places of Jerusalem to stand with Titus—and capitulate. We may find here either a naked, obsequious flattery or an irony that his literary audience (excepting Titus) should immediately recognize. All indications favour the latter option. Whatever the historical facts about Jerusalem's springs were, no reader would expect the hardened inmates of the city to agree with Josephus' claim as to cause: even if the springs *had* recently opened up, this could as easily signify divine support for the rebels and their own newly arrived leaders. Josephus comments elsewhere that the rebels

were quick to interpret signs in their favour (*Bḡ* 6. 285–7, 291, 312–15; cf. Tac. *Hist.* 5. 13). Further, he claims that the same thing happened with the springs hundreds of years earlier, when the king of Babylon besieged the city (*Bḡ* 5. 411), though there is no hint of that miracle in the Bible. In connection with that Babylonian destruction of the city, Josephus' speech has already established his signal points: the Judaeen God is in control of affairs, now as then; in both cases he has required the Jerusalem-ites to surrender their city to the enemy as punishment; Josephus is a Jeremiah-like figure (*Bḡ* 5. 391–3). All of this fits poorly with any special flattery of Titus. At most, the gushing springs are a sign from God that it is time to give up. But the good possibility that no one else knew about these bountiful springs, either in the Babylonian period or now as Josephus stands before the city, raises the prospect that he is telling a story only for his literary audience, who should recognize it as akin to Juvenal's one about the fisherman.

Yet more striking in this vein is Josephus' oily description of Domitian's abortive campaign in Gaul and Germany at the very beginning of Vespasian's reign (*Bḡ* 7. 85–8). Hearing of a revolt (of Batavian auxiliaries and Treveri under Civilis and Classicus), Domitian did not hesitate, in spite of his youth (he was eighteen), to assume a Caesar's responsibility. 'Enjoying his father's manliness by natural inheritance and having perfected his training beyond that suited to his age, against the barbarians he immediately marched. They, crumbling at the report of his approach, gave themselves entirely over to him, finding subjection under the same yoke again (ὅπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν πάλιν ζυγὸν ὑπαχθῆναι), without suffering disaster, a great advantage over their fear' (*Bḡ* 7. 87). When he had 'put all the affairs of Gaul in order' he returned to Rome to illustrious honour and universal admiration (*Bḡ* 7. 88).

The question of ironic intention here can be settled easily enough. Is it more likely that Josephus' Roman audience, blank slates all, were happy to be persuaded of these events, or rather that he and they both understood this as mocking flattery of Domitian—saying the opposite of what everyone knew to be the case? Two considerations tell decisively in favour of the latter option. First, Josephus' language is patently hyperbolic and implausible: Domitian's single-handed determination to shoulder

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the burden of empire, the keenness of the fearsome barbarians to kneel again under his yoke if they can only be spared a confrontation with the eighteen-year-old. Like Juvenal's fish, they spontaneously present themselves for Domitian's pleasure.⁵

Second, it seems that Josephus' Roman audience already knew a very different version of events. Suetonius has the young Domitian arrogantly undertaking an *unnecessary* campaign, against the wishes of his absent father's advisers (*Dom.* 2), which reluctance would make sense in terms of their worry about the new dynasty's succession given that Titus was also on campaign in Judaea (B. W. Jones and Milns 2002: 124). Suetonius claims that Domitian was later rebuked by his father for these rash actions and forced to learn his place by living with him in Rome. Tacitus has the new emperor's son, whose youth is disdained by the rebel leaders (*Hist.* 4. 75), entirely accountable to Vespasian's trusted general Mucianus (4. 80, 86: *pars obsequii*). They both head to the theatre of the Gallo-German revolt, only to find before crossing the Alps that the uprising has already failed at the hands of Cerialis' seven legions; so their contribution is not needed (*Hist.* 4. 85). Tacitus circulates reports that Mucianus refused the prince's request for his own command, thinking it wiser that the young man should not interfere with the glory of others (*Hist.* 4. 85), and even that Domitian sought (unsuccessfully) to take over Cerealis' forces in order to challenge either his father or his brother (*Hist.* 4. 86). Realizing that his youth is treated contemptuously by all of these generals, Domitian withdraws in pique even from those minimal imperial duties he had heretofore involved himself with. Both the tone and the content of this account flatly contradict Josephus' extremely flattering revision.

If even the core of what is common to Suetonius and Tacitus was widely known or rumoured after the event itself, and this abortive campaign had been a humiliating episode in the adolescent Domitian's life—leaving aside their hostile assessments of Domitian's motives in detail (B. W. Jones 1992: 16–17)—, then Josephus' audience must have recognized his praise as mocking flattery. Josephus did not need to mention the embarrassing

⁵ B. W. Jones and Milns (2002: 124) aptly cite Sil. *Pun.* 3. 607–8 in comparison: 'even when you were a boy, the yellow-haired Batavians feared you.'

story at all in his narrative, but his choice to present a version diametrically opposed to the one commonly known (if it was) created humorous irony. This kind of flattery fulfils its ironic mission because the only person in a position to debunk such outrageous claims without incurring suspicion of *maiestas* is the object, Domitian, and he is not about to do so (cf. Ahl 1984: 198). The story hangs there for all to see, a source of quiet ridicule. While 'damning with faint praise' can be effective, the victim is likely to be at least as aware of the slight as observers; damning with hyperbolic praise is the more effective because it locks the victim in a cage of self-congratulation, intensifying the observers' delight.

Titus' Clemency

It appears that much of the rest of Josephus' flattery of the Flavians would have been understood in similarly ironic ways by his first audiences. All other things being equal, clemency is a good, Caesar-like quality for a general to display (Yavetz 1975: 424-5; Meier 1982: 15-25). In Josephus' notorious praise of 'Titus' clemency, however, we find some small but telling cracks. On the one hand, he includes plenty of evidence for 'Titus' cruelty, or his allowance of cruelty on the part of his soldiers (*B* 3. 304, 329, 501; 5. 289-450; 7. 23, 37-40; Yavetz 1975: 415). On the other hand, Josephus indicates that he himself was considerably more astute than the young Roman general, who in his determined trust and simplicity (*πιστεύσας ἐξ ἀπλότητος*) failed, for example, to see the dangerous ruse that a Judaeans soldier named Castor was trying to put over on him. Although Roman warfare was all about stratagems (*στρατηγήματα*; cf. Frontinus' book on the subject in the Flavian period), 'Titus' naivety nearly caused Roman deaths in that encounter. Whereas Josephus understood the trick from the start, 'Titus had to learn the hard way that 'in hostilities mercy was mischievous' (*B* 5. 329).

The episode is introduced by a remarkable editorial observation from Josephus. While the Judaeans combatants, he says, were careless of their own suffering (*ἀμελοῦντες τοῦ παθεῖν*), considering their own deaths as trivial if they could but kill one of the enemy (*B* 5. 316):

Titus, on the other hand, was taking precautions for the security of

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his soldiers as much as for their victory. Saying that charging without circumspection amounted to desperation, whereas true valour came only with precaution and not creating suffering (μόνην δ' ἀρετὴν τὴν μετὰ προνοίας καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν τὸν δρώντα παθεῖν), he directed that his troops make themselves men in ways that were risk-free (ἐν ἀκινδύνῳ τῷ κατὰ σφᾶς ἐκέλευσεν ἀνδρίζεσθαι).

Now, there is a striking parallel to this in Velleius Paterculus' portrait of his hero Tiberius (2. 115. 5). When the emperor was still a general fighting the Dalmatians:

numquam adeo ulla opportune visa est victoriae occasio, quam damno amissi pensaret militis semperque visum est gloriosissimum, quod esset tutissimum.

no opportunity for victory seemed to him timely for which he would have to pay with sacrifice of his soldiers; always, the course that was safest seemed to him also the most glorious.

Yet Anne Eriksen observes what a sharp departure this was from traditional Roman values with respect to military virtue (2002: 113–14), values that have been convincingly articulated for the early empire by Susan Mattern (1999: 162–222). Although precaution (πρόνοια) was of course a virtue for generals and others, like clemency, one could have too much of a good thing. It is hard to imagine that, in a narrative that often praises death-defying courage (sometimes encouraged by Titus himself) on both the Roman and the Judaean sides (*Bῃ* 3. 149, 153–4; 5. 305–6, 315–16; 6. 33–67, 147–8), and in the context of post-war Rome, appearing as a risk-averse general could redound to Titus' glory.

Titus' preoccupation with clemency (to the point of gullibility) and security (to the point of timidity) comes through clearly in an earlier, paradigmatic episode concerning the only siege entrusted to the young general while his father Vespasian still had theatre-command of the legions: the taking of Gischala, the northern-Galilean base of the notorious rebel leader John (*Bῃ* 4. 84–120). When Titus offers the Gischalan population terms of surrender, rather than devastation by his thousand-strong professional cavalry, John ('a trickster of extremely wily character', 4. 85) replies at some length that Titus must (δεῖν) first allow them to observe the approaching sabbath, on which they were forbidden either to fight or to make peace. 'Even the Romans'

surely know the requirements of the sabbath, and Titus would have nothing to lose by giving the extra day, for he could guard against flight by camping around the city's perimeter (ἐξὸν περι-στρατοποδεύσαντα παραφυλάξαι, 4. 101). Unbelievably, Titus is not only persuaded by this gambit (πεισθῆναι Τίτον τῇ σκῆψει, 4. 104)—Josephus further observes that John bluffed him (ἐσοφίζετο τὸν Τίτον, 4. 103)—but he fails to take even the elementary safeguard *recommended by John* of camping around the town. Instead, he withdraws his force to the secure embrace of the Tyrian possession Kedasa (4. 104). Josephus notes that this was 'rather far' from Gischala; in fact the site, Kedesh-Naphtali, lies about 10 kilometres to the north-east of Gischala. Titus' withdrawal to this stronghold predictably allows not only John himself but a vast train of combatants along with their families to make their escape during the night, unimpeded. Our author stresses the peculiarity: 'At nightfall John, since he observed not a single Roman guard around the town (οὐδεμίαν περὶ τῇ πόλει Ρωμαίων ἑώρα φυλακὴν), seized the opportunity' (4. 106). Neither Josephus nor Vespasian nor any other imaginable general could have behaved in this way—even if Josephus graciously credits the failure to divine supervision ('preserving John to bring final ruin upon the city of the Jerusalemites', 4. 104).⁶

In Josephus' narrative the innocent Titus does not learn from any of these encounters, but continues to show gentle patience and mercy while the Judaeans cause him and his soldiers extreme anxiety and loss of life by *their* clever stratagems and daring (*Bῃ* 6. 12, 29–32, 78–9, 152–6, 190)—usually admirable traits in Josephus. While he watches one of his valiant soldiers being hacked to death by Judaeans, we are told, Titus really wants to help but cannot because of his location (τόπος), while those Romans who could help refrain because of fear (*Bῃ* 6. 89).

⁶ Titus' biographer, B. W. Jones, notices the disparity between the more official portrait of Titus in Suet. *Tit.* 4.3 (1989: 132–4) and Josephus, especially in light of this episode. His approach is to privilege Josephus' account historically: *even* he, 'in his authorised version of the wars' (1989: 128 n. 9), preserves evidence for a picture of Titus that is different from his reputation (1989: 130, 132). I would rather insist that this different picture of Titus is fully thematized in Josephus, established from the *War's* prologue and continuing throughout: it is part of Josephus' aim to undermine Flavian propaganda by withholding the *credit* for Jerusalem's fall from Titus. It does not necessarily take us any closer than Suetonius to the historical Titus.

And his men frequently disobey his orders, or act without them. As a large number of them are perishing in flames, and Titus is rushing about in his remote viewing post urging those nearby to do something, the burning men are said to die cheerfully nonetheless, moved by their general's emotive shouts (*Bj* 6. 183–4). How does this square with Titus' post-war image in Rome?

Even after Titus hears about the abomination of Mary's cannibalism in the city and determines (again) to move decisively against the rebels, his assaults are repelled by the Judaeans' clever tactics, resulting in great loss of Roman life (*Bj* 6. 214–27). Yet again he must reconsider his 'clemency': 'Titus, as he observed that sparing these foreign sacred precincts had meant only injury and slaughter for his troops, ordered them to set the gates on fire' (*Bj* 6. 228). Josephus continually stresses, however, 'Titus' helplessness in the face of divine control. The general convenes his famous war council and decides after all to extinguish the flames around the Temple in order to preserve it (*Bj* 6. 236–43), then makes firm plans to occupy the sacred fortress on the following day (6. 249). But God thwarts his plans (*Bj* 6. 250), having ordained that the polluted sanctuary must go at the appointed time. So, while his soldiers have continued their combat, Titus, who 'happened to be resting in his tent after the fighting', can only be informed about the Temple's fate (*Bj* 6. 254); he has no say in the matter. His utter helplessness is obvious: he shouts and waves to no avail; his own legionaries pretend not to hear him; he is unable to restrain the impetuosity of his frenzied soldiers.

Indeed, only after the Temple has been set ablaze, and the long conflict is all but concluded, and after yet further exasperation with the remaining rebels, to which he gives vent in a speech, does Titus *finally* decide that 'everything from now on would go according to the law of war (*πολέμου νόμῳ*). To the soldiers he gave the signal to burn and plunder the city' (*Bj* 6. 353). A truly decisive move!

On one level, all of this might have had a certain plausibility for a war-experienced audience, since it was an open secret that commanders could not manage their soldiers in such circumstances (Ziolkowski 1993: 79–87), though military leaders worked hard to maintain the image of control (Ziolkowski 1993: 89). But Josephus chooses what and how to narrate, and so we

must ask how 'Titus' 'clemency' in his narrative came across to a Roman audience—especially if the audience already shared Suetonius' perception of Titus as a brute before his accession (*Tit.* 1, 6–7).

Against the background of the audience's prior experience in Rome, this whole presentation appears ironic. Josephus plays with the theme of 'Titus' clemency, using it to portray him as an innocent caught in the wily war-fighting of the Judaeans, in which Josephus himself was fully adept. At the same time, his notice that Titus finally decided to unleash the typical Roman hell on the enemy gives him a narrative exit strategy for explaining the outcome that the audience well knew. I do not wish to deny the possibility of a historical kernel to Josephus' perception of Titus' clemency (*BJ* 3. 408; 4. 628; cf. Yavetz 1975: 431), but only to propose that Josephus held this motif at some distance from his earnest views—'at play seriously', in Cicero's phrase (*severe ludas*, *De or.* 2. 269). While systematically undermining the Flavian representation of the war, he offered Titus the naïve clemency of a humanist (cf. *BJ* 6. 356) as consolation prize. Contrast Josephus' own vaunted clemency in the *Life* (*Vit.* 99–103, 169, 307, 329, 375, 385, 388), which is made effective by a peerless grasp of military stratagem (*Vit.* 148, 163, 169, 265, 379).

Zvi Yavetz refined the customary explanation of Josephus' praise for 'Titus' clemency—as propaganda for the regime—by positing a specific historical context: in the late 70s Titus needed material to remake his violent image (1975: 426–30). Nevertheless, Yavetz does not think that history-writing is an effective means of propaganda, that Josephus' marginal position in Rome could have made his work very important for Titus (1975: 431–2), or that Jews who had such a vivid picture of the real Titus could have been persuaded by Josephus' presentation (1975: 424). In the end, he seems to decide that the *War* was mainly a personal effort of good will by a faithful, but largely irrelevant, client. My analysis asks whether *anyone* in Rome, with the exception of Titus himself,⁷ could have been persuaded. If not, and Josephus

⁷ I confess to some puzzlement as to how Titus himself could have accepted such presentations of his actions. The best I can propose is that he did not endorse them, but the gain in this portrait of extreme clemency was acceptable to him as the lesser of evils, hardly worth challenging to prove his generalship, which was already

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portrays 'Titus' clemency so enthusiastically in contradiction of what his Roman audience knew to be the facts (both from their own experience and from his narrative), Josephus was creating irony. The many strings attached to Josephus' flattery diminish the likelihood that it was meant to persuade anyone but Titus. In view of the generally high quality of the work, its survival into the period of Christian hegemony (whence its transmission was assured), and the indications of its initial reception (*Vit.* 361; *Ap.* 1. 50; Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 3. 9), it is hard to believe that Josephus' *War* was quite as marginal as Yavetz feared. It seems more likely to me that Josephus, who otherwise shows himself skilled in figured speech, used his favoured position to engage in a 'safe criticism' that also strove to defend his people from post-war hatred.

Civil War in Judaea and in Rome

Let us return to the theme of internal dissension as the cause of Jerusalem's fall. Although prologues are not always helpful guides to a historian's actual narrative, Josephus does in fact carry this theme through his narrative, the very first word of which is *στάσις* (*Bḡ* 1. 31; cf. 1. 24, 25, 27; 4. 371, 388; 5. 2, 15, 20, 257). While sitting in Rome and addressing Roman audiences, surrounded by the evidence of Roman victory and in the face of all the resentment and reprisal that such victories inevitably bring, Josephus has the clarity of vision to write a subversive history that displaces the Romans as victors in any meaningful sense. He is attempting nothing less than a comprehensive vindication of Judaeian tradition in apparent contradiction of the facts.

In adducing the theme of internal sedition (*στάσις οἰκεία*) Josephus touches upon a potent issue for a Roman audience of the Flavian era. Somewhat strangely, scholars usually discuss this important Josephan theme abstractly, with direct reference to Thucydides 3. 82–4—half a millennium before Josephus' time (Rajak 1983: 91–4; Feldman 1998: 140–8; Mader 2000: 55–103; cf. now Price 2001 on Thucydides). Yet civil war (*bellum civile*) was arguably the most prominent theme in Roman literature

obvious to all from the result. He could use Josephus' help with the clemency argument, however, even if it was overdone.

from Cicero, Sallust, and Caesar through Lucan, Tacitus, Florus, and (if we may include him) Appian (cf. Keitel 1984; Henderson 1998). The Flavians' prestige rested symbolically upon their victory over a foreign people in Judaea, but practically upon their success in bringing internal stability to Rome after the bloody civil war of 68–9, following Nero's death. Early in his prologue Josephus himself makes this connection (*BĴ* 1.4):

For during this, the greatest period of change, as I stated, *while among the Romans domestic affairs were becoming diseased* (ἐνόσει), the revolutionary bloc of the Judaeans reached its peak in those turbulent times with respect to numbers and also in resources.

The reference to *stasis* in Rome as 'disease', a classic metaphor,⁸ confirms that Josephus plays his narrative against the background of his audience's knowledge. Indeed, his account will repeatedly allude to recurring civil wars in Rome and dwell on some of the famous Roman protagonists (e.g. *BĴ* 1. 23, 183, 187, 216, 218–19, 359–60, 370, 386–92; 2. 204–13, 250–1; 4. 491–6). Yet since he does not explicate these parallels with Judaea, but only suggests them, the irony depends upon the audience to supply the back-story. His brief discussion of the civil war prior to Vespasian's accession (*BĴ* 4. 491–6, 501–2), at a crucial moment in the Judaeian civil war (4. 503), drives the point home: 'All these matters I may be excused from narrating in detail because they are common knowledge: they have been written up by many Greeks and also Romans' (4. 496). He expects his audience to employ their extra-textual knowledge in interpreting his narrative, to realize that the Judaeian civil war, though it attracted Roman legions, is no different from their own common experience. The war was in no way, therefore, a Judaeian *national* revolt against Rome.

Text-Dependent Irony

Although Josephus must use 'emphasis', exploiting the audience's prior understanding, in his ironic representations of Titus and Domitian, when he comes to the Judaeian rebels he may be as direct as he wishes: they have no powerful supporters. His textual irony is most obvious when he flags it with εἰρωνεία and

⁸ Keitel 1984: 320 and n. 32, citing Pl. *Resp.* 470c; *Soph.* 228a; Hdt. 5. 28; *Soph. Ant.* 1015; Sall. *Cat.* 36. 5; *Hist.* 2. 77 M; Tac. *Ann.* 1. 43. 4; *Hist.* 1. 26. 1.

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σχῆμα language, sometimes together (e.g. *Bḡ* 2. 29). The rebel leaders are not merely the confidently mistaken victims of his authorial irony, but they themselves also try to practise irony on their publics, which makes them appear doubly foolish.

About one third of the occurrences of the εἴρων-word group in Josephus fall in the fourth book of the *War*, where the rebels' activities are featured. First, they effect an inversion of Judaeae tradition, mixing irony (παρεκίρνατο δὲ τοῖς δεινοῖς εἰρωνεία) with their other horrors by electing through lots their own, non-hereditary high priest; they do this under the pretext (πρόσχημα) that it was the more ancient custom (*Bḡ* 4. 152–4).

Later, when Josephus' former Galilean rival John of Gischala enters Jerusalem, he conceals the fact that he has been driven there by the Roman advance, and emptily boasts that the Romans will never take Jerusalem:

He also spoke ironically about the ignorance of the inept [Romans] (καὶ κατειρωνεύόμενος τῆς τῶν ἀπείρων ἀγνοίας), that even if they should take wings (ἂν περὰ λαβόντες), the Romans would never surmount the wall of Jerusalem—those who already suffered so terribly [sc. the Romans] throughout the villages of Galilee also breaking their machines against the walls there. (*Bḡ* 4. 127)

Yet the literary audience knows in hindsight the truth about this man, now a perpetual prisoner in Rome, and indeed that the Romans *will* bring 'wings' (i.e. the *alae* of cavalry)⁹ and engines; they will not only surmount but bring down Jerusalem's walls. John is thus a pathetic would-be hero, imagining that he can outwit fate.

Later in Book 4 comes a passage in which εἴρων-words appear three times along with two occurrences of σχῆμα. The scene is constructed ironically. An eminent citizen named Zacharias has become a target of the Zealots and Idumeans in Jerusalem, allegedly because of his wealth and virtue. Rather than killing him outright, because they are tired of indiscriminate slaughter (*Bḡ* 4. 326–34), the rebels cleverly plan a show trial, empanelling seventy citizens as judges for the purpose. The judges should know, however, what they are expected to decide in view of a massacre just completed. They are charged to assume the *role*

⁹ The word-play works even though Josephus elsewhere uses Greek ἄλῃ for Latin *ala*: the word περὰ occurs only here in his corpus.

(or figure) of judges, as in a play (περιθέντες δ' αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς σχῆμα δικαστῶν, *Bῃ* 4. 336). In the event, contrary to plan, the prosecutors are unable to offer convincing evidence for their charge that Zacharias has held treasonable communications with Vespasian. So, with unimaginable innocence, the citizen judges vote to acquit him. The result:

A cry went up at this acquittal (πρὸς τὴν ἀπόλυσιν) from the Zealots, and they were all aggravated at the judges for not perceiving the ironic nature of the authority they had been given (ὥς μὴ συνιέεισι τὴν εἰρωνεῖαν τῆς δοθείσης αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίας. (*Bῃ* 4. 342)

To make their point, the Zealots move forward and dispatch their intended victim on the spot, punning that this was *their* verdict, and now the man has received a more perfect acquittal (ἀπόλυσιν—i.e. ‘release’ from life). The language of irony also appears in the introduction to the story, where Josephus speaks of ironic trials and courts (*Bῃ* 4. 334), and again in the middle, where the Zealots must restrain themselves from expressing rage at Zacharias for his defence, to maintain the ‘façade [or figure] and ironic nature’ (τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν εἰρωνεῖαν) of the trial (4. 340). Notice that even Josephus’ explanation of the name ‘Zealot’ has them using language ironically (κατεἰρωνευόμενοι, *Bῃ* 2. 270).

These few examples from Josephus’ most famous and controversial work, which is the foundation of the paradigm according to which he was a Flavian propagandist (Laqueur 1920: 126–7; Weber 1921: *passim*; Thackeray 1929: 27–8), will show I hope that asking new questions of the narrative may produce a very different reading. Once the question about irony has been asked, shafts of light flood in from all directions and give a possibly more satisfying account of this expert narrative than the rather sorry counsel about Flavian propaganda.

Careful investigation of the ironic dimensions of the *War*’s major speeches and prologue (*Bῃ* 1. 1–30), both strategically important for the narrative, will no doubt repay the effort. In the prologue, for example, there is irony in Josephus’ casting his people as barbarian (*Bῃ* 1. 3, 6) while writing in high Atticizing style, yet appealing to Roman sympathies and attacking ‘real Greeks’ (*Bῃ* 1. 13–16). The speeches are mines of ironic manipulation. Josephus’ *tour de force* on the traditional pacifism of the Judaeans (*Bῃ* 5. 390) would have impressed anyone who

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knew either the Bible or Roman commonplaces about a bellicose Judaeian history. King Agrippa's masterful deliberation on war contains a number of assertions the audience knows to be invalid: the Gauls and Germans have willingly submitted to Roman rule (*Bj* 2. 371–3, 377; but 1. 5; 4. 440–1; cf. *Suet. Ner.* 40–6; *Galb.* 9. 2, 11, 16. 2; *Tac. Hist.* 1. 6, 8; 5. 14–26) and the Adiabeniensians would never join such a serious fight (*Bj* 2. 389; but 2. 520; 5. 474; 6. 356). Eleazar ben Ya'ir's deliberative speech on suicide at Masada is the ironic pinnacle: he openly reflects on the crimes committed by his band (*Bj* 7. 332, 359) and resorts to a desperate rhetorical justification of suicide as the natural course (*Bj* 7. 341–57), in contrast to Josephus' earlier and equally rhetorical speech against suicide (*Bj* 3. 361–82; cf. Ladouceur 1987). But space does not permit a more thorough examination of irony in the *Judaean War*.

The Judaeian Antiquities

Because I have devoted a parallel essay to exploring what Josephus' *magnum opus*, the *Judaean Antiquities*, might have meant for a Roman audience (Mason 2003*b*), the briefest sketch must suffice here.

The *Antiquities*, to which the *Life* is an appendix, was published in 93 or 94 (*Aj* 20. 267), a sensitive time in Domitian's Rome, for members of the elite at any rate (Syme 1983: 122–6). The core of the narrative (Books 1–13), on Judaeian 'antiquity', does not seem to depend upon prior audience knowledge. Josephus insists rather that his account is something new and unique, bringing to a Greek-speaking audience (*Aj* 1. 10, 12) fundamental information about Judaeian origins: their constitution, history, and culture (1. 5, 10; 20. 229, 251, 261; cf. *Ap.* 2. 287). He must introduce each biblical figure (e.g. *Aj* 1. 34 [Adam], 36 [Eve], 52, 154–60 [Abraham]), and he pauses frequently to explain even the most elementary Judaeian customs and terms (e.g. *Aj* 1. 128–9; 3. 317; 14. 1–3, 186–7; 16. 175; 17. 254; *Vit.* 1, 12). There is every reason to think that the audience was much the same as *War*'s, for he does assume their knowledge of, or at least their access to, the earlier work (e.g. *Aj* 1. 1–4, 6, 203; 13. 72, 173, 298; 18. 11; 20. 258–9; *Vit.* 27, 412; cf. *Bj* 7. 454 and *Aj* 1. 12).

Notwithstanding the very different character of this book, which is free of *War's* pervasive tragic ethos, Josephus has abundant opportunities for ironic composition at the thematic level. He seems, for example, to exploit his audience's knowledge of Roman political and historiographical traditions. His account of the Judean constitution is that of a decidedly anti-monarchical, senatorial aristocracy (*AJ* 4. 223; 6. 36; 11. 111; 14. 91), and this even leads him to introduce a senate into his paraphrase of the Bible (*AJ* 5. 15, 43, 55, 135). Although the people demand a king (*AJ* 6. 36; cf. *Cic. Rep.* 2. 23; *Livy* 1. 17. 3), the subsequent rule of Tarquin-like kings in Judaea is disastrous (*AJ* 10. 143–4; 13. 300–1; 14. 41; cf. *Cic. Rep.* 1. 62; cf. 2. 52). Josephus writes his history as a kind of serial biography, focusing upon individual character, which he develops by means of moralizing obituaries (cf. *Cic. Rep.* 2. 55). The role of moral exempla in Roman historiography, by way of comparison, is the subject of Kraus's essay, Ch. 9 above.

More specifically, one finds numerous points of intersection between Josephus' narrative of Judean origins and traditional accounts of Rome's beginnings. Both constitutions were the embodiment of natural law (*Cic. Leg.* 2. 13; cf. 1. 20–34; *Jos. AJ* 1. 18–30) and both featured the role of priests and piety (*AJ* 3. 159–87, 214; 4. 184, 304; cf. *Cic. Rep.* 2. 13–14; *Dom.* 1; *Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom.* 2. 58–66; *Plut. Num.*). Both constitutions are free of the unseemly myths that plague the Greeks (*AJ* 1. 22–3; *Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom.* 2. 18. 3). The archetypal demagogue in Josephus' narrative, a jealous aristocrat who amassed a following and generated a civil war (*stasis*) of unprecedented scale (*AJ* 4. 12–20), has many parallels to Catiline (cf. *Cic. Cat.* I–IV; *Sall. Cat.*). Josephus' epitomes of the constitution emphasize the characteristically Roman virtues of austerity, discipline, justice, and humanity (*Polyb.* 6. 7. 5–8, 48. 3, 56. 1–5; *Sall. Cat.* 11–13; *Livy* 1. praef. 9–12, 18. 4; *Cic. Rep.* 1. 27–8; *Plut. Cat. Mai.* 1. 3–4; 2. 1, 3). Moses and Romulus begin and end their lives in strikingly similar circumstances: exposed in rivers at birth as objects of a king's wrath (*AJ* 2. 218–23; *Livy* 1. 4. 1–6; *Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom.* 1. 79. 4–7), enveloped in clouds at the end, generating speculation about apotheosis (*AJ* 4. 326; *Cic. Rep.* 2. 17; *Livy* 1. 16. 1; *Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom.* 2. 56. 2). Since Josephus does not explicitly connect his portrait with the

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Roman parallels, however, we are dealing here with audience-dependent irony.

The most effective irony in the *Antiquities* comes in the ample stretches of narrative that Josephus devotes to affairs in Rome between Tiberius' last days and Claudius' accession (*AJ* 18. 205–304; 19. 1–226). It was in these closing books that a Roman audience encountered thoroughly familiar names: here, I submit, we can have little doubt that he expected them to read between the lines. We know Demetrius' advice (*Eloc.* 292–3) about criticizing a reigning tyrant obliquely, by targeting *someone else* with similar traits. Ahl plausibly suggests that Quintilian, while advising his students how to critique 'those tyrants' (*illos tyrannos*), was really teaching them about dealing with the current regime. He further argues that Tacitus and Suetonius were writing with one eye on their own times when they exposed the crimes of earlier monarchs (Ahl 1984: 190, 206). If we bear these considerations in mind, Josephus' Roman narrative, which labels *all* the emperors 'tyrants' (*AJ* 19. 187, 230), appears to brim with ironic possibilities for an audience in Domitian's Rome. For example, it becomes ironic for such an audience that the stereotypical succession woes of the tyrannical King Herod should have been brought for arbitration to Augustus (*AJ* 17. 304–20), whose own problems in finding a successor were legendary (Syme 1939: 418–39).

Though any criticism of a previous emperor could be a sensitive matter, Josephus' narrative subject, Tiberius, and his current patron Domitian had some striking parallels. Both were absent from the capital for long periods, giving the impression of aloofness and arrogance (B. W. Jones 1992: 26–8) and requiring a secretarial post *ab actis senatus*, so that they could remain informed of senatorial discussions; this appointment fell into disuse between their reigns (Tac. *Ann.* 5. 4; Southern 1997: 50). Both were bald (Syme 1983: 135), childless, and devoted to astrology (Suet. *Tib.* 14; *Dom.* 15–16). Indeed they were born, made Caesar, and designated *princeps* under the same three astrological signs (Scorpio, Cancer, Virgo; cf. Sauron 1991: 39) and, if one accepts Sauron's reconstruction of Tiberius' magnificent cave at Sperlonga (1991: 19–39), Domitian's Alban villa was a deliberate imitation of Tiberius' retreat (cf. B. W. Jones and Milns 2002: 165). Suetonius famously alleges that Domitian's

reading was confined to 'Tiberius' acts and memoirs (*commentarios et acta*, *Dom.* 20. 3). After the fire of 80 CE, Domitian was concerned to rebuild (among other things) the *domus Tiberiana* on the Palatine, which had become the imperial residence, and which he connected with his own new palace (B. W. Jones 1992: 89). Though we should not conclude from these parallels that Domitian was universally seen as a 'new Tiberius', they would presumably have encouraged an audience listening to specific criticisms of Tiberius *on these issues* to make connections with Domitian.

Against this background it becomes ironic that Josephus should dwell on Tiberius' problems with the succession, in a highly sarcastic story. The emperor finds himself absurdly trapped in appointing an heir (*AJ* 18. 205–27)—such a victim of horoscope-addiction, Josephus moralizes, that he unwillingly and bitterly saddles himself with Gaius as heir (*AJ* 18. 211–23; *contra* Tac. *Ann.* 6. 46). Tiberius begs Gaius to keep his grandson Gemellus alive on the ironic grounds that it will be dangerous for Gaius if he isolates himself as ruler and that the gods will punish monarchs who behave contrary to the law (*AJ* 18. 222–3). It is ironic that Josephus' leading exempla of monarchical rulers in Rome, Tiberius and Gaius (*AJ* 18. 226; 19. 2), should both behave so high-handedly towards the traditional nobility, in story time, as Domitian was doing in real time (Suet. *Dom.* 12. 1–2; Dio 68. 1. 1–2). And it is ironic that in Josephus' narrative the senator Cn. Sentius Saturninus should be given a forum to extol aristocracy, to denounce Julius Caesar and his successors as tyrants (*AJ* 19. 173–4), and to praise Gaius' assassins as worthy of even greater honour than Brutus and Cassius (*AJ* 19. 182–4)—those names so dangerous to utter.

Thus, having straightforwardly made his case for the aristocratic Judaeian constitution in the first part of the *Antiquities*, when he comes to discuss the Roman constitution under the emperors Josephus resorts to irony or 'figured speech', allowing (and intending) his audience to make the connections.

IRONY IN THE *VITA*

Although Josephus' one-volume autobiography has been studied more intensively than his larger compositions, schol-

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arly attention has focused almost exclusively on the historical issues behind the text and not on the narrative as such. Lacking the space here to tackle the introductory issues, I simply declare my understanding of the book's purpose (cf. Mason 2001: pp. xxvii–l).

Josephus frames the *Life* as an exposition of his character (*Vit.* 430) on the evidence of his ancestry and *curriculum vitae* (*AJ* 20. 266). This frame matches the content well enough: after sketching his glorious ancestry and precocious youth, he turns to his public life (*Vit.* 12), presenting in some detail the five months that, as far as we know, constituted his only real claim to political achievement. In keeping with this restricted focus, Josephus offers the work as his *commentarii* (cf. ὑπομνήσω, *AJ* 20. 267). Like *commentarii*, it gives the impression of having been hastily written, and its episodes often recall the exploits of Julius Caesar in his famous *commentarii* (the *Gallic War*). Josephus' many hapless opponents are brought forward in series and dispatched with glee. Their vices and abject failure serve mainly to highlight his virtues (cf. *Vit.* 34–42, 46–61, 63, 70–6, 85–103, 336–72). I no longer find compelling the customary view that a book by one of those rivals, Justus of Tiberias, was the principal reason for Josephus' writing the *Life*.¹⁰

Text-Dependent Irony

Within this highly rhetorical construction of Josephus' career, irony plays a crucial role. Because the audience is unfamiliar with many of the actors and the story, text-created irony dominates. That is, early in the book Josephus explicitly sets up an ironic situation, which he then pursues consistently to the end. Whereas we earnest scholars have tended to use this text to blame him for his double dealing and lies, it should be obvious from the way he relishes his deceptions that he expects a different response, namely: praise for the statesmanlike way in which he handled the ineluctably ironic situation of the revolt.

¹⁰ Pace e.g. Schürer 1901–11: I. 59, 97; Niese 1896: 228–9; Luther 1910: 8, 65–81; Laqueur 1920 [1970]: 44–55, 75–83; Drexler 1925: 293–312; Thackeray 1929 [1967]: 5–12; Schalit 1933: 67–95; Gelzer 1952: 89; Shutt 1961: 6; Barish 1978: 64; Mason 1991: 316–24. Some crucial criticisms of the standard view were made by Cohen 1979: 121–37 and Rajak 1983: 154. Cf. Mason 2001: pp. xxvii–l.

Let us join the narrative at *Vit.* 17. After an embassy to Nero's Rome (further below), which proves the young aristocrat's abilities (*Vit.* 13–16; cf. *Plut. Prae. ger. reip.* 804d–806f), he is back in Jerusalem assuming a position of leadership, but facing a popular demand for secession from Rome (*Vit.* 17). Here he begins to establish the ironic situation. He first makes a dutiful attempt at the candid speech (*παρρησία*) recommended by Aristotle for most cases (*Vit.* 17–19):

I tried to restrain the insurgents and charged them to think again. They should first place before their eyes those against whom they would make war—for not only with respect to war-related expertise but also with respect to good fortune were they disadvantaged in relation to the Romans—and they should not, rashly and quite foolishly, bring upon their native places, their families, and indeed themselves the risk of ultimate ruin. I said these things and was persistently engaged in dissuasive pleading, predicting that the outcome of the war would be utterly disastrous for us. I was not convincing, to be sure, because the frenzy of the desperadoes prevailed.

When he fails with frankness, however, he resorts without hesitation to the doublespeak that Aristotle identifies as appropriate in dealing with the mob (*Vit.* 20–3).

I became anxious now that by saying these things constantly I might incur hatred and suspicion, as though conspiring with the enemy, and I would risk being taken and done away with by them. . . . [I] held discussions with the chief priests and principal men of the Pharisees. Extreme fear took hold of us as we saw the populace with weapons: we were unsure what we should do ourselves and were unable to halt the revolutionaries. Given the clear and present danger to ourselves, we began saying [or kept saying] (*ἐλέγομεν*) that we concurred with their opinions. But we counselled them to stand fast, even if the enemy soldiers had advanced, so that they should be given credit for justly taking up weapons in defence. We did these things hoping that before long Cestius [Gallus, governor of Syria] would come up with a large force and halt the revolution.

Here Josephus parades before the literary audience his calculated effort to deceive the common folk, confiding what he could not have said in story time: his internal hope that legions from Antioch would solve his problem. The ironic game, then, has begun.

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But it has only *just* begun. In *Vit.* 30–61, Josephus anticipates Plutarch's advice by gathering intelligence about the state of play in each Galilean centre under his charge. In the course of this he learns about Agrippa's viceroy Varus, a past master of demagoguery. Varus used to invent slanders against his rivals and his patron, attribute the slanders to some other group that was troubling him, then execute those people in pretended indignation that they should have said such things (*Vit.* 50, 55)! So in one stroke he got rid of them and put into circulation rumours harmful to his more powerful enemies. The atmosphere is thick with disinformation.

By the time he has gathered this intelligence, Josephus himself is fully committed to the deception game. His first action in Galilee is to summon the council of Tiberias (*Vit.* 64), before whom he *claims* (ἐλεγον) that the Jerusalem council has instructed him to demolish the house of Herod Antipas on the ground that it contains animal images (*Vit.* 65). Some of the more refined councillors, led by one Capella, strongly disagree with the plan, though they eventually are persuaded by Josephus (*Vit.* 66).

If this story is taken straightforwardly, to the effect that the Jerusalem leaders in fact ordered the destruction of Antipas' house, which is how scholars usually take it (Luther 1910: 17–18; Drexler 1925: 297–8; Goodman 1987: 218; Price 1992: 32), it creates a number of problems. First, even though he has just described his most recent instructions from Jerusalem (*Vit.* 62–3), Josephus has mentioned nothing at all about attacks on royal property, which appear quite out of character with the leaders' reported sentiments. Second, he uses the same ironic code (λέγω) as in *Vit.* 22, where we know that it indicates duplicity. He *said* that the Jerusalem leaders had sent him to demolish the house, but had they really? Third, in spite of his declaration and the alleged urgency of the matter (*Vit.* 65: τᾶχος), Josephus presently departs for Upper Galilee (*Vit.* 67). Fourth, when a Tiberian faction led by one Jesus attacks the palace in Josephus' absence, he becomes furious *because* they have acted contrary to his intention (*Vit.* 68). Finally, he recovers as much as possible of the pilfered furnishings and hands them over to none other than Capella's group—the refined men who had objected to the operation in the first place. Josephus tells the literary audience plainly that he had wanted to return the goods to King Agrippa

(*Vit.* 68). This account, then, makes sense only if it is read ironically: Josephus had no intention of actually raiding royal property, but boldly declared his intention to do so in order to consolidate his support base among the militant Tiberians, in keeping with the policy announced at *Vit.* 22. On this reading, the passage provides no support for the common historical argument that either Josephus or the Jerusalem council was aggressively prosecuting the revolt at this time (*contra* the scholars mentioned above). He is illustrating his ability to control the masses with deception.

The Josephus character in the *Vita* is not the only one playing a double game. One of the three factional leaders in Tiberias, Justus, 'although he kept pretending to be in doubt about the war, was actually longing for revolutionary activities' (*Vit.* 37). Hoping to build his own power base, Josephus asserts, Justus made preposterous claims about the injured status of his city to the Tiberian mob (*Vit.* 38). With his usual resignation about mob fickleness (cf. *AJ* 3. 24-7, 68-9, 295-315; *Vit.* 77, 103, 113, 140, 149, 271, 315, 388), our narrator continues (*Vit.* 40):

By saying these things, he won over the mob (*προετρέψατο τὸ πλῆθος*). For he was rather good at manipulating the populace and at overcoming the better arguments of disputants by craftiness and a kind of guile through words. In fact, he was well trained in the Greek sort of education (*καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἄπειρος ἦν παιδείας τῆς παρ' Ἑλληνῶν*) . . .

Here Josephus confronts Justus' demagogic dissimulation with the old charge against the sophists: the Tiberian makes the worse argument appear the better one (*Ar. Nub.* 94-8, 112-18; *Isoc. Antid.* 15; *Pl. Apol.* 19b; *Arist. Rh.* 2. 24. 1402a). Josephus' characterization of this skill as *Greek* appears to presuppose a Roman audience, for Roman authors had a long (rhetorical) tradition of expressing contempt for deceptive Greek ways, over against their own putative simplicity and faithfulness.¹¹ Whereas the character Justus attempts dissimulation in the story, vis-à-vis the mob, the author Josephus neutralizes it with an irony that he expects his audience to appreciate.

¹¹ Polyb. 6. 56; 31. 25. 4; Plaut. *Asin.* 199; Cic. *Brut.* 247; *Flac.* 9, 24, 31, 57; *Tusc.* 4. 70; 5. 58; Sall. *Iug.* 85. 32-3; Luc. 3. 302; Tac. *Ann.* 14. 20; *Dial.* 28. 4-29. 2; cf. Balsdon 1979: 30-54; Segal 1987: 37-8; Gruen 1992: 52-83, 223-71.

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We next meet another skilled pretender, John of Gischala, who *claims* (ἐφασκεν) that he wants to raid some imperial grain storehouses in order to rebuild the walls of his native town from the proceeds, though his real motives are quite different (*Vit.* 71). Later, John will request Josephus' permission to take physical therapy at the baths near Tiberias, his real goal being to inspire defection from Josephus in the region (*Vit.* 85–7). And after a failed attempt at revolt he will insist with oaths and vows that he has played no role in these unfortunate events (*Vit.* 101).

Josephus, for his part, continues undaunted in his own campaign of deception, which becomes ironic when it is shared with the audience. Only because he wants to keep an eye on the Galilean leadership, 'on a pretext of friendship' (ἐν προφάσει φιλίας), as he says, he designates seventy of them his 'friends' (φίλοι) and travel companions; they will accompany him in the trial of cases—but really as hostages for the loyalty of the people. Josephus is disarmingly candid about this pretence (*Vit.* 79).

Josephus' cheerful willingness to deceive the masses confronts the *Life's* audience in the incident with the Dabaritan young men (*Vit.* 126–31). These youths rob the wife of the king's administrator, Ptolemy, and bring the plunder to their ostensible rebel leader Josephus. With the literary audience, now, he can be straightforward about his alleged intention, thirty years earlier, to return the goods to their rightful owner (*Vit.* 128): 'Wanting to preserve these things for Ptolemy, I asserted (ἐφην) to those who had brought them that it was necessary to keep them *so that the walls of Jerusalem might be repaired* from their sale.' Josephus assumes the audience's understanding that one simply does not declare one's true intentions before a mob. While reassuring the masses in this way, he secretly hands the gear over to friends of the king for safe conduct back to Ptolemy (*Vit.* 131).

When this secret action is leaked, however, the frenzied mob makes a charge on Josephus' residence. Courageously walking out to meet them, he digs even deeper into pretence, winking ironically at the audience as he narrates. First, he begs for mercy, conceding that he may indeed have seemed to commit an injustice (*Vit.* 139). Observing that his incipient contrition favourably affects the mob, he fabricates the entirely new proposition that he had actually wanted to keep the captured goods as a surprise—for *rebuilding the walls of noble Tarichaea*

(*Vit.* 142)! On a roll now, our reporter decides to gild the lily (*Vit.* 142):

For because I understood well that this city, so hospitable toward foreigners, was eagerly accommodating such men as these, who have left behind their native places and made common cause with our fortune (*ἡμετέρας τύχης*), I wanted to construct walls. . .

Although in *Vit.* 143 and 162 Josephus will refer to some resident aliens in Tarichaea, he has already (*Vit.* 112–13) made an issue of the Tarichaeans' scandalous lack of hospitality towards the dignitaries who had fled from Agrippa's territory to live among them (cf. *Vit.* 149–54). It is also ironic that he should speak of 'sharing our fortune', since he has consistently placed fortune (*τύχη*) on the Roman side (*Vit.* 17; cf. *Bj* 2. 360, 373, 387, 390; 3. 368; 5. 367; 6. 409–13). When the fickle Tarichaeans predictably respond to this new building proposal with huzzahs, but the visitors in Tarichaea become envious, he spontaneously adds that of course he planned to fortify those other locations as well (*Vit.* 144).

The decisive incident for establishing Josephus' ironic posture in the first half of the *Vita* comes when he interviews the Tiberian leaders Justus and Pistus, his prisoners, after giving them a generous dinner. Hear his own description (*Vit.* 175–8):

After the banquet I said: 'I myself know very well that the power of the Romans is utterly overwhelming; but I have kept quiet about it because of the bandits.' I counselled them to do the same, to wait patiently for the necessary amount of time and not become upset with me as general, for they would not easily have the chance to encounter someone else who was similarly mild. I also reminded Justus that before I came along from Jerusalem, the Galileans had cut off his brother's hands, adducing wrongdoing prior to the war in the form of forged letters by him. . .

This encounter recalls quite plainly the opening scenes of the revolt in *Vit.* 17–23: the wiser leaders decide upon a policy of duplicity because they realize that straightforward opposition to the sentiments of the masses is pointless and perilous. The audience can feel only contempt for such parochial *naïfs* as Justus and Pistus.

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Josephus and the Delegation from Jerusalem

With the arrival of a delegation from Jerusalem, led by Jonathan but initiated by John of Gischala in connivance with his high-ranking friends, the narrative becomes an ironic duel, from which only one party can emerge successful.

Jonathan and his three companions are allowed the first shot. Once again, Josephus makes explicit the ironic framework: he offers an ostensibly trustworthy narration of the delegation's mandate: to bring him back dead or alive (*Vit.* 202). It is not only the literary audience that is in on the secret, however, for Josephus explains that his character in the story also received this crucial intelligence through a friendly informer (*Vit.* 204). When the audience shares knowledge with the author and character Josephus, of which the delegation members are confidently unaware, we have an impressive ironic situation akin to that of New Comedy. This is the background against which all of the delegation's subsequent dissembling must be read.

Anticipating their arrival in Galilee, Josephus hastily assembles an army of 8,000 men and heads to the western extremity, as he explains, of Galilee. He hurries there, he says, on the pretext (*σκηπτόμενος*) of preparing for battle with the Roman (tribune) Placidus (*Vit.* 212–15). But why should he head so quickly for the western extremity, only to make believe that he is preparing for battle? As soon as he has set up camp, Jonathan's delegation arrives in southern Galilee and writes requesting an interview. Observe the ironic nature of their letter (*Vit.* 217–18):

Jonathan and those with him,
who have been sent by the Jerusalemites,
To Josephus
Greetings!

We were sent by the principal men in Jerusalem, when they heard that John of Gischala had often plotted against you, to reprimand him and to exhort him to submit to you for the duration. Because we want to deliberate together with you about what still needs to be done, we invite you to come to us quickly—but not with many others, for the village would not be able to accommodate a mass of soldiers.

If anyone doubts that the *Life* has a playful undercurrent, here we can have no more doubt. The literary audience knows with

certainty that this letter turns the facts on their head: the delegation does not intend to discipline John, the man responsible for their mission (*Vit.* 189), and their reason for wanting Josephus to come with only a few soldiers has nothing to do with a lack of accommodations. There are shades here of the fawning letter with which Nero reportedly invited Domitius Corbulo to Cenchreae, calling him 'father' and 'benefactor', only to have him killed upon arrival (Dio 63. 17. 5-6; Rudich 1993: 98-9).

It is a futile attempt, however, because Josephus has not only anticipated their request but also placed their true motives beyond doubt by interrogating their courier (*Vit.* 220-5). And *now* we learn the reason for his sudden excursion west (*Vit.* 226-7):

Josephus,

To Jonathan and those with him,

Greetings!

I am pleased to discover that you have arrived in Galilee in good health, especially because I shall now be able to pass over to you the care of local affairs as I return to my native city [Jerusalem]. I have been wanting to do this for a long time! I would have come to you not only at Xaloth, but further, and without being directed to so; but I beg your understanding that I am not able to do this because I am closely guarding Placidus in Chabolos. He has a plan to go up into Galilee. So, *you* come to *me* when you have read the letter.

Be well!

Every single statement here is obviously false. Josephus has no intention of coming to meet them in Xaloth, the southernmost point in Galilee, from which they might spirit him away to Jerusalem with minimal bother. He has planted himself deep in Galilee so that if they wish to take him they will need to get through his (allegedly) vast army of Galilean supporters. Josephus expects a literary audience that is ready to admire him and even to laugh with him at his brilliant subversion of the delegation's attempted game.

Unlike the overly confident delegates, he is a master of the art of deception and so arranges tight security for the conveyance of his letter (*Vit.* 228). That Josephus has wounded them in this first round is abundantly clear from their curt response (*Vit.* 230):

We charge you to come three days from now, without armed soldiers,

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to the village of Gabaroth, so that we can hear fully the complaints that you have made against John.

Though now seemingly willing to enter the Galilean heartland, they do not buy Josephus' claim that he is busy guarding Placidus, because they require him to travel to Gabara. This town has already been introduced (*Vit.* 123–5; cf. 233–4, 313), however, as the only centre in lower Galilee completely loyal to John. The battle of wits continues.

Josephus now reiterates the ironic framework: he has fully understood from the beginning the delegation's intention to fight him, and so relates that he advanced not to Gabara, as demanded, but only as far as his own secure fortress of Iotapata (*Vit.* 188; cf. 332, 412)—with 3,000 armed troops. From there he writes to indicate that he has known their game all along (*Vit.* 235):

If you want *me* to come to *you* at all costs, there are 204 cities and villages throughout the Galilee. I will come to any of these you desire, except Gabara and Gischala: the one is John's native place, and the other his ally and friend.

Realizing that Josephus has seen through his charade, Jonathan abruptly stops writing (*Vit.* 236). Confrontation is now inevitable.

Their final scene of conflict is Tiberias, where again the parties compete in duplicity. The delegates' opening effort is characteristically lame. After stirring up disaffection there, they hear of Josephus' arrival. He narrates (*Vit.* 273–5):

They came to me and, after greeting [me], kept saying [or began to say] (*ἔλεγον*) that they considered it fortunate that I was thus involved in the Galilee, that indeed they rejoiced together [with me] at the honour in which I was held. For, they claimed (*ἔφασαν*), my reputation made them look good, since they had been my teachers and were currently my fellow-citizens; in fact, they kept saying (*ἔλεγον*) that my friendship was more appropriate to them than John's was. Though eager to depart for home, they would wait patiently there until they should place John at my mercy. While saying these things (*ταῦτα λέγοντες*) they swore in confirmation the most dreadful oaths that we have, on account of which I considered it improper to mistrust them. Indeed, on account of the next day's being a sabbath, they appealed to me to make my lodging

elsewhere: they asserted (ἐφασκον) that the city of the Tiberians ought not to be burdened [with troops].

This paragraph gives the flavour of the mutual deceptions, often hilariously reported, that colour Josephus' final relations with the delegation (*Vit.* 280–3, 288–9), though we lack the space to follow them through. After further attempts to outsmart Josephus and mislead the masses, the individual delegates fall victim to assorted traps laid by him. In the end, they all return to Jerusalem defeated and cowed, whereas Josephus wins resounding support for his leadership from the capital (*Vit.* 331–5).

Of the *Life*'s many other examples of ironic narrative, note in particular the digression against Justus (*Vit.* 336–67). There, having flaunted his ability to persuade others of things that were untrue, and after citing the testimony of King Agrippa II as proof of his veracity in the *War* (*Vit.* 361–6), Josephus suddenly shows an awareness that he too might be seen as a victim of irony. What if Agrippa's praise was only an example of the same diplomatic dissembling? Apparently, Justus had not raised this possibility, for Josephus indignantly anticipates it with these words (*Vit.* 367): 'He [Agrippa II] was not flattering my finished history with "truth", for that would not have occurred to him; nor was he being ironic (οὐδὲ εἰρωνεύόμενος), as you will claim, for he was beyond such bad character.' No other line in Josephus' entire corpus is so revealing of his self-consciousness in creating ironic worlds: he has no ultimate defence against the charge that his own supporters have misled him, just as he has misled others. It is not, after all, the practice of deception that matters, but the character of the deceivers.

Audience-Dependent Irony

Alongside the pervasive narrative irony of the *Life*, one must ask whether Josephus' brief Roman episodes at the beginning and end of the narrative appeal to a Roman audience's extra-textual knowledge—in much the same way as the Roman material of *Ag* 18–19. At least one episode appears to do so. In the story of his mission to Rome as a young man, to secure the release of some noble colleagues being held by Nero, our author seems to rely upon audience knowledge and also sentiments (*Vit.* 16):

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After we had come safely to Dicaearchia, which the Italians call Puteoli, through a friendship I met Aliturus: this man was a mime-actor (μυμολόγος), for Nero an obsession (μάλιστα τῷ Νέρωνι καταθύμιος) and a Judaeen by ancestry. Through him I became known to Poppaea, the wife of Caesar, and then very quickly arranged things, appealing to her to free the priests. Having succeeded, with enormous gifts from Poppaea in addition to this benefit, I returned home.

Josephus courageously travels to Rome to secure the release of noble friends unjustly held by Nero. But how was a young Judaeen to make his way in the world capital, to reach even the emperor? According to him he did not actually need to see the emperor: he had only to persuade a showman whom Nero fancied, who helped him reach the emperor's wife, and the deed was done. In other words, at this point (63 or 64 CE) Nero's court was effectively run by actors and Poppaea.

I submit that a Roman elite audience would find particular enjoyment in this little story. In the late Republic and early Empire, show people had an ambiguous social position: loved by the masses, influential through their performances, hence a potential threat to autocratic rulers (Yavetz 1969: 9–37); therefore occasionally exiled, but often seconded to the staffs of such monarchs (like astrologers); generally despised by aristocrats, however, as commoners of too great influence (Purcell 1999: 181–93; Leppin 1992: 135–55, 160–3; cf. Dio Chrys. 32. 4). The 'bad' emperors were generally characterized by senatorial writers as dominated by their freedmen and women. If we throw uppity stage people into this mix, none was more vilified than Nero. Apparently fascinated by actors and acting, he sang and played the lyre, and insisted on joining (rigged) Greek competitions (Suet. *Ner.* 20–4; Dio 63. 9). He bestowed large gifts on actors and athletes (Suet. *Galb.* 15) and was famously fond of a pantomime named Paris, who allegedly acquired considerable influence as a result (Tac. *Ann.* 13. 20–2), but whom he later executed, reportedly from jealousy (Dio 63. 18. 1). Josephus appears to signal Nero's weakness for actors ironically when he describes Aliturus as μάλιστα τῷ Νέρωνι καταθύμιος (heart-throb or special obsession of Nero).

Given that Josephus has narrated events from the reigns of Tiberius, Claudius, and Gaius in ways that suggest critique of the current regime, we should ponder the illocutionary significance

also of this Roman adventure. This is especially so because it appears that Nero was widely understood as an ironic cipher for Domitian, called by some the 'bald Nero' (Juv. 4. 38; cf. Mart. 11. 33; Syme 1983: 134; Bartsch 1994: 90–3). Domitian promoted several of Nero's advisers, including some who had been ignored by his father (B. W. Jones 1992: 51–4), though admittedly he also supported some associates of Nero's opposition, even marrying Corbulo's daughter (B. W. Jones 1992: 168–9). Juvenal claims that under Domitian, criticism of Nero's praetorian prefect Tigellinus was sure to bring an author's death (Juv. 1. 155–71). In 86 CE Domitian established the quadrennial Capitoline Games, in Greek style, clearly modelled upon the now defunct Neronia (B. W. Jones 1992: 103). Further, the honour of the ordinary consulship for 96 was given to Manlius Valens, an aged 'relic' of Nero's reign (Syme 1983: 134; Dio 67. 14. 5). Most significant for our purposes, both Nero and Domitian had favourite actors named Paris (Suet. *Ner.* 54; *Dom.* 3; Dio 63. 18. 1). Both Parises were executed by their masters (in 67 and 87 CE, respectively), allegedly on charges related to jealousy (Dio 67. 3. 1; cf. Suet. *Dom.* 10).

When Domitian's 'terror' of late 93 began, among its first casualties were the relatives and friends of Nero's victim Thrasea Paetus (Syme 1983: 134). Domitian also executed Nero's secretary (*a libellis*) Epaphroditus for his role in that emperor's death, allegedly as a cautionary example to his own staff (Suet. *Dom.* 14. 4). The younger Pliny seems to have this execution in mind when he contrasts Domitian's punishment of those who criticized Nero with Trajan's toleration of censure for past emperors; he cites Domitian's treatment of those who ended Nero's life (*Pan.* 53. 4). In making his point he sarcastically denies that, having avenged Nero's death, Domitian would take criticisms of Nero, one so like himself (*de simillimo*), as personal opposition. Even if Pliny exaggerates Domitian's sensitivity to the Nero parallel in order to flatter Trajan, the execution of Epaphroditus might by itself constitute further evidence of the connection, especially if Suetonius' ambiguous language means that Domitian had also made Epaphroditus *his* secretary.

Bartsch convincingly argues (1994: 82–90, 92–3, 245 n. 66, 277 n. 23) that Domitian's evident failure to punish all authors of hostile references to Nero (e.g. Mart. 4. 63; 7. 21, 34; Stat. *Silv.*

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2. 7. 100, 118–19) need not indicate his lack of concern about the matter, for other emperors deliberately ignored provocative allusions in order to avoid giving them credence.

The question of possible parallels between Josephus' Aliturus and the two Parises is all the more intriguing because Aliturus has turned out to be such an elusive fellow. Not only did this putative favourite of Nero somehow escape the notice of every other extant commentator on Nero's reign, in contrast to Paris (e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 13. 19–27; Suet. *Ner.* 54; Dio 63. 18. 1), but it has proved impossible to find even one other man, among the extensive material and literary remains of the Greco-Roman world and Greek-language Judaism,¹² with the name Aliturus (or Ἀλίτυρος). Construed as a Greek word, the name would mean something like 'salt cheese', and it is difficult to imagine the circumstances under which one would acquire it. It is tempting to imagine that Josephus invented his *mimologos* in order to create a safe substitute for Nero's Paris, given the danger of Nero–Domitian parallels. If Josephus had met Paris, he would no doubt have wished to avoid using the name in Domitian's time—especially if he wanted to describe the man as Nero's heart-throb.

Nor is it difficult to speculate as to how he came up with Aliturus as an ironic alternative. It could simply be a made-up masculine name that sounded like *aliter* ('otherwise'), or it could have its full weight as future active participle of *alo* ('feed, nourish, support, sustain, maintain'), which is virtually identical with one of the three roots of *paris*, construed as a Latin verb in the second person singular (perfect subjunctive): *pasco*. The other possible roots are *paveo* (to be afraid, terrified, tremble with fear [perfect subjunctive]) and *pario* (give birth, spawn, produce [present indicative]). The Roman elite, who seem to have enjoyed puns on personal names (Corbeill 1996: 57–98), might have appreciated the effort of a foreign nobleman to find such a label for Nero's actor-friend. Of course, I have no way to render historically probable this solution to the problems connected with Aliturus. Even if Josephus did not invent Aliturus but really met a man with this name, it appears that he intends a

¹² Examining Solin 1982, 1996; Fraser and Matthews 1987; Traill 1994; Osborne and Byrne 1996; Lozano Velilla 1998; Horbury and Noy 1992; Noy 1993, 1995.

degree of ironic humour in his telling of the episode, which does not seem necessary to the account.

In any case, the text-driven irony alone will suffice to show that in the *Life* Josephus conjures up a Tacitean world of appearances detached from reality: everyone attempts to mislead everyone else for his own advancement. Josephus happily participates in the game. The differences in his case are that (a) his dissembling was within the sphere of responsible statesmanship, unlike the attempts of his demagogic rivals, and (b) because he succeeded over his rivals, by virtue of sterling character and divine assistance, he was later able to transform his dissimulation into an ironically humorous narrative for an appreciative audience.

CONCLUSION

Ahl's programmatic essay includes this observation (1984: 192):

The result of this difference of perspectives [between ancient readers attuned to figured speech and modern readers] has been, and continues to be, a radical misunderstanding of ancient authors who use figured speech extensively. Chief among the victims are authors of Quintilian's own day when the need for *schema*—in the sense that he, Zoilus, and Demetrius use the term—was high.

The foregoing essay will have succeeded if it has brought the most prolific (extant) Roman author of Quintilian's day, T. Flavius Josephus, into view as a heavy user of figured speech and irony. It is in the *Life* that Josephus most vividly portrays himself as a master of oblique discourse, misdirection, and irony. But there is more than enough in the *War* and *Antiquities* to show that he was comfortable in the métier of ironic portraiture, playfully developing his very serious themes, all the way along. I hope to have shown that the stakes are high for understanding Josephus' narratives. There are implications too for the use of Josephus in historical reconstruction—a subject for another occasion (cf. Mason 2003a).

Spectacle in Josephus' *Jewish War*

HONORA HOWELL CHAPMAN

Hollywood has long revelled in imperial Rome's fascination with spectacle. Early on in *Quo Vadis*, Peter Ustinov as Nero is lounging on a couch, and he knowingly observes about the Romans to the returning victorious general, played by Robert Taylor, 'They demand a spectacle'. No truer words could be spoken of ancient Rome (or modern America, for that matter): the Roman audience expected and demanded spectacle, whether live on the streets, in the theatre, in the circus, in the amphitheatre, or even in the scrolls of their literature.¹ This is the atmosphere in which Josephus composed his *Jewish War*—a Rome where the triumphal parade of the Flavians celebrating their victory over the author's own Judaea had woven its way through the streets and where the emperor Vespasian was soon building the magnificent Colosseum in order to please the crowds and to make his enduring mark as a new Augustus (see Millar, Ch. 5 above; cf. Feldman 2001).

Spectacle was not merely live action for the Romans; it also appeared in their literature as a specific literary device designed to focus the attention of readers. The use of literary spectacle by Greek and Roman historiographers has received recent attention, most notably in Andrew Feldherr's study of Livy (Feldherr 1998; see also Davidson 1991). Launching from Livy's claim that his *History* contains many examples to contemplate as if 'displayed on a conspicuous monument' (1. praef. 10: *in inlustri . . . monumento*), Feldherr states his own approach: 'By combining close readings of particular episodes with a consideration of the

¹ For a broad treatment of spectacle in antiquity, see Bergmann and Kondoleon 1999. With regard to the spill over of real-life entertainment into literature, Axer (1996: 216–17) has labelled Seneca's dramas as 'imaginary theatre' in a 'world of spectacles'.

social functions of spectacle in Roman culture, this study aims to show how the narrative strategies that Livy adopts to engage the gaze of his audience allow his text to reproduce the political effects of the events described and thus to act upon the society of his own time' (Feldherr 1998: 3). Whereas Livy envisions his *History* as a *monumentum* to be seen, I would argue that Josephus instead presents his history in order to promote, among other agendas, a particular monument: the Temple at Jerusalem.

In the preface of his history Josephus establishes himself as the ideal spectator, and therefore interpreter, of the war in Judaea which he is documenting. First of all, he reports that he saw the war as it was waged, both as a fighter and then as a bystander 'out of necessity'; he firmly establishes these facts in order to underline the truth of his account against the versions of other eyewitnesses and of writers who were not even there (*Bḡ* 1. 2–3). What he does 'not see' (*οὐχ ὁρῶ*), he tells us, is how the Romans could be considered so great in their victory over the Jews if these competing writers choose to denigrate the Jews in their accounts (*Bḡ* 1. 7–8). He explains that he, instead, will recount the deeds of both sides of the war.

Josephus supports this balanced stance further when he then explains that he will report a *shared emotional response* to the war as experienced by himself and the Roman commander Titus. The author explains that he cannot refrain from lamentation over his country's misfortunes and then immediately blames the civil war (*στάσις οἰκεία*) and the 'tyrants of the Jews' (*οἱ Ἰουδαίων τύραννοι*) for burning down the Temple (*Bḡ* 1. 10). Eckstein (1990: 183; cf. 194) has argued that here Josephus is following in the footsteps of Polybius in the opening of his Book 38 on the misfortunes of Greece. (Eckstein is responding in part to Cohen 1982.) This rings true, except that in the *War* we also have the overwhelming presence of Titus within the programmatic statement. Titus suddenly enters the picture for the first time as a witness (*μάρτυς*) since it was he who was responsible for besieging the city. The main defining feature of Titus here in the preface is the pity he shows the Jewish people (*τὸν . . . δῆμον ἐλεήσας*) who are victims of 'the revolutionaries' and his delay of the capture of the city (*Bḡ* 1. 10). All this special pleading for Titus' *clementia* may ring hollow to the modern audience (see however Mason, Ch. 12 above), but we do also see the author's

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rhetorical strategy here: Josephus and Titus are to serve as the ideal spectators and interpreters of the war for their respective peoples throughout the narrative.²

Josephus then in his preface aligns himself with the ancient historians who wrote the history of their own times, and he observes that their presence at the events as they occurred made their narratives 'vivid' (*ἐναργῆ*) and also subject to censure from other witnesses were they false (*BJ* 1. 14). As an eyewitness of the war in Judaea, the Jewish historian sets himself up to deliver an account marked by the vividness (*ἐνάργεια*) that he found in the works of the historians who remain unnamed here, such as Thucydides and Polybius. Surely Josephus understood as well as his younger contemporary Plutarch that the historian of a war can create a psychological attachment between his readers and the events he records through the use of *ἐνάργεια*. As in Thucydides' account of the battle in the harbour of Syracuse (7. 71), this involves turning the readers into spectators by rendering scenes as vividly as possible; various audiences within the narrative are made to observe, and react emotionally to, the action of the text.³ In this way, the historian suggests to his readers possible ways in which they, in turn, can respond to the information found in his text.⁴

Josephus creates and describes certain spectacles within his account very deliberately for several reasons: to celebrate the power of his patrons, the Flavians; to damn the rebels for their conduct during the rebellion; to enhance his own reputation as a Jewish general and priest, now residing at Rome; and, finally, to

² And in fine ring composition, Josephus and Titus will be linked again in the penultimate scene of the entire narrative, when Vespasian judges Jonathan's information against Josephus and others to be false, and Titus intercedes on the victims' behalf to secure their acquittal (*BJ* 7. 447–50): Titus' *clementia* literally embraces the text. On ring composition in the *Antiquities* and the *Life*, see Mason 2001: pp. xxiii–xxvii.

³ See Walker 1993, esp. 357 on Plutarch's reading of Thucydides. For vividness of the gaze in Thucydides, see Hornblower 1994: 138–9 and 164, building on Connor 1985 and Davidson 1991.

⁴ With all this attention to literary devices and the various possible illusions they can create for the reader, however, we should never forget that these ancient historians use their rhetoric to record events which truly mattered to them as *real* events (cf. A. E. Raubitschek, quoted at Jameson 1985: p. vi). Just as the Athenian disaster at Syracuse was terribly real for Thucydides, for Josephus Jerusalem and its Temple really did burn, and it is his task to make his reading/listening audience appreciate the tragedy of this destruction.

highlight the former grandeur of Jerusalem and its Temple, as well as the magnitude and tragedy of their destruction. I would suggest that Josephus emphasizes all of these motives through the medium of spectacle in order to suggest to his audience that they should view the destruction as tragic and possibly even support the reconstruction of Jerusalem and its sanctuary for the law-abiding Jewish people.⁵

Since Josephus claims that a mixed audience of Romans and Hellenized Jews read his Greek *War*,⁶ we should pay careful attention to how Romans and Jews behave as spectators and how they interpret a given spectacle within his narrative. A reviewer of Feldherr's book has criticized him for focusing 'almost exclusively on Romans' as opposed to foreigners in their reactions to spectacles presented in Livy's *History* (Chaplin 2000b: 103). We shall discover that recognizing the national identity of spectators in the *War* matters a great deal for understanding Josephus' point in presenting a particular spectacle in the first place.

First of all, I shall briefly explain Josephus' specific terminology for spectacle. Then we shall look at Josephus' portrayal of himself as a spectacle when he is taken captive and compare this to the surrender of the Roman garrison commander Metilius, whom Josephus deliberately does *not* present as a spectacle. The heart of this chapter will focus upon the Temple at Jerusalem as the main spectacle of the *War* for the internal audience within his narrative and, thus, for Josephus' readers. Following this, we shall examine the use of spectacles of violence during the war by both sides. Finally, I shall turn to the spectacular celebrations held by the Flavians after the war, including the triumph in Rome.

⁵ Chilton (1992: 69–87) has convincingly argued that Josephus wrote the *Jewish War* expressly 'to convey the conviction that the Flavians desired to preserve the Temple, and that only an orderly priesthood could maintain it'. Mendels (1992) and S. Schwartz (1990) have noted only in passing that Josephus might be promoting the reconstruction of the Temple in his *Antiquities*; see also Goodman 1987: 231–51.

⁶ See *Ap.* 1. 50–3 on his audience, which included Herodians (who were Hellenized Jews); see also *Bj* 1. 3, where 'those under the hegemony of the Romans' are targeted as primary audience for the Greek version of the *War* (cf. *Bj* 1. 16). Because the Aramaic edition has not survived, we do not know whether the Greek edition is a close translation or a loose recasting of the text intended solely for an eastern audience; see further Rajak 1983: 176–7. Troiani (1986: 353), in discussing the audience of the *Antiquities*, offers a list of possible Jewish readers, who I think could also have been part of the targeted audience for the Greek *War*.

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TERMINOLOGY FOR SPECTACLE IN THE *JEWISH WAR*

The most basic term for spectacle, *θέα*, has several meanings: 'vision', 'contemplation', 'aspect', 'performance', even 'seat in the theatre' (LSJ, s.v. *θέα*; cf. B. Bergmann 1999: 10–12). In the *War*, we find that Josephus uses the word for ten different sights to be seen by an audience, including the author himself as a captive, the Temple, and the Flavian triumph.⁷ Within the triumph scene, we should also observe that he even refers to Domitian's horse as a *θέα*! Josephus uses *θέαμα*, wondrous spectacle, once in the plural in reference to the marvellous objects displayed in the triumph (*BJ* 7. 132). Another term for spectacle, *θεωρία*, appears five times in the *Bellum*: twice in reference to sights at the Temple, which are the columns in its colonnade and its veil (*BJ* 5. 191 and 214), and three times to describe the events which Titus held in Judaea and Syria before returning to Rome (*BJ* 7. 23, 39, 96).

Finally, there is the term *ὄψις*, which under the broad umbrella of its subjective and objective meanings can refer to the power of sight, gaze, vision, aspect, or appearance. Often Josephus uses this term to turn a person, event, or a thing *into* a spectacle, that is, something sometimes powerful or even frightening, which is seen by an audience internal to the text, and which is, therefore, to be apprehended by his readers, even though the 'actual' thing described was not necessarily a 'spectacle' in the basic sense of the word. In this way Josephus focuses the attention of his readers and often heightens the emotion of a given situation (Mader 2000: esp. 119 n. 27 on *BJ* 6. 175).

JOSEPHUS AS A SPECTACLE (AND METILIUS WHO IS NOT)

Josephus presents himself not only as an ideal Jewish spectator for the war but also as a spectacle, that is, someone worthy of viewing after his capture at Jotapata in Book 3. In his preface

⁷ For Josephus as a spectacle, see *BJ* 3. 393 and below; the rest: 1. 354 (the Temple), 2. 105 (pseudo-Alexander), 5. 36 (beams for the Temple), 5. 429 (the effects of the famine), 6. 6 (the land), 7. 71 (Vespasian), 7. 131 (the triumph), 7. 152 (Domitian's horse), 7. 160 (objects in the Temple of Peace). The verb *θεάομαι* occurs twenty-seven times in the *War*.

Josephus has cleverly linked himself to the Temple through the repetition of the verb ἀποκρύπτεισθαι in his claims that he will conceal nothing concerning himself (*Bḡ* 1. 22) or the sanctuary (1. 26).⁸ But to appear as the object of the enemy's sight as a spectacle is a very dangerous position in which to find oneself in the first century; it could lead to shame and much worse (Coleman 1990 and 1999; cf. Barton 1993: 91–5). Josephus, however, in Book 3 converts his own degradation as a captive after the siege and capture of Jotapata into a personal triumph paradoxically through becoming a spectacle when he is brought before the Roman soldiers (cf. Parker 1999: 167 on Roman orators and politicians as spectacles). He says: 'all the Romans ran together to the spectacle (θέαν) of him [i.e. Josephus]' (*Bḡ* 3. 393). Josephus offers a play-by-play commentary of the crowd's reaction to him, positive and negative. The viewers' respective physical distance from the spectacle of Josephus has a great effect on how they 'read' him as a tragic figure. Those further away from him (οἱ πρόρωθεν) shout for him to be punished, while on the other hand, 'the memory of his deeds and amazement at his change of fortune entered the minds of those closer [to him] (οἱ πλησίον)' (*Bḡ* 3. 394). The sight (ὄψις) of the captive Josephus changes the minds of all those Roman officers previously hostile to him; they literally 'give in to the sight of him'.⁹ He thus conquers them with himself as a spectacle. Most importantly, Josephus builds up to Titus reacting with 'pity' to this spectacle and claims that he is inspired at this moment of viewing to cogitate upon 'how great the power of fortune is, how swiftly the scales of war shift, and how insecure are the affairs of men' (*Bḡ* 3. 396). Titus as the text's ideal Roman witness/spectator then asks Vespasian to spare Josephus' life (*Bḡ* 3. 397). This whole scene prepares the reader for the next, in which Josephus predicts that Vespasian will become emperor. Thus, the persona of Josephus here at

⁸ His claim at *Bḡ* 1. 26 that 'nothing will be concealed nor embellished' (οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀποκρυπτόμενος οὔτε προστιθείς) with respect to the Temple anticipates his claim in the preface to the *Antiquities* (1. 17) that he has neither added nor subtracted from the Scriptures. Thus, the priest as historian establishes from the outset that in his narrative of the events of the war he and the Temple will be in full view of his audience.

⁹ *Bḡ* 3. 395: τότε πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν οὐκ ἐνέδωκεν αὐτοῦ. At *Bḡ* 5. 547, the ὄψις of Josephus back at the walls of the city after he has been hit by a rock encourages the people but alarms the rebels.

Jotapata becomes the object and embodiment of the very narrative tools that the author Josephus employs throughout his text.

Not all captured soldiers fare so well in the war, nor do they receive the same application of *ἐνάργεια* as the author's own persona does. Take, for instance, the scene in Book 2 of the ignominious outcome for Metilius, the commander of the Roman garrison at Jerusalem at the beginning of the war (*Bj* 2. 438–56). After the Roman soldiers and the Jewish rebels swear mutual oaths, Eleazar's men butcher the Romans on the spot, leaving only Metilius alive. Once again, we have a life-or-death situation. In contrast to his own soldiers, Metilius saves his life (for now) by begging for mercy and promising 'to turn Jew', as Feldman (1993: 349–50) interprets the verb *ἰουδαΐζειν*, or 'to behave as a Jew', as Goodman (1994a: 82) puts it, 'even to the point of circumcision'.¹⁰ The historian offers antithetical interpretations of this event: in the opinion of the Romans it was not a disaster, since they had lost only a few of their boundless forces, whereas 'to the Jews it seemed to be the prelude to the conquest' (*Bj* 2. 454). Josephus then spins out a long sentence detailing the Jewish perception of the *miasma*, divine wrath, and woe to come.¹¹

By comparing the scene of Josephus' capture with Metilius' we realize the options the historian could choose from in crafting an episode to contain spectacle. Unlike the spectacle of Josephus after Jotapata, all eyes are not on Metilius. The Roman garrison commander's predicament is irredeemably shameful and, therefore, not worthy of focus for Roman readers, since he has lost his troops and, to add insult to injury, has submitted to what Romans would perceive as bodily mutilation to save his skin.¹² Josephus may very well have objected to forced circumcision during his command in Galilee and taken a pro-choice stance

¹⁰ *Bj* 2. 454: *μέχρι περιτομῆς*. Note that *μέχρι* with the genitive appears also in the case of the Essenes who are willing to submit themselves to being tortured to death rather than reveal secrets (*Bj* 2. 141 and 144). On the likelihood of Metilius' eventual execution, see Cohen 1979: 25, commenting on Suet. *Vesp.* 4. 5.

¹¹ *Bj* 2. 455; *μῆνυμα* appears only here and at *Aj* 16. 188 to describe God's wrath against Herod for opening the tomb of David. Josephus shifts all the blame to the rebels by having the so-called moderates recognize that they will pay the price instead of the rebels; he then concludes this section with the notice that the slaughter violated the Sabbath, a day which he explains as a rest even from sanctioned acts.

¹² Circumcision would be visible at the baths, a daily Roman ritual, thus making Metilius' shame visible to others should he present himself there; see further Feldman 1993: 155.

on the issue, yet he does not allow his readers to concentrate on Metilius as a victim.¹³ He does not turn Metilius into *any* kind of hero here from either the Roman or the Jewish perspective; if anything, by dramatizing the scene with a speech (as Josephus is allowed in his audience with Vespasian after his capture), Josephus could have perhaps even turned the episode into comedy from the Roman perspective (cf. Feldman 1993: 155). Metilius is certainly no Izates of Adiabene (*AJ* 20. 34–48). Nor is he a man worthy of visual scrutiny, so unlike the author himself as presented throughout the text.

THE TEMPLE AT JERUSALEM AS A SPECTACLE

Jerusalem and especially the Temple become the main objects of visual attention when the Roman attack begins. When Titus and his legions arrive within sight of the city at Scopus ('Look-out Point'), Josephus carefully focuses the attention of both the internal audience (the Roman army and Titus) and his own readers upon the main spectacle of the city: 'from there now became visible (*κατεφαίνετο*) both the city and the magnitude of the Temple gleaming' (*BJ* 5. 67). All eyes, therefore, are upon the Temple before the Romans even reach Jerusalem.

As an illuminating point of comparison, we should look at how the Roman historian Tacitus decades later writes his version of the siege of Jerusalem:

The Romans now turned to besiege [the city]; for the soldiers thought it was not dignified to wait for the enemy to starve, and so they began to demand danger, part being prompted by bravery, but many were motivated by their savagery and their desire for booty. Titus himself had before his eyes Rome, its wealth, and its pleasures (*ipsi Tito Roma et opes voluptatesque ante oculos*), and he thought that if Jerusalem did not fall immediately, these would appear to be put on hold. (*Hist.* 5. 11)

Josephus and Tacitus share the same opinion about the common Roman soldier, but their depictions of the objects of Titus'

¹³ On Josephus' objections to forced conversion, see *Vit.* 113 with Mason 2001: 75–6 nn. 544–5, and 162 n. 1675, who responds to previous scholarship; see also Feldman 1993: 325. On the campaign of Hyrcanus against the Idumaeans and forced *complete* circumcision in *AJ* 13. 257–8, see Steiner 1999.

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gaze could not be more different. Both historians stress spectacle as vital to apprehending the meaning of the fall of Jerusalem, but the similarity ends there. Josephus, like Tacitus, is tapping into his audience's appreciation of spectacle as a literary device, but employs it repeatedly in the *War* in order to highlight the spectacle of the Temple. Tacitus, on the other hand, juxtaposes *Tito to Roma* and focuses Titus' eyes upon Rome as the ultimate prize, while Jerusalem is a mere stepping-stone.¹⁴

Josephus then prepares for the Roman assault on Jerusalem by conjuring up for his readers in Book 5 a highly detailed mental image of the terrain and fortifications of the city. His description of the city culminates with the marvels of the Temple.¹⁵ Josephus conducts his readers on a tour which leads from the outermost court of the entire complex to the inside of the Temple itself to see the marvellous objects it contained.¹⁶ By leading the reader from outside to inside, Josephus provides the gentiles in his audience with his insider's perspective. After all, he was a priest who would have had access to the sanctuary, except for the Holy of Holies. In this expansive digression on the Temple he clearly determines to impress his audience, ostensibly to conceal nothing (as promised in his preface), all in the effort to stress

¹⁴ Edwards (1996: 74–82) investigates this general idea of Rome and its Capitol as spectacle in Tacitus' *Histories*. Both historians write for elite Romans (at least in part in the case of Josephus), and therefore use the same narrative device of spectacle to appeal to the audiences of their day; the overall effect, however, is very different, since they are writing with such different scopes and purposes in mind. Unlike Tacitus, Josephus barely turns his attention to events elsewhere in the empire during the time of the Jewish rebellion. He finally refers to other revolts in Germany, Gaul, and Moesia at *Bj* 7. 75–95, where he is heaping praise upon the Flavians, and specifically Domitian; his attention to Domitian possibly suggests a later date for the composition of this section (see further Barnes, Ch. 6 above).

¹⁵ *Bj* 5. 184–237. Tacitus (*Hist.* 5. 12) mentions the Temple, but devotes only a few sentences to it.

¹⁶ That is, the veil hanging at the entrance, and the lamp stand, offering table, and altar of incense. Josephus has already briefly mentioned the latter objects in connection with Pompey's entrance into the Temple (*Bj* 1. 152), but here he describes very specifically their allegorical significance. All of them, he says, represent aspects of the universe: the mixture of colours on the veil work as an 'image of the universe' (εἰκόνα τῶν ὅλων), the seven branches of the lamp stand represent the seven planets, the twelve loaves on the table stand for the twelve signs of the zodiac, and the spices from everywhere on the earth signify that 'all things are of God and for God' (τοῦ θεοῦ πάντα καὶ τῷ θεῷ). God literally embraces all things, and the Temple is the manifestation of this; his readers are meant to marvel at these objects and be swept up in the widespread positive opinion about them. Josephus has clearly underlined universality on all levels as a key feature of the Temple.

its universal appeal and to preserve a detailed memory of a place whose permanent loss is unfathomable for him.¹⁷ Josephus has already apostrophized earlier in Book 5: 'but you could be better again, if you ever propitiate the God who destroyed you' (*Bḡ* 5. 19). The historian does hold out the possibility that the city and the Temple may be restored (cf. Chilton 1992: 79; Goodman 1994a: 44–5).

When he arrives at the inner chamber of the sanctuary, however, it presents a remarkable contradiction to the rest of the building since it contains no spectacle. He states that 'nothing at all was resting inside it: untrodden, undefiled, unseen to all, it was called the holy of holy' (*Bḡ* 5. 219: *ἔκειτο δ' οὐδὲν ὅλως ἐν αὐτῷ, ἄβατον δὲ καὶ ἄχραντον καὶ ἀθέατον ἦν πᾶσιν, ἁγίου δὲ ἁγιον ἐκαλεῖτο*). Josephus builds up with a succession of alpha-privative adjectives to the crowning idea that nothing is to be *seen* there.¹⁸ He has already spoken of the inner chamber in Book 1 of the *War* (*Bḡ* 1. 148–54). At the moment in his narrative when Pompey captures Jerusalem's citadel in 63 BCE, Josephus calls Pompey's entrance into the Temple the worst calamity the Jews suffered at this time. What so bothers the Jews, according to the historian, is that 'the hitherto unseen holy place was unveiled by the foreigners' (*Bḡ* 1. 152: *τὸ τέως ἀόρατον ἁγιον ἐκκαλυφθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων*); the audience is thus already aware that the inner sanctum of the Temple is meant to be an 'unseen' place, and, therefore, not a spectacle. Despite what the Romans have done, Josephus also clearly intends his readers to recognize Pompey as a 'good general' (*Bḡ* 1. 152) since he does not pillage the contents, including the treasury, but instead orders the Temple cleaned, rites restored on the following day, and Hyrcanus reinstated as

¹⁷ On the universal appeal of the Temple, see the previous note; note also the report (*Bḡ* 5. 187) that Solomon's building project was financed by funds from all over the world. On preserving a memory of the Temple, compare his detailed measurements of the structure with those in *m. Mid.* (cf. Neusner 1979 on the remembrance of the Temple in the Mishnah). On the discrepancies between Josephus' accounts of the Temple here and at *Aḡ* 15. 391–425, see Levine 1994: 238; I would add that in the latter description Josephus does not lead the reader into the Temple or mention the Holy of Holies.

¹⁸ Cf. *m. Mid.* 4: 5, where the room is too holy to be seen. We might supply one reason for his stress on the emptiness from his later tract, the *Against Apion* (2. 79–82), where he combats claims that the Jews kept inside the Temple the head of an ass and a Greek, whom they would sacrifice and eat every year, by observing that no pagan conqueror ever found such a thing when he went inside the Temple.

high priest (*Bḡ* 1. 153). Josephus clearly envisions this respect for the institution of the Temple as the ideal situation for the Jewish people and their rulers. He emphasizes this point later in Book 1 when Herod will not allow his foreign allies who have rushed to 'the spectacle (*θέαν*) of the Temple and the holy objects at the sanctuary' to go inside, and the historian goes so far as to say that the king would consider his victory worse than a defeat 'if any of the unseen things should be seen by them' (*Bḡ* 1. 354: *εἴ τι τῶν ἀθεάτων παρ' αὐτῶν ὀφθείη*).

After Josephus has led his readers all the way into the inner sanctum of the Temple, he quickly steps outside and attempts to impress his readers with the entire edifice's visual impact: 'the exterior of the building lacked nothing to astonish either the soul or the eyes. For being covered all over with massive plates of gold, as soon as the sun was up, it radiated so fiery a beam of light that it forced those straining to look at its emanations to turn away their eyes, as if from solar rays' (*Bḡ* 5. 222). Later in Book 5 Josephus will return to evoking the Temple's façade in his speech at the wall. There he reminds the reader once again of the Temple's centrality and importance by asking the rebels to look upon (*θεάσασθε*) this magnificent structure, whose ruin they are ensuring through their rebellion (*Bḡ* 5. 416–17).

After his oration Josephus turns to an extended description of the effects of the famine upon the population as a tragic 'spectacle' (*θέα*) (*Bḡ* 5. 424–38). He sums up this stage of the war with a lamentation for Jerusalem and a denunciation of the rebels whereby the Temple becomes the prime spectacle: 'they overthrew the city, while they forced the unwilling Romans to claim sullen success, and they all but dragged the slow fire to the Temple. And indeed, when they were looking at it burning from the upper city (*καίόμενον ἐκ τῆς ἄνω πόλεως ἀφορῶντες*), they neither grieved nor cried, but these emotions were found among the Romans' (*Bḡ* 5. 444–5). The historian dramatically describes the rebels as looking at the spectacle of the burning Temple, and implicitly criticizes them for not being appropriately moved by the sight. On the other hand, Josephus takes care to indicate that the Romans are not happy about the outcome, which he labels *σκυθρωπός* ('sad' or 'sullen'). He even credits the Roman soldiers for properly mourning the Temple's demise. This is certainly the emotional response (*τὰ πάθη*) which he is trying to encourage

in his own readers, some of whom the author claims were also Romans.

The Temple again serves as a visual centre of attention when the historian presents a rhetorical set piece painting a picture of the effects of famine upon the population of Jerusalem:¹⁹

For the Jews, along with the exits, every hope of escape was now cut off; and the famine deepening itself fed upon the people by household and families. The roofs were filled with women and infants completely weakened, the alleys with the corpses of old people; children and young men, swollen, were thronging together like ghosts in the marketplaces and collapsed wherever their suffering overtook them. . . . But any who begged them [the rebels] to lend them their hand and a sword they treated disdainfully and left to the mercy of the famine, and each of them breathing his last gazed intently toward the Temple and looked away from the rebels whom he left behind alive (*καὶ τῶν ἐκπνεόντων ἕκαστος ἀτενίσας εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀφείωρα τοὺς στασιαστὰς ζώντας ἀπολιπών*). (*BJ* 5. 512–13 and 517)

Josephus, in good Thucydidean fashion, describes the physical and emotional effect of the famine on the sufferers as well as the response of the onlookers, but as opposed to Thucydides' description of the plague at Athens, which Josephus deliberately evokes here, lawlessness only applies to a select group, the rebels.²⁰ By focusing the eyes of the dying Jews upon the spectacle of the Temple and specifically away from the rebels, the author prompts us to see his main themes in action: the piety of the common people, the importance of the Temple for all Jews (except the rebels), and the rebels as perpetrators of its destruction. In this way Josephus links the fate of the people with that of their Temple in an overtly dramatic fashion. Furthermore, the passage recalls Josephus' exhortation in his speech at the wall that the rebels should look upon the Temple and spare the city.²¹

¹⁹ He describes Titus bemoaning the effects of the siege, the mockery of the Roman troops, and the pitiless intransigence of the rebels. Titus will soon play Antigone in response to seeing the Jewish corpses in the ravines (*BJ* 5. 519): see Feldman 1998*d* and Chapman 1998: 47–8.

²⁰ Thuc. 2. 47–55; Price (1992: 280 n. 11) notes the similarity, but not the difference I discuss. Unlike Josephus' Jews who gasp their last with eyes on the Temple, Thucydides' Athenians allowed corpses to fester in the temples (2. 52. 3), and the populace as a whole lost faith (2. 53. 4).

²¹ At the beginning of Book 6, which chronicles the actual destruction of the

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Josephus provides an extraordinary response from the Roman soldiers who see the Temple being turned into 'a fortress' by the rebels in Book 6:

... and they [the rebels] proceeded into such great lawlessness that the anger, which the Jews would probably have felt had the Romans treated them so violently, was now felt by the Romans against the Jews because they were profaning their own holy places. Of the soldiers there truly was not one who was not looking towards the Temple with shuddering (τῶν μὲν γε στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις οὐ μετὰ φρίκης εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀφεώρα) and who was not both making obeisance and praying that the brigands would repent before there was incurable harm. (Bῃ 6. 122–3)

As before, Josephus presents the Romans as showing the 'right' reaction to the vision of the desecration of the Temple, while the rebels have no conscience. The historian's main point here to his readers is that the rebels, not the Romans, are to blame for the destruction of the city and its Temple, and that all the Romans who saw Jerusalem held its Temple in the highest esteem and considered it a worthy place to offer worship and prayer. One can surmise that Josephus intended his Roman readers to agree with the Roman soldiers and, therefore, to consider the Temple a valuable asset for the empire maintained by those very soldiers. By categorizing the destruction of the Temple as an 'incurable disaster' (ἀνήκεστον πάθος), the historian is cleverly harking back to his Greek literary predecessors, Thucydides (5. 111; cf. Hdt. 1. 137) and the tragedians (Soph. *OT* 96–8; Eur. *Med.* 283, *Hipp.* 722), who provide ample examples of woe and destruction described as 'incurable' in order to emphasize the dire circumstances faced. To read this incurability forward into the post-70 world of a Judaism that survives despite the loss of the Temple, and to assume in concrete fashion that the historian is saying here that the Temple cannot ever be rebuilt, is to miss the whole ambience and argument that Josephus is trying to create in his text. This becomes even clearer when Josephus reports Titus' reaction in a speech which concludes with the remarkable statement: 'I shall preserve the Temple for you even

Temple, not only are the corpses in the city 'a horrible sight' (Bῃ 6. 2) but the countryside also is a sight provoking pity (Bῃ 6. 6: ἦν δ' ἐλεωνή καὶ τῆς γῆς ἡ θέα). Josephus draws his non-Jewish readership into experiencing the horror by asserting that no gentile who had formerly seen the beauty of the place could look upon it now without lamenting and sighing (Bῃ 6. 7).

if you are unwilling' (*Bḡ* 6. 128: τηρήσω δὲ τὸν ναὸν ὑμῶν καὶ μὴ θέλουσι). Regardless of how the real Titus or Vespasian may have felt either in the short or the long run about a renewed Temple at Jerusalem (see Barnes and Rives, Chs. 6 and 7 above), Josephus goes out of his way in the *War* to present *his* Titus as the ultimate defender of the Jewish sanctuary.

The actual destruction of the Temple is narrated only after Josephus arranges an explanatory catalyst: the story of a mother's cannibalism of her infant son. The historian provides a detailed and dramatic account of this mother Mary's agonized tragic speech before she slays and eats part of the baby. When Mary reveals the other half of her baby to the rebels who have come looking for food, they experience 'awe and astonishment' (*φρίκη καὶ παρέκστασις*) and are frozen by the sight (*παρὰ τὴν ὄψιν*) (*Bḡ* 6. 210). This spectacle is an insane and tragic permutation of a ritual sacrifice (cf. Chapman 2000). Word of the event travels fast, and the historian explains the response of the people within the city, saying that 'each person put the horror of it before his eyes (*πρὸ ὀμμάτων*) and shuddered as if the bold deed had been done by himself' (*Bḡ* 6. 212). This emphasis on the spectacle causing shuddering heightens the drama for the audience. The Jews wish for death, and they 'bless' those already dead for not having 'to hear or see such evils' (*Bḡ* 6. 213: καὶ μακαρισμὸς τῶν φθασάντων πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι καὶ θεάσασθαι κακὰ τηλικαῦτα). Hearing of this evil deed, Titus now pronounces his verdict upon Jerusalem: he will 'bury this abomination of infant-cannibalism (*τὸ τῆς τεκνοφαγίας μύσος*) in the very destruction of the country' and vows 'not to leave in his world a city standing for the sun to look upon (*καθορᾶν*) where mothers are fed thus' (*Bḡ* 6. 217). Titus finally condemns the men specifically for creating the situation by not submitting to the Romans. Hence, Titus, who is presented as ultra-clement, can now blame the Jewish rebels for the destruction of their city and Temple before it even happens in the narrative.

Though Titus in the meeting with his staff officers recognizes the magnificence and function of the Temple as an 'ornament' (*κόσμον*) of their hegemony (*Bḡ* 6. 241), the Temple nevertheless is set on fire 'against Caesar's will' (*Bḡ* 6. 266).²² Titus is too

²² Sulpicius Severus' fourth-century account of the meeting (*Chron.* 2. 30. 6–7)

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late to stop the conflagration, but he does get to 'see the inner sanctum of the Temple and its contents' (*BJ* 6. 260). Josephus pauses from his narration of the destruction to comment upon the extraordinary nature of the spectacle and reputation of the Temple and to address his audience with consolation, explaining that 'fate cannot be fled by works of art or places any more than by people'.²³

In the *War*, therefore, the Temple is a spectacle worthy to be saved, not permanently destroyed. Josephus focuses the eyes of both Jews and Romans, and especially Titus, within his text upon the Temple in order to emphasize the Temple's importance as the main religious monument of Jerusalem (and possibly the world). According to Josephus, who is both actor in and author of the tragic account of the destruction of Jerusalem, only the rebels, who refuse to look upon the Temple with any remorse, are to blame for its demise.

COMPETING SPECTACLES OF POWER DURING THE WAR²⁴

Spectacle appears in the *Jewish War* not merely as a literary device meant to focus the reader's attention upon key elements in the narrative of the war. Throughout Josephus' account of the war and its aftermath, we come across many instances where

also comments on the magnificence of the structure. If this account derives from Tacitus, as seems likely (see Barnes, Ch. 6 above, and note the Tacitean antithesis of *modestia* and *crudelitas*), we may contrast the treatment of Tacitus, who may have recognized the splendour of the Temple but had no investment in seeing it stand, with that of Josephus, who clearly wanted the Temple to exist and the Roman general to defend it.

²³ *BJ* 6. 267. Although this may be a Hellenized conception, Josephus adds a Hebrew layer of interpretation, since Fate watched for the very month and day of the destruction of the first Temple. By recalling the fact that the Temple was destroyed once before and yet was rebuilt, Josephus may very well be suggesting indirectly that the cycle could begin anew. The Temple's destruction may be a tragedy in his narrative, but its existence in history does not end with the reign of Vespasian, since a temple, unlike a human being, can be physically rebuilt/reborn. Book 6 closes with a reference to the five captures and two destructions, and calculations of the number of years from the foundation of the city of Jerusalem to its destructions (6. 435–42; cf. the attention to dating at the end of the Masada episode at *BJ* 7. 401): he does not make the point absolutely obvious to his readers, but leaves it to them to make the connection.

²⁴ I composed this section (and my chapter as a whole) without the benefit of Gleason 2001.

the Romans display their ability to use violence as a spectacle in order to threaten the opposition into submission. The Romans, however, are not alone in this, since the Jewish rebels themselves also employ this strategy, including Josephus in Galilee. This reciprocity in the use of spectacular violence in war is mirrored by the fact that Josephus twice explicitly identifies both sides as 'spectators' of the other's movements in the war (*Bj* 4. 371 and 5. 73).

In his account of his activities in Galilee, Josephus turns his own body and those of others into a spectacle as a stratagem. At Tarichaeae, Josephus acquires tremendous second-hand booty from a raid upon Agrippa and Berenice's baggage train. The residents are furious that they are not given a share, and plan to kill Josephus. He avoids being burned alive in his house by rushing out with rent garments, ashes covering his head, hands behind his back, and with his own sword dangling from his neck (*Bj* 2. 601). This spectacle moves some to pity, but others interpret it as a false sympathy ploy (*Bj* 2. 602–3). Josephus the budding general, however, describes it for himself as 'the advance preparation of a stratagem' (*Bj* 2. 604). Josephus then has to employ another 'trick' to avoid a lynching, this time by climbing onto a roof, motioning with his right hand that he cannot hear the crowd's demands over the noise (*Bj* 2. 611). He asks that they send representatives inside to discuss matters, and they do so. He proceeds to have the group whipped 'to the point that that their insides are laid bare' (*Bj* 2. 612). Dramatically, he flings open the doors so that the crowd can see the bloodied men; his enemies, in turn, are stunned, drop their arms, and flee (*Bj* 2. 613). Josephus is saying to his Roman readers already in Book 2: 'I understand how you use violent spectacle to establish your power, and I can do it as well as you do.'

The spectacles of violence that Josephus records the Romans using at Jerusalem to encourage surrender during the siege are hardly unique. Josephus' contemporary Frontinus describes the stratagems that both Roman and foreign commanders employed for bringing war to an end after a successful battle. For instance, both Sulla and Arminius had the heads of the enemy put onto spears and displayed prominently in order to force capitulation (Frontin. *Strat.* 2. 9. 3–4). Corbulo brought the idea of surrender closer to home when he had the head of an Armenian

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nobleman launched by a *ballista* over the wall of Tigranocerta; it happened to fall into the middle of a council meeting, and they surrendered immediately upon seeing it (Frontin. *Strat.* 2. 9. 5; cf. 2. 9. 2). Therefore, when Titus after a particularly tough battle orders his men to crucify a captured Jew 'in the hope that the spectacle might make the rest surrender out of fear', he is simply following normal procedure.²⁵ Titus also engages in a more innocuous form of spectacle when he hands out pay to his soldiers, who in their full regalia present a splendid and fearful sight to the people of Jerusalem.²⁶ Josephus says the citizens crowded in to witness the event, but he also observes that the rebels were not 'converted by the sight' (*μεταβαλέσθαι τὴν ὄψιν*) of this because they considered pardon from the Romans out of reach at this point (*BJ* 5. 349–54).

Later in Book 5 the historian feels the need to explain Titus' decision not to stop the torture and crucifixion of the hundreds of Jewish prisoners of war being captured each day. The historian emphasizes Titus' compassion and explains that he ordered their crucifixions so that 'the sight' (*τὴν ὄψιν*) might convince the defenders to give up before they, too, end up on a cross (*BJ* 5. 450). We can compare this to Josephus' description of the Roman commander Bassus' procedure at Machaerus to encourage surrender. There, Bassus has a young Jewish captive Eleazar flogged in full sight of the defenders and then orders a cross put up for his immediate execution. After seeing this spectacle and hearing the young man beg them to surrender, they, in fact, do so (*BJ* 7. 200–9). Whereas Bassus is actually successful in his use of spectacle, Titus is not. Josephus' special pleading for Titus' actions comes into clearer focus when one reads the historian's next sentence in this passage in Book 5 concerning the sadistic practices of the regular soldiers who put the Jewish prisoners up on crosses in a variety of positions in order to mock

²⁵ *BJ* 5. 289: εἴ τι πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἐνδοίειν οἱ λοιποὶ καταπλεόντες; the same phrase is used for the soldiers surrendering to the spectacle of Josephus himself after Jotapata (*BJ* 3. 395). It should be noted that at *BJ* 2. 308 Josephus denounces Florus for his 'cruelty' in scourging and crucifying Jews of equestrian rank before the war, a supposedly unprecedented act (cf. Mason 2001: 167 n. 1734).

²⁶ Another non-violent instance of spectacle asserting power occurs in *BJ* 2. 344 when Agrippa places his sister Berenice prominently 'in full view' (*ἐν περιόπτῳ*) on the roof of the palace of the Hasmoneans when he gathers the people for his speech on the invincibility of the Roman empire.

them; humiliation and fear are at the core of these strategic spectacles. Josephus ends this scene for his readers with the repellent observation that 'because of the vast number there was not enough space for the crosses nor crosses for the bodies' (*BJ* 5. 451). One cannot help but think that Josephus himself was horrified by all of this. After all, the historian later claims in his *Life* that after Jerusalem fell he wept when he saw three of his friends crucified among a large group and that after he in his sorrow went to Titus, the Roman commander ordered these men taken down. Unfortunately only one survived (*Vit.* 420-1).

Titus is not alone, however, in his use of spectacular violence because the Jewish leader Simon responds to him in kind. Simon not only makes Matthias, son of Boethus, his former ally and accused turncoat, watch as his own children are murdered, but then has him led out in full view of the Romans to be killed as a spectacle.²⁷ When Judes, son of Judes, 'sees' this spectacle, he tries to mount a plot against Simon but is discovered; Simon slays Judes and the other conspirators 'in full view of the Romans', and then mutilates and tosses the bodies over the ramparts (*BJ* 5. 534-40). After Jerusalem has been taken and Simon has gone into hiding in the underground tunnels, he stages his last strategic spectacle: dressed in white tunics and a purple cloak, he rises up out of the ground on the spot where the Temple had once been. This, however, does not keep him from being thrown into chains by the Romans, and Josephus savours the fact that Simon surrendered himself after having falsely accused and punished so many others for the same deed (*BJ* 7. 29-33). Simon will meet his end in spectacular fashion as well, since he will be executed during the Flavian triumph at Rome (*BJ* 7. 154-5).

ROMAN SPECTACLES AFTER THE SIEGE

According to Polybius (30. 14), Aemilius Paullus supposedly once said that a man who could arrange games and banquets well could also be a successful general. To the Romans these skills went hand in hand, and Josephus spends most of the first third

²⁷ *BJ* 5. 530-1. Compare this to the account of Alexander Jannaeus in *BJ* 1. 97-8: he has 800 Jewish captives crucified in the middle of Jerusalem as they looked at their wives and children being killed; the king viewed all this while drinking and reclining with concubines.

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of Book 7 detailing Titus' spectacles and the Flavian triumph, perhaps to show just how true to this model the Flavians were, as well as to emphasize his point that the fates of the Judaeans, of the Jews themselves, and of their Temple's remaining objects were all inextricably bound to the future peace under the Flavian dynasty. The rest of Book 7 after the description of the triumph is dedicated to outlining a variety of successful and unsuccessful reactions to Roman rule, with the intensively portrayed response of the rebels at Masada providing the greatest example of the utter futility of resisting Rome (Chapman 1998: 121–92). The Roman spectacles in Book 7 highlight and embody the book's overall theme of the undeniable hegemony of Rome (see esp. *Bj* 7. 158; cf. Eckstein 1990: 209).

Before returning to Rome, Titus spends the winter in the Middle East and provides spectacles in three specified cities as well as many others in Syria. The historian has already informed his readers back in Book 6 that Titus had his friend Fronto divide up the Jewish prisoners; among these, the 'tallest and most handsome' were saved for the triumph and 'a huge number were given by Titus to the provinces to be destroyed in the theatres by sword and wild beasts'.²⁸ Josephus describes Titus' spectacles in Book 7 separately, and in each case indicates that Jewish prisoners were used as the entertainment. At Caesarea Philippi, Josephus simply reports that many captives died either matched against wild beasts or *en masse* against one another in combat (*Bj* 7. 24). In his next notice of games, this time in honour of Domitian's birthday in October at Caesarea Maritima, the historian provides more detail. Here he adds to the wild beast and gladiator matches prisoners being burned to death, and claims that over 2,500 perished. He then comments that 'despite the myriad ways of their dying, all this seemed to the Romans to be too light a punishment' (*Bj* 7. 38). One perhaps senses his editorial disapproval of this as excessive or at least catches a whiff of his commentary on the soldiers performing the crucifixions at Jerusalem (*Bj* 5. 451). He hardly wishes to diminish the magnificence of Titus' events, though, and with his notice about the next games at Berytus in honour

²⁸ *Bj* 6. 416–18; the exemplary captives sent to Rome are mentioned again at *Bj* 7. 118 and 138. On procedures for sending prisoners to the games in Rome, see Kyle 1998: 92.

of Vespasian's birthday in November, he adds the detail of the real extravagance and expense that went into their production. Once again, he records that a huge number of captives died in the same manner as before (*BĴ* 7. 39). Finally, in many unnamed cities of Syria, Titus put on expensive shows in which Jewish prisoners acted as a 'display of their own destruction' (*BĴ* 7. 96: *εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀπωλείας*).

For the author's interpretation of all this slaughter of Jewish prisoners in spectacles, we need to turn to Eleazar's second speech at Masada later in Book 7. Josephus may not approve of this rebel leader's actions, but he does have him express many of his history's main themes. In his exhortation urging his fellow defenders to choose death, Eleazar asks who would not pity those now in captivity with the Romans. Some die by torture, but 'others, half-eaten by wild beasts, have been kept alive to be a second meal for them, after providing laughter and sport for their enemies' (*BĴ* 7. 373). These are not the sentiments of an author unmoved by the horror of the ridicule followed by death in the arena. Yet Josephus does not offer this commentary directly in connection with the spectacles of Titus' tour.

The most important aspect of this Middle Eastern pre-game show, so to speak, to the triumph back in Rome is not the entertainment Titus provides but his treatment of the Jews at Antioch. Josephus includes the background story of a Jew Antiochus who at the beginning of the war inspired the citizens of Antioch to burn Jews in the theatre for supposedly planning to set the city on fire. The historian explains that when an actual fire did break out in Antioch, the Jews were once again suspected (*BĴ* 7. 43–62). He then inserts two digressions: one on Vespasian (*BĴ* 7. 63–74) and the other on European theatres of war, highlighting the deeds of Domitian (*BĴ* 7. 85–8). Vespasian's vivid and joyous *adventus* back in Italy makes the new emperor the object especially of the army's gaze (*BĴ* 7. 67), but 'the mildness of his appearance' also gives the crowd pleasure and inspires new accolades (*BĴ* 7. 71). Josephus then returns in his account to Titus in Syria and explains in detail how Titus rejects the demands of the citizens of Antioch that the Jews be expelled and that the bronze tablets with the Jews' civic privileges be removed. Titus explains that the Jewish homeland has been destroyed, the Jews have nowhere to go, and they should remain

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with the same status (*Bj* 7. 100–11). The historian is intent upon emphasizing Roman respect for Jewish rights, especially in light of the outcome of the war; this theme in the text here embraces the successes of Vespasian and Domitian, thus binding Flavian well-being with that of the Jews.

Before leaving for Egypt and Italy, Titus takes one last look at Jerusalem in the *Bellum*. This allows Josephus a chance to make Jerusalem a narrative spectacle again, but this time one of desolation (*Bj* 7. 112: τὴν λυπρὰν ἐρημίαν βλεπομένην). Titus looks at the city, remembers the former magnificence of its beautiful buildings, and pities its destruction. We should notice that Titus does not draw any connection between the fate of Jerusalem and that of Troy and Rome as does Scipio when viewing Carthage (Polyb. 38. 22). Josephus instead has Titus go so far as not to boast about his accomplishment but to disparage the rebels (*Bj* 7. 113). The historian cannot resist the opportunity to cast blame here at this climactic point in his narrative. The last time, however, that we as readers will see Jerusalem is through the much more vivid speech of the rebel Eleazar at Masada when he bemoans the loss of such a citadel as Jerusalem and the fate of old men sitting by the ashes of the Temple while women are held as sex-slaves for the Roman soldiers (*Bj* 7. 375–7). Josephus is no stranger to irony (see Mason, Ch. 12 above).

Josephus returns Titus to Italy and now celebrates the Flavian triumph. This triumph scene itself is one of the most complete descriptions of the stages of a Roman triumph that we possess from any ancient author.²⁹ Suetonius (*Vesp.* 12) reports that Vespasian was not a fan of pompous display and was bored by sitting in the traffic-jam of the triumphal procession, but Josephus instead concentrates on trying to replicate the feel of its grandeur. By loading detail upon detail in his ecphrasis of all the spectacles, Josephus' narrative reflects the heaps of plunder carried in the procession, which, the historian

²⁹ *Bj* 7. 118–57, much more detailed than Dio 66. 12. 1a; see further Michel and Bauernfeind 1969: 237–51; Schwier 1989: 317–30; Millar, Ch. 5 above. Barnes (1977: 230) argues that Orosius (*Hist.* 7. 9. 8–9) adapted Tacitus' lost account of the triumph; although he lacks any description of the procession, he does provide the annalistic details that Josephus does not. On the Roman triumph, see further Ehlers 1939; Versnel 1970; Künzl 1988; Brilliant 1999; on the use of images in triumphs, see also Gregory 1994: 84.

says, display 'the greatness of Roman hegemony' (*Bḡ* 7. 133: τῆς Ρωμαίων ἡγεμονίας ἔδειξε τὸ μέγεθος). This narrative reflexivity between the triumph scene and the text as a whole becomes even more obvious when Josephus describes the moving stages, framed in gold and ivory and draped in tapestries, depicting various episodes of the war. The historian says that these provided 'an extremely vivid view' (*ἐναργεστάτην ὄψιν*) of the war, and he then lists the scenes of destruction, ending with 'desolation and sorrow' being the characteristics of the land devastated by rivers raging out of control. It is this vividness (*ἐνάργεια*) that tips the reader off to the rhetorical nature of his description. The scenes in the tableaux, in fact, are almost a replica of his contemporary Quintilian's advice on how to employ *ἐνάργεια* when giving an account of the capture of a city (*Inst.* 8. 3. 61 and 67–70; cf. Lucian *Hist. conscr.* 50–1). Just like the tableaux in the triumph, Josephus' text itself recounts the episodes vividly with an internal audience for his own readers to get across his point, which he makes so starkly, 'for these are the things the Jews handed themselves over to suffer in the war' (*Bḡ* 7. 145: ταῦτα γὰρ Ἰουδαῖοι πεισμένους αὐτοὺς τῷ πολέμῳ παρέδοσαν).

What is noteworthy here in the triumph scene, and what so disturbs some modern scholars, is the lack of emotion displayed by the author or even his internal audience (e.g. Rajak 1983: 218–22; cf. Chapman 1998: 121–92). Where are the lamentations now over his country's fate? Josephus as a character is certainly conspicuously absent from this triumph scene.³⁰ He does not interject himself in the text in order to deliver a lamentation like that of Aeneas viewing the murals of Troy's destruction at Carthage.³¹ Perhaps, one could argue, Josephus did not want to invite odium against himself or the Jewish residents of Rome and its environs by reporting their possible sorrow over what they saw that day in the triumph, since this is supposed to be a *happy* celebration for all good Romans and supporters of the Flavians. After all, people are said to have 'groaned' at Caesar's triumph in 46 BCE when viewing the depictions of

³⁰ Had Josephus not been freed from slavery, he could have ended up one of the generals playing his own capture in a tableau (*Bḡ* 7. 147).

³¹ Verg. *Aen.* 1. 459–60; the whole *War*, however, seems to echo Aeneas' lament to Dido at the opening of Book 2, especially *Aen.* 2. 5–6: 'the terrible things that I myself have seen and of which I was a great part'.

L. Scipio, Petreius, and Cato dying in the civil war (App. *B Civ.* 2. 101), and this Flavian triumph, too, was for an internal, not an external, victory. Or perhaps the crowds on the streets and in the theatres broke into laughter when they saw a scene such as the stage showing 'people fleeing' (*Bj* 7. 143), since Appian also says that the crowd laughed at the flight of Pharnaces depicted in Caesar's triumph; at least in Josephus' account, there were no small children being dragged in the procession for the crowd to get distressed about as there were in Aemilius Paullus' triumph (Plut. *Aem.* 33. 4). What does rouse emotion in the text, however, is the execution of Simon: everyone cheers when they hear he has been killed (*Bj* 7. 155). It is no wonder that Josephus chooses this moment in his narrative to present the crowd's reaction, since they are truly in line with the text's denunciation of Simon overall.

We should note that the items carried in the triumph just before the triumphant Flavians themselves are the objects taken from the Temple: the golden table, the lamp stand with seven branches, and, last of all, the Law.³² After describing the rest of the triumph and festivities, Josephus returns to these objects in his following paragraph by jumping ahead to the completion of the Temple of Peace in 75 CE (*Bj* 7. 158–62). Here he says that Vespasian laid up items that had been the focus of attention (*θέα*) for tourists all over the world before this collection was made for the temple (*Bj* 7. 160). Josephus emphasizes the emperor's special pride in the objects from the Temple at Jerusalem, as they are the only items mentioned specifically from the collection (*Bj* 7. 161). Josephus adds that the Law and the purple hangings from the Temple, however, were kept under guard at the palace.³³ This focus upon the Temple objects and their special care in their new homes reflects further the attention drawn to the Temple throughout the text. We might also question whether Josephus is setting up for his readers a mental comparison between the relative grandeur of the Jewish Temple

³² *Bj* 7. 148–50; see further Millar, Ch. 5 above. Josephus elsewhere remarks (*Vit.* 418) that Titus allowed him to have some 'sacred volumes' after Jerusalem fell; perhaps these also came from the Temple.

³³ *Bj* 7. 162. The singular multicoloured *καταπέτασμα* of *Bj* 5. 213 has now become plural and purple, perhaps because it is meant to include also the *καταπέτασμα* of 5. 219, which hung in front of the entrance to the Holy of Holies.

in his text and the monuments at Rome such as the Temple of Peace (see Millar, Ch. 5 above). In any case, Josephus has focused upon all these elements and has arranged his text for a reason: to provide that very vivid view of the Temple, even after it has been destroyed.

CONCLUSION

In September 2001 we were witnesses to a heinous tragic spectacle matching only the imagination of Hollywood: the deaths of thousands of innocent people as a result of planes forced by terrorists to crash into the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, and a field in Pennsylvania. Tens of thousands of people saw the effects of this devastation at the actual sites, but millions more watched coverage on television, listened to accounts on the radio, and read of it in newspapers, magazines, and web reports. Repeated visual³⁴ and verbal confirmation of the horror of twisted steel and bodies maimed and burnt beyond recognition made the world an audience to nightmarish violence that Americans had not suffered in their own land since the bombing of Pearl Harbor. The question arose immediately: how would the United States respond?³⁵ At his inauguration only months before, President Bush addressed the nation with the following words: 'I ask you to be citizens. Citizens, not spectators. Citizens, not subjects' (Bush 2001). Bush (or his speechwriters) here hit upon a basic truth that the Romans and Josephus, the Jew residing at Rome, understood quite well: there is a real tension and link between spectacle and political action. Josephus creates and reports about spectacles in his *Jewish War* not simply as passive entertainment but as an active political statement aimed at his own audience, which is composed (so he insists) of some

³⁴ Morrow (2001) writes concerning the delay of the second airplane crash as seemingly staged for the camera crews to capture: 'Evil possesses an instinct for theater, which is why, in an era of gaudy and gifted media, evil may vastly magnify its damage by the power of horrific images.'

³⁵ Besides personal, political, and military responses, within a day financiers were already discussing the rebuilding of the World Trade Center, perhaps in a different form, but definitely with a proper memorial to the dead; the damaged Pentagon has been restored as well. The desire to repair and rebuild significant places, whatever the motivation, should never be underestimated. See also the papers in Santirocco 2003.

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of the most powerful people living on the Tiber and around the Mediterranean. Whether they chose to see, believe, or act in response to his spectacles is another matter.

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The Empire Writes Back: Josephan Rhetoric in Flavian Rome¹

JOHN M. G. BARCLAY

Scholarship on Josephus is now more than ever conscious that all his literary projects—his histories as well as his apologetics—are shaped by rhetoric; every work is an act of persuasion, and each demonstrates, in varying ways, his mastery of rhetorical forms and techniques (see Mader 2000; Mason 2001). One can analyse this rhetoric at one level as a matter of technical competence: Josephus' use of tropes, his deployment of arguments, his *ethos* attacks on his opponents and *pathos* appeals to his readers/listeners—all such techniques can be identified and mapped in comparison with culturally contiguous parallels. But at another level Josephus' rhetoric demonstrates more than technique: it reveals his ideological commitments. In deploying his rhetoric Josephus displays the norms and honour-codes to which he is committed. His narrative-structures and syllogisms show what counts, for him, as honourable or dishonourable behaviour, and the norms and values by which events and cultures should be judged. Rhetoric is never value-free: it depends on a set of assumptions, often unspoken but easily enough deduced by analysis of its discourse-structures. Moreover, in the case of Josephus' rhetoric we may watch an accomplished writer handle the complexities of unequal power-relations, in which an elite foreigner in Rome carefully shapes his discourse in order to win maximal advantage for himself and for his people, within the constraints of his social and political environment. Thus, even when it is not overtly political, Josephus' rhetoric invites us to

¹ I am most grateful to fellow members of the conference for feedback on this paper both during and after the event, and to Stephen Moore for advice on its post-colonial dimensions.

consider his politics, the strategies by which his cultural tools are made to serve particular political ends.

Josephus' *Against Apion* is a blatantly rhetorical work, whose argumentative techniques can be analysed simply enough by reference to ancient rhetorical conventions (see Hall 1996; van Henten and Abusch 1996; Barclay 1998). But it is also, as a number of scholars have noted, a subtly Romanized piece of argumentation, which transposes Jewish thematics into a specifically Roman key (see e.g. Goodman 1994; Haaland 1999; Barclay 2000). At this point the rhetorical and cultural contours of the text map onto each other: Josephus' rhetoric is moulded to appeal to Roman standards of honour, and his discourse is variously confined or developed according to the cultural presumptions of his environment. Here our analysis will be enriched if we pay attention to the dynamics of power which flow around and through this presentation of a Romanized Judaism. For such an analysis I have found it helpful to utilize some aspects of current 'post-colonial theory', which is particularly well attuned to the phenomenon of power and how subordinate groups can (or cannot) represent themselves. Since this is, to my knowledge, a new angle of approach to Josephus, I wish to outline first the potential value of this perspective, before turning to one text, *Against Apion* 2. 125–34, which emerges in this light as a particularly suggestive example of Josephus' rhetoric.

JOSEPHUS AND POST-COLONIAL THEORY

Despite its label, the theoretical paradigms which are grouped under the name of 'post-colonial theory' are not only concerned with the cultural after-effects once a colonial or imperial system has withdrawn. Their subject-matter is, in fact, the power-relations between dominant (or colonizing) cultures and the subordinated cultures which were once, or still are, under their political or economic power.² Broadly speaking, post-colonial theory seeks to analyse the power of the dominant in the sphere of ideology, that is the 'hegemony' with which superior nations or

² The literature in this sphere is now vast. For a valuable overview see Loomba 1998, and for a collection of seminal essays Williams and Chisman 1993. A useful introduction to the key concepts in this field may be found in Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 1998.

classes control not only the economic and material lives of their subordinates, but also the terms in which they are described and defined, even the terms in which they think and speak. There is an acute consciousness here of the problem of representation: who has the power to represent the lives and cultures of the subordinate, and, if the colonized themselves take that role, under what constraints and in what terms are they able to make themselves heard? If Said's *Orientalism* (1978) focused attention on the ways in which the dominant creators of knowledge stereotype, essentialize, and patronize the cultures they describe, more recent attention has focused on the ways in which once or still colonized cultures acquire the voice with which to answer back.

Since post-colonial theory has been developed first in English-language departments, the most important objects of analysis have been post-colonial literature, especially on how, to borrow one book-title, *The Empire Writes Back* (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 1989). At an early stage, scholars' main object was to detect strategies of *resistance*, noting how in the colonial or post-colonial era the literature authored by the subordinate managed to evade, twist, or even subvert the cultural authority under which it was written. More recently, particularly under the influence of Homi Bhabha (his seminal essays are collected in Bhabha 1994), it has been recognized that the immensely complex relations between colonized and colonizer are not best analysed by the binary antithesis of assimilation/antagonism, but typically take subtle and ambivalent forms of 'in-between-ness', which serve to complicate and even destabilize the two cultures concerned. One key concept here is that of 'hybridity', which refers not simply to a conflation or syncretism of two cultures, but to the ambivalence of the new cultural formation which results from cultural contact in conditions of unequal power. The hybrid results of this contact not only alter the 'original' native culture but also challenge the solidity of the colonizer's cultural system, since the new product is both like and unlike the dominant culture (Anglicized, if you like, but not English).³ The important point is that this potential instability is open to exploitation by

³ See especially Bhabha 1994: 102–22, and for an elucidation of this complex notion, adapted from Derrida, see Loomba 1998: 178–83. A valuable analysis of Bhabha's work is by Moore-Gilbert 1997: 114–51. For a historical survey see Young 2001.

the colonized themselves. Although it is impossible for them to resurrect an 'authentic' or 'original' culture—indeed the search for 'authenticity' is itself an artificial endeavour—they can nonetheless creatively employ the dominant culture for their own ends. Here strategies of 'resistant adaptation' can be adopted, in which post-colonial authors neither simply succumb to, nor simply subvert, the colonial culture but negotiate complex paths of self-expression through the adapted medium of the dominant discourse (for an example from South America, see S. Stern 1982).

Could such perspectives assist in analysing the power-relations between Romans and the subordinate cultures within the Roman empire? Of course there are numerous social, political, and economic differences between the power-dynamics of the Roman empire and those of modern imperialisms and neo-colonialisms. We cannot expect, and should not create, precise parallels in political relationships or cultural strategies between ancient and modern times. But I am convinced that some of the basic questions raised by post-colonial theory concerning ideology, representation, and power are worth posing to the ancient phenomena as well, and, among classicists, some Roman archaeologists have now explored this terrain (cf. also Goldhill 2001*a*). For instance, with regard to the provinces of Gaul and Britain, fruitful questions can be asked about the meaning of the architecture and religious artefacts generated in Gallo-Roman cultures, in which we may enquire, for instance, to what extent Romanized Gauls reconstructed and advanced their own Gallic culture even while partially adopting the material and religious expressions of their Roman overlords. The use of Roman artefacts within a British burial, or the presence of a Roman-origin deity within Gallic religious statuary, might indicate a process of cultural supervention by the dominant Roman power. But they could also be examples of 'transculturation', that process by which members of subordinated or marginal groups select or invent from the materials transmitted by a dominant culture, recycling themes, genres, images, and artefacts for their own use, sometimes with subtly subversive effects.⁴ In such cases,

⁴ See, for instance, the collection of essays in Webster and Cooper 1996 and Mattingly 1997, as well as the issue of *World Archaeology* 28 (1996–7). A highly nuanced analysis of 'Romanization' in Gaul has been offered by Woolf 1998.

archaeologists are apt to bemoan the fact that we have no native Gallic or British literature in which to view how the indigenous cultures understood, or at least represented, themselves within the terms of their Romanizing environment. And here students of ancient Judaism have a massive, but underexploited, advantage. Here we have exactly what the post-colonial Roman archaeologists are looking for: expressions by a subordinate group of their own traditions and values, but under the constraints, and to some degree within the terms, of the dominant Hellenistic or Roman culture.

From this perspective, Josephus is a perfect example of 'the empire writing back'. In response to alternative and generally derogatory accounts of the Jewish Revolt, Josephus dares to present his own version of the War, and then, at great length, his own account of Jewish history and the place of Jews within the world-history of the Hellenistic and early Roman periods. In analysing South American responses to Spanish imperialism, Mary Louise Pratt has termed this sort of activity 'auto-ethnography'. Typical of such texts are the ways 'they involve a selective collaboration with and appropriation of idioms of the metropolis or conqueror. These are merged or infiltrated to varying degrees with indigenous idioms to create self-representations intended to *intervene* in metropolitan modes of understanding' (Pratt 1994: 28; cf. Pratt 1992). The openness to complexity (even ambiguity) in this approach, and the awareness of power-relations and constraints, is precisely what is needed in analysis of Josephus, where evaluations of his stance towards the Romans have frequently been conducted in simplistic or purely psychological terms. Understandably enough, his statements on his role in the revolt in Judaea, his relationship to Vespasian and Titus, and the destruction of the Temple have elicited strong suspicion, and he has frequently been pilloried as an imperial stooge and self-serving sycophant. In reaction to such verdicts, others have sought to exonerate Josephus, or at least to maintain that he consistently served what he thought were the interests of his fellow Jews (the long debate, often highly-charged, is surveyed in Bilde 1988). But much more is at play in Josephus' works than his personal agenda. His careful restatements of Jewish history and culture, under the cultural and political constraints of the post-70 CE era, should draw us to examine the complexity of his Jewish

self-representation. The issue here is not simply how he melds Jewish tradition with Hellenistic cultural forms and Romanized value-systems, but how the product, in its 'hybridity', not only changes the character of Judaism but also contributes to the ever-changing discussion of what it means to be 'Roman'. Once again, the power-dynamics are crucial, imposing limits on what Josephus can say openly. But in such a situation, as James Scott has demonstrated, the 'public transcript' can be heard differently by different audiences: while those in power may hear only compliance, others who know, or suspect, a hidden transcript can detect the oblique and circumspect strategies by which the subordinate maintain an alternative discourse.⁵

To approach Josephus from this perspective would direct our angle of vision in at least these ways:

1. We should recognize, and take for granted, that Josephus is operating under considerable constraints in his writing projects. His position in Rome, and his desire to reach and persuade a Roman or Romanized elite make it impossible for him to voice overt criticism of Roman policy to the Jews. This affects not only what he says about Vespasian and Titus in the conduct of the war against the Jews, but also, more broadly, his statements on Roman cultural characteristics. It is, for instance, both necessary and diplomatic to praise Roman *φιλανθρωπία* in affording Roman citizenship to so many non-Romans (*Ap.* 2. 40), but also, when commenting on the distinctive Jewish aniconic religious tradition, to steer away from direct comment on Roman culture by noting simply that 'the Greeks and some others think it right to make statues'—a practice Josephus condemns as 'profitable neither to God nor to humanity' (2. 74–5). As a political subject in Rome, and as an apologist, Josephus cannot afford to allow his discourse to clash openly or directly with Roman sensibilities.

2. Given such constraints, we should expect Josephus' most effective advocacy for the Jews to emerge not in confrontation with Roman cultural values, but in the ways he turns and shapes those values to his own interests. Of course, the norms, values, and beliefs of the Roman elite did not constitute a monolithic

⁵ Scott has written two brilliant monographs on this theme, 1985 and 1990. See e.g. 1990: 34: 'What may look from above like the extraction of a required performance can easily look from below like the artful manipulation of deference and flattery to achieve its own ends.'

unity, but were a complex composite of traditions, inevitably filled with tensions and gaps, and in constant process of adaptation and reconfiguration. Such plasticity was what made it possible for Roman moralists, satirists, orators, and historians to turn their own 'Roman' traditions against fellow Romans, and to redeploy them creatively for their own political and social interests. It was thus equally possible for a non-Roman like Josephus to turn that complex Roman tradition to the interests of his own cultural tradition. In *Against Apion* we can see Josephus working on Roman terms, but manipulating Roman values and norms to include, as exemplars, the Jews themselves—appropriating Roman cultural symbols, sometimes subtly redefined, for the greater glory of Judaism. Although his use of the Roman tradition in some respects consolidates the legitimacy of Roman discourse, it also empowers him to find a persuasive medium in which to re-express Judaism.

3. What we might also find in Josephus, suitably concealed or partial in expression, are hints of a cultural defiance which refuses to let Judaism merely mirror back to the Romans their own cultural mores. This is not a necessary or inevitable feature of writers under colonial conditions: some have simply erased their native cultural pride. But Josephus has not rested content with showing that the Jews are simply, as it were, 'Romans' from Judaea. By insisting on the extreme antiquity of Judaism and the originality of Moses' constitution (which has been imitated and envied by all other peoples), and by inserting under Roman moral categories his own Jewish customs (e.g. the Jewish ban on abortion, *Ap.* 2. 202), Josephus, as it were, infiltrates Roman discourse with his own distinctively Jewish traditions. The comparison with Roman culture is always indirect: it is typically 'the Greeks' with whom Josephus favourably compares the Jewish constitution. But his claim that Judaism is really the best, and most pious, constitution ever invented has indirect and unspoken implications for its position in relation to the Romans themselves. In this light, we might be open to consider whether Josephus uses ambiguous or veiled statements which could suggest to some readers a counter-current to his own public deference towards the Romans.

A SAMPLE OF JOSEPHUS' RHETORIC:

AGAINST APION 2. 125-34

I wish to illustrate some features of Josephus' rhetoric by examination of a passage in *Against Apion* which I find fascinatingly complex and suggestive. Towards the end of his response to Apion, Josephus turns to an accusation of considerable political and cultural importance, the Jews' history of political subordination and military failure. The issue was clearly important at the time when Apion voiced this criticism in the aftermath of the Alexandrian riots (38-41 CE), but Josephus is surely aware of its still greater salience in his own day. I cite the text in my own translation:⁶

125. One should also be particularly amazed at the great intelligence in what Apion goes on to say. For he says that it is proof of the fact that we do not follow just laws or worship God as we should that, rather than govern, we are subservient to other nations, one after another, and we have experienced some misfortunes affecting our city—while they, obviously, belonging to the most dominant city, have become accustomed from the very beginning to ruling, rather than serving, the Romans! **126.** Perhaps someone on the Roman side might sustain such a boast. But of the rest of humanity, there is no one who would deny that this argument of Apion turns precisely against himself. **127.** It has fallen to few to gain sovereignty over a period of time, and changes have again brought even these under the yoke to serve others; most peoples have been subject to others on many occasions.

128. So it is only the Egyptians (because the Gods, so they say, fled to their country for refuge and were saved by changing into the form of animals) who have the special privilege of not having been subservient to any of those who conquered Asia or Europe—these who throughout time have not gained a single day of freedom, not even at the hands of their indigenous masters. **129.** The way in which the Persians treated them—who not only once but on many occasions sacked their cities, razed their temples to the ground, and slaughtered what they consider to be 'Gods'—I would not reproach them for that. **130.** For it is not fitting to imitate Apion in his ignorance: he has not considered the

⁶ There are minor textual problems in a few places, in which I follow most recent editors: e.g. at 125 insert τὸ μὴ ἄρχεω before δουλεύειν (with ed. pr. and recent editors); at 126 read ἀνάσχοιτο μεγαλυνχίας with Niese 1889 *et al.*; at 127 read διὰ καίρου τινος with Reinach 1930; at 131 the square brackets indicate an uncertain text (without support from the Latin), which might be better omitted or radically emended; on 134, see below.

misfortunes of the Athenians or the Lacedaemonians, the latter universally agreed to be the most courageous of the Greeks, the former the most pious. **131.** I pass over the kings who were famed for their piety [for example, Croesus] and the disasters they experienced in their lives; I pass over the burnt Athenian acropolis, the temple in Ephesus, that in Delphi, thousands of others. No one has blamed these things on the victims, but on the perpetrators. **132.** Our novel accuser, Apion, turns out to have forgotten his own disasters affecting Egypt: Sesostris, the mythical king of Egypt, has blinded him.

On our side, could we not speak of our kings, David and Solomon who mastered many nations? **133.** Let us pass over them—although Apion was ignorant of the universally-known fact that the Egyptians were subservient to the Persians, and to the Macedonians who ruled Asia after them, with a status no different from slaves, **134** while we, being free, used to rule in addition over the surrounding cities for about 120 years up till the time of Pompey the Great; and when all the monarchs, on all sides, were hostile to the Romans,⁷ ours alone were maintained as allies and friends due to their loyalty.

Apion's charge is relatively simple: that history is proof of the insignificance or inferiority of the Jews, or rather, still stronger, that it proves the moral deficiencies in the structure of their culture ('that we do not have just laws') and the inadequacy, even impiety, inherent in their religion ('or worship God as we should'). These are serious and far-reaching criticisms, and Apion's argument is based on a cultural logic generally accepted throughout the ancient world: that military and political success is proof of moral excellence and piety while, conversely, defeat or disaster are attributable to the moral and religious inferiority of the losers.⁸ This is a logic which the Romans themselves consistently supported, not least because it enabled them to interpret their own habit of victory as a proof of their cultural and religious superiority. Roman military prowess and religious disdain thus created a powerful circularity which was all but mentally unassailable: just as Roman success was proof of her greater piety, so the crushing of nations which had the effrontery to challenge her might demonstrated their gross or

⁷ I follow Niese, who probably correctly here emends the text to ἐκπολεμωθέντων πρὸς Ῥωμαίους.

⁸ Regarding Egypt, a topic of significance for our passage, Diodorus (1. 69. 5–6) reckons her very long period of self-rule (4700 years, by his count) as proof of the value of her laws and customs.

pathetic contrariety to all religious decency. It was a logic easily employed by the Romans to discredit the Jews (although not only them). Cicero, for instance, overturned Jewish complaints about the governor Flaccus simply enough by reference to Pompey's recent victory in Jerusalem. When they dared to show by their armed resistance what they thought of Roman rule, the result—slavery, taxation, humiliation—showed how dear their city was to the gods (*quam cara dis immortalibus esset docuit, quod est victa, quod elocata, quod serva facta est, Flac.* 69).⁹

Apion's charge simply applied this logic on a larger scale: no doubt he reminded his readers about Antiochus Epiphanes' despoiling of the temple (*Ap.* 2. 80) and about Pompey's 'subjugation' of Judaea. How much further he ranged in history we cannot tell, but Josephus is surely aware that this sort of charge has particular resonance in his own day, after the Roman crushing of the Revolt, the destruction of Jerusalem, and the razing of the temple. The Flavian dynasty was, as we know, hungry for propaganda, and the suppression of the Jewish revolt provided a rich source of self-legitimation (see Millar, Barnes, Rives, and Goodman, Chs. 5–8 above). Inevitably, Flavian self-congratulation was at the expense of Jewish honour: the display of Temple spoils in the triumphal procession, the diversion of the Temple tax to the *fiscus Iudaicus*, the issue of coins with the legend IUDAEA CAPTA, the Colosseum inscription, the triumphal arches, and the derogatory depiction of the Jews in accounts of the War circulating in Rome—all these indicate the salience of the cultural logic which Josephus confronts here. What is more, this is a logic to which he himself subscribes throughout his earlier works. As his preface to the *Antiquities* makes clear, the whole of that narrative is meant to illustrate that God rewards the pious and brings disaster on those who disregard his laws (*AJ* 1. 10–14); consistent with this conviction, Josephus indicates that where the Jewish people have suffered, and when Jerusalem has been occupied or its temple destroyed, this has been because of their own impiety.¹⁰ In the case of the

⁹ Cf. Celsus' verdict on the Jews and Christians: 'See how much help God has been to both them and you. Instead of being masters of the world they have been left no land and no home of any kind!' (*ap.* Origen *C. Cels.* 8. 69).

¹⁰ See, on the general point, Attridge 1976. For this pattern as determining the fate of the temple see *AJ* 4. 313; 20. 166.

recent disaster in the war against Rome he had to put the blame not on all Jews, but on that party of 'bandits' and 'tyrants' whose lunacy led Jews into war, and whose impiety and cruelty brought down God's judgement on his now polluted sanctuary (the strategy permeates the *War*, e.g. 1. 10; 6. 94-5, 124-8, 250). Thus Apion's charge represents a sore and extremely difficult point for Josephus to deal with, and had greater contemporary relevance in Josephus' day than Apion could have guessed.

Josephus knows that what is at stake here is the meaning of history, and in this struggle it will be crucial not only to cite the 'facts' with due selectivity, but also to define and interpret those 'facts' in a way that leaves Jewish honour intact. In general, there are two interpretative strategies open to Josephus: to admit the cultural logic (that subjugation signals inferiority) but deny the applicability of the charge (we were not truly subjugated), or to admit the charge (we were subjugated) but challenge the logic (that does not mean we are inferior). In this passage we find Josephus trying both strategies, at some cost to the logical consistency of this passage but with considerable rhetorical skill. We will trace each in turn.

1. One side of Josephus' argumentation depends on admitting the cultural logic that military defeat and the loss of national autonomy is a sign of cultural or religious inadequacy. His main tactic here, as so often in his response to Apion, is to turn the charge back against his accuser. Although Apion would undoubtedly have considered himself a 'Greek', who had been legitimately accorded Alexandrian citizenship, Josephus' tactic, here as elsewhere, is to treat him as an 'Egyptian' and thus to throw back at him as much prejudice about the 'Egyptians' and their history as he can muster. In this short passage, Josephus returns to the topic of Egyptian disgrace again and again, with as many as six separate points, fixing in particular on their chequered political history and (a favourite topic) their animal cults. He could be sure that these would gain recognition and approval in his audience, as it was well known in Rome that Egypt was a proud country which had nonetheless been ruled by the Persians for several centuries and had been subdued by absorption into the Roman empire after 31 BCE.¹¹ The Egyptian animal cults

¹¹ Dio 51. 17 exults in the humiliation of Alexandria and views the annexation of Egypt with pride: 'thus was Egypt enslaved' (51. 17. 4).

were also a topic of guaranteed amusement among the Roman elite (the topos is well-known: see Smelik and Hemelrijk 1984). Josephus' tactic is to treat all these events as examples of 'slavery'—indeed even to add the glorious Ptolemaic era as another period of slavery, when the Egyptians were subservient to 'the Macedonians' with 'a status no different from slaves' (2. 133). He also rubs in the ignominy of the Persian period, by reference to the Persians' well-known intolerance of the Egyptian animal cults (2. 129)—claiming at the end of that long description that this is not a matter of reproach (though of course it is, otherwise he would not have dwelt on it).¹² Thus by the tactic which especially delights him (cf. 2. 5), Josephus makes the accuser the accused, and in this way distracts attention from the seriousness of the charge directed against the Jews. After mentioning the charge in 2. 125 it is not until midway through 2. 132 that Josephus picks it up directly, and by that time we have almost forgotten what this is all about.

That Josephus should turn on the Egyptians in this connection is typical of his strategy throughout this work, which I have elsewhere analysed as part of 'the politics of contempt' (Barclay 2004). Trading on the disdain which the Romans generally showed towards Egypt, especially her theriomorphic religion, Josephus can deflect criticism of his subordinate culture by transferring it onto another. In one sense, of course, this plays straight into the hands of the Romans: there is nothing more convenient for the dominant than to have the dominated exploit one another. From another perspective, it shows the skill with which Josephus can manipulate the Romans' own cultural values into denigration of the critics of Judaism, his vituperation of the Egyptians aligning him with the common views of history and religion held by the Romans. It is thus not surprising that he should start this section with reference to the Romans, sarcastically commenting on the Egyptians' 'most dominant city' (Alexandria) as 'accustomed from the very beginning to ruling rather than serving the Romans' (2. 125). Unchallengeable Roman rule is a theme he can safely and wisely deploy for rhetorical advantage.

¹² For the Persian hostility to the Egyptian cults see e.g. Strabo 17. 1. 27, 46; Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 355c, 363c, 368f.

Thus this section begins with an emphatic affirmation of the logic that victory indeed signals cultural and religious value. It finishes with the same too, but here, in the final paragraph, whilst retaining the logic, Josephus denies the charge. Where Apion had charged that the Jews had persistently been subservient to other nations and suffered humiliating defeats (2. 125), Josephus insists on a different account of history. It is perhaps a sign of his desperation that he has to go all the way back to David and Solomon in order to find a period of Jewish autonomy and supremacy (2. 132b). It is noticeable that he does not date these kings' rule, nor refer back to his earlier accounts of their somewhat mixed fortunes. Nor does he say here, for obvious reasons, what he records elsewhere, that the first time the Jerusalem temple was sacked it was captured by an *Egyptian* king (Isokos, taken to be Sesostris), who removed David's and Solomon's temple treasures (*AJ* 8. 253–62). Josephus' discourse is often as revealing for what it omits as for what it says, but his 'let us pass over them' cleverly gives the impression that he could have said much more on this tack which he has kept deliberately vague. Once again, he distracts our attention by a comparison with the Egyptians (2. 133), while implying, misleadingly, that all through the Persian and Macedonian period the Jewish nation was autonomous. The one recent period of 'freedom' he can point to is that '120 years' before the time of Pompey—though if we go by his own calculations elsewhere (*BJ* 1. 53, dating freedom from the Macedonians to 142 BCE) this should actually be reduced to no more than 80 years.

It is not clear that Apion had claimed that Jews had *always* been under foreign rule, only that they had repeatedly been so, and suffered multiple captures of their city. It is notable that Josephus has managed to change the subject, ignoring the five occasions on which the temple was captured (listed in *BJ* 6. 435–7) and conveying the impression that Jewish dignity was salvaged by the fact that they were at least *sometimes* free. By contrast, it was necessary to suggest, by hint and generalization, that Egypt had never been free, not even for a single day, thus not even under her own indigenous rulers (2. 128).

But what could be said about the Jewish period post-Pompey? Here, we may note, Josephus subtly changes the terms of the discourse. Up to this point there have been only two categories,

slavery or submission on the one hand, and freedom or rulership on the other.¹³ Unable to claim that after Pompey the Jews were 'free', but unwilling to concede 'slavery', the language suddenly changes to the face-saving vocabulary of 'allies and friends' (2. 134). This is a crucial rhetorical move. In the *War*, Josephus had deployed the language of freedom and slavery in complex ways, but had placed on the lips of Agrippa, a 'client' king, the claim that all the world is enslaved to Rome, and a long description of this state of affairs (*BJ* 2. 356–87). Here Josephus shies away from such blunt recognition of political reality and takes refuge in the very euphemisms which the Romans themselves preferred to adopt: their client kings, whom they appointed, controlled, and employed as proxy tax-collectors, were rather to be termed 'allies' and 'friends'. The hint here that Jews were in a special position was largely unfounded.¹⁴ Once again, by generalization and strategic silence (there is no mention, of course, of the Revolt) Josephus manages to turn 'history' to his advantage, and his complicity in Roman euphemism helps suggest that Jews and Romans have identical political interests.

2. Thus far, as we have seen, Josephus works within and exploits the cultural logic that military success is proof of moral virtue and divine favour: he has turned that logic against the Egyptians, to denigrate his accuser, and he has denied that the Jews are a case in point, by suppressing examples of their defeat while profiling samples of their success and 'alliance' with Rome. Without denying outright the applicability of Apion's charge, he has rendered it insignificant compared to the contrary facts he chooses to highlight. But now we must also note, embedded within our section of text, two passages which hint at an alternative rhetorical strategy, and threaten to undo not only Josephus' own argumentation in this passage but also basic Roman convictions about power and success. In these two passages, the tactic is opposite to that we have traced thus far: here the cultural logic underlying Apion's charge is itself brought into question, so that defeat is treated as no necessary basis for moral or religious

¹³ Thus, on the one hand, δουλεύειν (2. 125, 127, 133), ὑπακούειν (2. 127), or ὑποζεύγειν (2. 127) and, on the other, ἄρχειν (2. 125, 133) or ἐλευθερία (2. 128, 133).

¹⁴ Josephus' account of Claudius' decree (*AJ* 19. 287–91) similarly suggests a special Jewish 'loyalty' to Rome; but our papyrus copy of Claudius' judgement on affairs in Alexandria (*CPJ* 2, no. 153) tells a very different story.

stigma, and questions can be raised about the perpetrators, not the victims, of national disasters. These counter-currents are comparatively weak—undeveloped, generalized, and indirect suggestions—but we should at least notice them.

The first passage which at least qualifies, if it does not undermine, Apion's cultural logic, is Josephus' statement in 127 that 'it has fallen to few to gain sovereignty over time, and changes have again brought even these under the yoke to serve others; most peoples have been subject to others on many occasions'. At one level this is simply an observation on history: empires come and go. It thus serves at least to blunt the force of the presumption that subservience to other nations is a proof of unjust laws or improper piety. If this were said of the Jews, it would have to be said of most nations, and the more universally it is said the less bite the axiom can retain. But at another level, in the power-dynamics of empire, no 'observation on history' is ever that simple, especially if made by the subordinate.¹⁵ If 'it has fallen to few to gain sovereignty over a period of time', the example which would spring immediately to mind would be the Roman empire. Thus to say that 'changes have again brought even these under the yoke to serve others' is, by this generalization, not to say anything about Rome in particular, and not to say anything about the future, but also not to exclude possible application to Rome. Scholars (e.g. de Jonge 1974) have pored over statements which Josephus makes elsewhere about the 'changes in fortune' which have taken place during history, although this one has not been noted in this connection. Frequently in the *War* Josephus comments on the 'fortune' favouring the Romans, and puts both in his own mouth and in Titus' the expression that God was on the side of the Romans (e.g. 2. 390–1; 3. 484; 5. 412; 6. 411). At one famous point, when talking about changes in fortune, he says that God goes the rounds of the nations in history and has given rulership now to Italy (*Bj* 5. 367; cf. *Ap.* 2. 41). 'Now' could, of course, be an entirely innocent observation

¹⁵ Polybius' report on Scipio's famous warning, that one day Rome would fall like Carthage (Polyb. 38. 22. 3), is sometimes cited in this regard. But for Polybius to make the same warning in his own voice, or to attribute it to a Carthaginian, would give the sentiment a different ring. Titus' observation that 'no human affairs are secure' (*Bj* 3. 396) is also comparatively safe since Josephus places it on the emperor's lips.

on the present state of affairs, but it could also hint (no more than hint) that the future might be very different. In the *Antiquities* Josephus is notoriously coy about that future. Balaam's prophecy of future success for Israel (4. 114–17, 125) is notably vague, and Josephus leaves the vision of Daniel, with the stone predicted to smash the iron empire, tantalizingly uninterpreted: my task, he says, is to recount the past, not to predict the future (10. 210).¹⁶ Thus, even though he elsewhere suggests, without directly saying so, that this iron empire is that of the Romans (10. 276), Josephus always speaks on this topic partially and indirectly, with the aid of generalization or allusion.¹⁷ Here, in our passage, Josephus resorts to a generalization that is spoken in the context of Roman rule, but makes no explicit reference to the present Roman empire. But the observation that even world rulers have been reduced to slavery, while couched in the past tense, could easily seep into the present and future.

Our second passage is fuller, but even more indirect. As we have noticed, at the end of 2. 129 Josephus suddenly changes tack from denigration of the Egyptians for their sorry history of occupation to a refusal to attribute shame on that basis. With a swipe at Apion's ignorance (cf. 2. 26, 38), he then begins to list a number of 'misfortunes' in Greek history which were widely known, but which had not dented the reputation of the victims. Once again, Josephus is vague: he does not record what events he has in mind in 2. 130, and when he becomes more specific in

¹⁶ See Spilsbury 2003: 1–24 for discussion of this point. He rightly draws attention to Balaam's remarkable promise of Jewish resurgence and vengeance, after a period of abasement (*Ant.* 4. 127); could this be heard as relevant in Josephus' own day?

¹⁷ Mason 1994 brings out effectively the many subtleties in Josephus' attitude to Roman power, but on this point, in my judgement, underplays the way Josephus hints at a future which he self-consciously leaves unspoken. Why does Josephus mysteriously invite his readers to consult Daniel on the subject of the stone (*Ant.* 2. 210)? Mason suggests that (a) this reflects Josephus' awareness of his task as a historian 'and this accounts for his omission of elaborate eschatological scenarios'; and (b) this serves a rhetorical purpose: Josephus 'wants to leave the impression that the Jewish scriptures contain all sorts of oriental mysteries beyond what he as a historian can presently discuss' (1994: 173). But Jewish readers who could and did consult the Book of Daniel would surely hear more in Josephus' words: they would know that the stone was sanctioned by 'the God of heaven' and represented 'a kingdom that shall never be destroyed' (Dan. 2: 44). That the Roman Empire was to be replaced by God with a truly eternal kingdom was perhaps best left unspoken in a text which might be read by non-Jews in Rome.

2. 131 he does not recount the circumstances of these various temple destructions: the reader cannot assess, independently of his verdict, where the blame might be apportioned. The general tenor of this line of argument is clear. A national disaster, even the destruction of a temple, is not necessarily proof of unjust laws or inappropriate worship: it might only prove the impiety of the conquerors. Thus here Josephus actually unpicks the conceptual seam which holds the rest of his argument together, the conviction that victory and virtue are intrinsically linked. At this point the logic of his argument begins to unravel altogether.¹⁸

But what is even more striking about this passage is its implication for the assessment of Jewish history in particular. Although Josephus had not mentioned the Jewish Temple in 2. 125 (whereas Apion probably had, cf. 2. 80), the fate of the Jerusalem Temple was clearly the most sensitive spot in the assessment of Jewish dignity. Josephus very specifically names temples in 2. 131, and finishes his catalogue with the notable generalization: 'thousands of others'. Could he have *avoided* thinking of his own temple in this connection? And if so, what is implied by that potentially devastating comment that 'no one has blamed these things on the victims, but on the perpetrators' (οἱ δράσαντες)?

Now, in the *War*, Josephus was notoriously careful not to blame the Romans for the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple. He could not afford to attribute 'impiety' to the Romans in general or to Titus in particular, and he needed to grapple with the question of theodicy, how God could allow such a catastrophe to take place (see Barnes and Rives, Chs. 6 and 7 above). While it was the Romans who, in the end, burned the temple down, Titus had not wanted this result (*BJ* 1. 10; 6. 266), had argued against it in the council of war (6. 236–43), and had consistently offered the Jews the chance to fight on other territory (6. 95). Thus the blame largely falls on the Jewish rebels themselves, whose pollution of the Temple required the judgement of God to cleanse

¹⁸ It is a sign of his rhetorical skill that only very close observation of his text reveals this logical difficulty.

¹⁹ Note, however, that Josephus puts on Eleazar's lips the complaint that the Temple had been uprooted 'in such a profane manner' (οὕτως ἀνοσίως, *BJ* 7. 379). The complaint is rendered safe since it is uttered by a discredited rebel, but it is still spoken.

it (6. 108–10).¹⁹ In our passage, if he had mentioned the Jerusalem Temple explicitly, Josephus could hardly have admitted that it was the impiety of Jews themselves that was chiefly to blame: that would have proved Apion's point, however much Josephus had claimed that these were only some, unrepresentative, Jews. Nor could he describe this destruction as a necessary act of divine wrath. It was better not to mention the Jerusalem Temple at all, and thus not invite questions on the identity of the perpetrators who should be blamed. But Josephus is acutely aware that his Temple has been destroyed, and just a few pages earlier he had mentioned Titus in a list of those who 'occupied' it (*Ap.* 2. 82). Thus nothing is said that could lead explicitly to the suggestion that the Romans are 'the perpetrators' to be blamed. But it does not take much for that conclusion to be drawn, and the advertised 'passing over' of those 'thousands of others' leaves many options open for the reader.

By this silence Josephus does not destroy that circularity which linked Roman piety to Roman military might and thus does not subvert the self-congratulation of Roman imperialism. But is this 'passing over' a subtle way of making mention, a hint that an alternative reading of Jewish history is possible? I doubt that we can answer this question with confidence at the level of Josephus' intention, but the case may illustrate what post-colonial theory rightly brings to our attention: that in a melody apparently composed of complicity and cultural subservience, there can sound soft notes of self-assertion and resistance, at least for some ears.

This brief survey of a complex passage is perhaps enough to indicate that Josephus' rhetoric is necessarily a political phenomenon. Not every passage, of course, bears directly on political matters, and few are as intricate as this in their rhetorical stance. But none stands outside the power-constraints of Josephus' social and cultural position, and most demonstrate, at the same time, Josephus' own empowerment as he deploys his new intellectual resources in the interests of his fellow Jews. That paradoxical result, which is characteristic of the colonial and post-colonial condition, assuredly generates its own ironies and ambiguities, but I venture to suggest that the study of Josephus might benefit from such sensitivity to the complexities of this Flavian Jew.

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