

THE JEWS
UNDER ROMAN RULE

STUDIES IN JUDAISM IN LATE ANTIQUITY

EDITED BY

JACOB NEUSNER

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E. MARY SMALLWOOD

THE JEWS
UNDER ROMAN RULE



LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
1976

THE JEWS UNDER ROMAN RULE

From Pompey to Diocletian

BY

E. MARY SMALLWOOD

Reader in Classics
at the Queen's University of Belfast

With 3 maps



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PREFACE

This book was ready for the press in August, 1973, and there is little work published since that date of which I have been able to take account. Unfortunately, the financial difficulties which were then beginning to beset British publishers prevented the book from being put into immediate production. After long delay I approached my old friends Brill, who gave it a prompt and warm welcome to their series "Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity", and have published it with their customary speed and efficiency. The care and accuracy of their compositors and proof-readers left little work to be done by me and by the noble team of friends and colleagues who gave me invaluable help with the reading of the first proof and whose patience and vigilance I here acknowledge with gratitude.

Much of the book was put into its final shape during a year of study-leave spent at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, where the blessings bestowed on scholars include expert secretarial assistance. The immaculate typescript of the first sixteen chapters and the appendixes which I brought home was largely the work of Mrs. M. Van Sant.

I record here my gratitude to the Queen's University of Belfast for financial assistance with numerous visits to libraries in Cambridge in connection with the preparation of this book, and with a visit to Israel in the spring of 1973, where many scholars gave generously of their time to elucidate problems for me and to introduce me to recent work, written and archaeological, done in their country. To them and to the many scholars in Britain and America whom I consulted on various points this book owes much. For errors of fact or judgement I alone am responsible.

The index does not aim at being completely comprehensive. Casual references to persons, places, etc. included in the index are omitted, and likewise references to matters of purely Roman history which are mentioned for chronological and similar reasons only. Roman officials are indexed, with unashamed inconsistency, under the name by which they are most frequently referred to in the text; e.g., Porcius Festus is indexed under his *cognomen*, Tineius Rufus under his *nomen*, and Pontius Pilatus under the familiar anglicisation of his *cognomen*. Would the average reader look for Cicero under Tullius?

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations of the following are not included: books of the Bible and the Apocrypha; tractates of the Mishnah and Talmuds; Latin and Greek works identifiable from the author's name; periodicals not shortened to initials.

<i>A A</i>	<i>The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs, Acta Alexandrinorum</i> , ed. H. Musurillo (1954).
<i>AASOR</i>	<i>Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i> .
Abel, <i>GP</i>	F. M. Abel, <i>Géographie de la Palestine</i> (1933-8).
—, <i>HP</i>	—, <i>Histoire de la Palestine depuis la conquête d'Alexandre jusqu'à l'invasion arabe</i> (1952).
—, <i>I and II Macc.</i>	—, <i>Les Livres des Maccabées</i> (an edition of I and II <i>Macc.</i> , 1949).
<i>ACM</i>	<i>The Acts of the Christian Martyrs</i> , ed. H. Musurillo (1972).
<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i> .
<i>AJ</i>	Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i> .
<i>AJPh</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i> .
Amm. Marc.	Ammianus Marcellinus.
<i>Ap.</i>	Josephus, <i>In Apionem</i> .
<i>APOT</i>	<i>The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament</i> , in English, ed. R. H. Charles (1913).
App., <i>BC</i>	Appian, <i>Bellum Civile</i> .
—, <i>Mith.</i>	—, <i>Bellum Mithridaticum</i> .
—, <i>Syr.</i>	—, <i>Bellum Syriacum</i> .
Arist., <i>Ad Phil.</i>	Aristeas, <i>Epistula ad Philocratem</i> .
<i>ARN</i> (Goldin)	<i>Abot de-Rabbi Nathan</i> , transl. J. Goldin (= <i>The Fathers According to Rabbi Nathan</i> , Yale U.P., 1955).
Aur. Vict., <i>Epit.</i>	Aurelius Victor, <i>Epitome de Caesaribus</i> .
—, <i>Lib.</i>	—, <i>Liber de Caesaribus</i> .
Avi-Yonah, <i>GJZT</i>	M. Avi-Yonah, <i>Geschichte der Juden im Zeitalter des Talmud, in den Tagen von Rom und Byzanz</i> (1962).
—, <i>HL</i>	—, <i>The Holy Land from the Persian to the Arab conquest; a historical geography</i> (1966).
—, <i>Map</i>	—, <i>A Map of Roman Palestine</i> (revised ed., 1940).
Baron	S. W. Baron, <i>A Social and Religious History of the Jews</i> I and II (revised ed., 1952).
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i> .
Bernand, <i>Memnon</i>	A. and E. Bernand, <i>Les Inscriptions grecques et latines du Colosse de Memnon</i> (1960).
<i>BGU</i>	<i>Aegyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin. Griechische Urkunden</i> (1895-1934).
<i>BJ</i>	Josephus, <i>Bellum Judaicum</i> .
<i>BMC, Imp.</i>	<i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum</i> , ed. H. Mattingly (1923—).
<i>BMC, Pal.</i>	<i>Greek Coins of Palestine in the British Museum</i> , ed. G. F. Hill (1914).
<i>BMC</i> , followed by a place-name	Other volumes in the above series.

- Box, *Fl.* See under *Fl.*
 BT The Babylonian Talmud, followed by the name of the tractate; English translation ed. I. Epstein (1935-48).
 Büchler, *Economic Conditions* A. Büchler, *The Economic Conditions of Judaea after the Destruction of the Second Temple* (1912).
 —, *Sepphoris* —, *The Social and Political Leaders of the Jewish Community of Sepphoris in the Second and Third centuries* (1910).
- CAH *The Cambridge Ancient History.*
 CCL *Corpus Christianorum Latinorum.*
 Chron. Pasch. *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. L. Dindorf, in *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (1832).
 Cic., *Pro Fl.* Cicero, *Pro Flacco.*
 CIJ *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum*, ed. J. B. Frey (1936-52).
 CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.*
 Cod. Just. *Codex Justiniani.*
 Cod. Th. *Codex Theodosianus.*
 CPb *Classical Philology.*
 CPJ *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, ed. V. A. Tcherikover and A. Fuks (1957-64).
 Corbishley, *Chronology* T. Corbishley, 'The chronology of Herod's reign' in *JThS* xxxvi (1935), 22-32.
 CQ *The Classical Quarterly.*
 CRAI *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.*
- Dig. *Digesta Justiniani.*
 Dio Cassius Dio.
 Diod. Sic. Diodorus Siculus.
 DJD *Discoveries in the Judean Desert* (1955—).
 Downey, *Antioch* G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria, from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest* (1961).
 Driver, *Scrolls* G. R. Driver, *The Judean Scrolls: the problem and a solution* (1965).
- Eck W. Eck, *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian* (1970).
 EJ *Encyclopedia Judaica* (1971-2).
 Epiph., *Haer.* Epiphanius, *Adversus Octaginta Haereses.*
 Eus., *Chron.* Eusebius, *Chronicon* (Jerome's version).
 —, *DE* —, *Demonstratio Evangelica.*
 —, *HE* —, *Historia Ecclesiastica.*
 —, *MP* —, *Liber de Martyribus Palaestinae.*
 —, *Onom.* —, *Onomasticon.*
 —, *PE* —, *Praeparatio Evangelica.*
- Feldman L. H. Feldman, Loeb edition of *AJ* xviii-xx (1965).
 FGrH F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (1940—).
 FHG C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (1841-72).
 FIRA *Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani*, ed. S. Riccobono and others (1940-3).
 Fl. Philo, *In Flaccum*, ed. H. Box (1939).
 Frend, *Martyrdom* W. H. C. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church: a study of a conflict from the Maccabees to Donatus* (1965).

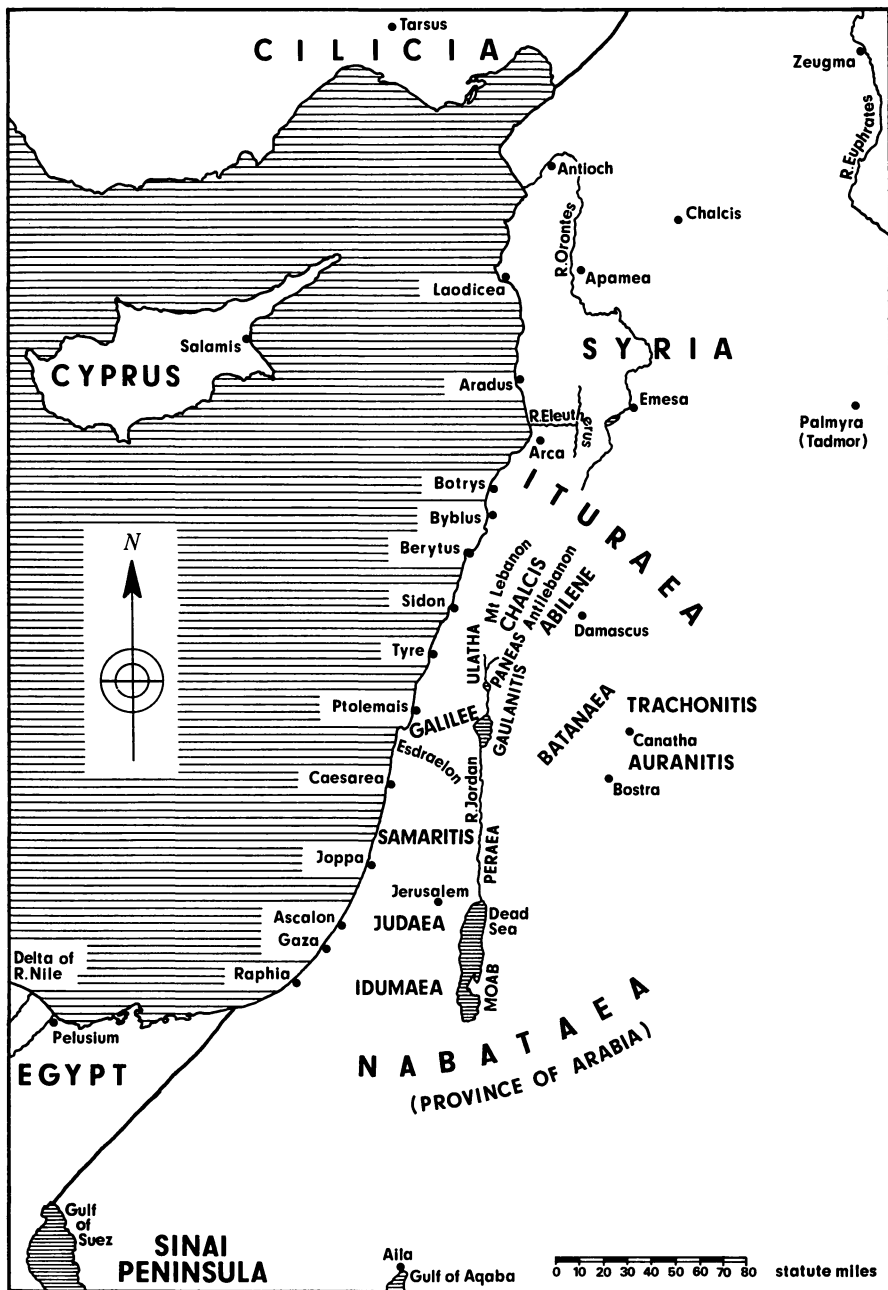
- Gabba, *Iscr. Bibbia* E. Gabba, *Iscrizioni greche e latine per lo studio della Bibbia* (1958).
Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller.
- GCS *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller.*
- Gihon and Applebaum M. Gihon and S. Applebaum, *Israel and her Vicinity in the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (notes for the Seventh Internat. Congr. of Rom. Frontier Stud., 1967).
- Ginsburg, *RJ* M. Ginsburg, *Rome et la Judée* (1928).
- Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols* E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman period* 1953-68).
- Hastings, *Dict. Bible* *A Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. J. Hastings and others (1898-1904).
- Hengel, *Zeloten* M. Hengel, *Die Zeloten; Untersuchungen zur jüdischen Freiheitsbewegung in der Zeit von Herodes I bis 70 n. Chr.* (1961).
- Her. Herodian.
- Hier. Jerome.
- Hoehner, *Antipas* H. W. Hoehner, *Herod Antipas* (1972).
- HTbR *Harvard Theological Review.*
- HUCA *Hebrew Union College Annual.*
- Hüttl, *AP* W. Hüttl, *Antoninus Pius* (1933-6).
- IEJ *Israel Exploration Journal.*
- IG *Inscriptiones Graecae.*
- IGRR *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas pertinentes*, ed. R. Cagnat (1911-27).
- ILS *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, ed. H. Dessau (1892-1916).
- Inscr. Ital.* XIII, i *Inscriptiones Italiae* XIII, i, *Fasti consulares et triumphales*, ed. A. Degrassi (1947).
- Ioh. Mal., *Chron.* John Malalas, *Chronographia*, ed. L. Dindorf in *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (1831).
- Jackson and Lake, *Beginnings* F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity* (1920-33).
- JBL *Journal of Biblical Literature.*
- JE *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (1901-6).
- JE A *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.*
- JJS *The Journal of Jewish Studies.*
- JOAI *Jahreshefte der österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien.*
- Join-Lambert, *Jerusalem* M. Join-Lambert, *Jerusalem*, transl. C. Haldane (1958).
- Jones, *CERP*² A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (revised ed., 1971).
- , *GC* —, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (1940).
- , *Herods* —, *The Herods of Judaea* (1938).
- JQR *The Jewish Quarterly Review.*
- JRS *The Journal of Roman Studies.*
- JSemS *Journal of Semitic Studies.*
- JT The Jerusalem Talmud, followed by the name of the tractate; French translation by M. Schwab (1871-90).
- JTbS *The Journal of Theological Studies.*
- Juster *J. Juster, Les Juifs dans l'empire romain* (1914).
- Just. Mart., *Apol.* Justin Martyr, *Apologiae.*
- , *Dial.* —, *Dialogus cum Tryphone.*

Juv.	Juvenal, <i>Satirae</i> .
Kadman, <i>Aelia</i> —, <i>Caesarea</i>	L. Kadman, <i>The Coins of Aelia Capitolina</i> (1956). —, <i>The Coins of Caesarea Maritima</i> (1957). (Volumes of the <i>Corpus Nummorum Palaestinensium</i>).
Kenyon, <i>Jerusalem</i>	K. M. Kenyon, <i>Jerusalem: excavating 3000 years of history</i> (1967).
Kreissig, <i>Zusammenhänge</i>	H. Kreissig, <i>Die sozialen Zusammenhänge des jüdischen Krieges</i> (1970).
<i>Lat.</i>	<i>Latomus</i> .
<i>Leg.</i>	Philo, <i>Legatio ad Gaium</i> , ed. E. M. Smallwood (1961; revised ed., 1970). (References are given as " <i>Leg.</i> , p. 00" and "note on <i>Leg.</i> 00").
Leon, <i>JR</i> Lepper, <i>TPW</i>	H. J. Leon, <i>The Jews of Ancient Rome</i> (1960). F. A. Lepper, <i>Trajan's Parthian War</i> (1948).
Magie, <i>RRAM</i>	D. Magie, <i>Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century after Christ</i> (1950).
Mantel, <i>Sanhedrin</i>	H. Mantel, <i>Studies in the History of the Sanhedrin</i> (1961).
Marcus	R. Marcus, Loeb edition of <i>AJ</i> viii-xiv (1934-43).
Marie-Aline, <i>Antonia</i>	Marie-Aline de Sion, <i>La Forteresse Antonia à Jérusalem et la question du prétoire</i> (1955).
Mart.	Martial, <i>Epigrammata</i> .
Midr. . . . <i>R.</i>	Midrash Rabbah on the book of the Bible named.
Mish.	The Mishnah, followed by the name of the tractate; English translation by H. Danby (1933).
<i>Mnem.</i>	<i>Mnemosyne</i> .
Momigliano, <i>Claudius</i> —, <i>Ricerche</i>	A. Momigliano, <i>The Emperor Claudius and his Achievement</i> (1934; revised ed., 1961). —, <i>Ricerche sull'organizzazione della Giudea sotto il dominio romano (63 a. C.-70 d. C.)</i> . (The page numbers of the original publication in <i>Annali della Scuola Normale di Pisa</i> ² iii (1934) follow those of the reprint).
Moore, <i>Judaism</i>	G. F. Moore, <i>Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era</i> (1927-30).
Musurillo	See under <i>AA</i> and <i>ACM</i> .
Neusner, <i>JB</i> I (I ²), II —, <i>Yobanan</i>	J. Neusner, <i>A History of the Jews in Babylonia</i> I, <i>The Parthian period</i> (1965; revised ed., 1969): II, <i>The early Sasanian period</i> (1966). —, <i>A life of Yobanan ben Zakkai, c. 1-80 C.E.</i> (1962; revised ed., 1970).
<i>NT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i> .
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i> .
<i>OGIS</i>	<i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> , ed. W. Dittenberger (1903-5).
<i>Orac. Sib.</i>	<i>Oracula Sibyllina</i> .
Orig., <i>Cels.</i>	Origen, <i>Contra Celsum</i> .
Oros.	Orosius.
Otto	W. Otto, <i>Herodes</i> in P.-W., Supplementband II (1913), cols. 1-158.

<i>P.</i>	Papyri, followed by the name of the collection.
Parkes, <i>Conflict</i>	J. W. Parkes, <i>The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue: a study in the origins of antisemitism</i> (1934).
<i>PBSR</i>	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome.</i>
<i>PE(F)Q</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration (Fund) Quarterly.</i>
Pflaum, <i>Carrières</i>	H. G. Pflaum, <i>Les Carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain</i> (1960-1).
<i>PG</i>	Migne, <i>Patrologia Graeca.</i>
<i>PIR</i> ²	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani saec. I, II, III</i> ed. E. Groag and A. Stein (1933—).
<i>PL</i>	Migne, <i>Patrologia Latina.</i>
Pliny, <i>Ep.</i>	Pliny the Younger, <i>Epistulae.</i>
—, <i>NH</i>	Pliny the Elder, <i>Naturalis Historia.</i>
Plut., <i>Ant.</i> , etc.	Plutarch, <i>M. Antony</i> and other <i>Lives.</i>
Ptol., <i>Geog.</i>	Ptolemy, <i>Geographia.</i>
P.-W.	Pauly-Wissowa, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (1894—).
<i>QDAP</i>	<i>Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine.</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique.</i>
Reifenberg	A. Reifenberg, <i>Ancient Jewish Coins</i> (revised ed., 1947).
<i>REJ</i>	<i>Revue des Études Juives.</i>
<i>RG</i>	<i>Res Gestae divi Augusti.</i>
<i>RN</i>	<i>Revue Numismatique.</i>
Robert, <i>NIS</i>	L. Robert, <i>Nouvelles Inscriptions de Sardes</i> (1964).
<i>SBFLA</i>	<i>Studii Biblici Franciscani Liber Annuus.</i>
Schalit	A. Schalit, <i>König Herodes, der Mann und sein Werk</i> (1969).
<i>Scr. Hier.</i>	<i>Scripta Hierosolymitana.</i>
Schürer	E. Schürer, <i>Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi</i> , third ed., I (1901), II (1907), III (1909).
Schürer, I (rev.)	Schürer, <i>A History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ</i> (a new English version of the above) I (1973), revised and edited by G. Vermes and F. Millar.
Scurmuzzza, <i>Claudius</i>	M. V. Scramuzza, <i>The Emperor Claudius</i> (1940).
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.</i>
SHA	<i>Scriptores Historiae Augustae</i> , the biographies of the emperors named.
Sherwin-White,	A. N. Sherwin-White, <i>Roman Society and Roman Law in the</i>
<i>RSNT</i>	<i>New Testament</i> (1963).
Simon, <i>Vetus Israel</i>	M. Simon, <i>Vetus Israel: étude sur les relations entre Chrétiens et Juifs dans l'empire romain, 135-425</i> (1948; with Postscriptum added, 1964).
Simons, <i>JOT</i>	J. J. Simons, <i>Jerusalem in the Old Testament: researches and theories</i> (1952).
Stein, <i>Präfekten</i>	A. Stein, <i>Die Präfekten von Ägypten in der römischen Kaiserzeit</i> (1950).
Str.	Strabo.
Suet.	Suetonius, the biographies of the emperors named.
Sukenik, <i>Synagogues</i>	E. L. Sukenik, <i>Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece</i> (1934).
Syme, <i>EB</i>	R. Syme, <i>Emperors and Biography: studies in the Historia Augusta</i> (1971).

- Sync., *Chron.* Georgius Syncellus, *Chronographia*, ed. L. Dindorf in *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (1829).
- Tac., *A* Tacitus, *Annales*.
 —, *H* —, *Historiae*.
TAPA *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*.
- Tcherikover, *HCJ* V. A. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, transl. S. Applebaum (1959).
- Tert., *Apol.* Tertullian, *Apologeticus*.
 Thackeray H. St J. Thackeray, Loeb edition of *Ap.*, *V*, *BJ*, *AJ* i-viii (1926-34).
 —, *Josephus* —, *Josephus, the man and the historian* (1929).
- Tos. Tosephta.
Trial *The Trial of Jesus*, ed. E. Bammel (1970).
- V* Josephus, *Vita*.
 de Vaux, *L'Archéologie* R. de Vaux, *L'Archéologie et les manuscrits de la Mer Morte* (1961).
 Vell. Pater. Velleius Paterculus.
 Vigouroux, *Dict. Bible* *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, ed. F. Vigouroux and others (1895—)
- Vincent and Abel, *JN* L. H. Vincent and F. M. Abel, *Jérusalem: recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire* II, *Jérusalem Nouvelle* (1922).
 Vincent and Stève, *JAT* L. H. Vincent and M. A. Stève, *Jérusalem de l'Ancien Testament; recherches d'archéologie et d'histoire* (1954-6).
 Vogel, *Bibliography* E. K. Vogel, "Bibliography of Holy Land sites" in *HUCA* xlii (1971), 1-96.
- Wallace, *Taxation* S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (1938).
WHJP VI *The World History of the Jewish People* VI, *The Hellenistic Age*, ed. A. Schalit (1972).
- Wikgren A. Wikgren, Loeb edition of *AJ* xv-xvii (1963).
 Winter, *TJ* P. Winter, *On the Trial of Jesus* (1961).
- Yadin, *Bar Kokbba* Y. Yadin, *Bar Kokbba: the rediscovery of the legendary hero of the last Jewish revolt against imperial Rome* (1971).
 —, *Masada* —, *Masada; Herod's fortress and the Zealots' last stand*, trans. M. Pearlman (1966).
- ZDPV* *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*.
 Zeitlin, *I Macc.* *The First Book of Maccabees*, trans. S. Tedesche, with introd. and commentary by S. Zeitlin (1950).
 —, *II Macc.* *The Second Book of Maccabees*, ed. S. Zeitlin (1954).

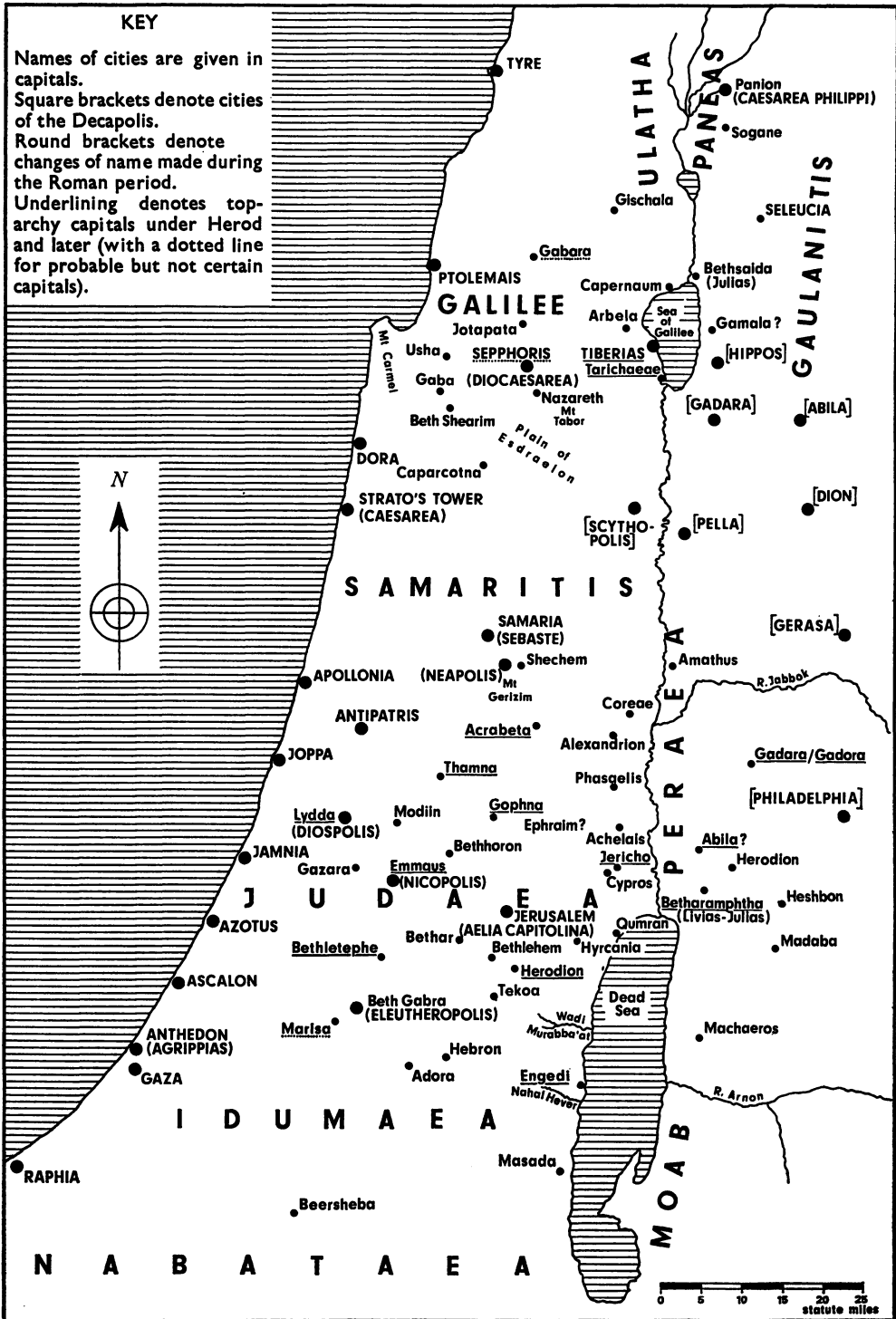
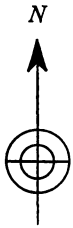
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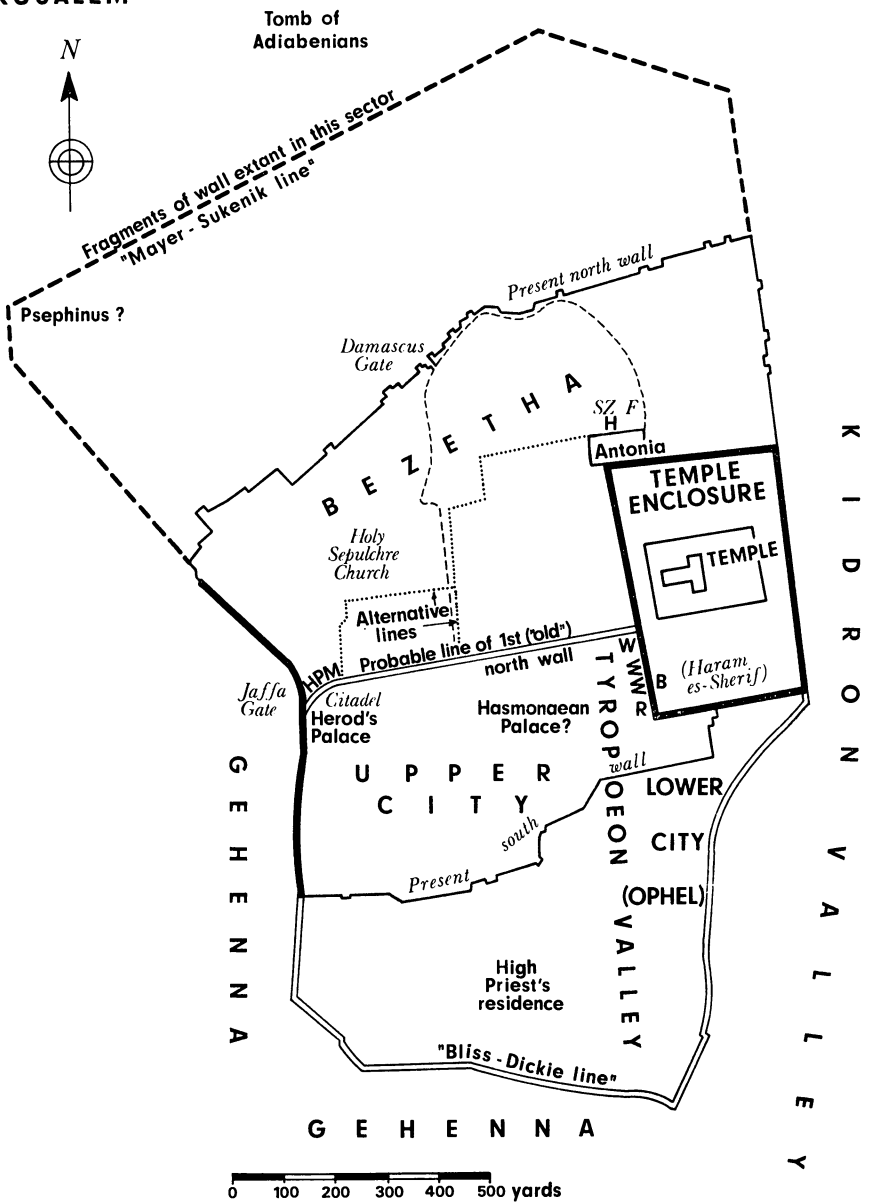
PALESTINE

KEY

Names of cities are given in capitals.
 Square brackets denote cities of the Decapolis.
 Round brackets denote changes of name made during the Roman period.
 Underlining denotes toparchy capitals under Herod and later (with a dotted line for probable but not certain capitals).



JERUSALEM



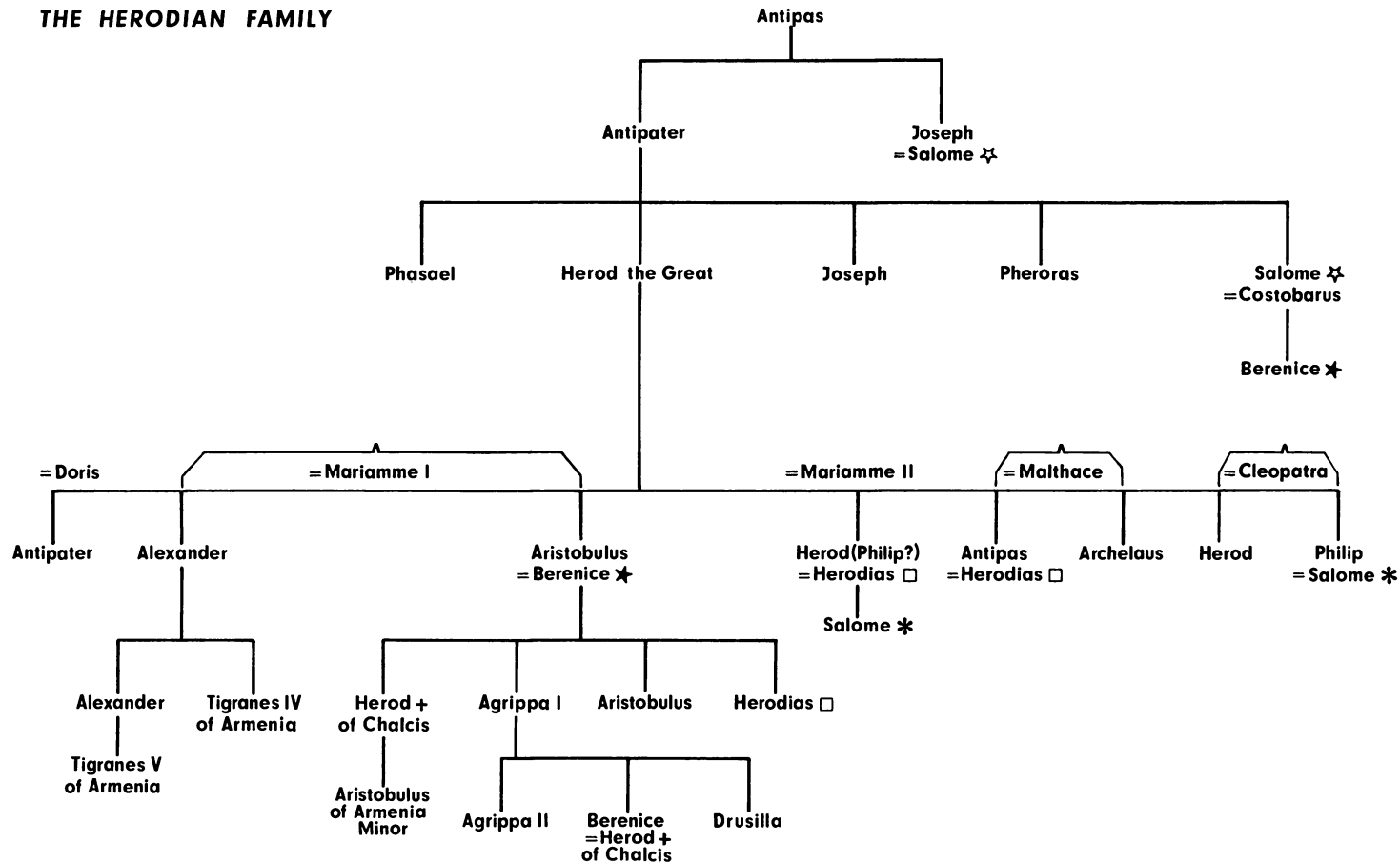
Modern structures are given in italics

- B Barclay's gate
- F Convent of the Flagellation
- H Hadrian's arch (*Ecce Homo*)
- HPM Herod's towers Hippicus, Phasael and Mariamme
- R Robinson's arch
- SZ Convent of the Sisters of Zion
- W Wilson's arch
- WW Wailing Wall

..... Possible lines of the second north wall, if the third followed roughly the line of the present north wall.

----- Possible line of the second north wall, if the „Mayer-Sukenik” wall is the third wall

THE HERODIAN FAMILY



This simplified tree shows only members and marriages with historical importance. For a complete tree see the Loeb Josephus, BJ I-III and AJ XV-XVII. Persons mentioned more than once are identified by signs.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

From the fall of the Davidic kingdom to Babylon in 587 B.C., the political history of the Jewish homeland is largely the history of its domination by a succession of foreign powers. The country came under Persian rule in 538, when king Cyrus overthrew Babylon and allowed the Jews taken into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar sixty years earlier to return home and rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem. Two hundred years later the Persian empire fell to Alexander the Great, who annexed Palestine¹ in 332 en route from Tyre to Egypt—though Josephus' colourful tale of his visit to Jerusalem with its chronological errors and internal inconsistencies belongs to the realms of legend.² In the struggle between the Diadochi Palestine eventually, in 301, came effectively under the rule of Ptolemy I of Egypt,³ whose successors continued to hold it until 200,⁴ when it passed into the hands of the Seleucids of Syria. Jewish efforts to shake off Seleucid control finally succeeded in 141, but after eighty years of independence, due mainly to the weakness of Syria, Palestine came under Roman control, partial from 63 B.C. and complete from A.D. 6.

Pompey's campaigns in the East, 66-63, marked a turning point in Roman foreign policy. Previously Rome had acquired provinces largely unintentionally, as a result of the wars forced upon her by the

¹ Nomenclature presents a problem. The term Judaea was used in two senses in antiquity, narrowly to denote the district centred on Jerusalem and widely to denote the whole Jewish or semi-Jewish area which became the Roman province—Judaea, Samaritis (cf. below, p. 11, n. 27), and Idumaea from A.D. 6, together with Galilee and Peraea after A.D. 44. Palestine (strictly Syria Palaestina) was the name of the province after 135. Consistency is difficult, but as far as possible the term Judaea will be used in this book in the narrow sense, except for the technical expressions "procurator of Judaea" and "legate of Judaea", while the term Palestine will be used, though anachronistically, throughout to denote Jewish territory in general.

² *AJ* xi, 325-39. For discussion see Tcherikover, *HCJ*, 42-9; and in *WHJP* VI, 58-62.

³ On the question of *de iure* Seleucid possession of Palestine in the early third century see Tcherikover, *HCJ*, 53-5.

⁴ Now preferred to 198 as the date of the decisive victory of Antiochus III over the forces of Ptolemy V Epiphanes at Panion; see Tcherikover, *HCJ*, 435, n. 101.

increasingly prominent part which she had to play in Mediterranean politics, and not out of a premeditated scheme of imperial aggrandisement. Territory had been annexed, often reluctantly, in the same spirit in which many wars had been undertaken—to preserve the peace of the Mediterranean and not to satisfy a thirst for empire. Pompey was sent to the East to finish off the war with Mithridates, and after completing his task proceeded to annex Syria, not because it offered any immediate military threat to Rome, but because its anarchic condition made it a potential source of trouble in the East, which might well involve Rome, and at the same time rendered it an easy prey. This sealed the fate of the Jews. The ultimate annexation of Palestine would now have been a foregone conclusion, even if the Jews had not played into Rome's hands by giving Pompey a pretext for immediate intervention.

Pompey's invasions of Palestine and his siege of Jerusalem in 63 brought the Jews under indirect Roman rule as a client kingdom. The campaign also gave him many thousands of Jewish prisoners-of-war, who were transported to Rome as slaves, where in the course of time many were manumitted to form the first Jewish community of any significant size there. Then thirty years later the annexation of Egypt after Actium brought the numerous and important Diaspora communities there into the empire. Thus within a single generation virtually all the Jews in the known world except the large and ancient settlements in Parthia dating from the Exile in 587 came directly or indirectly under Roman rule.

Although the year 63 marks the start of Roman control over Palestine, political contact between Rome and the Jews there had begun almost exactly a century before Roman generals and their troops first set foot in the country—an inevitable consequence of the extension of Roman power eastwards in the second century. The question of Jewish religious liberty lay behind the initial contact, but it was as the champions of Jewish political aspirations (at least in theory) that the Romans first appeared in Jewish history, and not in their later role of champions of their religious freedom.

*The Maccabean Revolt*⁵

Hellenism had been exerting an increasing influence on the Jews ever since their country came under Seleucid rule and had found

⁵ The ancient sources for the Hellenizing movement, Antiochus' persecution, the Maccabean revolt, and the Jewish recovery of virtual independence in 141

favour with a considerable number of them, mainly members of the wealthy aristocracy. During the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes the Hellenizing party became dominant, secured control of the High Priesthood in 175, and carried through a political reform which converted Jerusalem into a city of the Greek type with its essential features of a gymnasium and an ephebate. The Temple-cult and the religious institutions of Judaism, though theoretically inviolate, were inevitably affected indirectly. Opposition from the orthodox to these developments led to disorders and provoked Antiochus to replace voluntary by compulsory Hellenization. In 167 he outdid even the most extreme Hellenizers by dedicating the Temple to Olympian Zeus and attempting to suppress Judaism entirely by the prohibition of circumcision and of the study and observance of the Law. And to ensure Jewish submission to the changes, Antiochus built and garrisoned a new citadel, the Acra,⁶ dominating the Temple. Passive resistance by orthodox Jews, the *Hasidim* ("pious"), who continued to practise their religion at the risk of death, soon developed into an active and widespread revolt, led by Judas Maccabaeus, a priest of the house of Hashmon and one of five brothers, and after three years its main object was successfully achieved: in 164 the Maccabean army won a decisive victory over Antiochus' forces which enabled them to reconsecrate the Temple to Yahweh. Two years later a decree of Antiochus V ratified the *status quo* by officially rescinding his father's oppressive measures.⁷

The war continued, however, as a civil war between the Maccabees and the Hellenizers, and at the same time as a struggle for political autonomy. The Hellenizers, who depended on Syrian support, finally went under in 152, when Alexander Balas, a pretender to the Syrian throne, won Jewish support against the king Demetrius I Soter by

are I *Macc.* (going down to 134); II *Macc.* (ending shortly before 161); *AJ* xii, 235—xiii, 214; *BJ* i, 31-53 (a summary of events only). Controversial points and discrepancies between the sources are not argued in this section, which gives only a cursory survey. For detailed study of the period see, e.g., E. R. Bevan, *Jerusalem under the High Priests* (1904), 31-109; Schürer, I (rev.), 137-92; S. Dubnow, *Weltgeschichte des jüdischen Volkes* II (1925), 39-109; *History of the Jews* I (1967), 476-515; Abel, *HP* I, 109-200; Tcherikover, *HCJ*, 117-239; and in *WHJP* VI, 115-201. For source criticism see Abel, *I and II Macc.*; Zeitlin, *I Macc.*; *II Macc.*

⁶ On the problem of its location, of little relevance for the Roman period, and bibliography, see Schürer, I (rev.), 154, n. 39.

⁷ II *Macc.* xi, 22-6. For the date of the document see R. Laqueur in *Hist. Zeitschr.* cxxxvi (1927), 231-41; cf. Tcherikover, *HCJ*, 214, 225-6.

appointing the second Maccabaeen brother Jonathan, Judas' successor as leader of the nationalist movement, to the High Priesthood, which had been vacant for the previous seven years. This marked the establishment of the Hasmonaeen dynasty (so called from the Maccabees' family name). The Hellenizers then lost Syrian support, and with it all chance of retaining political control, when Balas as king appointed Jonathan as his governor of Judaea in 150/149. The High Priest thus became a Syrian government official—a valuable step towards political independence. The growth of Jonathan's military power simultaneously consolidated the Jews' position, and the state of effective autonomy which they achieved while Syria was distracted and weakened by civil wars was then recognized in three stages: in 142 Demetrius II appointed Simon, the third of the Maccabees, High Priest on his brother's death and rewarded the Jews for their support against the usurper Tryphon by exempting them from tribute; in 141 Simon expelled the Syrian garrison from the Acra; and in 140 he was confirmed in the High Priesthood and at the same time elected general and ethnarch (head of state and king in all but name) by a national assembly.⁸ The position of an ethnarchy in the Seleucid empire resembled that of a client kingdom in the Roman: in the eyes of the king the country was not fully independent, though it enjoyed a greater degree of independence than territory under his direct rule. The Jews, however, may well have regarded themselves as fully independent, and with the decline of Seleucid power this became their condition *de facto* even if not *de iure*. Except for a short period of renewed subjection under Antiochus VII Sidetes, the Jews maintained the state of virtual autonomy thus achieved for the next eighty years, until the Romans arrived on the scene in 63.

The Treaty with Rome

The Jews under the Maccabees fought for and won their independence largely without foreign aid, but at an early stage they solicited Roman support. After regaining control of Jerusalem in 164, Judas Maccabaeus sent an embassy to Rome to conclude an alliance. By this

⁸ The precise chronology is uncertain. Simon became High Priest and tribute was abolished in the Seleucid year 170—*AJ* xiii, 213; cf. *I Macc.* xiii, 41. He took the Acra in year 171—*I Macc.* xiii, 49-51. The decree of the Jewish assembly is dated 18 Elul (= roughly September) of year 172, the third of Simon's High Priesthood—*I Macc.* xiv, 27-47. On the Seleucid era and the chronological problems in *Macc.* and Josephus see the bibliography given by R. North in *Biblica* xxxiv (1953), 501-2; cf. Zeitlin, *I Macc.*, 257-65; *II Macc.*, 56-63.

time, though Rome had annexed no territory in Greece or Asia, the series of wars fought with eastern kings during the previous half century had produced a commitment from which she could not, and probably did not wish to, extricate herself, that of responsibility for the peace of the eastern Mediterranean. This involvement in eastern politics meant that Rome was bound to take a hand sooner or later in the conflict between the Jews and Syria. The senate was already *au fait* with the current state of Jewish affairs through keeping a suspicious eye on Syrian actions. A senatorial commission sent out to make sure that Antiochus Epiphanes and Eumenes of Pergamum were not planning hostilities against Rome got involved in negotiations early in 164 between Syria and the Hellenizing party among the Jews, who secured their advocacy;⁹ and another which followed in 162 must have learnt of the subsequent Maccabaeian recovery of Jerusalem. By 161 Demetrius I, held hostage in Rome from childhood, had returned home and seized the throne, and he looked like becoming a more troublesome king (from the Roman point of view) than the child-king Antiochus V, whom he had ousted. It therefore suited Rome very well at this juncture to be able to use the internal Jewish situation as a weapon against Syria.

The terms of the treaty brought back from Rome by Judas' envoys shortly before his death in 161—a declaration of friendship backed only by a decree of the senate, not a formal alliance sanctioned by a law of the assembly—were that the Jews and the Romans should each assist the other in the event of attack and refrain from giving economic support to the attackers, and that the subjects of Rome should not attack the Jews or assist those who did.¹⁰ But whereas the Jews'

⁹ Polybius xxxi, 1 and 6; II *Macc.* xi, 16-21, 27-38; cf. the discussion by Tcherikover, *HCJ*, 216-19, arguing against the usual view that the Jewish negotiators were the Maccabees.

¹⁰ I *Macc.* viii, 1-30; *AJ* xii, 414-19. The alliance between Rome and the Maccabees and its various renewals, together with the documents relating to it in the sources, raise many problems. But scepticism about the evidence for diplomatic relations between Rome and the Jews in the mid-second century B.C. (see especially H. Willrich, *Urkundenfälschung* (1924), 44-50, 58-69) has now given way to a general acceptance of the alliance of 161 itself as authentic, though the wording of the treaty as given in I *Macc.* viii, 23-30 cannot be genuine, since it is a retranslation of a Hebrew version of the original, and contains at least one slip (συμμαχοῦσιν for πολεμοῦσιν, verse 28). Josephus' version of the treaty conforms more closely to Greek diplomatic phraseology, but it is more probable that he altered the language of I *Macc.*, on which he depends, than that he had access to the original document. For discussion see, e.g., Schürer, I (rev.), 171 and n. 33; Juster, I, 130-1, 133; Zeitlin, I *Macc.*,

obligations to help Rome were without qualification, Rome's obligations to the Jews were not: she was to help them only at her own discretion. And as things turned out, Rome regularly found discretion the better part of valour, and her support for the Jews was never more than moral and verbal. Rome did not raise a single military finger to save Judas, who was defeated and killed in battle almost immediately, but merely sent a letter to Demetrius I protesting at his oppression of the Jews and threatening to make war on him if he gave them any further grounds for complaint.¹¹ No practical support was in fact ever given to the Jews, and probably none was meant, as Rome had no intention of embroiling herself in a distant war unless her own interests were directly affected. The value, and indeed the purpose, of the treaty in her eyes was merely diplomatic: she seized the opportunity offered by Judas' appeal to use the Jews as a pawn in her diplomatic game with Syria, giving them the kudos of her alliance and the harmless moral uplift of possessing the goodwill of the greatest power in the world, while at the same time administering a blow to the prestige of the Syrian king by recognizing as independent a people whom he regarded (quite correctly) as one of his dependencies still—and all this for the price of the bronze tablet on which the *senatus consultum* was engraved.¹² Rome's motive in making an alliance with the Jews was not a disinterested desire to protect the weak from oppression, to safeguard religious freedom, or to secure the political independence of a small nation for its own sake, but self-interest. Judas and his friends can hardly have realized in 161 that Rome was using them for her own ends and would not go to war for a scrap of bronze; but as time went on the truth must have dawned on them that Rome would honour her obligations only to the extent of issuing remonstrances addressed to,

39-40 and notes *ad loc.*; Abel, *I and II Macc.*, 152-3; *HP* I, 161-4; Ginsburg, *RJ*, 34-49, who discusses the status of the agreement as a *foedus aequum* under international law; A. Giovannini and H. Müller in *Museum Helvet.* xxviii (1971), 166-70. Allowing for the rate of travel, Judas' embassy must have been away for a year, if not two years; i.e., to return shortly before his death, it must have set out soon after the recovery of Jerusalem, the time when the Jews would naturally begin seeking allies. On the embassy and on the alliance with Rome vis-à-vis the Jews' economic pact, dating from the third century, with Sparta (*AJ* xii, 225-7; *I Macc.* xii, 19-23; cf. the discussion by Abel, *I and II Macc.*, 231-3) and Rome's current relations with Greece see W. Wirgin in *PEQ* ci (1969), 15-20.

¹¹ *I Macc.* viii, 31-2, given as a rider to the treaty with Judas.

¹² Cf. the verbal recognition, though nothing more, given at about the same time by Rome to Timarchus, satrap of Babylonia, who was in revolt against Demetrius—Diod. Sic. xxxi, 27a.

and in some cases ignored by, their enemies. Nevertheless they clearly felt that even this was valuable (or else they were incurable optimists), for they renewed the treaty several times.

In the Hellenistic period a treaty normally lapsed with the death of the ruler with whom it was made and needed formal renewal by his successor. The precise standing of the alliance of 161 in this respect is uncertain, since Judas Maccabaeus was not constitutionally the ruler of a nation, but the first recorded renewal was not made until c. 143, when Jonathan, who was at that point supporting the usurper Tryphon at the beginning of his rising against Demetrius II, sent an embassy to Rome for that purpose.¹³ Though the Jews' position was now far stronger than it had been in 161, a re-statement of the alliance had prestige value for them vis-à-vis their Syrian overlord, whose forces still garrisoned Jerusalem, and might be hoped to serve as an insurance policy against any Syrian attempt to re-establish effective control. But when, almost as soon as the alliance was reaffirmed, Tryphon turned on his friends, kidnapped Jonathan and put him to death (a piece of double-dealing which naturally transferred Jewish support back to the legitimate king), any hopes which the Jews entertained of redress by Rome were again disappointed. Nevertheless, in the decree of the Jewish assembly which established Simon Maccabaeus as ethnarch in 140, it is stated that Demetrius treated him with great respect "because he had heard that the Jews were called friends, allies and brothers by Rome."¹⁴ The Jews were clearly immensely proud of the alliance, and even if it weighed less heavily in their favour than they believed, it was no doubt a factor in the situation. Demetrius, with a usurper on his hands, dared not run any risk of war with Rome. But the internal situation in Syria was at least equally important: in his position it was better to have friends than rebels in one of his dependencies. For events were very soon to show that a Syrian king unencumbered by pretenders could defy Rome with impunity and take steps to re-establish his control over the Jews.

The triumph of 141 did not necessarily mean, as the Jews were so on to discover, that their position of virtual independence was now permanently assured, and in 139, or perhaps as early as 142, Simon re-

¹³ *AJ* xiii, 163-5; *BJ* i, 48; *I Macc.* x ii, 1-4; cf. 16. No precise date is given. The phraseology implies merely a formal renewal of the *status quo*, not a new alliance. Contrast that used of Simon's negotiations in 139 (below).

¹⁴ *I Macc.* xiv, 40; cf. Justinus, *Epit.* xxxvi, 3, 9 *A Demetrio cum descivissent, amicitia Romanorum petita primi omnium ex orientalius libertatem acceperunt, facile tunc Romanis de alieno largientibus.*

newed the alliance with Rome again. The reason for a second renewal after so short an interval was probably not merely the technical point that the treaty had legally lapsed with Jonathan's death. The original alliance had been made with a rebel faction in a Syrian dependency, and the first renewal with a country whose High Priest was governing as an official of the Syrian king. But the Jews were now independent under a ruler appointed by the will of the people. Their new status would be recognized and its dignity enhanced by a declaration that they were still friends and allies of Rome. Simon's ambassadors took a golden shield as a gift to reinforce their arguments, and secured not only the desired renewal of the treaty but the issue of injunctions to gentiles in the East not to attack the Jews themselves or to assist their attackers. Letters to this effect are said to have been sent to no less than five eastern rulers and nearly twenty cities (probably ones with large Diaspora communities who might be molested) in Greece, the Aegean islands, Asia Minor, Crete, Cyprus, and Cyrene, and not to the Syrian king alone, as had been done in 161.¹⁵

¹⁵ *I Macc.* xiv, 16-18 (with the improbable statement that Rome took the initiative), 24; xv, 15-24. The envoys' departure is narrated before Simon's appointment as ethnarch in 140 and their return immediately after Antiochus VII's return to Syria in the Seleucid year 174 = 139/8—xv, 10. A year or more for the voyages and negotiations is reasonable. The inference that the date applies to both events is supported by the fact that action was taken against the Jews in Rome in 139, an episode which, whatever precisely occurred (see below, pp. 128-30), is firmly dated and is likely to have had some connection with Simon's embassy. The dethronement of Demetrius II, one of the recipients of a letter from Rome, *c.* 139 coincides as *terminus ante quem*. On the other hand, though the author of the letters, Λεύκιος ὕπατος Ῥωμαίων (xv, 16), is named too vaguely for certain identification, he may be L. Caecilius Metellus, cos. 142, in which case the embassy was dispatched as soon as Simon became High Priest and is misplaced in *Macc.*; so T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* I (1951), 476, n. 1. Josephus' only reference to negotiations between Simon and Rome is *AJ* xiii, 227 ποιησάμενος καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους συμμαχίαν, undated but placed just before his death. But in *AJ* xiv, 145-8 he gives, as a mid-first century B.C. document, a S.C. which contains features tallying with the account of Simon's embassy in *Macc.* (an envoy called Numenius, the gift of a golden shield, and letters to eastern rulers and cities) and which, despite difficulties of detail, is now generally assigned to Simon. The use of συνθέσθαι instead of, e.g., ἀνανεώσασθαι may signify that a fresh treaty was made with the Jews in their new status as an ethnarchy. Against Juster, I, 135-8, who follows Mommsen in accepting Josephus' attribution of the document to Hyrcanus II, see, e.g., Schürer, I (rev.), 194-7; Ginsburg, *RJ*, 54-64; Momigliano, *Ricerche*, 30-5, (212-17); Zeitlin, *I Macc.*, 41-2; Abel, *I and II Macc.*, 275-6; cf. *HP* I, 198-9. E. R. Bevan in *CAH* VIII, 528, follows Willrich, *op. cit.*, 58-69, in attributing *AJ* xiv, 145-8 and the embassy of *I Macc.* xiv and xv to Hyrcanus I (ethnarch from 134), though he considers it still probable that Simon also sent an embassy; cf. Giovannini and Müller, *op. cit.*, 160-5, dismiss-

Within a year Demetrius II was captured by the Parthians and his brother, Antiochus VII Sidetes, returned to Syria to claim the throne and reunited his country by eliminating Tryphon. The Jews, who had profited from recent Syrian weakness, could not stand up against a strong king. While still in exile the future Antiochus VII had not only confirmed their existing position but had granted the hallmark of independence, the right of coinage, and promised further favours to come. But once established on the throne in 138, he demanded tribute for the Acra and the cities of Joppa and Gazara which Simon had recently annexed,¹⁶ arguing that they were still legally Syrian possessions, and when this was refused, made an unsuccessful attempt to invade Palestine.¹⁷ A few years later, immediately after Simon had been assassinated and his son John Hyrcanus I had succeeded as ethnarch in 135 or 134,¹⁸ Antiochus resumed his attack in earnest. The Jewish forces were no match for him, and with Joppa and other cities soon lost and an assault on Jerusalem imminent, Hyrcanus appealed to Rome for help under the treaty, pointing out that Antiochus had made war on them and taken some of their territory "contrary to the decree of the senate", but asking, realistically, not for military aid but for a Roman commission to negotiate the restoration of their territory and to assess damages. Rome replied again with words alone, issuing a *senatus consultum* which renewed the alliance, instructed Antiochus to restore his ill-gotten gains, and promised that when the senate had time to spare, it would debate the Jewish question and see that no further injustice was done. Antiochus, hardly surprisingly, took no notice but proceeded to invest Jerusalem. With the capitulation of the city after a siege of more than a year,¹⁹ the Jews again fell under direct Syrian rule, though, presumably in deference to Rome, when Antiochus came to terms with Hyrcanus he allowed him to

ing I *Macc.* xv, 16-21 as a forgery. Indeed, if Λεύκιος Ουαλέριος Λευκίου υἱὸς στρατηγός (§ 145) is identified with L. Valerius Flaccus, cos. 131, the latest date for his praetorship is 134; 139, and *a fortiori* 142, would give an improbably long gap before his consulship; cf. Broughton, *op. cit.*, 491, n. 2.

¹⁶ See below, p. 12.

¹⁷ I *Macc.*, xv, 1-14; 25-xvi, 10; *AJ* xiii, 218-27; *BJ* i, 50-3 (with Simon's appointment as High Priest misplaced). The right of coinage was new; it is granted, not confirmed, and the Hasmonaean coin-series starts with Simon.

¹⁸ On the date see Schürer, I (rev.), 200, n. 1; W. Kolbe, *Beiträge zur syrischen und jüdischen Geschichte* (1926), 25-7. On the problem of the sabbatical year early in Hyrcanus' reign (*AJ* xiii, 234; *BJ* i, 60) see R. North in *Biblica* xxxiv (1953), 501-15; cf. Schürer, I (rev.), 19.

¹⁹ *AJ* xiii, 236-48; *BJ* i, 161; Diod. Sic. xxxiv, 1.

resume control over Joppa and his other former possessions—but only in return for tribute, a war indemnity (offered by the Jews in lieu of receiving a garrison again), and the demolition of the walls of Jerusalem.²⁰

The Jews quickly reasserted their independence on the death of Antiochus VII in 129, rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem,²¹ and continued to extend their power and territory during the remaining years of Hyrcanus' rule. But some time before 107 Antiochus IX, in an attempt to check Hyrcanus' campaigns of conquest,²² overran parts of his territory and apparently managed to reoccupy a number of places, including Joppa. History then repeated itself: Hyrcanus appealed for Rome's help on the strength of the alliance, a *senatus consultum* was passed instructing Antiochus to cease molesting her friends and allies, to restore all the territory which he had seized, and to withdraw his garrison from Joppa.²³ Antiochus apparently obeyed, for Joppa was in Jewish possession at Hyrcanus' death in 104.²⁴

²⁰ The interpretation given here of Antiochus' depredations and the renewal of the alliance is not certain; cf. Schürer, I (rev.), 204; Abel, *HP* I, 207, following E. R. Bevan in *CAH* VIII, 529-30. Josephus narrates the renewal after Antiochus' death—*AJ* xiii, 254, 259-66; and if Φάννιος Μάρκου υἱὸς στρατηγός is identified with C. Fannius M. f., cos. 122 (which would invalidate T. Reinach's dating of the document to c. 105—in *REJ* xxxviii (1899), 166-9; cf. Giovannini and Müller, *op. cit.*, 156-60), he is more likely to have been praetor in 126 (so Broughton, *op. cit.*, 509, n. 2, with some hesitation) than in 132 (P.-W., s.v. *Fannius* 7), which would give an abnormally long interval before his consulship. On the other hand, as Jerusalem is not mentioned and would not be included under "Joppa . . . and other cities" taken by Antiochus, the S.C. appears to antedate the siege; §§ 262-3 presuppose that Antiochus is not yet master of the whole country, as he was after taking the capital; and the wording gives the impression that it is the conqueror, not his successor, who is to make restitution.

²¹ *I Macc.* xvi, 23. For archaeological evidence for the Maccabean walls of Jerusalem see Kenyon, *Jerusalem*, 134-5.

²² See below, pp. 12-14.

²³ *AJ* xiii, 278 (with the reference to Ptolemy VIII Lathyrus, who was expelled from Egypt in 107, giving the *terminus ante quem*); xiv, 247-55 (among mid-first century B.C. documents), a decree of Pergamum concerning an appeal by Hyrcanus I to Rome and embodying the resultant S.C. addressed to "Antiochus, son of Antiochus". The only such contemporary of Hyrcanus was Antiochus IX. Schürer, I (rev.), 205, and Marcus, note *ad loc.*, are inclined to accept the emendation "son of Demetrius" (i.e. Antiochus VII) and to refer the document to Hyrcanus' appeal c. 134. With Reinach's arguments (*op. cit.*, 161-5), however, in favour of Antiochus IX, the document provides evidence of a second appeal by Hyrcanus, unknown to Josephus; see Abel, *HP* I, 219; Ginsburg, *RJ*, 65-77; cf. Juster, I, 134-5; Bevan, *op. cit.*, 532, n. 1. Antiochus' reoccupation of Joppa and other cities is deduced from the S.C.

²⁴ *AJ* xiii, 324, where Joppa is not among the coastal cities still independent at Jannaeus' accession.

That is the last that is heard of Rome as the ally of the Jews. During the following forty years the treaty apparently quietly lapsed; when the Romans marched into Palestine in 63, it was not as allied troops, and there is no suggestion that that invasion infringed any treaty. The alliance lapsed because it was no longer of any practical value to either side. Internal strife steadily weakened Syria to such an extent that the Jewish state was in little danger from her and ceased to want even moral support from Rome: and Rome, now deeply involved in her own series of constitutional crises and threatened more seriously by Mithridates than by Syria, no longer needed to use even diplomatic means as a weapon against Syrian ambitions.²⁵ Rome does not come out of the story of the alliance and its repeated renewals as the valiant champion of the oppressed. Impressive promises were made to the Jews and impressive threats issued to their enemies, but there the matter ended, because the motive behind the alliance was diplomatic self-interest, not philo-Judaism. But however severe their disillusionment, the Jews clearly still felt that it counted for something merely to be able to style themselves *socii et amici populi Romani*.

Territorial Expansion

At the start of the Maccabaeen revolt Jewish territory consisted simply of the small inland district of Judaea, cut off from the sea by the cities of the Phoenician coastal strip. The first forty years of the Jews' brief era of independence between the break-up of the Syrian empire and the Roman takeover saw very extensive territorial expansion. Indeed, expansion began even before the Jews achieved the status of an ethnarchy. Under the agreement which Jonathan made with Demetrius II immediately after the defeat and death of Balas in 145 he was allowed to hold three toparchies ²⁶ of Samaritis ²⁷ (Lydda,

²⁵ U. Rappoport argues that Hyrcanus' successors, far from wanting Roman support, aligned themselves with Rome's enemies in the East—in *REJ* cxxvii (1968), 329-45.

²⁶ A toparchy was a small territorial unit comprising a capital town and a number of villages. The toparchic system of local administration, best known in Ptolemaic Egypt but probably used also in Seleucid Syria, dates back to the early third century or even to Alexander, and in Palestine seems to have been based on earlier Persian administrative units. For discussion of the system and of the individual toparchies into which Palestine (excluding the Greek cities) was divided and the modifications made during the Hasmonaean and Herodian periods see Schalit, 184-212; Avi-Yonah, *HL*, 94-9. Cf. also below, pp. 77, 152, 273.

²⁷ To avoid confusion between the city and the district, the name Samaria is used in this book only for the city, while the district goes under the name strictly correct for it, Samaritis.

Ephraim and Ramathaim), and it is possible that they had been ceded to him by Demetrius I shortly before his death in 150 in an attempt to regain Jonathan's allegiance after his defection to Balas.²⁸ The supporter of a defeated pretender had thus won sufficient political and military power to claim a concession from the victor. After that, access to the sea became the Jews' prime objective. In revenge for Tryphon's treacherous seizure of Jonathan *c.* 143, Simon captured the two ports most accessible to Jerusalem, Joppa and Jamnia, and ensured his hold on them by expelling their Greco-Syrian inhabitants and replacing them by Jews—treatment which he meted out to Gazara in north west Judaea also shortly afterwards.²⁹ The importance of the coastal cities is seen from the fact that both Antiochus VII and Antiochus IX reoccupied them, and that the Jews got Rome to insist on their return, Joppa being named on each occasion as the most vital. The rest of the cities of the coastal strip from Raphia in the south to Dora in the north were annexed during the following fifty years except for Ascalon, which remained a free city throughout the Hasmonaeen period and was never included in the Roman province of Judaea.³⁰

In 129 Hyrcanus I took prompt advantage of the renewal of civil war in Syria which followed the death of Antiochus VII to embark on campaigns against the Syrian dependencies to the east, north and south of Judaea. He began to extend Jewish power across the Jordan

²⁸ Negotiations with Demetrius II—I *Macc.* xi, 28-37 (emending καὶ τὴν Σαμαρείτιν in verse 28 to τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος); *AJ* xiii, 123-8. The three toparchies are called "nomes" in verse 34 and § 127, though the administrative unit of the nome, comprising several toparchies, was unique to Egypt. Negotiations with Demetrius I—I *Macc.* x, 22-47 (verse 30, three "nomes" of Samaritis and Galilee); *AJ* xiii, 47-58 (in § 50 inaccurately calling the districts of Samaritis, Galilee and Peraea toparchies; cf. § 127, with the further error of making Joppa a Jewish possession as early as 145). But the authenticity of Demetrius I's letter to Jonathan is suspect; see Schürer, I (rev.), 178, n. 14; Oesterley in *APOT* I, 63; Abel, *I and II Macc.*, 184-92; *HP* I, 175. And in the absence of any reference to Galilee in the negotiations with Demetrius II, that district is hardly likely to have come into question in the earlier negotiations.

²⁹ *AJ* xiii, 215 (putting the capture of all three cities with the seizure of the Acra in 141); I *Macc.* xiii, 11 (Joppa), 43-8 (Gazara, immediately after Simon's appointment as High Priest). Jamnia, not mentioned in *Macc.*, was probably repopulated, as it was predominantly Jewish in the first century A.D.—*Leg.* 200. Jonathan's earlier capture of Joppa and Azotus (I *Macc.* x, 74-89; *AJ* xiii, 91-102) in the course of campaigns in Balas' interest did not lead to possession, though he received a small area near Jamnia as a reward.

³⁰ Apollonia and Azotus, not among Jannaeus' conquests (below, p. 15), may have been annexed by Hyrcanus after Antiochus VII's death and been among the anonymous "ports" lost temporarily to Antiochus IX—*AJ* xiv, 249-50.

by conquering and annexing two cities in Moab, east of the Dead Sea, from the Nabataeans. He then turned to the age-old enemies of the Jews, the Samaritans. They were the survivors of the pre-Exilic northern kingdom of Israel, diluted by intermarriage with alien settlers, who, after years of hostility towards the Jews of the southern kingdom of Judah who returned from the Exile, had finally broken away from the main stream of Judaism irreparably some time in the fourth century by refusing to acknowledge Jerusalem as their religious centre and building their own schismatic temple on Mt Gerizim near the ancient holy place of Shechem. The Jews' hatred for the Samaritans was particularly bitter because they always regarded their cult not as a separate religion but as a heretical sect of Judaism. Hyrcanus captured the city of Shechem and demolished the temple.³¹ Then a few years before his death in 104 he came to blows with the Hellenistic city of Samaria, founded as a Macedonian colony in the time of Alexander.³² Its inhabitants had been instigated by Antiochus IX to molest some Jewish settlers nearby, and after a year's siege Hyrcanus stormed the city despite an attempt at relief by Antiochus and destroyed its walls. Its fall was followed by a campaign in which he overran the whole of Samaritis and brought it under Jewish rule. During the siege of Samaria he also got possession of his first inland Greco-Syrian city when Scythopolis was betrayed to him.³³

Finally Hyrcanus subdued the whole district of Idumaea (the Biblical Edom), Judaea's southern neighbour, after capturing its two

³¹ *AJ* xiii, 254-6 ; *BJ* i, 63 (putting Hyrcanus' campaigns just before Antiochus VII's death ; see § 62 and Thackeray, note *ad loc.*). Josephus dates the Samaritan temple to the time of Alexander—*AJ* xi, 306-24 (for discussion see Tcherikover, *HCJ*, 42-9). But on other evidence A. Spiro argues that it went back to the early fourth century—in *Amer. J. Jew. Research* xix (1950), 312 ; *JBL* lxx (1951), p. xi. Cf. V. Tcherikover in *WHJP* VI, 59-61. For the excavations see below, p. 462, n. 137. On the Samaritans see M. Gaster, *The Samaritans* (1925) ; *Samaritan Eschatology* (1932) ; J. W. Lightley, *Jewish Sects and Parties in the Time of Jesus* (1925), 183-265 ; Baron, II, 26-35 ; J. D. Purvis, *The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Origin of the Samaritan Sect* (1968), 88-118. On Gerizim cf. Abel, *GP* I, 362-4.

³² *Eus.*, *Chron.* ; *Sync.*, *Chron.* I, 496. For discussion see Tcherikover, *HCJ*, 48, 103-4.

³³ *AJ* xiii, 275-81 (§ 278 giving 107 as *terminus ante quem* ; cf. above, p. 10, n. 23) ; *BJ* i, 64-6. Josephus says that Samaria had molested Jewish settlers in Marisa in Idumaea (cf. below), but geographical distance is against this. Probably there is a textual error, and the victims were Jews settled in the Shechem area ; so Marcus, note *ad loc.* For archaeological evidence for destruction at Samaria see J. W. Crowfoot, K. M. Kenyon and E. L. Sukenik, *The Buildings at Samaria* (1942), 121.

cities of Adora and Marisa, and allowed the Idumaeans to remain in possession of their country on condition that they submitted to circumcision and adopted the Jewish religion.³⁴ The Idumaeans accepted their conditions and nothing is heard of resistance now or later, but they were, not unreasonably, never regarded as fully Jewish by the Judaeans. They took unconscious revenge for their forcible Judaization nearly a century later by providing the dynasty of the Herods to rule over the Jews.

Beyond Samaritis lay the Ituraeans, a turbulent and warlike race, originally of the Lebanon and Antilebanon area, who by this time had extended their power over Galilee, over Auranitis, Trachonitis and Batanaea east of Galilee, over Abilene north of Damascus, and to the coast at Botrys and Arca. Fortunately for the Jews, however, their present ambition was not expansion southwards but the capture of Damascus, now almost encircled by Ituraean dependencies. According to Josephus, Hyrcanus' elder son Aristobulus I, his successor, made war on the Ituraeans in Galilee, wrested the district from them, and subjected its inhabitants, like the Idumaeans, to forcible Judaization. But Aristobulus' reign of a single year (104-103) would hardly allow time for such an operation, and it is more credible that the actual conquest took place under Hyrcanus, but with Aristobulus playing so prominent a part that tradition shifted it to his reign, which saw the pacification and Judaization of the district completed. The population of Galilee was in fact probably largely Jewish by this time, so that Judaization was applied to only a minority.³⁵ Even so, like the Idumaeans, the Galilaeans were long despised for their non-Jewish ancestry: "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?"³⁶

The realm in which Judaism was to be the religion had now reached its full size, comprising Galilee, Samaritis, Judaea, and Idumaea. Under Aristobulus' brother and successor, Alexander Jannaeus (103-76), apparently the first Hasmonaean to take the title of king officially,³⁷ there was considerable further expansion, though without

³⁴ *AJ* xiii, 257-81; *BJ* i, 63; cf. a fragment of a certain Ptolemy, author of a work on Herod the Great, *apud* Ammonius, *De Adf. Vocab. Diff.* 243 (ed. K. Nickau, 1967).

³⁵ *AJ* xiii, 318-19 (not naming the territory annexed); in § 322 Hyrcanus' son Jannaeus is brought up in Galilee, which suggests that it was largely Jewish (cf. § 154, where the Galilaeans are Jonathan's "own people") and shows that Hyrcanus had control over it; *BJ* i, 76, a campaign of Aristobulus in Galilee, not necessarily in his own reign. See further Schalit, 708-9.

³⁶ *John* i, 46.

³⁷ *Str.* xvi, 2, 40, supported by coins (*BMC, Pal.*, 198-209; contrast 197;

deliberate Judaization. Jannaeus' conquests fall into two groups— independent Greco-Syrian cities on the coast and in northern Transjordan, and large tracts of territory in southern Transjordan. Early in his reign he seized the greater part of Peraea, which stretched from the frontier of the Greek city of Pella to the fortress of Machaeros, though he did not extend his grip as far as the capital, Philadelphia, which never came into Jewish hands.³⁸ At some point he also completed the conquest of the Nabataean districts of Galaaditis and Moab to the north and south east of Peraea begun by his father.³⁹ More important than these annexations from the political and strategic points of view were Jannaeus' conquests of Greco-Syrian cities. His most valuable work was the extension of Jewish control over the whole coastal strip adjacent to Samaritis, Judaea and Idumaea by the conquest of Raphia, Gaza, Anthedon, Strato's Tower, and probably Dora.⁴⁰ He failed only in his attempt to annex Ptolemais, which, like Ascalon, never came under Jewish rule.⁴¹ All parts of his kingdom except Galilee now had direct access to the sea. Towards the end of his life Jannaeus tackled the group of inland Greco-Syrian cities, conquering and annexing those which lay nearest to Galilee and Peraea—Pella, Dion, Gadara, Hippos, Abila, and possibly Gerasa, together with the fortress of Gamala and two other cities in Gaulanitis

Reifenberg, 41), against *AJ* xiii, 301 and *BJ* i, 70, where Aristobulus takes the vital step. Cf. E. R. Bevan in *CAH* IX, 398; Schalit, 743-4.

³⁸ *AJ* xiii, 356, 375; *BJ* i, 86, 89. The limits of Peraea—*BJ* iii, 46-7. Josephus actually speaks only of the conquest of Amathus, capital of N. Peraea, and Gadara, which he puts in "Coele Syria" (on which see below, p. 45, n. 4). Gadara here can hardly be the Greek city in northern Transjordan, a district which Josephus often calls Coele Syria, since Pella, still independent, lay between it and Amathus. Gadara (or Gadora), the capital of S. Peraea (cf. *BJ* iv, 413-20) is surely meant. The northern Gadara, much better known (hence the slip made by Josephus or his source), will have been conquered later, with other cities of the same group. Cf. the present writer in *JJS* xviii (1967), 91.

³⁹ *AJ* xiii, 374. Part of the conquered territory was retroceded before his death (§ 382), but the survey of the extent of the Jewish kingdom at his death (§§ 395-7) includes a number of Moabite cities. The list is not identical with the list of Moabite cities restored to the Nabataean king in 66 (below, p. 20), and textual variants and corruptions are numerous; for a detailed study see A. Schalit in *Theokratia* i (1967-9), 3-50.

⁴⁰ *AJ* xiii, 324 puts all the coastal cities except Ptolemais, Dora, Strato's Tower and Gaza in Jewish hands at Jannaeus' accession. But see §§ 357-64 and *BJ* i, 87 for his conquest of Raphia and Anthedon as well as Gaza. There is no record of his annexation of Strato's Tower but the city appears in the list of Jewish possessions at his death—*AJ* xiii, 395-6. Dora, though not included there, was Jewish by 63 (*AJ* xiv, 76; *BJ* i, 156) and has probably slipped out of Josephus' list.

⁴¹ *AJ* xiii, 324-36, 347.

further north, a district which he had tried unsuccessfully to take from the Nabataeans earlier. The annexation involved the dissolution of the cities as autonomous institutions, the dispersal of their inhabitants, and ultimately if not immediately the destruction of buildings as well as city walls. Pella indeed, the sole city in which an attempt at Judaization is recorded, was rased for refusing to comply.⁴² When Jannaeus died, the Jewish kingdom was of virtually the same extent as the Davidic kingdom and was the strongest military power in southern Syria except possibly Nabataea.

Jannaeus left his throne to his widow, Alexandra Salome (76-67), in whose reign no territorial changes occurred. But threats to Jewish power began to arise immediately, from internal dissension, which had its roots in Jannaeus' reign, and from the external menace of a new enemy, Tigranes of Armenia, who by 83 had taken advantage of the anarchy into which Syria had by then degenerated to occupy most of it. One place which held out was the city of Ptolemais, whose borders marched with the Jewish territory of Galilee and Dora. When Tigranes took the city by siege in 70 or earlier, there was great alarm among the Jews, who promptly bribed him not to invade their country. Fortunately for them, in 69 Lucullus' invasion of Armenia drew him away before there was time for him to break his word, and saved them from attack and possible annexation.⁴³

The Quarrel between Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II

When Pompey annexed Syria in 64 as a precautionary measure because the prevailing anarchy there made the country a potential source of trouble in the East and thus to Rome, Palestine's *raison d'être* in Rome's eyes as a thorn in Syrian flesh lost its validity. Far from being valuable to Rome, an independent Palestine on the frontier of the

⁴² Pella, Dion and Gerasa—*AJ* xiii, 393-4 (where 'Εσσα may be a corruption of Gerasa), 397; *BJ* i, 104-5. Gerasa, however, is absent from the list of Jannaeus' conquests in Sync., *Chron.* I, 558-9 (erroneously including Scythopolis) and, more significantly, from Josephus' lists of the cities taken from the Jews in 63 (below, p. 28; the passages cited there give evidence for physical destruction). Gerasa may therefore have preserved, or soon recovered, its independence; cf. Jones, *CERP*², 255 and n. 39. Hippos and Abila (Sync.) can be accepted; the former was among the cities lost in 63, and the latter, though not listed in 63, would have formed a dangerous re-entrant in Jannaeus' frontier if not annexed. For Gadara see above, p. 15, n. 38. Gaulanitis—*AJ* xiii, 375-6, 393-4.

⁴³ *AJ* xiii, 419-21; *BJ* i, 116. For a detailed study of the Hasmonaean dynasty see J. Klausner in *WHJP* VI, 201-54. On territorial expansion see Avi-Yonah, *HL*, 52-72.

new province might now prove an embarrassment. The ultimate annexation of Palestine was therefore virtually inevitable as a corollary to that of Syria. In the second century it had been in Rome's interests to use the Jews as allies, in the first it was in her interests to bring them into the empire. And it so happened that a dynastic quarrel was in progress in the 60s, which suggested that the country might become a disturber of the *pax Romana* in the East at any moment and provided a convenient pretext for intervention and the immediate establishment of a certain degree of control.

In this quarrel the antagonism between the opposing ideologies of the Pharisees and the Sadducees played a part. The Maccabaeen movement had had its roots in the party of the *Hasidim*, the ancestors of the Pharisees, who stood for the strict observance of the Law in all its particulars and were diametrically opposed to the Hellenizing party. When religious liberty was restored and the Maccabees' interests shifted to politics, with national independence as their aim, they gradually drifted away from the Pharisees and drew closer to the Sadducees, the mainly wealthy party centred on the priestly aristocracy, whose economic interests were better served by political and social stability than by revolution, whose concern was to attain temporal power by means of their claim to spiritual leadership, and who had affinities with the Hellenizers of earlier days in their willingness to compromise with Mammon to achieve their ends. An open break first occurred under Hyrcanus I, whom the Pharisees wanted to depose from the High Priesthood because his interests were primarily political rather than religious, though they were willing to let him retain his purely secular position as ethnarch. This demand, which apparently left the temporal authority of the dynasty intact, in fact cut at its very foundations, since it was the High Priesthood with its immense prestige and its psychological hold over the people which was the basis of Hasmonaeen power. It therefore drove Hyrcanus into alliance with the Sadducees.⁴⁴ Jannaeus, who as a cruel and war-

⁴⁴ *AJ* xiii, 288-99; cf. *BJ* i, 67. *BT Kidd*. 66a tells the same story of Jannaeus. On the Pharisees and Sadducees in general see, e.g., J. Wellhausen, *Die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer* (1874, reprinted 1967); G. Hölscher, *Der Sadduzäismus* (1906); R. T. Herford, *The Pharisees* (1924); Lightley, *op. cit.*, 11-178; Moore, *Judaism* I, 56-71; S. Zeitlin, *The Sadducees and the Pharisees* (1937); Driver, *Scrolls*, 76-8, 80-100; M. Simon, *Les Sectes juives au temps de Jésus* (1960), 17-41; Baron, II, 35-8, 343-4 (bibliographical study). On the quarrel between the Pharisees and the Hasmonaeans see further Tcherikover, *HCJ*, 253-65. G. Allon rejects Josephus and argues that the point at issue was the authority of

like imperialist was clearly an even less suitable holder of the High Priesthood than his father, became highly unpopular with the mass of the people, who broke out in a revolt which it took him six years to suppress; and though the Pharisees are not named as instigators or even participants, the story, even if apocryphal, that on his deathbed Jannaeus advised his wife to make peace with the Pharisees, is evidence that the split between them and the monarchy had widened during his reign, and their involvement in the revolt is probable.⁴⁵

Though he had two sons, Jannaeus appointed his widow, Alexandra Salome, as his successor, which meant the separation of the High Priesthood from the throne at least for the duration of her reign. Josephus gives no explicit reason, but implies that it was that the rightful heir, the elder son Hyrcanus, was "incompetent at government and preferred private life" (though his later career does not entirely bear this out). But Salome's accession only postponed Hyrcanus' eventual succession, and trouble to follow. For the younger son, Aristobulus, described by Josephus as "a man of action and enterprise", was ambitious for power and clearly a potential embarrassment to both his mother and his brother.⁴⁶ Salome, whether on her husband's advice or on her own initiative, came to terms with the Pharisees, and thereby won such popularity that in Jewish tradition her reign became a golden age of material prosperity.⁴⁷ But the pendulum swung too far when she and Hyrcanus, High Priest under her, allowed the Pharisees virtually to take over the internal government of the country. Their high-handed behaviour in their unaccustomed position of power and the revenge which they took for the atrocities committed against them by Jannaeus and the Sadducees rapidly bred hostility, which found a focus in Aristobulus, who resembled his father in character and was as irritated by his own lack of political power as he was by current trends in the state. His violent denunciation of his mother's pro-Pharisaean policy and his threat to take his supporters off to enter the service of the Nabataean king as mercenaries unless she gave him some political responsibility frightened Salome into the dangerous step of entrusting him with the custody of all the fortresses of the kingdom except the key positions of Hyrcania,

the Sanhedrin vis-à-vis the monarchy, and that the quarrel began under Jannaeus—in *Scr. Hier.* vii (1961), 58-60.

⁴⁵ *AJ* xiii, 372-83, 399-404; *BJ* i, 88-98.

⁴⁶ *AJ* xiii, 407-8; xiv, 13; *BJ* i, 109. For discussion of their characters see Schalit, 16-19.

⁴⁷ *BT Ta'an.* 23a (Simeon ben Shetah, the queen's brother, giving the date).

Alexandrian and Machaeros.⁴⁸ Using this military advantage Aristobulus occupied the fortresses in his own name and raised an army from his father's partisans, people of the Sadducean persuasion, together with some Ituraeans, with the intention of seizing the throne from Salome, now seriously ill, and so forestalling the succession of his brother to the throne in addition to the High Priesthood, which would have ensured complete domination of the government by the Pharisees. He overran most of the country, but took no decisive action against his brother until he acceded as Hyrcanus II on their mother's death in 67. Then he attacked, defeated him in battle, and blockaded him in Jerusalem. Hyrcanus promptly came to terms, abdicated from the throne and the High Priesthood after a reign of only three months, and retired into private life, leaving Aristobulus II in possession of both spiritual and temporal power.⁴⁹

All might then have been well, at least from Aristobulus' point of view, had not the sinister figure of the Idumaeen Antipater, father of Herod the Great, then appeared on the horizon and inaugurated a century of Idumaeen domination over the Jews. Antipater's father had been appointed governor of Idumaea by Jannaeus, and had used his wealth to win friends in Ascalon and Nabataea, outside the Jewish kingdom. He himself may have inherited his father's position, though this is nowhere stated, but he certainly kept up his father's contacts by marrying into the Nabataean aristocracy. The Idumaeans, forcibly Judaized only two generations previously, were still viewed as foreigners by race and only dubious Jews by religion. Herod the Great was later to be dubbed a "half-Jew", a sneer directed as much at his Idumaeen father as at his Nabataean mother, and he regarded this as a sufficiently serious slur to get his court chronicler to put out the story that his family was a prominent Jewish one from Babylonia which had returned to Palestine—a story which Josephus was no doubt not unique in refusing to swallow.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ 48. *AJ* xiii, 408-17; *BJ* i, 110-14. Masada (cf. below, p. 53, n. 25) is, surprisingly, not excepted. On the sites of the fortresses see below, p. 75.

⁴⁹ *AJ* xiii, 422—xiv, 7; *BJ* i, 117-22; cf. *AJ* xiv, 97; xv, 180 (three months); xx, 243-4, showing that Hyrcanus lost the High Priesthood as well as the throne. *AJ* xiv, 4 dates Salome's death by Olympiad and consuls to the first half of 69, but this is incompatible with the chronology of both her predecessors and her sons; Aristobulus was deposed in 63 after a reign of three and a half years. Cf. Schürer, I (rev.), 200, n. 1; W. Kolbe, *op. cit.*, 26-8.

⁵⁰ *AJ* xiv, 8-10 (on Nicolas of Damascus see below, p. 70), 121, 403 (ἡμι-ιουδαίος); *BJ* i, 123, 181. The story that Antipater was the son of a hierodule in the temple of Apollo at Ascalon and was kidnapped by Idumaeen brigands and

Antipater was a friend of Hyrcanus, but a friend from interested motives. Well aware of Hyrcanus' poor potential as a ruler, he made it his ambition to rule himself through Hyrcanus as puppet-king. When Aristobulus ousted his brother, Antipater not only lost his chance of political power but was in personal danger for his support of the defeated rival. He therefore determined to get Hyrcanus reinstated in the interests of his own safety and his own ambition alike. In this scheme he could hope for the support of the Pharisees, at least as long as he concealed the fact that Hyrcanus was to be his puppet and not theirs, but he could not hope for much active co-operation from his lethargic tool. He therefore set to work to persuade him that Aristobulus had designs on his life. At first Hyrcanus refused to believe these allegations (in which there may have been some truth), but persistent brain-washing finally convinced him of his brother's evil intentions, and he agreed to the suggestion that he should take refuge with Aretas III of Nabataea, whom Antipater hoped to induce to reinstate him. Aretas eventually yielded to Antipater's importunity, though with a show of reluctance which enabled him to set as his price a promise of the restoration of the Moabite territory annexed by Hyrcanus I and Jannaeus.⁵¹ At heart he must have welcomed the chance of getting a weak king who would act under the direction of the pro-Nabataean Antipater back on to the neighbouring throne in place of the dangerously ambitious Aristobulus.

Aretas' army invaded Palestine and defeated Aristobulus, who took refuge in the Temple, abandoned except by the priests. The people at large needed only the encouragement of external military aid to rise in support of the legitimate ruler and the pro-Pharisaean policy which he might be expected to reintroduce. Aristobulus' position looked hopeless when rescue came from an unexpected quarter: while the forces of Aretas, assisted by the population of Jerusalem, were blockading him at the Passover of 65, a Roman army made its first appearance in Palestine.⁵²

brought up by them because his father could not pay his ransom (Julius Africanus *apud* Eus., *HE* i, 6, 2; 7, 11; Epiph., *Haer.* xx, 1; Sync., *Chron.* I, 561) may be a Christian fabrication designed to give a discreditable ancestry to the would-be murderer of the infant Christ, or may be of anti-Herodian Jewish origin (so Schalit, 677-8). For the family as Ascalonite cf. Just. Mart., *Dial.* 52; Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.* ii, 26; *Chron. Pasch.* I, 351, 358. The occurrence of the names Herod and Antipater at Ascalon (*IG* II², 8388; *CIL* X, 1746) proves nothing, and Herod's benefactions to that city (below, p. 81) were no more lavish than those he made to others.

⁵¹ *AJ* xiv, 11-18; *BJ* i, 124-6.

⁵² *AJ* xiv, 19-29; *BJ* i, 126-7.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HASMONAEAN CLIENT PRINCE

By 65 the war with Mithridates and Tigranes was practically over and Pompey could begin to consider the question of the general settlement of the East. Syria, which had relapsed into anarchy when abandoned by Tigranes in the face of Lucullus' invasion of Armenia, posed the main problem, not because of any immediate military threat, direct or indirect, to Rome, but merely because of the menace to the peace of Asia inherent in its instability. Pompey's drastic but simple solution was annexation as a province. While he remained in Armenia for his final campaigns against Mithridates, he sent part of his forces ahead to occupy Damascus and to prepare the ground for his arrival. With Damascus secured, one of his legates, M. Aemilius Scaurus, hurried on to Jerusalem where the civil war in progress provided "a god-sent opportunity"¹ for intervention in a country which the annexation of Syria inevitably brought into the orbit of Roman influence. He was greeted by deputations from both brothers, each offering a bribe of several hundred talents for Roman support. Josephus alleges that he paid no heed to the justice of Hyrcanus' claims but decided in Aristobulus' favour, partly because he was more likely to receive prompt payment from the man in control of the state treasury, and partly because he could not dislodge him without storming Jerusalem—a difficult undertaking, as witness the sieges of Pompey, Sosius and Titus later. But he may also have formed a poor opinion of Hyrcanus' potential as a ruler. Whatever his reasons, however, he rescued Aristobulus by the painless expedient of threatening a Roman attack on Nabataea, which forced Aretas to raise the siege of Jerusalem, and then returned to Damascus, leaving Aristobulus to chase the invader's army back across the frontier.²

Pompey's Settlement

Though Antipater had lost the first round, he was not easily deter-

¹ *BJ* i, 127.

² *AJ* xiv, 29-33 (both brothers offer 400 talents); *BJ* i, 127-30 (Aristobulus offers 300 talents, while Hyrcanus apparently relies solely on the justice of his cause). *AJ* xiv, 37 involves A. Gabinius, another of Pompey's legates, in the negotiations, and he may therefore have accompanied Scaurus.

red from his purpose. In the autumn of 64, when Pompey brought the rest of his army to winter in Syria, the brothers sent deputations to reopen the question, Aristobulus presumably thinking it advisable to get the decision of Pompey's subordinate ratified (though it is hard to see why his envoy alienated Scaurus at this point by disclosing the bribery of the previous year), and Antipater, who appeared for Hyrcanus, aiming at its reversal. Pompey gave no answer, but told the delegations to wait on him in Damascus in the following spring.³

On that occasion Hyrcanus and Aristobulus appeared in person, together with a third delegation representing the large party in the state which was weary of the secular character of Hasmonaean rule and wanted the abolition of the monarchy and a return to the rule of a High Priest of predominantly religious interests. Aristobulus arrived armed with a magnificent gift to reinforce his claims, the golden vine from the Temple valued at five hundred talents, and attended by a retinue of young dandies, whose ostentatious behaviour served only to create a bad impression on the Romans. Hyrcanus came empty-handed, but he had the impressive backing of over a thousand Jews of high standing whom Antipater had organized to support him. Full of righteous indignation against his brother, he stressed the claims of primogeniture, complained about his deprivation of power, and accused the usurper of territorial aggression and piracy, activities clearly undesirable in the neighbour of the new province of Syria. Aristobulus' reply was that Hyrcanus' deficiencies as a ruler had forced him to seize power himself, lest it fall into the hands of "others" (Antipater). Pompey accepted Aristobulus' gift, which went to Rome with his other booty to adorn the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, but decided to reverse Scaurus' settlement. For the present, however, he kept his intentions dark for fear of a stab in the back from Aristobulus during his impending Nabataean campaign, and dismissed the brothers with a promise that he would give his decision on his return and injunctions that they should keep the peace meanwhile.⁴ Con-

³ *AJ* xiv, 37-40. This section (without equivalent in *BJ*), concerning the winter of 64/3, is clearly misplaced and should precede §§ 34-6; cf. Marcus, notes *ad loc.*

⁴ *AJ* xiv, 34-6, 40-6; *BJ* i, 131-2. Hyrcanus' complaint in *AJ* xiv, 42 that he was now ruling "a small part of the country" appears to contradict §§ 6-7, where he is said to have relinquished all territorial jurisdiction. Possibly through Antipater's influence he had got a subordinate post under his brother, e.g. the governorship of Idumaea, as independent rule of any part of the kingdom seems to be out of the question; cf. Schalit, 9, n. 31. The reference to piracy need not be anachronistic, though Aristobulus reigned after Pompey's

siderations of Roman expediency will have weighed more heavily with Pompey than Hyrcanus' rights. For complete Jewish autonomy was now a thing of the past. It was not an independent king, in whom strength would be an asset, whom he was to establish in Palestine, but a client king ruling by grace of Rome, owing his position to Roman support and goodwill, and possessed of only limited freedom of action, and for this role the docile and unambitious Hyrcanus was a far more suitable tool in general, and a far more amenable neighbour for the Roman governor of Syria, than the forceful, impetuous and belligerent Aristobulus. Pompey must by now have sized up Antipater also, as a man whose ambitions would be more dangerous to Rome if thwarted than if satisfied, who would serve his own interests by swimming with the current, and who could therefore be trusted with the political responsibility of being the power behind Hyrcanus' throne. Aristobulus' personal unsuitability for rule, from the Roman point of view, thus opened the door to eventual Idumaeen domination.⁵

As soon as Pompey's back was turned, Aristobulus, evidently suspecting his intentions, entrenched himself in the fortress of Alexandria. At this act of defiance Pompey abandoned his Nabataean expedition, brought his army back to within striking distance, and after some inconclusive parleys served Aristobulus with an ultimatum to surrender all his fortresses. He obeyed, but withdrew to Jerusalem to prepare for war, aware now that Pompey, though technically only an arbitrator, would if necessary use arms to enforce his decision. But the sight of a Roman army actually marching on the city from Jericho gave him pause. Realizing that Jewish military prospects against Rome were poor, he went to meet Pompey and agreed to pay an indemnity and accept a Roman garrison in Jerusalem as the price of peace. His supporters, however, with greater patriotism but less sense, refused to admit the force sent to collect the money and occupy the city. At this Pompey arrested Aristobulus and advanced to the walls of Jerusalem.⁶

campaign to suppress it. Isolated outbreaks occurred after 67; see, e.g., Cic., *Pro Fl.* 28-31. Cf. Dio xxxvii, 15, 2—Pompey attacked the Jews *ὡς καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην κακώσαντας*. G. Allon sees the anti-monarchical party as the Pharisees, and argues against the common view that they supported Hyrcanus consistently and unanimously—in *Scr. Hier.* vii (191), 61-7.

⁵ For fuller discussion of Pompey's choice and its long-term consequences see Schalit, 19-30.

⁶ *AJ* xiv, 47-57; *BJ* i, 132-41; Dio xxxvii, 15, 2-3. Events must have moved

The city of Jerusalem is isolated from the surrounding hills on three sides by deep valleys, the Kidron separating it from the Mount of Olives on the east, and Gehenna curving round the west and south. In antiquity it was divided from north to south by a shallower but still considerable valley, the Tyropoeon (the "Valley of the Cheese-makers", now filled in to a great extent and much less conspicuous), which ran into the Kidron near its junction with Gehenna at the south east corner of the city. The section of the city east of the Tyropoeon was a long narrow ridge, on the southern end of which, Ophel (later called the Lower City), the Davidic city was built in the tenth century B.C.⁷ Solomon's Temple stood on the northern part of the ridge, as did its two successors, though with some enlargement of the surrounding sacred enclosure.⁸ The city was most vulnerable to attack on the north, where it was joined to what later became the suburb of Bezetha by a low col. To afford protection on this side a fort was built before the Exile to the north west of the Temple. It was restored after the Exile as the "tower of Hananeel", destroyed by Antiochus Epiphanes, and rebuilt again under the name of Baris (Hebrew for "fortress") by the early Hasmonaeans, who linked it by an underground passage to one of the western towers of the fortifications surrounding the Temple enclosure.⁹ The Temple was further protected on its northern side by a deep fosse outside the defence wall, deepening or extending a shallow valley running into the Kidron.¹⁰

rapidly : the interview at Damascus can hardly be placed before March, 63, as Pompey left his winter quarters ἐνισταμένου τοῦ ἔαρος (*AJ* xiv, 38) and Jerusalem fell after a three-month siege in midsummer. For Coreae (modern Tell el-Mazar), three miles from Alexandrion, see W. J. Moulton in *BASOR* lxii (1936), 14-15 ; cf. the Madaba map (a mosaic map of Palestine in the time of Justinian, of which only fragments now survive, on the floor of the church in Madaba, 20 miles south of Amman), published by M. Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Mosaic Map* (1954), 36 and Pl. 1, Coreus. According to Str. xvi, 2, 40 Pompey dismantled Alexandrion and other strongholds ; but see below, p. 31.

⁷ Josephus describes the physical features of Jerusalem in *BJ* v, 136-41, in introducing Titus' siege of the city.

⁸ See below, p. 93.

⁹ *Nehem.* ii, 8 ; iii, 1 (cf. vii, 2 for the commander who gave it the name) ; xii, 39 ; *Jerem.* xxxi, 38 ; *Zech.* xiv, 10 ; *AJ* xiii, 307-9 ; xv, 403 ; xviii, 91 (the original Hasmonaean residence, i.e. before the building of the palace in the Upper City) ; *BJ* i, 75-7, 118. Archaeological evidence for the Baris, destroyed when the Antonia was built by Herod the Great (below, p. 73), is lacking. On its site, nature and history see Marie-Aline, *Antonia*, 7-18 ; cf. L. H. Vincent in *RB* lxi (1954), 88-101.

¹⁰ *AJ* xiv, 61 ; *BJ* i, 145 ; Str. xvi, 2, 40 (60 feet deep, 260 feet wide). Cf. Simons, *JOT*, 418, n. 4 ; Vincent and Stève, *JAT*, 696-7 ; Abel, *HP* I, 259.

Since the Temple blocked expansion northwards, the city began to spread across the Tyropoeon valley on to the northern part of the western hill, later known as the Upper City, at an early period; a section of a seventh-century city wall has been found there.¹¹ Later, probably during the Maccabean period, the fortifications were extended to enclose a much larger area of the western hill and to set the southern limit of the city where it was to remain until 70. On the north the wall ran from the middle of the west wall of the Temple enclosure along the southern lip of a shallow east-west valley to the site of the medieval Citadel in the present Old City; from there it ran first southwards and then eastwards along the scarp of Gehenna and finally northwards above the Kidron to rejoin the Temple enclosure at its south east corner. At an unknown date but apparently before the mid-first century B.C. the area in the angle between the north wall of the Upper City and the northern part of the Temple enclosure was included in the city by the building of a second north wall diverging from the original wall some distance east of the north west angle and running roughly north eastward to the Baris.¹²

Within Jerusalem there was no unanimity in the face of the Roman threat. Aristobulus' supporters, unable to defend the whole city, occupied the strongest part, the Temple enclosure, which they isolated by cutting the bridge across the Tyropoeon valley linking it with the Upper City. Hyrcanus' supporters, who thought they had everything to gain by collaboration, admitted the Romans to the Upper City, where they occupied the Hasmonaean palace. When Aristobulus' supporters refused to surrender on favourable terms, Pompey had no choice but to dislodge them by force.¹³ But even with the initial advantage of possession of the Upper City, it took him three months to storm the Temple. As assault was impossible up the precipitous slopes of the Kidron, Pompey pitched his camp outside the north wall of

¹¹ See N. Avigad in *IEJ* xx (1970), 8, 129-34 ; xxii (1972), 193-7.

¹² The line of the ancient south wall established by F. J. Bliss and A. C. Dickie, *Excavations at Jerusalem* (1898), well south of the present wall, has been generally accepted.

¹³ *AJ* xiv, 58-60 ; *BJ* i, 142-4. The *Qumran Commentary on Habakkuk* may belong to this period, with its references to the onslaught of the dreaded Kittim ("foreigners", here used for the Romans) reflecting popular terror during Pompey's campaign ; but it provides little or no hard historical fact to supplement Josephus. On the cult of the Roman military standards (supposedly alluded to in vi, 2-5) under the republic see K. M. T. Atkinson in *JSemS* iv (1959), 246-55.

the city,¹⁴ and filled the fosse north of the Temple and the Tyropoeon valley, formidable obstacles in themselves, with earth and timber on which to mount his siege engines. Much of this engineering work was done on Sabbaths, when it was known that the Jews would fight in self-defence but would neither initiate an offensive nor try to impede operations which did not strictly speaking constitute an attack.¹⁵ Eventually, in midsummer 63, the Romans battered down one of the towers in the curtain wall and burst in, slaughtering the unresisting priests as they continued doggedly with their duties. Roman losses were light but Jewish losses very heavy, when the pro-Roman faction came to blows with the defenders of the Temple, some of whom committed suicide rather than fall into enemy hands.¹⁶

Pompey and some of his staff then violated the sanctity of the Temple by entering the building itself, to which only priests were admitted, and even the Holy of Holies, which the High Priest alone might enter, and that only on the Day of Atonement. His motive may have been mere curiosity, for in other ways he treated the Temple with respect. He did not loot either the gold furniture (the seven-branched candelabrum, the table of the Shew-bread and the ritual trumpets) or the two thousand talents in coin deposited there, and on the day after his victory he allowed the building to be purified

¹⁴ *AJ* xiv, 60; *BJ* i, 145; cf. *AJ* xiv, 466, 469; *BJ* i, 343, 346. *BJ* v, 506 apparently puts Pompey's camp south west of the city. This makes less sense strategically than the northern location, but possibly Pompey encamped in the south first and then moved north after reconnoitring the terrain; so Vincent and Stève, *JAT*, 696-7; Abel, *HP*, I, 257-9.

¹⁵ *AJ* xiv, 61-4; *BJ* i, 145-7. Cf. *BJ* i, 456, 517 for the rebels' disregard of this principle in A.D. 66.

¹⁶ *AJ* xiv, 65-71 (giving the date as the 179th Olympiad (64-60) and Cicero's consulship); *BJ* i, 148-51; Dio xxxvii, 16, 1-4. For the season of the siege see Appendix D. For a fuller study of the siege see F. M. Abel in *RB* liv (1947), 243-55. A mysterious figure, *Bacchius Iudaeus*, appears in suppliant pose on a coin struck by A. Plautius as aedile in 54 B.C.—H. A. Grueber, *The Coins of the Roman Republic in the B.M.* (1910) I, 490, nos 3916-19; A. E. Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic* (1952), 156, no. 932. Despite the time-lag (for which cf. the coin of 58 commemorating Scaurus' campaign against Aretas in 62—Grueber, *op. cit.*, 484, nos 3878-82; Sydenham, *op. cit.*, 152, nos. 913-14), the coin almost certainly concerns Pompey's campaign in 63 and refers to a military leader otherwise unrecorded. Plautius, one of Pompey's legates in 67, may have continued to serve under him in 66-63; his tribunate in 56 will have left little time for service against the risings in 57-55 in Palestine (below pp. 31, 33-5). Schalit, 9, n. 29, suggests that Bacchius was a trouble-maker in the Lebanon area, put down with others there in the winter of 64/3; see *AJ* xiv, 39. Alternatively, he may have been the commander in Jerusalem, of greater military significance to Rome than Aristobulus.

—incidental evidence that it largely escaped damage during the bombardment—and sacrifices to be resumed.¹⁷ Here was a chance to test the stories in anti-Semitic writers that the head of an ass or a ram was worshipped in the inmost sanctuary of the Temple,¹⁸ and Pompey took it, perhaps little realizing that this act of desecration would put him on a level with Antiochus Epiphanes in Jewish eyes and arouse hatred that would endure until A.D. 115, when the Jews in revolt battered down his tomb in Alexandria.¹⁹ His surprise may have been great on finding a completely empty room.²⁰ The writer of the *Psalms of Solomon* laments that “the sinner in his pride overthrew the strong ramparts with his battering-ram and Thou didst not prevent him. Foreign nations went up to Thy altar and trampled it proudly without removing their shoes.”²¹

The aim of Pompey’s settlement of Palestine was to render an insignificant corner of the defunct Syrian empire politically and militarily innocuous to Rome, which meant making the population reasonably content but at the same time tying the hands of its leaders. He reinstated Hyrcanus as High Priest, as promised, but he did not allow him, unambitious though he was, to resume the title of king; in his secular capacity Hyrcanus was to be merely an ethnarch.²² Pompey then sought to minimize the risk of opposition to his rule by taking not only Aristobulus but his father-in-law (who was also his uncle) and his four children as well (but for some reason not his wife), together with thousands of his supporters, to Rome to walk

¹⁷ Josephus and Cicero agree that Pompey took neither the money nor the Temple furniture—*AJ* xiv, 72-3, 105; *BJ* i, 152-3, 179; Cic., *Pro Fl.* 67. Dio xxxvii, 16, 4, however, says that Pompey looted all the money. Schalit, 678-9, accepts this, as it would be in line with Pompey’s actions elsewhere, and refers *AJ* xiv, 78 to him. But it could look forward to Crassus’ depredations (below, p. 36); the figures tally.

¹⁸ *Ap.* ii, 80-8, 114, 120; Tac., *H* v, 4. The stories apparently date back well before the first century A.D., but their origin is obscure.

¹⁹ See below, p. 399.

²⁰ The Ark of the Covenant which had stood in the Holy of Holies of Solomon’s Temple, housing the two stone Tables of the Law said to have been given to Moses on Mt Sinai, had disappeared in Nebuchadnezzar’s sack of Jerusalem. Cf. *Ap.* ii, 82.

²¹ *Ps. Sol.* ii, 1-2; cf. 20-2 and viii, 16-26 for further references to the sack by Pompey. In ii, 30 ff. his murder is seen as divine retribution for his ὕβρις in Jerusalem. On the contemporary Jewish attitude towards Rome as shown in some of the Qumran literature see Schürer, I (rev.), 241, n. 30; cf. below, p. 295, n. 8 on its historical value.

²² *AJ* xiv, 73. The title ethnarch, not attested for Hyrcanus at this period, is implied by xx, 244 ἡ προστασία τοῦ ἔθνους.

in his triumph in September, 61 and to remain in Rome, the Hasmonaeans in internment and the rest in slavery.²³ The Jews now saw their capital treated as they had treated their conquests; not only the walls of the Temple enclosure but the city walls also were razed.²⁴ Taxation was imposed, proof positive of the return of foreign domination, and the country, although not a province, was handed over to the tender mercies of the *publicani*.²⁵

The territorial extent of the Jewish state was now drastically reduced. Pompey detached from it the western part of Idumaea, the toparchy centred on Marisa; he made the city of Samaria and, apparently Gaba in Galilee also, into independent enclaves within Hyrcanus' territory attached to the province of Syria, deprived Hyrcanus of a hereditary Hasmonaean estate in the plain of Esdraelon, and cancelled the Jews' residence rights in the three Samaritan toparchies of Lydda, Ephraim and Ramathaim; and he liberated the two groups of Greco-Syrian cities annexed by Hyrcanus I and Jannaeus—all the cities of the coastal strip from Raphia to Dora, and the cluster of cities on the north eastern inland frontier, Scythopolis, Pella, Dion, Gadara and Hippos.²⁶ These were now reconstituted as privileged, autonomous cities with territorial jurisdiction and attached to the province of Syria. They marked their liberation by adopting new eras, in most cases the Pompeian, 64/3.²⁷ The five inland cities together with five others not previously under Jewish rule were formally

²³ *AJ* xiv, 71, 79; *BJ* i, 154, 157-8; Plut., *Pomp.* 39, 2; 45, 4; App., *Mith.* 116-17. Aristobulus' wife in Palestine—*AJ* xiv, 90; *BJ* i, 168. On the Jewish community in Rome, vastly enlarged by Pompey's prisoners, see below, pp. 128 ff. Pompey's triumph—Vell. Pater. ii, 40, 3; Pliny, *NH* vii, 97-8; xxxviii, 13; E. Pais, *Fasti Triumphales* (1920), 252-66; *Inscr. Ital.* XIII, i, 566.

²⁴ *AJ* xiv, 82, 144; *BJ* i, 160, 199; Str. xvi, 2, 40.

²⁵ *AJ* xiv, 74; *BJ* i, 154; Cic., *Pro Fl.* 69 (*elocata* = farmed out). Cf. below, p. 33. The rate and type of taxation are not recorded.

²⁶ *AJ* xiv, 75-6; *BJ* i, 155-6. In *AJ* xiv, 88 and *BJ* i, 166, which imply the loss of Anthedon also, Adora (the eastern of the only two Idumaean toparchy capitals known; cf. Schalit, 201) is probably an error for Dora; so Jones, *CERP*², 456, n. 42; cf. Schalit, 207. In all these passages it is specifically the *πόλις* of Samaria which is in question, not the whole district of Samaritis. The loss of the estate in Esdraelon and the three Samaritan toparchies is inferred from the restoration of Jewish control over them in 47 (below, p. 40).

²⁷ On the reconstitution of the cities see Jones, *CERP*², 257-8. For the Pompeian era used by most of them see P.-W., s.v. *Aera*, 649-50. The era of Gaza, however, began in 61/0 and that of Raphia a little later; see *BMC, Pal.*, lxxviii, lxxxii; P.-W., l.c. Gaba also adopted an era dated 61/0 (see Jones, l.c.), which suggests that that city also was freed by Pompey; cf. below, p. 31, n. 33. The post-Pompeian eras put the completion of the work of reconstitution after his departure.

linked into a loose federation, the Decapolis, of unknown constitution and legal standing.²⁸ Side by side with the political re-establishment of the cities came their physical restoration. The re-erection of their fortifications, dismantled by their Jewish conquerors, was authorized, to encourage the re-settlement of population and to provide a bulwark against Jewish ambitions. A start was made even before Pompey left Palestine with the rebuilding of Gadara, singled out as the home of his favourite freedman, and the city showed her gratitude by taking the title "Pompeian".²⁹

With the earlier cession of the Moabite cities to Nabataea in 66, the Jewish state was now reduced to four districts in which Judaism in some form was the sole or the dominant religion—Galilee, most of Samaritis, Judaea and eastern Idumaea. It had a foot across the Jordan only along the narrow strip of Peraea, and included no large cities except Jerusalem. But it appears that Pompey's aim was not primarily to remove areas of predominantly Greco-Syrian population from Jewish administration and so to emphasize the gulf between the Hellenic and the Semitic world, though this may have played a part in his thinking; two of the coastal cities, Joppa and Jamnia, were largely inhabited by Jews, and the whole of Idumaea was Jewish by religion. Rather his aim was to hamper the Jews economically by cutting them off from maritime trade and to humble them politically by a reduction in status and territory as a preparation for later incorporation in the empire as a province.³⁰

But annexation³¹ was still in the distant future. Palestine was to

²⁸ Pliny, *NH* v, 74 gives as the other members of the Decapolis Damascus, Philadelphia, Raphana, Galasa (for Gerasa) and Canatha. Ptol., *Geog.* v, 14, 18 lists eighteen cities as members. The formation of the league is attributed to Pompey on the strength of numismatic and epigraphic evidence for the use of the Pompeian era by all the cities listed by Pliny except Raphana (of unknown location; perhaps identical with Capitolias in Ptolemy's list) and Damascus, which used the Seleucid era until the time of Augustus and may therefore not have been a founder member; Abila, which used the Pompeian era, was probably the tenth founder member—*IGRR* III, 1057 (Hadrianic). Damascus and other cities apparently joined later as supernumeraries. For a full study of the league to Trajan's reign see H. Bietenhard in *ZDPV* lxxix (1963), 24-58; cf. Abel, *HP* I, 263-4; Jones, *CERP*², 259, 456-7; for the individual cities see Schürer, II, 155-93; L. H. Vincent in *RB* xlii (1933), 555-61 (Scythopolis).

²⁹ *AJ* xiv, 75; *BJ* i, 155. Coins of Gadara have the legend Πομπητιέων Γαδάρων—B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*² (1911), 787.

³⁰ U. Rappoport traces the reason for Pompey's severity to an anti-Roman policy pursued by Jannaeus and his successors—in *REJ* cxxvii (1968), 342-5.

³¹ *Amm. Marc.* xiv, 8, 12 and by implication *App., Syr.* 50 and *Mith.* 118 mistakenly see Pompey's settlement as constituting annexation.

remain a client kingdom for nearly seventy years. Pompey's decision not to annex outright immediately was wise, since any such attempt would certainly have led to a violent reaction. By leaving a Hasmonaean at the head of the state, Pompey satisfied Jewish patriotism up to a point, while by reducing his power to a shadow he guarded against energetic political action hostile to Roman interests. The purely nominal nature of the independence of the client kingdom was to be revealed by the actions of Gabinius, Crassus, Cassius and Antony.

From Pompey to Julius Caesar

Pompey's settlement was a blow to Antipater's dreams of ruling a powerful independent kingdom through Hyrcanus as his puppet. But he realized that there was no future in opposition to Rome. The only hope for an improvement in the situation lay in co-operation and ostentatious loyalty, which he soon had an opportunity of showing. Pompey had left his legate Scaurus to take charge of Syria and the interrupted Nabataean campaign, and when he got into difficulties, Hyrcanus sent Antipater to extricate him by supplying provisions for the army. Antipater then used his Nabataean connection to negotiate peace terms whereby Rome came off ostensibly the better to the extent of an indemnity of three hundred talents.³² This was the prototype of the policy which Antipater and his son Herod after him were to follow consistently. But for the next thirty years the situation was to be complicated for them by bewilderingly frequent changes in personal hegemony in Rome necessitating sudden changes of side. The vital question became one of loyalty not to Rome but to the right individual Roman.

Not surprisingly, however, peace did not prevail, and Palestine remained in a state of continuous unrest and intermittent war until the firm hand of Herod the Great was imposed over twenty years later. Pompey's settlement obviously satisfied only one section of the population, and despite the deportation of thousands of Aristobulus'

³² *AJ* xiv, 80-1; *BJ* i, 159. Here Hyrcanus, not Antipater, apparently takes the initiative; cf. *AJ* xiv, 99 (with Marcus' note on the text), 127. These and similar hints elsewhere suggest that Hyrcanus was not as spineless as Josephus makes out, but, even if not a forceful leader, was more than a mere figurehead manipulated by Antipater, and it is possible that Josephus' reliance on the pro-Idumaeans of Damascus leads him to give undue prominence to Antipater at Hyrcanus' expense. On the other hand, Antipater may have initiated military orders which had to be formally issued by the official head of state.

partisans to Rome, there was still a strong body of support for the exiled king and his sons. A failure in Roman security gave them a focus when during the journey to Rome Aristobulus' elder son Alexander escaped and returned home. During the next few years he apparently became a nuisance rather than a menace to Hyrcanus and Antipater, for no action against him is recorded of either of Scaurus' two successors in Syria. Early in 57, however, A. Gabinus, a former legate of Pompey's, returned to the familiar territory of Syria as pro-consul with *imperium infinitum* and set to work to implement the last item in Pompey's policy of weakening Palestine externally by organizing the refortification of the cities detached from Jewish control. This goaded Alexander into an open rising aimed as much against Rome as against Hyrcanus. He raised an army, overran Judaea, made an unsuccessful attempt to refortify Jerusalem, and seized the three fortresses of Alexandrion, Hyrcania and Machaeros. This was more than the forces of Hyrcanus and Antipater could cope with, and Gabinus had to step in. Assisted by Antipater's troops, he defeated Alexander and besieged him in Alexandrion. This rising showed the urgent need to have Palestine hemmed in by cities that were physically strong as well as politically independent, and Gabinus therefore left the conduct of the siege to a subordinate while he toured the coastal cities and some others to expedite the refortification. On his return Alexander's mother, fearing reprisals on her husband and other children still in Rome, acted as peace-maker, persuading her son to surrender and advising Gabinus to forestall future trouble by dismantling all three fortresses. In return Gabinus promised to secure the release of her other children.³³

After Alexander's capitulation Gabinus took action on his own initiative to weaken Palestine internally. He applied the principle of "divide and rule" by suspending the central government. He split the country up into five separate administrative units, based respectively on Jerusalem and Jericho in Judaea, Sepphoris in Galilee, Amathus in

³³ *AJ* xiv, 82-90, 97; *BJ* i, 160-8, 174 (in § 160 making Gabinus Scaurus' immediate successor; but see App., *Syr.* 51). Josephus mentions only Gabinus' tour of the cities during the siege of Alexandrion. For the interpretation of events given here see Schalit, 30-2. Gamala or Gabala (*BJ*) is generally taken to be a corruption of Gaza (*AJ*). A. Alt in *ZDPV* lxii (1939), 7-8, followed by B. Maisler in *HUCA* xxiv (1952-3), 77, suggests that the names in both works are corruptions of Gaba (cf. above, p. 28, n. 27). Samaria complimented Gabinus on his work by a change of name, apparently short-lived, recorded only by Cedrenus, *Hist. Comp.* 184a (ed. I. Bekker (1838), I, 323) τὴν τῶν Γαβινίων (*lege* Γαβινιέων) πόλιν, τὴν ποτε Σαμαρείαν.

Peraea, and (probably) Adora in Idumaea, and each governed by a regional sanhedrin which was presumably to function under the general oversight of himself and subsequent governors of Syria.³⁴ It followed from this that Hyrcanus lost his secular administrative functions as ethnarch controlling the whole country and retained only the High Priesthood.³⁵ If he kept also the presidency of the political Sanhedrin in Jerusalem, which normally belonged to the High Priest,³⁶ in addition to his religious duties (a point on which there is no evidence), the powers of civil administration which this entailed were greatly reduced, since that body now had jurisdiction over only a part of the country as *primus inter pares*. Gabinius' settlement was virtually a victory for the anti-monarchical party which had appealed to Pompey in 63, and Josephus describes it as a change to government by an "aristocracy", a term which he uses elsewhere for priestly rule.³⁷ But the term in this specialized sense may apply to the Jerusalem Sanhedrin only. The composition of the others is unknown, but is likely to have been wholly lay.

Details of the powers and duties of the district sanhedrins are similarly completely lacking, mainly because they were very short-lived, but they were apparently made responsible for the collection of the taxes payable to Rome.³⁸ Cicero, Gabinius' bitter enemy, com-

³⁴ *AJ* xiv, 91; *BJ* i, 170. συνέδριον (*AJ*) and σύνοδος (*BJ*) can be taken as synonyms, since neither word implies the formation of two bodies in each district. For Adora see Schürer, I (rev.), 268, n. 5; cf. Schalit, 32.

³⁵ *AJ* xiv, 90; *BJ* i, 169. The specific restriction of Hyrcanus' powers to the control of the Temple implies the loss of his secular position. But cf. below, p. 34, n. 45.

³⁶ The question of the composition, powers and presidency of the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem is intensely complicated. The numerous lengthy discussions of the problems involved cannot even be summarized here, and only conclusions can be given. Majority opinion now appears to favour Büchler's view that there were two Sanhedrins: the Sanhedrin to which Josephus frequently refers was a political council with judicial functions, meeting under the presidency of the Hasmonaean Priest-kings and later of the High Priests; the Great Sanhedrin of seventy or seventy-one members to which the Mishnah and Talmud frequently refer was a separate body with primarily religious and legislative functions, though it had some rarely used judicial powers also, and, unlike the other, survived the fall of the Temple in A.D. 70. The political Sanhedrin tended to be Sadducean, while the religious Sanhedrin, after some vicissitudes, had developed into a predominantly Pharisaean body under Pharisaean presidency before the end of the Hasmonaean period and was later the preserve of the rabbis. For full treatment of the question and discussion of the theories of many scholars see Mantel, *Sanhedrin*, especially 54-101.

³⁷ *AJ* xi, 111.

³⁸ In *AJ* xiv, 91 no functions are specified for either districts or sanhedrins,

plained in righteous indignation in 56 that he had "made the poor *publicani* slaves to Jews and Syrians, people themselves born to slavery." Gabinus conducted a vigorous campaign against the *publicani* in his province, aimed apparently at limiting their activities by substituting direct tax-collection for collection by contractors as far as possible.³⁹ If in Palestine they now merely acted as agents, receiving lump sums from the Jewish authorities for transmission to Rome, this reform outlasted the five districts, since Julius Caesar's legislation regulating affairs in Palestine in 47 presupposes a system whereby taxes are collected by the Jews and handed over en bloc to the Romans.⁴⁰ Such a change would have had psychological value in compensating for the indignity of the partition of the country by showing a semblance of respect for the Jewish authorities, and it may have brought some financial relief in its train. (And possibly Gabinus, notorious as a money-grubber,⁴¹ made a little on the side out of the reform.)

Once instituted, Gabinus' five districts are never heard of again. His division of the country was an *ad hoc* arrangement made to meet a crisis and perhaps meant to be only temporary. It was in any case valid only for the duration of his command and, like Pompey's settlement of the East, had no legal standing unless and until ratified by the senate. No such ratification was apparently ever given to, or even sought for it.⁴² Moreover, Gabinus himself later modified, if he did not abolish, his own experimental system.

This was the result of two further risings. Gabinus' drastic action had made it clear that Rome, originally invited into Palestine as an arbitrator, had come to stay and would interfere at will in the country's internal affairs, and this unpalatable fact caused a revulsion of feeling among some Jews; support for the exiled branch of the Hasmonaeon family increased, and the character of the rival brothers' factions

but in *BJ* i, 170, where the phraseology is studiously varied, Amathus is described as a centre for tax-collection; the districts all presumably had similar functions. Dio's error in xxxix, 56, 6, where he puts the imposition of taxation after the rising of 56 (below), may stem from Gabinus' change in the method of collection. For further discussion of the five districts and their possible functions see Momigliano, *Ricerche*, 6-7, 20 (188-9, 202); cf. 25 (207).

³⁹ *De Prov. Cons.* 10; cf. *In Pis.* 41, 48; *Ad Q.F.* ii, 11, 2; iii, 2, 2. On Gabinus' attack on the *publicani* see M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (1941), 981-3, 1572-3.

⁴⁰ See below, p. 41.

⁴¹ *Cic., De Prov. Cons.* 9-11; *Pro Sest.* 93; Dio xxxix, 55, 5; 57, 3; 58, 3.

⁴² On this point cf. E. Bammel in *ZDPV* lxxv (1959), 81-2.

changed, becoming in effect pro-Roman and anti-Roman. In 56 Aristobulus and his younger son Antigonus escaped from Rome to receive an enthusiastic welcome in Palestine and military assistance from the Jewish general Pitholaus, who had led Jewish troops against Alexander under Gabinius in the previous year and was now holding an administrative post in Jerusalem under the Roman aegis. But their rising had even less success than Alexander's. Gabinius' dismantling of the fortresses now paid dividends, for Aristobulus failed to re-commission Alexandrion and when he retreated to Machaeros with the survivors of his army after a serious defeat, they were able to hold out for only two days. Gabinius shipped both father and son back to Rome, and, in the belief that he had decisively crushed the rebel movement, kept his promise to Aristobulus' wife to secure the release of their daughters from custody there ⁴³ (though they were not allowed to return home; they and their mother, and perhaps Alexander, settled in Ascalon ⁴⁴). Early in 55 he left the country for an expedition against Parthia.

Gabinius soon abandoned Parthia for the more lucrative project of restoring the deposed Egyptian king Ptolemy XI Auletes for a fee of ten thousand talents. On this expedition he received help from Hyrcanus and Antipater, who, well aware that it was to their interest to keep in Rome's good books, swallowed the annoyance which they must have felt at Gabinius' recent reduction of their power, and pursued their policy of enthusiastic co-operation. They supplied him with money, arms, food and auxiliaries, and did him the even more valuable service of accompanying him to Pelusium and persuading the Jewish garrison holding the frontier post there to let his troops pass without opposition—a significant contribution to the speed of his success. ⁴⁵

But Gabinius had not got the measure of Jewish nationalist pertinacity. For in the meantime Alexander, who had apparently played no part in the rising of 56, had re-emerged to take advantage of Gabinius' absence by renewing the revolt. With a large army he over-

⁴³ *AJ* xiv, 92-7; *BJ* i, 171-4; Plut., *Ant.* 3, 1. Pitholaus in 57—*AJ* xiv, 84; *BJ* i, 162.

⁴⁴ *AJ* xiv, 126; *BJ* i, 185 (49 B.C.).

⁴⁵ *AJ* xiv, 98-9; *BJ* i, 175. It appears from § 99 Ὑρκανὸς ἐπέτειλεν that Hyrcanus retained control of the army (cf. § 127 ἐξ ἐντολῆς Ὑρκανοῦ); but this was surely inevitable, as it could not have been divided between five sanhedrins. Plut., *Ant.* 3, 2-4, and Dio xxxix, 58, 1 ignore the Jewish help. On Jewish garrisons in Egypt see below, pp. 221-3.

ran Galilee and Samaritis as well as Judaea, slaughtering many Romans and besieging others who took refuge on Mt Gerizim. Gabinius sent Antipater back to try to persuade the rebels to give up the unequal struggle with Rome, and he had sufficient success that when Gabinius returned, a single engagement near Mt Tabor in Galilee sufficed to crush the rest. Alexander's life was spared and he disappeared from view for six years.⁴⁶

If Gabinius' division of Palestine had been aimed at breaking Jewish cohesion and so preventing further revolts, it was now patently a dismal failure and had to be modified or abolished. At the same time Hyrcanus' and Antipater's loyalty and efficiency had been proved by their services both in Egypt and against the rebels and deserved reward. Before leaving the country Gabinius "reorganized the government of Jerusalem in accordance with the wishes of Antipater."⁴⁷ Josephus gives no details, but Antipater's wishes and ambitions can hardly have stopped short of the reunification of the country and the return to centralized authority wielded directly by himself or indirectly by the restoration of some or all of Hyrcanus' lost secular functions on which Antipater's own influence had depended. The reference to Jerusalem suggests that the reorganization included the restoration of the Sanhedrin to its former position of authority over the whole country and the abandonment of the fivefold division. Hyrcanus will then have resumed such administrative and judicial functions over the whole country as its presidency entailed, though he did not regain his title of ethnarch.⁴⁸ In all probability, however, the reorganization was not merely a return to the *status quo ante* but involved the innovation of giving Antipater his first government post—the first step in the official subjection of the Jews to the Idumaeen yoke. In 48 he suddenly appears with the title "governor of the Jews", a title incidentally implying the reunification of the country. He may have received the appointment from Hyrcanus after 55, but it is much more likely that it was Gabinius who created the post for him, in order that under Hyrcanus' nominal direction as High Priest he could officially shoulder the responsibility for supervising the secular administration and trying to ensure the peace of the whole country.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ *AJ* xiv, 100-2 ; *BJ* i, 176-7. Josephus' figure for the rebel army at Mt Tabor, 30,000 (equal to five or six legions), is hard to credit.

⁴⁷ *AJ* xiv, 103 ; *BJ* i, 178.

⁴⁸ See his reinstatement as ethnarch in 47 (below, p. 39).

⁴⁹ *AJ* xiv, 127, 139 ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπιμελητής. The term ἐπιμελητής is too vague to indicate Antipater's precise competence and duties. (Josephus uses

Gabinus' successor as proconsul of Syria, M. Licinius Crassus, came out late in 55 with grandiose and expensive dreams of the conquest of Parthia. He coolly marched into Jerusalem and appropriated not only all the money in the Temple treasury, but also a large quantity of bullion in the form of gold which he stripped from the building despite an agreement with the custodian of the treasury not to touch it.⁵⁰ This flagrant robbery put it beyond all doubt that the Jews' independence was illusory and that in Roman eyes their country was Roman property with its resources available to be tapped at will. It no doubt gave the impetus to the last despairing recrudescence of the revolt, now predominantly anti-Roman, in 53. Though there were no members of Aristobulus' family at hand to serve as a focus, Pitholaus made an abortive attempt to rally his partisans in Galilee. Crassus' quaestor, C. Cassius Longinus (later the "liberator"), who had taken charge in Syria on Crassus' death at Carrhae, quickly crushed the rising, executed Pitholaos, and sold a large number of Jewish prisoners-of-war into slavery. Palestine then had a few years of peace.⁵¹

Early in 49 Julius Caesar, now master of Italy, found a natural ally in the anti-Pompeian Aristobulus, whom he released from internment in Rome and sent with two legions to win support for him in Syria and Palestine. The scheme however miscarried. The proconsul of Syria, Q. Metellus Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, was quick enough to get Aristobulus poisoned on arrival, and then arrested Alexander, who had joined his father, tried him for his responsibility for the revolts in the 50s, and executed him. Antigonos, now living with his family at Ascalon, escaped (to cause trouble later) when they were offered asylum by the anti-Pompeian prince of Chalcis (between Lebanon and Antilebanon), but this put him out of action as an ally of Caesar.⁵²

it also for legate and for the *locum tenens* for a procurator—*AJ* xvii, 6 ; xviii, 89.) But it suggests general supervisory powers, possibly with special reference to tax-collection. Cf. Schalit, 750-2. Momigliano, *Ricerche*, 8-13 (190-5), denies that Palestine was reunified before 47 ; cf. 25 (207) on Antipater's post.

⁵⁰ *AJ* xiv, 105-9 ; *BJ* i, 179. Despite the wealth poured into the Temple by the Diaspora (§§ 110-13), the figures of 2,000 talents in coin and 8,000 in bullion seem to belong to the realm of legend. Cf. below, pp. 110 ; 197, n. 61 on the revenues of the Herods, and p. 311, n. 77.

⁵¹ *AJ* xiv, 119-21 (the figure 30,000 prisoners is probably too high) ; *BJ* i, 180. The marriage of Hyrcanus' daughter Alexandra to Aristobulus' son Alexander must have taken place by now, since their oldest child, Mariamme, married Herod the Great in 37 (below, p. 58). It will have helped to heal the family feud, and satisfied Aristobulus' faction by giving Alexander good prospects of succeeding Hyrcanus, who had no son, as High Priest.

⁵² *AJ* xiv, 123-6 ; cf. 140 ; *BJ* i, 183-6 ; cf. 196 ; Dio xli, 18, 1. Antigonos'

Caesar's attempt to use internal Jewish dissension for his own ends had thus failed, but it had given the unfortunate impression that he favoured the rival of the pro-Roman Hyrcanus and Antipater. Not only had this to be counteracted. The positive support of the governing party in Palestine would be an asset to Caesar, for whom Pharsalus and Pompey's death were not the end of his struggle for supremacy. At the same time, Caesar's victory put Hyrcanus and Antipater, formerly natural Pompeians, in a delicate position. They were quick to realize that their future depended on a rapprochement with Caesar, who in his turn was ready to meet them halfway. Before the end of 48, while in Egypt, Caesar made a gesture of recognition towards Hyrcanus by sanctioning his continued tenure of the High Priesthood as a hereditary office,⁵³ and he and Antipater responded readily with the first of the series of timely changes of loyalty at which the Idumaeen family was to prove so adept, and immediately showed their new allegiance by sending help to Caesar on his Alexandrian campaign. When Mithridates of Pergamum, taking a force to Caesar's relief, was held up at Ascalon because he knew that he could not pass the frontier at Pelusium, they took fifteen hundred men to his assistance. Help also came from Nabataea and two Lebanon princelings, and the joint force stormed Pelusium, familiar ground to Antipater from 55. At the tip of the Delta there was further opposition from the Jewish garrison at Leontopolis, but this was overcome without military action by the pressure which Hyrcanus brought to bear as the Jews' spiritual leader and by the argument of common nationality. But though the garrison's change of allegiance brought the Egyptians of the Memphis area over to Caesar's side also, there was no general defection, and

escape or release from Rome is not recorded. Pompey's dealings with Chalcis in 63—*AJ* xiv, 39.

⁵³ According to *AJ* xiv, 137, 143 and *BJ* i, 194 Caesar confirmed Hyrcanus in the High Priesthood early in 47, after, and by implication as a reward for, Jewish military help during his Alexandrian campaign (below). But Caesar's decree conferring the High Priesthood alone on Hyrcanus (*AJ* xiv, 199) logically precedes his decree conferring the position of ethnarch as well (below, p. 39). Since the latter is dated to 47, the earlier decree, in which Caesar has the titles *δικτάτωρ ὑπατος* (both without numbers), must date from the last quarter of 48, when he was dictator II cos. II. For this interpretation see Momigliano, *Ricerche*, 11-13 (193-5). Contrast Juster, I, 139, dismissing the document as virtually worthless. On the documents quoted by Josephus in *AJ* xiv and xvi see Appendix B. Josephus' implied date 47 for Caesar's first recognition of Hyrcanus may reflect a chronological distortion by Nicolas of Damascus designed to cover up the fact that Caesar was purchasing Jewish support and so to give Antipater independence of action.

the relief force had to fight a minor engagement west of the Delta against anti-Caesarean Egyptians. In that battle, according to Josephus, Mithridates was defeated but the situation was retrieved by Antipater, to whom Mithridates gallantly and properly gave due credit; and in consequence Antipater's stock rose so high with Caesar that he "used him throughout the war for the most dangerous tasks."⁵⁴ A pinch of salt is surely needed here. But this is not to deny that the services of Hyrcanus and Antipater, though ignored by classical historians, were of value to Caesar in getting reinforcements through at a critical time; and gratitude may have helped to dictate the measures which he took for the benefit of the two men personally as well as that of the country as a whole in the spring of 47.

Caesar's Settlement of Palestine

Early in 47 Caesar left Egypt for Asia Minor and his campaign against Pharnaces. He travelled via Palestine, where he faced an emotional scene with Antigonus, now the sole male survivor of Aristobulus' family, who left his refuge in Chalcis to appeal for some recompense for the fact that his father and brother had been killed in Caesar's service and he himself driven into exile. But his histrionics and his denunciation of Hyrcanus and Antipater for oppressive government at home and self-interest in their support of Caesar achieved nothing, and he returned empty-handed to Chalcis to plot further mischief.⁵⁵ Caesar then made his settlement of Palestine, a settlement however in which political expediency rather than gratitude to Hyrcanus and Antipater was surely his prime consideration.⁵⁶

Whatever the interim form of government had been since 55, it is clear that Caesar now reverted to the form established by Pompey, though with some modifications to Jewish advantage. The most important matter was Hyrcanus' status. Besides reaffirming his tenure of

⁵⁴ *AJ* xiv, 127-39; *BJ* i, 187-92; cf. *AJ* xvi, 52-3. The figure 1,500 given in *AJ* xiv, 192-3, a Roman document, is preferable to the 2,000 or 3,000 of the narrative passages. On *AJ* xiv, 127 ἐξ ἐντολῆς Ὑρκανοῦ see Schalit, 752-3, suggesting that Hyrcanus resumed full secular powers on the death of Pompey, whose policy of weakening the Jews had lain behind Gabinius' measures. On the prominence given to Antipater cf. above, p. 30, n. 32. Nabataea and the Lebanon princes may well have assisted spontaneously and not at his request. On the Jewish garrison in "the district of Onias" (Leontopolis) see below, pp. 221-2. The hostility of Pelusium with its Jewish garrison is unexpected.

⁵⁵ *AJ* xiv, 140-2; *BJ* i, 195-9.

⁵⁶ For fuller discussion see Momigliano, *Ricerche*, 10-27 (192-209); Schalit, 148-55, comparing the rights granted to the Jews with those of *civitates liberae*.

the High Priesthood, Caesar now restored to him his secular position as ethnarch of the Jews, and declared that position also to be hereditary. He laid down that Hyrcanus and his descendants were to have "whatever High Priestly rights and other privileges exist in Jewish Law", specifically naming the right to receive tithes and powers of internal jurisdiction on matters of Jewish Law (which amounted to confirmation of the judicial powers of the Sanhedrin under his presidency); he conferred on him and his children the honorary title of "friends and allies", and designated him "champion of Jews suffering oppression."⁵⁷ Hyrcanus' enhanced status was recognized by his subjects, who gave him the unofficial title of "king",⁵⁸ and on one occasion he acted as spokesman for Diaspora communities whose religious freedom was in danger.⁵⁹

Antipater received from Caesar Roman citizenship (which brought his son Herod to the throne later as a Roman citizen), personal exemption from taxation, and an administrative post under Hyrcanus. Like the post given him by Gabinius, it covered the whole country, but his actual power may have been reduced with the restoration of full secular authority to Hyrcanus. The Greek term used of it by Josephus is that which frequently, though not invariably, translates "procurator" in the imperial period. If that is its sense here, Antipater's duties are likely to have been confined to the sphere of tax-collection. But in this the purpose of the grant of Roman citizenship is revealed: Antipater was to act as resident representative of Rome, safeguarding Roman financial interests.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ *AJ* xiv, 137, 143; *BJ* i, 194; cf. above, p. 37, n. 53. Hyrcanus' reappointment as ethnarch and his rights and honours are known only from documents in *AJ* xiv:—§§ 192-5, a decree of Caesar dated 47 (*dictator II* but not consul), issued *de consilii sententia* to establish his position; §§ 190-1, Caesar's covering letter sent with a copy of the decree to Sidon; §§ 196-8, part of a S.C. summarizing Caesar's decisions; § 203, a reference to tithes.

⁵⁸ *AJ* xiv, 157, 165, 172, 178; *BJ* i, 202, 209, 212.

⁵⁹ See below, p. 128.

⁶⁰ *AJ* xiv, 137, 143-4; xvi, 53; *BJ* i, 194, 199-200. Cf. Momigliano, *Ricerche*, 26-7 (208-9). Josephus says that Caesar's grants to Antipater were registered in Rome, but the documents about Hyrcanus' position do not mention Antipater and the S.C. quoted in *AJ* xiv, 145-8 as authentication is generally agreed to concern Simon Maccabaeus (see above, p. 8, n. 15). With Antipater's personal honours cf. Octavian's grant of *civitas et immunitas* to Seleucos of Rhosos in Syria c. 36 for his services (see P. Roussel in *Syria* xv (1934), 33-74); for discussion see A. Gilboa in *Rev. Hist. de Droit fr. et étr.*⁴ 1 (1972), 609-14. With Antipater's appointment as ἐπίτροπος πάσης τῆς Ἰουδαίας cf. Augustus' appointment of a Roman procurator in the client kingdom of Cappadocia—Dio lvii, 17, 5. Josephus' improbable story that Caesar offered Antipater a free

Caesar felt sufficient confidence in the loyalty of Hyrcanus and Antipater to take the first step towards reversing the humiliations inflicted by Pompey. He restored to Jewish control the former Hasmonaean estate in the plain of Esdraelon, the three Samaritan toparchies of Lydda, Ephraim and Ramathaim, some former Seleucid territory (of unknown location but presumably Jewish before 63), and, most important, Joppa.⁶¹ With the oldest and most valuable of their former maritime possessions now back in their hands, the Jews were on the road to economic recovery and political importance in the Mediterranean again. But the Romans were loath to relinquish the revenues which they had been drawing for the past sixteen years from this flourishing port, and in return for the recovery of an outlet to the sea Hyrcanus had to pay a tax fixed at 20,675 *modii* of wheat levied annually on the citizens of Joppa except in sabbatical years, as well as handing over the harbour and export dues charged there. This was in addition to the tax which continued to be levied on the whole country and which was now (as it probably had been since 63) a variable land-tax (*tributum soli*) consisting of a fixed proportion of the harvest calculated from the amount of seed sown, with sabbatical years necessarily exempted. The rate is given as a quarter "in the

choice of posts in Palestine and that Antipater diplomatically declined it looks like a fabrication by Nicolas of Damascus to show Antipater as a tactful modest man enjoying Caesar's full confidence.

⁶¹ These concessions and the tax-regulations (below) are known only from *AJ* xiv, 202-10, a highly complicated, and in places corrupt, document. It appears to be two separate documents run together: (i) §§ 202-4, a decree of Caesar dated 47 (assuming that αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ δεύτερον is an error for *dictator II*, as in the Latin version; he is not consul); (ii) §§ 205-10, a S.C. (see ἡμῖν ἀρέσκει in § 205, as in the indubitable S.C., § 221; and ἀρέσκει τῇ συγκλήτῳ in § 207). Since the tax-regulations in the decree presuppose that Joppa is already back in Jewish possession, the S.C., which restores that and other places, should precede it chronologically. But it may have been issued retrospectively when Caesar was in Rome later in 47, to ratify decisions announced and put into effect in Palestine in the spring. Cf. Momigliano, *Ricerche*, 14-16 (196-8). On the territorial restorations see Schalit, 753-9. As it stands § 209 is absurd: Syrian and Phoenician kings as allies of Rome had been allowed to occupy parts of their own territory by gift of Rome. Schalit proposes transposing συμμάχους οὕσι . . . δωρεάν to follow καὶ Ἰουδαίους, emending to συμμάχους ὄντας, and thus making the Jews, Rome's allies (below), receive or recover some Seleucid land. In the last sentence of § 208 he retains ἐπὶ (Marcus ξτι) τούτοις, emends χρῆσθαι to χωρεῖσθαι in the sense of "reside" or "settle in", postulates the loss of [ἐν Ἀφαιρέμοις καὶ] ἐν Λύδδαις [καὶ ἐν Ῥαμαθάιμ], and transposes the sentence to the beginning of the §, so that ἐπὶ τούτοις refers to τοῖς δικαίοις . . . εἶχον at the end of § 207. He argues that the Jews had been expelled from the Samaritan toparchies in 63 and now regained their residence rights.

second year", which has been variously interpreted as "every other year" (giving an average tax of an eighth annually), the second year of a five-year tax-period (giving the light tax of an average of a twentieth annually), and "the year after the sabbatical year" (with the assumption that a higher rate was charged in that year than the normal rate of perhaps a fifth annually to offset the previous year's exemption). Both taxes were to be paid over as lump sums to the Roman authorities at Sidon in the province of Syria.⁶² No regulations were laid down about methods of collection, but the Jewish authorities were apparently given a free hand, presumably under the eye of Antipater, one of whose main duties is likely to have been the annual assessment of the variable tax—witness to Caesar's trust in his integrity and loyalty. The *publicani*, removed in 57, did not return.

To stress the fact that Palestine, though tributary, was a client kingdom and not a province, Caesar decreed that no military demands were to be made upon the country: no auxiliary troops were to be levied there and no requisitions made for winter quarters or other services.⁶³

One final question remained, that of the restoration of Jerusalem to its proper dignity by the rebuilding of the walls destroyed in 63. Hyrcanus and Antipater asked Caesar's permission to refortify the city, but he apparently gave no definite answer,⁶⁴ possibly wishing to see how they conducted themselves in his absence before allowing the capital to become a potential military threat to Rome again.

With that Caesar left for Asia Minor, escorted on the first stage of

⁶² *AJ* xiv, 202-3, 206. For detailed discussion of the many problems in these sections see Momigliano, *Ricerche*, 21-4 (203-6); Jones in *JRS* xxv (1935), 228-9; Schalit, 777-81. The main clause of § 206 lacks a verb in all MSS. but one, which has ἔχειν, giving the improbable meaning that Hyrcanus is to receive the tax paid by Joppa. The emendation τελεῖν, making him pay a tax, by implication to Rome, for the recovery of the city, is generally accepted. Jones, *i.e.*, further emends χώρας [καί] λιμένος ἐξαγωγίου το χωρὶς λ. ἐ., "apart from (i.e. in addition to) the export and harbour dues." A reference to import dues may have dropped out. In § 202 the tax paid "on account of Jerusalem" is taken to be the tax on the rest of the country. Schalit here suggests emending Ἰόππης ὑπεξαίρουμένης, χωρὶς τοῦ ἐβδόμου ἔτους το Ἰόππης χωρὶς, "in addition to [a tax on] Joppa", ὑπεξαίρουμένου τοῦ . . . (cf. § 206 for the same phrase). With τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει in § 203 Jones understands τῆς μισθώσεως on the analogy of § 201 (cf. below, p. 43, n. 68), rejecting Momigliano's "every other year"; Schalit suggests "the year after the sabbatical year."

⁶³ *AJ* xiv, 195 (tacked on to the end of the S.C. on Hyrcanus' position), 204 (awkwardly interrupting the financial regulations).

⁶⁴ In *AJ* xiv, 144, 156 and *BJ* i, 199, 201 Caesar gives permission, and the work is put in hand at once. But see below.

his journey by the obsequious Antipater. But he had not finished with the Jews. In the summer or autumn of 47, when he was in Rome between his campaigns in Asia Minor and Africa, Hyrcanus sent an embassy to negotiate an alliance between Rome and the Jewish nation as a whole, the Diaspora included.⁶⁵ Such a treaty, a resurrection of the Maccabaeal alliance, bound the client state to serve Rome's interests, and could have little effect on the Diaspora beyond conferring on them the prestige of the title "friends and allies" and a claim to some degree of protection if they suffered molestation by the communities among whom they lived. But this had more than a merely theoretical value: the protection of the religious liberty of the Diaspora was one of Caesar's concerns,⁶⁶ and the status of Diaspora communities as allies of Rome is cited in some of the documents confirming their privileges.⁶⁷

Only a month or so before his murder Caesar received another embassy from Hyrcanus, sent to reopen the question of the refortification of Jerusalem. By that time Roman governors in the East had reported favourably on Hyrcanus and his subjects. Caesar therefore introduced the envoys to the senate, recommending that Jewish loyalty deserved "a token of gratitude", and with senatorial approval issued a decree authorizing the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem and at the same time making a reduction in the taxation (for the current year?) to help offset the expense.⁶⁸ His final act of trust was to cost Rome another long siege.

⁶⁵ *AJ* xiv, 185 (giving the date), 196-8 (with τοὺς δεδομένους τόπους dating the document after the restoration of Joppa, etc.). In § 197 πέμψαι δὲ πρὸς Ὑρκανόν, implying a reciprocal Roman embassy, is unconvincing; πρὸς should probably be deleted; cf. Momigliano, *Ricerche*, 15 (197). If the S.C. of §§ 205-10 was also issued at this time (above, p. 40, n. 61), the reference to privileges for envoys sent by Hyrcanus, § 210, would have particular point, even if meant as a general ruling.

⁶⁶ See below, pp. 134-6.

⁶⁷ *AJ* xiv, 216, 242, 257.

⁶⁸ *AJ* xiv, 217, confusing the purpose of this embassy with that of the embassy in 47; §§ 211-12, a speech of Caesar to the senate dated between 27 January and 14 February 44 (*dictator IV, cos V, dictator perpetuus* design.); §§ 219-22, the minutes of a senate meeting on 11 April 44, at which it was decided to register in the archives a decree of Caesar about the Jews issued in accordance with a S.C. on 9 February (the precise date of his speech?); §§ 200-1, a badly mutilated decree of Caesar, dated 44, authorizing the refortification of Jerusalem. In this last document Caesar's only title is *cos. V* (contrast § 211); there is no one to whom τούτους in the first sentence can refer; and the tax-reduction of one *kor* (a Hebrew measure = c. 11 bushels) is unintelligible—one *kor* in how many? But it can reasonably be accepted as representing,

however incompletely, the decree which Caesar issued about the Jews "by senatorial decree" (§ 221) in February 44 and therefore as invalidating Josephus' date 47 for the start of the refortification, a date designed to conceal Caesar's understandable caution towards Hyrcanus and Antipater. That the "second year of the $\mu\iota\sigma\theta\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ " was the current year is a conjecture ; cf. Marcus, note *ad loc.* (but on the sabbatical cycle cf. Appendix D, p. 567). The reference to the Jewish envoys in § 222 apparently led Josephus to think that they were still in Rome on 11 April and were heard by the senate then—hence § 217 ; but it is more likely that they were presented by Caesar on the day of his speech. On these documents see further Momigliano, *Ricerche*, 16-18 (198-200).

CHAPTER THREE

HEROD'S RISE TO POWER

Caesar's settlement of Palestine was not destined to last, and as soon as he left the country the balance of power which he had established between Hyrcanus and Antipater began to break down. In a matter of months Antipater's second son, Herod, had his foot firmly on the ladder which was to lead him to the throne within ten years.

Disorder was still rife in Galilee, where a large band of "brigands" (Josephus' term) under a certain Ezechias was terrorizing the neighbourhood and carrying their raids across the Syrian frontier into the formerly Jewish territory of the Decapolis. These brigands, like those who were to infest the country in the decade immediately before the revolt of A.D. 66-70, were no mere highwaymen but terrorists conducting guerilla warfare against the established pro-Roman government. The nucleus of the band was no doubt the remnants of Aristobulus' party, always strong in Galilee, whom even the failure of three successive risings had not convinced that their cause was hopeless and who still looked for the accession of the sole male survivor of the family, Antigonus. To facilitate the restoration of order, Antipater by virtue of his authority as a Roman official acted independently of Hyrcanus to create two new posts of military governor of Judaea and Galilee respectively, and appointed the two oldest of his four sons to them, Phasael to Judaea and Herod, then aged about twenty-five, to Galilee. Whether the posts were meant to be permanent or merely to tide over the present emergency, the appointments clearly indicated the continuation of the dominance of Antipater's family into the next generation. Phasael's task seems to have been fairly straightforward, and by tolerant government he soon made himself popular. Herod's assignment was much tougher, but he tackled it vigorously and effectively, rounding up and killing Ezechias and many of his followers, and thereby, hardly surprisingly, earned the praise of the Syrians and a good reputation with Sextus Caesar, a young relation of Julius Caesar, whom the dictator had appointed governor of Syria.¹

¹ *AJ* xiv, 156-62; *BJ* i, 201-7. The age of only fifteen given to Herod in *AJ* is not only unconvincing but inconsistent with his age of "about seventy" at his death—*AJ* xvii, 148. A scribal error for twenty-five in Josephus or his

Herod's success, however, annoyed the Sadducean aristocratic party in Jerusalem, which resented the increasing secular influence which Hyrcanus was allowing the Idumaeon family to assert in the state, to their detriment, and seized the chance of striking a blow. On the technical argument that in executing Ezechias' men on his own authority Herod had infringed the Law, which allowed only the political Sanhedrin the power of capital jurisdiction,² they persuaded Hyrcanus, who was already disquieted by the young man's energy and success, to summon him to stand trial before that body under his presidency. Herod obeyed, but though he had the powerful asset of the support of Sextus Caesar, who (possibly acting *ultra vires*) threatened Hyrcanus with dire consequences if Herod (a Roman citizen) were not acquitted, he came armed with a bodyguard on his father's advice, and this appeal to force together with his arrogant confidence so angered the members of the Sanhedrin that they would have condemned him to death, had he not escaped with Hyrcanus' connivance.³

Herod took refuge with Sextus, who had formed a sufficiently high opinion of his capabilities to appoint him to a post in the direct service of the Roman government in Syria as military governor of the Decapolis and the city of Samaria, former Jewish possessions.⁴ With

source seems probable. On Ezechias and his followers see Kreissig, *Zusammenhänge*, 111-12, interpreting the movement in socio-economic terms. For Ezechias' son as a guerilla leader see below, p. 112 ; cf. p. 153, n. 40.

² See above, p. 32, n. 36.

³ *AJ* xiv, 163-77 (with § 170 apparently misplaced and belonging after § 177) ; *BJ* i, 208-11. Schalit, 43, nn. 139-40 suggests that Herod was ultimately answerable to Sextus because appointed by his father in his capacity as a Roman official. *BT Sanh.* 19a has been referred to Herod's trial, though there the king neither initiates proceedings nor presides but stands trial as responsible for his subordinate's actions ; cf. Mantel, *Sanhedrin*, 72, 96 ; contrast Schalit, 45, nn. 152-3.

⁴ *AJ* xiv, 178-80 (στρατηγὸς τῆς Κοίλης Συρίας) ; *BJ* i, 212-13 (καὶ Σαμαρείας, confirmed by *AJ* xiv, 284 and *BJ* i, 229, though these references come after Herod's reappointment by Cassius, below). Even if Herod's bribe (*AJ* only) is historical, Sextus would hardly have given a responsible post to a man whom he considered incompetent. On the origin of the term Coele Syria and the area which it denoted in late classical Greek see A. Schalit in *Scr. Hier.* i (1954), 64-77. In Hellenistic Greek the term is used to mean (1) the area known as the Decapolis after 63 B.C. (see Ptol., *Geog.* v, 14, 18, listing the cities of the Decapolis under "Coele Syria," and the coin-legends of some of them under the principate) ; (2) the valley between Lebanon and Antilebanon—*Str.* xvi, 2, 16 and 21 ; Pliny, *NH* v, 77 ; cf. 74—which cannot be meant here, as it was still part of the Ituraean principality ; (3) Palestine and south west Syria together. See further note on *Leg.* 281 τὴν Κοίλην προσαγορευομένην. Though in some places Josephus appears to use the term Coele Syria in its wide third sense and in others his meaning is not quite clear, it has the sense of the Decapolis in, e.g., *AJ* xiii, 355-6, 392 ; xiv, 79 ; xv, 112 (?) ; xvi, 275 ; *BJ* i, 103, 155, 366 (?), and this is the sense obviously required for Herod's post.

military power now in his hands, he tried to take vengeance for his trial by marching on Jerusalem to depose Hyrcanus, who had saved his life only in deference to Sextus. It was perhaps not only Antipater's and Phasael's argument that the position and prospects of the whole family depended on Hyrcanus' goodwill which turned him from his purpose; Sextus may have checked him, not wishing to see his protégé wreck his powerful kinsman's settlement of Palestine.⁵ But Herod's first term as a Roman official was short. Late in 46, when the Pompeians murdered Sextus and regained control of Syria, he beat a hasty retreat home to avoid becoming a valuable hostage in their hands. He was soon back in Syria, however, on his family's last pro-Caesarian venture, when Antipater (again taking the initiative) sent his two sons, unasked, to reinforce the Caesarian troops blockading the Pompeian stronghold of Apamea.⁶

Nothing more is recorded of Hyrcanus and Antipater until early in 43, when C. Cassius Longinus, the "liberator", arrived on the scene to seize Syria. At that point, with their usual astuteness, they realized that, whatever might be the situation in Italy, the Caesarian cause was lost in the East, where the liberators now held it in their hands to make or mar Jewish fortunes. In enlightened self-interest they executed a sudden *volte-face*, and when Cassius, regarding Palestine as an appendage of the empire to be milked at will, demanded 700 talents for his war-chest, they offered no resistance. Antipater organized the raising of the money and included his two sons among those in charge of the collection. Herod, with characteristic energy, was the first to produce his quota, 100 talents from Galilee, thus winning Cassius' approval (and giving his future subjects a foretaste of his later policy of "winning Roman approval at the expense of others") but showing up the others as dilatory. Cassius' savagery in then selling the inhabitants of four toparchy capitals into slavery to obtain ready cash aroused opposition, and only a personal contribution from Hyrcanus which enabled him to leave satisfied prevented violence.⁷

Cassius realized that out of an instinct for self-preservation Anti-

⁵ *AJ* xiv, 180-4 (after which Josephus interrupts his narrative with his main collection of documents); *BJ* i, 214-15.

⁶ *AJ* xiv, 268-70; *BJ* i, 216-17. Herod's return is inferred: Antipater sent help "with" or "under" his sons.

⁷ *AJ* xiv, 271-6 (Gophna, Emmaus, Lydda and Thamna); *BJ* i, 220-2. Gophna and Thamna had replaced Ephraim and Ramathaim as toparchy capitals; see Schalit, 207. I.e., the Samaritan territory restored by Caesar bore the brunt of Cassius' brutality.

pater and his sons would support whatever Roman leader or party currently had power to regulate affairs in Palestine, and he felt sufficient confidence in their loyalty to restore to Herod his previous post in the Decapolis and Samaria and to put him in charge of part of his forces. It may well have been at Cassius' instigation that Antipater put the resources of the armouries of Palestine at his disposal by giving Herod their custody. But Cassius' alleged promise to appoint Herod as king after the war with Antony and Octavian is more than dubious: that war was not yet in progress, and the antedating of some later offer is unlikely, since Rome had no known political grounds for passing Antipater over in his son's favour, and Herod no personal grounds for wishing to supplant his father.⁸

By this time anti-Idumaeon feeling was hardening, after the failure to cut short Herod's political career had in fact furthered it, and the hostile faction which had developed now struck a blow clearly intended to be fatal to the family and to drive a wedge between it and Hyrcanus: a personal enemy got Antipater murdered, probably with Hyrcanus' connivance, since a royal butler was used to administer the poison.⁹ So died the statesman who had grasped the fact that, once Rome had the East under her heel, voluntary co-operation was the only practical course for the Jews, and who had visualized his family as guiding them along those lines under the Hasmonaeon aegis. But his death was not followed by the collapse of his sons' power. Herod in particular was in sufficiently good standing with the Romans by now that his career was assured even without his father's backing, if he played his cards skilfully, and since the murder of Antipater had been indirectly aimed against Rome, Cassius immediately gave Herod his permission, and indeed his assistance, to avenge his father and protect his own and Phasael's lives by the assassination of the murderer.¹⁰ But despite, or perhaps because of, this loss the anti-Antipatrid faction remained strong, and when early in 42 Cassius withdrew the Roman support on which Herod and his brother depended by

⁸ *AJ* xiv, 278, 280 ; *BJ* i, 224-5, where Συρίας ἀπάσης ἐπιμελητής is probably an error, corrected in *AJ* to στρατηγὸς Κοίλης Συρίας (cf. Marcus, note *ad loc.*). Herod is unlikely to have held two posts simultaneously, and the general post (*BJ*) would have conflicted both with the specific duties of the earlier restricted post (*AJ*) and with the responsibilities which Cassius gave to his nephew in Syria—App., *BC* iv, 63.

⁹ *AJ* xiv, 277-84 ; *BJ* i, 223-8.

¹⁰ *AJ* xiv, 285-93 ; *BJ* i, 229-35. Cassius' capture of Laodicea from the Caesarian Dolabella about midsummer 43 gives the *terminus post quem*.

taking most of his troops from Syria for the campaign of Philippi, they immediately tried to dislodge Phasaël from his position in Judaea. The attempt failed, but since Hyrcanus had been implicated, relations between him and the Antipatrids naturally deteriorated still further.¹¹

At that point, however, the exiled pretender Antigonus unintentionally gave a boost to the power of the Antipatrids and effected a reconciliation between them and Hyrcanus. With financial backing from his host, the prince of Chalcis, with troops supplied by the minor tyrant whom Cassius had installed in Tyre, and with Cassius' deputy in Syria bribed to turn a blind eye, Antigonus took advantage of the reduction in the Roman forces to make another attempt to wrest the crown from Hyrcanus. While the Tyrian troops created a diversion by occupying three strongholds in Galilee (perhaps the tyrant's price for his assistance), Antigonus penetrated as far as the frontier of Judaea before being defeated and driven out by Herod. This attack opened Hyrcanus' eyes to the fact that the danger from his brother's family was not yet over, that he could not hope to retain the position in which Caesar had placed him against external pressures without help, and that if the choice lay between submission to Antipatrid domination for the sake of the protection which it gave and the vengeance which Antigonus would wreak if he returned to power, the former was the lesser of the two evils. He therefore gave Herod an effusive welcome on his return to Jerusalem.¹²

There was also the future to consider. The ethnarchy and the High Priesthood had been declared hereditary, but Hyrcanus' only child was a daughter, Alexandra. She had married her cousin, Aristobulus' son Alexander (killed in 49), and by him had two daughters and a son now aged ten or eleven.¹³ The son, linking the two branches of the Hasmonaeen family, was an heir who could be expected to satisfy both royalist factions in the country. But Hyrcanus was by now elderly, and a regent might be required until the boy came of age. The obvious candidate for this role would be the husband of the elder girl, Mariamme, and Hyrcanus offered her hand to Herod. Herod, though

¹¹ *AJ* xiv, 294-6; *BJ* i, 236-8.

¹² *AJ* xiv, 297-9; *BJ* i, 238-40. Schalit, 683-4, argues that the unnamed strongholds were on the border between Galilee and the territories of Tyre and Ptolemais, Hasmonaeen conquests which the Tyrian dynast was eager to recover. The statement in *AJ* that Herod recovered them is refuted by the documents quoted in §§ 306-22 (cf. below, p. 50, n. 17).

¹³ *AJ* xv, 23; *BJ* i, 483 (the younger daughter; cf. below, p. 72). For the son see below, pp. 54, 64-6.

already married to a commoner named Doris and the father of a son Antipater, abandoned his wife and accepted the new match with alacrity, for personal as well as political reasons. He was attracted by the girl, whom he was to love with jealous passion as his wife, though he had to wait until 37 to marry her; and the match opened up for him possibilities perhaps beyond even his ambitious father's dreams.¹⁴

The liberators' defeat at Philippi meant that for the third time the Antipatrids had backed the wrong Roman horse, and once again they had to transfer their affections hastily to the winning side. On this occasion they had the advantage of previous acquaintance with Mark Antony, who as a member of Gabinus' staff in Syria in 57-55 had enjoyed Antipater's hospitality; and they could remind him of their services to Caesar during his Alexandrian campaign.¹⁵ At the same time the anti-Antipatrid faction saw in the change in the Roman hegemony a chance to oust their opponents as former minions of the liberators, on the grounds that they were usurping powers conferred by Caesar on Hyrcanus. But the deputation which they sent to meet Antony in Bithynia on his journey from Greece to Egypt in the summer of 41 was dismissed unheard when Herod appeared in person with a timely bribe which reinforced Antony's prejudice in favour of his old friend's sons.¹⁶

Undeterred by this rebuff, Herod's enemies prepared to renew their attack later. But meanwhile Antony's attitude to Herod encouraged Hyrcanus to lodge an official complaint against two recent wrongs inflicted on his country. He sent a delegation to Antony when he reached Ephesus, requesting the release of the Jews sold into slavery by Cassius and the restoration of the fortresses in Galilee still occupied by Tyrian forces. Antony's attitude was that, since the liberators had had no legal standing in the eastern provinces, territorial changes made by them were invalid. He agreed to Hyrcanus' requests, instructed Tyre to evacuate all territory which had belonged to the

¹⁴ *AJ* xiv, 300; *BJ* i, 241 (erroneously putting the marriage at this point). Mariamme, though most probably older than her brother, may not yet have been of marriageable age, but political events postponed the marriage for an abnormally long time. For contrasting views of the political significance of the match see Otto, 22, and Schalit, 61-6. Josephus' words ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους (*AJ*) and γυναῖκα τῶν ἐπιχωρίων (*BJ*) could equally well mean that Doris was a Jewess or a fellow Idumaeen. In *BJ* i, 432 her γένος ἦν ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων and the divorce is dated to the time of Herod's marriage with Mariamme; but Doris is not named in the family party of refugees in 40 (below, p. 52).

¹⁵ *AJ* xiv, 84, 326; *BJ* i, 162, 244; Plut., *Ant.* 3. Cf. above, pp. 37-8.

¹⁶ *AJ* xiv, 301-3; *BJ* i, 242.

Jews before Cassius' seizure of Syria, and ordered the release of all Jewish slaves sold there and in Sidon, Antioch and Aradus.¹⁷

At Antioch an anti-Antipatrid delegation a hundred strong waited on Antony, and on this occasion it was given a hearing. But Herod had the powerful advocacy of M. Valerius Messala, one of Antony's retinue who had previously served under Cassius and perhaps learnt Herod's worth then, as well as the support of Hyrcanus, who when asked outright whom he considered to be the best rulers for his country, pronounced in favour of Herod and his family. The question may well have been purely formal and Antony's decision a foregone conclusion, since it was becoming increasingly clear that the faction-ridden country needed a hand stronger than that of Hyrcanus to enforce order. The efficiency of the Antipatrids was proved, and as political allegiance was obviously a matter of expediency and not of principle to them, Antony could trust them to administer the country in his interests just as Pompey, Caesar and Cassius had done. As a step, possibly, towards ultimately replacing the Hasmonaeans completely by the Antipatrids, he appointed Herod and Phasael as tetrarchs to take responsibility for the administration of the whole country, perhaps with the same geographical division as in 47, Phasael taking charge of Judaea and Herod of Galilee.¹⁸ Though the constitutional relationship between the tetrarchs and the ethnarch is not explained, and nothing is recorded of the short period during which the arrange-

¹⁷ *AJ* xiv, 304-23, quoting three letters of Antony. §§ 306-13, to Hyrcanus and the Jews, after a long and irrelevant account of the campaign of Philippi, grants Hyrcanus' two requests and also reaffirms the privileges which he and Dolabella had given to the Jews—a matter not mentioned by Josephus. If Dolabella's exemption of the Diaspora from military service in 43 is meant (below, p. 128), Hyrcanus must have used his role as champion of the Diaspora to complain on their behalf of an infringement. But the reference may equally well be to the support given by Antony and Dolabella as consuls to the delegation sent to Rome in 44—*AJ* xiv, 217 (above, p. 42, n. 68). §§ 314-17, a letter to Tyre, explains the invalidity of territorial gains made during the illegal régime of the liberators and orders the return of places seized from the Jews then. §§ 318-22, also to Tyre, is a covering letter enclosing the decree formalizing the contents of the previous letter and including a clause about the release of slaves. The letters sent to Sidon, Antioch and Aradus dealing only with slaves (§ 323) are not quoted.

¹⁸ *AJ* xiv, 324-6; *BJ* i, 243-4. The term tetrarch, occurring here for the first time in Josephus, had by now lost its original meaning of "ruler of a quarter of a kingdom" and denoted simply a dependent prince of fairly humble standing. The phrase τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων . . . πράγματα (*AJ*) defines πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν (*BJ*) as the whole country, not just Judaea proper. With the position of Herod and Phasael cf. that of Pheroras as tetrarch of Peraea during Herod's reign (below, p. 87).

ment lasted to shed light on it, it can be assumed that, even if in practice Hyrcanus was no more than a figurehead, the tetrarchs were subordinate to him in theory at least. Nevertheless, Herod and Phasaël were now holding higher positions than any previously held by their family in Palestine; like their father in 55, they had received their posts by direct Roman appointment, but their title implied an even greater degree of independent authority than had been entrusted to him. At the same time, the equality of their status deprived Herod of the precedence which his appointments under Sextus Caesar and Cassius had given him over his brother. The tetrarchs no doubt applied themselves promptly and vigorously to meeting the demand which Antony made on Palestine, as on other rulers and provinces during his progress through the East, for a large sum of money,¹⁹ and this will not have endeared them to the Jews.

Even after Antony had announced his decision, the anti-Antipatrid party did not give up hope, but sent a third deputation, this time numbering a thousand, to him when he reached Tyre, to express their disapproval and try to persuade him to change his mind. Antony was annoyed at their importunity and, when they refused to leave peacefully, lost his temper and had them dispersed by force.²⁰

In the spring of 40 Rome suffered a severe setback in the East when the Parthians invaded Asia Minor and Syria under their king's son Pacorus and a satrap Barzaphranes. In their rapid and sweeping successes and the temporary eclipse of Roman power the exiled Antigonus saw the opportunity to make another bid for the throne, and with the support of Lysanias, who had just succeeded his father as prince of Chalcis, he made overtures to the invaders, offering a thousand talents and five hundred women as the reward for the ejection of the pro-Roman Hyrcanus and the Antipatrids.²¹ Pacorus, to whom an anti-Roman king in Palestine would be an asset, accepted the bargain and set off down the Phoenician coast. When unexpected resistance at Tyre delayed him, he sent a cavalry squadron on ahead with Antigonus. As soon as they reached the plain of Esdraelon, Antigonus' partisans rose enthusiastically and flocked to join the invaders, unaware that they were defeating their own ends and playing into Herod's hands; for by siding with Parthia they forfeited all chance of

¹⁹ App., *BC* v, 7.

²⁰ *AJ* xiv, 327-9; *BJ* i, 245-7.

²¹ *AJ* xiv, 330-1; *BJ* i, 248 (where, less credibly, Lysanias promises the reward).

securing Roman recognition for their nominee. After an engagement with Hyrcanus' troops they pressed on to Jerusalem, gaining adherents as they went. With the sympathies of the population at large thus swinging strongly towards Antigonus, the prospects looked grim for Hyrcanus and the Antipatrids.²² They managed to hold their own in the initial street fighting, but when reinforcements arrived for Antigonus in the shape of pilgrims coming for the Passover in arms, the whole city except the Baris and the adjacent area round the north wall fell into his hands. The situation was then critical for Hyrcanus until Herod made a successful sortie into the suburb outside the north wall and routed Antigonus' untrained supporters.²³ At this Antigonus realized that he stood more chance of winning his throne by diplomacy than by military force, and opened up negotiations with a view to getting his adversaries removed bodily from the scene by peaceful means. The Parthian commander sent to parley persuaded Hyrcanus and Phasael, against Herod's advice, to go and meet Barzaphranes, who had by then invaded Galilee, ostensibly to discuss terms. There they discovered to their cost that Herod's suspicions had not been groundless: they were given a friendly welcome and then put in chains.²⁴

Meanwhile in Jerusalem plans had been laid to capture Herod also and attempts had been made, without success, to lure him outside the city walls to discuss the results of Phasael's supposed negotiations with Barzaphranes. When he heard of the imprisonment of his brother and Hyrcanus, he felt unable to hold out single-handed any longer, left Jerusalem for the Parthians to plunder, and escaped with his fiancée, her mother, members of his own family, and over nine thousand armed men to Idumaea, the only part of the country which had not gone over to Antigonus, harassed on the way by attacks both by hostile Jews and by the Parthians. On reaching the rock fortress of Masada Herod left his family there with a garrison of eight hundred,

²² Herod, indeed, now took the precaution of sending his valuables away from Jerusalem to Idumaea—*AJ* xiv, 364; *BJ* i, 268.

²³ *AJ* xiv, 332-9; *BJ* i, 249-53. The "palace" here cannot be the Hasmonaean palace in the centre of the Upper City but must be the Baris, the residence of the early Hasmonaean and the obvious place of retreat and defence; it was clearly near to the city walls, as Herod attacked τὸ προάστειον from it.

²⁴ *AJ* xiv, 340-8; *BJ* i, 254-60. The details of the encounter in Galilee are unconvincing, especially Phasael's alleged attempt to bribe the Parthians to change sides. Acceptance of Parthian support would have been fatal to Antipatrid relations with Rome. For discussion of Antigonus' schemes and Phasael's hopes in going to Barzaphranes see Schalit, 76-8.

dismissed the rest of his troops whom the fortress would not accommodate, and went on himself to Nabataea, hoping that his father's friendship with the king would serve to extract from him some money with which to ransom Phasaël. But he got a cool reception. The king, alleging Parthian instructions, peremptorily ordered him out of his territory.²⁵

Herod's only hope now lay in direct Roman intervention, for which he could appeal on the grounds that he was a loyal ally who had suffered in resisting Rome's enemies. The Parthian occupation of Syria ruled out the possibility of local Roman help, and in any case direct contact with Antony, now back in Rome, was likely to be more efficacious. On his way to Alexandria to take ship for Italy he received bad news: as soon as he had abandoned Jerusalem, the Parthians had installed Antigonus as king and High Priest, and had handed Hyrcanus and Phasaël over to his mercy; Hyrcanus had had his ears cut off to secure Antigonus' position, since physical mutilation disqualified a man from the High Priesthood (though when he was later deported to Parthia, the Babylonian Jews honoured him as king and High Priest notwithstanding), and Phasaël had forestalled execution by suicide; finally the Parthians had deprived Herod of Idumaean support by overrunning the district and destroying Marisa.²⁶

It was by now late autumn, when the sailing season was drawing to a close. But on reaching Alexandria Herod ignored Cleopatra's suggestion that he should remain there and insisted on proceeding despite the dangers of winter navigation and reports of the blockade of Brundisium, the port for which he would make.²⁷ After nearly end-

²⁵ *AJ* xiv, 348-63, 370-3; *BJ* i, 261-8, 274-6. Masada, said to have been established by Jonathan Maccabaeus—*BJ* vii, 285 (but see Yadin, *Masada*, 205 for coin-finds suggesting Jannaeus as founder)—had evidently escaped demolition by Gabinius (above, p. 31); cf. its use by the anti-Antipatrid faction in 42—*AJ* xiv, 296; *BJ* i, 237-8.

²⁶ *AJ* xiv, 363-9, 374; xv, 12-15 (where Phasaël is deported, with Hyrcanus, to Parthia and commits suicide there); *BJ* i, 268-73 (where Antigonus personally bites his uncle's ears off), 277. Julius Africanus, *apud* Sync., *Chron.* I, 581, has a muddled story in which Phasaël is killed in battle at an earlier stage. Coins of Antigonus have "Mattathias the High Priest" in Hebrew on the obverse and βασιλεύς Ἀντιγόνου on the reverse—*BMC, Pal.*, 212-19; Reifenberg, 42. On Hyrcanus' mutilation cf. Schalit, 761-4, who argues that it was perpetrated by the Parthians to reinforce his official dethronement.

²⁷ *AJ* xiv, 375-6; *BJ* i, 278-9. The sailing season was reckoned as 10 March to 11 November—Vegetius iv, 39. Winter voyages were made only in cases of urgency. Cleopatra's alleged hope of putting Herod in charge of an expedition (*BJ*) looks like a fabrication for his glory; Antony's Parthian campaign early in 40 which she might have wished to assist (so Marcus, note on *AJ* xiv,

ing his career in a watery grave during a storm off the Pamphylian coast, he managed to reach Rhodes, where he stayed for some time, ostensibly waiting for a new ship to be built. But the fact that, when he eventually reached Rome, his business was completed in only seven days suggests that the real purpose of his delay was to conduct the principal negotiations by letter and messenger and leave only the formalities to be concluded in person.²⁸

Josephus says that Herod went to Rome to claim the throne not for himself but for his fiancée's brother, Hyrcanus' young grandson Aristobulus, since he knew that it was the Roman practice to appoint members of reigning families as client kings²⁹ — a patent attempt to whitewash him. Herod was nothing if not a political realist, and he was not blessed with a modest and altruistic nature. Without doubt his ambitions rose above acting as official regent for a boy-king and later taking on his father's role as the power behind the throne. Since his Idumaeon nationality debarred him irrevocably from the High Priesthood, he could not hope to unite in himself temporal and spiritual leadership, as the Hasmonaeans had done. But he could aspire to temporal power alone. Antony had put him and Phasael on an absolutely equal footing as tetrarchs, but now with Phasael dead the situation had become politically much more straightforward (however good relations had been between the brothers): one Antipatrid could become king, where two could not. Herod's negotiations from Rhodes may have been directed to persuading Antony, perhaps not by verbal means alone (the bribe which he is said to have offered in Rome "if he became king", incompatible with the alleged purpose of his journey, may belong here) that the traditional form of government would not work and that a fundamental change was now needed. On the other hand, there is no need to suppose that Antony was blind to the obvious fact that the substitution of Hyrcanus' grandson for

375) was over, and Ventidius Bassus, whom she might have wished to help for his sake, was not sent to the East till the end of the year. The "disturbances in Italy" will not have been the Perusine war (*pace* Marcus, *ibid.*), which had ended in February, but the campaigns round Brundisium; news of the treaty signed there early in October will not yet have reached Alexandria.

²⁸ *AJ* xiv, 377-8; *BJ* i, 280-1. With Herod's benefaction to Rhodes cf. his later gifts to other gentile cities (below, pp. 80-1); but see Schalit, 84, n. 96 and 416, n. 941, for the suggestion that Herod was here laying up credit with Antony, who counted Rhodes among his friends.

²⁹ *AJ* xiv, 386. Herod's subsequent murder of Aristobulus (below, p. 66) does not necessarily tell against this. The appointment of Herod as king changed Aristobulus' relationship to him from one of useful puppet to one of dangerous rival.

Antigonus would not unite or pacify the country. But whether spontaneously or not, Antony proposed a drastic solution of the problem of Palestine, and Octavian, who was anxious to co-operate after his recent reconciliation with Antony at the treaty of Brundisium, and was prejudiced in Herod's favour by the help which his own adoptive father had received from Herod's father in 48/7, concurred: political power was now to be divorced from spiritual leadership and the theocracy replaced by a temporal monarchy in the hands of Herod. An appointment as monarch in his own right gave Herod, a man of obvious ability and energy, a strong personal incentive to act in Rome's interest and drive the Parthians out of Palestine. Since he could not combine the roles of ethnarch and High Priest, the title "king", in abeyance since 63, was officially revived for him, though his position was not declared hereditary. This put him on an equality with the unofficial king Antigonus in his struggle for the throne, and ensured him political superiority over any High Priest in the future. It might be hoped that Herod as an outsider would impose peace on a country divided between the rival Hasmonaean factions, and his betrothal to a Hasmonaean princess who united the two branches of the family should help to make him acceptable to both. But as a semi-foreigner he was bound to be personally unpopular, and for that very reason he could be guaranteed to remain loyal to Rome and to the individual Roman responsible for his appointment, since he had to ensure the support on which his position depended. When Herod arrived in Rome at the end of 40, he was presented to the senate with a statement of his merits and Antigonus' treason, and a resolution was duly passed appointing him king, and probably conferring on him the title "friend and ally". Antony and Octavian then took him in procession to the Capitol to offer sacrifice to Jupiter,³⁰ an incongruous

³⁰ *AJ* xiv, 379-89 (giving the date by the consuls, and also by the 184th Olympiad, which had actually ended in July 40); *BJ* i, 281-5. The title "friend and ally" occurs only late in Herod's reign—*AJ* xvii, 246—and the conferment is not recorded; Schalit, 147, suggests this date. App., *BC* v, 75, makes Antony appoint various tributary client kings personally when in Athens late in 39, including 'Ιδουμαίων καὶ Σαμαρείων 'Ηρώδην. Here either 'Ιδουμαίων is an error for 'Ιουδαίων or, more probably, 'Ιουδαίων καὶ has dropped out by haplography; and Galilee was certainly also included in Herod's kingdom. (Otto, 26, cf. 55, and Momigliano, *Ricerche* 41-3 (348-50), confuse Samaritis, always under Jewish rule, with Samaria, independent until 30 (below, p. 70), in interpreting Appian; cf. Jones in *JRS* xxv (1935), 229.) Appian's false date may derive from Antony's half-hearted assistance to Herod in 39-38 (below). For the possible restoration of Gaza at this point see below, p. 63, n. 8. For full discussion of the technical aspects of Herod's status and powers as king see Schalit, 155-298.

inauguration for the reign of a "king of the Jews" but clear evidence of the superficiality of his Judaism and a foretaste of the way in which his rule was to be an attempted fusion between the incompatible worlds of Judaism and Hellenism.

It took Herod three years to win possession of his kingdom, since Antigonus had the support of much of the population and Herod received little effective military assistance while the Roman army was engaged in driving the Parthians out of Asia and Syria. By the time he landed at Ptolemais, within striking distance of his kingdom, in the spring of 39, the Parthians had evacuated Syria in the face of the Roman advance under P. Ventidius Bassus, and Ventidius had marched into Judaea; but he had made no attempt to dislodge Antigonus (bribery, as usual, being alleged), and the legate Silo whom he had left there was proving equally ineffective.³¹ At Ptolemais Herod raised a force of Idumaeans and foreign mercenaries and marched through Galilee, though he apparently failed to secure a hold over it. Samaria, however, not a part of the Jewish state, supported him (clearly a tribute to his earlier governorship of the city), and he won some adherents in Samaritis. His first major achievement was the capture of Joppa (with a feeble show of assistance from Silo), a very valuable gain, as it cut his opponents off from the sea. He then rescued his family, whom Antigonus' troops were besieging on Masada, a success which brought Idumaea out on his side.³² By the autumn of 39 Herod was able to advance on Jerusalem. His attempt at a negotiated settlement came to nothing, since Antigonus, hardly surprisingly, refused to abdicate in favour of a Roman nominee who was "a commoner and an Idumaean, that is, only a half-Jew", though he professed willingness to abdicate in favour of another Hasmonaean, knowing that he stood no chance of Roman recognition himself. Force was then the only answer. But at this point Silo revealed his collusion with Antigonus by making excuses for withdrawing his troops from Jerusalem to winter quarters, so that Herod was left without either forces adequate to storm the city or siege equipment. He accordingly

³¹ *AJ* xiv, 392-3; *BJ* i, 288-9. Dio xlviii, 41, 4-5 makes Ventidius exact large sums from Antigonus and other eastern rulers as punishment for their alliance with Parthia, and this may be the bribe in Josephus.

³² *AJ* xiv, 394-400; *BJ* i, 290-4. Samaria and Samaritis—*AJ* xiv, 408, 411, 413; *BJ* i, 299, 302-3. Josephus says that almost the whole of Galilee came over to Herod, but his campaigns there in the following year (below) belie this. Cf. Schalit, 90, suggesting that Herod made an unsuccessful attempt to establish a base there.

abandoned Judaea to Antigonus for the time being and during the following months seized Jericho, secured Galilee by the capture of Sepphoris, and devised ingenious methods of hunting down the guerilla fighters who were overrunning the district from their strongholds in inaccessible cliff-side caves. Meanwhile the elder of his two surviving brothers, Joseph, tightened his hold on Idumaea, while the younger, Pheroras, recommissioned the fortress of Alexandrion.³³ Herod thus had Antigonus hemmed in and could make a converging attack on Jerusalem.

The decisive defeat of the Parthians at Gindarus in 38 altered the balance in Palestine. Antigonus had no further hope of Parthian help, but more Roman troops could now be made available for Herod. During his campaign in Galilee Silo's dubious assistance had been withdrawn, and Antony now instructed Ventidius to send two legions and a thousand horse to join Herod. But their commander also was a broken reed, who could not work in harmony with Herod and was suspected of taking a bribe from Antigonus.³⁴ At this Herod decided that, as such allies were worse than useless, his only hope lay in a personal appeal to Antony, who was by then besieging Samosata, capital of Parthia's ally Commagene. Leaving some of his troops under Joseph with orders not to risk a battle with Antigonus, he set off for Samosata, where his troops together with some Roman reinforcements which he picked up on the way turned the tide for Antony—and for himself. For when the city fell, Antony appointed his energetic and reliable subordinate C. Sosius as governor of Syria with instructions to use the whole Roman army to assist Herod. Sosius sent two legions ahead to Palestine, while he followed with the rest.³⁵

During Herod's absence, however, Joseph had disobeyed orders and lost six Roman cohorts and his own life in a battle with Antigonus, and parts of Galilee and Idumaea had defected in consequence. The winter of 38/7 therefore had to be spent largely in recovering lost ground, but with the adequate Roman forces now at Herod's disposal this involved no great difficulty. A decisive victory at Jericho then secured Judaea, and by the spring of 37 only Jerusalem still stood out against Herod.³⁶

³³ *AJ* xiv, 400-33 ; *BJ* i, 295-316.

³⁴ *AJ* xiv, 434-7 ; *BJ* i, 317-19.

³⁵ *AJ* xiv, 438-47 ; *BJ* i, 320-2, 327.

³⁶ *AJ* xiv, 448-64 ; *BJ* i, 323-42 (with 'Ιδουμαία in § 326 certainly correct against 'Ιουδαία in *AJ* § 450, which Herod did not yet control). Josephus dates the commencement of the siege of Jerusalem to Herod's 3rd regnal year

Herod encamped on the site of Pompey's camp to the north of Jerusalem. While the legions were investing the city with a triple circumvallation, he at last had time to devote to his private affairs, and went off to Samaria, where he had deposited his family after rescuing them from Masada, to marry Mariamme, who had by now been betrothed to him for five years. He returned to Jerusalem bringing considerable reinforcements at about the same time as Sosius arrived there with the rest of the Roman forces.³⁷ With this formidable army arrayed before it, the fate of Jerusalem was inevitable. But the strength of the newly rebuilt fortifications was such that the siege lasted for five months, ending in the middle of the summer, traditionally on the anniversary of Pompey's capture of the Temple in 63.³⁸ As soon as the circumvallation was complete, the bombardment began. The defenders fought with the courage of fanaticism and despair, counter-attacking against superior manpower and technical skill, and it took the besiegers six weeks to break through the outer north wall of the city, and a further two to penetrate the inner north wall and the Temple enclosure, where they set fire to the porticoes surrounding it.³⁹ The defenders who took refuge in the inner courts of the Temple and the Upper City could now put up no more than a token resistance, and Herod waited for their capitulation, to avoid unnecessary bloodshed. When they sent a request that animals should be allowed to be brought in for the maintenance of the sacrifices, Herod complied, hoping that a gesture of goodwill would bring about a surrender.

(counted from 40) and by the consulship of M. Vipsanius Agrippa and L. Caninius Gallus (37) in the 185th Olympiad (40-36)—*AJ* xiv, 465, 487-8; *BJ* i, 343. Dio xlix, 22-23, 1 appears to date it to the consulship of Appius Claudius Pulcher and C. Norbanus Flaccus (38), but his reference may be to Antony's departure for Italy after Samosata (so W. E. Filmer in *JThS*² xvii (1966), 286). The whole campaign followed the fall of Samosata late in 38. The "27 years" since 63 (*AJ* xiv, 488) are presumably counted inclusively.

³⁷ *AJ* xiv, 465-9; *BJ* i, 343-6. Samaria—*AJ* xiv, 413; *BJ* i, 303.

³⁸ See Appendix D.

³⁹ *AJ* xiv, 470-6; *BJ* i, 347-51. For the two north walls see Appendix C. If the second wall was pre-Herodian, it seems most probable that *AJ* xiv, 476 refers to the two north walls of the city, but with the numbers reversed, the old wall, the first chronologically and from the defenders' viewpoint, being the second from the attackers' viewpoint; cf. below, p. 319, n. 113, for Josephus' reversal of the numbering in his account of Titus' siege. The shorter time taken to storm the inner wall may mean that it had fallen into disrepair where protected by the outer. Herod's capture of the Temple enclosure is not explicitly mentioned, but it is terminologically unlikely that the "second wall" was its north wall. Cf. Vincent and Stève, *JAT*, 703; Schalit, 97, n. 148; contrast Simons, *JOT*, 431, n. 1.

When it did not, he lost patience, sacked the Temple courts and the Upper City, and butchered the inhabitants regardless of age or sex. Looting followed, which he was powerless to stop until he promised lavish money payments to every soldier, as Sosius supported his men's view that plunder was the legitimate reward for their labours. But he did manage to prevent the gentile troops from invading the Temple itself, which they were eager to do, and so saved it from desecration for which he himself would have been held responsible and for which his subjects would never have forgiven him.⁴⁰

When order was restored, Sosius dedicated a golden crown in the Temple—a marked contrast to Pompey's violation of the sanctuary; but Judaism was now a protected religion⁴¹ and it was against Jewish political insubordination, not the Jewish religion, that the campaign had been fought. He then withdrew, taking Antigonus, who had surrendered personally to him during the sack. Josephus says that Antony executed him in response to a bribe from Herod, who feared that he might induce Rome to reinstate him. But Antony will have needed no such persuasion to get rid of a man who had usurped his throne with Parthian aid and involved a large Roman army in a long and costly siege. Sosius was rewarded with the title *imperator*, and eventually returned to Rome to hold a triumph *de Iudaeis* in September 34.⁴²

⁴⁰ *AJ* xiv, 477-86; *BJ* i, 351-6.

⁴¹ See below, pp. 134 ff.

⁴² *AJ* xiv, 488-90; xv, 8-10; *BJ* i, 357. In Roman writers Sosius receives the whole credit for the Palestinian victory, and Herod is not mentioned—Tac., *H* v, 9, 1 *Iudaeos C. Sosius subegit*; Seneca, *Suas.* ii, 21 *Sosio illi qui Iudaeos subegerat*; Dio xlix, 22, 3-6. A coin of Zacyntus shows a trophy between figures of Judaea and Antigonus, with the legend *C. Sosius imp.*—H. A. Grueber, *The Coins of the Roman Republic in the B.M.* (1910) II, 508, no. 146; A. E. Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic* (1952), 199, no. 1272; cf. H. St. J. Hart in *JThS*² iii (1952), 180. Sosius' triumph—E. Pais, *Fasti Triumphales* (1920), 302; *Inscr. Ital.* XIII i, 87, 569.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE IDUMAEAN CLIENT KING

Thus were the Jews subjected to the rule of Herod the Great.¹ His internal government is recorded in great detail by Josephus, but is relevant to the central theme of the present study, the political relations between the Jews and the Romans and their mutual interaction, only in that Rome was indirectly responsible for it and that his reign and those of his sons formed a stage in the progress of the Jewish homeland to full incorporation in the Roman empire by annexation as a province. No comprehensive account of Herod's reign² is offered here, where attention is concentrated on his constitutional position as a client king—on his powers and their limitations, on his relations, personal and political, with his Roman overlords, on his methods of carrying out what he conceived to be his duties in administering his kingdom in Rome's interests, and on his standing vis-à-vis his neighbours in the eastern Mediterranean. His extensive and impressive building programme in his kingdom and his lurid family history will be treated only in so far as they have political implications, and there will be no detailed discussion of such questions as internal civil and financial administration and the status of the Jewish religious authorities, the High Priest and the Sanhedrin, under a secular king. It is the fact that the basis of Herod's power was purely secular and that he lacked the prestige and spiritual authority which his Hasmonaean predecessors had had as High Priests, and was therefore in much closer dependence than Hyrcanus had been on Rome, that is the key to his career.

The Years of Uncertainty

Herod had been installed as king by main force, and a Roman legion

¹ Josephus gives Herod the epithet ὁ μέγας only in *AJ* xviii, 130-6, a genealogical passage, and it is not known as a title on coins or inscriptions. H. Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* IV³ (1864), 546, therefore suggests that Josephus uses it in the sense of "the elder", to distinguish the king from Herod Antipas. But the title is so firmly embedded in modern usage that it is difficult to avoid it.

² For full studies see, e.g., Otto; H. Willrich, *Das Haus des Herodes zwischen Jerusalem und Rom* (1927); Jones, *Herods*; Abel, *HP* I, 347-406; Schalit, 98-675; M. Grant, *Herod the Great* (1971). For Herod's last years cf. Hoehner, *Antipas*, 5-39, 269-76.

was left in Jerusalem to support him until his position was firmly established.³ But Herod not only had to face the internal danger of attacks on his throne from the pro-Hasmonaeon faction and the possibility of insurrection. Within a few months the very existence of his country as an independent kingdom was threatened by serious external pressure which continued for six years.

Cleopatra saw in the hold which she established over Antony by their marriage in the winter of 37/36 an opportunity for political aggrandizement. Her ambition was to reconstitute the Ptolemaic empire of the third century B.C., which at its greatest extent had stretched as far north as Damascus and the Lebanon. She began to put her schemes into effect immediately by persuading Antony to execute Lysanias of Chalcis for his treason three years previously in supporting Antigonus and the Parthians, and to give her his domains.⁴ It was then clearly desirable to secure also the territory separating her new acquisition from Egypt. So she coolly asked Antony to depose Herod and Malchus, king of Nabataea, in her favour. Antony refused. Malchus he knew would be hard to dislodge; and apart from the folly of deposing the king installed only recently in Palestine at considerable trouble and expense, Herod was too valuable a supporter to sacrifice, especially at the price of further trouble from the Jews, who could be expected to accept an Egyptian monarch even less meekly than an Idumaeon. But to pacify her Antony handed over the Decapolis and the whole of the coastal strip from the river Eleutherus (north of Arca) to Raphia on the Egyptian border, with the exception of Tyre and Sidon, free cities standing in a special treaty relation with Rome, and perhaps Ascalon. Among these cities was Joppa, which

³ *AJ* xv, 72. It is mentioned again in 35 (below, p. 67), but its departure is not recorded. Caesar had exempted Palestine from military occupation (above, p. 41) and that privilege presumably persisted; but the presence of a legion to protect Herod was a different matter.

⁴ *AJ* xv, 92. On Lysanias' Transjordanian territory of Auranitis, Trachonitis, Batanaea, Paneas, Ulatha and Gaulanitis see below, pp. 86-7. The chronology of Antony's gifts to Cleopatra is uncertain. *Plut., Ant.* 36, 2, seems to date them all to the time of their marriage; *Dio* xlix, 32, 5 puts them at the end of 36; in *AJ* xv, 92-6 Josephus places them after Herod's summons to Laodicea, probably in 35 (below, p. 66), implying that they were all made immediately before Antony's Armenian campaign in 34 (not his Parthian campaign of 36, as *Bji*, 362 says; see *AJ* xiv, 104). But he is writing here by topics and completes his account of the High Priesthood (to § 87) before turning to foreign affairs; cf. the reference in § 79 to the cession of Coele Syria, not yet recounted—which shows that that area at any rate was handed over before 35. For fuller discussion see *Otto*, 43-4, note *; *Schalit*, 772-7.

had been restored to the Jews in 47. Antony's gift to Cleopatra thus not only deprived the Jews once more of direct access to the Mediterranean, but also put a large and hostile power in control of the land separating them from the sea.⁵ Two years later Cleopatra got Herod into trouble with Antony⁶ and though the desired result, his deposition, did not follow, she was rewarded for her pains with a small but lucrative piece of his kingdom, the balsam- and palm-groves round Jericho, together with a strip of Malchus' territory on the east shore of the Dead Sea which carried with it control of the bitumen industry. Early in 34 Cleopatra visited Palestine and organized the administration of her monopolies by arranging for the two kings to lease their former territory back from her. Her price was high, two hundred talents annually from each, but it was a price worth paying to keep Egyptian officials and troops out of the countries, and Herod agreed, perhaps under pressure, to stand surety for Malchus' payments. From Cleopatra's point of view it was a highly advantageous bargain: she had a guaranteed income without any administrative expenses, while she correctly foresaw in Malchus' obligation to Herod a source of friction which could develop into a war that might weaken both sufficiently for her to be able to step in and annex their kingdoms.⁷

Disloyal ambition within Herod's kingdom gave Cleopatra her next chance for depredation, though nothing came of it. In 37 Herod had appointed an Idumaeen noble, Costobarus, as governor of Idumaea, unaware that he was sheltering some members of the Hasmonaeen family whom he had rescued after the siege of Jerusalem. As an Idumaeen nationalist resenting the earlier forcible Judaization of his country and dreaming of even greater power, Costobarus sought to forestall the detection of his treason and to further his own interests by the dangerous expedient of intriguing with Cleopatra; he suggested that she should ask Antony to give Idumaea to her, in the hope that he would be left to govern it in her name and

⁵ *AJ* xv, 79 (Coele Syria = the Decapolis; see Schalit, 775; cf. above, p. 45, n. 4), 92-5; *BJ* i, 361; cf. vii, 301. Coins of Damascus show the queen's head from 36; see Schürer, II, 153, n. 226. Joppa is not specified but is among the cities restored to Herod in 30 (below, p. 70). Ascalon, a free city like Tyre and Sidon, is not mentioned as also excluded; undated coins with Cleopatra's head may indicate some degree of control but may be merely honorific—B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*² (1911), 804.

⁶ See below, p. 66.

⁷ *AJ* xv, 96 (giving the date by Antony's Armenian campaign), 110, 131-2; *BJ* i, 360-1, 365.

could then break away and achieve independence. But Antony again maintained Herod's position.⁸

Herod hated and feared Cleopatra for the rest of her life, never knowing what she might attempt to filch from him next. He took posthumous revenge by alleging that while in Palestine she tried to seduce him and that he had contemplated murdering her as a service to Antony.⁹ But for the present his only course was to keep her in a good humour in the hope of forestalling further encroachments; he paid his annual four hundred talents promptly, and pardoned her protégé Costobarus, whose loyalty he later tried to ensure by giving him the hand of his recently widowed sister Salome.¹⁰ His personal enemies, however, saw in Cleopatra a useful ally, and she was already involved in Herod's internal problem of the surviving Hasmonaeans.

As a first step towards dealing with this problem Herod used the crude and drastic method of having forty-five prominent supporters of Antigonus summarily executed as soon as he was established in power in 37. Almost certainly these men, or most of them, were members of the Sanhedrin,¹¹ and the proscription enabled Herod to fill the vacancies with recruits who would be amenable to his purposes because owing their positions to him alone. The prestige and authority of the Sanhedrin were such that it could have been a serious rival to Herod in the eyes of his Jewish subjects, and it was vital for him to ensure at the beginning of his reign that it contained a substantial majority of members who would be, if not actively co-operative, at any rate not actively hostile.

⁸ *AJ* xv, 253-8, making Costobarus governor of Gaza as well as of Idumaea. If this is correct, Gaza, recorded as lost to the Jews in 63 and as restored in 30 (below, p. 70), must have been given back to Herod in 40 and lost again with the other coastal cities in 37/6. Cf. Jones, *CERP*², 269; contrast Momigliano, *Ricerche*, 52 (369), rejecting the idea of a short-term restoration. Jones, *Herods*, 57, suggests that Cleopatra received the coastal strip to compensate for her rebuff over Idumaea. The Hasmonaeans (§§ 260-5), though not mentioned in connection with Costobarus' plot *c.* 35 (below, p. 72), were surely a factor in the situation; cf. Schalit, 143-4.

⁹ *AJ* xv, 97-103. Both stories can be rejected. Cleopatra would not have risked jeopardizing her own imperialist dreams by incurring Antony's jealousy for a passing pleasure with a minor prince; and Antony's reaction to such a service as the murder of his wife can be imagined.

¹⁰ *AJ* xv, 254 implies that Salome married Costobarus in 37. But her first husband was not executed until 35 (below, p. 67).

¹¹ *AJ* xv, 5. This is surely identical with Herod's belated vengeance for his trial in 47, exaggerated into the execution of "all" the members of the Sanhedrin except one or two—*AJ* xiv, 175; xv, 3-4. Cf. Mantel, *Sanhedrin*, 59, n. 28; 65, n. 59; 72, n. 110.

A second and more serious rival was the High Priest, whom Herod's Jewish subjects would regard as the authentic head of state, and an appointment urgently needed to be made. Hyrcanus in his earless condition was no longer eligible and therefore no longer dangerous, and Herod persuaded the Parthians to release him.¹² But the motive behind this action and the respect with which he treated Hyrcanus was surely more than mere sympathy for an old man's homesickness; Hyrcanus' return removed from Parthian control a man whom they might have set up as a pretender to the throne to undermine Herod's position. Herod's basic fear of Hyrcanus became clear a few years later.¹³ But this gesture of ostensible conciliation towards the pro-Hasmonaean party in giving what honour he could to Hyrcanus, whose deposition was technically the work of Rome and for whose mutilation he had no personal responsibility, may have been meant to offset his refusal to appoint to the High Priesthood the only other male Hasmonaean whom he knew to survive, the obvious candidate for the post.

This was the sixteen-year-old brother of Herod's wife Mariamme, Aristobulus, who was to fall as the first victim in the mortal feud which now developed between Herod and the Hasmonaeans. The events of 40-37 had radically changed relations between them. Before 40 Hyrcanus had used Antipater and his sons as allies against his brother's family. Now, with Antigonus, the last of the rivals, dead and the Hasmonaean dynasty replaced by the Idumaeans, the struggle had become one between Hyrcanus' family, who saw Herod as a usurper, and Herod, to whom all Hasmonaeans were potentially dangerous rivals, especially Aristobulus, a more obvious focus for any pro-Hasmonaean movement than Hyrcanus, since he was young, attractive, and eligible for the High Priesthood. To give him his ancestral position as life-long High Priest would be an invitation to his supporters to try to restore the throne to him also. But Herod could produce the quite valid argument that the High Priesthood would be too onerous for the boy (even if his youth did not legally disqualify him¹⁴), and could use it as his excuse for making an appointment

¹² *AJ* xv, 11-21 ; cf. *BJ* i, 434.

¹³ See below, p. 68.

¹⁴ No minimum age is laid down among the various requirements for the High Priest in *Levit.* xxi, 10 ff., and Herod was clearly within the law when he appointed Aristobulus under pressure a few months later. The rabbis later debated whether a man qualified for the priesthood at puberty or at the age of twenty—*BT Hull.* 24a-b.

safer from his own point of view. He abandoned the hereditary principle by choosing an outsider, a priest of Babylonian origin named Ananel, who as a personal friend could be trusted to use his influence in Herod's interest.¹⁵ The choice of a Babylonian may have been a move to win the favour of Parthian Jewry, whose support would be valuable if Roman power, not yet firmly established in the East, collapsed under Parthian pressure; at the same time, the choice of a political nonentity would diminish the prestige of the office vis-à-vis the throne. But it was an insult to the Judean aristocracy. At this indication that the Hasmonaeans were to be deprived of spiritual as well as temporal power, Aristobulus' mother Alexandra turned for help to her friend Cleopatra, asking her to use her influence with Antony on her son's behalf. Herod suspected that this was the first stage of a campaign to restore the throne to the Hasmonaeans, and, unaware as yet that Antony would back him against Cleopatra's schemes, yielded to pressure, deposed Ananel late in 37 after only a few months in office, and made Aristobulus High Priest despite his age. His face-saving answer to the charge of illegality in deposing Ananel from a lifelong post, that he had been appointed only as a stop-gap until Aristobulus came of age, may have been true: for once Herod had had a few years in which to consolidate his own position, he could conciliate pro-Hasmonaeon feeling by restoring the High Priesthood to that family with less danger to himself; and even now the move had advantages for Herod, in that specious favour provided cover for insidious attack on the family by concealing his hostility, while the publicity of the office kept Aristobulus under his own eye. But this concession did not satisfy Alexandra, who in the summer of 36 appealed again to Cleopatra for assistance in getting the throne as well for Aristobulus. The queen had just been rebuffed in her attempt to appropriate Herod's kingdom, and it would suit her purposes well to have a protégé instead of an enemy on the throne there. Their plot was betrayed and failed, but Alexandra escaped reprisals, since Herod dared not risk Cleopatra's wrath even while Antony, on whom his fate really depended, was at a safe distance campaigning in Parthia. Matters then came to a head when Aristobulus officiated at the Feast of Tabernacles in October 36 and the crowds demonstrated enthu-

¹⁵ *AJ* xv, 22 (ἐρέα τῶν ἀσημοτέρων), 34, 39-40 (inconsistently making Ananel a member of a High Priestly family). He may be "Hanamel the Egyptian" of *Mish. Par.* iii, 5. For discussion of his origin and his friendship with Herod see Schalit, 693-5. On the High Priesthood later in Herod's reign see below, pp. 90-1.

siastically in his favour. In the face of this clear manifestation of the strength of pro-Hasmonaeon feeling, Herod's only safe course was to have his rival liquidated. An opportunity soon came, when Alexandra entertained Herod at Jericho. The weather was hot and at Herod's suggestion Aristobulus went swimming with members of the former's court, who had instructions to stage a seemingly accidental drowning. The innocuous Ananel could then be reappointed High Priest.¹⁶

Alexandra, who (no doubt not alone) was not deceived by Herod's ostentatious grief at the boy's demise, appealed once more to Cleopatra, who seized the chance of a further attack on Herod by getting Antony to summon him to Laodicea the following summer to answer a charge of murder. Herod set off in considerable trepidation, but received an agreeable surprise. Antony, having humoured his wife to the extent of giving Herod a fright and bestowing some of his territory on her, then let the charge drop.¹⁷ After his recent defeat in Parthia Antony could not afford to weaken a loyal and competent client king whose crime could reasonably be represented as the justifiable removal of a potential focus of anti-Herodian, and thus anti-Roman, feeling. For Herod's position was not yet fully secure, with the fortress Hyrcania in the hands of Antigonus' sister and minor pockets of resistance still holding out; the country was not brought completely under his control by the capture of the fortress until shortly before Actium.¹⁸ During his absence a rumour that Antony

¹⁶ *AJ* xv, 23-57. For detailed discussion see Otto, 36-40; Schalit, 101-13. *BJ* i, 437 (calling the boy Jonathan, presumably his first name; cf. the double names, one Jewish and one Greek, of John Hyrcanus and Mattathias Antigonus), where he is killed immediately after his appointment, can be ignored; it also contains an anachronistic reference to Herod's Gallic troops, acquired in 30 (*AJ* xv, 217), and the *AJ* account looks like a conscious correction. Aristobulus' year in office was either 37/6 or 36/5. The former dating is adopted here, though it allows only about six months for the appointment of Ananel and Alexandra's first appeal to Cleopatra. *AJ* xv, 32 implies that that appeal was made when she was with Antony, i.e. either in Antioch in the winter of 37/6 or in Egypt the following winter. *BJ* i, 439 εἰς Αἴγυπτον seems to support the latter date but this may be another error. Alexandra's second appeal to Cleopatra can equally well be dated to the summer of 36 or of 35. But if Herod's subsequent summons to Laodicea is dated to 35 (below), the earlier year is indicated for Aristobulus' High Priesthood.

¹⁷ *AJ* xv, 57-65, 74-9. Antony was in Syria in 35 and 34, but Cleopatra was with him only in the earlier year, and § 75 implies her presence.

¹⁸ *BJ* i, 364. Hyrcania had evidently been recommissioned since being dismantled in 57 (above, p. 31). Possibly Herod had repaired it and the Hasmonaeon party seized it during his absence in Laodicea. Cf. Otto, 41, note *.

had executed him precipitated an upsurge of hostility and the situation became so threatening that Alexandra and Mariamme, though Hasmonaeans, had to take refuge with the Roman legion guarding Herod's interests in Jerusalem. Herod's uncle, who was also his brother-in-law (Salome's husband), was acting as regent, and lost his life on Herod's return for his handling of the crisis, but for what deficiency or misdemeanour is not revealed.¹⁹

Having weathered the storm of Aristobulus' death with his position vis-à-vis Rome unshaken, Herod soon had to face another. As Cleopatra had hoped, trouble arose between him and Malchus, who had fallen into arrears with his rent for the bitumen monopoly. Herod had no means of making him pay up except force of arms, but before the two kings came to blows, it became clear that war between Antony and Octavian was imminent, and early in 32 Herod set out with an army to join Antony in Ephesus. However Antony, at Cleopatra's insistence, told him to carry on with his original plan, and Herod obeyed, merely sending money and provisions to Antony. Cleopatra did not want Herod either to strengthen his position by services to Antony or to abandon a conflict which promised to weaken both kings sufficiently to put their territory within her grasp. On the other hand, a decisive victory for one of the combatants would not suit her book either, and when Herod won the first battle, near Dion in the Decapolis, she instructed her governor of the area to restore the balance by assisting Malchus. His intervention coupled with insubordination among Herod's troops resulted in a serious defeat for Herod, and for a while he could continue operations only by guerilla warfare. But during 31 fullscale campaigns were resumed, and with Cleopatra's general no longer in evidence, Herod secured the submission of the Nabataeans in a battle near Philadelphia. He then apparently established some control over the country for a time, although Malchus was not dethroned.²⁰

¹⁹ *AJ* xv, 65-73, 80-7. On *BJ* i, 441-4 see below, p. 71, n. 35. Josephus makes Herod execute his brother-in-law on purely personal grounds: Salome falsely accused him of unfaithfulness with Mariamme during Herod's absence. But the similarity of this obscure episode to that which led to Mariamme's death (below) suggests that it is a doublet. In that case the reason for the execution must have been political. For discussion see Otto, 8 note **, 40-2, 50-1; contrast Schalit, 115-19, 133-5, who accepts both episodes.

²⁰ *AJ* xv, 106-60; *BJ* i, 364-85. In § 388, however, Herod claims to have sent some troops to Actium; cf. Plut., *Ant.* 61, 2. Josephus gives the site of Herod's first victory as Diospolis, the later name of Lydda, but a Transjordanian city is undoubtedly meant, and Dion is the obvious correction. For discussion

Thanks to Cleopatra, Herod had not fought at Actium, but it was abundantly clear where his sympathies had lain in the last phase of the Roman civil war. As so often before, the Idumaeen family had backed the losing side, and Herod's task in justifying himself to Octavian was hardly less tricky than if he had taken part in the battle. He did, it is true, render a minor service to the victor in helping the governor of Syria to intercept a force of gladiators who had been training in Cyzicus for Antony and tried to make their way to Egypt after Actium.²¹ But belated recognition of Octavian's supremacy could hardly outweigh years of friendship with Antony. The obvious danger was that Octavian would punish his support of Antony by dethroning him and reinstating Hyrcanus, though he was now over seventy.²² Murder was the only conclusive answer, and Herod resorted to this expedient, trumping up a flimsy charge of attempted treason with Malchus, on which he got Hyrcanus condemned to death by his privy council.²³

Even after this Herod did not feel completely secure to leave the country and go to make his peace with Octavian. Mariamme, who by now had borne him four, or possibly all five, of their children,²⁴ was becoming increasingly hostile, and there was a danger that she and Alexandra, both now further embittered by Hyrcanus' death, might use his half-Hasmonaeen sons as the focus for a pro-Hasmonaeen rising while his back was turned. To reduce them to impotence, therefore, he incarcerated them in the fortress of Alexandrion under the surveillance of an Idumaeen friend, while he put his children, whom he dared not leave with their mother even in custody, in the care of Salome and his own mother in Masada, where they could neither be used for their Hasmonaeen parentage nor attacked for their Idumaeen, and made his sole surviving brother Pheroras regent. These precautions taken, he set off to meet Octavian on Rhodes early in 30.²⁵

of the identification of the site of Herod's defeat, Canatha, Canata or Cana, see Schalit, 697-8. Herod's position as *προστάτης* of Nabataea is obscure (cf. Wikgren, note on *AJ* xv, 160); *AJ* xv, 167 ff. shows that Malchus remained king, and Herod's post is never mentioned later.

²¹ *AJ* xv, 195; *BJ* i, 392; Dio li, 7, 2-6.

²² *AJ* xv, 178 makes him eighty-one. But his parents were not married until 103 B.C. or later, his mother having previously been the wife of Jannaeus' brother Aristobulus—*AJ* xiii, 320, with Marcus' note *ad loc.*

²³ *AJ* xv, 161-76, mentioning the discrepancy between the official version of the episode in Herod's *Memoirs* and other accounts. See Schalit, 307, for the privy council as the court involved, and 698-9 for discussion of the wholly unconvincing nature of the charge.

²⁴ *BJ* i, 435. She was executed the following year (below, p. 71).

²⁵ *AJ* xv, 183-7. For further discussion of Herod's motives see Schalit, 131-5.

Josephus' accounts of what passed between the two men in an apparently private or semi-private interview must derive ultimately from Herod's own version in his *Memoirs*.²⁶ He represented himself as steering a middle course between arrogance and subservience, appearing without his diadem to symbolize his recognition of Octavian's power to confirm or annul his position, but making no excuses for his support of Antony. On the contrary, he claimed credit for his steadfast fidelity to him, and assured Octavian that he would serve him equally loyally, if given the chance. This was patently true. Over the previous thirty years Antipater and his sons had consistently supported whichever Roman warlord was currently in the ascendent in the East, and Octavian knew that he could count on Herod to transfer his loyalty effectively. Herod's prospects were in fact far better than he himself realized—even discounting Josephus' ridiculous remark that "Herod inspired more fear than he felt, since Caesar regarded Antony as still undefeated as long as Herod was his ally."²⁷ Octavian's policy was to maintain Antony's arrangements in the East, if working well: provided that a king was satisfactory, it was immaterial who had appointed him. Herod's record over the past seven years had vindicated the triumvirs' decision in 40, and it was clear that there was now no practical alternative to his continued rule, if the important but turbulent Jewish frontier state was to be kept under proper control. Herod's war with Malchus had proved him competent to defend the country against external pressure, and with his personal position dependent on the retention of Roman goodwill, he could be relied on to toe the Roman line. So, like some other client kings who had supported Antony,²⁸ Herod was confirmed in his kingdom, and in due course Octavian's decision was ratified by a *senatus consultum*. Meanwhile Herod demonstrated his new allegiance ostentatiously: he gave Octavian a present of eight hundred talents, entertained him and his army lavishly at Ptolemais (though outside his kingdom) as they travelled through Syria to the final campaign in

²⁶ *AJ* xv, 187-94; *BJ* i, 387-90. On Herod's improbable claim to have warned Antony after Actium that his only hope of survival now lay in killing Cleopatra see Schalit, 128-9, suggesting that his aim was to represent himself as having been a clear-sighted friend of Rome, whose war was technically fought against Cleopatra.

²⁷ *BJ* i, 388 (only in Josephus' more pro-Herodian work).

²⁸ Amyntas of Galatia (who had, however, gone over to Octavian before Actium; see Dio 1, 13, 8; Plut., *Ant.* 63, 3; Vell. Pater. ii, 84, 2) and Archelaus of Cappadocia—Dio li, 2, 1. Polemo of Pontus—Dio liii, 25, 1.

Egypt, and supplied provisions for the last stage of the journey, across the desert to Pelusium.²⁹ A year or two later he was to help with the building of Nicopolis, the new city commemorating the victory of Actium, no doubt a welcome gesture at a time of financial exhaustion in Rome.³⁰

Herod had to wait until Cleopatra's death some months later to recover the territory which he had lost to her. In the autumn of 30 he visited Octavian in Egypt, where he not only had Joppa and the plantations near Jericho restored to him, but was also given possession of most of the territory taken from the Jews in 63—the cities of Gadara and Hippos in the Decapolis, Samaria, and, most valuable, the cities of the coastal strip from Strato's Tower to Gaza (with Ascalon, never under Hasmonaean rule, naturally still excluded).³¹ Western Idumaea was almost certainly also restored at this time.³² It was probably now that Herod made the important acquisition of the services of the philosopher and historian, Nicolas of Damascus, formerly tutor to Cleopatra's children, who became his lifelong friend, adviser and court chronicler, and much of whose account of the period from 67 B.C. to Herod's death survives at second hand in Josephus' historical works.³³

The Years of Prosperity

With the return of peace and stability to the empire after Actium,

²⁹ *AJ* xv, 195-201 ; *BJ* i, 391-5.

³⁰ *AJ* xvi, 147.

³¹ *AJ* xv, 217 ; *BJ* i, 396-7. No other cities of the Decapolis ever came under Jewish rule again ; even Scythopolis, though west of the Jordan, remained outside Herod's kingdom. The only coastal cities listed are Gaza (cf. above, p. 63, n. 8), Anthedon, Joppa and Strato's Tower. But as no later coastal additions to Herod's territory are mentioned, Jamnia and Azotus, which were in his kingdom by his death (below, p. 110), and Apollonia also, were presumably restored with the others in 30. Raphia and Dora remained in the province of Syria—*BJ* iv, 662 (Raphia, A.D. 70) ; *AJ* xix, 300-11 (Dora, A.D. 41).

³² Herod's kingdom included the whole of Idumaea, and it may reasonably be supposed that the western part, lost to the Jews in 63, was restored in 30, though this is nowhere stated. Its capital, Marisa, disappears after its destruction in 40 (above, p. 53). Schalit, 210-1, suggests that the toparchy later known simply as "Idumaea" (*BJ* iii, 55) was that previously centred on Marisa. For Herod's later territorial gains see below, pp. 86-7.

³³ Sophronius, quoted under Nicolas of Damascus, T2 (*FGrH* IIA, no. 90, p. 325). Nicolas is first attested at Herod's court in 14 B.C.—*AJ* xvi, 29-58 ; but he was then well established in a position of trust, and he can reasonably be assumed to have passed straight from Cleopatra's service to Herod's. For possible earlier contact between Herod and Nicolas see P.-W., s.v. *Nikolaus (Damask)*, 367.

Herod was at last externally secure: the threat from Cleopatra had been removed, the problem of a choice of loyalty between rival Roman warlords had been resolved, and his position had been confirmed by the undisputed master of the Roman world. The two things now required of him by Rome were efficiency in his internal administration and loyalty to Octavian, who trusted him politically and liked him personally. The next two decades were years of material prosperity and imperial favour for the king who styled himself "Friend of Rome" and "Friend of Caesar".³⁴ But the prosperity was a veneer over an uneasy situation, as external security was not balanced by internal security, contentment and goodwill.

Herod's triumphant return from Egypt was followed by the most searing crisis of his whole private life. His earlier passion for Mariamme had developed by this time into an ambivalent love-hate relationship with her as a member of the politically dangerous Hasmonaean family, and she was now embittered against him as the murderer of her grandfather as well as of her brother. In 29 the growing estrangement between them, sedulously fostered by Herod's mother and Salome, reached a climax, and Josephus' story is that Herod, suspecting Mariamme of infidelity, made use of a charge of attempted poisoning fabricated by Salome to have her tried before his privy council and executed.³⁵ This was surely a mere pretext, devised and published to conceal the political reason for her death and avoid making the damaging admission that any Hasmonaean was a threat to Herod's security as the possible focus for a coup. Alexandra constituted an equal menace, yet she escaped scotfree for the present, probably to add verisimilitude to the charge of private hostility brought against Mariamme. But for Herod the execution, whether basically political or merely, as Josephus believed, the result of sexual jealousy and suspicion, was a deep tragedy from which he never fully recovered. For the rest of his life he was tortured by remorse for her death, which warped his personality and later bore bitter fruit for him in quarrels with her half-Hasmonaean sons. Meanwhile

³⁴ The titles occur only on two undated Athenian inscriptions in Herod's honour—*IG* II², 3440 (= *OGIS* 414), 3441 (now agreed to refer to Herod the Great, not Herod of Chalcis).

³⁵ *AJ* xv, 202-36. On the largely literary, non-authentic character of much of this narrative see Schalit, 575-88. *BJ* i, 441-4 appears to conflate this episode with that of 35 (above, p. 67). The version of Mariamme's death in *BT BB* 3b, though unrelated to historical fact, reflects Herod's continued feelings for her.

its immediate effect on him was a severe nervous and physical breakdown, of which Alexandra took prompt advantage: she openly challenged him by trying to seize control of the garrison in Jerusalem in the hope that, once in power herself, she could ensure that Mariamme's sons would not be ousted from the throne in the event of Herod's death. But the king's military officers remained loyal, and Alexandra, having thus shown her hand unmistakably, paid for her treason with her life.³⁶

The Hasmonaeen menace reared its head again for the last time a year or two later, when Costobarus, governor of Idumaea, plotted another attempt to break away, in which his Hasmonaeen refugees were involved. His wife Salome learnt of his plans and divorced him as a gesture of loyalty to her brother, who then executed him together with the potential pretenders.³⁷ No male Hasmonaeans now survived to challenge Herod's throne. There were, however, still two women who might give trouble—Mariamme's younger sister, who might pose as her avenger, and Antigonus' daughter. To render the former as harmless as possible, Herod had bound her to his family by marrying her to his brother Pheroras, whom at this stage he trusted implicitly.³⁸ Antigonus' daughter, perhaps now still a child, was at some point given to Herod's oldest son Antipater.³⁹

The elimination of the Hasmonaeans secured the throne by leaving no personal focus for anti-Herodian movements. But this vacuum did not make Herod popular or even acceptable, and even after his completion of the pacification of the country c. 33 the possibility of oppo-

³⁶ *AJ* xv, 240-51. For discussion of Alexandra's attitude towards Herod see Schalit, 564-6.

³⁷ *AJ* xv, 259-62, 266. The twelve years of § 260 would put the episode in 25; § 252, however, links it with Herod's breakdown in 29/8. Otto, 53-4, note * suggests an error for "ten years". Corbishley, *Chronology*, solves a number of chronological problems in Josephus' accounts of Herod's reign by the convincing hypothesis that two dating systems were in use concurrently, an official count from Herod's appointment in 40 and an unofficial count from 37, and that Josephus unconsciously combines sources using the different systems. § 260 may then be based on a misinterpretation of a source referring to Herod's 12th year on the official count, 29/8. Herod's only dated coins provide evidence for the official count; they are of his 3rd year, which is more likely to have been 38/7, when he became *de facto* king, than the unnoteworthy year 35/4; see B. Kanael in *JQR* xlii (1951-2), 261-4; U. Rappoport in *RN* x (1968), 64-75.

³⁸ *BJ* i, 483 (undated). But the girl was of marriageable age before 30, her father having been killed in 49.

³⁹ *AJ* xvii, 92. Antigonus' sister had presumably perished in Herod's recapture of Hyrcania (above, p. 66).

sition among his subjects leading to disorder was ever-present. To maintain peace and for his own protection Herod had already begun to organize a network of fortresses to control his kingdom, concentrated particularly thickly in the central area where trouble was most likely from the largely Jewish population which resented the rule of a foreign interloper. Priority obviously had to be given to Jerusalem, where Herod needed a stronghold as headquarters for his troops and a defensible residence for himself and his family. The Baris, forming the north west corner of the Temple defences, had been damaged during the bombardment in 37, and as a first step in the urgent task of refortifying the city and securing his own position Herod had it rebuilt, on a much larger scale but probably on the same site, and renamed it the Antonia, a name which dates the work to before Actium, and which was firmly retained after Antony's death. The virtually impregnable new fortress, standing on a rock outcrop precipitous on all sides but the north and there protected by a fosse, with a steep smooth glacis round the base, a massive tower at each corner from which artillery could command a wide area, and an enormous rain-fed cistern to make it independent, was more than just the kingpin of the city's northern defences.⁴⁰ Its spacious and magnificent interior provided Herod with a residence which was both more comfortable and more secure than the Hasmonaean palace in the Upper City.⁴¹ The

⁴⁰ *AJ* xv, 409; xviii, 91-2; *BJ* i, 401; v, 238-47. For the Baris see above, p. 24. For the use of the same site see Appendix C. For the relation of the Antonia to Herod's enlarged Temple enclosure see below, p. 93. According to the generally accepted view, parts of the Antonia survive under the Convent of the Sisters of Zion and the Franciscan Convent of the Flagellation immediately to the east—notably the paved open-air courtyard and the cistern (of which the vaulted roof is presumably the work of Roman or Roman-trained engineers). For the extant remains see Vincent and Stève, *JAT*, 193-221; Marie-Aline, *Antonia*, 39-190; B. Bagatti in *SBFLA* viii (1957-8), 309-52; cf. C. Maurer in *ZDPV* lxxx (1964), 137-49. P. Benoit, however, has argued convincingly that these structures belong to the Hadrianic city of Aelia Capitolina (below, p. 462), and that the Antonia lay to the south of them, between the convents and the Haram es-Sherif—in *HTbR* lxiv (1971), 135-67. The rock face exposed at the north-west corner of the Haram, cut back to a vertical height of over 40 feet, may be the southern face of the rock platform on which the fortress stood (in which case the 50 cubits = 75 feet of *BJ* v, 238, like many of Josephus' dimensions, will be exaggerated). On the artillery potential of the Antonia see C. T. Norris in *PEQ* 1946, 25-6.

⁴¹ The use of the Antonia as Herod's first palace is not stated but is inferred from Josephus' description of its interior, more luxurious than would have been provided for troops; see L. H. Vincent in *RB* lxi (1954), 87-107. The Hasmonaean palace—*AJ* xx, 190; *BJ* ii, 344; cf. Vincent and Stève, *JAT*, 232-5. The High Priest's palace on Ophel (the Lower City) under the church

Antonia had another function also, of great psychological importance for Herod's relations with his subjects. The Baris had housed the ceremonial vestments worn by the High Priests at the Feasts of the Passover, Pentecost and Tabernacles, and on the Day of Atonement. They were now transferred as a matter of course to its successor, where Herod had them in his custody as hostages for his subjects' good behaviour and thus gained the maximum control over the Temple that was possible for a man debarred from the High Priesthood. And there they remained, under the care of Herod's troops, when the king later moved to a new palace.⁴²

The repair of the fortifications of Jerusalem during the 30s included the strengthening of the north west corner of the city walls by the addition of three huge towers, larger and higher than any others along the circuit, named after his brother Phasael (killed in 40), a friend Hippicus (about whom, surprisingly, Josephus records practically nothing) and Mariamme. In them military defence was combined with luxurious residential apartments, and their grandeur made a deep impression not only on Josephus, who calls them "unparalleled in the world for size, beauty and strength", but on Titus also, who left them standing in 70.⁴³ Some ten years later the three towers, designed for external defence, were given a new function, when Herod had a vast new palace built under their shadow. His throne was now secure enough for him to move out of the Antonia, where residence had drawbacks for a king of superficial Judaism—he could keep the High Priest and his minions in the Temple under his eye, but at the same time he was under theirs—and leave his troops to guard the Temple in his interest. The luxury and magnificence of the palace, set in a large park in the angle of the city walls, "baffled description", and here Herod could live in greater style and comfort than in the Antonia.

of St. Peter in Gallicantu, at a considerable distance from the Temple, was presumably built after Herod's appropriation of the Baris. For the excavations see X. Marchet, *Le véritable emplacement du palais de Caïaphe* (1927). *BJ* ii, 426 concerns an ex-High Priest's private house in the Upper City, not the official residence of the High Priest in office.

⁴² *AJ* xv, 403-4; xviii, 91-2; cf. below, pp. 149, 172.

⁴³ *BJ* v, 161-75; cf. 144, 147; ii, 46; vii, 1-2; *AJ* xvi, 144; xvii, 257. At least two of the towers were built into the curve of the Hasmonaean city wall and were therefore contemporary with the repair work done on the walls, which is likely to have been undertaken very soon after 37; cf. Appendix C. On Phasael cf. below, p. 328, n. 154. The existence of two φρούρια in Jerusalem in 29/8 (*AJ* xv, 247), presumably the Antonia and the three towers, gives a *terminus ante quem* for their completion.

But with the protection of a high turreted wall surrounding it, the city fortifications on two sides, and the garrisons in the palace towers, the palace also formed a personal fortress.⁴⁴

Jerusalem was the hub of Herod's military system. Most of his other control centres were immensely strong hilltop fortresses, some of them Hasmonaean strongholds recommissioned, others creations of his own. Three were in Judaea, guarding the capital on the south and west—the Hasmonaean Hyrcania, which became a gaol for political prisoners,⁴⁵ and two new fortresses, Cypros dominating the mouth of the Wadi Qilt near Jericho (named after his mother),⁴⁶ and Herodion some eight miles south of Jerusalem, built in the late 20s.⁴⁷ To the north the Hasmonaean Alexandrion, which Herod had repaired as early as 39/38, controlled Samaritis.⁴⁸ In the south of Idumaea lay the strongest of all, the Hasmonaean Masada, which Herod refortified soon after 37; it combined the maintenance of internal security with frontier defence against Nabataea, and was supported by a chain of forts running from the southern end of the Dead Sea towards Gaza.⁴⁹ Finally the two fortresses in Peraea, the Hasmonaean Machaeros and a second Herodion,⁵⁰ had the same double function.

⁴⁴ *AJ* xv, 318-19 (with his third marriage; cf. below, p. 91, n. 109); *BJ* v, 176-82; cf. i, 402. *AJ* xv, 292 (anachronistically?) makes the palace antedate the rebuilding of Samaria (below, pp. 77-8).

⁴⁵ *AJ* xv, 366; *BJ* i, 364. For traces of Herodian buildings and the Herodian cemetery at Khirbet el-Mird, agreed to be Hyrcania, see G. R. H. Wright in *Biblica* xlii (1961), 1-8, 16-18.

⁴⁶ *AJ* xvi, 143; *BJ* i, 417. The fort, undated but perhaps a posthumous memorial, is identified with the remains of an unexcavated fort on a conical hilltop, Tell el-Aqabe, on the south side of the Wadi Qilt and the old road to Jerusalem; see G. Harden in *ZDPV* lxxviii (1962), 49-54. Herod may have rebuilt one or both of the towers Threx and Taurus guarding the road, which Pompey had destroyed—*Str.* xvi, 2, 40; see J. L. Kelso and D. C. Baramki in *ASOR* xxix-xxx (1955), 6-8.

⁴⁷ *AJ* xiv, 360; xv, 323-5, dating the building immediately after Herod's third marriage; *BJ* i, 265, 419-21.

⁴⁸ *AJ* xiv, 419; *BJ* i, 308. The identification of the remains of an unexcavated fort on Qarn Sartabeh with Alexandrion, first suggested in 1865, is generally accepted. For the site and the visible evidence for parts of the fortress wall, the aqueduct and the cisterns see F. M. Abel in *RB* x (1913), 227-34; cf. W. J. Moulton in *ASOR* lxii (1936), 15-18; Marie-Aline, *Antonia*, Pl. 50. The artificial shaping of the summit cone, very similar to the Judean Herodion, may be part of the Herodian rebuilding.

⁴⁹ For Masada see below. For the archaeological evidence for Herod's Idumaeen frontier defences see M. Gihon in *IEJ* xvii (1967), 35-9; cf. *BJ* ii, 55, referring to "strongholds" there.

⁵⁰ *BJ* i, 419—the sole reference to the Peraean Herodion, which is identified with the remains of a hill-fort at Tell el-Hammam near Livias-Julias (below,

Five of the fortresses were more than mere military strongholds. If unpopularity ever drove Herod from Jerusalem, he needed comfortable places of refuge, and to this end palaces were included in the buildings at Alexandrion, Hyrcania, Masada, Machaeros and the Judaeon Herodion.⁵¹ In the case of Masada, excavation has corroborated and supplemented Josephus' description of the defences of the fortress and the amenities provided regardless of expense to enable not only Herod and his family but the garrison also to enjoy the same standard of living in the desert as in Jerusalem. The small isolated plateau rising 1300 feet sheer from the plain between the Dead Sea and the Judaeon mountains, was fortified, except at its wholly impregnable northern end, by a casemate wall and towers, and furnished with two palaces sumptuously decorated with mosaic floors and walls frescoed to resemble marble—an official residence on the summit and a smaller private palace built in three tiers on natural rock terraces of the precipitous cliffs at the northern tip, commanding a superb view. Five smaller residences of similar standard were perhaps for members of Herod's family. Huge cisterns filled by aqueducts from neighbouring wadis served Roman-style baths in the palaces, a public bath-block, and a swimming pool. A range of large store-houses was stocked with weapons, metal ingots, and vast quantities of food against a possible siege, and inscriptions on amphora sherds show that in 19 B.C. Herod went to the trouble of importing wine from Italy. For his army officers and court there were residential and administrative buildings, and very probably a small synagogue, witnessing to Herod's lip-service to Judaism.⁵²

Little is known of the buildings within the fortifications at Machaeros, as yet unexcavated.⁵³ At Herodion the palace, decorated like

p. 119); see A. Mallon in *Biblica* xiv (1933), 401-5. For Machaeros see below. Both fortresses may date from Herod's war with Malchus, though not mentioned in that connection.

⁵¹ *BJ* vii, 164-77 (Machaeros), 280-303 (Masada); *AJ* xv, 324 (Herodion). The provision of palaces at Hyrcania and Alexandrion also is inferred from their use for hospitality—*AJ* xvi, 13.

⁵² For the excavations of 1963-5 see Yadin, *Masada*; and in *IEJ* xv (1965), 1-120 (first season only). For full bibliography see Vogel, *Bibliography*, 58-9. Josephus describes only the northern palace and seems to be unaware of the existence of the larger one. The building against the western casemate wall used as a synagogue by the *sicarii* in A.D. 66-73 (below, p. 336) had a Herodian predecessor which was probably also a synagogue—*Masada*, 185; *IEJ*, 76-9. Amphora sherds—*Masada*, 189; *IEJ*, 77.

⁵³ There are surface indications of a fosse isolating the rock cone on which the fortress was built, and traces of the palace (?), fortifications, cisterns and

that at Masada, has been discovered, together with remains of a rock stairway, four large reservoirs, a bath building, and structures at the base of the hill. For Machaeros and Herodion, unlike Masada, were planned to include civilian settlements below the wall of the fortress-palace on the summit. At Herodion at any rate the scheme was successful, thanks largely to the efficient irrigation system bringing water by aqueduct (still partially traceable) from four miles away, and the town thrived sufficiently to become a toparchy capital.⁵⁴

Herod's last fortress was of a different character—the Hellenistic city of Samaria, which had supported him in his fight for his throne and now, reincorporated in the Jewish kingdom, received its reward. Herod re-founded it, probably in 27, with extended territorial jurisdiction as a centre of Hellenism and at the same time “a stronghold against the whole nation, believing that it would give him no less security than the other fortresses.” Its citizen body was enlarged by six thousand, some of them civilians from the surrounding territory now incorporated in the city, others non-Jewish veterans from Herod's army, men of proven loyalty whose mere presence would strengthen his control over Samaritans and who could, if necessary, act as a peace-keeping force. In the emperor's honour the city was renamed with the Greek equivalent of the name Augustus just conferred on Octavian, Sebaste, a name which still persists in the village of Sebastiyeh huddled in a corner of the site.⁵⁵ Physically the city was transformed, with new

rock stairway described by Josephus; see Vigouroux, *Dict. Bible*, Suppl. V, s.v. *Machéronte*.

⁵⁴ For the excavations at Herodion (Djebel Fereidis) in 1962-7 see V. C. Corbo in *SBFLA* xiii (1962-3), 219-77; xvii (1967), 65-121. For later work and further bibliography see Vogel, *Bibliography*, 37. The artificial shaping of the cone is very clear. Herodion as a toparchy capital—*BJ* iii, 55; the reorganization of the toparchic system which brought this new town in was probably Herodian.

⁵⁵ *AJ* xv, 292-3, 296-8; *BJ* i, 403. On the new settlers see Schalit, 174-82. The coins of Sebaste use an era which could be 27 or 26 B.C.; see *BMC, Pal.*, xxxvii-xxxix; cf. below, p. 490, n. 14. The most probable date for the official naming and inauguration of the new city is 27, since Herod is likely to have taken the earliest opportunity of honouring his benefactor. *AJ* xv, 299, however, implies that Sebaste was founded in the 13th year of Herod's reign, the year of a severe famine. The count here is clearly from 37, giving the year 25/4, since relief supplies were obtained from C. Petronius, successor to Aelius Gallus (below, p. 86) as prefect of Egypt. It is possible that Josephus is reproducing a date in his source without noticing that in his context it applies inappropriately to the events just recorded; cf. Schürer, I (rev.), 290, n. 9; Otto, 76, note. Corbishley, *Chronology*, 25-6, however, solves the problem by his double-dating theory: in § 299 the foundation of Sebaste in the 13th year of Herod's official regnal count, 28/7, is synchronized with an event in the 13th of the unofficial count, 25/4. The completion of the building, no mean task, by c. 23 (*AJ* xv, 342; cf. below, p. 89, n. 103) supports 27 against 25 for the commencement.

fortifications, two miles in circumference, enclosing a much larger area than before. But of greater significance than the increase in size was the establishment of the imperial cult, a facet of the policy of Hellenization which Herod pursued wherever and whenever he could: a temple of Augustus in a large precinct stood conspicuously on the summit of the hill in the centre of the city—an engineering feat, incidentally, of some magnitude, as a flat platform had to be built on massive retaining walls projecting from the hillside to form the forecourt.⁵⁶ The essential Greco-Roman amenities of a stadium and a theatre, though not definitely attested, will also have been provided.⁵⁷

Military colonies of veterans were also established to secure Galilee and Peraea, at Gaba guarding the narrow western entrance to the plain of Esdraelon and at Heshbon, but no elaborate fortifications or schemes for Hellenization are recorded at either.⁵⁸

Sebaste was primarily a fortress and secondarily a centre of Hellenization. Herod's second and greatest city foundation, Caesarea, was first and foremost a centre of Hellenization. It also was a re-foundation, replacing the moribund Phoenician city of Strato's Tower, and Josephus links its foundation anachronistically with that of Sebaste, describing it in the same terms as "a fortress against the whole nation".⁵⁹ But whatever the city's military significance, Herod's main purpose was to improve his country's commercial facilities by the

⁵⁶ Almost the whole line of the fortifications can be traced and some Herodian masonry survives. Most of the visible remains of the Caesareum belong to a third-century rebuilding, but the Herodian substructures survive; cf. the similar work on a larger scale in the Temple enclosure in Jerusalem (below, p. 93). The temple, founded before the imperial cult was organized, was dedicated to Augustus alone, but no doubt Herod later associated Roma in the cult in deference to his wishes.

⁵⁷ Josephus gives no details of Herod's other buildings in Sebaste. The basilica in the forum goes back to his time, with Herodian work underlying the extant Severan building. The extant theatre and colonnaded street are third century, and the latter has no traces of a Herodian predecessor; excavation has not gone far enough to show whether the theatre had. The third-century structure which may have been a gymnasium replaced an earlier one (Gabinian or Herodian), but there is no evidence for regular games at Sebaste (contrast Caesarea and Jerusalem; below, pp. 79, 84). See further C. Watzinger, *Denkmäler Palästinas* II (1935), 46-53; J. W. Crowfoot, K. M. Kenyon and E. L. Sukenik, *The Buildings of Samaria* (1942), 31-139; Schalit, 358-65; and for recent work see Vogel, *Bibliography*, 73-5.

⁵⁸ *AJ* xv, 294; *BJ* iii, 36. If Gaba was detached from the Jewish state in 63 (above, p. 28, n. 27), it was presumably restored in 30.

⁵⁹ *AJ* xv, 293. The references to a veteran apparently living near Caesarea c. 7 B.C. (*AJ* xvi, 375; *BJ* i, 544) may indicate the settlement of veterans there, but the evidence is slight.

provision of a first class port, larger and safer than Joppa, and it was primarily as a Greek city on the predominantly Greco-Syrian coastal plain, with its citizenship apparently restricted to Greeks, that Caesarea, named like Sebaste in honour of the emperor and destined to become the second largest city in the country and later the Roman administrative capital, made its mark.⁶⁰ As an engineering feat the harbour at Caesarea ranked high among Herod's achievements. On a straight stretch of coast subject to currents, erosion and the formation of shifting sand-dunes a harbour the size of the Piraeus was constructed by building two huge moles to create an artificial bay and perhaps by also excavating an inland basin to extend the dock area into the city. Behind it the city was laid out on a Roman grid pattern, with underground sewers flushed by the sea. Facilities for entertainments both Greek and Roman were provided in a theatre, an amphitheatre and a stadium or hippodrome, while the temple of the imperial cult with colossal statues of Augustus and Roma, set on rising ground overlooking the harbour, proclaimed to all shipping Herod's allegiance and his Hellenism.⁶¹ Caesarea took ten years or more to build and was inaugurated in either 12 or 10/9 B.C. with the first celebration of a four-yearly festival in Augustus' honour, which included musical and athletic contests on the Greek pattern and wild beast and gladiatorial shows on the Roman. Augustus and Livia gave Herod five

⁶⁰ The official name was *Καίσαρεια ἡ πρὸς Σεβαστῶν λιμὲν*—*BMC, Pal.*, 13-15. See *AJ* xvii, 87 and *BJ* i, 613 for the harbour as *Σεβαστὸς λιμὴν*, and *AJ* xvi, 136 and *Leg.* 305 for the unusual abbreviation *Καίσαρεια Σεβαστή*. For the question of citizenship see below, pp. 285-7.

⁶¹ *AJ* xv, 331-41; *BJ* i, 408-15. For studies of the archaeological evidence for Caesarea vindicating or expanding Josephus' description see Vogel, *Bibliography*, 23-4. *Scavi di Caesarea Maritima*, ed. G. dell'Arte (1966), deals especially with the city walls and with the theatre (rebuilt in the second and third centuries A.D.) near the shore south of the harbour; cf. below, p. 167, n. 79. Josephus reverses the positions of the theatre and amphitheatre; the latter, located by air photography, lies inland, north of the harbour. He does not mention a stadium or hippodrome (see, however, *AJ* xviii, 57 and *BJ* ii, 172 for a stadium in the late 20s A.D.), but one is presupposed by the contests at the inaugural festival (below); on the extant structure see J. Jeremias in *ZDPV* liv (1931), 279-89. The very large building on a hillock just south of the harbour may have been the Caesareum (rather than the Augustan temple excavated just inland from the harbour, surely too small and and too low-lying to have formed a landmark for sailors), and the two colossal white stone right feet found in the city may be parts of the statues of Roma and Augustus. Alternatively, the two over-lifesize headless statues found in Caesarea may be from Herod's temple of the imperial cult (though neither is noticeably female); so P. R. Diplock in *PEQ* ciii (1971), 14-16; but cf. below, p. 432, n. 13. On the (Herodian?) aqueducts see A. Negev in *IEJ* xiv (1964), 237-49.

hundred talents to help defray the expenses, which were not light, since in addition to the cost of the entertainments there were official delegations from cities outside Palestine to be accommodated.⁶²

Herod's two major city foundations thus honoured Augustus. As a client king he dared not follow the precedent of Hellenistic kings and name them after himself or members of his family. He and they had to be content with the fortresses of Herodion and Cypros, the towers Phasael and Mariamme, and his two minor civilian foundations of Antipatris (perhaps a small city) on the coastal plain inland from Joppa, and Phasaelis, a large village in the Jordan valley, which was primarily a commercial venture relying for its prosperity on its palm-plantations.⁶³

Herod had more scope for self-expression outside his kingdom than within it. His interest in Hellenism was shown as much in his relations with Greek cities as in his attempts to import the Greek way

⁶² *AJ* xvi, 136-41, dating the inauguration to the 192nd Olympiad (July 12-8 B.C.) and Herod's 28th year; *BJ* i, 415. The building time is variously given as ten and twelve years—*AJ* xv, 341; xvi, 136. The commencement of the work is not precisely dated, but its position in the narrative suggests c. 24-22 B.C. Herod's 28th year was 13/12 counted from 40, or 10/9 counted from 37. Coins of Caesarea do not fix the era, since the only known one apparently using it bears no synchronization with any other system—*BMC, Pal.*, 12, no. 1. Agrippa I's death in the summer of A.D. 44 (below, p. 199, n. 68) at an imperial festival in Caesarea which was surely that founded by Herod is inconclusive, since the festival year could be either 43-4, putting the inauguration in 10/9 B.C., or 44-5, putting it in 12. E. Schwarz argues for dating the inauguration to March 9 B.C.—in *Nachr. kön. Gesellsch. Wissensch. Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1907, 265-7; cf. Otto, 78. But Agrippa's death after the Passover is against the month. For the summer of 12 B.C., however, see Corbishley, *Chronology*, 29-30; the twelve-year building period, if not an error, can have arisen from the combination of year 16 counted from 37 (22/1) for the commencement with year 28 counted from 40 for the completion. Herod with his interest in the Olympic Games (below) may have timed the inauguration to make his festival coincide. Further, Augustus had celebrated his fiftieth birthday on 23 September 13, and an honour would be especially appropriate in his jubilee year; cf. M. Avi-Yonah in *IEJ* i (1950-1), 169. The apparently chronological link in *AJ* xvi, 136 between the inauguration and a family quarrel in 12 is not strong corroborative evidence for the date; but the fact that the harbour was in use by 14 and probably as early as 15 (*AJ* xvi, 62; Leg. 297, where the unnamed harbour is surely Caesarea) supports 12 against 10/9. A festival in midsummer 12 would not clash with Herod's visit to Rome late in that year (below, p. 90, n. 107).

⁶³ *AJ* xvi, 142-5; *BJ* i, 417-18. Josephus inaccurately calls Phasaelis a πόλις. For its visible remains see G. Harden in *ZDPV* lxxviii (1962), 54-60. For the palm-groves see *AJ* xvii, 340 (mentioning the irrigation scheme; for the archaeological evidence see Schalit, 325); *BJ* ii, 167; cf. Horace, *Epist.* ii, 2, 184; Str. xvi, 2, 41. On Antipatris cf. Jones, *CERP*², 275.

of life into Palestine, but self-interest played a part also: foreign goodwill would be a useful counterpoise to Jewish hostility.⁶⁴ The list of his benefactions to gentile cities is long and imposing: he provided gymnasia at Tripolis, Damascus and Ptolemais, fortifications at Byblus, halls, porticoes, temples and market-places at Berytus and Tyre, theatres at Sidon and Damascus, an aqueduct at Laodicea, and baths, fountains and colonnades at Ascalon; he financed the paving of the main road two miles long through Antioch, and the erection of covered colonnades along it; during a journey in Asia Minor in 14 he restored a stoa on Chios destroyed by Mithridates and gave unspecified gifts to Samos and many mainland cities (his only dated benefactions); he rebuilt the temple of Apollo on Rhodes after a fire and made cash donations towards the maintenance of the island's fleet; he provided endowments for Cos and other cities to meet the expenses of the gymnasiarchy; and his generosity reached across the Aegean to Athens, whose gratitude was recorded on statue bases, and Sparta.⁶⁵ Last but by no means least, Herod gave "a gift not only to Greece but to the whole world" when, probably in 16, he presided over the Olympic Games, which had got into low financial water and lost much of their former glory. This honour entailed defraying much of the cost himself, but he went further by making a permanent endowment for the upkeep of the festival, an act of generosity for which the king of the Jews was rewarded with the title of perpetual president.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ *AJ* xv, 327.

⁶⁵ *AJ* xvi, 18-19 (Chios); 23-4 (Samos and Asia Minor); 146-9; *BJ* i, 422-5. For Berytus see also Gabba, *Iscr. Bibbia*, 30, an inscription in the forum recording the restoration of [. . . *quod rex Herodes . . . fecerat*, where the missing word may have been *templum, balneum* or *forum*; cf. J. Lauffray in *Bull. du Musée de Beyrouth* vii (1944-5), 56-7. For possible traces of Herod's work at Ascalon see C. R. Conder and H. H. Kitchener, *The Survey of Western Palestine* III (1883), 237-47; J. Garstang in *PEFQ* 1922, 112-17; P. R. Diplock in *PEQ* ciii (1971), 13-14. The colonnaded streets shown on the Madaba map (above, p. 24, n. 6) may be of Herodian origin. Excavation has not revealed any traces of Herodian work along the road in Antioch; see *Antioch on the Orontes*, ed. G. W. Elderkin and R. Stillwell, I (1934), 93-100; cf. II (1938), 2-4; III (1941), 12-13. For Athens see also the dedications commemorating Herod's εὐεργεσία and εὐνοία—*IG* II², 3440 (= *OGIS* 414), 3441 (cf. above, p. 71, n. 34).

⁶⁶ *AJ* xvi, 149; *BJ* i, 426-7, linking Herod's presidency with a visit to Rome. The choice lies between the Olympic years 16 and 12 B.C. The earlier seems the more probable. The first of Herod's two visits to Rome as king can reasonably be dated to that summer (below, p. 89, n. 104), whereas his second fell in the latter part of 12 (below, p. 90, n. 107), after the Games, and in any case was made in circumstances which will have left him neither time nor inclination to break his journey. The evidence for a third visit is slender; see Otto, 122; contrast Schalit, 613.

Herod's liberality to foreign cities reveals one of his two main ambitions, to win prestige in the eyes of the outside world. None of the cities which enjoyed his bounty is known to have rendered him any particular service for which he might be making a return, except possibly Rhodes in 40.⁶⁷ But many of them contained large Jewish communities, attested by the mid-first century A.D. if not in or before Herod's time, notably Damascus, Tyre, Sidon, Ptolemais, Ascalon, and Antioch. If this was the criterion for Herod's choice of recipients, his gifts can probably be taken as evidence for Jewish settlements in cities where they are otherwise unattested.⁶⁸ The conspicuous omission is Alexandria with the largest of all Diaspora communities. But Herod had suffered so much from Cleopatra that it is understandable if he could not bring himself to enrich her capital even after her death. By singling out cities with Jewish communities he could compensate, indeed lavishly over-compensate, for the export of money in the form of the Temple tax paid annually to Jerusalem,⁶⁹ he could counter any complaints by his subjects at the drain of money out of Palestine by pointing out that fellow Jews were benefiting, and he could impress the Diaspora with the glory and prosperity of the king of their homeland.⁷⁰

Herod's other main ambition, as a Jew neither by race nor by religious conviction, was to Hellenize his kingdom as far as possible, though he was prepared to pay lip-service to Judaism in the interests of internal peace. But Hellenization could be viewed as his duty also. A client king's function was to prepare his subjects for assimilation into the Roman empire as a province by introducing features of Greco-Roman culture, and to pave the way for his own supersession by accustoming them to Roman forms of administration. The Greek language, in which Herod himself was fluent, had been widely used in Palestine since Seleucid days and could readily become the official language of the court and the administration. His coins, which in contrast to the Hasmonaean bilingual coins have legends in Greek only, bear tangible witness to his hope that the language would be adopted by his subjects at large. In his internal government Herod had complete autonomy, and used it to establish a purely Hellenistic monarchy. In this he was not breaking entirely new ground, since Hellenistic features had been introduced into the court, the army and the

⁶⁷ See above, p. 54.

⁶⁸ For the Diaspora see below, pp. 121-2.

⁶⁹ See below, pp. 124-5.

⁷⁰ See below, p. 89, on Herod's standing among the Diaspora.

administration by the later Hasmonaeans. But under Herod the Hellenization of the government was fully realized, with Greeks holding high rank in his entourage and a hierarchy of court officials, with a privy council of his personal choice exercising advisory and judicial functions, with an army under officers bearing Hellenistic titles, and with a bureaucratic system of local administration.⁷¹

The heart of Hellenism, however, lay not in its administrative systems, valuable though they may have been in themselves in improving efficiency, but in its culture. To set an example in the field of education, Herod employed Greek, and perhaps also Roman, tutors for his young sons,⁷² and himself took up the study of Greek philosophy, rhetoric and history in middle age under Nicolas of Damascus,⁷³ to equip himself to converse with educated gentiles on equal terms. But the grafting of the essential elements of Greco-Roman culture—literature, philosophy, art and religion—on to a Jewish kingdom raised serious problems, the greatest of them that of the imperial cult, anathema to the Jews. As a gesture of loyalty Herod included temples of Augustus in his new Hellenistic foundations of Sebaste and Caesarea at the start, but the only pre-existing town in which the establishment of the cult is recorded is Panion, in predominantly non-Jewish territory added to Herod's kingdom in 20.⁷⁴ That was as far as he dared to go. Not only was Jerusalem left inviolate (though the daily sacrifices offered for Augustus' well-being after the country became a province as a substitute for direct emperor-worship⁷⁵ may have been instituted by Herod) but so apparently were the Jewish areas of the kingdom as a whole.⁷⁶ The duties of a client king did not include deliberately and consciously stirring up disaffection among his subjects, even in a good cause.

⁷¹ For full discussion see Otto, 83-7; Schalit, 183-4, 215-23 (the administrative bureaucracy), 403-11 (the court), 699-701 (the army officers; cf. below, pp. 85-6, for the army).

⁷² *AJ* xvi, 242. The names Andromachus and Gemellus suggest one Greek and one Roman.

⁷³ Nicolas of Damascus, frag. 4 (*FHG* III, pp. 350-1) = frag. 135, 4 (*FGrH* IIA, no. 90, p. 422).

⁷⁴ *AJ* xv, 363-4; *BJ* i, 404-6. Cf. below, p. 87.

⁷⁵ See below, pp. 147-8.

⁷⁶ *AJ* xv, 328-30 is explicit that no pagan temples were erected in "Jewish territory". *BJ* i, 407 could be taken to imply the reverse, but in the absence of any trace of the protests which would have been inevitable (cf. the incident at Jamnia in A.D. 39; below, p. 175), this can be discounted. Whether τὰ περὶ ἐξ in § 329 means the non-Jewish parts of Herod's kingdom or neighbouring foreign countries (cf. τὴν ἑξω χώραν immediately before) is not clear.

Though the introduction of pagan worship in any form among the Jews was out of the question, Herod hoped that they might be persuaded to accept, or at least to tolerate, other aspects of Hellenism, and made Greco-Roman cultural amenities available to them. Hippodromes and amphitheatres were built in Jericho ⁷⁷ and Jerusalem, and a theatre also in Jerusalem where, perhaps as early as 27, a four-yearly festival was established, with athletic and musical contests and wild beast and gladiatorial shows. The dedication of the festival to Augustus linked it with the imperial cult, but as no direct worship was involved, Herod got away with it; though the Jews were disgusted by the barbarity of the bloodshed in the amphitheatre, they could not complain of any actual contravention of the Law.⁷⁸ Their only recorded protest was not against the nature of the entertainments ⁷⁹ but against the decoration of the theatre in Jerusalem, a matter of far less intrinsic significance but one in which they suspected an infringement of the Law. Round the theatre stood inscriptions in Augustus' honour and trophies commemorating his military achievements. The Jews, assuming that the arms comprising the trophies were mounted on statues, protested so loudly against this introduction of "graven images" into Jerusalem that Herod, after vain attempts to reassure them, had the trophies stripped to show the uncarved wooden supports.⁸⁰ So far, so good. But this might nevertheless be the thin end of the wedge, and Josephus makes the episode start a chain reaction: a conspiracy was formed against Herod's life by a group of Jews opposed to his innovations; it was discovered by one of his spies and the conspirators were executed; the spy was then caught and lynched; this opened Herod's eyes to the toughness of the opposition

⁷⁷ *AJ* xvii, 161, 175-8, 194; *BJ* i, 659, 666. For Herodian buildings at Jericho see the excavation reports in *ASOR* xxix-xxx (1955); xxxii-xxxiii (1958).

⁷⁸ *AJ* xv, 267-75 (with a protest by Josephus himself at the resultant moral decline). A hippodrome, presupposed by the chariot races, is attested in 4 B.C.—*AJ* xvii, 255; *BJ* ii, 44. There is no archaeological evidence yet for a Herodian theatre within the city walls, and if "in Jerusalem" is to be taken strictly, the theatre discovered half a mile south of the city is not Herod's; see Vincent and Stève, *JAT*, 708-9, suggesting that Herod's theatre occupied the site of the Hadrianic theatre west of the Temple enclosure. The order of Josephus' narrative suggests the early 20s for the first festival, which may well have been made to coincide with the four-yearly Actian Games; the use of the Actian era in *BJ* i, 398 would have been pointless unless it corresponded to an era known in Palestine. Cf. Otto, 64, note; Schalit, 371. For September, 27 (not 28) as the first Actiad see B. M. Tidman in *CQ* xliv (1950), 123-5.

⁷⁹ Philo, a practising Jew, attended a performance of a Greek play—*Prob.* 141.

⁸⁰ *AJ* xv, 272, 276-9.

facing him, and he planned his system of fortresses to forestall rebellion.⁸¹

In decorating his theatre with memorials of Augustus Herod was keeping his subjects aware of the overlordship of Rome, as was his duty. This overlordship involved specific obligations, of which one was almost certainly the payment of regular tribute, though the question is obscure for lack of explicit information. Tribute had been imposed by Pompey in 63 and regulated by Caesar in 47, and the triumvirs had appointed Herod king in 40 on existing tributary terms.⁸² There are no references to financial obligations in the context of Octavian's ratification of Herod's position or to the payment of tribute to Rome at any point during his reign, and in the complaints made about taxes immediately after his death not a word was said about Roman exactions. But the *argumentum ex silentio* in this case seems to point to the retention of tribute after 30, not to its abolition. Had it been abolished then or later, the benefaction would hardly have gone unrecorded; and the state of the Roman exchequer in 30 gave little incentive to forego any source of revenue. The census held in Palestine on Augustus' orders c. 6 B.C., if taken at its face value, supports this by implying that Herod was under some financial obligation to Rome, though in his internal financial administration he seems to have had a free hand.⁸³

Roman overlordship meant military obligations also. Herod was allowed to maintain a standing army, for internal security and for use in Rome's service when required. The bulk of the army which had fought against Malchus in 32-31 seems to have been Jewish.⁸⁴ But though some Jews may have served in Herod's permanent standing army, its core was three thousand non-Jewish troops recruited from Sebaste, and it included a considerable number of Idumaeans and small contingents of foreign mercenaries—four hundred Gauls who had previously served under Cleopatra, and some Thracians and Germans.⁸⁵ In 26 Herod contributed five hundred men from his body-

⁸¹ *AJ* xv, 280-91. The chronology is dubious, as some of the fortresses were certainly already in existence by 27, the earliest possible date for the episode of the trophies.

⁸² App., *BC* v, 75 ἐπὶ φόροις τοῖς τεταγμένοις.

⁸³ For full discussion see Schalit, 262-98; cf. Schürer, I (rev.), 406-7; Otto, 55; Momigliano, *Ricerche*, 43 (350). On the highly controversial question of the census in *Luke* ii, 1-2 see Appendix E.

⁸⁴ *AJ* xv, 111-54; *BJ* i, 366-85. Herod's army is regularly called simply οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι.

⁸⁵ Sebasteni—*BJ* ii, 52. Idumaeans—§ 55; and below, p. 97. Foreign

guard to the Arabian campaign of Aelius Gallus, prefect of Egypt; ⁸⁶ and in the spring of 14, when M. Vipsanius Agrippa mounted a naval expedition against the Bosporan kingdom, Herod in person took his newly built fleet to assist him.⁸⁷ On both occasions his help was no doubt requisitioned, and he was doing no more than his duty; but he did it with alacrity and enthusiasm because it offered a welcome opportunity to lay up credit with Rome by a display of efficiency and a practical proof of his loyalty.

The decade after Actium saw two enlargements of Herod's kingdom, clear indications of Roman satisfaction with his rule. Octavian had apparently appointed Zenodorus, son of Lysanias of Chalcis whom Antony had executed,⁸⁸ tetrarch of his father's Transjordanian territories of Auranitis, Trachonitis, Batanaea, Paneas, Ulatha and Gaulanitis.⁸⁹ Zenodorus added to his legal revenues by allowing the brigands who infested the tortuous gullies of Trachonitis to raid the territory of the wealthy commercial city of Damascus in return for a share of the loot. In 23 Damascus protested to Rome. Zenodorus, guessing the outcome, made hasty provision for a financially comfortable retirement by selling Auranitis to Nabataea. In reply to Damascus' appeal Augustus instructed the legate of Syria to transfer not only Trachonitis to Herod's kingdom, but also Auranitis (a rugged mountainous area no less hospitable to brigands) and the fertile agricultural plain of Batanaea, which would give some benefit to offset the problems confronting him in the other districts. Herod thus acquired a large and wholly pagan tract of territory, not contiguous

troops—*AJ* xv, 217; xvii, 198; *BJ* i, 397, 672. The troops which deserted to the rebels shortly after Herod's death, however (below, p. 111), may have been Jews. For full discussion of Herod's army and military policy see Schalit, 167-83.

⁸⁶ *AJ* xv, 317; *Str.* xvi, 4, 22-4; cf. *RG* 26; Dio liii, 29, 3-8; Pliny, *NH* vi, 160. Josephus synchronizes the expedition roughly with the famine of 25/4 (above, p. 77, n. 55). But see S. Jameson for dating it to 26/5 rather than to 25/4, the generally accepted year—in *JRS* lviii (1968), 72-8.

⁸⁷ *AJ* xvi, 16-21 (giving the impression that Herod offered his services spontaneously); cf. Dio liv, 24, 4-7.

⁸⁸ See above, p. 61.

⁸⁹ *AJ* xv, 344; *BJ* i, 398. On the territories see Schürer, I (rev.), 336, n. 2. No date is given, and Zenodorus may have previously leased the territory from Cleopatra. His recognition by Octavian is not stated explicitly; but see *AJ* xv, 349 and 352 referring to his ἐπαρχία, Dio liv, 9, 3 Ζηνοδώρου τινος τετραρχίαν, and coins with the legend Ζηνοδώρου τετράρχου καὶ ἀρχιερέως, apparently dated between 32 and 25 B.C.—*BMC, Galatia* . . . , 281; cf. Schürer, I (rev.), 565-6. Chalcis may also have come under Zenodorus, though it is not mentioned among his domains.

with the rest of his kingdom, and Zenodorus was left with only the strip of land immediately east of the Jordan, the districts of Paneas, Ulatha and probably Gaulanitis. The choice of Herod with his previous experience against brigandage to subdue a difficult tract of country was wise, since the annexation of the area to Syria would have placed on the legate the heavy burden of campaigning in a type of country unsuitable for legions; and Herod quickly justified it by reducing the Trachonites to order. But in making these arrangements Augustus had ignored Zenodorus' sale of Auranitis, and guerilla operations ensued when the Nabataeans attempted to take possession of what they, not unreasonably, regarded as their property.⁹⁰ Herod refused to be provoked into war, and soon received his reward: when Zenodorus died in 20, he fell heir to the rest of his domains.⁹¹ With this acquisition, uniting Herod's new territory to his old, his kingdom, larger than any Jewish kingdom since the time of David, reached its final limits. Herod expressed his gratitude by immediately building a temple of the imperial cult in Panion. But at the same time he obtained Augustus' permission to lighten his own administrative burden by appointing his brother Pheroras to a responsible yet subordinate post as tetrarch of Peraea with control of its revenues.⁹²

Extensions of territory were not the only indications of Roman confidence in Herod. In 23 Augustus, evidently envisaging at least one further generation of client kings before Palestine was ripe for annexation, gave Herod the high-sounding right to nominate his successor from among his sons.⁹³ (In practice, however, it meant little; it did not amount to declaring the throne hereditary in the normal sense, since events were to show that Herod's choice was subject to Roman ratification.) In 20 Augustus appointed Herod financial adviser to the province of Syria with power to supervise all actions by the procurators there;⁹⁴ but what this amounted to in practice is

⁹⁰ *AJ* xv, 343-53; *BJ* i, 398-9, dating the transfer to the end of the first Actiad, i.e. late in 23 (above, p. 84, n. 78). Gaulanitis is not mentioned, but was presumably retained by Zenodorus, whose territory separated Herod's acquisitions from Galilee—*AJ* xv, 360. For the pagan character of Auranitis, etc. with their various Syrian and Arabian deities see D. Sourdél, *Les cultes du Hauran à l'époque romaine* (1952).

⁹¹ *AJ* xv, 359-60 (linked with Augustus' visit to Syria in 20; below, p. 88); *BJ* i, 400.

⁹² *AJ* xv, 362; *BJ* i, 483. Cf. the position of Herod and Phasael as tetrarchs in 41 (above, p. 50).

⁹³ *AJ* xv, 343. Cf. below, p. 90. For discussion see Schalit, 159-61.

⁹⁴ *AJ* xv, 360; *BJ* i, 399, making Herod himself *Συρίας ὅλης ἐπίτροπος* in

obscure, as there is no record of his advice being either proffered or sought.

Even if a pinch of salt is needed with Josephus' declaration that Herod "ranked after Agrippa in Augustus' affection and after Augustus in Agrippa's",⁹⁵ he certainly was on good terms personally with Augustus and his minister and seized every opportunity of keeping in close touch with both. During Agrippa's first eastern command, 23-21, Herod paid a visit to him at his headquarters in Mitylene, which cemented the friendship dating either from Herod's visit to Rome in 40 or from his meeting with Octavian after Actium.⁹⁶ In 20 he met Augustus in Syria, though in somewhat inauspicious circumstances. Gadara in the Decapolis, restored to Herod's rule in 30, wanted to be transferred back to Syria, but a delegation sent to Agrippa in 21 with complaints against Herod had been dismissed unheard. Encouraged by Zenodorus (understandably no friend of Herod), Gadara now appealed to Augustus. But Herod satisfactorily rebutted the charges of oppression and violence, and emerged from the minor crisis with an untarnished reputation and the acquisition of Zenodorus' territory.⁹⁷ In the autumn of 15, during Agrippa's second eastern command, Herod entertained him in Palestine and spared no trouble to impress him. After a sight-seeing tour of Caesarea, Sebaste, and three of the fortress-palaces, he took him to Jerusalem, where the rebuilding of the Temple⁹⁸ had probably just been completed. The visit was a resounding success: the people of Jerusalem welcomed Agrippa with enthusiasm, and he found the ritual of the daily services in the Temple and the solemnity of the Feast of Tabernacles with the High Priest officiating in his ceremonial vestments so fascinating that he paid for the sacrifice of a hecatomb and presented gifts to the Temple.⁹⁹ The following year, after Agrippa's successful Bospo-

addition. But this is clearly absurd. Possibly Σ.δ. is an error for Κοιλῆς Σ. and Herod was given some specific control over the Decapolis (cf. his posts there in 46 and 43; above, pp. 45, 47). Cf. Otto, 71, note.

⁹⁵ *BJ* i, 400 (significantly, in Josephus' more pro-Herodian work).

⁹⁶ *AJ* xv, 350, implying previous friendship.

⁹⁷ *AJ* xv, 351, 354-9, giving the date as after the end of Herod's seventeenth year = 21/0 counted from 37; Dio liv, 7, 4 gives the consular date. The sole known Augustan coin of Gadara, dated year 44 of the local era, 64/3 B.C., may have been struck by Herod to commemorate the imperial vindication; see F. de Saulcy, *La numismatique de la Terre Sainte* (1874), 295.

⁹⁸ See below, pp. 91-4.

⁹⁹ *AJ* xvi, 12-15 (the autumn before the Bospoan campaign, § 16), 55; *Leg.* 294-7 (with the reference to the High Priest in his vestments indicating one of the major festivals). On the chronology of Agrippa's second command

campaign, he and Herod travelled back together through Asia Minor to the Aegean, where the Jews of Ionia took advantage of the obvious friendship between Augustus' second-in-command and the king of their homeland to appeal to them for redress from local gentile attacks on their religious liberty, now guaranteed by Roman legislation.¹⁰⁰ The two friends met again briefly just before Agrippa's return home in 13, when Herod brought his eldest son to accompany Agrippa to Rome.¹⁰¹ At some point during Agrippa's three years in the East, Herod honoured him by re-founding Anthedon as Agrippias (or Agrippion).¹⁰²

Herod's sons formed a useful means of maintaining direct contact with the imperial court. Mariamme's sons were sent to Rome c. 23 as young adolescents to be educated and trained for the throne, and received every kindness from the emperor.¹⁰³ When their studies were completed, Herod took the opportunity of visiting Rome to fetch them, probably in 16, and was entertained generously by Augustus.¹⁰⁴

see M. Reinhold, *M. Agrippa, a Biography* (1933), 106-23. The offering of sacrifice in the Temple by gentiles was permitted and regulated—I *Kings* viii, 41-3; *Mish. Shek.* vii, 6; *BJ* ii, 409, 413-15; v, 15-17. For other specific instances see *Ap.* ii, 48; *AJ* xiii, 241-4; below, pp. 172, 291. Alexander the Great's sacrifice is legendary (above, p. 1), but its inclusion in the tradition shows that such an action would have been natural, and Augustus' commendation of his grandson Gaius for not worshipping in the Temple in A.D. 1 (below, p. 117) carries the same implication. On gentile participation in the Temple-cult in general see Schürer, II, 357-60.

¹⁰⁰ See further below, pp. 140-1.

¹⁰¹ *AJ* xvi, 86. § 278 erroneously makes Herod take Antipater to the court on his visit in 12 (below). Cf. below, p. 100.

¹⁰² *AJ* xiii, 357; *BJ* i, 87, 416; *Chron. Pasch.* I, 367, putting the foundation of Caesarea, Sebaste and Agrippias under the 3rd year of the 191st Olympiad (16-12 B.C.) and the consuls of 12. Though confused, this indication of date is credible for Agrippias. For a possible coin with the new name see *BMC, Pal.*, xlvii. Herod had previously honoured Agrippa by naming one of the suites in his palace and a gate in the rebuilt Temple after him—*AJ* xv, 319; *BJ* i, 416.

¹⁰³ *AJ* xv, 342-3 (vaguely synchronized with Herod's acquisition of Aurantius, etc.) The princes' host Pollio is generally identified as C. Asinius Pollio, the addressee of Vergil, *Ecl.* iv, who as consul in 40 had officiated at the sacrifice to celebrate Herod's appointment as king. L. H. Feldman suggests that he was interested in Judaism, and was chosen as host because the practice of Judaism would be easier in his house than in the palace—in *TAPA* lxxxiv (1953), 73-80. But P. Vedius Pollio is a possibility; see M. Grant, *Herod the Great* (1971), 145.

¹⁰⁴ *AJ* xvi, 6. The visit occurred between Augustus' return from Syria in the summer of 19 and his departure for Gaul in the summer of 16, and probably late in that period. The two oldest sons (the third died in Rome—*BJ* i, 435) are likely to have been born between 36 and 34, and their education will not have been considered complete before they were eighteen or twenty. Cf. above, p. 81, n. 66.

It is not impossible that on this occasion he took home with him the gold vessels which Augustus and Livia presented to his rebuilt Temple.¹⁰⁵ Herod's son by his first wife, Antipater, went to the imperial court in 13 (above), and younger sons followed later.

In 12 Herod paid his second and last visit to Rome as king, on a less happy errand—to sort out before Augustus the first of the series of family quarrels which darkened his last years.¹⁰⁶ Despite this public washing of Herodian dirty linen, not calculated to make a good impression on an emperor concerned to reinstate such old Roman virtues as family honour, Herod and he parted on excellent terms with a mutually satisfactory commercial transaction (represented by Josephus as an exchange of gifts on a Homeric scale): Augustus sold to Herod the control and the revenues of half the copper-mines on Cyprus in return for three hundred talents in ready cash to help pay for the *congiarium* then being distributed. Less tangible evidence of Augustus' continued confidence was his confirmation of Herod's right to nominate his successor, with now the alternative of dividing his kingdom between several sons, if he wished.¹⁰⁷

Herod could not hold his throne by imperial goodwill alone. As king of the Jews, whatever his religious convictions or lack of them, he had to establish a *modus vivendi* with his subjects, and this involved, *inter alia*, settling the problem of the political relationship between the High Priesthood and the secular monarchy. The prestige of the High Priesthood, ranking higher than the throne in the eyes of strict Jews, was such that it was essential for Herod to ensure that it was held by a man who would use his influence for and not against him. Whether he proposed to make the post terminable instead of lifelong as soon as he took it out of Hasmonaeen hands cannot be said, but he must have intended that it should cease to be hereditary, lest any family should become a rival to his own by permanent tenure. Ananel, re-appointed in 36, may have died in office; another High Priest, a man of a different family, appears some twelve years later, but without

¹⁰⁵ *Leg.* 157, 319; *BJ* v, 562-3, implying that later emperors also presented gifts. No date is indicated for Augustus' gift, but cf. his subvention at the inauguration of Caesarea (above, pp. 79-80).

¹⁰⁶ See below, p. 100.

¹⁰⁷ *AJ* xvi, 90 ff., 128-9. Marcus' translation of § 128 τῆς ἡμισείας τὴν ἐπιμελείαν as "the management of the other half" is unjustified and illogical; Herod surely did not control the half in which he had no financial interest; cf. Otto, 90. The *congiarium* given in the second half of 12 (*RG* 15; Dio liv, 29, 4) dates Herod's visit; cf. Corbishley, *Chronology*, 30-2.

introduction or explanation.¹⁰⁸ But at that point at any rate the principle of terminable appointments was established, when Herod realized that the High Priesthood could be a useful pawn in the political game. He had fallen in love with another Mariamme, but her rank was an obstacle to marriage, as a mere Alexandrian priest could hardly be a king's father-in-law. A High Priest, however, would be a father-in-law of eminently suitable rank, and such a marriage alliance could well improve Herod's own standing in Jewish eyes by suggesting respect for and interest in Judaism. He therefore deposed the present incumbent and appointed Mariamme's father, Simon son of Boethus, c. 23.¹⁰⁹ Simon's fortunes as High Priest were henceforth bound up with his daughter's, and when in 5 B.C. she was divorced on a charge of complicity in a plot to poison Herod, it was inevitable that her father, whether under suspicion or not, should lose his post.¹¹⁰ But the old idea of a High Priestly family, though with the succession not necessarily passing from father to son, now reasserted itself despite the unpropitious conditions: Simon's successor Matthias was related to him by marriage; when he was deposed after only a year, it was the brother of the disgraced Simon who took his place, Joazar, who was to play an important political role after Herod's death; another brother then had a short tenure, and the Boethid family, though by no means enjoying a monopoly, provided several more High Priests in the mid-first century A.D.¹¹¹

Herod made one great bid to win the popularity which would be his best guarantee of security among his Jewish subjects. In 23/22 he undertook the elaborate and costly project of replacing the poor post-Exilic Temple by a new one on a lavish scale, at his own expense. His proposal was greeted, not with the anticipated enthusiasm, but with

¹⁰⁸ *AJ* xv, 322.

¹⁰⁹ *AJ* xv, 319-22, putting the marriage after Aelius Gallus' Arabian expedition (above, p. 86) but without clear indication of the interval. The famine followed the expedition (above, p. 77, n. 55), and the marriage festivities will probably not have taken place until the country had recovered, i.e. c. 23.

¹¹⁰ *AJ* xvii, 78.

¹¹¹ *AJ* xvii, 164-7. Josephus' evidence for the relationship between the members of Boethus' family is confused. For an attempt at a solution see the present writer in *JThS*² xiii (1962), 32-4, arguing that Simon and Joazar were brothers rather than father and son, and Matthias therefore the brother-in-law of both. (Hänsler in *Das heilige Land* lvii (1913), 92-5, 129-44, using ossuaries to reconstruct the family tree, has proved inaccessible.) For Joazar see below, pp. 105-6, 114-16, 152-3, 155; cf. E. Bammel in *ZDPV* xc (1974), 81-6. For his brother see *AJ* xvii, 339; for later members of the family see *AJ* xix, 297-8, 342.

the suspicion that it was a covert attack on Judaism, a ruse to demolish the existing Temple and leave the city without one. But Herod, with an eye to winning eternal fame as a builder for himself and perhaps to enlisting divine support for his reign by an expensive dedication, had no deceit in mind, and the project was carried through during the following eight or ten years.¹¹² He would no doubt have liked to re-design the Temple on Greek architectural lines, but this he dared not do; the traditional plan and dimensions of Solomon's Temple¹¹³ had to be followed as far as was practicable, to make the new Temple acceptable to Jewish conservatism. The figures given in the Old Testament probably contained a fair number of corruptions, for (if Josephus' own figures as transmitted are correct) they produced a building of by no means graceful and harmonious proportions, a tall T-shaped structure, with the sanctuary and the Holy of Holies running east-west to form the upright, and an enormous flat porch with a façade 150 feet square across the eastern end as the horizontal. But Herod did his best to distract attention from its peculiarities by individual features of breath-taking size and magnificence—huge doors surmounted by a golden vine with grape clusters as big as a man (replacing the vine given to Pompey by Aristobulus in 64), a vast Babylonian tapestry, and, in addition to the dazzling white marble of the exterior walls, a liberal amount of gold plating.¹¹⁴

¹¹² *AJ* xv, 380-90, dating the commencement of the work to Herod's 18th year; in the context the count seems to be from 37 (cf. § 354; above, p. 88, n. 97), giving the year as 20/19, which is widely accepted. *BJ* i, 401, however, dates it to his 15th year. Corbishley, *Chronology*, 26-7, resolves the discrepancy on his double-dating theory: the 18th year counted from 40, 23/2, was the 15th counted from 37. Two small points favour 23/2 over 20/19 for the commencement: (1) Herod had then just deposed a High Priest, and may have hoped to drown protests against illegality (cf. the protests in 37; above, p. 65) in a chorus of approval for the proposed new Temple. (2) The building of the Temple itself took eighteen months and that of the courts and porticoes eight years—*AJ* xv, 420-1. It is not clear whether Josephus means a total building time of nine years and a half, or one of eight years with the first eighteen months spent on the Temple. If the latter, the work was finished in 15/4, or 16/5 by inclusive reckoning. Agrippa's visit to Jerusalem (above, p. 88) would have had more point if Herod's masterpiece had just been completed than if the work was still in progress, as it would certainly have been if not begun till 20/9. On the forty-six years of *John* ii, 20 and the completion of the Temple in the 60s A.D. see below, p. 282, n. 89.

¹¹³ *II Chron.* iii-iv; cf. *I Kings* vi, 2-3.

¹¹⁴ *AJ* xv, 391-5; *BJ* v, 207-24; cf. *BT BB* 4a; *Sukk.* 51b. The dimensions given in *Mish. Midd.* iv (codified over a century after the destruction of the Temple) do not all agree with those of Josephus, but they produce a similar overall picture. There can be no reasonable doubt that Herod's Temple occupied

In re-designing the enclosure Herod was hampered less by Jewish tradition and was even more eager to impress both his subjects and foreigners with his magnificence and generosity. For only the inner courts, the complex immediately surrounding the Temple, was reserved for Jews alone, with Greek and Latin inscriptions on the stone balustrade marking off the sacred precinct forbidding gentiles to pass through on pain of death;¹¹⁵ the outer court¹¹⁶ was open to Jew and gentile alike. The enclosure was extended, certainly on the south and most probably on the north also, to bring the Temple defences into close relation with the Antonia.¹¹⁷ The southward extension entailed a major engineering operation, as the sloping ground had to be levelled up on vast vaulted substructures to form a flat platform, which in turn was supported by a massive retaining wall of handsome ashlar masonry.¹¹⁸ Round the inner side of the wall ran a continuous colon-

exactly the same holy site as its predecessors. There is no archaeological evidence for or against the common assumption that that site was the highest point of the hill, where the Dome of the Rock now stands, but the construction of courts round all sides of the Temple except the west suggests that it stood near the west wall of the enclosure, as does the Dome; cf. below, p. 323, n. 131. For detailed discussion of the plan and architecture of the Temple and the surrounding courts, and of the innumerable problems involved see, e.g., Vigouroux, *Dict. Bible*, s.v. *Temple*, 2051-68; *JE*, s.v. *Temple*; Simons, *JOT*, 381-409; Vincent and Stève, *JAT*, 496-525; F. J. Hollis, *The Archaeology of Herod's Temple* (1934), 103-348, including a commentary on *Middoth*, which is also studied by L. H. Vincent in *RB* lxi (1954), 5-35, 398-418; Schalit, 372-97.

¹¹⁵ *AJ* xv, 417-19; *BJ* v, 193-206; vi, 124-6; *Leg.* 212; cf. *Mish. Midd.* ii, 3; *Kelim* i, 8; *Acts* xxi, 28-31. One complete copy of the Greek text survives—*CIJ* 1400 = *OGIS* 598 μηθένα ἀλλογενῇ εἰσπορεύεσθαι ἐντὸς τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τρυφάκτου καὶ περιβάλου. ὃς δ' ἂν ληφθῇ ἑαυτῷ αἴτιος ἔσται διὰ τὸ ἐξακολουθεῖν θάνατον. For photographs see also *RB* xxx (1921), plate IV: Jones, *Herods*, plate 4. Cf. *SEG* VIII, 169, a fragment of a second copy. No copies of the Latin version have been found. For discussion see E. J. Bickerman in *JQR*² xxxvii (1946-7), 387-405.

¹¹⁶ The popular term the "Court of the Gentiles" lacks ancient authority.

¹¹⁷ No definite archaeological evidence has yet been found for the north wall of Herod's Temple enclosure, but details in the account of Titus' siege show that it adjoined the Antonia, whereas the previous north wall had apparently run further south, and not been linked to the Baris. Evidence for the southward extension comes in a vertical joint between Herodian and pre-Herodian masonry in the east wall, some 30 yards north of the south-east angle of the enclosure; see K. M. Kenyon in *PEQ* c (1968), 105 and Pl. 37.

¹¹⁸ *AJ* xv, 396-402; *BJ* v, 184-9. For the substructures, "Solomon's Stables" (of Crusader date in their present form but basically Herodian), see Kenyon, *Jerusalem*, plate 64. For the enclosure walls see *ibid.*, 139-44. For the surviving parts of the wall see below, pp. 327-8. Many isolated Herodian blocks can also be seen, re-used in the walls of the Haram es-Sherif. The dimensions of the Herodian stones, however, fall short of Josephus' 40 cubits = 60 feet; the

nade, and here Herod evidently felt free to build on purely Hellenistic lines, with lofty Corinthian columns and carved cedarwood ceilings. From the western colonnade a viaduct linked the Temple to the Upper City, and from the end of the exceptionally lavish "royal portico" on the south a monumental stairway led down to a broad street running along the foot of the western wall.¹¹⁹ It was largely owing to Herod that the elder Pliny could describe Jerusalem as "easily the most outstanding city in the East",¹²⁰ and the Temple was not the least of its glories.

Such was Herod's gift to his Jewish subjects, and the care and expense lavished on it suggest that it was complementary to his introduction of Hellenistic features into Palestine, and that his policy of Hellenization did not entail the suppression of Judaism but rather the breakdown of Jewish exclusiveness and aloofness by a fusion of Hellenism with Judaism. The Jews were to preserve their religious identity with the Temple as the focal point for Palestine and the Diaspora alike, but Greek culture was to stand side by side with Jewish. At the same time, his benefactions to foreign cities may have been aimed at offsetting in the eyes of the world the implication inherent in his expenditure on the Temple that his heart was in Judaism.¹²¹

The new Temple, Herod's most ostentatious work for the glory of Judaism, was probably not his only one. It was almost certainly he who made a monumental sanctuary of the traditional burial-place of the patriarchs at Hebron by surrounding it with a magnificent rectangular enclosure which still stands as the Haram wall, and started a similar project at Mambre, two miles to the north, a site associated with Abraham—acts of piety which would bring him little kudos except

longest known is just under 40 feet long. Similarly the wall at its highest, at the south east angle, is c. 130 feet from bedrock ; but Josephus' 300 cubits = 450 feet may be measured from the bottom of the Kidron. For fuller discussion of the enclosure see Vincent and Stève, *JAT*, 526-86 ; Simons, *JOT*, 344-81, 409-36 ; Hollis, *op. cit.*, 29-99.

¹¹⁹ *AJ* xv, 396, 410-16 ; *BJ* v, 190-2. The first and tallest arch of the viaduct survives, "Wilson's arch" (named after its nineteenth-century discoverer) under the present Bab el-Silsileh north of the Wailing Wall ; see Simons, *JOT*, 360-7, 423-7 ; and for recent work W. F. Stinespring in *Bibl. Arch.* xxix (1966), 27-36 ; xxx (1967), 27-31. On "Robinson's arch" (similarly named) at the southern end of the Wailing Wall, regarded for many years as the first arch of a second viaduct, and the stairway see B. Mazar, *The Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem, Preliminary Report on the Second and Third Seasons, 1969-70* (Israel Explor. Soc., 1974), 13-17 ; *Fourth and Fifth Seasons, 1971-2* (forthcoming).

¹²⁰ *NH* v, 70.

¹²¹ His only dated benefactions, to Chios in 14 and to Olympia probably in 16, coincide closely with the date here postulated for the completion of the Temple.

among the Jews.¹²² As king of the Jews he affected a careful, even if superficial, observance of the Law within the parts of his territory that had a mainly Jewish population. Though he coveted the adulation normally accorded to Hellenistic kings, such as statues, dedications and some degree of worship,¹²³ he knew better than to demand it from his Jewish subjects. The sole statue base, indeed the sole inscription, in his honour found within his frontiers comes from a temple in non-Jewish Auranitis.¹²⁴ He did not put his portrait on his coins, but used designs inoffensive to Jews, some of them based on Hasmonaeen coin-types such as the double cornucopiae, the wreath, the anchor and the helmet.¹²⁵ He had priests trained as masons and carpenters for the rebuilding of the Temple (as distinct from the surrounding courts), so that no secular foot should defile the sacred area.¹²⁶ He made sure that his abstinence from pork was known, as Augustus' cynical joke, made apropos of the executions in his family, shows—"I would rather be Herod's pig than his son."¹²⁷ And he gave up a politically valuable marriage alliance out of deference to Jewish views on circumcision.

This happened, surprisingly, fairly late in Herod's reign, when in many ways he was showing little respect for his subjects' feelings. Syllaeus, a Nabataean plenipotentiary, who had been the real power in the land since Malchus had been succeeded by the elderly and indolent Obodas *c.* 30, was at Herod's court some time before 12 B.C. and fell in love with Salome, a widow since *c.* 27. Herod approved of the match in principle; it would obviously be useful in easing the long-standing tension between his kingdom and Nabataea. But he made it a condition of the marriage that Syllaeus should adopt the Jewish faith. When Syllaeus refused, Herod would not compromise and thus not

¹²² Josephus does not include Hebron in Herod's building programme, or refer to Herodian work there in *Bf* iv, 530-2. But the masonry is attributed to him on stylistic grounds. See Vigouroux, *Dict. Bible*, Suppl. V, s.v. *Macpelah* (the O.T. name for the burial ground); L. H. Vincent and E. J. H. Mackay, *Hébron, le Haram el-Khalil, sépulture des patriarches* (1923), 40-52, 99-114, 142-4; Schalit, 397-8. For Mambre (Ramat el-Khalil), with Hadrianic work above the unfinished Herodian work, see E. Mader, *Mambre* (1957); Vigouroux, *Dict. Bible*, Suppl. V, s.v.

¹²³ *AJ* xvi, 157-8.

¹²⁴ *OGIS* 415 = *IGRR* III, 1243 = Gabba, *Iscr. Bibbia*, 12, from Seia, a few miles from Qanawat (Canatha).

¹²⁵ *BMC, Pal.*, 220-7; Reifenberg, 42-3.

¹²⁶ *AJ* xv, 390, 421.

¹²⁷ Macrobius, *Sat.* ii, 4, 11 *Malleum Herodis porcus esse quam filius*. Latin loses the probable play on $\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ and $\zeta\varsigma$.

only lost an important alliance but stored up serious trouble for himself in Syllaes' bitter hostility.¹²⁸

The Years of Decline

Herod was unfortunate in outliving his own glory and prosperity. The last decade of his reign was clouded by quarrels and intrigues among members of his family, which drove him to condemn three of his sons to death, by open signs of Jewish discontent at his rule which, if existent, had been largely kept underground during the earlier part of his reign, and by the loss, perhaps not fully deserved, of Augustus' confidence as a result of an episode which shows the difficulties facing a client king in preserving the delicate balance between protecting his kingdom adequately and keeping within the limits of his authority.

While Herod was in Italy in 12, a rumour was put about that he had died, and the Trachonites, who resented being debarred by his firm rule from their traditional profession of brigandage and forced to make a more laborious and less lucrative living by agriculture, rose in revolt. Herod's army easily put the rising down, but a handful of rebels escaped to Nabataea, where Syllaes took his revenge for the rejection of his recent suit by providing them with a base from which to raid Palestine and the Decapolis. Josephus' story is that Herod did everything within his power to end the nuisance without overstepping the prerogatives of a client king by going to war, but that when neither reprisals on the families of the raiders nor a demand to Syllaes for their extradition, nor finally an ultimatum from C. Sentius Saturninus, the legate of Syria, had any effect, he obtained the legate's permis-

¹²⁸ *AJ* xvi, 220-5; cf. 322; *BJ* i, 487, 534, 566. Josephus clearly misplaces the episode in putting it after Herod's visit to Rome in 12, as it was during that absence that Syllaes took his revenge. On the chronological confusion in *AJ* xvi, 66-270 and *BJ* i, 445-512 see below, p. 101, n. 145. This single episode apparently forms the basis of the supposed general rule that Herod insisted that gentiles marrying into his family should accept Judaism; see, e.g., Jones, *Herods*, 93; Wikgren, note on *AJ* xvi, 225. In fact the Herodian family intermarried so heavily that few marriages with gentiles occurred, and in the only other recorded case of a mixed marriage contracted during Herod's lifetime, that of his son Alexander to the Cappadocian Glaphyra, the bride is not said to have been required to adopt Judaism, though her defiance of Jewish Law after Herod's death (below, p. 116) does not rule out the possibility that Herod demanded a formal acceptance of Judaism, which she later repudiated. Antipas' marriage to a Nabataean (below, p. 185) may have occurred after Herod's death. See below, p. 273, for a much later case of the circumcision of a non-Jewish bridegroom. Possibly the matter was considered more important in the case of a man than of a woman, who merely underwent a ritual bath and received no physical mark as lasting evidence of her conversion.

sion to invade Nabataea and captured the raiders' stronghold. He then planted a military colony of three thousand Idumaeans in Trachonitis to keep the peace. Meanwhile Syllaeus, foreseeing Herod's reaction to his defiance, had gone to Rome and given a somewhat garbled version of events to Augustus, who then refused to listen to Herod's side of the story, reprimanded him sharply for acting *ultra vires*, and explicitly terminated their personal friendship.¹²⁹ Incompleteness or distortion seems probable here. Such hasty and capricious behaviour was not characteristic of Augustus, and if his previous relations with Herod are accurately portrayed, he might have been expected to pay more attention to him than to Syllaeus. But the much vaunted personal friendship was inevitably conditional on Herod's unquestioning political obedience, and it is possible that he had aroused Augustus' misgivings during recent years by unrecorded acts of undue independence, so that his Nabataean expedition, breaking the *pax Romana* on the eve of the dedication of the Ara Pacis,¹³⁰ was the last straw. The fact that Saturninus was not disgraced suggests that Augustus endorsed his decision but that Herod's vengeance had exceeded what the legate had authorized. A year or two later, however, Augustus had the grace to admit that he had been over-severe, by allowing Nicolas of Damascus to come and state Herod's case. Nicolas managed to convince him that the villain of the piece had been Syllaeus, but despite the superficial reconciliation it immediately became apparent that Augustus' confidence in Herod was not fully restored. Obodas of Nabataea had recently died (probably *c.* 9), and though Augustus, annoyed at the presumption of Aretas IV in taking the throne instead of waiting to have it bestowed on him officially, now contemplated giving the kingdom to Herod, he decided against it, ostensibly on the grounds that Herod with his advancing years and increasing family trouble could not carry the extra responsibility.¹³¹ And when the Trachonite brigands resumed operations with Nabataean assistance and attacked the Idumaeans settlers, Herod no longer dared to take

¹²⁹ *AJ* xvi, 271-94. Possibly one of the Idumaeans settlers was responsible for the dedication to Herod mentioned above, p. 95, n. 124. For 'Ιουδ(αί)ων μνημα on a lintel at Chohba in Trachonitis see M. Dunand in *Syria* vii (1926), 329. C. Sentius Saturninus was legate of Syria 9-6 B.C.; see P.-W., s.v. *Sentius* 9, 1515-20. Volumnius, represented as his equal colleague in *AJ* xvi, 277, 280, 283, 344, was his procurator; so correctly *BJ* i, 538.

¹³⁰ It was dedicated in 9 B.C.—*Inscr. Ital.* XIII, i, 117 (*Fasti Praenestini*).

¹³¹ *AJ* xvi, 294-9, 335-55. If Syllaeus was condemned to death (§ 352), he was reprieved; he was still alive in 5 B.C.—*AJ* xvii, 54-7, 63; *BJ* i, 583. Obodas' death is not precisely dated.

active steps against them and could only attempt to contain the menace by inviting a group of Babylonian Jews, including five hundred cavalry who had emigrated to Syria between 9 and 6 B.C., to settle at Bathyra in Batanaea as a military colony forming a buffer between the brigands and Galilee, on the favourable terms of complete tax-exemption in return for their services.¹³²

Herod's fall from imperial favour led to an internal conflict which brought Pharisaic hostility to a head. Many years earlier Herod had imposed an oath of allegiance to himself, a feature of Hellenistic monarchy, on his subjects; most had acquiesced, but there had been some overt Jewish opposition, and Herod had respected the conscientious objections of the Pharisees and the strict sect of the Essenes to all oaths by exempting them from it.¹³³ Now, late in his reign but possibly before his reconciliation with Augustus, Herod required his subjects to take an oath of allegiance to himself and the emperor jointly. This may equally well have been either a spontaneous gesture aimed at recovering imperial confidence or a test of loyalty demanded of him by Augustus, since the oath recalls the provincial oaths of loyalty apparently introduced at about this time (the earliest known example is dated 4/3 B.C.¹³⁴). Renewed protest was inevitable, especially with the emperor's name included, and six thousand Pharisees again refused to swear. But on this occasion they were fined for their obstinacy.¹³⁵ For conciliation and leniency towards anything that

¹³² *AJ* xvii, 23-7 (for Saturninus' dates see above, p. 97, n. 129); cf. *V* 54-61 for the colony as late as A.D. 66. Bathyra may be the modern Basir, 4 miles east of Sanamein, commanding the western exits from Trachonitis; see Wikgren, note on *AJ* xvii, 26; R. Dussaud, *Topographie Historique de la Syrie* (1927), 330-1. Eus., *Onom.* (*GCS* Eus. III, 136), lists as a Jewish city Nineveh in "Arabia", identified with Nawa, 15 miles south-west of Sanamein; see Dussaud, 341. It may have been the base of a garrison dependent on that at Bathyra. On the Babylonian Jews cf. below, pp. 360, 415.

¹³³ *AJ* xv, 368-71, dated by its position c. 20 B.C. For the monastic sect of the Essenes see *AJ* xiii, 172; xviii, 18-22; *BJ* ii, 119-61; Philo, *Prob.* 75-91; *Hypoth.* (*Apol.*) 11, 1-18; cf. Pliny, *NH* v, 72. For discussion see P.-W., Suppl. IV, s.v. *Essener*; J. W. Lightley, *Jewish Sects in the Time of Jesus* (1925), 270-322; Baron, II, 48-51; Driver, *Scrolls*, 100-21. The community of Khirbet Qumran is generally believed to have been Essene.

¹³⁴ *ILS* 8781 = *IGRR* III, 137 = *OGIS* 532 (Paphlagonia).

¹³⁵ *AJ* xvii, 42, mentioning the episode in passing in connection with events after the execution of Mariamme's sons c. 7 B.C. (below, p. 101); it may have occurred a year or two earlier. Against Otto, 61-2, note, arguing that this passage is a doublet of xv, 368-71, see A. Momigliano in *CAH* X, 329, n. 3; Schalit, 316-19; cf. G. Allon in *Scr. Hier.* vii (1961), 67-70, arguing that the Pharisees opposed Herod throughout his reign. For discussion of the character of the oaths see P. Herrmann, *Der römische Kaisereid* (1968), 98-9.

savoured of anti-Roman sentiment were now out of the question, after the recent break with Augustus had put Herod's throne in jeopardy.

A further conflict with the Pharisees occurred late in 5 B.C. Two popular rabbis incited a group of their pupils to destroy a golden eagle which Herod had placed over the Temple doorway, on the grounds that representational art was forbidden by the Law, at least in the Temple. Herod's response was to arrest and execute the rabbis and their pupils, and also to depose the High Priest Matthias as being ultimately responsible for their action in not preventing it.¹³⁶ The precise nature of the objection is not made explicit. There seems to be no doubt that all representations of the human form were forbidden by Jewish Law even in non-religious contexts, as witness the episode of the trophies in the theatre in Jerusalem. But it was "graven images" designed for worship, not representations of animals, plants and other natural objects as such, that the Second Commandment forbade, and though human figures were avoided, purely decorative animal figures were permitted even in religious contexts; they had been used in Solomon's Temple as well as on his throne and in the palace of Hyrcanus I, and were to be used later in the palace of Herod's son Antipas in Galilee.¹³⁷ There is no record of any protest against Herod's use of the Ptolemaic coin-type of an eagle.¹³⁸ The Temple eagle must therefore have had some offensive connotation—perhaps simply as the legionary emblem, the symbol of Roman might, and thus an affront to Jewish national sentiment.¹³⁹

¹³⁶ *AJ* xvii, 149-67; *BJ* i, 648-55. On the eclipse of the moon at the time see below, p. 104, n. 158.

¹³⁷ I *Kings* x, 19-20; II *Chron.* iv, 3; *AJ* viii, 195 (where Josephus protests against the animal decorations in the Temple but not against those on the throne; cf. *Ap.* ii, 74-5; *AJ* iii, 113, 126 for his insistence that the Tabernacle had no animal figures); xii, 230; *V* 65. *AJ* xv, 416 speaks of wooden relief-carvings, of unspecified subjects, in the porticoes of Herod's Temple; *BJ* v, 191 denies that there were ζωογραφία there. The statues of Agrippa I's daughters were in non-Jewish cities—*AJ* xix, 356-7. For later rabbinic discussion on the types of image permitted and not permitted see *BT AZ* 40b-41a; *JT AZ* iii, 1 (Schwab XI, 206-9).

¹³⁸ *BMC, Pal.*, 220; Reifenberg, 43.

¹³⁹ Against Otto, 109-10, suggesting that the eagle, as the Seleucid symbol of apotheosis, represented Herod's aspiration to that posthumous reward, see Schalit, 458-9, 734, stressing Herod's respect for Judaism and hence his careful avoidance of anything implying pagan cult in his Jewish territory. C. Roth argues that the martyrdom added weight to the views of the two rabbis, and that their condemnation of a particular animal figure led to a general but short-lived prohibition of animal figures in A.D. 66-70, which Josephus read back even into O.T. times—in *HTbR* xlix (1956), 169-77. For copious evidence for Jewish art see Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*.

Herod died not long after this, in the spring of 4 B.C., and after considerable wrangling his kingdom was divided between three of his sons. This partition was the result of the bitter and complicated dynastic intrigues within his family which darkened his last years.¹⁴⁰ Until c. 13 the succession was in no doubt. Antipater, Herod's son by his first wife, a commoner, had been banished from the court, apparently in the 30s,¹⁴¹ and his sons by the Hasmonaean Mariamme, Alexander and Aristobulus, who united the old and the new royal families, were being groomed to be his heirs despite their mother's downfall. But on their return home after their education in Rome they displayed a tactless arrogance which gave deep offence and aroused bitter enmity, and with a remarkable lack of forethought defended their mother as the innocent victim of Herod's malice so outspokenly that they were believed to be planning to avenge her death on their father. Late in 14 Herod was informed that during his absence with Agrippa earlier in the year ¹⁴² they had hatched a plot against him. His response was to recall Antipater to court, as a warning to Mariamme's sons not to take their prospects for granted. This merely heightened the tension; bitter hostility and rivalry were inevitable between Antipater and his half-brothers, who now had a further grudge against their father. Antipater played his cards with calculated skill; by insinuations of disloyalty he further undermined the position of Alexander and Aristobulus, and won Herod's confidence so thoroughly that in 13 he was marked out as the heir by being sent to Rome with Agrippa. But he could not feel secure until the Hasmonaean princes were eliminated, and from Rome he kept up the pressure against them until by 12 he had overcome Herod's better judgment and convinced him that they were plotting to dethrone him. Herod, shirking the responsibility of condemning his own sons, or perhaps, as a vassal of Rome, lacking the competence to pass sentence on his possible successors, took them to Italy for formal trial before the emperor. The outcome was their acquittal, since no hard evidence could be produced against them, and Augustus presided over a family reconciliation in which Antipater at least had his tongue in his cheek.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ Josephus devotes a disproportionate amount of space to the suspicions, slanders, quarrels, scandals and investigations which comprised Herod's domestic history. Only the barest summary is given here.

¹⁴¹ *BJ* i, 433.

¹⁴² See above, pp. 86, 89.

¹⁴³ *AJ* xvi, 6-11, 66-127; *BJ* i, 445-54. For the date see above, p. 90, n. 107. On Herod's lack of competence see Schalit, 594.

His machinations had recoiled on his own head by indirectly bringing his half-brothers back into the running, and he had to start afresh when, once back in Palestine, Herod now arranged a compromise for the succession, by which his three sons were to be joint heirs, but with Alexander and Aristobulus apparently in some way subordinate to Antipater.¹⁴⁴ The struggle then continued for some years with growing virulence, in a complicated web of intrigue, deceit, accusation, reconciliation and renewed suspicion, in which Alexander and Aristobulus steadily lost ground,¹⁴⁵ and finally came to a head for the second time *c.* 7 B.C., when Alexander was charged with devising yet another plot against his father's life, with Aristobulus implicated. On this occasion, as *persona non grata* after the Nabataean affair, Herod could not take the matter to the imperial court, but on Augustus' instructions he put both his sons on trial outside his kingdom, at Berytus, before a tribunal including Saturninus legate of Syria, his procurator Volumnius, and other Roman officials. They were condemned to death without being allowed to defend themselves. The charge against them may not have been wholly malicious, even if they had been the focus rather than the originators of a conspiracy. For in the interval between the trial and their execution, signs of disaffection appeared in Herod's army—clear evidence of the princes' popularity but perhaps also an expression of frustration at the failure of plans for a *coup d'état*.¹⁴⁶

For the moment Antipater's position as sole heir seemed reasonably secure, yet as long as Herod still lived his accession was not guaranteed. The sons of Alexander and Aristobulus were too young to be an immediate danger to him, though Herod was already showing an alarming

¹⁴⁴ *AJ* xvi, 133; *BJ* i, 458-9. Antipater's pre-eminence is indicated only vaguely.

¹⁴⁵ *AJ* xvi, 188-270; *BJ* i, 467-512. The implied date is *c.* 11-9. But the Salome-Syllaeus affair, belonging before 12 (above, p. 96, n. 128), is included here, and T. Corbishley seeks to resolve this and other problems in the narrative of the long quarrel between Herod and Mariamme's sons by the hypothesis that this phase of the quarrel is misplaced and actually preceded and gave rise to the trial in 12—in *JRS* xxiv (1934), 43-9. But this solution creates other problems; see A. G. Roos in *Mnem.* ix (1941), 311-13. In assessing Josephus' account of the quarrels the hostility of his source, Nicolas of Damascus, to Antipater must be borne in mind—*AJ* xvii, 106-27; Nicolas, frag. 5 (*FHG* III, pp. 351-2) = frag. 136, 2-3 (*FGrH* IIA, no. 90, p. 423).

¹⁴⁶ *AJ* xvi, 300-35, 356-404; *BJ* i, 513-51. Herod's appeal to Augustus coincided with Nicolas' successful embassy *re* the Nabataean affair (*AJ* xvi, 335), but neither event is dated precisely. As further evidence of the princes' popularity see the impostor who appeared after Herod's death claiming to be Alexander and got widespread support from Jews in Crete, Melos and Rome, though he did not try for it in Palestine—*AJ* xvii, 324-38; *BJ* ii, 101-10.

solicitude for their future by arranging marriages for them;¹⁴⁷ but Antipater had half a dozen younger half-brothers. Polygamy, though not normal, was recognized in Jewish law, and by this time Herod had a harem of nine ladies, including Mariamme II and Antipater's mother Doris, now reinstated, all but two of whom had issue.¹⁴⁸ Mariamme II's one son cannot yet have been more than an adolescent,¹⁴⁹ but Herod had four somewhat older sons, Archelaus and Antipas by one wife or concubine (a Samaritan) and Philip and Herod by another, who were being educated in Rome—ominous evidence that they were in the running as successors.¹⁵⁰ Lest one of them should supplant him, it was essential for Antipater to get his own nomination as sole successor ratified by Augustus and then to murder his father before he changed his mind. But while he was in Rome in 5 B.C. securing the necessary ratification, and incidentally trying to consolidate his position by charging Archelaus and Philip with anti-Herodian propaganda there, the plot which he had set in train against Herod came to light, and he returned to stand trial before Herod's privy council, with which the legate of Syria was associated for the occasion. He was allowed to defend himself, but the verdict of guilty was a foregone conclusion, and he was imprisoned until ratification of the death sentence could be obtained from Augustus. Even then the execution

¹⁴⁷ *AJ* xvii, 12-15; *BJ* i, 556-8.

¹⁴⁸ Polygamy, common before the Exile, had become increasingly rare. It was, however, still officially permitted in Herod's day and later—*AJ* xvii, 14; *Matt.* xxii, 24-8 (younger brothers will hardly have remained celibate in case the elder left a widow)—though the practice was generally discouraged. See further *JE*, s.v. *Polygamy*. For Herod's harem and offspring see *AJ* xvii, 19-22; *BJ* i, 562-3. γαμέω was used of enduring sexual relations outside marriage (see *L.* and *S.*⁹, s.v.) and the only actual marriages recorded for Herod are with Antipater's mother and the two Mariammes. In view of his efforts to raise Mariamme II to suitable rank and the absence of any evidence for the rank of the other five ladies by whom he had issue, they were probably merely concubines. The last two in Josephus' lists, respectively a cousin and a niece, may have ranked as wives because of their birth but were childless.

¹⁴⁹ See above, p. 91, n. 109, for the date of the marriage. This son was successor designate to Antipater for a short time but lost that position (*AJ* xvii, 53, 78; *BJ* i, 573, 588, 600), and his only historical role was that of abandoned husband (below, p. 185).

¹⁵⁰ *AJ* xvii, 20-1. Since three of them took an active part in the events of 4 B.C. and succeeded Herod as independent rulers, his association with their mothers must have begun in the interval between the death of Mariamme I and his marriage with Mariamme II, when he is unlikely to have remained celibate, or even before Mariamme I's death, when relations between them were already strained. The emphasis on their youth in *AJ* xvii, 81 and *BJ* i, 602-4 (5 B.C.) is probably emotional.

was delayed until the following year, only four days before Herod's own death.¹⁵¹

Despite the revelation of Antipater's treachery, it was apparently some time before Herod realized that his attack on Archelaus and Philip had been without foundation, and when he made a fresh will shortly after the trial, he passed them both over and nominated Archelaus' younger brother Antipas as sole successor. In the four days between Antipater's death and his own, however, he amended his will, nominating Archelaus, his oldest surviving son, king of the whole country, with Philip and Antipas in subordinate positions as tetrarchs of Auranitis, Trachonitis and Batanaea and of Galilee and Peraea respectively.¹⁵²

During the last two or three years of his life Herod was suffering from a serious and painful illness causing acute mental instability as well as severe physical degeneration,¹⁵³ and it is charitable to suppose that during that period he was not fully responsible for his actions. Down to c. 7 B.C. he had been a firm, stern ruler, and if the Jews hated him, it was primarily for his Hellenism and his attitude towards Judaism rather than for cruelty or oppression. After the execution of Alexander and Aristobulus, he is depicted as a bloodthirsty tyrant.¹⁵⁴ His ferocious punishment of the people who removed the Temple eagle, some of whom were burnt alive (not a normal method of execution), was out of all proportion to their offence; in Christian tradition he ordered the murder of all boys under two years of age in the hope of eliminating a possible rival, a child reported to have been born "King of the Jews"; and only a few days before his death he is said to have imprisoned a large number of prominent Jews at Jericho and given Salome instructions, which she ignored, to have them killed immediately after his death to ensure that it was greeted with mourning, not jubilation.¹⁵⁵ These stories, especially the last two, are typical

¹⁵¹ *AJ* xvii, 1-145 (with other matters interspersed), 182-3, 187; *BJ* i, 552-645, 663-5.

¹⁵² *AJ* xvii, 146-7, 188-90; *BJ* i, 646, 664, 668-9.

¹⁵³ *AJ* xvii, 168-9; *BJ* i, 656. Herod's complaint has been variously diagnosed as arterio-sclerosis (the most probable), bowel cancer, diabetes, and cirrhosis of the liver; see S. Perowne, *The Life and Times of Herod the Great* (1956), 186; Schalit, 639-40; A. T. Sandison in *Medical History* xi (1967), 381-8.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. the picture of Herod in *Assumptio Mosis* (on which see below, p. 113, n. 34) 6, 3-6.

¹⁵⁵ *AJ* xvii, 174-9, 193; *BJ* i, 659-60, 666. The tale is attributed to Jannaeus by the scholiast on *Megillath Ta'anith* (literally a "calendar of fasts" but actually a list of days on which fasting was forbidden; ed. H. Lichtenstein in *HUCA* viii-ix (1931-2), 257-351) under 2 Shebat (p. 271). For interpretations of the Herod story see Otto, 144; A. Momigliano in *CAH* X, 337; Schalit, 641, 649, n. 11.

tyrant-legends, of the kind which readily grows up posthumously to blacken the memory of a hated despot, and the "Massacre of the Innocents", typical also of the stories of miraculous escapes from danger which cluster round the infancy of great men, may be a complete fabrication.¹⁵⁶ But whatever may lie behind the tale of the proposed slaughter at Jericho, its conclusion suggests an awareness at his court that in his last days Herod's mental powers were so seriously impaired that his judgment could no longer be trusted. Modern medical and psychological knowledge can explain the background to Herod's last years and provide some excuse for his excesses. Herod's contemporaries and his historian nearly a century later could not, and for them his reaction to the removal of the Temple eagle was a conscious and deliberate piece of barbaric cruelty, for which he expired in well deserved agony.¹⁵⁷

Herod died at Jericho early in 4 B.C. after vain attempts to find alleviation for his pain and then to commit suicide, and his splendid funeral cortège toiled slowly up to the heights of Judaea to bury him at his own request in his fortress of Herodion.¹⁵⁸ Then, with his iron control removed, his kingdom soon dissolved into chaos.

¹⁵⁶ The fact that the legend in *Matt.* ii, 1-16 was known to Macrobius, *Sat.* ii, 4, 11, is not evidence for its authenticity, but merely shows that it was well-known from the Gospel.

¹⁵⁷ *BJ* i, 657; cf. *AJ* xvii, 168, 170.

¹⁵⁸ *AJ* xvii, 171-2, 183-4, 196-9; *BJ* i, 657-8, 662, 670-3. The date of his death is usually given as late March or early April 4 B.C. The *terminus ante quem* is the Passover—*AJ* xvii, 213; *BJ* ii, 10. The *terminus post quem* is an eclipse of the moon immediately after the eagle-episode (*AJ* xvii, 167), generally taken to have been that of 13 March 4 B.C.; but this allows inadequate time for the events between that episode and the Passover. Dating the eagle-episode to the eclipse of 15-16 September 5 B.C. would provide a more generous timetable, though admittedly leaving an interval of some eight months before the demonstrations against the executions at the Passover; but fear of reprisals could have precluded demonstrations before Herod's death. The (fourth(?) century) scholiast on *Megillath Ta'anith* explains the festival on 7 Kislev (= roughly December) as commemorating Herod's death (Lichtenstein, *op. cit.*, 293), and on the strength of this T.D. Barnes tentatively dates it to December 5 B.C.—in *JThS*² xix (1968), 204-9 (adequately demolishing the arguments of W. E. Filmer in *ibid.* xvii (1966), 283-98 for dating it to 1 B.C.). But events seem to have moved too rapidly after Herod's death to fill the four months from December to the Passover. They suggest *c.* February rather than December for his death. For fuller discussion see Schürer, I (rev.), 326, n. 165.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE TRANSITION FROM CLIENT KINGDOM TO PROVINCE

The Struggle for the Succession

It was Salome and her husband who took charge of affairs during the first few hours after Herod's death and had the terms of his last will, by which Archelaus was to inherit the throne with Antipas and Philip as tetrarchs of parts of the country under him conveyed to the army—a clear indication, incidentally, of the basis on which Herod's power under Rome rested. Not unnaturally, the army, which had no complaints against Herod, acclaimed his nominated successor with enthusiasm.¹ It is more surprising that the population at large did so also, when immediately after the week of mourning prescribed by Jewish Law he took his seat on his father's throne and addressed them in a speech in which, though he punctiliously declined to accept either the title king or the royal insignia before they were bestowed on him officially, he clearly assumed that Augustus would ratify his father's last will. They knew little of the prince beyond his parentage, but they may have felt that any change must be for the better, and they greeted his promise to rule more mildly than his father with clamorous demands for the reversal of Herod's most unpopular actions—for the release of political prisoners, for the abolition of his tax on sales, and, inevitably, for a general reduction of taxation. The Jews, used to Herod's apparently autocratic rule, could not appreciate the constitutional niceties of Archelaus' position, but the most that he dared to do at this stage was to indicate his willingness to meet their requests when the supreme power was legally his.²

This was enough to encourage some people to go further. A group of extremists worked up a public demonstration of grief for the victims of the eagle episode, for whom no mourning had been possible at the time, and demanded that they should be avenged by the punishment of Herod's favourites, and first and foremost by the deposition of the High Priest Joazar whom, as the successor of the martyred Matthias, they regarded as the tool *par excellence* of the tyrant. They

¹ *AJ* xvii, 194-5 ; *BJ* i, 666-70.

² *AJ* xvii, 200-5 ; *BJ* ii, 1-4.

declared that they wanted a High Priest "of greater piety and purer morals", and in this they may have been expressing not merely disapproval of Herod's action but a genuine hope that under a new king the increasing secularization of the High Priesthood might be halted or reversed. Again Archelaus could only promise action in due course, and his attempts to calm the mounting hostility by an appeal to reason merely heightened the tension.³

The Passover was now approaching, when the unpopular High Priest would be conspicuous at the ceremonies. The leaders of the mourning demonstration were busy whipping up ill-feeling, and with pilgrims flocking into Jerusalem disturbances were clearly to be expected. Archelaus was impatient to set off for Rome to get his position confirmed, but since a report of riots breaking out as soon as his back was turned would not create a good impression, he wanted to show his efficiency by nipping the trouble in the bud before leaving. But he miscalculated badly, and by sending his troops into the Temple enclosure to keep order he triggered off a serious riot in which three thousand Jews were massacred by the soldiers. After that, presumably confident that he had cowed his subjects into submission, Archelaus went down to Caesarea to take ship for Rome, leaving his half-brother Philip in charge.⁴

Though Archelaus had put the Jews in a nervous and resentful frame of mind by the massacre, he bore no direct responsibility for the anarchy which engulfed the country after his departure. This was the disastrous consequence of the first direct Roman intervention in Palestine since 37. At Caesarea Archelaus met the procurator of Syria, Sabinus, a shining example of the self-important minor official, who was to give an unfortunate foretaste of the tactless and high-handed behaviour of the later equestrian governors of the country. Sabinus interpreted his duties as including taking temporary charge of Herod's personal property, his fortresses and his private wealth, until the question of the succession was settled. Archelaus protested, and an appeal was made to the legate of Syria, P. Quinctilius Varus,⁵ to arbitrate. He supported Archelaus' contention that Herod's property should remain under his family's control until Augustus' decision

³ *AJ* xvii, 206-12; *BJ* ii, 5-9. Cf. the present writer in *JThS*² xiii (1962), 23.

⁴ *AJ* xvii, 213-19; *BJ* ii, 10-15.

⁵ Varus, later of Teutoberg Forest notoriety, had succeeded C. Sentius Saturninus (above, p. 97, n. 129) as legate of Syria in 6 B.C. (if he was proconsul of Africa, 7-6); see P.-W., s.v. *Quinctilius* 20, 909-11.

about the future of the kingdom as a whole was announced, and Archelaus, assuming that Sabinus would accept his ruling, set sail for Rome accompanied by members of his family and court.⁶ His brother Antipas, who hoped to get Herod's penultimate will, in which he had been nominated sole heir, reinstated, followed hard on his heels.⁷

Velleius Paterculus' lukewarm description of Varus as "of rather slow intellect"⁸ is not borne out by his conduct of affairs in Palestine, where he tried to prevent disturbances, was thwarted by Sabinus' obstinacy, and used effective strategy in his campaign to put down the rising which his tiresome subordinate had helped to bring about. From Caesarea he visited Jerusalem, which he found still in such a state of ferment that he summoned one of his three legions from Syria to restore order and stationed it in the Antonia to keep the peace when he returned to his province.⁹ As a conciliatory gesture he authorized the dispatch of a deputation to Augustus to plead for the abolition of the Herodian monarchy.¹⁰ Sabinus, however, had no thoughts of conciliation, and as soon as Varus had gone, he defied his superior by calmly taking possession of Herod's palace in Jerusalem, demanding the keys of the other fortresses and the treasury from the officers in charge, and when this met with a refusal, trying in vain to seize them forcibly.¹¹ He then gave vent to his annoyance by sending Augustus an unfavourable report on Archelaus.¹²

Meanwhile in Rome Archelaus presented Herod's will and state accounts to Augustus. After studying them, together with Sabinus' report, a statement from Varus on the financial condition of Palestine, and written submissions by Archelaus and Antipas about their respective claims to the throne, Augustus gave his first formal consideration to the question of the future of Herod's kingdom at a meeting of his *consilium*.¹³ By this time the members of the family who had accompanied Archelaus to Rome had transferred their support to Antipas, on the grounds that he would be the lesser of two evils as king. The

⁶ *AJ* xvii, 220-2; *BJ* ii, 16-18.

⁷ *AJ* xvii, 224-6; *BJ* ii, 20-1.

⁸ ii, 117, 2 *animo immobilior*.

⁹ *AJ* xvii, 250-1; *BJ* ii, 40.

¹⁰ *AJ* xvii, 300; *BJ* i, 80, where it is authorized *πρὸ τῆς ἀποστάσεως* i.e. the rising at Pentecost (below, pp. 108, 110).

¹¹ *AJ* xvii, 222-3; 252-3; *BJ* ii, 18-19, 41.

¹² *AJ* xvii, 227; *BJ* ii, 23.

¹³ *AJ* xvii, 228-9; *BJ* ii, 24-5.

burden of their indictment against Archelaus was that, despite his protestations to the contrary, he had in fact already usurped the royal prerogatives, and had acted with great cruelty into the bargain; Herod had sized him up and had therefore omitted him from his penultimate will, and he cannot have been of sound mind when he made his final one.¹⁴ But Archelaus had a powerful advocate in the skilful and experienced diplomat Nicolas of Damascus, who countered with the argument that the popular opposition to Archelaus had been in effect opposition to Rome, which it had been Archelaus' duty to suppress, and that Augustus, having left the choice of successor to Herod, could hardly now go back on his word. Augustus adjourned the meeting without giving a decision, but with a hint that he probably would ratify Herod's last will.¹⁵

By the time the final decision was made, however, the situation had grown much more complicated. Two anti-Herodian deputations had arrived in Rome, the Jewish one authorized by Varus, and one from three of the Greek cities restored to Herod in 30, Gadara and Hippos in the Decapolis and Gaza, asking to be released again from Jewish rule and attached to the province of Syria as they had been from 63;¹⁶ a third son of Herod had appeared on the scene, Philip, half-brother of Archelaus and Antipas, who had been sent to Rome by Varus to support Archelaus but was also anxious to watch his own interests, as a nominee with Antipas for a tetrarchy under Archelaus in Herod's last will;¹⁷ and another dispatch had come from Varus, reporting the serious deterioration of the situation in Palestine since Archelaus' departure, where an eruption of violence in Jerusalem at Pentecost had developed into a revolt of virtually the whole country against Rome and the Herods.¹⁸

A second meeting of Augustus' *consilium* was then held, at which the

¹⁴ *AJ* xvii, 227, 230-9; *BJ* i, 22, 26-33. Josephus says that what they really wanted was "independence under Roman administration" (cf. the request of the Jewish deputation later; below, p. 109) but no such request is voiced in the speech put into their spokesman's mouth.

¹⁵ *AJ* xvii, 240-9; *BJ* ii, 34-8.

¹⁶ Nicolas of Damascus, frag. 5 (*FHG* III, p. 354) = frag. 136, 9 (*FGrH* IIA, no. 90, p. 424; §§ 8-11 of the fragment summarize the negotiations in Rome). *AJ* xvii, 320 and *BJ* ii, 97 name the individual cities.

¹⁷ *AJ* xvii, 303; *BJ* ii, 83.

¹⁸ *AJ* xvii, 250; *BJ* ii, 39. Josephus then gives his whole narrative of the revolt and its suppression (below, pp. 110-13) before returning to events in Rome. But the suppression took weeks, if not months, and *BJ* ii, 90-1 shows that the revolt was still at its height at the time of the second hearing.

main formal business was the hearing of the anti-monarchical Jewish delegation, whose request was for "autonomy" (presumably meaning a return to the pre-Herodian theocracy, government of a purely Jewish character by the High Priest) under the general oversight of the legate of Syria.¹⁹ The Jewish community in Rome lent its support to the deputation, a spontaneous testimonial to their satisfaction with their position under Roman rule and the religious liberty which it guaranteed.²⁰ But this hearing was little more than a matter of form. Augustus knew that the monarchy must be retained at least for a time, if only because, for appearances's sake, he could not wholly repudiate his promise to honour his friend's will. The current anarchy underlined the long obvious fact that Palestine was a difficult country to govern. Roman interests would be well served if client princes could bear the brunt of the problem of pacification and then hand the country over to direct Roman rule in a more tractable condition. But as a large united client kingdom Palestine presented problems: a strong and enterprising king might embark on ambitious ventures undesirable from the Roman point of view, as Herod had done against Nabataea; on the other hand, a weak king, such as Archelaus promised to be, might allow internal dissension to develop on a scale that would be a constant nuisance to the Roman authorities in Syria. At the same time, relations between Archelaus and Antipas were clearly so unharmonious that there was acute danger that the appointment of either as sole monarch would lead to civil war with his excluded rival. The only safeguard against that would be a complete division of power, geographical and administrative. After a few days' further reflection Augustus announced his decision, a modification of Herod's final will: by a threefold division of Palestine he preserved for Archelaus some of the seniority over his brothers proposed by Herod but improved the positions of Antipas and Philip and lessened the chances of friction by a complete separation of their territory from his. Archelaus, instead of becoming king of the whole country, was to rule only the southern half, Judaea, Samaritis and Idumaea, and for the present was to have only the title of ethnarch, though the possibility of promotion to "king" as a reward for good government was dangled before him.

¹⁹ *AJ* xvii, 300-1, 304-16; *BJ* ii, 80-1, 84-91. The request for αὐτονομία (*AJ* xvii, 300; *BJ* ii, 80) becomes in the envoy's speech a request that the country should be "joined to Syria" and administered τοῖς ἐκεῖσε πεμπομένοις στρατηγοῖς (*AJ* xvii, 314) or ἐπ' ἰδίοις ἡγεμόσιν (*BJ* ii, 91).

²⁰ *AJ* xvii, 300; *BJ* ii, 80. Cf. below, pp. 134-8.

Antipas and Philip were to be tetrarchs of Galilee and Peraea and of Auranitis, Trachonitis, Batanaea and Paneas respectively, as in the will, but not as subordinates to Archelaus; both were now to be independent rulers, owing him no allegiance at all.²¹

The detachment of the tetrarchies did not end Archelaus' losses. The request of the three Greek cities of Gaza, Gadara and Hippos was met; Archelaus did not press for their retention, and they were transferred back to Syria.²² And in accordance with Herod's will the two contiguous coastal cities of Jamnia and Azotus together with Phasaelis and its palm-plantations in the Jordan valley were formed into an estate for his sister Salome, who drew the revenues of sixty talents annually (a substantial sum, considering that the annual revenues of Archelaus, Antipas, and Philip were only six hundred, two hundred and one hundred talents respectively), and had the right of disposal over the territory. Augustus also respected Herod's bequests to other members of his family, though he handed over to Herod's children his own personal legacy of fifteen hundred talents, and kept only a few minor mementos of a former friend estranged from him by the exigencies of imperial politics.²³

The Revolt in Palestine

Sabinus' behaviour and Varus' installation of a Roman garrison in Jerusalem were deeply resented, and at Pentecost enormous crowds poured into Jerusalem from all parts of the country, the majority bent on vengeance rather than worship. They were well organized in three divisions, which took up strategic positions round the city, one to the north of the Temple enclosure, one near the north west angle of the city walls cutting Sabinus, now in residence in Herod's palace, off from contact with the legion in the Antonia, and the third probably in the south.²⁴ When Sabinus found himself thus hemmed in, he sent

²¹ *AJ* xvii, 317-20; *BJ* ii, 93-7. *Luke* iii, 1 Φιλίππου . . . τετραρχούντος τῆς Ἰτουραίας καὶ Τραχωνιτιδος (c. A.D. 28, but no changes had been made in the meantime) exaggerates, since the Ituraean principality included territory much further north than Philip's, never ruled by Herod or his son.

²² *AJ* xvii, 320; *BJ* ii, 97; Nicolas of Damascus, *l.c.* (above, n. 16).

²³ *AJ* xvii, 321-3; *BJ* ii, 98-100. Cf. *AJ* xvii, 146, 190, and *BJ* i, 646 for 1,500 talents against 1,000 in *BJ* ii, 100. For the later history of Salome's legacy see below, p. 158. For Phasaelis see above, p. 80. The 600 talents given as Archelaus' revenue in *AJ* xvii, 320 may be a correction of 400 in *BJ* ii, 97.

²⁴ *AJ* xvii, 254-5; *BJ* ii, 42-4. The topography of Jerusalem and its environs suggests that the hippodrome, mentioned only in this connection, was on the level ground to the south, with the amphitheatre—*AJ* xv, 268; cf. Vincent

an agitated appeal for help to Varus. He can hardly have expected much sympathy for his personal plight, but he knew that Varus would be bound to take steps to rescue the legion. In the meantime he decided to risk a battle and signalled to the legion in the Antonia to attack the Jewish division north of the Temple. The Jews seized the vantage point of the roof of the porticoes round the Temple enclosure, and from there caused heavy Roman casualties, until the Romans turned the tables on them by firing the porticoes. Having thus gained access to the Temple courts, the Romans looted the treasury and Sabinus secured a handsome sum for himself. This setback only served to strengthen the Jews' determination to get rid of the Romans. By now practically all Herod's troops had come over to their side, and only his crack units of three thousand Sebastenians and a few cavalry remained loyal to Rome. They offered Sabinus and the legion a safe conduct out of the country, and when he refused it, suspecting their good faith and pinning his hopes on help from Varus, they kept him under siege in the palace.²⁵

By now almost the whole kingdom except the mainly non-Jewish districts in northern Transjordan was overrun by pretenders to the throne supported by guerilla bands for whom plunder was as important as political issues, and it was beyond the scope of the one legion supported by a few Herodian troops to restore order. Only in Peraea, where one Simon, a former slave of Herod, had got himself proclaimed king and was burning and looting the district, did they get the upper hand, defeating his unorganized adherents and killing the would-be king.²⁶ In Judaea a shepherd named Athronges had been proclaimed king on no qualifications but his height and strength, and his four brothers commanded bands of raiders who began by attacking Romans and Herodian partisans, and then went on to a campaign of indiscriminate slaughter and plunder. The Romans suffered an alarming reverse at their hands when a century returning from a foraging expedition was ambushed near Emmaus, twenty

and Abel, *JN*, 34 and Pl. I. A. Momigliano attributes the outbreak which began at Pentecost to "the failure of the Jewish embassy at Rome"—in *CAH* X, 338. But the embassy did not set out until after the Passover (above, p. 107), and the remainder of the fifty-day interval between the two festivals would not have been long enough for the double journey to Rome and back.

²⁵ *AJ* xvii, 256-68; *BJ* ii, 45-54.

²⁶ *AJ* xvii, 273-7; *BJ* ii, 57-9; cf. Tac., *H* v, 9, 2, where Simon is the only pretender named, presumably as the most serious menace. Josephus makes Athronges (below) the most formidable.

miles west of Jerusalem; nearly half the men were killed, and the rest escaped only through the bravery of the Herodian troops with them. The latter then continued the campaign alone and captured two of the brothers, though the others remained at large for some time.²⁷ In Galilee Judas, the son of the guerilla leader Ezechias whom Herod had rounded up in 47, had taken up his father's profession and was terrorizing the district in the hope that his victims would appoint him king to stop his depredations.²⁸ Finally in Idumaea two thousand of Herod's veterans had risen and repelled a force of loyal Herodian troops under a cousin of the king, and malcontent Jews were now joining their ranks.²⁹

Varus was well aware of the gravity of the situation, and took with him to Palestine not only his other two Syrian legions, but a considerable army of auxiliaries also, some of them supplied by client princes. These included a contingent of Nabataeans led by their king Aretas in person, who was no friend of Herod and was glad of a chance to offset his *faux pas* of a few years earlier³⁰ by a demonstration of loyalty. Varus' strategy was skilful and effective. From Ptolemais, just north of the Galilaean frontier, he sent part of his army to subjugate the insurgents in Galilee, whom he then isolated from those further south by occupying Samaritis with the rest of his army. Judas' freebooters were no match for Roman troops and when Sepphoris, their headquarters, was captured and burnt and its inhabitants enslaved, resistance came to an end. Meanwhile Varus made his way through Samaritis, carefully avoiding the city of Sebaste which, as the home of many of the loyal Herodian troops, had stood conspicuously aloof from the revolt, as indeed had the district as a whole. But though no reprisals were called for, the Nabataeans, thirsting for blood and plunder, took the law into their own hands and sacked two villages whose only crime was that one belonged to a minister of the hated Herod—the first of a series of acts of insubordination which eventually made Varus dismiss them as more trouble than they were worth. The occupation of Samaritis gave Varus control of the main route southwards to Jerusalem, but instead of marching straight there he went first to Emmaus, which he

²⁷ *AJ* xvii, 278-85; *BJ* ii, 60-5. It is clear from Varus' route (below) that the Emmaus in question is the town later called Nicopolis, not the village near Jerusalem of *Luke* xxiv, 13.

²⁸ *AJ* xvii, 271-3; *BJ* ii, 56.

²⁹ *AJ* xvii, 270 (where ἐν . . . Ἰουδαίᾳ is clearly an error for Ἰδουμαίᾳ), 297; *BJ* ii, 55, 76.

³⁰ See above, p. 97.

burnt in revenge for the ambush. Its destruction also removed the risk of a flank attack from a nationalist stronghold, and opened up a second route to Jerusalem, from the west. The mere approach of Varus' army sufficed to raise the siege of Herod's palace, and Varus had the capital in his hands without striking a blow. At that the miserable Sabinus, not daring to face his reproaches, scuttled off coastwards and disappeared from history.³¹ This did not, however, mean the total collapse of the revolt in Judaea, since two of the Athronges brothers were still at large. Archelaus returned from Rome to take possession of his ethnarchy in time to command the force which disposed of them.³² Varus then rounded up the remainder of the rebels and crucified two thousand of them. After that he had only to appear in Idumaea with his army for the ten thousand men still in arms there to accept the mediation of Herod's cousin and surrender. Varus arrested their leaders, who included some members of Herod's family, and sent them to Rome for trial, where the Herodians were punished; their kinship to Rome's vassal made their crime of opposition to Rome unpardonable.³³

So ended what became known in Jewish tradition as "the war of Varus". Thanks to Varus' military skill and efficiency it had been brief, though it had affected most parts of the country. The two thousand crosses testify to the serious view which he took of it, while his leniency to those who surrendered in Idumaea acquits him of mere vindictiveness. The war made a sufficiently deep impression on the Jews to be included in the so-called *Assumption of Moses*, a treatise giving a sketch of Jewish history down to the early first century A.D., though the captures of Jerusalem in 63 and 37 are not mentioned;³⁴ and it takes its place on a level with the revolts of 66 and later in the *Seder Olam*, a Hebrew chronicle ascribed to a rabbi of the second century A.D.³⁵

³¹ *AJ* xvii, 286-94 ; *BJ* ii, 66-74. Samaritis' loyalty—*AJ* xvii, 319 ; *BJ* ii, 96.

³² *AJ* xvii, 284 ; *BJ* ii, 64.

³³ *AJ* xvii, 295-8 ; *BJ* ii, 76-8.

³⁴ Chapter 6. The title is misleading. The work is in fact a *Testament of Moses*, a prophecy of Jewish history given to Joshua by Moses just before his death. The original Hebrew or Aramaic version was translated into Greek, and now survives only in a corrupt Latin translation made from the Greek in the fifth century. For text, commentary, discussion and bibliography see E. M. Laperrousaz, *Le Testament de Moïse* (*Semitica* xix, 1970), who dates the composition to between A.D. 7 and 30.

³⁵ *Seder Olam Rabbah* 30. On this work, the earliest post-Exilic Hebrew chronicle, see *BT Yeb.* 82b ; *Nidd.* 46b. As extant it ends with a summary of

The Sons of Herod

When Varus withdrew to Syria to let the three princes work out their own salvation, he left one legion in Jerusalem to support Archelaus until his position was secure.³⁶ Of the three brothers, he inherited the toughest task, the government of Judaea and the holy capital of Jerusalem, where opposition to a ruler with an Idumaeon father and a Samaritan mother was bound to be strong, and the only places in which he had any scope for pursuing his father's Hellenizing policy were Sebaste and the Greek coastal cities. It was virtually impossible that the Jews, who had done their best to prevent his appointment, would ever be reconciled to his rule, and their innate distrust of him comes out in the New Testament story that when the Holy Family returned from Egypt after Herod's death and heard that Bethlehem, the obvious home for a Messiah born of David's line, was under Archelaus' rule, they were afraid to go there and returned to their original home in Nazareth, to be under Antipas' rule.³⁷ He survived as a client prince for only nine years, and never qualified for the title of king.

Josephus is very inadequately informed about Archelaus' reign (as he is about the tetrarchs' also, except for Antipas' last years), probably because Nicolas of Damascus, a source of copious information about Herod, now apparently retired from the Jewish court to spend his last years in Rome.³⁸ Of the promises which Archelaus made to his clamorous subjects immediately after Herod's death, he records the fulfilment of only one. Herod's right to appoint the High Priests naturally passed to Archelaus, and as soon as he had taken possession of his ethnarchy he kept his word to depose Joazar, the last of Herod's appointments. The reason which he gave for his action, that Joazar had supported the recent rebellion, was patently false, whether it

the period from Alexander the Great to Hadrian, perhaps an epitome of the later part of the original work. See further *JE* and *EJ*, s.v. Text with Latin translation by J. Meyer (1699). The "war of Asverus" eighty years before the "war of Vespasian" can only be Varus' campaign, despite the inaccuracy of the figure.

³⁶ *AJ* xvii, 299; *BJ* ii, 79. Cf. the legion left in Jerusalem in 37 (above, pp. 60-1, 67). There is no indication of the length of its stay, but it had certainly gone by the end of Archelaus' reign.

³⁷ *Matt.* ii, 22-3 (with Archelaus erroneously called "king"). The story of the Flight into Egypt depends on that of the Massacre of the Innocents, which may have no historical basis (above, pp. 103-4). But though a legend about a historical figure is likely to be historically possible, this one may reflect Archelaus' unpopularity at the end rather than the beginning of his reign.

³⁸ This is inferred from Nicolas of Damascus, frag. 6 (*FHG* III, p. 355) = frag. 138 (*FGrH* IIA, no. 90, p. 426).

originated with Archelaus himself or was fabricated by some personal enemies of Joazar as a lever for getting rid of him: such conduct would have been totally out of character for a supporter (a tool, in public opinion) of the Herods and therefore of Rome, such as all High Priests had inevitably been since 36 B.C.; and such an allegation was incompatible with the popular demand for his removal. But the charge, whatever its origin, gave Archelaus an excuse for falling in with his subjects' wishes without appearing to be simply weak and compliant, and at the same time it put his action in a favourable light with Rome. But this conciliatory gesture to his subjects must have gone against the grain for Archelaus personally, since it lost him the official backing of an obvious ally, a staunch pro-Herodian. As successor he chose Joazar's brother Eleazar. But Eleazar's tenure was short, and he was soon deposed in favour of a *novus homo* in the High Priesthood. No reason is given for the change, but Eleazar is likely to have been a man of similar outlook and policy to his brother and as such equally unacceptable to the Jews, who may have felt that Archelaus had kept the letter but not the spirit of his promise, and therefore brought pressure to bear on him, still early in his reign, to give them the "High Priest of great piety" whom they wanted.³⁹

Herod, for all his faults and shortcomings in Jewish eyes, had made his kingdom economically prosperous, and his extensive programme of public works had provided employment in abundance. Archelaus had no such programme. In contrast to his brothers, each of whom created new cities and towns,⁴⁰ Archelaus founded only a single village, in the Jordan valley ten miles north of Jericho, and in further contrast gave it a name which honoured himself and not a member of the imperial house, Archelais. Near it he established new palm-plantations to offset the loss of the revenues from those at Phasaelis, now Salome's property—a successful venture but one which involved the unpopular consequence of depriving a neighbouring village of half its water supply. The palace at Jericho, destroyed by rebels in 4 B.C., was rebuilt.⁴¹ The restoration of the Temple porticoes was also presumably put in hand, though Josephus does not mention it. In short, Archelaus' record was unimpressive, and the drop in his revenue from

³⁹ *AJ* xvii, 339, 341. Cf. the present writer's study in *JThS*² xiii (1962), 17-21.

⁴⁰ See below, pp. 118-19.

⁴¹ *AJ* xvii, 340. On Archelais see E. Nestle in *ZDPV* xxxiv (1911), 107-8; F. M. Abel in *RB* x (1913), 235-8, and *GP* II, 249. The foundation evidently flourished; it appears as a large village on the Madaba map (p. 36 and Pl. I and 6; reference above, p. 24, n. 6).

Samaritis, whose loyalty during the revolt was rewarded by a twenty-five per cent reduction in taxation (a concession of which the duration is not known), does not account for it, as his total revenues still exceeded those of Antipas and Philip.⁴² Rather it seems to reflect a personal lack of initiative, and economic stagnation in his ethnarchy may have contributed to the discontent which grew among his subjects through his reign.

At some point Archelaus contracted a marriage incestuous by Jewish Law, with Glaphyra, widow of his half-brother Alexander (executed c. 7 B.C.), to whom she had borne children.⁴³ This was in sharp contrast to his father's punctiliousness over the proposed match between Salome and the Nabataean Syllaeus, and showed complete contempt for the sensibilities of his subjects. They were, however, soon able to take posthumous revenge on her with the story that her guilty conscience had spoken in a dream in which her first husband claimed her back.⁴⁴ There is, nevertheless, no tradition that Archelaus was a habitual Law-breaker, and in one matter he was as careful as his father had been to give no offence; his coins bore no portraits of himself or Augustus.⁴⁵

Apparently Archelaus reappointed Joazar as High Priest towards the end of his reign. This is not stated, but Joazar is found in office again immediately after Archelaus' deposition, and if his reappointment was one of the first actions of the Roman authorities, on whom the choice of the High Priests then devolved, it would probably have found a place in Josephus' narrative, which is much fuller for the first months after Archelaus' fall than for his reign. It appears that Archelaus, caring little by now for the views of his subjects, already alienated by his marriage, wanted to regain the political support of a strong pro-Herodian and pro-Roman, and so ejected the pious incumbent in Joazar's favour.⁴⁶

⁴² See above, p. 100.

⁴³ If a man died childless, Jewish Law required his brother, even if already married, to marry the widow, whose first child by the brother counted as the child of the deceased; but marriage with a brother's widow was forbidden if there were children of the first marriage; see *Deut.* xxv, 5-10; *Mark* xii, 19; cf. below, p. 185.

⁴⁴ *AJ* xvii, 341, 349-53; *BJ* ii, 114-16; cf. *AJ* xvii, 12; *BJ* i, 552.

⁴⁵ *BMC, Pal.*, 231-5; Reifenberg, 45-6. Archelaus' coin-legends 'Ἡρώδης ἔθναρχ. (and genitive) emphasized his descent by using his family name. Cf. Antipas' coins with 'Ἡρώδου τετραάρχου and contrast Philip's use of his personal name on his coins; see *BMC, Pal.*, 228-30; Reifenberg, 43-5.

⁴⁶ This interpretation of Joazar's career is argued in detail by the present writer in *JThS*, *l.c.*

In A.D. 1 a small but significant incident occurred. Augustus' grandson Gaius, who was travelling through Syria en route for Armenia, did not make a *détour* to visit Archelaus in Jerusalem—an omission which received Augustus' approval. This was in striking contrast to M. Vipsanius Agrippa's visit to Herod in 15 B.C., and suggests that by this time Augustus was already becoming dissatisfied with Archelaus' rule and deprecated anything likely to give an impression of imperial favour.⁴⁷

After nine years, in A.D. 6, Archelaus' subjects had reached the end of their tether. Jews and Samaritans alike were finding his "brutality and tyranny" (of which Josephus gives no actual examples) intolerable, and his oppression may have been particularly galling to the Samaritans after their loyalty to the Herods in 4 B.C. Exasperation drove the inveterate enemies to collaborate in sending a joint complaint to Augustus that Archelaus was disregarding his injunctions to govern with moderation. They no doubt indulged in some exaggeration of his misdeeds, balanced by judicious silence about any provocation of which they had themselves been guilty, but the alacrity with which Augustus summoned the ethnarch to Rome to give an account of himself suggests that he was already gravely dissatisfied with his rule in general and was only waiting for some specific episode to provide an occasion for bringing him to book. The two tetrarch brothers saw the crisis in the ethnarchy as their opportunity to enlarge their domains at Archelaus' expense, and joined in the attack on his government. So apparently did the sinister Salome; for at some point Archelaus was added to her estate, and the obvious inference is that it was a reward for services rendered in A.D. 6. But the efforts of Antipas and Philip were less successful and recoiled on their own heads. For charges were then brought against them, as a result of which Augustus scrutinized their records also. He was aware that no love was lost between Antipas and Archelaus at any rate, and that the brothers' accusations against Archelaus could well be attempts to divert attention from the deficiencies of their own rule. Archelaus came out of the investigation the least successfully. He tried to defend himself at a formal hearing but completely failed to justify his administration, and Augustus sent him into exile at Vienne in Gaul, where he died within ten years.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Suet., *Aug.* 93.

⁴⁸ *AJ* xvii, 342-4 (Archelaus' tenth year; cf. § 347; *V* 5); xviii, 31 (Archelaus); *BJ* ii, 111-12 (the ninth year); Dio lv, 27, 6 (A.D. 6; see lv, 25, 1) ε τε

Antipas and Philip survived the ordeal. From the start they had had a better chance of succeeding as rulers than Archelaus, especially Philip, who inherited an area with a predominantly non-Jewish population which would raise no objection to being under an Idumaeen ruler bent on continuing his father's policy of Hellenization, provided that his rule was good. And such it seems to have been, for Josephus has nothing but praise for him in the obituary notice with which he summarizes his reign⁴⁹—though of course it is not impossible that the events of A.D. 6 gave Philip a salutary shock and brought about an amendment of ways. Antipas' assignment was more difficult, since his Galilaeans were staunch Jews. But he did not have to cope with the religious capital of Jerusalem and its explosive potentialities, and the only hint of trouble between him and his subjects comes in the second half of his reign. The only activities recorded of Philip and Antipas before A.D. 6 sound innocent and loyal enough, indeed laudable. At the beginning of his reign Philip enlarged his capital Panion, raised it to city status under the new name of Caesarea Philippi with control over a large tract of territory, and probably established his mint there, and he enlarged and fortified the village of Bethsaida at the northern end of the Sea of Galilee, renaming it Julias after Augustus' daughter, an honour which can only have been given before her disgrace in 2 B.C.⁵⁰

Antipas expressed gratitude and loyalty to Augustus in a similar form. When he rebuilt Sepphoris, the capital of Galilee, and fortified Betharamphtha in Peraea, which had both been severely damaged during the fighting in 4 B.C.,⁵¹ he renamed the former Autocratoris in the emperor's honour (a change which proved ephemeral) and perhaps

⁴⁹ Ἡρώδης ὁ Παλαιστίνος αἰτίαν τινὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν λαβὼν, ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἄλπεις ὑπερῶρισθῃ. Str. xvi, 2, 46 οὐ μέντοι εὐτύχησαν οἱ παῖδες (of Herod), ἀλλ' ἐν αἰτίαις ἐγένοντο, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν φυγῇ διετέλει . . . οἱ δὲ θεραπεῖα πολλῇ μόλις εὗροντο κάθοδον, τετραρχίας ἀποδειχθείσης ἑκατέρῳ. The completion of Strabo's work by c. A.D. 18—see Christ-Schmidt, *Geschichte der griech. Literatur* II, i⁶ (1920), 411—gives the *terminus ante quem* for Archelaus' death.

⁴⁹ *AJ* xviii, 106-7; see further below, pp. 181-2.

⁵⁰ *AJ* xviii, 28; *BJ* ii, 168, wrongly implying that both foundations dated from after A.D. 14. The title *κτίσ(της)* on one of his rare coins (*BMC, Pal.*, 228; Reifenberg, 43-4) puts the mint in one of his foundations and the capital is the more likely. Dates run up to year 37, which, if the era of the capital, puts its foundation in Philip's first year as tetrarch. For 2 B.C. as the era see Jones, *CERP*², 282; B. Schlauck and A. Alt in *Palästina Jahrb.* xxix (1933), 101-3. By A.D. 66 Caesarea Philippi had a large Jewish population—*V* 53, 61, 74. Julias, lacking the right to coin, was not a city (*pace* Josephus).

⁵¹ *AJ* xvii, 277, 289; *BJ* ii, 59, 68.

raised it to city status as the first predominantly Jewish city in Palestine.⁵² Betharamphtha, capital of a toparchy and now to be a stronghold against the Nabataeans, he re-named in honour of Augustus' wife. Josephus gives the new name consistently as *Julias*, which, if it was the name chosen at the time, dates the change to after Livia's adoption into the *gens Iulia* under Augustus' will. But elsewhere the name is *Livias*, which suggests that reconstruction work was undertaken early in Antipas' reign, when he will not have wished to lag behind Philip who was honouring the imperial house with two foundations, and that the name given then remained in use despite the official change in A.D. 14.⁵³ But whatever charges were brought against Antipas and Philip in A.D. 6 and whatever faults Augustus suspected or uncovered in their administration, he allowed them to retain their tetrarchies, and his decision was endorsed by Tiberius. Philip ruled till his death in 33/34, and Antipas till 40, when he was deposed.⁵⁴ Only Archelaus' ethnarchy was annexed at this stage.

The three districts of Judaea, Samaritis and Idumaea thus came under direct Roman rule as the province of "Judaea". In 4 B.C. a Jewish deputation had asked Augustus for the abolition of the Herodian monarchy and "autonomy" under the Roman aegis, and the complaints made against Archelaus in A.D. 6 implied a similar request. Roman rule was now imposed in a form perhaps more direct than the Jews had envisaged. Within a generation they were to be bitterly disillusioned about its blessings.

⁵² *AJ* xviii, 27, accepting the correction ἡγόρευεν made in one MS for ἡγεῖν (other MSS ἡγαγεν); so Niese and Marcus-Feldman (Loeb). The name Autocratoris occurs nowhere else. City-status at this stage is uncertain, since coinage only begins under Nero (below, p. 273, n. 55). Cf. Jones, *CERP*², 276; Momigliano, *Ricerche*, 73-4 (380-1).

⁵³ *AJ* xviii, 27; *BJ* ii, 168, linking *Julias* with Antipas' foundation of Tiberias (below, p. 183) after A.D. 14. *Julias*—*AJ* xx, 159; *BJ* ii, 252 (a toparchy capital); iv, 438. *Livias*—Pliny, *NH* xiii, 44; Ptol., *Geog.* v, 15, 6; Eus., *Onom.* (GCS Eus. III, 48). For the site (Tell er-Rame) and discussion see P.-W., s.v. *Libias*; G. Harden in *ZDPV* lxxvii (1962), 60-3. Like Philip's *Julias*, it was not a city (*pace* Josephus).

⁵⁴ See below, p. 191.

CHAPTER SIX

THE DIASPORA AND JEWISH RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

When the Romans annexed the Jewish homeland as a province, they were not without experience of the direct handling of the Jews and of the problems which it involved. There had been Jews living in Rome for a century and a half, and there were resident Jewish communities, some of them very large, in many of the cities of the provinces of the eastern Mediterranean.

The Dispersion of the Jews began with the sack of Jerusalem in 587 B.C., when Nebuchadnezzar carried the inhabitants of the southern kingdom of Judah away into captivity beyond the Euphrates. Some of them, or their children, settled so happily in their place of exile that, when Cyrus overthrew Babylon in 538 and rescinded the decree of banishment, they chose to remain permanently in Babylonia and Mesopotamia, forming the nucleus of what eventually became one of the largest and most important of the communities of the Diaspora during the Roman period, the Jews of Parthia.¹

Emigration from Palestine to Egypt was one of the side-effects of the Exile, and Cambyse's annexation of Egypt in 525 is said to have brought more Jews to that country. But the big influx of Jews into Egypt began with the foundation of Alexandria and continued under the Ptolemies, until in the first century A.D. the Jews in Egypt could be put (though probably with some exaggeration) at a million.² Cyrenaica was another popular centre of Jewish settlement from the early third century B.C. Ptolemy I sent Jewish colonists to secure Cyrene and other Libyan cities, and as Cyrenaica remained under Ptolemaic rule until it was bequeathed to Rome in 96 B.C., immigration from Egypt continued. Jews formed a significant proportion of the population of the city of Cyrene by the early first century B.C., when according to Strabo it comprised four groups—citizens, farmers, resident aliens and Jews; and events in the late first and early second centuries A.D. testify to the size and wealth of the Jewish settlements in the province as a whole.³

¹ For a full study of the Babylonian communities, never under Roman rule except for a year or two at the end of Trajan's reign, see Neusner, *JB* I and II.

² *Fl.* 43.

³ *Ap.* ii, 44 ; Str. *apud AJ* xiv, 115-18.

Syria inevitably attracted large numbers of Jewish settlers by its proximity to Palestine. Josephus takes the origin of the important community in Antioch back to the foundation of the city by Seleucus I at the beginning of the third century.⁴ The origins of the communities in the coastal cities of Aradus, Tyre, Sidon, Ptolemais, Dora and Ascalon, and in the inland cities of Apamea on the Orontes, Damascus, Gerasa, Gadara, Hippos and Scythopolis, attested in the first century A.D., are not recorded, but some probably date from the period of Hasmonaeen expansion, when Jews settled also in the coastal cities under their rule.⁵ In Asia Minor the Jews settled thickly and early: Josephus puts the foundation of the community in Ephesus (the largest in the area) and those in "the rest of Ionia" in the mid-third century; between 210 and 205, to combat rebellion in Lydia and Phrygia, Antiochus III transported two thousand Jewish families from Parthia and established them as military colonies in "the fortresses and most important places" in the troubled areas; and there may have been settlements round the southern coast by the mid-second century.⁶ Prominent Jewish communities are found in Sardis, Halicarnassus, Miletus, Laodicea, Apamea, Pergamum, Adramyttium and Ancyra in the first century B.C., and groups at Pisidian Antioch, Iconium and Tarsus in southern Asia Minor in the following century.⁷ Crete, Cyprus, Rhodes and some of the Aegean islands may have had Jewish settlers by the mid-second century B.C., and there were substantial communities on Crete, Delos, Cos and Melos a century later.⁸ For mainland Greece the evidence is scantier, but Philo speaks of Jews living on all parts of the country in his day and communities are recorded in Macedonia at that time.⁹

Penetration to the west was naturally slower. Apart from Rome,

⁴ *AJ* xii, 119; *Ap.* ii, 39.

⁵ *I Macc.* xv, 23 (Aradus); the list of places to which Rome is said to have sent letters on the Jews' behalf in 139 or 142 B.C. (above, p. 8) is probably evidence for Jewish settlements, whatever the historicity of the letters. *AJ* xix, 300 (Dora, A.D. 41); *Acts* ix, 2 (Damascus); *BJ* ii, 461-80, 559-61 (A.D. 66; cf. below, p. 357).

⁶ *AJ* xii, 125; *Ap.* ii, 39. *AJ* xii, 147-53; cf. Tcherikover, *HCJ*, 287-8; Robert, *NIS*, 12. *I Macc.* xv, 23 (including Halicarnassus).

⁷ *AJ* xiv, 223-30, 234-46, 256-64; xvi, 162-5 (implying a community in Ancyra), 167-8, 171-3; Cic., *Pro Fl.* 68 (cf. below, p. 126); *Acts* xiii, 14; xiv, 1; xxi, 39.

⁸ *I Macc.* xv, 23; *AJ* xiv, 213-16, 231-3; xvii, 327; *BJ* ii, 103. On Cos cf. below, p. 125, and on Cyprus pp. 412-15.

⁹ *I Macc.* xv, 23 includes Sparta and Sicyon. *Leg.* 281 (quoted below); *Acts* xvi, 12-13; xvii, 1 and 10.

which eventually had one of the largest Jewish communities in the empire, Italy does not seem ever to have become a major area of Jewish settlement. But a number of small groups are known, e.g. at Puteoli under Augustus, and some adventurous spirits may have gone as far as Spain by the middle of the first century A.D.¹⁰

The reasons for Jewish emigration in the Hellenistic period are not recorded and not even the approximate dates of many of their settlements are known. Discontent with Ptolemaic and Seleucid rule in Palestine, over-population and land shortage, and promising commercial prospects (though the Jews of Palestine as a whole were primarily an agricultural rather than a commercial nation even in the first century A.D.¹¹) may be suggested. But whatever the incentives, political, economic or personal, by the first century A.D. the widespread Dispersion of the Jews had taken place, and probably few coastal cities of the eastern Mediterranean, and few major inland cities, were without a community of permanently resident Jews. St Luke's roll-call of the Diaspora, the pilgrims present in Jerusalem at the Pentecost immediately after the Crucifixion, is familiar: "Parthians and Medes and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia and in Judaea and Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene, strangers of Rome, Jews and proselytes, Cretans and Arabians."¹² Philo's roughly contemporary list ignores the Parthian Diaspora: "Jerusalem is the capital not of the single country of Judaea but of most other countries also, because of the colonies which it has sent out from time to time to the neighbouring lands of Egypt, Phoenicia and Syria . . . to the distant countries of Pamphylia, Cilicia, most of Asia as far as Bithynia and the remote corners of Pontus, and in the same way to Europe, to Thessaly, Boeotia, Macedonia, Aetolia, Attica, Argos, Corinth, and most of the best parts of the Peloponnese. Not only are the continents full of Jewish colonies. So are the best known of the islands, Euboea, Cyprus and Crete."¹³

¹⁰ *AJ* xvii, 328; *BJ* ii, 104 (Dicaearchia = Puteoli). For Rome see below, pp. 128-38. Since St Paul directed his preaching first to Jews, his hope of visiting Spain (*Rom.* xv, 24) is probably evidence for Jewish settlement there.

¹¹ *Ap.* i, 60.

¹² *Acts* ii, 9-11.

¹³ *Leg.* 281-2. For general statements about the extent of the Diaspora see Str. *apud AJ* xiv, 115; *BJ* ii, 398; vii, 43. Epigraphic evidence adds some communities unknown from literary sources. The most complete list of places where Jewish residents are attested is given by Juster, I, 180-209, to which add *CIJ* 554, 632-7 (sites in Italy); 655 (Malta); 671 (Aquitania); 681 (Moe-

One of the most striking characteristics of the Jew has always been his ability to preserve his national identity even after generations of residence among gentiles and to resist assimilation except in the superficial matter of language assimilation for everyday contacts. In the course of time Greek became the first language of the Diaspora in the eastern Mediterranean, and a Greek translation of the Scriptures, the Septuagint, had to be provided for the Alexandrian community during the Hellenistic period.¹⁴ But in other respects the Jews of the Diaspora remained aloof, and their refusal to compromise one jot or tittle of their religion either by abandoning or modifying their own practices or by making courteous concessions to paganism turned them into closely-knit, exclusive groups. Their exclusiveness bred the unpopularity out of which anti-Semitism was born. The Jew was a figure of amusement, contempt or hatred to the gentiles among whom he lived.¹⁵ His abstinence from pork was ridiculed¹⁶ and his insistence

sia); 694 (Stobi, Macedonia); 695-6 (Thessaly); 754 (Philadelphia, Lydia); 759-61 (sites in Lycia and Phrygia); 852-5, 861-5 (sites in Syria and Auranitis); 1441-2 (Lower Egypt); 1553 (Middle Egypt); B. Lifshitz, *Donateurs et fondateurs dans les synagogues juives* (1967), nos. 35 (Amastris, Paphlagonia); 61 (near Damascus). Epigraphic finds since 1914 have confirmed a number of places in Juster's list. The earliest evidence for some communities is of late imperial date, and much is undated. But many of them probably date nonetheless from well before the Christian era.

¹⁴ Arist., *Ad Phil.* tells how the Jewish Scriptures were translated into Greek in Alexandria by 70 (or 72) scholars from Jerusalem invited by Ptolemy II, who wanted the library in Alexandria to have copies of all the books in the world—a pleasant legend but no more. The translation was made piecemeal during the Hellenistic period, and for the benefit of Jews, not Greeks, in Egypt. The treatise itself purports to be written by a courtier of Ptolemy II to his brother, but internal evidence shows that the author was a Jew, while internal and external evidence together date it to the second half of the second century B.C. and perhaps as late as c. 100. See further M. Hadas' edition (1951), 3-54. For a survey of recent work on the treatise see D. W. Gooding in *Vetus Test.* xiii (1963), 357-79; add O. Murray in *JThS*³ xviii (1967), 337-71.

¹⁵ The Jews were regarded as unsociable and anti-social—Posidonius of Apamea and Hecataeus of Abdera *apud* Diod. Sic. xxxiv, 1, 1-4; xl, 3, 4; Philostratus, *Vita Apoll. Tyan.* v, 33; Justinus, *Epit.* xxxvi, 2, 15; Quintilian iii, 7, 21; Tac., *H v*, 5, 1-2; Juv. xiv, 103-4; as credulous—Horace, *Sat.* i, 5, 100; as eccentric—*ibid.* i, 9, 69-70; Tac., *H v*, 5, 5; as physically unattractive—Petronius, *Sat.* 68; as lazy for resting on the Sabbath—Tac., *H v*, 4, 3; Juv. xiv, 105-6; Seneca *apud* Augustine, *De Civ. Dei* vi, 11; Rutilius Namatianus i, 391-2; and as mean—*ibid.* 385-6. For gentile contempt in general see Orig., *Cels.*, *passim*.

¹⁶ *Ap.* ii, 137; Tac., *H v*, 4, 2; Juv. vi, 160; xiv, 98-9; Plut., *Symp.* iv, 5; *Cic.* 7; Sext. Empiricus, *Pyrrh. Hypoth.* iii, 223; Rutil. Namat. i, 384; Macrobius, *Sat.* ii, 4, 11 (above, p. 95; i.e., Herod would kill a son but not a pig); cf. Petr., poem 24 (Loeb), line 1.

on circumcision either ridiculed or scorned as a barbarity;¹⁷ and at a time when pagan religions were tending towards syncretism, his denial of the existence of his neighbours' deities set him apart as old-fashioned and obstinate. Rome's acquisition of a territorial empire in the eastern Mediterranean involved automatically taking over the Jewish communities there and the attendant problems of anti-Semitism.

In dealing with a religious minority which would countenance neither compromise nor assimilation and which was liable to be at loggerheads with its gentile host, Rome was faced with the alternatives of suppression on the one hand and on the other toleration with the corollary of active measures to protect the sect from gentile molestation. The normal Roman attitude towards foreign religions was one of toleration, provided that they appeared to be both morally unobjectionable and politically innocuous. Judaism with its high moral code and non-subversive character fulfilled the criteria for permitted survival, and received toleration on an *ad hoc* basis in the late republic in the form of exemption from specific Roman requirements which caused religious embarrassment, followed by positive protection under the charter of Jewish religious liberty formulated by Julius Caesar and reiterated by Augustus.

For the Diaspora communities, as for Palestinian Jews at a distance from Jerusalem, the synagogue was the local centre. But it was of purely local significance. Jerusalem was the religious focus for all Jews, wherever they lived, and though for the vast majority of the Diaspora a pilgrimage there was out of the question, they could, and were required to, contribute to the upkeep of the Temple and the cost of sacrifices. From very early days numerous dues had been levied, many of them in kind, for the support of the priests and the maintenance of the Temple cult. The payment of dues in kind was obviously a practical impossibility for Jews living at any distance from Jerusalem. But the money-tax of half a shekel (2 denarii in Roman currency or 2 drachmae in Greek, whence the term *didrachmon*), paid at least from the late Hellenistic period by all adult male Jews between the ages of twenty and fifty, including freed slaves and

¹⁷ *Ap.* ii, 137; *Petr., l.c.*, lines 3-5; *Mart.* vii, 35; *Tac., H v*, 5, 2; *SHA, Hadr.* 14; *Rutil. Namat.* i, 387-8. Jews are often referred to with the adjectives *verpus* or *curtus* or a periphrasis for circumcised—*Hor., Sat.* i, 9, 70; *Persius v*, 184; *Mart.* vii, 30, 5; xi, 94; *Juv.* xiv, 104; cf. 99.

proselytes, for the upkeep of the Temple, could be levied anywhere.¹⁸ There is abundant evidence that it was paid by the Diaspora communities in the Roman period, when it was collected locally and conveyed to Jerusalem by "sacred envoys".¹⁹

The earliest apparent reference to the collection of the Temple tax by the Diaspora comes from 88 B.C., when Mithridates raided Cos and seized the money which Cleopatra III had deposited there for safety in 102 in the face of threats from Lathyrus, together with eight hundred talents belonging to the Jews, which Josephus argues must have been transferred there by the Jews of the province of Asia for fear of Mithridates, who was then overrunning the mainland. He explains that the Jews' only public funds were "God's money", surely a periphrasis for the Temple tax. But in that case the sum is surprisingly large, since the tax was normally sent to Jerusalem annually and not accumulated locally for years. Possibly eight hundred is an error for eighty, or large voluntary gifts for the Temple may have been included. But Josephus' explanation of the actual deposit is credible.²⁰

¹⁸ *Matt.* xvii, 24; *AJ* iii, 194-6; xviii, 312; cf. xiv, 110 (not named); *BJ* vii, 218; Philo, *Heres* 186; *Spec.* i, 77-8; Dio lxvi, 7, 2. *Mish. Shek.*, *passim*; *Mekilta de-Rabbi Ishmael* on *Exod.* xix, 1-2 (ed. J. Z. Lauterbach II (1933), 194). It has been generally believed that the annual half-shekel tax dated from the period immediately after the Exile. But J. Liver in a detailed study of the evidence for the O.T. and inter-Testamental periods—in *HTbR* lvi (1963), 173-98—maintains that "the annual monetary offering to the sanctuary . . . did not become an established institution and was not fixed as an obligation on every Jew until the end of the Hasmonaean rule or somewhat later" (p. 190); he rejects the commonly held view that the tax of a third of a shekel mentioned in *Nehem.* x, 32-3 was the original levy, later raised to half a shekel, and regards it as only temporary; and he argues that the half shekel of *Exod.* xxx, 11-16 was a levy of a different character and purpose from the half-shekel tax of the Roman period. *AJ* xviii, 312 mentions ἄλλα ἀναθήματα paid by the Jews in Parthia, and therefore presumably by other Diaspora communities also, but nothing is known of them.

¹⁹ *AJ* xvi, 28, 45, 162-72 (ἐπὶ χρήματα, with references to Jerusalem; cf. below, pp. 140, 142-3); xviii, 312-13; Philo, *Spec.* i, 77-8; *Leg.* 156-7, 216, 291, 311-16; Cic., *Pro Fl.* 67. Philo's term ἀπαρχαί (also in *AJ* xvi, 172), literally "first-fruits" payable only by an agricultural and pastoral people and confined to Palestine—*Exod.* xxiii, 19; xxxiv, 26; *Deut.* xxvi, 2-11; Philo. *Spec.* i, 152-3—is used of other offerings to a deity; see Juster, I, 378, n. 4. Philo, *Prov.* ii, 64 may mean that he himself was once one of the Alexandrian envoys, but the language rather suggests private pilgrimage.

²⁰ *AJ* xiv, 112-13, quoting Strabo, who uses none of the technical terms δίδραχμον, ἐπὶ χρήματα, or ἀπαρχαί. On the interpretation of the passage see Marcus, note *ad loc.* Cleopatra's deposit—*AJ* xiii, 349. *AJ* xiv, 233 (of disputed date; see Marcus, note *ad loc.*) gives evidence for a Jewish community on Cos,

This episode carries the implication that under Roman rule the Jews in Asia were free to send their Temple tax to Jerusalem, and more details are given by an incident in 62 B.C., also in Asia, which provides the earliest direct evidence for Roman dealings with the eastern Diaspora. At an unknown date (possibly even before 88) the senate had prohibited the export of gold and silver from the empire to foreign countries, and the prohibition had been re-enacted several times, most recently in 63. But an exception had been made in the case of the Jews both in Italy and in the provinces, to enable them to continue to pay their Temple tax. In granting this exemption from the general rule the senate acted in the spirit which official Roman policy was always to follow towards the Jews and set a precedent for Julius Caesar's comprehensive legislation to ensure their religious liberty. One of the charges brought against L. Valerius Flaccus at his trial for maladministration in 59 was that as proconsul of Asia in 62 he had issued an edict rescinding this favour and banning the export of the Temple tax from his province, and had confiscated the money already collected in four cities, nearly a hundred pounds weight in gold in one case. Cicero speaking in his defence does not attribute any motive to Flaccus or attempt to argue that the existence of the general prohibition legalized his action. He merely tries to divert the jury's attention from inconvenient facts by raising irrelevancies: Flaccus did not embezzle the Jewish money but paid it all into the Roman treasury (which, coming from his advocate, may or may not have been true), and in any case the Jews are tiresome people whose "superstition" it is a virtue to oppose.²¹ Clearly therefore Flaccus' action had been illegal, the Jews' exemption still stood, and the senate had not felt that the Jews of Palestine should be punished for the trouble which they had caused to Pompey by being deprived of the Temple tax from the Diaspora, or conversely that the Diaspora should be punished for the sins of Jerusalem by a loss of preferential treatment; indeed, it could be

which would explain the choice of the island. For voluntary gifts to the Temple cf. *AJ* xviii, 81-2 (below, p. 203). 800 talents = 4,800,000 drachmae or denarii, i.e. about fifty times as much as the largest sum seized by Flaccus in Asia (below).

²¹ Cic., *Pro Fl.* 66-9, especially 67 *Cum aurum Iudaeorum nomine quotannis ex Italia et ex omnibus nostris provinciis Hierosolymam exportari soleret, Flaccus sanxit edicto ne ex Asia exportari liceret . . . Exportari aurum non oportere cum saepe antea senatus tum me consule (63 B.C.) gravissime iudicavit. Cf. In Vat. 12 (Vatinius as quaestor was sent) a me consule Puteolos ut inde aurum exportari argentumque prohiberes.* For full discussion see A. J. Marshall in *Phoenix* xxix (1975), 139-54. A pound of gold at this time was worth approximately 1,000 denarii or drachmae.

argued that, with Palestine now a client kingdom tributary to Rome, gold sent there was no longer being exported from the empire. Flaccus' edict lapsed with the end of his term of office, and there is nothing to suggest that his successors followed his example. No further trouble over the Temple tax is recorded for over a generation, and then the trouble-makers are not Roman governors but local authorities in the eastern provinces. For almost exactly a century Cicero's friend remained a unique example of a Roman magistrate removing or flouting a Jewish privilege.²²

A second *ad hoc* exemption, confined to the province of Asia, was granted in 49, to solve a special problem which arose in the East during the civil wars. Military service at the behest of gentile rulers was always bound to cause difficulties for the Jews of the Diaspora because of their dietary laws, which made their inclusion in gentile units impracticable, and their inability to carry out any duties on the Sabbath.²³ Once Marius' reforms had replaced conscription by voluntary enlistment as the normal method of legionary recruitment, any Jew who had Roman citizenship had only to refrain from coming forward. But if conscription were applied in a crisis, such Jews were liable for call-up. When mobilization was in progress in 49, the consul L. Lentulus Crus, who was recruiting in Asia for the senatorial cause, issued an edict exempting "those Jews who are Roman citizens and observe and practise Jewish rites" in the province from military service. He did this in response to an appeal on the Jews' behalf by one of his legates, who then got the proprætor of Asia, C. Fannius, to endorse Lentulus' decree.²⁴ The number of Jews affected must have been

²² See below, pp. 236-41, for A. Avilius Flaccus, prefect of Egypt, in A.D. 37-8.

²³ Mish. *Shab.* vi, 2 and 4; *AJ* xiv, 226; xviii, 84. Jewish mercenaries served under the Seleucids—*AJ* xiii, 135-42; *I Macc.* xi, 45-51; and they were important in the Ptolemaic army—*Ap.* ii, 49-52; *AJ* xiii, 65, 284-7, 349. They may have formed separate units, though there is no record of this. Cf. the Jewish garrisons at Pelusium and Leontopolis—*AJ* xiv, 99, 131-3.

²⁴ *AJ* xiv, 228-32, 234, 236-40. Josephus apparently gives here, in considerable confusion, several documents or parts of documents, together with two reports (§§ 229, 238-9) of Lentulus' staff conference. Lentulus' decree as quoted or paraphrased in §§ 228, 234 and 240 exempts only the Jews in Ephesus (evidence of the predominance of that community among those of Asia; cf. Dolabella's letter, below). But in § 230, a letter from his legate to Ephesus reporting his appeal to the proprætor of Asia, Fannius (on whom see Magie, *RRAM*, 1256, n. 76), the exemption covers "the Jews in Asia", and the same is implied by §§ 231-2, a decree of Delos, attached administratively to Asia. Cf. Juster, I, 142-4. Lentulus' decree is dated 19 or 20 June in §§ 234 and 237. 20 September in § 228 (rather late in the year for mobilization) is probably a

infinitesimally small, and the exemption can have made no appreciable difference to the war effort. But the significance of Lentulus' action lies in the principle of toleration which it embodied, and the fact that he considered it worth while to secure the goodwill of the large and influential Jewish communities in Asia by a gesture of sympathy towards their religion.

The same problem recurred in 43, when the Caesarian governor of Syria, P. Cornelius Dolabella, seized Asia from the liberator C. Trebonius and civil war was imminent in the East. The rulings of Lentulus and Fannius had lapsed with their departure, and Jews in Asia, again facing the possibility of conscription, feared that their admirable precedent would not be followed. Hyrcanus II, evidently thinking that his advocacy would carry weight with a supporter of his patron, stepped in with an appeal for the continued exemption of the Jews, and won his point. But the exemption now granted was apparently wider and covered all Jews, as Dolabella's letter does not restrict it to those with Roman citizenship.²⁵

For this the Jews had Julius Caesar to thank. For in the interval between the two grants of military exemption in a single province, isolated *ad hoc* privileges had been replaced by comprehensive permanent legislation giving positive rights to legalize the practice of Judaism in all its aspects. This legislation had been called for partly by a special problem which had arisen over the Jews in Rome.

The Jews in Rome and the Charter of Jewish Rights

The Jewish community in Rome ²⁶ makes its first appearance in a puzzling episode of 139 B.C. known from Valerius Maximus. The two epitomes of his work record, with some discrepancy of detail, an expulsion of the Jews from Rome (or Italy) in that year by edict of

scribal error. 20 Thargelion (= roughly May-June) in the Delian decree is puzzling, since by that date in 49 the decree was apparently not yet issued, and a year later the campaign of Pharsalus was in progress.

²⁵ *AJ* xiv, 223-7 (erroneously but understandably making Dolabella governor of Asia), quoting Dolabella's letter to Ephesus, the contents of which are to be passed on to other cities. (Josephus puts this before the Lentulus documents, and introduces the latter as if they were dependent on it.) The date 1 Lenaeon = 24 January seems reliable. Dolabella apparently left Rome early in November 44, and his seizure of Asia must have taken place by mid-January 43, as the news of it reached Rome in late February or early March; see P.-W., s.v. *Cornelius* 141, 1305-7; Magie, *RRAM*, 1273, n. 48. For the possibility that Antony confirmed Dolabella's exemption in 42 see above, p. 50, n. 17.

²⁶ For a detailed study of the Jews in Rome, based largely on material from the Jewish catacombs, see Leon.

the praetor peregrinus, Cn. Cornelius Hispanus, for an offence given as an attempt "to introduce their own rites to the Romans" or "to infect Roman morals with the cult of Jupiter Sabazius", and one epitome adds that their "private altars" were removed from public places.²⁷ Although there is no corroborative evidence for Jewish settlement so far west in the second century, it is by no means impossible that some Jews, probably traders, had reached Italy by that time,²⁸ especially when Palestine was in diplomatic contact with Rome from 161. Envoys came to Rome from Simon Maccabaeus in 142 or 139 seeking a renewal of the Jewish alliance with Rome,²⁹ and the coincidence of date is so close, even if the earlier date for the embassy is accepted, that the two episodes can hardly be unconnected. Yet the expulsion of the resident Jewish community in Rome stands in sharp contrast to the favourable answer given to the envoys from Palestine.³⁰ Behind this contrast lie two facets of the Roman policy towards the Jews at this time.

Valerius Maximus sees the Jewish offence which provoked the expulsion order as proselytism (with Yahweh Sabaoth equated with the better known Thraco-Phrygian god Jupiter Sabazius by similarity of sound³¹). The national basis of Judaism precluded large-scale

²⁷ Val. Max. i, 3, 3, epitome of Julius Paris (4th century A.D.?) *Cn. Cornelius Hispalus* (for Hispanus—*ILS* 6; Livy, *Oxy. Per.* 54; his father's names included Hispallus) *praetor peregrinus M. Popilio Laenate L. Calpurnio coss. edicto Chaldaeos citra decimum diem abire ex urbe atque Italia iussit . . . Idem Iudaeos, qui Sabazi Iovis cultu Romanos inficere mores conati erant, repetere domos suas coegit*. Epitome of Nepotianus (5th century A.D.?) *Chaldaeos igitur Corn. Hispalus urbe expulit . . . Iudaeos quoque, qui Romanis tradere sacra sua conati sunt, idem Hispalus urbe exterminavit arasque privatas e publicis locis abiecit*.

²⁸ The Jewish community at Puteoli (above, p. 122) can safely be assumed to have grown up round a nucleus of traders, but there is no evidence for the date of its foundation. C. Guignebert, *Le monde juif vers le temps de Jésus*² (1950), 235 (English transl. (1959), 212), conjectures that prisoners brought to Rome after the war with Antiochus III in 192-188 formed the nucleus of the Jewish community in Rome.

²⁹ See above, pp. 7-8.

³⁰ On the grounds of this contrast and the lack of supporting evidence S. Alessandri rejects the episode as a fabrication by Valerius Maximus—in *Studi Class. e Orient.* xvii (1968), 187-98.

³¹ For the obvious identification of the Jewish God with Jupiter by pagans see Varro *apud* Augustine, *De Cons. Evang.* i, 27; Orig., *Cels.* i, 24; v, 41 (using Sabaoth). Sabbath as well as Sabaoth may lie behind the further identification with Sabazius. For the cult of Sabazius and the interaction between it and Judaism see F. Cumont, *Les Religions Orientales*⁴ (1929), 60-2 and n. 60, summarizing *CRAI* 1906, 63-79; M. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* II (1950), 636-40; C. Picard in *Rev. Arch.*⁷ ii (1961), 129-61; cf. Daremberg-

missionary activity, but from the late republic Judaism became one of the substitutes adopted in place of the empty state cult which failed to fill spiritual and emotional needs, and some encouragement from the Jewish side may be taken for granted.³² It can scarcely be doubted that, once arrived in Rome, Simon Maccabaeus' envoys made contact with the Jewish community there, and the two episodes of the embassy and the expulsion may then be linked by supposing that the favourable reception accorded to the envoys by the senate gave the local community the impression that Rome approved of the religion as well as the political aspirations of their nation and inspired them to engage in proselytism or to intensify any efforts which they were already making in that direction. But Rome kept religion and politics apart. To support the Jews of Palestine politically against Syria was one thing and in theory at least Rome was prepared to do it. But to countenance the spread of an oriental cult in Rome was another, and the authorities soon clamped down, perhaps in the same year, on the Jews' proselytizing activities by expelling them from the city (or even from Italy) and destroyed their places of worship (an act misrepresented as the demolition of altars, one of the essential items of pagan religious furniture).³³ The attack on the cult of Bacchus fifty years earlier provides a parallel. If this interpretation of the expulsion is correct, opposition to proselytism at a time when the Jewish community in Rome can only have been very small established a precedent which was to be followed in Rome's later dealings with the Diaspora: though the Jews were to be guaranteed the right to practise their religion themselves, attempts to gain adherents among the Romans were frowned on, discouraged, or actually forbidden.³⁴

Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, Roscher's *Lexikon*, and P.-W., s.v. *Sabazios*. Yahweh was also identified with Saturn (see especially the Sabbath as the day of Cronos/Saturn)—Varro, *l.c.*; Tibullus i, 3, 18; Tac., *H v*, 4, 4; Dio xxxvii, 16, 2-4; 17, 3; xlix, 22, 4; lxvi, 7, 2; and with Bacchus—Plut., *Symp.* iv, 6; cf. Tac., *H v*, 5, 5.

³² For deliberate proselytism by Jews see Horace, *Sat.* i, 4, 143; *Matt.* xxiii, 15; *AJ* xx, 34-48. Cf. Simon, *Verus Israel*², 482-8. For gentile adoption of Judaism in the first century A.D. see below, pp. 205-6.

³³ The suggestion that the Jews expelled were not a resident community but the envoys or people associated with them—so Schürer, III, 58-9; L. Friedländer, *Darstellungen . . . Roms* III¹⁰ (ed. G. Wissowa, 1923), 209; T. Reinach, *Textes d'auteurs grecs et latins relatifs au Judaïsme* (1895), no. 141, n. 3; Leon, *JR*, 2-4—loses its validity if 142 is accepted as the date of the embassy; cf. M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* I (1974), 359-60. And the reference to "altars", however inappropriate in itself, implies established domicile.

³⁴ Cf. below, pp. 206, 378-83, 472-3, 500-1, 544. Valerius Maximus' work was completed after Sejanus' death; see ix, 11, 4. His interest may have been aroused by the parallelism between the events of A.D. 19 and 139 B.C.—two expulsions

After the brief and somewhat enigmatic appearance of the Roman Jews in 139, nothing more is heard of them till the time of Pompey, when their numbers were dramatically increased. Philo, describing the Jewish community under Augustus, says that "the large district of Rome beyond the Tiber" (modern Trastevere) "was owned and inhabited by Jews. The majority of them were Roman freedmen, who had been brought to Rome as prisoners-of-war and manumitted by their owners."³⁵ The first big influx occurred in 62, when the thousands of prisoners whom Pompey brought back to Rome included many Jews. But during the silent decades since 139 the Jewish community had probably been slowly growing and consolidating itself. Cicero's reference to the large crowd of Jews attending Flaccus' trial³⁶ suggests a well-established element in the population of Rome rather than a crowd of recently arrived slaves. Some of the large number of Palestinian Jews enslaved as a reprisal for Pitholaus' revolt in 53 may have been taken to Rome, though many were probably sold in the East.³⁷ There was certainly another large influx into Rome after the capture of Jerusalem in 37, since Sosius' triumph presupposes the display of Jewish prisoners.³⁸ These prisoners, like those of 62, are likely to have come mainly from Jerusalem, or at least from Judaea, and to have been Jews of pure stock and orthodox religion. The numerical size of the Jewish community in Rome at the end of the first century B.C. cannot be estimated accurately, but a reference to "over eight thousand of the Jews in Rome" in 4 B.C.³⁹ and the existence of four thousand male Jews of military age there in A.D. 19 indicate, if the figures are reliable, a total community of a very large size.⁴⁰

Manumission may have come very quickly to some of the Jews sold as slaves in Rome, if their purchasers found them to be more trouble than they were worth because of their dietary and other laws and their disinclination to work one day in seven. Formal manumission

provoked by proselytism, with simultaneous attacks on other eastern importations on both occasions, astrologers on the earlier and the Isis-cult on the later.

³⁵ *Leg.* 155.

³⁶ *Pro Fl.* 66. They are not named as Jews but their identity is obvious from their interest in the case.

³⁷ See above, p. 36.

³⁸ See above, p. 59. The Jews in Rome who in 4 B.C. welcomed the impostor claiming to be Herod's half-Hasmonaean son Alexander (above, p. 101, n. 146) may have been pro-Hasmonaean who fought against Herod and Sosius.

³⁹ *AJ* xvii, 300 ; *BJ* ii, 80.

⁴⁰ See below, pp. 202-10.

conferred full Roman citizenship on the ex-slave, but informal manumission, perhaps more frequent in the late republic, gave him no citizen rights but made him merely a *peregrinus* until the Lex Junia was passed (possibly as early as 25 B.C. but more probably in 17 B.C. or A.D. 19), conferring *Latinitas Juniana*, rights similar to those enjoyed by Latin colonies, on slaves freed informally. A Junian Latin manumitted before he was thirty became a Roman citizen as soon as he had a child a year old born in wedlock with a Roman or Latin woman, and in the course of time other avenues to full citizenship were opened to him.⁴¹ There is evidence for Jews in Rome with the full franchise during Augustus' principate.⁴²

Some Jews apparently went back to Palestine after manumission, if the "synagogue of the freedmen" in Jerusalem in the 30s A.D.⁴³ was founded by prisoners or their descendants returned from Rome. But the majority remained in Rome. Trastevere, where they were concentrated in the time of Augustus, continued to be one of the main Jewish districts in Rome at least until the end of the third century. The oldest and largest of the Jewish catacombs discovered so far in Rome, that of Monteverde on the Via Portuensis in Trastevere, the only one on the right bank of the Tiber, has a series of brick-stamps running from the first century B.C. to the reign of Diocletian as evidence of continuous use.⁴⁴ Groups of Jews later settled on the left bank of the Tiber also, in the Subura, the Campus Martius and the area round the Porta Capena, but probably not before the late first century A.D., when catacombs on that side of the river began to be dug.⁴⁵ The social and economic status of the Jews in Rome seems to

⁴¹ On the early imperial manumission laws see H. Last in *CAH* X, 429-34; A. M. Duff, *Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire* (1928), 75-85; J. A. Crook, *Law and Life of Rome* (1967), 43-5. On the date of the Lex Junia see Last, 888-90; Duff, 210-14; M. de Dominicis in *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist. offerts à A. Piganiol*, ed. R. Chevallier (1966), 1419-31; Crook, 296, n. 29. On the acquisition of Roman citizenship by *anniculi probatio*, attributed variously to the Lex Junia and the Lex Aelia Sentia of A.D. 4, see de Dominicis, 1424-9; K. M. T. Atkinson in *The Irish Jurist*² i, (1966), 362-3.

⁴² See below, p. 137. In *Leg.* 155 Philo probably uses the term "freedmen" to cover their descendants also. Cf. below, pp. 207-8, on Jews *libertini generis* in A.D. 19. Jewish influence in *contionibus* (Cic., *Pro Fl.* 66) is not evidence for large-scale manumission before 59, since non-citizens could attend.

⁴³ *Acts* vi, 9. Cf. L. H. Vincent in *RB* xxx (1921), 247-77, especially 258 ff.

⁴⁴ *CIJ* I, pp. 211-27.

⁴⁵ See below, pp. 519-21. For fuller discussion of the Jewish areas of residence see S. Collon in *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist.* lvii (1940), 72-94 (with a precision sometimes based on insubstantial hypotheses); Leon, *JR*, 135-66; *CIJ* I, lxxviii-lxxxi.

have been low in most cases. In the ancient world the Jew was generally not envied for his wealth but despised for his poverty, and the Jewish beggar is a familiar figure in Roman literature.⁴⁶ The poor material, crude workmanship and eccentric spelling and syntax of many of the epitaphs in the Jewish catacombs point to a lack of both education and money in those who set them up. About three-quarters of them are in Greek and only about a quarter in Latin, with a negligible number in Hebrew or Aramaic. But this is not necessarily evidence that the Jews in Rome remained a predominantly Greek-speaking community for centuries. They may have retained Greek solely for epitaphs, as the language of their former home, and traditionally appropriate for the purpose. The authors of the countless Latin epitaphs in our churches did not talk Latin in everyday life.

The characteristic feature of a Diaspora community was the synagogue, a term denoting primarily the organized group rather than the building, often known also as a "prayer-house",⁴⁷ in which it met for worship, and a large community was divided into several synagogues. The basic requirements of a synagogue were the right of assembly for Sabbath services and for educational purposes, and the right to have a common fund for maintaining the synagogue premises and meeting other necessary local expenses, and for collecting the Temple tax. By the time of Julius Caesar's dictatorship the Diaspora synagogues were classified by the Roman authorities as *collegia*. This was a convenient label, but though the synagogues resembled *collegia* superficially in holding meetings open to members only and in possessing funds, they differed radically from them in other respects: their functions were wider than those of *collegia*, since they were responsible for the organization and administration of all aspects of the life of the community and not for a single aspect, religious worship, alone;⁴⁸ the various synagogues in a city, though separate autonomous entities, were not isolated units but jointly formed the Jewish community of that city, which was in turn part of the worldwide

⁴⁶ Juv. iii, 14-16, 296 (implying that Jewish (?) beggars congregated near synagogues); vi, 543; Mart. xii, 57, 13; a scholium on Juv. iv, 117 (below, p. 216, n. 46).

⁴⁷ ἡ προσευχή—*Leg.* 132 and *passim*; *Fl.* 41 ff.; *AJ* xiv, 258; *V* 277 ff.; *Acts* xvi, 13; Juv. iii, 296; *CIJ* 531, 726 (from the synagogue on Delos, one of the oldest known, dating back perhaps to the second century B.C.; see Sukenik, *Synagogues*, 37-40; Goodenough, however, *Jewish Symbols* II, 71-5, expresses doubt about the building).

⁴⁸ For a full study of the officials and organization of the synagogues see Leon, *RJ*, 167-94, with bibliography and discussion of earlier studies.

Jewish nation and subject to some degree, if only morally and spiritually, to the central religious authority of Jerusalem; membership was automatic for a Jew by right of birth, without question of admission or enrolment; on the other hand, membership was exclusive to Jews and proselytes, while other *collegia* were corporations with voluntary, open membership.⁴⁹ The classification of the synagogues as *collegia* meant that their case needed special consideration when action was taken against the *collegia*.

There is no reference to the synagogues in connection with the ban imposed in 64 B.C. on all *collegia* except a few genuine artisans' clubs of long standing and proven respectability.⁵⁰ That was before the arrival of Pompey's prisoners, when the Jewish community in Rome was still small, but if the synagogues did already count as *collegia* then, an exception seems to have been made in their favour, since Cicero's speech in defence of Flaccus in 59 implies that the Jewish organizations in Rome as well as those elsewhere had legally recognized existence. In 58 Clodius as tribune got the law against *collegia* rescinded,⁵¹ with deplorable consequences, and the problem of their renewed use for undesirable purposes was one which Caesar had to tackle as dictator. By that time the Jewish community was a factor to be reckoned with in Rome and the legal status of the synagogues as *collegia* had been defined.

When Caesar disbanded all *collegia* except ancient foundations, those which were exempted from closure explicitly included the synagogues. The ban, probably applying only to Italy in 64, was now made empire-wide, and as the situation and needs of all Diaspora communities were basically alike and there was no reason for Rome to discriminate between one group and another, the exemption granted in the capital was naturally made empire-wide also. In decrees of Roman officials and cities in the East implementing Caesar's ruling the privileges of the Jewish associations were spelt out in detail: they were granted the right of assembly for worship and common meals, the right to observe the Sabbath and the festivals and to follow the other requirements of their Law, and the right to hold funds, and they

⁴⁹ On the legal aspects of the classification of synagogues as *collegia* see G. la Piana in *HTbR* xx (1927), 348-51; S. L. Guterman, *Religious Toleration and Persecution in Ancient Rome* (1951), 130-50, arguing against Juster's denial (I, 413-24) of the identification.

⁵⁰ Asconius, *In Pison.* 6; *In Cornel.* 67. Cf. P.-W., s.v. *collegium*, 405-7.

⁵¹ Ascon., *In Pison.* 6, 8; Dio xxxviii, 13, 2; Cic., *In Pis.* 9; *Pro Sest.* 55; cf. 34. Cf. P.-W., *ibid.*, 407-8.

were authorized to build synagogues.⁵² The Jews' communal property was safeguarded by a ruling that theft of the Temple tax or of the rolls of the Scriptures from a synagogue by a gentile should count as sacrilege and be punished by the confiscation of property, and that the envoys taking the money to Jerusalem should not be molested; and their religious liberty as individuals was protected by exemption from summonses to law on the Sabbath, when they would not attend and so would lose their cases by default.⁵³

The favour which Caesar showed for the Diaspora in his legislation was not unconnected with the help which he had received from Antipater during his Alexandrian campaign and with his generally friendly relations with Hyrcanus II and the Jews of Palestine;⁵⁴ and these relations in turn may have stemmed at least partially from the fact that Caesar's enemy was Pompey, the violator of the Temple. But he must also have been convinced that the Diaspora communities were politically innocuous and could therefore safely be treated with toleration. Caesar's charter of Jewish rights, which formalized and legalized what had apparently been an unwritten convention that the Jews in the empire should have religious liberty and replaced *ad hoc* enactments by permanent, universal legislation, had the effect of establishing Judaism as a *religio licita*,⁵⁵ an incorporated body with an authorized

⁵² Suet., *Iul.* 42, 3 *Cuncta collegia praeter antiquitus constituta distraxit* (without precise date). The explicit exemption of the synagogues in Rome (implying their equation with *collegia*) and the grant of their basic rights are given in *AJ* xiv, 213-16, a decree of a Roman official (whose name and titles appear hopelessly corrupt) addressed to Parium in the Troad (or Paros?), banning all *collegia* except the synagogues in accordance with Caesar's law (assuming that Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὁ ἡμέτερος στρατηγὸς ὕπατος is the dictator; the titles are odd). The general right of assembly meant that synagogues could be formed without individual authorization. The documents in *AJ* xiv, 241-6 and 256-64 confirming Jewish rights in five cities of Asia and supplying more details, though not precisely datable and not mentioning Caesar, are probably contemporary. Cf. Juster, I, 142, 146-8; Marcus, notes *ad locc.* Dolabella's edict in 43 (above, p. 128) confirmed the Jews' basic rights as well as giving military exemption, presumably lest Caesar's law should be held to have been invalidated by his murder.

⁵³ *AJ* xvi, 162-5 (on which cf. below, p. 136), 169, 172. With the penalty prescribed in § 164 cf. the fine imposed by Halicarnassus in *AJ* xiv, 258. The Roman continuation of the privilege granted to the eastern Diaspora by the Seleucids of having the oil tax refunded to them, so that they could use their own oil instead of that distributed by the gymnasiarchs, the use of which was forbidden to them, may date from Caesar also, but evidence about it is scanty—*AJ* xii, 119-20; cf. *V* 74; *BJ* ii, 591; *Mish. AZ* ii, 6; *BT AZ* 36b. On the ban on gentile oil see S. B. Hoenig in *JQR*² lxi (1970-1), 63-75.

⁵⁴ *AJ* xvi, 162. See above, pp. 37-42.

⁵⁵ Tertullian's phrase in *Apol.* 21, 1.

cult, throughout the empire, a status which it was to hold for over three centuries, except for a brief period of restriction under Hadrian. Small wonder that Jews were conspicuous among the international crowd of mourners round Caesar's funeral pyre in the forum.⁵⁶

During the civil wars after Caesar's death his law against *collegia* fell into abeyance, and Augustus found it necessary to re-enact it, at an unknown date.⁵⁷ The continued exemption of the synagogues from the ban, obvious from the whole subsequent history of the Diaspora, is given implicitly in a decree sent by Augustus to the province of Asia in A.D. 2/3 confirming the rights held by the Jews under Julius Caesar.⁵⁸ Philo speaks of Augustus' maintenance of the *status quo*: "He knew that (the Jews) had synagogues and met in them, especially on the Sabbath, when they receive public instruction in their national philosophy. He also knew that they collected sacred money from their first fruits and sent it up to Jerusalem by the hands of envoys who would offer the sacrifices. But despite this he did not expel them from Rome or deprive them of their Roman citizenship because they remembered their Jewish nationality also. He introduced no changes into their synagogues, he did not prevent them from meeting for the exposition of the Law, and he raised no objection to the offering of the first fruits."⁵⁹ Philo then records, uniquely, an additional favour granted to the Jews in Rome by Augustus when a few lines further on, without any "he knew" to make the privilege pre-Augustan, he says, "Moreover, at the monthly distributions in Rome, when all the people in turn receive money or food, he never deprived the Jews of this bounty, but if the distribution happened to be made on the Sabbath... he instructed the distributors to reserve the Jews' share of the universal largesse until the next day."⁶⁰ It is

⁵⁶ Suet., *Iul.* 84, 5.

⁵⁷ Suet., *Aug.* 32, 1 *collegia praeter antiqua et legitima dissolvit*. C. Hülsen deduced from *CIL* VI, 10299 together with VI, 148 that the era of the *collegium fabrum tignariorum* began in 7 B.C. (note *ad loc.*), and Kornemann took this as the probable date of the law—in P.-W., s.v. *collegium*, 408. It would fit Augustus' censorial activity in 8-7 B.C.—*RG* 8. Hülsen later abandoned his date; see his note on *CIL* VI, 30703. C. Pietrangeli argues for a later date for the *coll. fabr. tign.*—in *Bull. Comm. Arch. Roma* lxxvii (1939), 101-7. But the *collegium* could postdate the law, and Augustus was defending Jewish religious liberty before M. Vipsanius Agrippa's death in 12 B.C. (below, pp. 141-2).

⁵⁸ *AJ* xvi, 162-5. Cf. below, p. 143.

⁵⁹ *Leg.* 156-7. On "first fruits" see above, p. 125, n. 19. On the possible significance of the reference to expulsion at the time of composition see below, pp. 213-14.

⁶⁰ *Leg.* 158.

inherently probable that this concession to Sabbath-observance had no precedent in Caesar's legislation, since only Roman citizens were eligible for the corn-doles, and Jews with the full franchise will not have been numerous in the 40s. Junian Latins were ineligible, and if that status was created by Augustus, it will only have been in the latter part of his principate that any appreciable number of Jewish freedmen progressed from Latin to Roman rights. But evidently there were enough Jews with full citizenship in his day to make the concession worth while.⁶¹ If the corn-doles were restricted to the poorer citizens, most of the Jews are likely to have fallen within the appropriate income-bracket. The Jews' privileges were completed by two exemptions. The temporary exemption from military service granted in 43 to the Jews in Asia was apparently made permanent, and presumably extended to cover all other Jewish communities, so that, if conscription were applied, neither legionary nor auxiliary service would be demanded of them.⁶² More important was the Jews' exemption from participation in the imperial cult now being established universally—a privilege so obvious that it is never specified; it followed automatically on the grant of religious freedom and formed an integral part of it, since any attempt to force emperor-worship on a protected monotheistic cult would have been a contradiction in terms.⁶³

It was apparently during Augustus' principate that the synagogues in Rome began to be distinguished from one another by individual titles. The names of some dozen of them are known from epitaphs in the Jewish catacombs giving the synagogue to which the deceased belonged.⁶⁴ Some of them are likely to have been much later found-

⁶¹ Philo may be using "Roman citizenship" in § 157 loosely to cover *Latinitas Iuniana* as well as full rights. On the corn-doles see D. van Berchem, *Les distributions de blé et d'argent à la plèbe romaine sous l'empire* (1939), especially 15-31, 48. Philo's reference to regular money-doles to the *plebs urbana* may be due to a misunderstanding of *congiaria*.

⁶² The exemption is inferred from a Jewish complaint about compulsory service (below, p. 140). No *cohortes* or *alae Iudaeorum* are known. Apart from general difficulties (above, p. 127), the cult of the Roman military standards from republican times necessitated the exemption of the Jews from Roman military service; see K. M. T. Atkinson in *JSemS* iv (1959), 246-55. On the conscription of Jews in A.D. 19 under exceptional circumstances see below, p. 207.

⁶³ On the substitute for direct emperor-worship introduced in the province of Judaea see below, p. 148. On the problem posed for Judaism by Domitian's development of the imperial cult see below, pp. 378-81.

⁶⁴ *CIJ* I, lxxi-lxxxi, lists thirteen; Leon, *RJ*, 140-66, lists eleven and casts grave doubt on two (cf. below, n. 68).

ations, created as the Jews in Rome increased in numbers,⁶⁵ but possibly as many as four are of Augustan date. The synagogue of the Augustans was unquestionably named after the emperor, and his adoption as patron, however little it entailed in practice, testifies to the gratitude which the Diaspora felt for his measures to guarantee their religious liberty.⁶⁶ The synagogue of the Agrippans is very likely to have been named after M. Vipsanius Agrippa for his services to the Diaspora, though its patron may have been the Jewish king Agrippa I, who was well known in Rome and who saved the Temple from desecration in A.D. 40.⁶⁷ The synagogue of the Herodians (if such there was) was obviously named after Herod the Great, whose reputation stood higher with the Diaspora than with his own subjects and who on one occasion acted as their champion.⁶⁸ Lastly, the patron of the synagogue of the Volumnians may have been the procurator of Syria who had dealings with Herod the Great c. 9-7 B.C., the only Volumnius ever mentioned in a Jewish context. But this identification is very dubious and unsatisfying, since Volumnius' superior, Saturninus the legate of Syria, who was also involved, would have been the more obvious choice, and neither man gave the Jews in Palestine, still less those in Rome, any known cause for gratitude.⁶⁹ Be that as it may, the general picture of the Jews in Rome at the end of Augustus' principate is of a large, well-organized community, content with its lot; for in 4 B.C. they gave a spontaneous testimonial to the security and protection which they were enjoying by their massive support of the Palestine delegation requesting direct Roman rule for their country.⁷⁰

The Protection of Jewish Rights

The sanctions which Julius Caesar laid down and Augustus con-

⁶⁵ See below, pp. 520-2. For the possibility that the synagogue of the Hebrews was the oldest see Leon, *JR*, 147-9.

⁶⁶ συναγωγὴ τῶν Αὐγουστιῶνων—*CIJ* 284, 301, 338, 368, 416, 496.

⁶⁷ συναγωγὴ τῶν Ἀγριππῆσιων—*CIJ* 365, 425, 503. For M. Vipsanius Agrippa see below, pp. 140-2, and for king Agrippa I pp. 178-9, 195-6, 246-7.

⁶⁸ Cf. below, p. 140. *CIJ* 173, a 3-line fragment of which the first ends ... συναγωγῆς and the second ροδίων preceded by an upright line. A synagogue of Rhodians has been generally rejected in favour of one Ἡ]ροδίων. But see Leon, *RJ*, 159-62, for bibliography, discussion, and the suggestion that Ῥοδίων was the deceased or the donor of the memorial.

⁶⁹ συναγωγὴ τῶν Βολουμνησιῶνων—*CIJ* 343, 402, 417, 523. For Volumnius see *AJ* xvi, 277-83, 344, 369; *BJ* i, 538-42; cf. above, pp. 97, n. 129; 101. For bibliography and discussion of the identification see Leon, *JR*, 157-9.

⁷⁰ See above, p. 109.

firmed against gentile molestation of the Jews and infringement of their religious liberty had the effect of making anti-Semitic actions illegal. But legislation could not kill anti-Semitism, and gentile ill-will may actually have been exacerbated by the sight of Jews receiving protection and preferential treatment from Rome. There is no record of trouble arising in Rome itself, where the Jewish community was under the direct eye of the imperial government, under Augustus, but the second half of his principate saw a number of appeals by the Jews of Asia and Cyrene to various Roman officials, including the emperor himself, against attacks on their rights by the local authorities.

Even before Caesar's legislation was issued, Rome had a foretaste of the type of problem that was to become familiar in the eastern provinces, when in 49 a quarrel in Sardis was referred to the Roman authorities in Asia. The Jewish community in Sardis was one of the largest and most important in Asia Minor.⁷¹ Like those in Ephesus and other major cities in the eastern Mediterranean, it appears not only to have formed synagogues but also to have been organized since early Hellenistic times as a *politeuma*, a corporation of aliens with the right of residence in the city.⁷² Such a corporation was a quasi-autonomous civic unit with administrative and judicial powers over its own members, distinct from and independent of the Greek citizen body and its local government. The Jews of Sardis claimed to have had "from the earliest times an association of their own constituted in accordance with their native laws, and a place of their own where they decided their affairs and settled internal disputes."⁷³ In 49 they were under some sort of pressure from the Greek citizens of Sardis, who seem to have been trying to reduce or remove their rights of administration and jurisdiction in matters Jewish, and thus to undermine their civic position as a political body. The Jews appealed for redress to the proquaestor, L. Antonius, who informed the city authorities that their position and rights as a corporation were to be maintained unaltered;⁷⁴ and a few years later, when Caesar's laws

⁷¹ For the archaeological evidence, all much later, see below, p. 509.

⁷² For fuller discussion of the status, rights and organization of a *πολίτευμα* and the evidence for Asia see below, pp. 225-6, in connection with the best known Jewish *politeuma*, that in Alexandria.

⁷³ *AJ* xiv, 235. The *τόπος* . . . could be either a central synagogue, the forerunner of the second century A.D. one now known by excavation, or a civic meeting-place for transacting the secular business of the *politeuma*.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* The dating depends on the identification of its author with the L. Antonius who is proquaestor of Asia in a document of 49 (§ 230), discussed above, p. 127, n. 24. On the use of *πολιται* to describe the Jews here and in § 259 and its significance as evidence for a *politeuma* see below, p. 229.

protecting Jewish religious liberty were being implemented in the cities of the East, Sardis uniquely confirmed the civic as well as the religious rights of her Jewish community.⁷⁵ The next episode may throw some light on the cause and nature of the tension in the city.

In 14 B.C. when M. Vipsanius Agrippa was returning to the Aegean overland through Asia Minor after his Bosporan campaign with Herod the Great,⁷⁶ a quarrel between the Greek authorities and the Jewish communities of various cities in Ionia was brought to him for settlement. The Jews may well have hoped that Herod's presence and friendship with Agrippa would stand them in good stead, and he did indeed champion their cause, detailing Nicolas of Damascus to speak formally on their behalf before Agrippa and his council. The Jewish complaints were of infringements of their religious liberty: they were prevented from following the requirements of their Law, notably by being called to law on the Sabbath; their Temple tax was stolen by the Greeks; and they were "forced to take part in military service and civic duties and to spend their money on these things" (i. e. to undertake liturgies) despite official exemption by Rome.⁷⁷ The clear implication is that the civic as well as the military duties were ones incompatible with their religion. The Greeks in reply did not attempt to deny the validity of the Jews' accusations as such, but asked Agrippa for a ruling that the citizenship of their cities should be restricted to Greeks, arguing that "if the Jews were to be their fellows, they should worship the Ionians' gods."⁷⁸ This seemingly unrelated request elucidates the Jewish complaint about the imposition of civic duties. The situation in Ionia now, and in Sardis in 49, would appear to have anticipated that in Alexandria half a century later: ⁷⁹ the Jews were resident aliens, not citizens of the Greek cities in which they lived, but now, perhaps in reliance on Roman favour, the more ambitious among them coveted an improvement in their status and were

⁷⁵ *AJ* xiv, 259-61; contrast §§ 241-6, 256-8, 262-4. Cf. above, p. 135, n. 52.

⁷⁶ See above, p. 89.

⁷⁷ *AJ* xvi, 27-57. The documents on which the Jews based their claim (§ 48) presumably included Augustan as well as Caesarian enactments, in view of the evidence from Cyrenaica (below) that Augustus was active on the Jews' behalf before Agrippa's death. For a study of the ideas behind the speech here put into Nicolas' mouth see Schalit, 426-48.

⁷⁸ *AJ* xvi, 58-9; xii, 125-6, where the incident is cited briefly in discussion of the civic rights of the Diaspora in the Hellenistic period. The overlap between this account and that in book xvi is minimal, but Nicolas is advocate in both, which argues for identity, and they can be treated as complementary.

⁷⁹ See below, pp. 228-30, 234-5.

agitating for admission to the citizenship enjoyed by the Greeks. The Greeks, however, not unreasonably, felt that any such advance should be balanced by an increase in civic responsibilities, resisted the Jews' claim to have the best of both worlds, full citizen rights together with exemption from such civic duties as conflicted with their religion, and gave vent to their annoyance at Jewish aspirations by attacks on their religious privileges or, perhaps in other cities besides Sardis, on their existing civic position. Agrippa's answer was to maintain the *status quo* (as was inevitable; he could not alter or annul imperial policy) by issuing a reaffirmation of the Jews' existing rights.⁸⁰ Josephus preserves a letter from him to the city authorities of Ephesus on the subject, probably one of a number sent on this occasion to Ionian cities.⁸¹ If Agrippa pronounced in the Greeks' favour on the question of citizenship, Josephus preserves a judicious silence.

Another perennial trouble-spot was Cyrenaica with its intensive Jewish settlement. In Berenice a Jewish *politeuma* is attested from the time of Augustus.⁸² The Jews in the capital are not likely to have lagged behind those of Berenice in their political organization, and Strabo's reference to their constituting a distinct class in the city of Cyrene in the early first century B.C. may mean that a *politeuma* had already been formed there.⁸³ As early as 87/86 B.C. steps had had to be taken to put down internal disturbances in Rome's new acquisition, and Strabo's version of the affair is that there has been a Jewish rising, though he gives no details.⁸⁴ Possibly some quarrel between Jews and Greeks was the cause of, or a factor in, the unrest. Nothing more is heard of the Jews there till the time of Augustus, who at some point wrote to the governor of the province informing him of the rights of religious liberty granted to the Jews. Whether this was in reply to a report of trouble on the subject or a routine letter to all governors of provinces containing Diaspora communities giving them details of

⁸⁰ *AJ* xvi, 60-1 ; xii, 126.

⁸¹ *AJ* xvi, 167-8, included in a group which Josephus connects with the later Jewish appeal to Augustus (below). Cf. the passing reference in *Leg.* 240 to enactments of Agrippa and Augustus confirming Jewish customs.

⁸² J. and G. Roux in *Rev. Ét. Gr.* lxii (1949), 281-96, a re-publication of two decrees of the *politeuma* in Berenice (*Corp. Inscr. Gr.* 5361 = *IGRR* I, 1024 ; 5362), the later one dated A.D. 25 and the earlier perhaps 8 or 6 B.C.

⁸³ Above, p. 120. A fragment of an inscription from Cyrene (to be published by Miss J. M. Reynolds of Cambridge University, to whose courtesy I owe the information) uses formulae apparently not standard for city authorities and possibly therefore indicating a decree of a *politeuma*.

⁸⁴ *Apud AJ* xiv, 114. *Plut., Luc.* 2, 3, does not mention the Jews.

his laws for the protection of Judaism is not clear. Some time later, however, the Jews had cause to appeal to Agrippa about oppression by the authorities of the city of Cyrene: they were being "threatened by informers and prevented from sending their sacred money to Jerusalem on the pretext that they owed taxes which they had in fact paid." Agrippa's response was an order to the city to return the money and cease molesting the Jews.⁸⁵

Not long after Agrippa's death (apparently; Josephus' dating is nebulous) trouble recurred in the two provinces of Asia and Cyrenaica simultaneously, and Jewish delegations went to Augustus himself to protest against renewed attacks on their civic rights by the Greek authorities of the cities and further seizures of the Temple tax. The emperor gave the predictable response, confirming the Jews in their long-established civic position and reasserting the religious rights now guaranteed to them by Rome, especially that of collecting the Temple tax, and sent letters to that effect to the provincial governors.⁸⁶ A fragment of his letter to the proconsul of Asia, dealing only with the Temple tax, is preserved, together with the proconsul's letters passing his ruling on this matter on to two of the cities concerned, Sardis and Ephesus.⁸⁷

Sporadic trouble, however, continued in Asia despite this direct imperial intervention. Jullus Antonius, proconsul of Asia some time between 9 and 2 B.C., had to write to the old offender Ephesus at the request of the Jews of Asia (who seem to have been anticipating, rather than actually suffering, molestation this time), reminding the city authorities of Augustus' and Agrippa's rulings about the Temple

⁸⁵ *AJ* xvi, 169-70, an undated letter from Agrippa to Cyrene, quoted with his letter to Ephesus (above) and providing the sole evidence for Augustus' letter and the Jewish appeal.

⁸⁶ *AJ* xvi, 160-1, placed shortly after the inauguration of Caesarea in 12 or 10 B.C. (above, p. 80, n. 62); but such chronological indications are unreliable. The references to *ισονομία* and *ισοτέλεια* indicate civic status as one of the matters of dispute.

⁸⁷ In *AJ* xvi, 162-73 Josephus quotes six documents, describing them in § 161 as the letters which Augustus sent to the provincial governors. Two are in fact Agrippa's letters to Ephesus and Cyrene (above) and two are later (below). §§ 166 and 171 are probably contemporary, respectively a part of a letter from Augustus to C. Norbanus Flaccus, proconsul of Asia, and a letter from Flaccus to Sardis. *Leg.* 315 preserves a similar letter from him to Ephesus. C. Norbanus Flaccus is more likely to have been the consul of 24, who can be fitted into the fragmentary proconsular fasti for Asia after 12, than his namesake (his father?), consul in 38. On the proconsul and the use of "Caesar" alone for Augustus see the note on *Leg.* 315. There is no documentary evidence for Cyrenaica.

tax.⁸⁸ And in A.D. 2/3, in completely unknown circumstances, Augustus sent an edict setting out Jewish rights in full to the proconsul of Asia, to be posted on the temple of the imperial cult at Ancyra,⁸⁹ the most comprehensive surviving statement of the rights granted by Julius Caesar and confirmed by Augustus.

It is evident from the repeated Jewish complaints about theft of the Temple tax and the repeated Roman reassertions of the Jews' rights in the matter that this was the chief bone of contention between them and the Greek city authorities in the East. But behind the frequent disputes there seems to have lain, in Asia at least, friction over Jewish civic status, and in the lucrative pastime of devising pretexts for confiscating the tax the Greeks could give practical expression to their hostility. With Augustus' edict of A.D. 2-3 the curtain falls in the Diaspora in Asia and Cyrenaica for many years. Though silence is a deceptive witness, this may be evidence that a *modus vivendi* was now established between the Jews and their host cities when the gentiles at last accepted the fact that Rome would enforce her policy of the protection of Jewish religious liberty.

⁸⁸ *AJ* xvi, 172-3 (giving the name incorrectly as Julius).

⁸⁹ *AJ* xvi, 162-5. Josephus, unaware of the date given by C. Marcius Censorinus' proconsulship, evidently regarded this as Augustus' answer to the appeal from Ionia and Cyrenaica.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE PROVINCE OF JUDAEA, A.D. 6-41

Judaea during the period 6-66 stands out among the Roman provinces for the amount of detailed information available about its internal conditions and the relations between the government and the governed. For the Jews are unique among the subjects of Rome at that time in being articulate through the survival of Josephus' contemporary account of local history, supplemented by Philo, who records two episodes in the history of the province in his *Legatio*, and the New Testament, which supplies a considerable amount of incidental historical information. But the picture is one-sided, since no complementary accounts survive written from the Roman angle to balance that of Josephus with the Jewish bias which it inevitably carries despite his defection to Rome during the war of 66-70. In Roman eyes Judaea was an unimportant province and most events there were too insignificant to merit a place in the record of the empire as a whole until a major war developed, fought by four legions and two future emperors. The series of internal disturbances which began in the late 20s and the two decades of growing anarchy which culminated in the revolt of 66 are largely ignored by extant Roman historians.¹ But though the imbalance of the evidence makes it difficult to assess events impartially, and the suspicion sometimes arises that details unfavourable to the Jewish side and providing some excuse or justification for seemingly harsh Roman actions may have been judiciously suppressed, Josephus' account gives the clear impression that on more than one occasion of friction or conflict the Jews were at fault in initiating trouble unprovoked.

The Organization of the Province

Judaea, as a new acquisition, was kept under Augustus' control as

¹ Tac., *A* xv, 44, 3, mentions the Crucifixion in order to explain the origin of the Christians whom Nero was attacking in 64. In *A* xii, 54 he recounts a disturbance in 52 (below, pp. 265-7), primarily to show up the misconduct of the procurator Felix, one of the hated class of imperial freedmen. In *H* v, 9, 3-10, 1 in the sketch of the history of Judaea which prefaces his account of the siege of Jerusalem in 70, he summarizes Gaius' attack on the Temple (below, pp. 174-9) and singles out Felix and the last procurator, Gessius Florus, for criticism.

an imperial province. Since it was very small and from the military point of view lay under the shadow of the four legions in Syria, it was put under a junior official of equestrian rank with a mere handful of auxiliary troops which served only as a garrison to maintain internal order and not for external defence. In normal circumstances Judaea was an administratively independent unit, but it was subject to the general oversight of the legate of Syria,² to whom the Jews had the right to appeal over the head of their governor and who could and did intervene in Judaea in case of crisis with or without specific instructions from Rome.³

The equestrian governors who administered Judaea from 6 to 66 have until recently all been referred to commonly as "procurators", the title given to Pontius Pilate and to Gessius Florus by Tacitus, by whose time it had become the regular title for such officials. In the *Bellum Judaicum* Josephus generally uses the Greek term which by the late first century A.D. had become the standard translation of "procurator", as does Philo, writing a generation earlier, in his sole reference to Pilate. But in the *Antiquitates* Josephus also uses the term which normally translates "prefect", as well as a non-technical general term for "governor", for the men who governed Judaea from 6 to 41, though he usually uses the standard translation of "procurator" for those of 44-66. New Testament writers only use the non-technical term "governor".⁴ However, a fragment of a Latin inscription found in Caesarea gives Pilate the title "prefect". This supports the deduction made from other evidence, most of it epigraphic, that up to the reign of Claudius, though the terminology was still fluid, the normal title for an equestrian provincial governor was "prefect", and "procurator" must now be reserved for the governors of Judaea after 44.⁵

Herod the Great's port of Caesarea was chosen as the Roman

² *AJ* xvii, 355 τῆς δ' Ἀρχελάου χώρας ὑποτέλους προσενηθείσης τῇ Σύρων, and xviii, 2 Ἰουδαίαν προσθήκην τῆς Συρίας γενομένην exaggerate the dependence of Judaea on Syria. Contrast Tac., *A* ii, 42, 5 *provinciae Syria atque Iudaea*.

³ See below, pp. 151, 170-1, 260, 266-7, 284-5.

⁴ Procurator—Tac., *A* xv, 44, 3; *H* v, 10, 1. ἐπίτροπος (the standard translation), with ἡ ἐπιτροπή and ἐπιτροπεύειν implying the same term—*BJ* ii, 117, 169, 220, 223, 247, 252, 271, 273; *AJ* xx, 2, 14 (in a letter of Claudius dated 45), 97, 99, 132, 142, 162; *V* 13; *Leg.* 299. ἡγεμῶν (governor), with ἡγεμονεύω—*AJ* xviii, 55; *Matt.* xxvii, 2, 11, 15, 21, 27; *Luke* iii, 1; xx, 20; *Acts* xxiii, 24-5, 33; xxiv, 1, 10; xxvi, 30. ἐπαρχος (prefect)—*BJ* vi, 305; *AJ* xviii, 33, 237 (if ἱππάρχην of the MSS. is an error for ἐπαρχον); xix, 363; xx, 197.

⁵ See below, p. 167, n. 79 for text and references. For discussion of the titles see Volkmann (cited there), 130-2; A. H. M. Jones, *Studies in Roman Government and Law* (1960), 117-19.

administrative capital and military headquarters,⁶ and his palace there was taken over as the governor's residence.⁷ This city was more convenient than Jerusalem for sea communication with Rome, while at the same time within easy reach of the capital, and, being furnished with Greco-Roman cultural amenities, it had an atmosphere more congenial to Roman officials than Jerusalem. An equally important advantage was the fact that troops with their pagan features could be stationed in a largely gentile city without giving offence to the Jews.

When the governor had occasion to visit Jerusalem, as was his habit at the major events of the Jewish religious year, when it was advisable to be at hand in case disturbances broke out among the vast and excited crowds of pilgrims,⁸ he resided in Herod's fortress-palace at the north west corner of the city.⁹ As a result, when members of the Herodian family came to Jerusalem (as Antipas did, for example, for the Passover at which the Crucifixion took place), they had to be content with the old Hasmonaean palace in the centre of the Upper City.¹⁰

The garrison of the province consisted of only six or seven auxiliary units of five hundred men. Five of the infantry units and the one unit of cavalry were recruited locally, primarily from the non-Jewish cities of Sebaste, whence Herod the Great had drawn the core of his army,¹¹ and Caesarea. The coincidence of size between Herod's three thousand Sebastenians and the six auxiliary units strongly suggests that that part of his army had remained under Archelaus' control in 4 B.C. and was now taken over by Rome and organized on Roman lines (if indeed it had not already been so organized by Herod).¹² A

⁶ Numerous references in Josephus; *Acts* x, 1; xxiii, 23-33; xxv, 1-6; Tac., *H* ii, 78, 4 *Iudaeae caput*.

⁷ *AJ* xv, 331; *Acts* xxiii, 35.

⁸ See *Matt.* xxvi, 5 and episodes below, pp. 157, 161-3, 263-4.

⁹ *Leg.* 299. See the note *ad loc.* ἐν τοῖς . . . Ἡρώδου βασιλείαις and Schürer, I (rev.), 361, n. 38 for bibliography on the question whether the praetorium mentioned in the accounts of the trial of Christ before Pilate was Herod's palace or the Antonia.

¹⁰ See below, p. 278.

¹¹ See above, p. 85.

¹² The evidence all comes from 44 and later—*AJ* xix, 364-5 (cf. 356-8); xx, 122 (cf. note 14 below), 176; *BJ* ii, 236; iii, 66. But Roman auxiliary units serving under Agrippa I will surely have been in the province, 6-41. The σπειρή Σεβαστή, with an apparently Roman centurion, of *Acts* xxvii, 1 may have been an extra unit brought in after 44, but was more probably one of the known five locally recruited cohorts with an otherwise unattested title, *cohortes Augusta Sebastenorum*. Herod seems to have employed Roman officers (see the names Rufus and Gratus in *BJ* ii, 52, 74), and this may indicate Roman formations.

sixth infantry unit, the "Italian cohort", apparently not recruited locally, is mentioned once in the *Acts of the Apostles*, but there is nothing to show whether it was added to the garrison in A.D. 6 or later.¹³ The inadequacy of a force of this size explains both the dependence of the governors of Judaea on the legate of Syria for help in cases of crisis, and their inability to prevent or check the rising turbulence of the province in the 50s and 60s. Caesarea was the Roman military headquarters, but a garrison of one cohort was maintained in Jerusalem, in the Antonia, from which at festivals it mounted guard on the roofs of the porticoes of the Temple enclosure to ensure order;¹⁴ and in all probability Herod's palace was also garrisoned.¹⁵ The Roman military tribune commanding the cohort in Jerusalem acted as the governor's deputy there and had powers of civil administration.¹⁶ Herod's fortress at Masada was occupied from the formation of the province, and perhaps also Cypros and Machaeros,¹⁷ but no other establishments outside the two big cities are known.

It went without saying that the Jews of the new province enjoyed the privileges of religious liberty guaranteed for the Diaspora by Julius Caesar and Augustus. The right to practise Judaism carried with it automatically the privilege of exemption from participation in the imperial cult. It was most probably at the time of the formation of the province, when the normal provincial oath of loyalty to the emperor will have been instituted,¹⁸ that a substitute for the direct

¹³ *Acts* x, 1, σπεῖρη Ἰταλική, generally identified with *cohors II Italica c. R.*, which was probably in Syria by 69—Gabba, *Iscr. Bibbia* 25-6 (= *ILS* 9168; *CIL* XI, 6117); cf. P.-W., s.v. *cohors*, 304. Jackson and Lake, *Beginnings* V, 467-9, argue that the events of *Acts* ix, 32—xi are misplaced and belong after Agrippa I's death (ch. xii). If so, the *cohors Italica* may have come in with the reconstitution of the province in 44 (below, p. 256). On the garrison see further Schürer, I (rev.), 363-6; T. R. S. Broughton in *Beginnings* V, 439-43; C. H. Kraeling in *HTbR* xxxv (1942), 266-9.

¹⁴ *AJ* xv, 408; xviii, 93; xx, 106-7; *BJ* ii, 224; v, 244. Cf. *AJ* xx, 122, where only four cohorts are available for action; i.e. the fifth was on duty in Jerusalem. After 44, if not before, the garrison was a *cohors equitata*—*Acts* xxiii, 23.

¹⁵ The only evidence comes from 66—*BJ* ii, 328-9. But it would have been imprudent to leave such a stronghold undefended and accessible to malcontents, and *AJ* xx, 110 shows that after 44 the troops were not all in the Antonia.

¹⁶ *Acts* xxi, 31—xxiii, 30, especially xxii, 30, where he requests the Sanhedrin to meet.

¹⁷ See Yadin, *Masada*, 206, and in *IEJ* xv (1965), 117, for numerous coins of the Roman governors of 6-66 found there. Garrisons in Cypros and Machaeros are attested only in 66—*BJ* ii, 484-5; cf. § 408 for Masada.

¹⁸ Cf. above, p. 98. The oath is attested for Judaea at the accession of Gaius—*AJ* xviii, 124.

worship of the emperor as a deity was devised for the Jews: in accordance with their Law, which countenanced prayer and sacrifice for temporal overlords,¹⁹ sacrifices of two lambs and a bull were to be offered daily in the Temple to God for the emperor's well-being, to replace the offering of sacrifices to the emperor himself normal in other provinces.²⁰ The sanctity of the Temple was not infringed by the change in the status of Judaea, and even a Roman citizen could be put to death for disregarding the notices warning gentiles not to enter the inner courts.²¹ The Jewish objection to "graven images" designed for worship was respected to the extent that the troops normally chosen for garrison duty in Jerusalem were ones whose ensigns were not adorned with imperial portraits. And the bronze coins struck by the Roman governors for local use did not show the emperor's head but bore designs of inanimate objects such as a cornucopiae, a wreath, a flower and a palm-branch which had figured on earlier Jewish coins; at the same time, the fact that the provinces were not allowed to coin in precious metals meant that imperial gold and silver coins with portrait heads were bound to circulate in the country also.²²

Josephus says that after the end of Herodian rule, "the constitution was an aristocracy and the High Priests were entrusted with the leadership of the nation";²³ that is, he sees the political Sanhedrin²⁴ under the presidency of the High Priest as the real ruler under the aegis of a Roman resident governor, which was virtually what the Jews had asked for. But the political character of the High Priesthood now became unmistakable, when the right of appointment passed from Archelaus to the Roman authorities, normally the governor of Judaea, though the legate of Syria exercised it twice by virtue of his powers of

¹⁹ *Ezra* vi, 10; *Jerem.* xxix, 7; *I Macc.* vii, 33; *Baruch* i, 10-12 (on which see H. St J. Thackeray, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship* (1923), 89-90); *Mish. Aboth* iii, 2. Cf. Schürer, II, 360-1.

²⁰ *Leg.* 157 (with the note *θυσίας*), 232, 317; *Ap.* ii, 77; *BJ* ii, 197, 409. There is no precise evidence for date and the practice may have been introduced by Herod (above, p. 83). In *Leg.* 157 and 317 *προστάξας* and *διετέλεστο* imply that the initiative lay with Augustus, and he there bears the expense. In *Ap.* ii, 77 the Jews bear the expense. Philo and Josephus may simply be viewing the matter in different lights, if the cost was actually defrayed out of the provincial taxes.

²¹ *BJ* vi, 124-6. Cf. above, p. 93. St Paul narrowly escaped death when suspected of having taken a gentile in—*Acts* xxi, 27-32.

²² *BMC, Pal.*, 248-68. For imperial currency see the incident of the "tribute-money" in the Gospels—*Matt.* xxii, 15-21; *Mark* xii, 13-17; *Luke* xx, 21-5.

²³ *AJ* xx, 251.

²⁴ See above, p. 32, n. 36.

supervision over Judaea.²⁵ In this way the supreme Jewish authority, the Sanhedrin, came under indirect Roman control, since only men who could be relied on to pursue a policy approved by Rome would be chosen for its presidents. The dependence of the High Priest on Roman goodwill was emphasized by the fact that his ceremonial vestments were now in Roman hands: they continued to be housed, as they had been under Herod and Archelaus, in the Antonia where, in a stone vault sealed by the Jewish authorities, their sanctity was safeguarded against gentile touch; but access to them depended on the commander of the Roman garrison there, who allowed the priests to take them out only for the week needed for purification before use at each of the great festivals and on the Day of Atonement. The fact that robes sacred to the cult of Yahweh were in gentile custody rankled with the Jews, but it was thirty years before they recovered possession of them.²⁶

In accordance with the normal Roman practice of leaving as much local administration as possible in the hands of the native authorities of each province, Jewish laws were allowed to stand and the political Sanhedrin was retained as the administrative and judicial body for local Jewish affairs, but with its powers of capital punishment restricted. The Roman governor naturally had the power of life and death over the Jews in the case of political offences,²⁷ a power which he exercised in many episodes recorded by Josephus. Religious offences, however, which were of no intrinsic concern to the Romans and in any event beyond their ability to assess, were naturally left to the discretion of the Sanhedrin.²⁸ The question whether the Sanhedrin had independent rights of capital punishment in such cases is complicated and controversial. That it heard capital cases is clear. On the evidence of the trial of Christ it has often been argued that once the Sanhedrin had found a man guilty of a capital offence, the death sentence had to be pronounced, or at least ratified, by the Roman authorities, and the statement of the Sanhedrin to Pilate in that occasion, "We are not allowed to execute anyone",²⁹ appears to be categorical and

²⁵ See below, pp. 155, 172-3.

²⁶ *AJ* xviii, 93-4. Cf. above, p. 74, below, p. 172.

²⁷ *AJ* xviii, 2 (the first governor was sent) ἡ γησόμενος Ἰουδαίων τῇ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐξουσίᾳ. *BJ* ii, 117 μέχρι τοῦ κτείνειν λαβὼν παρὰ Καίσαρος ἐξουσίαν sounds like a rendering of *ius gladii*. On a provincial governor's capital powers see Schürer, I (rev.), 367-70, with bibliography.

²⁸ Cf. *BJ* vi, 334—Rome allowed Jewish laws to stand.

²⁹ *John* xviii, 31.

unambiguous.³⁰ But it is unique, and against it stands the cumulative effect of a considerable body of evidence which points in the opposite direction to indicate that the Sanhedrin did possess capital powers in religious cases up to 70: Pilate's own proposal that the Jews should try and sentence Christ themselves; the episode of the woman taken in adultery whom Christ, no breaker of Roman law, invited the Jews to put to death; the execution of Stephen (surely before the restoration of independence under Agrippa I in 41), with no suggestion of illegality;³¹ and the general point that it would have been anomalous for the Sanhedrin to have the right to execute even Romans for trespass in the Temple if they lacked capital powers over members of their own race in religious matters. In Josephus' account of the execution of St James by the Sanhedrin in 62³² the High Priest's misdemeanour apparently lies not in the execution itself but in his convening of the Sanhedrin without the procurator's permission, which suggests that meetings of that body for judicial purposes needed Roman authorization, but that once this was granted, its powers in its own sphere were absolute and final.³³ Provincials normally lacked capital powers. But the Jews were privileged in other respects, and the grant of a further privilege in A.D. 6, strictly limited to matters of religion, would have been in line with established Roman policy towards them.

Tribute had been paid to Rome by the Jewish client kingdom ever since 63 B.C. in the form of a tax on the produce of the land, which had been regulated by Julius Caesar in 47. As a province Judaea con-

³⁰ If the rule in Mish. *Sanh.* iv, 1 that the death sentence could be passed only on the day after a trial and that therefore a capital court could not sit on the eve of a Sabbath or feast (and *a fortiori* it would not sit on such days themselves) was in force at this time, the Jews' point may have been simply "We cannot pass the death sentence to day" (the Passover or its eve; below, p. 168, n. 82). If so, it was a quibble; the Sanhedrin had just sat as a court. But the rule may be later. Cf. D. R. Catchpole in *Trial*, 58-9. Winter, *TJ*, 88-9, rejects *John* xviii, 31 as a falsity designed to retain Jewish responsibility for Christ's execution while explaining its Roman form.

³¹ *John*, *l.c.*; xix, 6; viii, 3-7; *Acts* vii, 58-60. On stoning as a normal Jewish method of execution see J. Blinzler in *Trial*, 147-61.

³² See below, pp. 279-80.

³³ For recent studies of the problem of the Sanhedrin's powers of capital jurisdiction, reaching different conclusions and including bibliography of earlier discussion, see, e.g., Sherwin-White, *RSNT*, 35-43; Winter, *TJ*, 67-90; Catchpole in *Trial*, 59-63; and *The Trial of Jesus* (1971), 236-54; Mantel *Sanhedrin*, 284-5, 307-10 (accepting the suggestion that in *JT Sanh.* i, 1 and vii, 2 (Schwab X, 228; XI, 3) on the Jews' loss of capital jurisdiction, "forty years" before the destruction of the Temple is an error for "four"); cf. Schürer, I (rev.), 378.

tinued to pay a land-tax (*tributum soli*). But annexation made the Jews automatically liable also for the *tributum capitis*, the personal tax paid by provincials, as well as for the *vectigalia*, the indirect taxes paid by the whole empire, of which the most important were the harbour dues (*portoria*). The first Roman administrative act in the new province was therefore the holding of a census (a land-survey as well as a count of the population) in order to obtain the accurate information about its manpower and financial resources needed for assessing its tax capability. For this purpose Augustus instructed the newly appointed legate of Syria, P. Sulpicius Quirinius, who had just conducted a census in his own province, to go to Judaea to organize the country as a province and in particular to take a census, an operation which was evidently regarded as beyond the capabilities of the junior and inexperienced *eques* who was to be left as Judaea's first governor, one Coponius, who, like most of his successors, is otherwise completely unknown to history.³⁴ Its outcome was the imposition of the *tributum capitis* in the form, apparently, of a flat-rate tax which by *c.* 30 was one Roman denarius per head, the "tribute-money" of the Gospels.³⁵ The responsibility for the collection of the direct tax passed from the Herodian officials to the procurator and his staff. The collection of the indirect taxes was farmed, but not to the notorious syndicates of rapacious Roman *publicani* who, thanks to Augustus' reforms in provincial government, did not get a hold on the provinces annexed during the principate. The despised "publicans" of the Gospels were Jewish tax-farmers who purchased the tax-collecting concessions and earned the hatred of their compatriots for being in the service of a

³⁴ *AJ* xviii, 1-2. δικαιოდότης . . . καὶ τιμητῆς τῶν οὐσιῶν (Quirinius) = *legatus iuridicus* and censor. H. G. Pflaum, *Les Procurateurs équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain* (1950), 22, thinks that Quirinius and Coponius did not hold authority over Judaea simultaneously, but that Coponius' government began only with Quirinius' departure. Quirinius' supposed "first governorship of Syria" at the time of the Nativity late in Herod the Great's reign is now abandoned; see Appendix E.

³⁵ In *Luke* xx, 21-6 φόρος is the term used, but *Matt.* xii, 15-22 has κῆνσος and *Mark* xii, 13-17 κῆνσος with the variant ἐπικεφάλαιον = poll-tax. This adoption of the Latin term suggests that in Jewish minds the census was identified with the introduction of a personal tax, while any changes in the land-tax which they were used to paying passed without comment. But the presumed abolition of the sabbatical year concession (above, pp. 40-1), never heard of again, may have been a contributory factor in the opposition (below). The earliest reference to the *tributum capitis* by its technical name in Judaea concerns the Flavian period (below, p. 343). On the reference in *App.*, *Syr.* 50 to the tax in the mid-second century A.D. see below, p. 480, n. 49. On the question of a poll-tax under Herod the Great see Schalit, 271-7.

foreign power soon to be regarded as an oppressor rather than a deliverer from oppression, and for enriching themselves in the process by extortion. Zacchaeus was a senior tax-official of a customs post at the Jordan crossing near Jericho on the frontier between the province and Peraea, while Christ's disciple Matthew was one of the lesser fry in the profession.³⁶

For the exaction of the *tributum capitis* a man was normally registered in his own home town or city; hence the requirement, recorded for Egypt, of returning home for the census. The total tax payable by each administrative unit was then calculated and the local authorities were left to raise it from the inhabitants by whatever means they thought fit. In Judaea the existing toparchic administrative system was almost certainly used for this purpose. The toparchies were still meaningful entities in 66, and the most obvious practical function for them to have retained under Roman rule was financial.³⁷

The census gave the Romans a foretaste of the problems which the direct government of Judaea was to entail. There was widespread resentment,³⁸ based no doubt on an understandable disinclination to pay extra taxes as the price for being disencumbered of Archelaus, and a campaign of civil disobedience in the form of a refusal to register would have followed, had not the High Priest Joazar³⁹ managed to persuade the majority of the population to let common sense prevail and to submit to the census quietly. The gist of his arguments can easily be guessed: the census was a normal and routine administrative measure which followed inevitably on the change to provincial status for which the Jews themselves had asked, and resist-

³⁶ *Luke* xix, 1-10; *Matt.* ix, 9; *Mark* ii, 14. (If Herod the Great was tributary, so presumably were his successors.)

³⁷ *BJ* iii, 54-6, listing the nine toparchies of Judaea and two of Idumaea in setting the geographical scene of the revolt in 66; Engedi had apparently replaced Adora as capital of the toparchy of east Idumaea; on "Idumaea" as a toparchy see above, p. 70, n. 32. Cf. Pliny, *NH* v, 70, giving the Judaeae list only and erroneously including the city of Joppa; his Bethlethephe is to be identified with Josephus' Pella—*BJ* iv, 445. For a full study of the lists see Schalit, 208-11. For the retention of the toparchic division of Galilee and Peraea also after their annexation in 44 see below, p. 273.

³⁸ Possibly the old belief still lingered on that a peace-time census was sinful—*Exod.* xxx, 11-16 (with an expiatory offering); II *Sam.* xxiv; I *Chron.* xxi. Cf. J. Liver in *HTbR* lvi (1963), 174-5; S. Applebaum in *JRS* lxi (1971), 162. There was resistance to the introduction of regular tax-assessment in Gaul in 12 B.C. (Livy, *Per.* 139; cf. Dio liv, 32, 1), and among the Cietae in Cilicia in A.D. 36 (Tac., *A* vi, 41).

³⁹ See above, p. 116.

ance was therefore illogical as well as futile. A minority, however, ignored Joazar's appeal to reason, preferred the inflammatory arguments of a certain Judas from Galilee that the census meant "nothing but downright slavery" and that it was a confession of weakness for people who regarded God as their only master to accept a human overlord and to pay tribute to Rome, and indulged in a certain amount of active opposition.⁴⁰ The episode of the "tribute-money" in the Gospels shows that the sting of the census lay in the imposition of a universal personal tax payable to Caesar. It was the psychological impact of the *tributum capitis* that was of primary importance, and even twenty-five years later its legitimacy was not universally accepted. The question put to Christ was not "Is the tax too heavy?" but "Is it lawful to pay the tax?"⁴¹

The trouble over the census was apparently not serious in itself and was quickly suppressed.⁴² But its consequences were very serious in that the extremist feeling thus unintentionally crystallized by the Romans gave birth to the nationalist party, heir to the rebels of 4 B.C. and earlier, which was to develop to formidable dimensions during

⁴⁰ *AJ* xviii, 3-6 (where, uniquely, Judas comes from Gaulanitis, in Philip's tetrarchy); xx, 102; *BJ* ii, 118, 433; vii, 253; *Acts* v, 37. In only one of these references is the term "revolt" used. Religious ties between Galilee and Judaea remained close despite their political separation, as the Gospels show, and Galilee with its history of guerilla warfare could readily supply an organizer of sedition. This Judas was probably not the Judas who had led the Galilaean rising in 4 B.C. The name was common, and while the fact that Josephus does not say that the earlier Judas was killed would allow the identification, he, significantly, nowhere suggests any connection between the two men, though when introducing the earlier Judas he mentions that he was the son of Ezechias (above, p. 44), and when introducing the descendants of the later Judas he recalls his claim to fame. Further, the earlier Judas aimed at the throne for himself, whereas the later opposed any temporal ruler—*AJ* xviii, 23. And identification would involve an improbably wide spacing of generations: the son of Ezechias (killed in 47 B.C.) was at least forty-three in 4 B.C., and the sons of the later Judas, if killed in A.D. 6, were at least forty when executed between 46 and 48 (below, p. 259); but identification makes the only Judas at least fifty two in A.D. 6, in which case *either* his sons were born exceptionally late in his life, *or* they were aged sixty or seventy when executed and the members of the next generation were of a similar age when prominent in 66-73 (below, pp. 292, 335-8). See further J. S. Kennard in *JQR*² xxxvi (1945-6), 281-6 (for the identification), and the bibliography given by Hengel, *Zeloten*, 337, n. 4; add Kreissig, *Zusammenhänge*, 115-16 (against the identification).

⁴¹ References above, p. 151, n. 35.

⁴² Josephus drifts away from the disturbances without recording their suppression or the leader's fate, but his death (*Acts*), whether in battle or by judicial execution, is logical; Quirinius would hardly have left Coponius with a dangerous trouble-maker at large.

the following sixty years. Josephus describes Judas' followers as forming a religious sect, the Jewish "fourth philosophy", parallel to the sects of the Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes, and their doctrines as an extreme form of Pharisaism, mainly characterized by an overpowering passion for freedom and a refusal to call any man master. To them the only lawful ruler of the Jews was God, and they were prepared to kill or be killed and to suffer any hardship for the sake of their principles and would countenance no compromise with Rome such as the main body of the Pharisees was ready to make provided that they were allowed to practise their religion in peace. When recording the inception of the nationalist extremist movement, Josephus attributes to it the responsibility for all the misery brought upon the province by years of internal strife and by the revolt of 66-70.⁴³ Yet when recounting the various episodes of the decades before the revolt, and even the outbreak of the revolt itself, he never mentions Judas' sect again either by name or by implication. The element which is blamed for the trouble is then always the "brigands", the terrorists or guerilla fighters. But brigand activity figures among the by-products of Judas' "philosophy", and there seems little reasonable doubt that they were his spiritual heirs; to Josephus their present actions were all that mattered and their historical inspiration could now be ignored. The identification is then taken further; the terrorists who put Judas' tenets into practice from c. 30 onwards are often regarded as having formed the nucleus of the war-party known as the Zealots from late in 66. The name Zealot is not applied to them, or indeed used at all, by Josephus in connection with events before 66;⁴⁴ but even if the triple identification of Judas' sect, the terrorists, and the Zealots of the war years cannot be proved definitely, the clear connection between the motives and beliefs of the three groups at any rate indicates a development of one group out of another. Even though the title Zealot was apparently not taken by Judas' sect or by the terrorists, the Zealots were inspired by the same attitude to the Law, the same dream of the recovery of independence, and the same hostility to foreign domination and hence to Jewish collaboration

⁴³ *AJ* xviii, 7-10, 23-5. § 23 appears to correct the statement in *BJ* ii, 118 that Judas' sect had no tenets in common with the other three. *BJ* vii, 253-8 makes reprisals by Judas' disciples (using the term *sicarii*, on which see below, p. 274) on individuals who accepted Roman rule continuous from A.D. 6.

⁴⁴ Luke, uniquely (vi, 15 and *Acts* i, 13), calls one of the twelve Apostles Simon the Zealot; but he may be carrying a later term back anachronistically.

with Rome, which was rooted in the tradition of Jewish nationalism going back to the days of the Maccabees.⁴⁵

The hardening of Jewish nationalist feeling into a militant resistance movement at the very start of the period of Roman rule was the fundamental cause of the recurrent disturbances of the next sixty years and of the revolt which was their climax, in the sense that it created or sharpened the dilemma facing the Romans in attempting to govern Judaea as a province. They were committed to a policy of protecting Jewish religious liberty, but on the political level they were opposed to nationalist aspirations among their subjects. The problem in Judaea was that to the Jews religion and politics were inextricably bound up together as two facets of a single way of life, and though a *modus vivendi* might have been established between Rome and moderate Jewish opinion, the existence of a belligerent nationalist party focusing discontent and fostering opposition posed a problem which the Romans signally failed to solve. Their failure in turn aggravated matters, and the story of the years 6-66 is largely the story of how the occupying power and the nationalists reacted on one another, each provoking the other to further excesses, until the final explosion came.

Quirinius' last action before leaving the province in Coponius' care was to depose the High Priest Joazar and replace him by a man from a family which had not previously held the post, Annas (Ananus), the ex-High Priest of the Gospels. This choice of a *novus homo* had far-reaching consequences, as the family became one of the most important in the office: all Annas' five sons, a son-in-law, and probably one of his grandsons were to hold it later.⁴⁶ The reason which Josephus gives for the deposition of Joazar is popular hostility, and it is clear that this will have been led by the extreme nationalists, annoyed at the success of his efforts to reconcile people to Roman rule. In Roman eyes Joazar must have been an admirable High Priest with his consistent record of collaboration with the establishment—first with Herod, then with Archelaus, and now, when he had become disillusioned with Archelaus, with the Roman administration. But

⁴⁵ For recent treatments of the Jewish nationalist movement see W. R. Farmer, *Maccabees, Zealots and Josephus* (1956); Hengel, *Zeloten*; Kreissig, *Zusammenhänge*, 113 ff., interpreting it in socio-economic terms as primarily a class movement; S. Applebaum in *JRS* lxi (1971), 156-70; M. Smith in *HTbR* lxiv (1971), 1-19.

⁴⁶ *AJ* xviii, 26 (Annas); 34, 95, 123; xix, 313-16; xx, 197-8 (his sons); xviii, 35; *John* xviii, 13 (his son-in-law); *AJ* xx, 223 (probably his grandson). Cf. the present writer in *JThS*² xiii (1962), 15, 32.

the prospects of lasting internal peace in the province were poor if the High Priest was unpopular with a restive section of the population, and it was politic to make a fresh start with a man from a new family who might be expected to be more acceptable to all shades of opinion. Quirinius may incidentally have welcomed the chance to exercise the Roman right of appointment at this early stage, to bring home to the Jews their now total dependence on Rome.⁴⁷

The Early Governors

Josephus knows practically nothing about the governors of Judaea before Pontius Pilate, and even their number is uncertain, since after mentioning Coponius, M. Ambibulus and Annius Rufus by name he calls the next, Valerius Gratus, the fifth. All that can be said about the dates of the first three (or four) governors is that they covered the first nine years of the province's existence. Gratus' term of eleven years must have begun in 15, since his successor Pilate's term of ten ran to the end of 36. Augustus' death legally terminated Annius Rufus' appointment, but by the time Tiberius had been officially accepted as emperor on 17 September, it was rather late in the year for a new governor to travel out, and Rufus was evidently left in office until the following summer. Herod the Great's sister Salome died during Ambibulus' governorship, but there is no evidence for the precise date.⁴⁸

The paucity of Josephus' information about the first decade of the history of the province of Judaea suggests that it was reasonably peaceful and that therefore the early governors were moderate enough in their behaviour to be acceptable to their subjects. There is a tiny scrap of evidence to support this in the fact that one of the gates in the west wall of the Temple enclosure was known as the "gate of Kiponus". This is most probably an Aramaized form of Coponius, and the gate will have been named after him in recognition of some benefaction, perhaps help with the rebuilding of the porticoes burnt down in 4 B.C. But the name occurs only once, in the Mishnah, and its absence from Josephus' description of the Temple suggests that it never really caught on and that the commemoration of the Roman

⁴⁷ *AJ* xviii, 26. Joazar's career and policy, and the strange repetition of the events of 4 B.C. (a revolt led by a Judas, followed by the deposition of Joazar) in A.D. 6 are discussed more fully by the present writer, *op. cit.*, 17-21.

⁴⁸ *AJ* xviii, 2, 29-33; *BJ* ii, 117 (Coponius only). 'Αμβιβουλός is Niese's conjecture for the 'Αμβιβούχος, 'Αμβιβούχος and 'Αμβιούχος of the MSS. *PIR*² lists three other occurrences of the name.

benefactor, if such it was, soon fell into disuse.⁴⁹ A fragment of a Greek inscription from the basilica at Sebaste has the name L. Annius Rufus, who may well be the third governor.⁵⁰ If so, his commemoration on a public building may denote merit in the eyes of at least his gentile subjects in that city. But it need not; he may, like Pilate,⁵¹ have put up a record of his own work as builder or restorer.

Soon after the initial disturbance of A.D. 6 there occurred the only other trouble recorded in the province before Pilate's time, an episode in which friction between Roman rule and Jewish nationalism played no part. In annexing a part of Palestine Rome had taken over a problem of internal dissension, the hostility between the Jews and the Samaritans. At the Passover immediately before Coponius' recall, some Samaritans slipped into Jerusalem with a load of human bones, and when the gates into the Temple enclosure were opened at midnight, defiled its ritual purity by distributing their cargo round the porticoes and the outer court.⁵² The Jews' reaction to this outrage is rendered obscure by a lacuna, or at any rate serious corruption, in the text of Josephus, except that they took the obvious precaution of tightening up the security measures for the protection of the Temple.⁵³ But there

⁴⁹ Mish. *Midd.* 1, 3 (a tractate recording every known detail of the Temple destroyed in 70 for use if rebuilding were ever possible). According to *AJ* xv, 410 the west wall had four gates. Since the "gate of Kiponus" is the only one mentioned in the Mishnah, it was probably either the main west gate giving on to the viaduct across the Tyropoeon (above, p. 94), or "Barclay's gate" under the present Moors' Gate. If Kiponus is Coponius, the name postdates Herod the Great, but Josephus would probably have mentioned it in his account of Herod's Temple, if it had remained current up to 70.

⁵⁰ On an architrave Λ. "Αννιος 'Ροῦ[φος], taken by G. A. Reisner without argument to have been the procurator—in *HTbR* iii (1910), 259; cf. H. Thiersch in *ZDPV* xxxvi (1913), 51-2. The identification is plausible, but, in the absence of any evidence for either the date or the man's position, not certain.

⁵¹ See below, p. 167.

⁵² *AJ* xviii, 29-30. Feldman's translation of ἐν ταῖς στοαῖς καὶ διὰ πάντος τοῦ ἱεροῦ, "in the porticoes and throughout the Temple", is misleading. Apart from the fact that Samaritans could hardly have got into the actual Temple, open only to priests, in *AJ* xv, 380-425 Josephus consistently uses ὁ ναός for the Temple proper and τὸ ἱερόν for the courts surrounding it and the enclosure as a whole, a distinction which he observes elsewhere. Here τὸ ἱερόν must mean the outer court only.

⁵³ The text of § 30 runs . . . καὶ διὰ πάντος τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἤρξαντο μὴ πρότερον ἐπὶ τοιοῦτοις νομίζοντες τά τε ἄλλα διὰ φυλακῆς μελίζονος ἦγον τὸ ἱερόν. For suggested emendations see B. Niese's text (1890). S. A. Naber (Teubner) prints . . . ἐν ταῖς στοαῖς <ποιῶνται> διὸ καὶ πάντας τοῦ ἱεροῦ εἰρξαν, μὴ πρότερον . . . This does not provide the new subject needed for εἰρξαν (clearly "the Jewish authorities"), but it would presumably mean that all Samaritans were now for the first time excluded from the outer court. (The Latin translation gives no help,

is no hint of any riots, actual or threatened, and this was possibly due to firm and competent handling by Coponius of an explosive situation. The Samaritan action may have been more than a puerile and malicious manifestation of their long-standing hatred for the Jews. The temple on Mt Gerizim, destroyed by Hyrcanus I when he annexed Samaritis, had never been rebuilt, and the Samaritans apparently saw the Romans as deliverers from the yoke of Jewish rule. They had stood aloof from the Jewish rising in 4 B.C. (as they were to do again in 66-70), they had joined the appeal for direct Roman rule in A.D. 6, and they now perhaps hoped to be allowed to rebuild their temple under the aegis of Rome, whose guarantee of religious liberty to the Jews could be expected to stretch to cover a Jewish sect. In the tortuous cerebrations of a few fanatics, the defiling of the Jewish sanctuary may have been seen as a step in that direction.

Salome's death had a significance for the province unconnected with the governor under whom it occurred. Her estate, comprising Jamnia, Azotus, Phasaelis, and Archelais,⁵⁴ now passed under her will to the empress Livia. Augustus' motives in letting Herod's bequest to Salome stand had perhaps not been wholly altruistic. Bequests to the imperial family were not necessarily spontaneous, and in this case the making of a will in Livia's favour may have been the condition on which Salome had received her legacy, and the later addition of Archelais may have been designed to secure that lucrative asset to the imperial *patrimonium*.⁵⁵ As the property of a member of the imperial house the estate was now administered by procurators (here personal financial representatives) resident in Jamnia. The estate passed to Tiberius on Livia's death in 29, and then to Gaius, in whose reign the procurator was to play a small but vitally disastrous part in Jewish history.⁵⁶

as it omits the central section of the Greek sentence.) J. Carcopino suggests more drastic treatment: he connects the "Nazareth decree" against tomb-robbery (below, p. 213) with this episode and proposes reading . . . ἐν ταῖς στοαῖς <ποιούνται> καὶ διὰ πάντος τοῦ ἱεροῦ· <καὶ τότε Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς ὁσᾶ νεκρῶν μετακινήσαντας ἀποκτείνειν> ἤρξαντο, μὴ πρότερον . . . —in *Rev. Hist.* clvi (1931), 88-92. This has the effect of making the Romans tighten up the security measures—which is not impossible if it was in the interests of the peace of the province. But the probable provenance of the stone is against this, and an imperial decree effective in Galilee postdates 44.

⁵⁴ See above, pp. 110, 117.

⁵⁵ *AJ* xviii, 31; *BJ* ii, 167. Azotus is omitted in both places, but there seems to be no reason for assuming that it was not included in the bequest to Livia.

⁵⁶ C. Herennius Capito, procurator of Tiberius (*AJ* xviii, 158) and then of

The length of Valerius Gratus' tenure of Judaea (15-26), like his successor's ten-year term, was typical of provincial appointments under Tiberius.⁵⁷ Josephus has nothing to record about him beyond his activity in appointing High Priests. After deposing Annas, who had held the post since A.D. 6, he made three appointments in quick succession, the first holding office "for a short time" and the other two for one year each. With his fourth choice Gratus was evidently satisfied at last. This was Joseph Caiaphas, High Priest at the time of the Crucifixion, who remained in office till early in 37.⁵⁸ There is no evidence for the date of Gratus' first three appointments, but they are probably to be placed early in his term of office. As Annas had been High Priest for nine years when he arrived, the time was ripe for a change in that very influential post. Dissatisfaction with Annas' policy seems unlikely, since Gratus returned to his family twice after looking for High Priests elsewhere. His first and third appointments were from new families, but his second was one of Annas' sons and his last, Caiaphas, was his son-in-law.⁵⁹ And as Caiaphas is found working in harmony with Annas, still powerful as an ex-High Priest, at the trial of Christ, he presumably followed a policy similar to his father-in-law's. There is no indication of the reasons for Gratus' apparent dissatisfaction with his first three appointments. But the suddenness and violence of the trouble which flared up under Pilate suggests that by the time of his arrival the Jews had already become somewhat nervous and suspicious of Roman intentions, and therefore that tension had been building up over the previous decade, even

Gaius (below, p. 175), may have served Livia also in Jamnia; see *AE* 1941, 105 = P. Fraccaro in *Athenaeum*² xviii (1940), 136-44 *C. Herennius* [C. f.] *Arn. Capito . . . proc. Iuliae Augustae, proc. Ti. Caesaris Aug., proc. C. Caesaris Aug. Germanici*. The procurator Ti. Julius Mellon, a freedman of Augustus, mentioned on a fragment of his daughter's sarcophagus found near Jamnia, may have been one of her earlier procurators—*AE* 1948, 141 = M. Avi-Yonah in *QDAP* xii (1946), 84-5.

⁵⁷ *AJ* xviii, 170-8; cf. Tac., *A* i, 80.

⁵⁸ See below, p. 172.

⁵⁹ *AJ* xviii, 34-5. In *HE* i, 10, 3-6 Eusebius quotes this passage, infers that the High Priesthood was an annual office (as indeed it may have become under the Romans, though with the possibility of repeated and continuous reappointment), and deduces from the phrase ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως "Ἀννα καὶ Καϊάφα in *Luke* iii, 2 that Christ's Ministry began under Annas, lasted some four years, and ended under Caiaphas, without noticing that this puts it under the wrong procurator. On *Luke* iii, 2 and other references in the Gospels to Annas and Caiaphas see Winter, *TJ*, 31-43, arguing that the High Priest involved in the trial of Christ was anonymous in the primitive tradition, and that the two names were added later, one of them erroneously, causing some confusion in the narratives.

though it had not shown itself in anything definite enough to earn a place in Josephus. Conceivably the three brief tenures mirror some kind of popular unrest, in which the High Priests were involved in a way which made Gratus uncertain of their reliability from the Roman point of view. It is perhaps significant that the tantalizing glimpse which Tacitus gives of discontent in Judaea under Tiberius is dated to the period in which they probably fell.

He mentions that while Germanicus was in the East in 17, the "overburdened provinces of Syria and Judaea" appealed to him for a reduction in taxation. Did the current High Priest encourage, or fail to discourage, the appeal, and so fall under Gratus' suspicion? It is a mere conjecture. The appeal probably concerned the *tributum capitis*, which fell on everyone (unlike the *tributum soli* payable by only the well-to-do) and which was still somewhat of a novelty. To a Roman plenipotentiary it was the financial burden that was stressed, even if among the Jews it was the psychological indignity that received more attention. Germanicus' response is not recorded. Possibly any action would have been *ultra vires*.⁶⁰

Pontius Pilatus, 26-36/37

With the arrival of Pontius Pilate in 26 Josephus' information about the province suddenly becomes much fuller. He has three episodes to relate of him, the last of which caused his recall, while Philo adds a fourth, and the Gospels give a glimpse of the governor acting in his judicial capacity. Philo describes Pilate as "a man of inflexible, stubborn and cruel disposition", and lists as the characteristic features of his administration "venality, violence, robbery, assault, abusive behaviour, frequent executions without trial, and endless savage ferocity."⁶¹ There is no hint of venality in the rest of the record, and though Pilate was responsible for bloodshed on at least two occasions (on the last perhaps justifiably), which would bear out the charges of violence and cruelty, his most striking characteristic as witnessed by the first two of Josephus' episodes seems to have been one overlooked,

⁶⁰ Tac., *A* ii, 42, 5 *provinciae Syria et Iudaea fessae oneribus deminutionem tributi orabant*. In Cappadocia, then in the process of conversion into a province, Germanicus reduced current taxation to make Roman rule more palatable (*ibid.*, 56, 4). But the situation was different in a fully organized province with a tax-structure already fixed.

⁶¹ *Leg.* 301-2, in a document (below, pp. 178-9) demonstrating how the imperial family had always upheld Jewish privileges and probably blackening Pilate rhetorically as a foil to Tiberius, here the Jews' champion.

surprisingly, by Philo—a disregard for his subjects' religious sensibilities, which could be described charitably as tactless or uncharitably as deliberately provocative.

Out of respect for Jewish feelings, Pilate's predecessors had always chosen for the garrison in the Antonia a unit whose standards did not carry medallion-busts of the emperor, portraits which were not mere decorations but symbols of the imperial cult and objects of worship to the troops. (The fact that even aniconic standards were revered may have escaped Jewish notice.) Pilate, perhaps in his first year in the province, decided to exchange the existing garrison for a unit with standards bearing medallion-busts, and he took the replacement up to Jerusalem in the autumn, timing his visit to coincide with the Day of Atonement and the Feast of Tabernacles. Josephus perhaps goes too far in making Pilate's purpose "the destruction of the Jewish Law"; though his action was disrespectful towards it, he was not demanding emperor-worship of the Jews. But it is difficult to exonerate him of conscious provocation, for the care which he took to arrive in the city by night, with the standards discreetly veiled, reveals beyond doubt that he was not acting in ignorance of his subjects' views. When the presence of these sacrilegious objects in Jerusalem, in close proximity to the High Priest's vestments in the Antonia, became known, there was great indignation and a crowd followed Pilate on his return to Caesarea and staged demonstrations of protest outside his residence, begging him to remove them. As standards were inseparable from their unit, this amounted to a request for the withdrawal of the unit. Pilate's answer that the removal of the standards would be an act of *maiestas* against the emperor cut no ice, and when the protests had continued unabated for five days, he tried to resolve the deadlock by force. On the pretext of giving the demonstrators a formal hearing, he summoned them before his tribunal in the stadium and there ringed them with soldiers, threatening a massacre if they did not disperse. The Jews' reaction was unexpected and disconcerting: they offered their necks to the swords, declaring that they would rather die than see their Law infringed. At this Pilate capitulated, and recalled the unit to Caesarea (thus incidentally admitting the illogicality of his *maiestas* argument).⁶² The Jews had won a decisive victory

⁶² *AJ* xviii, 55-9 (χειμαδιοῦσαν giving the season; ὕβρις is interpreted here as *maiestas*, though the normal Greek translation was ἀσέβεια); *BJ* ii, 169-74. As the Antonia adjoined the Temple, Pilate's offence was easily magnified later into a desecration of the Temple enclosure (perhaps helped by confusion with

in the first round with their new governor, but they now knew what sort of a man they were up against, and henceforth anything he did was liable to be suspect.

Worse was to follow. Pilate next set work in hand on an aqueduct to improve the water-supply of Jerusalem, a project for which his subjects might be expected to be grateful.⁶³ But to finance the undertaking he appropriated money from the Temple treasury, an act of sacrilege even from the Roman point of view, since the Temple tax had been made sacrosanct by law.⁶⁴ (How he actually got possession of the money, whether by violence or by intimidating the treasurer and his subordinates is not disclosed.) Jewish feeling was very bitter at this direct assault on their religion, and when Pilate next visited Jerusalem, he faced demonstrations of protest on a larger scale than those in Caesàrea and more hostile in tone, with entreaties soon turning to insult and abuse. In anticipation of trouble he had stationed soldiers in civilian dress among the demonstrators with batons concealed under their clothes, and when the mob refused to disperse he gave them a prearranged signal to use force to break it up. Plying their batons with more zeal than discretion, they killed a number of the demonstrators, while others were trampled to death in the stampede which followed. The mutual distrust which had resulted from the episode of the standards is seen in the Jews' more belligerent attitude to Pilate and in his greater impatience with their protests.⁶⁵

Gaius' attack on the Temple itself; below, pp. 174-9)—Origen, *In Matt.* xvii, 25 (on *Matt.* xxii, 15-22); Eus., *Chron.* Tib. XIX; *DE* viii, 2, 122-3 (cf. below, p. 166, n. 77); Hier., *In Matt.* xxiv, 15 (*CCL* LXXVII, 226). 3 Kislev (November-December) stands in the *Megillath Ta'anith* as the day on which "the images were removed from the Temple-court." The scholiast refers this to the purification of the Temple in 164 B.C., but the suggestion of Fränkel in *MGWJ* iii (1854), 444, n. 9 that the festival commemorated the removal of Pilate's standards from the Antonia is accepted by Lichtenstein (above, p. 103, n. 155), 299-300, and by others there cited. (Contrast M. Schwab in *Actes du 11^{me} Congrès Internat. des Orientalistes*, 4^{me} section (1898), 213-15.) In that case the annual commemoration shows how deep an impression Pilate's action made on the Jewish mind. For fuller discussion of the episode see C. H. Kraeling in *HTbR* xxxv (1942), 263-89. On Jewish readiness to die for the Law see note on *Leg.* 117 ἐκουσίους θανάτους.

⁶³ The "high level" aqueduct bringing water to Jerusalem from Bir el-Daraj some 4 miles south-west of Bethlehem may well be Pilate's. The "low-level" aqueduct from Arroub to "Solomon's Pools" near Bethlehem, supplementing the supply taken from there since (?) monarchic times, is more probably Herodian. See J. Wilkinson in *PEQ* cvi (1974), 33-51.

⁶⁴ See above, pp. 135-6.

⁶⁵ *AJ* xviii, 60-2; *BJ* ii, 175-7, using the Hebrew term for the consecrated funds in the Temple treasury, *corban* (cf. *Matt.* xxvii, 6; *Mark* vii, 11; *AJ* iv,

St Luke's Gospel mentions some Galilaeans "whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices", i. e., who had been killed when on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Possibly there were Galilaeans involved in the protest against the aqueduct, since Pilate's presence in Jerusalem suggests a festival time; if so, and if the demonstrations took place near the Antonia, St Luke's phrase may be more than a mere metaphor and may mean that there was actually bloodshed inside the Temple enclosure.⁶⁶ But it is equally possible that there was some other episode in which Galilaeans visiting Jerusalem fell foul of Pilate and met their deaths at his hands. Whatever the precise circumstances, however, the fact that the procurator was responsible for the death of subjects of an independent tetrarch may have caused the hostility recorded between Pilate and Antipas at the time of the Crucifixion.⁶⁷

The character of Pilate's rule may account for the emergence of the party of the Herodians, who were active both in Galilee and in the province at this time. They are an obscure group, never mentioned by Josephus (an indication of their unimportance and transience), and appearing only twice in the Gospels, both times as enemies of Christ in league with the Pharisees. Their name (a Latin formation indicating a partisan) makes them political supporters of the Herodian family, pro-Roman because the Herods were pro-Roman, but preferring indirect Roman rule under a Herod to direct rule, and perhaps hoping for the reconstitution of the undivided kingdom of Herod the Great.⁶⁸

73; *Ap.* i, 167; *Mish.*, *MSb.* iv, 10; *Ned.* i, 2-4; ii, 2, 5; iii, 2, 5; ix, 7; xi, 5; *Naz.* ii, 1-3; for discussion see Hastings, *Dict. Bible*, s.v.). *Mish. Shek.* iv, 2 sanctions the use of surplus sacred money for various purposes, including "all the city's needs", which would presumably cover the water-supply. (The "water-channel" for which its use is specified was probably a drain in the Temple court for sacrificial blood.) If so, the trouble may have been that Pilate seized the money without Jewish authorization, or that he took more than the surplus. The Jewish reaction implies a serious offence.

⁶⁶ *Luke* xiii, 1. This massacre is identified with the demonstrations against the aqueduct by, e.g., T. Corbishley in *Clergy Rev.* xii (1936), 375-6; Jones, *Herods*, 173. It cannot belong to the episode of the standards (so Kraeling, *op. cit.*, 287-8), since those demonstrations neither occurred in Jerusalem nor involved bloodshed.

⁶⁷ *Luke* xxiii, 12. Sherwin-White, *RSNT*, 31, n. 3, rejects this commonly offered explanation of the personal feud on the grounds that it "falsely assumes that Galilaeans were not justiciable in Judaea." But Luke's expression implies death in some kind of disturbance, not execution after a formal legal process. For another possible cause of the hostility see below, p. 166, n. 75.

⁶⁸ *Mark* iii, 6 (in Galilee); xii, 13 with *Matt.* xxii, 16 (in Jerusalem). With Ἡρωδιανός cf. *Caesarianus*, *Pompeianus*, etc. The parallel Greek form Ἡρώδειος is used for Herod's supporters in *Bf* i, 319; cf. *AJ* xiv, 450 οἱ τὰ Ἡρώδου φρονούντες, proving the meaning. For the many other interpretations put

Their appearance under Pilate suggests that dissatisfaction in Judaea with his rule caused a brief upsurge of pro-Herodian feeling in the province. The Herodians then joined hands temporarily with the Pharisees, no friends of the Herods, in the face of a common enemy, the Pharisees opposing Christ on religious grounds for what they regarded as His disrespect for the Law, and the Herodians on political grounds for His Messianic claims which conflicted with their hopes for the restoration of Herodian rule in Judaea.

The first recorded outbreak of organized terrorist activity by the party of the extreme nationalists occurred under Pilate. In connection with the Crucifixion the Gospels all refer to a well-known terrorist-leader, Jesus bar Abbas, who had been jailed with a number of others for instigating an anti-Roman rising in Jerusalem, and the two brigands executed with Christ had almost certainly been involved in the same disturbance.⁶⁹ Josephus' silence about the incident suggests that it was on a small scale and was nipped in the bud. It may have been an attempt at retaliation for the massacre with which the episode of the aqueduct had ended, since it was centred on Jerusalem, and Barabbas was clearly a popular hero. Christ's reproach to the crowd who arrested Him for treating a peaceful preacher as a terrorist by coming against Him in arms⁷⁰ suggests that the rounding up of terrorists was a commonplace in Judaea at the time. And indeed attacks on law-abiding citizens by individual terrorists living on plunder were so much an accepted feature of the social scene then that Christ used them in His teaching without comment.⁷¹

forward for the Herodians from the time of the Church Fathers, for reasons for their rejection, and for arguments in favour of the interpretation here adopted, see H. H. Rowley in *JThS* xli (1940), 14-27; cf. Otto in P.-W., Suppl. II, s.v. *Herodianoï*; Momigliano, *Ricerche*, 76-7 (383-4); Hoehner, *Antipas*, 331-42. Schalit, 479-81, sees them as former supporters of Herod the Great.

⁶⁹ *Matt.* xxvii, 15-16 (with the full name Jesus bar Abbas or bar Rabban in some MSS), 38; *Mark* xv, 6-7, 27; *Luke* xxiii, 18-19, 32-3; *John* xviii, 39-40; xix, 18. Of the strange "custom" referred to here by which the Roman governor contributed to the Passover celebrations by releasing a prisoner of the Jews' choice there is no trace elsewhere; the most definite statement, in *John*, may be a general deduction from Pilate's action on this one occasion, or from a habit which he had adopted (as *Matt.* and *Mark* suggest) of trying to ingratiate himself with his subjects, even at the price of increasing his administrative problems by returning one of his opponents to the fray. For fuller discussion see Winter, *TJ*, 91-9; H. Z. Maccoby in *NTS* xvi (1969-70), 55-60.

⁷⁰ *Matt.* xxvi, 55; *Mark* xiv, 48; *Luke* xxii, 52.

⁷¹ *Luke* x, 30; *John* x, 1, 8. Cf. above, p. 154, n. 43. In *Matt.* xxi, 13 and

Philo attributes to Sejanus an anti-Jewish policy aimed at the annihilation of the whole race, which only his downfall in 31 prevented from being implemented.⁷² There is no evidence for specific action against any Diaspora community in the years immediately before 31, but Eusebius, citing Philo as his authority, links Sejanus' scheme for the extermination of the Jews with an attack by Pilate "on the Temple", interpreting both as divine retribution for the Crucifixion.⁷³ This suggests the possibility that Pilate's apparently deliberate provocation of his subjects in the episode of the standards (magnified in Christian tradition into a desecration of the Temple⁷⁴) and the episode of the aqueduct was inspired by a knowledge of Sejanus' policy or was even a means of implementing it. If so, Tiberius' notorious dilatoriness over provincial appointments saved Pilate from recall in the reaction against Sejanus' friends immediately after his fall.

Philo's extant works, however, contain nothing about an attack by Pilate on the Temple. His only story about him is that "with the intention of annoying the Jews rather than of honouring Tiberius" he had some gilded shields, aniconic and adorned with nothing but brief inscriptions giving his own name as dedicator and that of the emperor, affixed to Herod's palace, his residence in Jerusalem. The Jews were annoyed, but with the fate of the last mass demonstration in mind they tried a peaceable approach this time and sent members of the Herodian family and of the Sanhedrin to request Pilate to remove the shields as contravening Jewish Law. When he refused, they warned him that there might be violence and asked him to produce Tiberius' authorization of the dedications, so that they could appeal direct to Rome against them. This put Pilate in a dilemma: if he admitted that he had no such authorization, the shields would have to come down; but if an embassy went to the emperor, he feared an un-

Mark xi, 17 σπῆλαιον ληστῶν is puzzling ; κλεπτῆς would seem more appropriate. For an attempted explanation see G. W. Buchanan in *HUCA* xxx (1959), 171-7. The capture of a brigand who had ravaged the country for twenty years in or soon after 54 (*BJ* ii, 253) is further evidence that it was as a reaction to Pilate's rule that brigandage became endemic.

⁷² *Leg.* 159-61 ; *Fl.* 1. A. D. Doyle suggests that Sejanus hated the Jews because they repudiated his aspiration to receive cult (*Tac.*, *A* iii, 72, 3 ; iv, 2, 3 ; 74, 2 ; *Suet.*, *Tib.* 65, 1 ; cf. the implication in 48, 2 *nullam Seiani imaginem* ; *Dio* lviii, 2-8 *passim*)—in *JThS* xlii (1941), 192. On Sejanus' policy see also below, pp. 201-2, 208-9.

⁷³ *HE* ii, 5, 6-7. Eusebius' chronology is too unreliable for this passage to be taken as evidence supporting 30 against 33 as the date of the Crucifixion (below, p. 168, n. 82).

⁷⁴ See above, p. 161, n. 62.

favourable report on his administration in general and impeachment as a result. The Jewish authorities saw through his refusal to admit his error by removing the shields, and sent a letter putting their case as forcibly as possible to Tiberius, who replied with a reprimand to Pilate and instructions to transfer the shields immediately to the temple of the imperial cult at Caesarea. Pilate obeyed without further ado.⁷⁵ Philo does not explain why the Jews objected so strongly to dedications which he explicitly says gave no offence to their religion. Presumably they felt that, however superficially innocuous, the shields must have religious significance as an expression of loyalty to the emperor and thus be connected with the imperial cult, and feared that they were the thin end of the wedge, and that their acceptance would be the prelude to another attempt to introduce iconic objects in Tiberius' honour.

This episode was surely quite distinct from that of the standards: the standards were iconic, the shields aniconic; different buildings were involved; and the Jews' protests took different forms. Far from being a variant of the episode of the standards, inspired by or implementing Sejanus' anti-Semitic policy, the episode of the shields seems to reflect an improvement in the Jews' position after his fall: they could now appeal to Tiberius, confident that, with their arch-enemy dead, he would vindicate their privileges.⁷⁶ And Pilate's fear of impeachment for misgovernment dates the episode late in his procuratorship in any case. If Philo's historical works as extant are incomplete, it is possible that he related the episode of the standards in a lost section.⁷⁷ But if, as is probable, they are substantially complete, Eusebius appears to have carelessly identified his episode with that given by Josephus, missing the significant differences between them.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ *Leg.* 299-305. The presence of both Pilate and a number of Herodian princes in Jerusalem suggests that this episode, like those of the standards and the aqueduct, occurred at a festival. If it preceded the Crucifixion and if, as is probable, Antipas was involved (see note on *Leg.* 300, τοὺς τε βασιλέως υἱεὶς τέτταρες), it may have been the occasion of his quarrel with Pilate (above, p. 163).

⁷⁶ For this interpretation of the first half of Pilate's governorship see further the present writer in *Lat.* xv (1956), 327-8.

⁷⁷ Eus., *DE* viii, 2, 123, attributes what is without question a summary of the episode of the standards to Philo, specifically saying that he told "the same story" as Josephus, whose account is summarized in § 122.

⁷⁸ Colson (Loeb Philo X, pp. xix-xx) follows Eusebius, but most scholars now reject his apparent conflation of the episodes of the standards and the shields. See most recently P. L. Maier's full study of the latter in *HTbR* lxii (1969), 109-21. For another instance of carelessness in Eusebius see above, p. 159, n. 59. On the problem of Philo's historical works see *Leg.*, pp. 37-43.

A sequel to the episode of the shields can perhaps be seen in a fragment of a Latin inscription found at Caesarea which seems to record Pilate's dedication of a Tiberieum in the city, a unique term but clearly a building in Tiberius' honour.⁷⁹ This building most probably post-dates the episode of the shields, since it would have been the obvious site for them, had it existed. When Pilate's misguided attempt to counteract his support of Sejanus and his anti-Semitic policy by dedications in Jerusalem displaying his loyalty to the emperor failed, he conceived and carried out a much more ambitious project in Caesarea, where the imperial cult was already established and therefore no objection would be raised to a building in Tiberius' honour. This building may have been a temple (for though Tiberius tried to repudiated ivine honours, they were in fact accorded to him and accepted by him, especially in the East ⁸⁰) or it may have been a purely secular structure such as a portico.

A further possible link between Sejanus' anti-Semitic policy and Pilate may be seen in his coins. Pilate made the innovation of using the common Roman republican coin-types of the ladle for pouring sacrificial wine (*simpulum*) and the crook-handled augur's staff (*lituus*) on his coins. The presence of designs symbolic of pagan worship on objects in daily use by the Jews cannot have failed to give offence. All the extant examples are dated the sixteenth to the eighteenth years of Tiberius, 29/30 to 31/32, and the significance of this may be that the issues were devised in the light of Sejanus' policy and discontinued on the news of his fall.⁸¹

The Pilate portrayed in the accounts of the Crucifixion (in 30 or 33,

⁷⁹ The stone, found in the excavation of the theatre, where it had been re-used in the construction of a stair in a late rebuilding and damaged in the process, was first published by A. Frova in *Rendic. dell' Istit. Lombardo*, Cl. di Lettere, etc., xcv (1961), 419-34 as [Caesarien]s(ibus) Tiberieum [. Po]ntius Pilatus [--- praef]ectus Iuda[ea]e [--- d]e[dit.] The last word could also be *fecit* or *dedicavit*. Other suggested restorations of the first line are [Ti. Caes. Aug. V]co]s., [Dis Augusti]s, and [Kalendis Iulii]s. For further discussion and intermediate bibliography see *Scavi di Caesarea Maritima*, ed. G. dell' Arte (1966), 217-20; H. Volkmann in *Gymnasium* lxxv (1968), 124-35; *AE* 1971, 477. The use of Latin in the predominantly Greek-speaking eastern empire is noteworthy, but some Palestinian coins have Latin legends.

⁸⁰ See L. R. Taylor in *TAPA* lx (1929), 87-101, especially 96; cf. Volkmann, *op. cit.*, 129, 133.

⁸¹ *BMC, Pal.*, 257-60. H. A. Grueber, *The Coins of the Roman Republic in the B.M.* (1910) III, Index III, Types, etc. Cf. the present writer in *Lat.* xv (1956), 328; E. Stauffer in *Nowv. Clío* i (1949), 495-514. For the regnal years see the note following.

with a bias in favour of 33⁸²) in the Gospels is a rather different character from the Pilate of Josephus;⁸³ and though their authors had no axe to grind on his behalf, they show him as weak rather than vicious. The scene of most of Christ's activities was Antipas' tetrarchy, but the fact that the opposition to Him came to a head when He was in Jerusalem brought Him under Pilate's jurisdiction. Though the High Priest and the Sanhedrin took the initiative against Him as a subversive teacher with a dangerously strong hold on the people, it was not for a religious offence, or by the Jewish authorities, that He was executed. He was arrested by Pilate's troops and the Temple police jointly;⁸⁴ He suffered not a Jewish but a primarily Roman

⁸² Detailed discussion of the thorny problem of the date of the Crucifixion is not relevant here, and only the salient points can be mentioned. *Luke* iii, 1 with 23 puts the opening of the Ministry in the 15th year of Tiberius, presumably by Jewish reckoning. In the East a monarch's first regnal year was the period, however short, from his accession to the next New Year's Day, and subsequent regnal years (except the last) coincided with calendar years. The Jews normally used the civil New Year in Tishri (= roughly October) to calculate foreign reigns (*Mish. RH* i, 1), and on this count Tiberius' 15th year ran from October 27. It ran six months later, however, if the count was from the religious New Year in Nisan (= roughly April); so J. K. Fotheringham in *JThS* xxxv (1934), 153-5; cf. S. Accame in *Riv. Filol. Class.*² xxii (1944), 168-9. A three-year Ministry is generally assumed from references to festivals, etc., though some scholars argue for a Ministry of only about one year. The year of the Crucifixion is calculated astronomically. The Synoptic Gospels date the event to the Passover (the full moon), the Fourth Gospel to the preceding day. The only relevant years in which the eve of the Passover is likely to have been a Friday are 30 and 33, while it is unlikely that the Passover itself fell on a Friday in any year between 27 and 34. For the detailed calculations see Fotheringham, 155-62 (favouring 33, though his argument from a lunar eclipse is insubstantial). For arguments for 30 see C. J. Cadoux in *JBL* lvi (1937), 177-82. If the episode of the shields fell between Sejanus' death and the Crucifixion (above, p. 166, n. 75), this argues for 33—a point developed by A. D. Doyle in *JThS* xlii (1941), 191-3; but it is not strong evidence.

⁸³ *AJ* xviii, 63-4, the so-called *testimonium Flavianum*—a summary of the life of Christ accepting Him as the Messiah and the Resurrection as a fact—has been the subject of controversy from the sixteenth century. For a brief summary of some of the arguments see Feldman, note *ad loc.* For the most important items in the vast bibliography see Feldman, 573-5; Schürer, I (rev.), 428-41 (with discussion). Whether the whole *testimonium* is a Christian interpolation, or whether it is a Christian revision of an account of Christ written by Josephus from the Jewish angle, it reached its present form between the time of Origen, whose text of Josephus did not contain it (see *In Matt.* x, 17 (on *Matt.* xiii, 53-8); *Cels.* i, 47) and that of Eusebius, who quotes it in *HE* i, 11, 7-8 and *DE* iii, 5, 105-6. Whatever its origin, it is a fair summary of the New Testament record but adds nothing. On the reference to Christ in *AJ* xx, 200 see below, p. 279, n. 82.

⁸⁴ *John* xviii, 3-12. In the Synoptic Gospels the Jewish authorities alone make the arrest.

form of execution,⁸⁵ ordered by Pilate and carried out by his troops; and the disposal of His body lay with Pilate.

Despite the very wide discrepancies between the four accounts of the trial of Christ,⁸⁶ a general picture of the proceedings emerges. After an inconclusive enquiry into His teaching, the Sanhedrin questioned Him in such a way that He made a claim involving the theological offence of blasphemy, for which He was found worthy of death. But He was then passed over to Roman jurisdiction under a charge of inciting sedition against Rome (no crime in the eyes of at least some Jews).⁸⁷ The hearing before Pilate was a regular *cognitio extra ordinem*, a trial conducted without a jury at the discretion of the governor, who could pass sentence by virtue of the powers delegated to him by the emperor; and as the prisoner put up no defence, Pilate had no option but to convict. But he found the offence non-capital, and proposed a flogging as the appropriate punishment. The Sanhedrin, seeing their victim slipping through their fingers, then tried to strengthen their case by pointing out the political implications of Christ's Messianic claim: a claim to temporal monarchy was equivalent to rebellion against Rome; it was the governor's duty to suppress any self-styled Jewish "king", and if Pilate turned a blind eye to such a pretender, he was laying himself open to an accusation of *maiestas*, a serious matter in the second half of Tiberius' reign. This was in itself a valid point. But Pilate showed his weakness, and an understandable desire to protect himself against possible Jewish delation, by yielding to the pressure thus brought to bear upon him and condemning to death a person whom he believed to be harmless.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ See Winter, *TJ* 62-6; E. Bammel in *Trial*, 162-5.

⁸⁶ *Matt.* xxvi, 57 ff.; *Mark* xiv, 53 ff.; *Luke* xxii, 54 ff.; *John* xviii, 13 ff. Detailed discussion of the countless problems which these accounts raise individually and in combination cannot be undertaken here. For recent full studies and bibliography see Winter, *TJ*; *Trial*; cf. Mantel, *Sanhedrin*, 284-90.

⁸⁷ *Luke* xxiii, 6-12 alone records Pilate's unsuccessful attempt to pass the responsibility over to Antipas, who was in Jerusalem for the Passover, on the grounds that Christ was a Galilean, though His offence had been committed in Judaea. But in the early principate a man was normally tried where his offence occurred (*forum delicti*), not in his place of origin (*forum domicilii*); see Sherwin-White, *RSNT*, 28-31. For discussion see H. W. Hoehner in *Trial*, 84-90.

⁸⁸ On the implausible legend that Pilate was a crypto-Christian and later reported the life, death and resurrection of Christ to Tiberius in terms which made him favour the Church (Tert., *Apol.* 5, 2; 21, 24) see T. D. Barnes in *JRS* lviii (1968), 32-3. The alleged report to Claudius and other details in the apocryphal *Acta Pilati* do not merit serious consideration; see P. Winter in *NT* vii (1964), 37-43. Cf. Schürer, I (rev.), 387, n. 144.

Though Pilate must stand condemned for his final capitulation, he appears in a better light in his relations with his subjects here than in the incidents related by Josephus and Philo. He is shown working in reasonable harmony with the Jewish authorities and respecting the requirements of their religion by meeting them outside his residence instead of making them incur defilement at Passover-time by entering a pagan building to present their case.⁸⁹ The man who had previously provoked violent demonstrations, threatened one massacre and perpetrated another, was now anxious to prevent the outbreak of rioting, but at the same time, instead of condemning an alleged trouble-maker out of hand for the sake of peace and quiet, he gave Him an impartial hearing and tried to save Him from falling victim to mob hatred and religious prejudice. Perhaps he had learned his lesson and was developing some caution where Jewish fanaticism was involved. Or perhaps, if the date was 33, the salutary effects of Sejanus' death are reflected here.

Pilate's long tenure of office ended shortly before Tiberius' death, as a result of trouble which he did not directly provoke. A Samaritan called on his co-religionists to assemble at the foot of Mt Gerizim, promising to lead them to the summit and display to them the sacred vessels from the Tabernacle which were believed to have been buried there by Moses when the Israelites first settled in Canaan. The response was on a large scale. But the fact that the participants came to the rendezvous armed made Pilate suspect that some secessionist or military purpose was lurking under the façade of religion, and he took the proper precaution of sending a detachment of troops to stand by. The result was not surprising. The troops blocked the ascent and came to blows with the vanguard of the would-be mountaineers; in a pitched battle they killed some, took others prisoner, and dispersed the rest. Pilate then executed the ringleaders of the movement.⁹⁰

At this point, for the first time since the inauguration of the province of Judaea, the powers of supervision given to the legate of Syria were brought into play, when the Samaritan authorities turned to him for redress and lodged a formal complaint against Pilate for their losses. But they apparently now said nothing about an innocent quest for the Tabernacle furniture; instead they declared that they had

⁸⁹ *John* xviii, 28-9, 38.

⁹⁰ *AJ* xviii, 85-7. The Samaritan tradition apparently differed from the Jewish, in which Moses was not allowed to enter the Promised Land. For later trouble centred on Mt Gerizim see below, p. 311, n. 73.

assembled not in order to rebel against Rome (as Pilate had clearly assumed), but in order to escape from his tyrannical rule.⁹¹ This may provide the key to the incident. Was the real purpose of the gathering to migrate to some place outside the province of Judaea, taking with them the sacred objects from Mt Gerizim? The Samaritans looked for a Redeemer who would be a reincarnation of Moses, a figure whom they venerated even more deeply than did the Jews. Did the leader of the movement pose as Moses *redivivus*, who would lead his people through the wilderness to a new home, accompanied by their sacred vessels as the Israelites had been by the Ark?⁹² Though the Samaritans had previously been loyal to Rome, they may by now have shared the Jews' disillusionment with provincial status, have feared Roman infringement of their religion, and have felt that voluntary exile would be preferable. If so, their arms fit into the picture, as a necessary defence against any opposition that they might encounter on their trek. But Pilate had been made aware a few years earlier of the dangers of a messianic movement, and took a different view.

The legate of Syria, A. Vitellius, did not disappoint the Samaritans. The speed of his reaction suggests that he was already aware of the general character of Pilate's administration and was waiting for a chance to pounce. He dispatched one of his staff, a certain Marcellus (otherwise unknown), to Judaea as acting governor, probably at the end of 36, with instructions to Pilate to return home and answer the Samaritan charges before Tiberius, and Pilate had no option but to obey. But though he travelled as quickly as possible, to get his account of the affair to Tiberius ahead of the Samaritan version, his journey took three months (not abnormally long in winter), and he reached Rome to find, no doubt to his considerable relief, that Tiberius had just died (16 March 37).⁹³

⁹¹ *AJ* xviii, 88. The word used is ὑβρις.

⁹² On the Samaritans and their beliefs see the bibliography above, p. 13, n. 31.

⁹³ *AJ* xviii, 89. Most MSS. read ἀ κατηγοροῦν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, but οἱ Σαμαρεῖται in A makes better sense. Vitellius, even though vested with a special command (*Tac.*, *A* vi, 32, 5 (Tiberius) *cunctis quae apud Orientem parabantur L. Vitellium praefecit*), was not competent either to depose Pilate or to appoint a successor; he could only dismiss Pilate and put in a *locum tenens* to cover the interval of several months before a new governor could be appointed by the emperor and travel out. A winter voyage between Palestine and Rome could take up to three months; see *BJ* ii, 203. A journey via Asia Minor, the Via Egnatia, and the short Adriatic crossing to Brundisium, slower in summer but more reliable in winter, would probably have taken at least two months with the facilities of the *cursus publicus*; see W. M. Ramsay in Hastings, *Dict. Bible* V,

In the sketch of Jewish history with which Tacitus prefaces his account of Titus' siege of Jerusalem he sums up the rule of Gratus and Pilate as uneventful: "under Tiberius all was peaceful."⁹⁴ The Jews would hardly have described their ten years under Pilate in these terms. But the episodes of his governorship, even the final one which was reported in Rome, were of purely local and internal concern, and as such they were ignored in a Rome-centred historical tradition.

Shortly after Pilate's ignominious departure Vitellius visited Jerusalem in person, to ensure that all was peaceful under the temporary governor and to take steps to placate the Jews after their recent unfortunate experiences. He remitted the taxes previously levied on the sale of agricultural produce in the city and replaced the High Priest Caiaphas, who had by then held office for nearly twenty years and was likely to be unpopular as a tool of Pilate, by his brother-in-law, Jonathan, the second of the sons of the ex-High Priest Annas to hold the post. The Jews, finding Vitellius sympathetic, then raised the question of the High Priest's vestments in the Antonia, asking him to restore them to Jewish custody. Vitellius did not feel competent to alter arrangements made when the province was constituted, and therefore referred the matter to Tiberius by letter before returning to Syria. By April he had received Tiberius' reply authorizing the transfer of the vestments, together with orders to mount an expedition to chastise Aretas IV of Nabataea, who had recently undertaken a military campaign without permission from Rome.⁹⁵ The Passover was approaching, and Vitellius could kill several birds with one stone by visiting Jerusalem en route for Nabataea: he could supervise the transfer of the vestments; he could make a gesture of courtesy towards Judaism by offering sacrifice at the festival;⁹⁶ and by his presence he could deter malcontents from taking advantage of the interregnum and Marcellus' lack of full authority to stir up trouble.

385-8; A. M. Ramsay in *JRS* xv (1925), 60-74; cf. M. P. Charlesworth, *Trade-routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire* (1924), 43-4. For the chronological arguments on which the date of Pilate's departure is based see the present writer in *JJS* v (1954), 12-21. The crucial point is that, since Pilate "hurried" (ἡπείετο) and yet reached Rome after Tiberius' death, he cannot have left Judaea before mid-December 36. On that evidence *alone* he need not have left until immediately before Tiberius' death was reported in the East in April 37. But the evidence of Vitellius' movements between his departure and April 37 (below) narrows the limits to the last two or three weeks of 36.

⁹⁴ Tac., *H* v, 9, 2 *sub Tiberio quies*.

⁹⁵ See below, p. 187.

⁹⁶ Cf. above, p. 89, n. 99.

When he and his army reached Ptolemais, he again showed his sensitivity towards Jewish feelings: a deputation came requesting him not to take his forces with their iconic standards through Jewish territory, and he complied by re-routing his army to by-pass the predominantly Jewish areas, while he himself went up to Jerusalem with Antipas and his personal staff. The crowds gave him an enthusiastic welcome. Josephus gives no indication of why he now replaced the High Priest whom he had appointed only three months previously by his brother Theophilus (who was to hold the post for four years), but in view of his general attitude towards the Jews and Judaism, he is more likely to have been acting in response to a request than against their wishes.⁹⁷ Possibly Jonathan had turned out to be in some way *persona non grata* to the Jews, or possibly he had himself asked to be relieved of the responsibility; he was to refuse the offer of a second tenure a few years later.⁹⁸ At this point came the news of Tiberius' death, with which Vitellius' mandate for the Nabataean campaign lapsed. He therefore administered an oath of loyalty⁹⁹ to the new emperor Gaius to the population of Jerusalem and then returned with his army to Syria.

The contrast between Pilate's handling of the Jews and Vitellius' sympathetic and courteous behaviour towards them is striking. Similar understanding and consideration were to be shown again shortly by Vitellius' successor in Syria, P. Petronius, whom Philo credits with having studied Jewish thought as a preparation for governing prov-

⁹⁷ *AJ* xviii, 90-5, 120-3; cf. xv, 405. In *AJ* xviii, 90 Vitellius visits Jerusalem at a Passover and restores the vestments there and then without reference to Tiberius. In § 122 he pays a second visit at an unnamed festival, fixed as the Passover on (probably) 20 April 37 (for the date see M. Holzmeister in *Biblica* xiii (1932), 229) by the arrival of the news of Tiberius' death (§ 124, confirmed by *Leg.* 231, 288-9); a dispatch is likely to have taken a month or so to travel in the spring and Pentecost would be too late. *AJ* xv, 405 gives Vitellius' letter to Rome, which puts an interval of at least two months between the request and the actual restoration, but mentions no festival at the time of his visit to Jerusalem (clearly his first, though there is no reference to his second, when the restoration must have taken place). The fact that Jonathan was High Priest on only one of the four annual occasions on which the vestments were worn (*AJ* xix, 314) and the fact that Vitellius' first visit followed hard on Pilate's departure both preclude dating the two visits to the Passovers of 36 and 37; *AJ* xviii, 90 appears to conflate details from them both. See further the present writer, *op. cit.* For a different chronology see Hoehner, *Antipas*, 313-16. On Jonathan cf. the present writer in *JThS*² (1962), 22-3.

⁹⁸ See below, p. 194.

⁹⁹ *AJ* xviii, 124. For oaths of loyalty taken to Gaius in Spain and Asia see *ILS* 190 and *IGRR* IV, 251. Cf. P. Herrmann, *Der römische Kaisereid* (1968), especially 105-7.

inces containing large Diaspora communities,¹⁰⁰ and who had to cope with a very much more tense and critical situation. If the province of Judaea had been under the direct rule of men of their calibre, its history during the first century A.D. might well have been very different.

Shortly after his accession Gaius sent out a successor to Pilate, one Marullus, otherwise completely unknown.¹⁰¹ As there is no record of any further appointment to Judaea by Gaius, Marullus presumably remained in office until 41, though he is not mentioned in connection with the dramatic events there in the last year of Gaius' life.

Gaius' Attack on the Temple

Both Josephus and Philo give accounts of Gaius' attack on the Temple.¹⁰² Between the two there are many wide discrepancies, especially on the chronology of the episode, and on some points they contradict rather than supplement each other. Where they appear to be irreconcilable, there are grounds for regarding Philo's version as preferable to that of Josephus. Though not a Palestinian, Philo was a contemporary of, and to some degree a participant in, the events which he describes, since they were linked chronologically with the movements of the embassy sent to Gaius by the Alexandrian Jews under his leadership,¹⁰³ and in Rome he was almost certainly in touch with the Jewish king Agrippa I, who intervened to save the Temple. The indications of chronology which he gives are therefore likely to be more accurate than those of the later writer, who, moreover, indicates two self-contradictory dates for the beginning of the episode.¹⁰⁴ Philo's version also lacks the fairy-tale elements which occur in that of Josephus and cast doubt on its reliability as a whole.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ *Leg.* 245.

¹⁰¹ *AJ* xviii, 237 (emending *ἰππάρχην* to *ἐπαρχον*). Feldman, note *ad loc.*, rejects S. J. de Laet's suggestion in *L'Antiqu. Class.* viii (1939), 418-19, that Marullus and Marcellus were one and the same, i.e. that Gaius confirmed Vitellius' acting governor in his post and that one of the names is an error for the other; it disregards both the unanimous authority of the MSS. and the verb *ἐκπέμπει*, which implies that Gaius sent Marullus from Rome.

¹⁰² *AJ* xviii, 261-309; *BJ* ii, 184-7, 192-203 (with minor differences between them); *Leg.* 188, 198-348.

¹⁰³ See below, pp. 241-6.

¹⁰⁴ See below, p. 175, n. 109.

¹⁰⁵ Rain from a cloudless sky—*AJ* xviii, 285; a sumptuous banquet followed by the offer of a boon—§§ 289-300; and a suicide-order delayed in transit until invalid—§§ 303-9; *BJ* ii, 203.

During the winter of 39-40 ¹⁰⁶ trouble broke out in Jamnia, part of the imperial estate inherited from Salome.¹⁰⁷ The Greek minority in the town erected an altar of the imperial cult, which the Jewish population promptly demolished as contravening their Law. The procurator of the estate, C. Herennius Capito, who was perhaps prejudiced against the Jews by his recent dealings with Agrippa I,¹⁰⁸ reported the matter to Gaius. The emperor, who by now had convinced himself of his own divinity, decided that, as a reprisal for this Jewish act of disrespect, the Temple should be converted into a shrine of the imperial cult, with a colossal statue of himself in the guise of Jupiter in the Holy of Holies. He sent instructions to this effect, not to the procurator of Judaea, but to the legate of Syria, P. Petronius, telling him to have a statue made and to use two of the four legions from his province to escort it to Jerusalem and crush any resistance which might be offered.¹⁰⁹

Resistance was, of course, inevitable, from the Jews in Galilee as well as those within the province; and Petronius foresaw the further dangerous possibility that the Jews in Parthia might join them in opposing the desecration. But the fact that no statue was sent out ready-made from Rome gave him a little time. While a statue was being constructed in Sidon (at a safe distance from Jewish territory), he summoned the Jewish leaders to meet him, probably at his capital of Antioch, told them of Gaius' orders, and, in a vain hope, urged

¹⁰⁶ The details of the chronology of the Temple episode have been discussed by a number of scholars, notably H. Willrich in *Klio* iii (1903), 415-18, 467-70; Schürer, I (rev.), 394-7; P. Gelzer in P.-W., s.v. *Iulius* 133 (*Caligula*), 398-9, 411-12; J. P. V. D. Balsdon in *JRS* xxiv (1934), 19-24; Jones, *Herods*, 197-203. For discussion of their solutions and arguments for the chronological scheme here adopted see the present writer in *Lat.* xvi (1957), 3-17, and notes on *Leg.*, *ad locc.* Major points only are repeated here. For the date of the incident at Jamnia, not indicated directly by Philo, see below, p. 177, n. 115.

¹⁰⁷ See above, p. 158.

¹⁰⁸ See below, p. 189.

¹⁰⁹ *Leg.* 198-207, 306 (the Holy of Holies). The advice of Johanan b. Zakkai, a leading rabbi of the mid-first century A.D. (cf. below, pp. 314, n. 92; 348-9), to the Jews not to destroy gentile altars lest they be required to rebuild them was probably occasioned by the incident at Jamnia and given before the more drastic Roman reprisal was announced; see Neusner, *Yohanan*, 105-6; 2nd edit., 147-8. Josephus ignores the incident at Jamnia, and in *BJ* gives neither reason nor date for Gaius' order. In *AJ* xviii, 261 he implies that it was provoked by the attitude of the Alexandrian Jewish embassy in Italy to his self-deification in the autumn of 40 (below, p. 244), and, inconsistently, that Petronius received his orders at the time of his appointment to Syria, probably in 39. Cf. note on *Leg.* 116 τὴν προσκύνησιν for Vitellius' recall.

them to try to persuade the Jews as a whole to submit quietly to the desecration. Their reaction can hardly have surprised him: they would rather die than witness such an outrage.¹¹⁰ Petronius then set off for Palestine with two of his legions, as instructed, prepared for difficulties. When he reached Ptolemais on the Galilaean frontier, probably some time in late April or in May 40, he was confronted by an enormous crowd of Jews who had streamed out from places as far away as Jerusalem, perhaps in arms, to demonstrate before him. The obvious sincerity of their emotion and their repeated declarations that they would gladly die in defence of the sanctity of the Temple convinced Petronius that they would rise in revolt if he tried to force Gaius' plan upon them.¹¹¹ He refused the demonstrators' request for permission to send an embassy to Rome, as this was likely to harden Gaius' resolution and thus make things worse, but he played for time by telling the artists in Sidon not to hurry,¹¹² and then, leaving his army at Ptolemais, he went to Antipas' capital, Tiberias in Galilee, with his personal staff to investigate feeling there. He may have intended to go on to Jerusalem, but the reception which he got at Tiberias made him take action immediately. Not only were there more mass demonstrations, this time of considerable duration, with the

¹¹⁰ *Leg.* 209-24. Philo does not give the place of the conference (omitted by Josephus). Petronius set out for Palestine from Antioch—*BJ* ii, 186. Ioh. Mal., *Chron.* x, 315 (pp. 244-5), recounts a riot in Antioch in 39-40 which began as a fight between circus-factions in the presence of Petronius (Πρόνοιος) and developed into an attack on the Jewish community. If, as the date suggests, this had some connection with the threat to the Temple, the story may represent, in a distorted form, Greek opposition to protests made by the Antiochene Jews in support of the Palestinian leaders. Cf. C. H. Kraeling in *JBL* li (1932), 148-9. For another interpretation of the episode see below, pp. 360-1. On the other hand, there is nothing in Philo or Josephus against supposing that Petronius summoned the Jews to meet him at Ptolemais (below).

¹¹¹ *AJ* xviii, 262-9; *BJ* ii, 187, 192; *Leg.* 225-44 (locating the demonstrations vaguely "in Phoenicia"). For the date see below. Tacitus' summary of the episode, *H* v, 9, 2 *dein iussi a C. Caesare effigiem eius in templo locare, arma potius sumpsero, quem motum Caesaris mors diremit*, may mean that the demonstrators at Ptolemais, or later at Tiberias (below), were armed and that a clash occurred which Josephus and Philo ignore in order to represent their people as preferring argument to force. Cf. Malalas' story (see the preceding note), which ends with the Jews in Antioch being avenged by an armed force from Tiberias—a patent absurdity but perhaps nevertheless a straw in the wind. On the other hand, Tacitus may be recording an exaggerated version of the demonstrations which had grown up out of the Roman encounter with Jewish pugnacity in 66-70.

¹¹² *Leg.* 239-42, 246-7. The statement in *BJ* ii, 192 that Petronius had the finished statue (why the plural ἀνδριάντας?) at Ptolemais is probably a slip. There is no hint of this in *AJ*, and *Leg.* 246 and 337 contradict it.

reiteration of the Jewish assurance that death was preferable to seeing the Temple defiled, but an appeal was made to him by a delegation of Jewish dignitaries headed by Antipas' nephew, Aristobulus (perhaps acting as regent for his uncle who had apparently just left for Italy ¹¹³), that he should himself write to Gaius on the Jews' behalf. Petronius, now confirmed in his conviction that a revolt was imminent, undertook to do so, even at the risk of bringing the imperial wrath down on his own head.¹¹⁴ The Jews had fortunately provided him with a solid economic argument to put forward: they had such strong conscientious objections to Gaius' scheme that they were neglecting the grain harvest in order to demonstrate, and there was a danger that their frenzy might drive them to destroy the standing corn and perhaps even the fruit crop in the autumn; the famine which was then likely to result would be inconvenient when Gaius travelled, as he planned to do shortly, to Alexandria via the Syrian and Palestinian coast. Petronius also mentioned to Gaius the possibility of revolt, which would entail loss of revenue, and finally openly suggested that it would be wise to drop the project completely.¹¹⁵

Gaius was exceedingly annoyed with Petronius for championing the Jews (for a bribe, he suspected) and for presuming to offer him

¹¹³ See below, p. 191.

¹¹⁴ *AJ* xviii, 269-84; *BJ* ii, 192-202. Petronius' visit to Tiberias is not given by Philo, who makes him write to Gaius from Ptolemais as a result of the demonstrations there—*Leg.* 248, 254. As Tiberias was only some 30 miles from Ptolemais, and Petronius "hurried" there, no long time elapsed between the two sets of demonstrations and they can be treated chronologically as a single incident giving rise to a single letter. Cf. note on *Leg.* 249 ἐν ἀκμῇ . . . ὅσα σπαρτά.

¹¹⁵ *Leg.* 248-54; *AJ* xviii, 287-302; *BJ* ii, 202. The season of the demonstrations is the crux of the chronological problem. Philo (§ 249, cf. § 257) dates those at Ptolemais to the season of the grain-harvest (April-June); in *AJ* xviii, 272, 274, and *BJ* ii, 200 those at Tiberias are dated to the seed-time (late autumn). This fundamental discrepancy is not resolved by postulating a gap of several months between them; see the preceding note. The fact that the news of Gaius' scheme reached the Alexandrian Jewish embassy in Italy in the summer of 40 (below, p. 244) shows Philo's season for the demonstrations to be correct. There is no serious inconsistency in the anxiety which Philo makes Petronius express for the fruit harvest; it need not imply that the crop was already ripe. See further notes on *Leg.* 249. If the demonstrations are placed fairly late in the harvest-season (May-June) to fit the movements of Agrippa I (below, n. 119), Petronius must have received his orders in April (to allow travelling time of a month or more before his conference with the Jewish leaders, whether he summoned them to Antioch, 400 miles from Jerusalem, or to Ptolemais after his march there). Gaius must therefore have received Capito's letter not later than March, and the trouble in Jamnia goes back to the winter of 39-40.

advice, but in replying he thought it prudent to conceal his irritation, well aware that a provincial governor with an army behind him was a dangerous person to provoke. He therefore simply told him to proceed with the installation of the statue immediately, as the harvest would surely be in by the time his letter arrived (in late August or early September).¹¹⁶ Petronius, however, while keeping his army at Ptolemais within striking distance of Palestine,¹¹⁷ managed to find some unrecorded excuse for continuing to delay the execution of his instructions for some further weeks, until the unexpected news came that they were cancelled.

This was the work of Agrippa I. He arrived in Italy to visit Gaius in the late summer of 40,¹¹⁸ shortly after the reply had been sent to Petronius' letter, in complete ignorance of the whole affair. When he learnt from the emperor about the proposed desecration of the Temple, the shock was so severe that he suffered a stroke.¹¹⁹ During his convalescence he wrote a long, carefully reasoned and well documented letter begging Gaius to follow the precedents set by his imperial

¹¹⁶ *Leg.* 254-60. A month or so must be allowed for each of the letters to travel. According to *AJ* xviii, 302-10 and *BJ* ii, 203, Gaius, far from concealing his anger, commanded Petronius to commit suicide for his disobedience; but his letter was delayed in transit, and arrived a month after the news of his murder. This story makes sense only in conjunction with Josephus' autumn date for the demonstrations, and falls with its rejection. It appears, moreover, to belong to the class of myth in which the good man escapes death at a tyrant's hands. The normal treatment for an insubordinate provincial governor was recall and impeachment.

¹¹⁷ *BJ* ii, 201-2 makes Petronius take his army back to Syria after the demonstrations and write to Gaius from Antioch. But prudence required him to remain within reach of Palestine, and *AJ* xviii, 301 implies that he and his army were still at Ptolemais in the autumn.

¹¹⁸ See below, p. 192.

¹¹⁹ *Leg.* 261-75. Agrippa clearly left Palestine before Petronius broke the news to the Jewish leaders; he was not on the delegation which met him at Tiberias—*AJ* xviii, 273. If he did not reach Italy till about August, his journey was slow. But during the summer the north west etesian winds (on which see Box, note on *Fl.* 26) precluded direct voyages from the eastern Mediterranean to Italy, and Agrippa may have chosen to travel by easy stages. It is in order to shorten his journey that the demonstrations on which the chronology hinges are to be placed as late as possible. Gaius was in Italy from May 40, but seems to have stayed outside Rome until the end of August (below, p. 244). It was apparently in Rome, i.e. in September at the earliest, that Agrippa heard of Gaius' scheme—*Leg.* 267 with note *ad loc.*; cf. *AJ* xviii, 289, putting his appeal (below) there. Agrippa's collapse is described as a "fainting fit" by, e.g., Feldman, note on *AJ* xviii, 289. But Philo's account both of the seizure itself and of the illness that followed indicates something far more serious; see further notes on *Leg.*, *ad locc.*

predecessors and their subordinates, who had always shown toleration and even favour towards the Jews, and not to violate the sanctity of the Temple.¹²⁰ This made more impression on him than Petronius' letter had done, and out of consideration for his friendship for Agrippa he agreed to cancel his order. He wrote to Petronius instructing him to abandon the whole project and adding the perfectly reasonable rider that the Jews were to repay toleration with toleration and not oppose any further attempts by gentiles to introduce the imperial cult outside Jerusalem.¹²¹ Petronius' relief must have been great when, in October or later, he was able to set Jewish minds at rest after six months of suspense and to return with his army to Antioch.

Philo alone adds a coda to the episode: Gaius later went back on his word and revived his scheme, but with the difference that he now proposed to have the statue made in Rome, to take it with him on his forthcoming eastern tour, now postponed until 41, and to have it erected in the Temple without prior warning to the Jews.¹²² No reason is given for Gaius' change of mind, and it may be unhistorical, part of the hostile tradition which represented him as impervious to argument or common sense. But if it is historical, the daggers of Cassius Chaerea and his associates on 24 January 41 forestalled any attempt to carry out the project and prevented the rising which would inevitably have followed.¹²³

The first period of the Roman government of Judaea thus ended in a narrow escape from a revolt in which the Jews of Galilee would have

¹²⁰ *Leg.* 276-329. This is probably not a verbatim copy of Agrippa's letter but, in accordance with the conventions of ancient historiography, reproduces its general tenor and owes a good deal to Philo's own pen. But there can be little doubt that Philo was in touch with Agrippa in Italy and knew about his appeal, and it is not inconceivable that he helped to draft the document. Cf. note on *Leg.* 276.

¹²¹ *Leg.* 330-4. Philo's complaint that this in effect nullified the concession (§ 335) is unjustified; he admits that no-one took unfair advantage of it (§ 336). According to *AJ* xviii, 289-301, Agrippa saved the Temple by entertaining Gaius to a sumptuous banquet and, when the emperor in return offered him a boon, asking him to rescind his order. Josephus does not say how, where or when Agrippa had learnt of it, but he agrees with Philo in dating his intercession to the autumn of 40 by placing it in Rome (§ 289) shortly before the arrival of Petronius' letter (§ 302) late in the year. Cf. note on *Leg.* 276.

¹²² *Leg.* 337-8.

¹²³ Jewish tradition makes the threat to the Temple continue until Gaius' murder—*BT Sot.* 33a; *JT Sot.* ix, 12 (Schwab VII, 338); *Tos. Sot.* xiii, 6; *Midr. Song R.* viii, 9, 3. (Cf. *Tac., H v*, 9, 2.) For discussion see P. Winter in *Judaica* xii (1956), 129-32. Even after the cancellation the Jews will have remained understandably nervous as long as Gaius lived.

made common cause against Rome with the Jews of the province. Petronius comes out of the story with great credit both for the tact with which he handled the Jews and for his courage in risking disgrace and the ruin of his career in order to safeguard the Jewish religion and maintain the peace of the East. And no less credit is due to Agrippa I, who had the courage to jeopardize his throne by an appeal which, if it had failed in its purpose, might well have exasperated Gaius to the point of deposing him. Before the second period of Roman rule, which was to end in an actual revolt caused by mounting local friction and not by any ill-considered scheme devised at a distance, Judaea was to enjoy a brief and apparently happy interlude as a client kingdom again.

CHAPTER EIGHT

PHILIP, ANTIPAS AND AGRIPPA I

When Gaius launched his attack on the Temple, Agrippa I, a grandson of Herod the Great, was king of the former tetrarchy of his uncle Philip, who had died a few years earlier. During that crisis (though independently of it) his uncle Antipas was deposed, and he inherited his tetrarchy also. And very shortly afterwards, early in 41, the province of Judaea was added to his kingdom. But before considering his reign, it is necessary to pick up the story of Philip and Antipas and to trace the fortunes of their tetrarchies after A.D. 6.

Philip

Philip was the most successful of the three Herodian princes who shared their father's kingdom in 4 B.C., and unlike his brothers, kept his throne to the end of his life. His survival was due partly to the character of his territory and partly to his own personality and administration. Apart from a considerable Jewish minority in Gaulanitis on his frontier with Galilee (Bethsaida-Julias for example seems to have been mainly Jewish¹) and the military colony of Babylonian Jews whom Herod had settled in Batanaea² on such favourable terms that they were not likely to cause his son any trouble, Philip's subjects were largely gentiles who would accept him on his merits. The country was peaceful after Herod's thorough work in taming the brigands of Trachonitis³ and there is no evidence that Philip had to face any recrudescence of internal disorder and violence. His "moderate and easy-going methods of government" maintained peace and harmony throughout his territory, and there is no hint of friction between him and his Jewish subjects. All that Josephus has to record of his reign beyond his early city-foundations⁴ is the excellence of his administration. He not only resided continuously in his tetrarchy (apart from his one visit to the imperial court in A.D. 6), but he spent much of

¹ *John* i, 44; cf. *Mark* viii, 22 ff. for an episode there. Even if *AJ* xviii, 4 is wrong in making Gamala in Gaulanitis the home of the leader of the anti-census revolt (above, p. 153, n. 40), it is evidence for Jews there.

² See above, p. 98.

³ See above, p. 87.

⁴ See above, p. 118.

his time on circuit round his territory, where his constant accessibility to his subjects and his eminently fair jurisdiction won him universal popularity.⁵

Ruling predominantly gentile subjects, Philip could carry Hellenization a stage further than his father had dared to do. Not only did he convert his capital into a Hellenistic city as Caesarea Philippi in the first year of his reign, but he alone of the three brothers made the innovation of striking coins on the Roman pattern with imperial portraits on the obverse; and the reverse design on them all was a temple—whether his father's temple of the imperial cult in Caesarea Philippi or some other founded by Philip himself is uncertain, but clearly a pagan temple.⁶

No scandal is known to have attached to Philip's private life. His only recorded marriage, with Salome, granddaughter of his half-brother Aristobulus, must have taken place fairly late in his life, as the girl was unmarried and apparently still little more than a child when her dancing won her "the head of John the Baptist on a charger" shortly before A.D. 30. The marriage was childless.⁷

When Philip died in 33/34 after a reign of thirty-seven years, Tiberius evidently did not think his tetrarchy yet ready for direct Roman government as a province. (Indeed, it was to remain a client kingdom until the end of the century.) He therefore put it under the administration of the legate of Syria, but with its revenues kept separate from those of the province, as a temporary measure until he had decided on a successor.⁸ He possibly contemplated amalgamating it with the tetrarchy of Antipas, then high in his favour, but his usual procrastination delayed his decision, and he died without having made any appointment. Thus the tetrarchy was available for Agrippa I to inherit after Gaius' accession.

⁵ *AJ* xviii, 106-7.

⁶ *BMC, Pal.*, 228; Reifenberg, 43-4. For the temple of the imperial cult see above, p. 83. The earliest extant coin is dated the 9th regnal year = A.D. 5-6, but this probably does not mean that Augustus gave him the right of coinage only after the scrutiny of A.D. 6. In that case, allowing time for the preparation of dies, coinage could hardly have started till the 10th year. Contrast the apparently late start of Antipas' coinage (below, p. 184, n. 13).

⁷ *AJ* xviii, 136-7. It is quite likely that Philip had an earlier marriage, also childless, outside the Herodian family and unrecorded by Josephus. He would hardly have remained celibate until he was over fifty.

⁸ *AJ* xviii, 106, 108. His latest coin, dated his 37th year, corroborates Josephus' figure.

Antipas

As a ruler Antipas was no less firm and capable than Philip.⁹ Though he was a Herod ruling largely Jewish territory, his relations with his subjects appear to have been harmonious, and no internal disturbances are recorded during his reign, which was terminated, not by popular dissatisfaction as that of Archelaus had been, but by his own misguided aspirations to an independent foreign policy, which his nephew Agrippa unscrupulously turned to his own advantage.

Early in Tiberius' reign Hellenization took a form novel for Palestine in Antipas' tetrarchy, a form more valuable and less blatant than his father's attempts to introduce the tangible features of Greek civilization. Herod had created the Hellenistic cities of Caesarea and Sebaste by re-foundation; Philip had converted the existing town of Panion into a Hellenistic city; and Antipas himself may already have done the same with Sepphoris.¹⁰ But he now made the innovation of creating *de novo* an autonomous city on somewhat diluted Hellenistic lines to replace Sepphoris as his capital, and, more significantly, of designing it as a primarily Jewish, not Greco-Syrian, city. This was Tiberias, one of the rare cities named after Tiberius, on the west shore of the Sea of Galilee. Josephus describes the population of the new city as a "promiscuous rabble", consisting partly of Galilaean Jews and partly of settlers forcibly conscripted from elsewhere, many of them poor and some actually slaves, whom Antipas freed and provided with furnished houses on condition that they lived there permanently. For the site of the city included an old cemetery, which rendered settlers there ritually unclean, and substantial material inducements were needed to ensure an adequate population. But some well-born and wealthy Jews (presumably of liberal outlook where the laws of purity were concerned) were included, to form the governing class.¹¹ But though Tiberias had municipal autonomy with magistrates, a council of six hundred, and perhaps an assembly on the Greek pattern, it was not given the jurisdiction over a tract of surrounding territory normal for a Hellenistic city but apparently merely served as a toparchy capital; and it seems to have lacked the dignity of city walls.¹² Neverthe-

⁹ For an exceedingly detailed study of Antipas' reign see Hoehner, *Antipas*.

¹⁰ See above, p. 118.

¹¹ *AJ* xviii, 36-8; *V* 37; cf. *BJ* ii, 168.

¹² The evidence for the constitution comes from A.D. 66—*BJ* ii, 599, 618, 639-41; *V* 69, 134, 271, 294, 296. One named official is known, the ἀγοράνομος —*AJ* xviii, 149. Tiberias' status as a toparchy capital in 54 (*BJ* ii, 252) probably goes back to its foundation. (Other Galilaean toparchies were Tarichacae and,

less, Antipas' break with tradition in trusting his Jewish subjects, or at least the upper classes among them, in Tiberias and probably also in Sepphoris, with a certain amount of local autonomy (a thing which his father had not dared to do) is a sign of his success as a ruler. Antipas' coins were all struck in his new capital, but the mint may not have been established till a decade or so after the foundation of the city.¹³ The only recorded overt concession to Greek culture there was the provision of a stadium, first mentioned in 66 but probably Antipas' work.¹⁴ The animal sculptures with which his palace was decorated were apparently regarded as innocuous, since no protest is known to have been made against them at the time of building or at any later time until 66.¹⁵

Antipas kept up at least the appearance of practising Judaism himself, and maintained contact with the Jews in Jerusalem by attendance at festivals.¹⁶ His coinage was inoffensive to Jews, with Hasmonaeen types of a palm-branch on the obverse and a wreath on the reverse, and his only concession to Gaius' megalomania was to substitute his name for the mint-name Tiberias within the wreath. The emergence of the party of the Herodians among the Jews *c.* 30 is a testimonial to Antipas' popularity, even if it was Pilate's misdeeds that gave it birth, and his quarrel with Pilate, whatever its origin,¹⁷ may have caused his stock to rise among the Jews. Whether it was financial stringency or disinclination that prevented him from making gifts to foreign cities on the same lavish scale as his father, the sole evidence for a benefaction outside his tetrarchy is an inscription on a statue base on Delos, set up by

probably, Sepphoris and Gabara; see further Schalit, 202-5.) The city was apparently first fortified in 66—*BJ* ii, 573; *V* 188.

¹³ All Antipas' coins except the one struck under Gaius (below), have Τιβεριας on the reverse—*BMC, Pal.*, 229-30; Reifenberg, 44-5. The earliest extant coin is dated year 33 = A.D. 29-30. The coins of Tiberias as a city using its own era begin under Claudius, which may be connected with its title *Claudiopolis*, though not attested until the second century—*BMC, Pal.*, 5-10 (Trajan and later); W. Kubitschek in *JOAI* vi (1903), Beibl., 80-1 (after A.D. 135). Coins of Trajan struck before 102 (he is not *Dacicus*) and dated year 81 give the limits 17-22 for the era, and the dates 101 and 170 on coins of Hadrian and Commodus do not narrow them; see *BMC, Pal.*, 5-10; cf. xiii-xiv. M. Avi-Yonah suggests that the city was founded in 18, the year of Tiberius' 60th birthday and 20th tribunician power; see his full study of Tiberias in *IEJ* i (1950-1), 160-9.

¹⁴ *BJ* ii, 618; iii, 539; *V* 92, 331.

¹⁵ *V* 65-6. Cf. below, p. 303.

¹⁶ *Luke* xxiii, 7; cf. above, p. 166, n. 75. There is no suggestion that the presence of Herodian princes in the Roman province was in any way remarkable.

¹⁷ See above, p. 163.

Athens and Delos jointly honouring Antipas for his goodwill (expressed surely in some tangible form); its date may be A.D. 6, in which case he probably visited the island on his way home from Rome.¹⁸

The only recorded protest against any action of Antipas is that of John the Baptist *c.* 28 against his second marriage, which contravened Jewish Law, and it may have been personal pique at the preacher's reprimand as much as fear of possible revolutionary implications in his revivalist movement which made Antipas arrest him as a dangerous agitator.¹⁹ Antipas' first marriage was to a daughter of Aretas IV of Nabataea, a useful dynastic alliance. Some time in the mid-20s he visited his half-brother, Herod son of Mariamme II, en route for Rome and fell in love with his wife Herodias, who was half-niece to both of them. Herodias' ambition made her willing to abandon a political nonentity in order to achieve elevation to the rank of a tetrarch's wife, even at the price of a double contravention of Jewish Law: for a woman might not divorce her husband; and a widow might not marry her deceased husband's brother if there were children of the first marriage, and Herodias already had a daughter by her first husband—Salome, later to be Philip's wife. Though polygamy was permitted, she made it a condition of the match that Antipas should divorce Aretas' daughter. The latter, on discovering what was afoot, fled to her father, who waited some ten years for the chance to avenge the insult.²⁰

¹⁸ OGIS 417 = Gabba, *Iscr. Bibbia*, 15, with ἐπὶ ἐπιμ[ελητοῦ τῆς νήσου Ἀπολλωνίου] M . . . giving the date as probably A.D. 6; see Gabba, note *ad loc.* OGIS 416 = IGRR IV, 1043, a dedication by a private individual on Cos to Antipas as τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ξένον καὶ φίλον, indicates a visit but not a benefaction to the city. Both dedications call him Ἡρώδην, Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως υἱόν, τετράρχην, with his personal name omitted, as on his coins (above, p. 116, n. 45). To Josephus he is "Antipas" before 4 B.C. and thereafter, as in the Gospels also, "Herod". Cf. Hoehner, *Antipas*, 105-9.

¹⁹ *Matt.* xiv, 1-11; *Mark* vi, 14-28; *Luke* iii, 19-20; *AJ* xviii, 116-19. On the authenticity of this passage in the *AJ* see Thackeray, *Josephus*, 131-3; R. Eisler, *The Messiah Jesus* (translated by A. H. Krappe, 1931), 245 ff.; cf. Feldman, notes *ad loc.*

²⁰ *AJ* xviii, 109-12, 136. *Mark* vi, 17 and some MSS of *Matt.* xiv, 3 and *Luke* iii, 19 call Herodias' first husband "Philip". If the tetrarch is meant, it is an error, since it would make his wife Salome his own daughter. But it may mean that Mariamme II's son was Herod Philip, though never so called by Josephus; so Thackeray, *BJ* I-III (Loeb), genealogical table of the Herods. On marriage to a brother's widow see above, p. 116, n. 43. Josephus gives the misleading impression that Aretas' revenge in 36 followed hard on his daughter's return. But John's denunciation of the marriage, probably then recent, occurred shortly after the opening of Christ's Ministry *c.* 28 (above, p. 168, n. 82). See also below, p. 188, n. 29.

His chance came in 36, when, ironically, Antipas suffered at home as a result of his high standing with Rome. Josephus describes him as "one of Tiberius' closest friends" at the time of the foundation of Tiberias,²¹ and though only the one visit by Antipas to Tiberius as emperor just mentioned is recorded, there may have been others. For Tiberius would not have given Antipas the responsibility of acting as mediator in delicate diplomatic negotiations with Parthia at the end of his reign, if he had not known him and his qualities well.

The Armenio-Parthian problem, quiescent for fifteen years, had reared its ugly head again in 35, and after a year of conflict between rival nominees for the Armenian throne and civil war in Parthia engineered by Rome, the Parthian king had been humiliated sufficiently to be willing to accept the Roman settlement in Armenia in return for Roman recognition of his own independent sovereignty. Antipas was appointed to act as host to the Parthian king and the representative of Rome, L. Vitellius legate of Syria, when they met on the Euphrates in 36 to make terms. It must have been Antipas' proudest moment when, as a mere tetrarch, he entertained the King of Kings at a banquet to celebrate the agreement. Tiberius could have paid no higher compliment to his tact, his trustworthiness and his diplomatic finesse. Unfortunately, the honour went to Antipas' head. He infuriated Vitellius by dispatching a letter about the success of the conference to Rome ahead of the legate's own report.²² And now or soon afterwards he prepared the way for his own deposition by presuming on his favoured position to arm his kingdom.

Antipas' preoccupation with international diplomacy and his absence from his tetrarchy gave Aretas the opportunity to carry out his long awaited vengeance, and a timely boundary dispute over an area bordering on south Peraea provided a pretext for military action. His troops won a decisive victory. But Aretas, whatever provocation he had endured, was technically in the wrong, since, as a client king, he had no right to go to war on his own initiative. If he had expected to

²¹ *AJ* xviii, 36.

²² *AJ* xviii, 101-5. Josephus alone puts the settlement with Parthia at the end of Tiberius' reign. Dio lix, 27, 2 and Suet., *G.* 14, 3 and *Vit.* 2, 4, both include it among the first acts of Gaius' reign, and Tacitus evidently did so also, as his account of eastern affairs preceding Tiberius' death (*A* vi, 31-44) breaks off before it. If Josephus is right, hatred for Tiberius transferred his diplomatic triumph to his successor; so M. P. Charlesworth in *CAH* X, 749-50; cf. Jones, *Herods*, 182. Contrast, however, Schürer, I (rev.), 351. Josephus' version clearly dates the conference to the middle of 36, to allow for Aretas' campaign during or just after it before the autumn.

escape reprisals for this misdemeanour because Tiberius was aging, he received a rude shock. For when Antipas promptly complained to Tiberius and asked for redress (perhaps prudently omitting any reference to the matter of Aretas' daughter), the emperor supported him, and far from administering a mere reprimand to Aretas, sent instructions to Vitellius to mount a punitive expedition against him. After the recent incident of Antipas' report to Tiberius about the Euphrates conference, Vitellius probably viewed without enthusiasm the prospect of taking up the cudgels on his behalf. But it was by now the spring of 37, and Aretas was saved when Tiberius' death invalidated Vitellius' orders.²³

Gaius' accession deprived Antipas of the pleasure of seeing Aretas humiliated. It also brought about a dramatic change in the fortunes of his nephew Agrippa, who was to be an agent in his own downfall.

Agrippa I

M.(?) Julius Agrippa²⁴ was a colourful character, about whose varied and generally impecunious early career Josephus has more to say than about his reign. He was born in 10 B.C.,²⁵ three years before the execution of his father, Mariamme I's son Aristobulus, by Herod. His grandfather did not arrange a suitable dynastic marriage for him soon after the execution, as he did for some of the other children of Alexander and Aristobulus to secure their future,²⁶ but he gave him a good start in life by sending him to Rome for his education. There he was quickly taken into the circle of imperial princes, for his mother, Berenice, who accompanied him, was a friend of the younger Antonia, the widowed mother of the future emperor Claudius and his maternal grandmother, the formidable Salome, was a friend of Livia. Among the princes were Claudius, who was of exactly the same age, and Tiberius' only son Drusus, about three years older, who became Agrippa's close friend.²⁷

²³ *AJ* xviii, 113-15 (with the emendation ἐν γῇ Γαβαλίτιδι, Gabala in Moab, for the clearly erroneous Γαμαλικῇ or Γαμαλίτιδι, Gamala in Gaulanitis, of the MSS), 120-4. The timing of Vitellius' expedition precludes an earlier date than the second half of 36 for Aretas' victory, since Antipas' complaint to Tiberius evidently arrived too late for action to be taken in the same campaigning season. Cf. the present writer in *JJS* v (1954), 19-20.

²⁴ *IG* II², 3449 = *OGIS* 428 (honouring his daughter Berenice) alone gives his *nomen*. His *praenomen* is not recorded, but was probably the same as his son's (below, p. 262, n. 21).

²⁵ *AJ* xix, 350.

²⁶ See above, pp. 101-2.

²⁷ *AJ* xviii, 143, 165.

Agrippa's lifelong besetting sin was extravagance, and as soon as death removed his mother's restraining influence (at an unknown date), he rapidly squandered all his resources and got heavily into debt. The first of the series of financial crises of which his life largely consisted until the tide turned for him with the accession of Gaius occurred in 23, when he realized that he could not afford to continue to live in Rome. In September of that year Drusus died. This was a shattering blow to Tiberius, who reacted by excluding his son's friends from court, and it gave Agrippa his cue to return to Palestine, leaving a trail of unpaid debts behind him.²⁸

Not expecting an effusive welcome from any of his relations, Agrippa retired to a remote fortress in Idumaea (in the Roman province) in a state of such acute depression that he contemplated suicide. He was saved by his wife, who, among other unspecified efforts to help him, appealed to his sister Herodias, by now the wife of Antipas, to use her influence with her husband on his behalf. Antipas came to his nephew's rescue by giving him a salaried post as *agoranomos* of his new capital of Tiberias with responsibility for its economic well-being. But Agrippa soon became bored with a dull job in a small provincial city equipped with few of the amenities of Greco-Roman civilization among which he had grown up, had a row with his uncle, and was obliged to leave. In 32 or 33 he made his way to Syria, where a close friend from his Roman days, L. Pomponius Flaccus, had recently become legate.²⁹

Agrippa spent a couple of years in Syria. There his financial straits made him yield to the temptation of accepting a handsome bribe from Damascus for his support in a boundary dispute with Sidon which was coming up before Flaccus. Unfortunately for Agrippa, the deal reached the legate's ears through the kind offices of his younger brother Aristobulus, who had been in his entourage for rather longer and feared being displaced in his favour, and Flaccus abruptly terminated his friendship with Agrippa.³⁰

²⁸ *AJ* xviii, 144-7. The funeral was on 14 Sept.—*I. Ital.* XIII, i, 329; *CIL* VI, 32493.

²⁹ *AJ* xviii, 147-50. Josephus' only indication of lapse of time is that Agrippa did not stay long in Tiberias. But the period in Idumaea and that post together cover about ten years. The only chronological certainty is that he was appointed after his sister's marriage to Antipas. Flaccus apparently succeeded the absentee legate L. Aelius Lamia on his transfer to the city prefecture in 32—*Dio* lvi, 19, 5.

³⁰ *AJ* xviii, 151-4. Sidon and Damascus had evidently received large accessions of territory on the dismemberment of Zenodorus' tetrarchy (above,

Agrippa then decided to try his fortunes again in his spiritual home, Italy, reckoning that Tiberius would have got over Drusus' death by now and would receive his friends again. He succeeded in raising a small loan to pay his passage and start him off in Rome and was on the point of setting sail from Anthedon for Alexandria and thence for Italy when C. Herennius Capito, procurator of the imperial estate centred on Jamnia,³¹ learnt that he was in the neighbourhood and began dunning him for the repayment of some considerable debts incurred to the imperial treasury in Rome (presumably before 23), which he had been commissioned to recover. Agrippa's response was to slip away under cover of darkness, while Capito wrote an indignant letter to Tiberius. In Alexandria he borrowed a large sum from Philo's wealthy brother Alexander, and in the spring of 36 arrived in Italy, reasonably well provided for.³²

Tiberius, aged and lonely, welcomed Agrippa to Capri, glad to renew an old friendship. Their relations suffered a temporary setback when Capito's letter arrived hard on Agrippa's heels, but the situation was quickly remedied by a loan from Agrippa's former patroness Antonia with which he repaid the treasury. Tiberius recommended his teenage grandson Gemellus, whom he had nominated as joint heir to the throne with his great nephew Gaius, to Agrippa's attention. But Agrippa, now over forty-five, found the company of Gaius, aged twenty-three, Antonia's grandson and the "rising sun" in popular opinion, more congenial and potentially more profitable. An enormous loan from an obliging imperial freedman of Samaritan origins helped him to entertain Gaius adequately in Rome and also to keep Antonia's favour by repaying her.³³ One day, however, an injudicious

pp. 86-7) and were now contiguous; cf. below, p. 198, n. 67. Flaccus died in office, probably in 35 or late in 34 (rather than in 33; so Tac., *A* vi, 27, 4). No legate is known between him and L. Vitellius, appointed in 35 (Tac., *A* vi, 32, 5), and Flaccus struck coins dated year 82 of the Caesarian era (autumn, 49 B.C.) = 33-4 — *BMC, Galatia* . . . , 170.

³¹ See above, p. 158.

³² *AJ* xviii, 155-60; *BJ* ii, 178, making the purpose of Agrippa's visit to bring charges (of an unspecified nature) against Antipas, to which Tiberius refused to listen. The omission of any such reference in *AJ* may be a tacit correction; Agrippa is unlikely to have jeopardized his own prospects by attacks on a relation obviously high in imperial favour. Josephus' date for his arrival in Italy is precise (*AJ* xviii, 126), indicating a winter journey of perhaps three months and leaving an interval of up to a year between his departure from Syria and his embarkation in Alexandria. On Philo's brother see below, pp. 227; 234, n. 57.

³³ *AJ* xviii, 161-7; *BJ* ii, 178. Gaius' residence on Capri from 31 (Suet.,

remark to Gaius to the effect that he hoped that Tiberius would soon die and leave him the throne was overheard by one of his servants, who later tried to get himself out of trouble by reporting it to the emperor. Tiberius, reluctant to be put on the position of having to take action against Agrippa, postponed giving the case a formal hearing for some months, until September 36, when he paid a visit to Tusculum on the mainland. The charge was proven, and the Jewish prince languished in prison for the last six months of Tiberius' reign.³⁴

Tiberius' death brought Agrippa release and a change of fortune. Gaius made him ruler of the vacant tetrarchy of Philip, where he inherited the revenues which had been accumulating since his uncle's death, and perhaps also of the tetrarchy of Abilene (a portion of the Ituraean principality east of Antilebanon), and gave him the coveted title of king.³⁵ To enhance his standing in Rome he bestowed on him the *ornamenta praetoria*.³⁶ But Agrippa was in no hurry to take possession of his remote and, by his standards, backward territories, and he continued to enjoy the pleasures of Rome for well over a year before finally setting sail for his kingdom in mid-summer 38. And he went with the avowed intention of returning to Rome as soon as he had organized the administration of his kingdom.³⁷

G. 10, 1) does not preclude prolonged visits to the mainland, and *AJ* xviii, 169 εἰς τὰς Καπρέας implies that Gaius and Agrippa were not on the island. On Tiberius' heirs see note on *Leg.* 23 κοινοῶνδν . . . ἀρχῆς and works cited there.

³⁴ *AJ* xviii, 168-9, 179, 183-204; *BJ* ii, 179-80. Josephus is the sole authority for this visit of Tiberius to the mainland, the last before the one on which he died. Cf. R. S. Rogers in *Class. Weekly* xxxix (1945-6), 41-4.

³⁵ *AJ* xviii, 228-37; *BJ* ii, 181; *Fl.* 25; *Leg.* 324-6; cf. Suet., *G.* 16, 3 on the revenues. Dio lix, 8, 2 does not differentiate between the stages by which Agrippa inherited Herod's kingdom. In *AJ* xix, 275 Abilene is not given to Agrippa till 41. *BJ* ii, 215 is confused, making Agrippa acquire both Philip's and Lysanias' tetrarchies in 41. Lysanias, tetrarch of Abilene c. 28 (*Luke* iii, 1) and grandson (?) of the homonym executed by Antony (above, p. 61), may have taken the district over at the time of Zenodorus' disgrace or of his death (above, pp. 86-7). On his death between 29 (*OGIS* 606 = *IGRR* III, 1086; cf. P.-W., s.v. *Lysanias* 6) and 37, his tetrarchy was probably put into cold storage, like Philip's, until a successor should be appointed.

³⁶ *Fl.* 40. For non-senators the *ornamenta praetoria* or *consularia* involved merely the right to wear the insignia of the rank concerned (and probably to be buried in them), and to sit among the senators of that rank at festivals. They did not entail political rights or a seat in the senate. See further Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*³ I (1887), 455-67, where Agrippa and his brother (below, p. 192) are the only client kings cited for the honour (464, n. 4). Agrippa took part in the senatorial debate on Claudius' accession by invitation and not by right—*AJ* xix, 239 ff.; cf. below, p. 192.

³⁷ *AJ* xviii, 238.

The return of the black sheep of the Herodian family as a king did not please his ambitious sister Herodias. She bitterly resented the fact that Agrippa, who ten years earlier had been dependent on her husband's goodwill for his very food, had now risen, through no merit of his own, to a position of higher status, and moreover had not the tact to refrain from flaunting his glory before them. She set to work to nag Antipas until in the spring of 40³⁸ he reluctantly sailed for Italy with her to ask Gaius to make him his nephew's equal by conferring the title of king on him. On learning of their journey, Agrippa sent a freedman hard on their heels with a letter to Gaius accusing his uncle of having been a party to Sejanus' plot against Tiberius, and of currently planning treason against Rome with Parthia. His evidence for the second charge was that Antipas was stock-piling arms, and had equipment for seventy thousand heavy infantry. Gaius, hardly surprisingly, showed no interest in the allegation of complicity with Sejanus, but he took the other charge seriously, and when Antipas could not deny that he had accumulated military equipment far in excess of the requirements of his tiny army, Gaius regarded this as an admission of guilt, banished him to Gaul, and rewarded Agrippa with his domains. It stands to Herodias' credit that she refused the pardon which Gaius offered her out of regard for her brother, and accompanied her husband into the exile which she had helped to bring upon him.³⁹

This is Josephus' story, a typical Herodian family intrigue, in which the sister and uncle who had helped Agrippa when he was in a tight corner were sacrificed to unscrupulous personal ambition. But the military equipment was a fact, and must have taken some time to assemble. If Antipas had begun to arm his kingdom some three years earlier in misguided reliance on the exceptional favour in which Tiberius held him (whether he had dreams of an independent foreign policy or was merely planning to make a retaliatory attack on Aretas to replace the official Roman reprisals which Tiberius' death had cut short), then,

³⁸ His absence from the delegation which appealed to Petronius *c.* May (above, p. 177) is evidence that he had already left the country.

³⁹ *AJ* xviii, 240-55; *BJ* ii, 181-3 (giving Spain as the place of exile); cf. *Leg.* 326. Gaius interviewed Antipas in Campania, where he spent the summers of both 39 (*Dio* lix, 17) and 40 (below, p. 244). The coins of Antipas dated by his 43rd regnal year = 39-40 (*BMC, Pal.*, 230; Reifenberg, 45) would allow of his deposition in 39, but *AJ* xix, 351 puts Agrippa's acquisition of his tetrarchy in his 4th regnal year from 37 = 40-1. On the coin of Antipas supposedly dated year 44 see Schürer, I (rev.), 327-8, in n. 165.

even if the treasonable dealings with Parthia existed only in Agrippa's imagination, his action was highly suspect in a client king, and however deplorable Agrippa's tale-bearing may have been, Antipas was not just the innocent victim of a nephew's malice.

Agrippa then made his way to Italy during the summer to reap the fruits of his successful delation against his uncle, perhaps timing his visit to coincide with Gaius' ovation for his German campaign on 31 August. There he received his official appointment over Galilee and Peraea from Gaius' hands, heard of his plan to desecrate the Temple, and intervened on its behalf in the autumn.⁴⁰ He then remained in Rome for the winter, since the sailing season was over, and he was happier there than anywhere else. It thus happened that when Gaius was assassinated on 24 January 41, he was at hand to play a valuable part in the somewhat theatrical events which put Claudius on the throne by acting as mediator between him and the senate.⁴¹ Claudius had every reason for gratitude towards Agrippa, and he showed it by confirming him as king of the domains which Gaius had given him, adding to them the province of Judaea (together with Abilene, if not given to him in 37), and honouring him with a formal treaty of alliance.⁴² From then until his death in 44 Agrippa ruled a kingdom larger than his grandfather's as "Great King, Friend of Caesar and Friend of Rome".⁴³ As further marks of favour to the house of Herod Claudius appointed Agrippa's elder brother Herod, also a friend of his and present in Rome, king of Chalcis (the centre of the former Ituraean principality, lying between Lebanon and Antilebanon) and gave him *ornamenta praetoria*, while he promoted Agrippa to *ornamenta consularia*.⁴⁴

Claudius may, however, have had another motive beside gratitude

⁴⁰ See above, pp. 178-9. The ovation—Suet., *G.* 49, 2.

⁴¹ *AJ* xix, 236-45, 265-6; *BJ* ii, 206-13; cf. Dio lx, 8, 2. For discussion of Josephus' confused and inconsistent stories see Scramuzza, *Claudius*, 58-9.

⁴² *AJ* xix, 274-5, 362; *BJ* ii, 215-16. An undated coin of Agrippa has on the obverse the king sacrificing and on the reverse clasped hands and a legend most credibly restored as [φιλι]α βασι(λέως) 'Αγ[ρίπ]πα [πρὸς τὴν συν]κλητον [καὶ τὸν δ]ῆμ[ον] 'Ρωμαίω[ν] κ[αὶ] συμ[μαχί]α; see J. Meyshan in *IEJ* iv (1954), 191, 196, no. 5; cf. *BMC, Pal.*, xcvi.

⁴³ *OGIS* 419 = *IGRR* III, 1244 (set up to his son); cf. 424 (below, p. 196). His coins omit Φιλωρωμαῖος. On βασιλεὺς μέγας see E. W. Klimowsky in *Studies and Researches* (Public. Israel Numis. Soc.) i (1954), 91-5.

⁴⁴ *AJ* xix, 277 (cf. § 288 'Αγρίππα καὶ 'Ηρώδου τῶν φιλάτων μοι); *BJ* ii, 217; Dio lx, 8, 2-3. Cf. below, p. 246. The history of Chalcis between the execution of Lysanias (above, p. 61) and A.D. 41 is blank; it may have been under Zenodorus until 20 B.C. (above, p. 86, n. 89).

for enlarging his friend's kingdom. After Gaius' recent threat to the Temple, the Jews of Palestine were bound to be still in a state of high nervous tension, even though the imminent danger had receded, and the return of Jerusalem to the care of a semi-native prince would serve as a guarantee against any further such attacks. It was a move calculated to soothe their wounded feelings and restore stability to the country, a move animated by the same spirit as Claudius' work during the same year to resolve the tensions in Alexandria.⁴⁵ And in Judaea the experiment was successful from the points of view both of the Jews and of Agrippa personally, even if it was not an unqualified success from that of Rome.

Agrippa now had his religious capital and, probably more important in his eyes, the Greco-Syrian city Caesarea with its cultural amenities under his rule, and he was content to reside in his kingdom. There is no record of any further visits to Rome after his return home in the spring or summer of 41.⁴⁶ At the same time, his descent from the Hasmonaeans through his paternal grandmother gave him a better chance of acceptance by the Jews than the earlier Herods had had, and he tried to play down his Herodian ancestry. Though he was, understandably, known in common parlance as "Herod", that name does not appear in Josephus or Philo or, more significantly, on official documents. He is "king Agrippa" on his coins and "Julius Agrippa" in an inscription in honour of one of his daughters.⁴⁷

Agrippa's respectful attitude towards Judaism rapidly won him popularity. Among the Jews he was a zealous Jew. He celebrated his arrival in Jerusalem in 41 by offering sacrifice and presenting to the Temple the golden chain given him by Gaius four years earlier, equal in weight to the fetters he had worn in prison, and it was probably for his conspicuous participation in Jewish rites and festivals as much as for his Hasmonaean ancestry that he was acclaimed as a "brother" by his Jewish subjects.⁴⁸ The right to appoint the High Priests naturally devolved on Agrippa when Judaea came under his rule, and one of

⁴⁵ See below, pp. 246-50.

⁴⁶ *AJ* xix, 331. Agrippa and Herod were evidently still in Rome in the spring of 41 (below, p. 195).

⁴⁷ *Acts* xii, 1, 6, 21; *IG* II², 3449 = *OGIS* 428. For his coins see below, p. 195, n. 53. Contrast the practice of Archelaus and Antipas (above, pp. 116, n. 45; 185, n. 18).

⁴⁸ *AJ* xix, 292-6, 331; *Mish. Sot.* vii, 8. *OGIS* 418 = *IGRR* III, 1260, a dedication in Auranitis ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας κυρίου βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα καὶ ἐπανόδου, if it concerns Agrippa I and not his son, expresses joy at his return in 41 and testifies to the popularity of his rule over Philip's tetrarchy.

his first actions in 41 was to depose Theophilus son of Annas,⁴⁹ perhaps for no other reason than that he had been a Roman appointment, and to replace him by Simon Cantheras, a member of the Boethid family which had provided four High Priests under Herod and Archelaus but which had been excluded from the office since A.D. 6.⁵⁰ Within a short time, however, he restored the office to the family of Annas, offering a second term to his son Jonathan, High Priest in 37. Jonathan, however, declined in favour of his brother Matthias, a man of greater piety, possibly in deference to the section of public opinion which looked for a devout spiritual leader rather than a politician in the High Priest.⁵¹ But Matthias also held office for only a year or so, and the post then returned to the Boethids with the appointment of Cantheras' son shortly before Agrippa's death.⁵² Three appointments in as many years suggests some unrecorded disagreement between the king and the Jewish religious authorities despite his superficial piety.

For superficial it was. Agrippa's attitude towards Judaism, however successful in conciliating his Jewish subjects, was only a façade. With his Roman upbringing he was as much a pagan at heart as the rest of his family, though he acted the pious Jew in Jerusalem. While ruling Philip's tetrarchy only he followed his uncle's example by striking coins at Caesarea Philippi bearing Gaius' portrait; but he also broke with Herodian tradition by striking one, in 38-39, with his own head on the obverse and his son on horseback on the reverse. Then after acquiring Antipas' tetrarchy and the Roman province, he carried this practice into his Jewish territory. Only one of his coins is aniconic, a large issue struck in 42-43 with a mysterious fringed umbrella (possibly an oriental symbol of monarchy) on the obverse and barley ears on the reverse. He struck an undated coin with a head of Claudius at Tiberias, and coins with his own head as well as coins with the emperor's at Caesarea in 43-44. Other coins of the same date show a city goddess and a scene in a pagan temple which may celebrate Claudius' victory in Britain. The coin commemorating Agrippa's

⁴⁹ See above, p. 173.

⁵⁰ *AJ* xix, 297-8. On the relationships within the Boethid family see above, p. 91, n. 111.

⁵¹ *AJ* xix, 313-16, with the appointment of C. Vibius Marsus to Syria, probably in the summer of 42 (so P.-W., s.v. *Vibius* 39) and in any case by the summer of 43 (below, p. 198, n. 66) giving a *terminus ante quem*. Cf. the Jews' request for a new prelate of greater piety in 4 B.C. (above, p. 106); on both episodes see the present writer in *JThS*² xiii (1962), 23-4.

⁵² *AJ* xix, 342. (xx, 16 gives him also the surname Cantheras.)

treaty with Rome in 41 depicts the king offering pagan sacrifice.⁵³

That was not all. Statues of Agrippa's daughters were to be seen at Sebaste and Caesarea,⁵⁴ and the story of his dramatic end at Caesarea in 44, in circumstances utterly alien to Judaism, suggests that among his gentile subjects he wished to be regarded and treated as a normal Hellenistic king receiving divine honours. He was presiding over a festival of the imperial cult (probably the quinquennial festival established by his grandfather at the inauguration of the city) when the crowd hailed him as a god incarnate. But before the day was out, he was seized with severe abdominal pains and expired in agony five days later—divine retribution, in Jewish eyes, for his failure to repudiate the blasphemous salutation.⁵⁵

Like his grandfather, Agrippa made benefactions to cities outside his kingdom, notably Berytus, which received a theatre, an amphitheatre (inaugurated with a gladiatorial show in which Agrippa indulged the gory taste instilled in him by his Roman upbringing), baths and porticoes.⁵⁶ At the same time, like his grandfather again, he saw himself as the champion of the Diaspora in cases of gentile oppression. He and his brother Herod of Chalcis had a hand in the issue both of the edict which Claudius sent to Alexandria in March 41 to re-establish the position of the Jewish community there after the attacks made on it during Gaius' reign, and of the general edict which he addressed shortly afterwards to the whole empire to forestall similar attacks on the Diaspora elsewhere.⁵⁷ Then very shortly after his return home Agrippa took action spontaneously to defend the religious liberty and civic rights of the Jewish community in the Greco-Syrian city of Dora, where some young gentiles, apparently out of pure malice or mere devilment—at any rate no Jewish provocation like that given at Jamnia in 39 is recorded—had followed the example of the Alexandrian

⁵³ For a full study of Agrippa's coins, superseding *BMC, Pal.* and Reifenberg and including new types, see J. Meyshan in *IEJ* iv (1954), 186-200. Agrippa may have struck a coin with his own portrait at Anthedon-Agrippias also, but the attribution is dubious; see *BMC, Pal.*, xlv. On the umbrella cf. M. P. Charlesworth, *Five Men* (1936), 20. On the coin dates see below, p. 199, n. 68.

⁵⁴ *AJ* xix, 357.

⁵⁵ *AJ* xix, 343-50; *Acts* xii, 20-3. Cf. above, pp. 80, n. 62. Agrippa's fatal illness seems to have been appendicitis aggravated by round worms; see Feldman, note on *AJ* xix, 346; note on *Leg.* 266.

⁵⁶ *AJ* xix, 328, 330, 335-7. See above, pp. 80-1, for Herod's gifts. A Roman colony had been planted at Berytus c. 15 B.C. (*BMC, Phoenicia*, lii, 58 ff.) and this Roman connection may have made Agrippa single it out.

⁵⁷ *AJ* xix, 279, 288.

Greeks in 38 by putting a statue of Claudius in one of the synagogues; and this ostensible act of homage to the new emperor had apparently been followed by an assault, or plans for an assault, on the Jews' civic status as an authorized, organized community within the city. When this outrage reached Agrippa's ears, he paid a personal visit to P. Petronius the legate of Syria to draw his attention to the fact that Claudius' recent edicts were being flagrantly defied in his province. Petronius was as incensed as Agrippa and, to forestall Jewish reprisals, sent a stiff letter to the city authorities in Dora, reminding them that Claudius' general edict gave the Jews political rights as well as religious liberty in Greek cities, pointing out that sacrilege was a poor way of honouring the emperor, demanding that the desecrators of the synagogue should be sent to him for punishment, and enclosing copies of both edicts to put the Jews' rights beyond all doubt.⁵⁸

Few of the details of Agrippa's internal administration are known. The *Acts of the Apostles* record an attempt shortly before his death to muzzle the infant Church by having one of its leaders executed and another imprisoned;⁵⁹ but whether this was done in the interests of maintaining law and order or of safeguarding the Jewish religion from heresy is not clear. A badly damaged fragment of an inscription from Canatha in Auranitis seems to be part of a decree of "King Agrippa, Friend of Caesar and Friend of Rome", urging his subjects there to give up a "bestial existence... hiding and hibernating in many parts of the country." Possibly this was an attempt to combat brigandage by offering economic inducements to adopt a more conventional way of life. But there is nothing to show whether its author was Agrippa I or his son.⁶⁰

Agrippa's inability to keep out of debt in private life was repeated in his financial record as king. Although his annual revenue probably somewhat exceeded his grandfather's revenues at the end of his life,

⁵⁸ *AJ* xix, 300-12. The attack on Jewish rights is inferred from συμπολιτεύεσθαι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν (§ 306), where Petronius is interpreting the Jewish δικαία of Claudius' general edict (§ 288); the reassertion of rights implies that they had been in danger. The verb may indicate that the Jews in Dora formed a *politeuma* (cf. below, pp. 225-6). The singular τὴν συναγωγὴν (§ 300 may mean "the chief synagogue" rather than "the one and only". Dora, close to Jewish territory and formerly under Hasmonaean rule, is likely to have had quite a large community. For events in Alexandria, 38-41, see below, pp. 235-42.

⁵⁹ *Acts* xii, 1-19. For a study of the execution of St. James see J. Blinzler, who argues that he will in fact have been tried and condemned by the Sanhedrin—in *NT* v (1962), 191-206.

⁶⁰ *OGIS* 424 = *IGRR* III, 1223. Agrippa II had the same titles.

Agrippa overspent his income and had to borrow heavily for his grandiose schemes.⁶¹ One of his earliest actions in 41 was to remit the house tax in Jerusalem (a tax normally paid by all householders in walled towns for the building and upkeep of the walls)—a blatant bid for popularity.⁶² Though it is not stated, the remission was probably only for one year, since Agrippa embarked soon afterwards on the very costly project of enlarging Jerusalem by building a new north wall to enclose the very extensive suburb of Bezetha. This wall ran north west from Herod's palace to a massive tower, Psephinus, where it turned and followed a generally north-eastward course, probably roughly parallel to the line of the present sixteenth-century north wall and some five hundred yards further north, to join a northward extension of the east wall of the Temple enclosure—a total length of perhaps two miles.⁶³ But before the new work had advanced far beyond foundations, C. Vibius Marsus, Petronius' successor in Syria, sent a report about it to Claudius. The magnitude of the operation, undertaken without reference to Rome, aroused his suspicions, and he instructed Agrippa to discontinue the building.⁶⁴ The wall apparently stood unfinished till 66, when it was hurriedly completed.⁶⁵

To allow time for the enormous project of the new wall to be planned and put in hand, the order to desist cannot be dated long

⁶¹ *AJ* xix, 352. 12 million drachmae = 1,200 talents (rather than 2,000). For Josephus' talent = 10,000 drachmae see F. Hultsch in *Klio* ii (1902), 70-2. Herod the Great's revenue at the height of his prosperity is not recorded, but immediately after his death and the detachment of the valuable cities of Gaza, Gadara and Hippos, his son's revenues totalled 900 talents and Salome's estate was worth a further 60 (above, p. 110). For further calculations see Momigliano, *Ricerche*, 45-50 (352-7). Agrippa had Abilene in addition, and possibly Philip's unostentatious work had brought economic prosperity to the unpromising areas of his tetrarchy.

⁶² *AJ* xix, 299; *Mish. BB* i, 5.

⁶³ See further Appendix C. The general belief that the south city wall traced by Bliss and Dickie (above, p. 25, n. 12) was pre-Herodian has been challenged by Kenyon, *Jerusalem*, 144, 155-61, who maintains that until the first century A.D. the southern limit of the city was further north, perhaps on a line similar to that of the present south wall, and that Agrippa extended the city not only northwards but southwards also, to the Bliss-Dickie line.

⁶⁴ *AJ* xix, 326-8. In *BJ* v, 152 Agrippa abandons the work voluntarily to avoid arousing Claudius' suspicions; but here the truth may be distorted out of regard for Agrippa II, then still alive though dead when *AJ* was finished (see Appendix F). Tacitus sees the wall as completed by Agrippa—*H* v, 12, 3 *per avaritiam Claudianorum temporum empto iure muniendi* (an unconvincing allegation) *struxere muros in pace tanquam ad bellum*.

⁶⁵ See below, p. 301.

before the end of Agrippa's reign. At about the same time, probably in the late summer of 43, he received a similar snub for another suspiciously independent action, this time from Vibius Marsus. He had invited five client kings in the vicinity to visit him in Tiberias—his brother Herod of Chalcis, and the kings of Commagene, Emesa, Armenia Minor and Pontus. Unfortunately, however, Marsus chose this moment to call on him, either by coincidence or because he had heard of the gathering and thought it his duty to see what was afoot. Agrippa made no attempt at concealment, but openly took his visitors to meet the legate—which, unless he was bluffing, suggests that the purpose of his invitation had been the relatively innocuous one of mere sociability and ostentation. But Marsus suspected that some treasonable designs were brewing. Pontus and Armenia Minor on the Armenian frontier and Commagene on the Parthian were strategically vital to Rome's eastern defences, and a gathering initiated by a king whose uncle had recently been accused of plotting with Parthia looked sinister. Without taking time to refer the matter to Rome, Marsus quietly told the five visitors to return home. Agrippa was furious at the legate's second interference in his affairs, and asked Claudius to dismiss him.⁶⁶ But his action, even if completely innocent, had been exceedingly ill-advised in a vassal who was allowed no foreign policy of his own, and Marsus' caution was justified, even if his suspicions were groundless.

Agrippa, however, was irrepressible, and when shortly before his death he quarrelled, for reasons unrecorded, with the autonomous cities of Tyre and Sidon, which controlled large tracts of territory bordering on his own, instead of laying the dispute before the legate of Syria or the emperor, he took the law into his own hands and brought them to their knees by an economic blockade. Their representatives came to Caesarea to submit and plead for mercy at the festival at which Agrippa died.⁶⁷ Appendicitis perhaps saved him from a further reprimand from Rome.

⁶⁶ *AJ* xix, 338-42, placing the episode before the end of Agrippa's 3rd regnal year counted from 41 (§ 343). The meeting was probably held in the late summer of 43 rather than early in 44, since winter travel was avoided. On the dynasties of Commagene, etc. see Schürer, I (rev.), 448, n. 34. Possibly Vibius Marsus saw the new city wall on this visit and reported them to Claudius. This would reverse Josephus' order of events, but would allow a little more time for building. Claudius did dismiss the legate, but after Agrippa's death and presumably for administrative, not personal, reasons—*AJ* xx, 1; cf. below, p. 256.

⁶⁷ *Acts* xii, 20. Tyre had evidently, like Sidon and Damascus (above, p. 188,

Agrippa's death at the age of only fifty-three some time during the summer of 44⁶⁸ bequeathed to Claudius the problem of the disposal of his large kingdom. He will have expected his arrangements for Palestine to last much longer than three years when he made them, but Agrippa's premature death may have been a blessing in disguise. In his three years' reign over his united kingdom he had displayed ambition and independence of action which were likely to cause constant anxiety to Rome and to need constant surveillance as long as he lived; and he was squandering his country's revenues with the same reckless abandon as he had previously squandered his own, and if this continued, severe financial difficulties could be anticipated.⁶⁹ The feeling in Rome may not have been wholly one of grief when Agrippa's death saved the emperor from being faced later with the painful necessity of deposing him in the interests of the solvency of his country or the security of the East. Even among his own subjects Agrippa's standing was not uniformly high, and he apparently did not succeed in striking a happy balance in his dealings with Jews and Greeks in the former province. He seems to have kept the Jews content, a considerable achievement for a Herod; the Jewish minority in Caesarea was prostrated with grief at his illness and death. But despite the demonstration in his favour by the Greeks at the festival in Caesarea, his death five days later was hailed there and in Sebaste with an unseemly outburst of joy, in which the king's troops played a prominent part. It is a strange incident, puzzling to Josephus, who comments that Agrippa deserved better of these cities, which he had treated generously, and one which casts doubt on the sincerity of the acclamation of the crowd at the festival. Possibly the outburst was a vindictive reaction against Jewish mourning by gentiles who felt that Agrippa had favoured his Jewish subjects above them.⁷⁰

n. 30), received a slice of Zenodorus' territory and now marched with Galilee—*BJ* iii, 38-9; cf. ii, 459. The territory of Sidon presumably marched with Paneas. Cf. *Mark* vii, 24, 31. For a similar dispute with Philadelphia, unresolved at Agrippa's death, see below, p. 259.

⁶⁸ Agrippa's regnal count ran, with little doubt, from Nisan, 37. His latest coins are dated year 8 = 44-5 (thus refuting *AJ* xix, 350, where his death is put in his 7th year) and are numerous enough to indicate that he lived for several months of that year. He did not necessarily die immediately after the Passover of *Acts* xii, 3. Cf. U. Rappoport in *RN*⁶ x (1968), 71-2.

⁶⁹ Momigliano, *Ricerche*, 80 (387), suggests that Josephus knows Agrippa's revenue (above, p. 197, n. 61) only because of a Roman enquiry into his financial administration after his death.

⁷⁰ *AJ* xix, 354-9. Contrast the behaviour of Herod's troops in 4 B.C. (above, pp. 111-12).

Agrippa left three daughters and a son Agrippa, then aged sixteen, who was being educated at the imperial court in Rome. Since such a lad was clearly not capable of shouldering the responsibility of ruling his father's large and difficult kingdom, Claudius and his advisers could split up the potentially dangerous unit on the grounds of his youth without giving offence, and reconstitute part of it as a province.⁷¹ The new province was larger than the old, comprising Galilee and Peraea as well as Judaea, Samaritis and Idumaea.⁷² Nothing is heard of the fate of the northern sections of Agrippa's kingdom, Abilene and Philip's former tetrarchy until they were formed into a kingdom for Agrippa II in 53,⁷³ and they may be assumed to have spent the nine intervening years under the administration of the legate of Syria, as Philip's territory had done from 33/34 to 37.

⁷¹ *AJ* xix, 354, 360-3.

⁷² This is not actually stated, but is abundantly clear from the history of the years 44-66. Cf. *BJ* ii, 247.

⁷³ See below, p. 272.

CHAPTER NINE

THE JEWS IN ROME UNDER THE JULIO-CLAUDIANS

Tiberius

The anti-Semitic policy which Philo attributes to Sejanus, already mentioned in connection with Pontius Pilate,¹ must now be considered in more detail, especially from the point of view of the Jews in Rome, the only Diaspora community known to have suffered in any way during Tiberius' principate.²

Philo says in the *Legatio* that Augustus' measures for the protection of the Jews secured their religious liberty throughout the empire during his principate and his successor's, "although there was an upheaval in Italy when Sejanus was contriving his attack. For Tiberius realized immediately after his death that the charges brought against the Jews living in Rome were unfounded slanders, fabricated by Sejanus; he wanted to wipe out the Jewish race because he knew that, if treachery threatened the emperor, they would be his sole, or at any rate his keenest, champions against treason, whether actually attempted or merely plotted. He instructed all provincial governors to reassure the members of the Jewish race resident in their cities by telling them that retribution would fall on those few of them who were guilty and not on all indiscriminately; furthermore, there was to be no break with tradition, but governors were to treat both the Jews themselves and their laws alike as a sacred trust, since they were people of a peaceful disposition and their laws were conducive to public order."³ The implication here is clearly that the period of Sejanus' hostility towards the Jews immediately preceded his death, and the same date is implied when Philo speaks in the *In Flaccum* of A. Avillius Flaccus, prefect of Egypt from 32, "inheriting" Sejanus' anti-Jewish policy.⁴

No classical historian gives the slightest hint that Sejanus tried to undo the work of Julius Caesar and Augustus by initiating an official

¹ See above, pp. 165-7.

² For fuller discussion see the present writer in *Lat.* xv (1956), 314-29.

³ *Leg.* 159-61.

⁴ *Fl.* 1 δεύτερος μετὰ Σηιανὸν Φλάκκος Ἀουίλλιος διαδέχεται τὴν κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπιβουλὴν . . . (presupposing a preceding lost section on Sejanus). On Flaccus' later activities in Alexandria see below, pp. 236-41.

policy of anti-Semitism, and Eusebius is not an independent witness. In the *Historia Ecclesiastica* he refers to the passage from Philo's *Legatio* quoted above, putting a Christian twist on it by interpreting Sejanus' plan to "annihilate the Jewish race" as divine retribution for the Crucifixion; and in the *Chronicle*, again giving the *Legatio* as his authority, he says that Sejanus urged Tiberius to "destroy the Jewish race."⁵ Ultimately therefore Philo stands alone. But the uniqueness of his testimony is no reason for doubting or rejecting it. If Tacitus' account of Sejanus' last years survived and contained nothing about his being the enemy of the Jews, Philo's statement might be held suspect. But even silence on Tacitus' part would not necessarily be any more conclusive than the silence of Dio and Suetonius in the face of Philo's contemporary record. For an unrealized threat, though causing violent agitation among its intended victims at the time, could well pass unnoticed later.

Philo makes Sejanus' aim the extermination of the whole Jewish race, but specifies only "an upheaval in Italy" and false charges levelled against "the Jews in Rome." It was during Tiberius' principate that the happy relations which had existed since the time of Julius Caesar between the Jews there and the central government were broken by the first of a short series of local clashes. Josephus, Tacitus and Suetonius all tell how action was taken to remove the Jews from the city: four thousand Jews of military age were conscripted for service against brigands in Sardinia (where, Tacitus adds cynically, if the unhealthy climate killed them, it would not matter), and the rest of the community, including converts, was expelled from Rome (or, according to Tacitus, from Italy). All three writers link this with measures to suppress the Isis-cult in Rome. A fragment of Dio mentions the expulsion of the bulk of the Jewish community from Rome, but not the use of conscription or the simultaneous attack on the Isis-cult. Tacitus alone gives a firm date, A.D. 19.⁶

⁵ *HE* ii, 5, 6-7; *Chron.*, Tib. XXI (clearly too late) *Sejanus praefectus Tiberii . . . instantissime cohortatur ut gentem Iudaeorum deleat. Philo meminit in libro Legationis secundo.* If Philo devoted a whole book, now lost, to Sejanus' anti-Jewish policy, the threat was presumably serious. But on the apparently missing treatise and the problem of Philo's historical works in general see *Leg.*, pp. 37-43.

⁶ *AJ* xviii, 65-84 (§§ 66-80 deal with the Isis-cult). Tac., *A* ii, 85, 5 *Actum et de sacris Aegyptiis Iudaicisque pellendis factumque patrum consultum, ut quattuor milia libertini generis ea superstitione infecta, quis idonea aetas, in insulam Sardiniam veherentur, coercendis illic latrocinii et, si ob gravitatem caeli interissent, vile damnum; ceteri cederent Italia, nisi certam ante diem profanos ritus exuissent.* Suet., *Tib.* 36, 1

Neither Tacitus nor Suetonius offers any reason for Tiberius' measures against either religion or any indication of punishable misdemeanours by their adherents. The Isis-cult had been suppressed or restricted more than once in the late republic and under Augustus,⁷ so that further repressive action simply on grounds of precedent or principle would be understandable. But a gratuitous attack on the Jews by the very authorities who had guaranteed their religious liberty seems highly improbable, and the *senatus consultum* by which Tacitus says the conscription and expulsion orders were issued implies investigation and due deliberation, not an arbitrary and spiteful attack.⁸ The Jewish community as a whole, or a considerable section of it, must have offended in some way.

Josephus relates an offence, but one committed by a few individuals only: a convert to Judaism, a wealthy Roman lady of high rank named Fulvia, was the victim of a confidence trick played on her by four Jewish scoundrels, who persuaded her to give them gold and purple to convey to the Temple on her behalf,⁹ and then appropriated the gifts; when Fulvia's husband, who had the ear of the emperor, reported the fraud to him, punishment was meted out on the whole Jewish community in Rome, which was thus "driven out of the city because of the wickedness of four men." This cannot have been the whole story. Not only did the crime of four individuals provide insufficient grounds for the corporate punishment of thousands, but

Externas caerimonias, Aegyptios Iudaicosque ritus compescuit, coactis qui superstitione ea tenebantur religiosas vestes cum instrumento omni comburere. Iudaeorum iuventutem per speciem sacramenti in provincias gravioris caeli distribuit, reliquos gentis eiusdem vel similia sectantes urbe removit, sub poena perpetuae servitutis nisi obtemperassent. (Sardinia's bad climate is not mentioned elsewhere. It may have been malarial; so P.-W., s.v. *malaria*, 844; *Sardinia*, 2494.) Dio lvii, 18, 5a τῶν τε Ἰουδαίων πολλῶν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην συνελθόντων καὶ συχνούς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἔθθῃ μεθιστάντων, τοὺς πλείονας ἐξήλασεν. The position of this fragment in John of Antioch suggests a date c. 19; see U. P. Boissvain's edition II (1898), 577. On the approximate date implied by Josephus see below, p. 209.

⁷ Tert., *Apol.* 6, 8 (58 B.C.); Dio xl, 47, 3 (53 B.C.); Valerius Maximus i, 3, 4 (50 B.C.); Dio liii, 2, 4 and liv, 6, 6 (28 and 21 B.C.).

⁸ Cf. *AJ* xviii, 79 for Tiberius' enquiry into the Isis scandal (below).

⁹ From the fact that Fulvia's gifts were of gold and purple which could be used in Temple hangings, W. A. Heidel makes the astonishing deduction that she was being solicited as a Temple prostitute, and then concludes that Tiberius, whose measures against upper class prostitution Tacitus records in the same chapter, had moral motivation for his action against the Jews—in *AJPh* xli (1920), 38-47. The evidence and arguments by which he supports his thesis are wholly unconvincing. See further the present writer in *Lat.* xv (1956), 317-19 (adding, at p. 318, n. 2, Baron, I, 361, n. 17 to p. 146); cf. Feldman's note on *AJ* xviii, 82.

there is a striking contrast between Tiberius' harshness towards the Jews and his comparative leniency towards the Isis-cult after a more heinous offence. In the latter case also a wealthy Roman noblewoman was involved, but as the victim of a more scandalous plot than the financial deception of Fulvia: the priests of Isis arranged for her to be violated by a frustrated lover under cover of the rites of Anubis. Yet, according to Josephus, Tiberius punished only the parties responsible and merely tried to discourage the cult and prevent the recurrence of such outrages by having the statue of Isis thrown into the Tiber and her temple demolished. He is silent about any attack on the devotees of the cult at large, though Tacitus says that they were expelled from Rome with the Jews.¹⁰ Josephus in fact seems to be guilty here of deliberate *suppressio veri*, aimed at creating the impression that his compatriots were treated with unjustifiable severity while the Isis-cult received undeserved leniency. (This incidentally answers the questions whether the Jews were expelled from Italy, as Tacitus says, or only from Rome, as our other authorities say; Josephus will not have minimized their punishment.) Some more substantial provocation must have lain behind Tiberius' severity towards the Jews than Josephus admits. The escape clause, unique to Tacitus, that people could avoid expulsion (though apparently not conscription) "by giving up their outlandish rites by a certain date" would seem to rule out the possibility that the Fulvia episode was the culmination of a series of unrecorded Jewish misdemeanours, at which the imperial patience finally snapped. People guilty of indictable offences would not have been exculpated by eleventh-hour apostasy.¹¹ The offence must have lain in the religion itself.

This is confirmed by the fact that converts to Judaism came under both conscription and expulsion. Tacitus describes the conscripts as

¹⁰ Tacitus and Suetonius both begin by linking the Jewish and the Egyptian cults, and Tacitus' *pellendis* can only mean that the adherents of both were expelled. Suetonius' *compescuit* is less specific. The rest of the Tacitus passage can be seen by comparison with the other accounts to concern only the Jews, though this is not made explicit. Suetonius' phrase *religiosas . . . comburere* seems more applicable to the paraphernalia of the Isis-cult than to synagogue worship and can be linked to Josephus' reference to the demolition of the temple, with *superstitione ea* meaning "the former cult". The contrast between the two scandals narrated by Josephus is studied in detail by H. R. Moehring in *NT* iii (1959), 293-304.

¹¹ Josephus may omit this clause in order not to let his own side down by admitting even the possibility that a Jew would be tempted to save his skin in this way.

men "tainted by that superstition", which implies adherents of the cult and not merely Jewish nationals, and Suetonius is more explicit, including among those expelled "people who followed the same practices." There is an oblique reference to this in the younger Seneca, who records that early in Tiberius' principate he adopted Pythagorean vegetarianism and then gave it up after a year because "action was being taken at that time against foreign religious rites, and part of the evidence for membership of the sect was abstinence from certain types of meat";¹² clearly a misinterpretation of his vegetarianism as the Jewish abstinence from pork would have put him in danger. The Roman objection to Judaism at this time, therefore, was religious rather than racial. Dio's brief notice of the episode provides the grounds for the objection: the Jews were expelled "because they were converting many Italians to their customs." And Josephus' story, significantly, centres on a proselyte.

Proselytism in Rome was no new phenomenon in the time of Tiberius. It has been argued above that it was occurring as early as the mid-second century B.C. and lay behind the expulsion of the Jews from Rome in 139. During the late republic and early empire proselytism seems to have continued and accelerated.¹³ In a situation in which many Romans were finding that the formal state religion and the humble domestic cults failed to satisfy their spiritual and emotional needs, some turned for fulfilment to philosophy or the mystery cults of the East, while others were attracted by the lofty monotheism and high moral code of the Jews. But in all probability comparatively few of those who turned to Judaism became full proselytes,¹⁴ accepting circumcision or in the case of women a ritual bath,

¹² *Ep. Mor.* cviii, 22. Only one *superstitio* is in question. The Isis-cult had taboos and regulations which included abstinence from pork; see the present writer in *Lat.* xv (1956), 320, n. 1. But in an allusive sentence written some forty years later, the one cult will be Judaism, on which the more memorable and extensive penalties were laid.

¹³ For proselytism in Italy at this period see Plut., *Cic.* 7, 5 (a freedman Caecilius, possibly the Augustan rhetor and critic from Sicily, here apparently confused with Verres' quaestor; cf. Leon, *JR*, 15-16; P.-W., s.v. *Caecilius* 2, 1174-5); Horace, *Sat.* i, 4, 142-3; Seneca *apud* Augustine, *De Civ. Dei* vi, 11; Petronius, *Sat.* 102. In Tac., *A* xiii, 32, 3 *superstitio externa* may be Judaism or Christianity (cf. below, p. 218, n. 54). For the later first century see Mart. vii, 82 (unless this concerns a Jew); Juv. xiv, 96-106; Persius v, 180-4; and below, pp. 376-85. For proselytism in the East cf. *BJ* ii, 463; vi, 427; vii, 45; *John* xii, 20; and in general *Ap.* ii, 123, 280-4.

¹⁴ The 550 epitaphs from the Jewish catacombs in Rome include seven of proselytes—*CIJ* 21, 68, 202, 222, 256, 462, 523. For discussion see Leon, *JR*, 253-6.

and the full rigours of the Law. The majority merely became what may be called (for want of any known contemporary designation) "Judaizers"; these were loose adherents of Judaism, clinging to its fringes by the adoption of monotheism, Sabbath-observance, dietary laws and the major requirements of the moral code, but shrinking from the decisive commitment of stamping themselves as Jews.¹⁵

As long as proselytism had been confined, as it most probably was, largely to the *humiliores*, the stratum of society to which most of the Jews themselves belonged, it had apparently been ignored since 139 B.C.; at any rate, no Roman attempts at restriction are recorded. But in A.D. 19 it penetrated the upper classes. The conversion of a society lady like Fulvia was conspicuous, bringing the extent of Jewish proselytizing to Tiberius' notice and providing the immediate cause for his repressive measures. The adoption of Judaism was an "un-Roman" action in a person of her rank, and set a precedent undesirable and disturbing in the eyes of a conservative emperor.¹⁶ At the same time it had subjected her to a swindle, and other Romans who followed her example would be running a similar risk. The Jews therefore had to be discouraged from proselytizing in Rome by sending them away to a safe distance, and converts had to be encouraged to recant by the offer of a free pardon if they did and the prospect of sharing the restrictions laid upon the Jews if they did not.¹⁷ But this

¹⁵ There is no authority for the modern term "half- (or semi-) proselyte", and the use of "God-fearer" in this sense has been shown to be based on a misinterpretation of the expressions *σεβόμενος* (τὸν θεόν), *φοβούμενος τὸν θεόν*, *θεοσεβής*, and *metuens* where they occur in literature and documents of the early Christian period. See L. H. Feldman in *TAPA* lxxxi (1950), 200-8, with discussion of the term used in the Talmudic period, "fearers of heaven"; his term for uncommitted adherents of Judaism is "sympathizers". His conclusions are endorsed by L. Robert, *NIS*, 41-5. Cf. Jackson and Lake, *Beginnings* V, 74-96, especially 84-8. Whether *ιουδαΐζειν* in *BJ* ii, 463 and *Plut.*, *Cic.* 7, 5 denotes complete or only partial adoption of Judaism is not clear. For detailed studies of proselytism in its full and partial forms see, e.g., Juster, I, 253-90; Moore, *Judaism* I, 323-53; W. G. Braude, *Jewish Proselyting* (1940), 136-8; *JE*, s.v. *Proselyte*; G. Ricciotti, *L'Histoire d'Israel* (translated by P. Auvray, 1948) II, 250-69; H. A. Wolfson, *Philo* (1948), II, 355-74.

¹⁶ The common belief that Nero's wife, Poppaea Sabina, was a convert would appear to contradict this argument or to indicate a change in the official attitude during the next generation; but see below, p. 278, n. 79, and cf. the reaction of Roman public opinion to Titus' romance with the Jewish princess Berenice (below, pp. 387-8).

¹⁷ Cf. the pardon given by Pliny to Christian apostates in Bithynia in 112—*Ep.* x, 96, 5.

did not amount to an actual prohibition of proselytism; Rome had to wait over a century for that.¹⁸

Two methods were employed to remove the Jews from Rome, conscription and expulsion. Only *peregrini*, who technically had no right of residence, could be summarily expelled. Jews with Roman citizenship or *Latinitas Juniana* could be banished only after trial and conviction for an offence, and it was to catch these that the conscription order was devised. Voluntary enlistment now normally provided an adequate supply of soldiers, but conscription had not been legally abolished and it was now brought into use to answer a particular problem. The privilege of exemption from military service granted to the Jews by Augustus¹⁹ was temporarily withdrawn from the Jewish community in Rome, so that Jews with citizenship became liable for legionary service and the rest, most probably the majority, for auxiliary service. All must in fact have been called up as auxiliaries, since there was no legion in Sardinia, and police duties of the type in question normally fell to auxiliary units. Josephus adds that many of them refused military service on the grounds on which exemption had originally been granted, that it would involve contraventions of their Law, and were punished for it.

Tacitus alone restricts the conscription to Jews of a certain legal status, those "of the freedman class."²⁰ If this phrase is merely a Tacitean periphrasis for "freedmen", and if there were four thousand recently manumitted ex-slaves of military age then living in Rome who alone were conscripted, the total Jewish community will have been of far greater size than the evidence suggests, and a high proportion of its members, notably the descendants of slaves manumitted a generation or two earlier, will have escaped both conscription and expulsion. More probably therefore Tacitus' phrase is a loose one devised to cover both the freedmen themselves and their sons and

¹⁸ See below, pp. 472-3, 500-1, 544. E. L. Abel argues that Tiberius' measures were not directed against the Jews at all but only against proselytes—in *REJ* cxxvii (1968), 383-6. But apart from the shakiness of his premise that Dio, Suetonius and Josephus here all use "Jew" to mean "proselyte", the existence of 4,000 proselytes of both slave origin and military age would mean that conversions to Judaism in Rome were far more numerous than other evidence indicates.

¹⁹ See above, p. 137.

²⁰ *Libertini generis*. A manumitted slave was *libertinus* in law (the republican use of the term for a freedman's son being now obsolete) and *libertus* only in relation to his patron.

possibly grandsons.²¹ Junian Latins with their restricted citizen rights could reasonably be regarded as a "class", and whatever a man's legal status, the stigma of slave origin clung to a family for more than a generation. It is entirely credible that there were four thousand Jews of military age descended from Pompey's prisoners-of-war in Rome in 19. Even so, some Jews and converts will have escaped both conscription and expulsion—freedmen and their descendants above and below military age, women with citizenship, people not of slave ancestry, and actual slaves under their owners' control—and Dio correctly makes Tiberius expel only "the majority" of the Jews from Rome, where the other three writers admit of no exceptions.

Suetonius alone mentions a severe penalty laid on any Jews who disregarded the expulsion order, reduction to "perpetual slavery", slavery with no possibility of manumission. This penalty is known in only one other context in Roman law: under the Lex Aelia Sentia slaves of criminal record were classed when freed among the *dediticii* (people who had surrendered unconditionally) and required to reside at least a hundred miles from Rome on pain of reduction to perpetual slavery.²² There is no evidence to show whether sale into perpetual slavery was the normal punishment for *peregrini* who ignored an expulsion order. It may have been; or the penalty may have been imposed on such people for the first time in 19 as a weapon against recalcitrant Jews; or possibly the Lex Aelia Sentia was now applied rigorously against Jewish freedmen classed as *dediticii* who had ignored the residence rule (a rule difficult to enforce at any time) and Suetonius, misunderstanding the legal position, has erroneously widened the incidence of the penalty.

The majority, therefore, of the Jews in Rome, together with the more ardent of their gentile converts, were driven from their homes in 19 because their proselytizing activities had reached dimensions at which they were regarded as a menace to the Roman order. But this episode was probably not the "upheaval in Italy" which Philo says resulted from Sejanus' anti-Semitic policy. Sejanus was not the power behind the throne as early as 19, and there is no hint in any of the four accounts of the episode that he was involved in it in any way;

²¹ In *Leg.* 155, describing the Jews in Rome in Augustus' time as "mostly freedmen", the sons of slaves freed soon after their arrival are probably included under that heading. See further E. T. Merrill in *CPb* xiv (1919), 365-72. Cf. Suet., *Aug.* 25, 2 for freedmen serving, apparently, in auxiliary units.

²² Gaius, *Inst.* i, 13 and 27.

Tiberius, the senate, and the consuls are variously responsible. Nor do the details tally: Philo speaks only of "charges" fabricated by Sejanus against the Jews, not of an actual attack; Sejanus' threat is empire-wide, not confined to Rome; and the abandonment of his projected attack immediately after his death makes no sense as a reference to an expulsion which had actually taken place twelve years earlier. Philo, it appears, ignores the episode of 19 completely,²³ and is concerned only with a later recrudescence of danger for the Jews, providentially averted, though it is not clear whether he means that repressive measures were actually enacted and then immediately rescinded on Sejanus' fall, before being implemented, or that his fall forestalled such measures in the nick of time.

Philo's evidence that the Jews were in danger in 30-31 receives slight indirect support from Josephus, who relates the episode of 19 in the middle of his account of Pilate's career in Judaea, introducing it with the words "at about the same time" but making no logical link between Pilate and events in Rome, which thus interrupt his Judaeian narrative in an awkward and inartistic fashion. But if the chronological link giving a date *c.* 30 for the expulsion indicates anything more than mere carelessness, the inference would seem to be that Josephus was vaguely aware that the Jews in Italy were under threat then, and, having no precise information about the nature of the threat because the whole project had collapsed with Sejanus' death, mistakenly assigned to that date the only episode in Italy under Tiberius known to him.²⁴

There is no evidence to show how long the Jewish conscripts were kept in Sardinia on brigand-control, or how long the expulsion order remained in force. No formal revocation of the latter is recorded, but it may have been intended to be only short-lived. Certainly by 41 the Jews were again numerous in Rome, but when they were in trouble then and later in Claudius' principate, illegal residence is not given as a charge against them. The people who came under the expulsion order may have stayed at a safe distance when Sejanus' anti-Semitic policy became known, and returned home when Tiberius officially repudiated it after his death.

There is no inherent contradiction between Tiberius' measures

²³ He can hardly have been ignorant of it after his visit to Rome in 40 (below, pp. 242-6). For a possible reason for his silence see below, p. 214.

²⁴ The oral information which Philo presumably obtained about Sejanus in 40 would have been less readily available to Josephus.

against the Jews in 19 and either the normal Roman protection of their religious liberty or his own reaffirmation of their religious liberty and civic position in 31. Indeed, the two complementary principles underlying Roman policy towards the Jews were epitomized in Tiberius' declaration in 31 that the Jews as communities were not to be molested *qua* Jews, though any individual Jews guilty of indictable offences were to be liable for the normal punishments. The Roman government recognized the Jews' moral right to practise their religion without hindrance; but its duties included the maintenance of law and order and public morality, and if the Jews in any individual locality traded on their privileges to contravene Roman law or to act in a way thought to endanger public order or morality, they came under the penalties of the law on equal terms with gentile offenders. And if their punishment entailed a loss of privilege, they had only themselves to thank. But such a loss was purely local and temporary. It neither affected other Jewish communities nor implied any change in the general Roman attitude towards Judaism. The measures taken against the Jews in Rome in 19 were merely police measures aimed at curtailing the local nuisance of excessive proselytizing; and the measures taken against them later by Claudius were of the same type, aimed at the removal of threats to public order. Neither action was incompatible with the overall Roman policy towards the Jews and their religion laid down by Julius Caesar and Augustus.

Claudius

Dio says, under the year 41, that because the Jews in Rome had by that time again become so numerous that they could not all be expelled without causing a great commotion, Claudius instead deprived them of their right of assembly.²⁵ Suetonius mentions an actual expulsion of the Jews from Rome by Claudius, giving no indication of date but providing a reason: the Jews were "constantly rioting at the instigation of Chrestus."²⁶ Orosius, who quotes and discusses Suetonius' sentence, opens the subject with a bald declaration that Josephus mentions an expulsion under the year 49—which his extant works do not in fact do; Orosius may have known of a passage, perhaps interpolated, which has not survived, or he may be writing from memory

²⁵ Dio lx, 6, 6 τούς τε Ἰουδαίους πλεονάσαντας αἰθίς, ὥστε χαλεπῶς ἂν ἄνευ παραχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔχλου σφῶν τῆς πόλεως εἰρχθῆναι, οὐκ ἐξήλασε μέν, τῷ δὲ δὴ πατρίῳ βίῳ χρωμένους ἐκέλευσε μὴ συναθροίζεσθαι.

²⁶ Suet., *Cl.* 25, 4 *Iudaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantis Roma expulit.*

and attributing to Josephus something from another source, no longer extant.²⁷ Finally there is a reference in the *Acts of the Apostles* to a couple, Aquila and Priscilla, who travelled from Italy to Corinth c. 50 "because Claudius had ordered all Jews to leave Rome."²⁸

Two main questions arise: firstly, what interpretation is to be put upon the reason which Suetonius gives for Claudius' action? secondly, did Claudius pass measures against the Jews on two occasions, acting more severely on the second than on the first because exasperated by a recurrence of trouble from the same group, or have we here divergent accounts of, and dates for, a single episode? and if the latter, which date and which account are preferable?²⁹

The only reasonable interpretation of Suetonius' sentence is that the reference is to Christianity, though he was apparently under the misapprehension that "Chrestus" was a rabble-rouser present in person.³⁰ In other words, on the occasion, or the later of two occasions, on which Claudius had to take action against the Jews, disorder had been provoked by the arrival of Christian missionaries in Rome. It is conceivable that the first of them reached Rome as early as c. 40,³¹ but the second half of the decade is much more probable, since the expansion of the Church beyond the bounds of Palestine before c. 40 was on a small scale and St Paul's wide-reaching evangelistic campaign did not begin until the mid-40s.³² Aquila and Priscilla may already

²⁷ Oros. vii, 6, 15-16 *Anno eiusdem nono expulsos per Claudium urbe Iudaeos Iosephus refert. Sed me magis Suetonius movet, qui ait hoc modo: "Claudius Iudaeos . . . expulit." Quod utrum contra Christum tumultuantes Iudaeos coerceri et comprimi iusserit, an etiam Christianos simul velut cognatae religionis homines voluerit expelli, nequaquam discernitur.*

²⁸ *Acts* xviii, 2. For the date see below, p. 213, n. 35.

²⁹ Some scholars argue for one episode only, in 41—e.g., H. Janne in *Ann. de l'Inst. de Philol.* ii (Mél. Bidez i, 1934), 531-53; Leon, *JR*, 23-7; or in 49—e.g., H. Vogelstein, *The History of the Jews in Rome* (1940), 56; Scramuzza, *Claudius*, 151-2 and n. 20 (pp. 286-7). Others accept both dates and two episodes—e.g., Momigliano, *Claudius*, 31-7; F. F. Bruce in *Bull. John Rylands Libr.* xliv (1961-2), 309-26.

³⁰ "Those who deny that the 'Chrestus' of Suetonius is Christ must undertake the onus of proving their view: the identification is undoubtedly more reasonable, and therefore more probable, than any other solution, and in fact no serious argument has yet been brought against it"; so Momigliano, *Claudius*, 33. Cf. Janne, *op. cit.*, 537-46. Contrast, most recently, E. Koestermann in *Historia* xvi (1967), 457-60.

³¹ Eus., *Chron.* (for what it is worth) puts St. Peter's arrival in Rome in the 3rd year of Gaius (Armenian version) or the 2nd of Claudius (Jerome's version); cf. *HE* ii, 14, under Claudius but without exact date. Oros. vii, 6, 2 puts it *exordio regni eius* (Claudius).

³² *Acts* xi, 19 (with Stephen's death probably falling before 41). St. Paul's first missionary journey (ch. xiii) follows Agrippa I's death.

have been Christians when they had to leave Rome, and there was certainly a strong and well established church there before St Paul arrived *c.* 59.³³ It can well be imagined that Christian preaching in Rome, directed in the first instance to the Jews, aroused the same sort of opposition and uproar there as St Paul's did among the Jewish communities in Asia Minor and Greece, and that the resultant disturbances formed a serious threat to public order. In those early days Christianity will have been in Roman eyes, as it still was in Jewish, not a separate religion but a heretical Jewish sect,³⁴ and moreover a particularly dangerous one, since it not only caused dissension and unrest in the synagogues but also indulged in the undesirable activity of proselytism with much greater energy and enthusiasm than did traditional Judaism. On the latter count it incurred grave suspicion; on the former it came under the law.

The questions raised by the discrepancies over the date and nature of the measures taken against the Jews are more complicated. Orosius is too unreliable for much weight to be put on his dates unless corroborated elsewhere. The fact that Tacitus' *Annals*, lost for 41, are fully extant for 49 but contain no reference to any action against the Jews in Rome during that year is strong evidence that, if any trouble occurred then, it was on too small a scale to have found a place in his sources for the period. If he mentioned any trouble under the year 41, he did not associate it with the Christians; for when he introduces them in connection with the fire of Rome in 64, it is clearly his first reference to them. Dio is also silent about any disturbance in 49, but as that part of his work is only partially extant, this carries less weight than Tacitus' silence.

Against the indirect and not wholly conclusive evidence of Tacitus and Dio for rejecting Orosius' date and postulating one episode only, in 41, variously reported, there are arguments for accepting 49 as the date of the sole episode or the later of two. Firstly, as has been said above, 49 is a more probable date for trouble involving Christian missionaries in Rome than 41. Secondly, Aquila and Priscilla had arrived in Corinth from Italy only "recently" when St Paul met them

³³ *Romans* (written in the mid 50s), especially i, 7; xvi, 3-16. Cf. *Acts* xxviii, 15, 22.

³⁴ Orosius' description of Christianity in 49 as *cognata religio* is surely premature. L. Junius Gallio Annaeanus, proconsul of Greece (see the next note), regarded the quarrel between the Jewish leaders in Corinth and St Paul as a purely internal Jewish matter and refused to adjudicate—*Acts* xviii, 12-17. Cf. Bruce, *op. cit.*, 325-6.

c. 50.³⁵ But though this would harmonize better with an expulsion in 49 than with one in 41, it does not necessarily rule out the earlier date, as the couple, who were great travellers,³⁶ may have spent some years in Italy between leaving Rome and going to Corinth. Thirdly, there is the evidence of the "Nazareth decree", an edict or rescript against tomb-violation issued by an unnamed emperor and dated on epigraphic grounds to the first half of the first century A.D. If the inscription was set up in Galilee (as can hardly be doubted, though the only record of provenance is that the stone "came from Nazareth"), the date of the edict cannot be earlier than 44, when that district first came under direct Roman rule. The obvious interpretation of an enactment threatening tomb-robbers with the unusually harsh penalty of death, published near the scene of the major part of Christ's Ministry, is that its author had heard the anti-Christian version of the Resurrection, that the disciples stole Christ's body from the tomb and spread the false story that He had risen from the dead, and was determined to prevent other new and disruptive sects from originating in similar outrages. This would fit well with Orosius' date in combination with the reason which Suetonius gives for Claudius' expulsion of the Jews: in 49 the emperor became aware of Christianity as a schismatic Jewish sect, clamped down on it in Rome because of its inflammatory effects there, and took precautions against the emergence of other similarly-based sects in its country of origin.³⁷ If measures were taken against the Jews in Rome only in 41 and were provoked by the arrival of Christianity, there is an awkward gap of at least three years before the edict.

On the other hand, there is indirect evidence to support Dio's date of 41 for action by Claudius against the Jews in Rome, and Dio's dates are in any case mostly reasonably reliable. Firstly, in the *Legatio*, written shortly after Claudius' accession,³⁸ Philo takes the trouble to

³⁵ *Acts* xviii, 1-2. Verses 11-12 suggest that Gallio became proconsul when St Paul had been in Corinth for eighteen months. From a re-study of Dittenberger, *Syll. Inscr. Graec.*³ 801d, A. Plassart dates his proconsulship to the year beginning c. May, 51—in *Rev. Ét. Gr.* lxxx (1967), 372-8.

³⁶ *Acts* xviii, 2 (emigration from Pontus); 18-19 (Corinth to Ephesus); *Rom.* xvi, 3 (back in Rome; cf. below, p. 216); *II Tim.* iv, 19 (apparently in Asia Minor again).

³⁷ *FIRA* I, 69 = *SEG* VIII, 13; *SEG* XIII, 596 and XX, 452 give additions to the extensive bibliography. Cf. Momigliano, *Claudius*, 35-7 and n. 36, pp. 100-1; also 2nd edit., 133-4; Scramuzza, *Claudius*, 286, n. 19 to p. 151. Gabba, *Inscr. Bibbia*, 28, suggesting that the edict reinforces an existing local law.

³⁸ *Leg.* 206 (Claudius' execution of one of Gaius' freedmen, probably one

say, in talking about Augustus' treatment of the Jews, that he "did not expel them from Rome" or "prevent them from meeting for the exposition of the Law."³⁹ He gives no reason why Augustus might have considered taking such actions against the Jews. But if the closure of the synagogues, or even an expulsion, was in the air at the time of composition, Philo had every reason for citing Claudius' model Augustus as a counter-precedent, and thus making an implicit protest at which the new emperor could not possibly take offence. The same situation would explain his silence about the expulsion of the Jews in 19: he diplomatically refrained from mentioning a repressive measure for which an earlier emperor could be held personally responsible, whereas he could use Sejanus' proposed attack to support his thesis that the emperor was traditionally the Jews' champion by showing Tiberius cancelling Sejanus' schemes and reverting to the Augustan policy of protection. Similarly, in the letter which Philo quotes as having been written by Agrippa I to Gaius but which may in fact owe a good deal to Philo's own pen, Tiberius' defence of the Jews is cited.⁴⁰ Secondly, Claudius' *Letter to Alexandria*, written in the autumn of 41, adopts a severe tone towards the Jews there, contrasting sharply with the mild and conciliatory tone of the edict which he had addressed to the city in March. Besides admonishing them sternly to behave themselves in future on pain of bringing the imperial wrath down heavily on their heads, he accuses them of "making a general nuisance of themselves throughout the empire." As the disturbances in Alexandria had apparently been entirely self-contained, this must be a reference to trouble elsewhere, though not to the spread of Christianity, as has been suggested; for though Christianity might have been characterized as a local "nuisance" in 41, it certainly was not a universal one at that early date.⁴¹ Claudius' irritated tone and his sudden irrelevant reference to trouble caused by Jews outside Alexandria may reflect his annoyance at having an outbreak of Jewish unrest on his hands in Rome before he had finished with that in Alexandria.

of his early acts). E. R. Goodenough, *The Politics of Philo Judaeus* (1938), 12-20, especially 19-20, interprets the *Legatio* as a treatise on government, composed for the edification of Claudius and arguing indirectly that a ruler's success or failure depends on his Jewish policy.

³⁹ *Leg.* 157.

⁴⁰ *Leg.* 298-305, 308. Cf. above, pp. 178-9.

⁴¹ *CPJ* 153, lines 99-100 καθάπερ κοινήν τεινα τῆς οἰκουμένης νόσον ἐξεγείροντας. On this document and the edict see below, pp. 246, 248-9. For bibliography on κοινήν . . . νόσον see notes to lines 96-100; cf. Momigliano, *Claudius* 99, n. 32 to p. 34; also 2nd edit., 133; Scramuzza, *Claudius*, 286, n. 19 to p. 151.

It would seem then that the accounts of Claudius' dealings with the Jews in Rome cannot convincingly be conflated into a single episode, but that trouble did arise on two occasions during his reign; and in the absence of any better authority for dating the second, Orosius' date 49 must stand.

Dio's statement that in 41 Claudius suspended the Jews' right of assembly because they were too numerous to expel may mean that he first threatened an expulsion. If so, his reason for substituting the milder punishment of the temporary closure of the synagogues was probably not the size of the community but the fact that a higher proportion of Jews now had citizenship, which carried immunity from summary ejection, than in 19. And the influence of Claudius' friend Agrippa I, who had taken up the rôle of champion of the Jews at the imperial court,⁴² may have been a deterrent against over-severity. Dio, by giving no indication of the Jews' offence, creates the impression that Claudius attacked them gratuitously. But such an action would be uncharacteristic of Claudius with his sense of justice and his concern for the underdogs of society, and would follow strangely on his recent edicts reaffirming Jewish rights in Alexandria and throughout the empire.⁴³ Some unrecorded provocation must have occurred. It is probably no accident that Dio groups Claudius' treatment of the Jews with his disbandment of the perennial trouble-makers, the *collegia*, which Gaius had reintroduced, and his imposition of restrictions on taverns. All three rulings can be seen as police measures issued in answer to recent disorders. There was no fundamental contradiction between Claudius' confirmation of the Jews' right of religious liberty in general and his almost simultaneous removal of one right from the community in one particular locality because its abuse had in some way constituted a threat to public security. For, as Claudius was to point out in his *Letter to Alexandria* shortly afterwards, the Jews' retention of their privileged position in the empire was conditional on their behaving in a responsible fashion and repaying toleration with toleration.⁴⁴

By 49 the right of assembly had clearly been restored to the Roman synagogues, where commotions broke out on the arrival of Christian missionaries. At this time Claudius, annoyed that his relaxation of the ban on meetings had led to a repetition of disorder, reacted more

⁴² See above, p. 246.

⁴³ See below, p. 247 (attributed to the influence of Agrippa and his brother).

⁴⁴ Lines 88-104.

severely than before, this time with an expulsion. According to the *Acts of the Apostles*, he expelled "all" the Jews from Rome. But, apart from the fact that Claudius with his general humanitarianism and sense of justice would hardly have expelled a whole community for the sins of a small section of it, the summary expulsion of those of its members who had any degree of citizenship was legally impossible. Suetonius' sentence, however, need mean no more than that the actual rioters were ejected: the citizens among them will have been tried, convicted, and banished under the law, while any *peregrini* will have been unceremoniously expelled. This is entirely credible, and the exaggeration in the *Acts* can be disregarded as a misunderstanding by St Luke, who had no interest in the fortunes of the Jews in Rome except where they impinged on those of the Church, of information given him by Aquila and Priscilla or some other person. As Orosius points out, it is not clear whether the persons disciplined in 49 were Jews opposing Christian preaching or the Christian preachers themselves and their converts—or indeed both. But whichever it was, if no general expulsion was ordered then but simply the banishment of a comparatively small number of trouble-makers, some at any rate of them recently arrived *peregrini*, the silence of Tacitus, who could hardly have ignored a measure on the scale of that of 19, is explained: the matter was one of negligible importance to him or his source. And if it was mainly Christian missionaries and converts who were expelled, the silence of the extant text of Josephus is also explained: he had little interest in the fortunes of a heretical sect.⁴⁵

Claudius' action in 49, like its forerunners, was a police-measure taken in the interests of the peace of the capital, a purely local restriction imposed in answer to local disturbances but not one implying any change in the permanent and universal protection which the Jews normally enjoyed. How long the expulsion order remained in force is not known, but Aquila and Priscilla were back in Rome within a decade.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ On the references to Christ in our text of Josephus see above, p. 168, n. 83; cf. below, p. 279, n. 82.

⁴⁶ *Rom.* xvi, 3 (written before St. Paul's arrival c. 59). A scholium on Juv. iv, 117 speaks of a man *qui ad portam Aricinam sive ad clivum mendicaret inter Iudaeos, qui ad Ariciam transierant ex urbe missi*. If this is a reference to one of the recorded expulsions, it is more likely to have been that of 49 (so Schürer, III, 63) than that of 19 (so Momigliano, *Claudius*, 96, n. 24 to p. 30). But even Jews expelled in 49 will hardly still be in Aricia some sixty years later. There may have been some later unrecorded expulsion.

Nero

The recognition of Christianity as a religion distinct from and hostile to its parent Judaism seems to have been made in Rome by the 60s, but precisely when and how the Roman authorities made the distinction is not known.⁴⁷ It is clear that the Neronian "persecution" in 64 was directed exclusively against the Christians in Rome. There is no evidence of any value in classical, Jewish or ecclesiastical writers to suggest that the Jews were in actual or even potential danger at the time, and Josephus' silence on this point can be taken as conclusive.⁴⁸

Whether Jewish hostility was in any way responsible for Nero's attack on the Christians is debatable. Tacitus stands alone among extant classical historians in linking it with the great fire of Rome in 64 by his famous and widely accepted allegation that the emperor used the Christians as scapegoats to deflect the blame for the fire away from himself.⁴⁹ The belief of the early Church in the imminence of the Second Coming of Christ and the accompanying conflagration which would bring about the end of the world⁵⁰ could easily be

⁴⁷ The earliest evidence on the Jewish side for a formal break is the Birkath-ha-Minim, a prayer composed at the rabbinic school at Jamnia (below, p. 348) probably between 80 and 90: "For the excommunicated let there be no hope and the arrogant government do Thou swiftly uproot in our days; and may the Christians and the heretics suddenly be laid low and not be inscribed with the righteous. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who humblest the arrogant." Cf. Justin Mart., *Dial.* 16, 4; 47, 5; 93, 4; 95, 4; 133, 6; Epiph., *Haer.* xxix, 9, 2; Hier., *In Esai.* v, 18-19; xlix, 7; lii, 4-6 (CCL LXIII, 76, 538, 578). This denunciation had the effect of excluding Christians from the synagogues, an exclusion perhaps reflected in *John* ix, 22; xii, 42; xvi, 2. But Christianity may have been recognized as a distinct religion rather than merely a schismatic sect for some time before it was officially denounced. On the separation of Christianity from Judaism see further Parkes, *Conflict*, 77-92, dating it late in the first century.

⁴⁸ The forged correspondence between Seneca and St Paul (see the note following) alone makes the Jews also victims of Nero's attack, but it carries no weight against Josephus, who had no motive for whitewashing Nero; cf. *AJ* xix, 152-7. The widespread theory that the Jews were protected by Poppaea falls with that of her interest in Judaism (below, p. 278, n. 79).

⁴⁹ *A* xv, 44. Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.* ii, 29, 1-2 (late 4th century) is clearly based on this chapter and lacks independent value. *Epist. Senecae ad Paul. et Pauli ad Sen.* (a 4th (?) century forgery) 11 (12) also links the fire and the persecution, but diverges from Tacitus in that Jews and Christians together are punished for arson. If the forgery is based on some lost work, the link between the fire and the persecution may still derive ultimately from Tacitus. For discussion see C. W. Barlow's edition (1938), 80-93, especially 83-4; A. Kurfess in *Mnem.*³ vi (1938), 265-9; M. Sordi, *Il Cristianesimo e Roma* (1965), 461-4, and works cited there. For the possibility that the Christians in Antioch were charged with arson a few years later see below, p. 362.

⁵⁰ Minucius Felix, *Oct.* xi, 1.

misconstrued by half-informed outsiders and used as the basis for accusations of incendiarism. Suetonius sees no connection between the fire and Nero's measures to suppress Christianity as a "pernicious superstition", which he puts in widely separated chapters, while Dio deals fully with the fire but ignores the Christians.⁵¹ Tacitus' uniqueness does not necessarily make him wrong. But on the other hand, Christian writers who record the "persecution" do not even mention the fire, still less a false accusation of arson as the basis of the persecution—and apologists tended to wax eloquent on false accusations brought against the Church. Tertullian, Lactantius and Eusebius, for example, attribute the attack simply to Nero's innate cruelty.⁵² Two earlier writers, however, provide a more specific cause for it: Melito, bishop of Sardis in the mid-second century, says that Nero "was persuaded by malicious people to slander our doctrine"; and Clement of Rome, writing within a generation of the event, makes "jealousy and envy" responsible for the persecution (clearly Nero's, though he does not name the author).⁵³ The only people likely to have felt "malice" or "jealousy" towards the Christians at this stage were the Jews, whose religion was being menaced by the rapid and successful advance of its rival, as witness many incidents in St Paul's missionary journeys. If, as has been contended, Tacitus' superficially attractive explanation of the motive behind Nero's action is to be rejected, and if the Christians were attacked *qua* Christians and not punished as incendiaries,⁵⁴ the hints in Melito and Clement provide a credible alternative origin for it: it was not a spontaneous attack by the emperor but was engineered by the Jews in an attempt to enlist the might of

⁵¹ Suet., *Nero* 16, 2 (Christians); 38 (fire). Dio lxii, 16-18.

⁵² Tert., *Apol.* 5, 3; 21, 25; Eus., *HE* ii, 25, 1-5 (with a translation of Tert., *l.c.*); Lactantius, *De Mort. Persec.* 2, 6.

⁵³ Melito *apud* Eus., *HE* iv, 26, 9; I *Clem.* 5-6. The latter work is generally dated to the last few years of the first century A.D.; see, e.g., L. W. Barnard in *NTS* x (1963), 251-60; edition of A. Jaubert (1971), 15-20.

⁵⁴ For discussion of Tac., *A* xv, 44 and the link made there between the fire and the persecution see, e.g., Furneaux's edition II² (1907), 416-27; A. Momigliano in *CAH* X, 887-8; L. H. Canfield, *The Early Persecutions of the Christians* (Columbia Univ. Stud. in Hist. iv, 1913), 43-69; H. Last in *JRS* xxvii (1937), 89; M. Goguel, *La naissance du Christianisme* II (1946), 563-7 (transl. H. C. Snape (1953), 518-21); H. Fuchs in *Vigiliae Christ.* iv (1950), 65-93; J. Beaujeu in *Lat.* xix (1960), 72-7; E. Koestermann in *Historia* xvi (1967), 456-69; cf. Frend, *Martyrdom*, 161-5. If Pomponia Graecina, *superstitionis externae rea* in 57 (Tac., *A* xiii, 32, 3-5), was a Christian (which is quite likely but not certain), it supports the idea of an attack on Christians *qua* Christians in 64.

Rome as their ally in their conflict with the new sect which they feared and hated. But in the absence of any indication that the Jews were themselves in danger, it is not justifiable to carry the argument further and to maintain that their action was designed to divert a Roman attack from themselves (whether as suspected incendiaries or for any other reason) on to their rivals.⁵⁵

With the fortunes of the Church once it was separated from Judaism this study is not directly concerned. Suffice it to say here that the official toleration and protection accorded to the parent Judaism was never extended to the offspring Christianity, though the Church was by no means under constant persecution or threat of persecution but for long periods was left unmolested. In view of the Roman attitude to Jewish proselytism, which, even if fairly widespread, was not the central concern or main activity of the Jews, the fact that Christianity was essentially a missionary religion will have made it suspect from the start. And the antagonism between Judaism and the religion which threatened to undermine it cannot have escaped the notice of the power committed to the protection of Judaism.

⁵⁵ This possibility is suggested by Canfield, *op. cit.*, 48-9, and accepted by Frend, *Martyrdom*, 164-5, and in *J. Eccl. Hist.* ix (1958), 157; cf. P. Styger, *Juden und Christen im alten Rom* (1934), 37-44.

CHAPTER TEN

THE JEWS IN EGYPT AND ALEXANDRIA

Gaius' appointment of Agrippa I as king had unfortunate repercussions on the Jews in Alexandria, probably the largest and most important single Diaspora community in the world at the time. The history of that community in the first century A.D. is recorded in more detail than that of any other section of the Diaspora, while literary sources and the papyri together provide a comprehensive picture of the origins, development, and general social and political conditions of the Jews in Egypt as a whole throughout the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.

Contact between the Jews and Egypt began as early as the second millenium B.C., according to the Biblical story of the Israelites' long years of slavery in Egypt and their deliverance under Moses, which can be accepted as basically historical despite its many legendary features. Even when the six hundred years of Egyptian control over Palestine ended late in the second millenium with the settlement of the Israelites in what was to become their permanent homeland, relations between the two countries continued to be close and the Jews looked to Egypt for protection and as a place of refuge from oppression. The earliest datable evidence for a permanent Jewish settlement in Egypt comes in the fifth century Aramaic papyri relating to the military colony at Elephantine,¹ the nucleus of which may have been the Jewish mercenary force used by Psammetichus (probably II, 594-589) in his Ethiopian campaigns² and then established as a garrison to protect his southern frontier. This community survived until the end of the fifth century, when it came under Egyptian attack and shortly afterwards (to judge from the cessation of the series of papyri) disappeared. But meanwhile the Exile in 587 had resulted in the first large-scale movement of Jews into Egypt, when many of those not deported across the Euphrates fled for fear of further attacks by Nebuchadnezzar.³ And two generations later the annexation of Egypt by Persia in

¹ A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century* (1923); E. G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* (1953).

² Arist., *Ad Phil.* 13. On this treatise see above, p. 123, n. 14. For discussion of the date of the settlement see Kraeling, *op. cit.*, 42-8.

³ *Jerem.* xli, 18-xliv, 30.

525 is said to have been followed by further Jewish immigration, presumably from the newly established Mesopotamian Diaspora.⁴

The pre-Hellenistic Diaspora in Egypt was apparently quite small. It was with the foundation of the Ptolemaic dynasty that its numbers began to increase rapidly, to make Egypt one of the major centres of the Diaspora in the Hellenistic and Roman world.⁵ Ptolemy I overran Palestine four times between 320 and 301 during the wars of the Diadochi and took home a large haul of Jewish prisoners, some to be employed on garrison duties and the rest to become the slaves of his soldiers; and some voluntary immigration also occurred at the same time.⁶ The new capital Alexandria with its excellent trading prospects attracted Jewish settlers, and the reign of Ptolemy I saw the birth of the Jewish community there.⁷ While Palestine was under Ptolemaic rule during the third century and commercial contacts between the two countries were close, as the Zenon papyri show,⁸ there was probably a constant flow of Jews into Egypt. In 200 Palestine fell to the Seleucids, and within a generation Jewish emigration received a fresh impetus from the Hellenizing movement of Antiochus Epiphanes, when during the persecution of 167-164 and the subsequent upheaval of the Maccabaeen revolt many refugees fled to Egypt, including a member of the hereditary High Priestly family, Onias IV, who had been dispossessed of the office by the Hellenizing party among the Jews. He and his large following were settled by Ptolemy IV Philometor at Leontopolis near the southern tip of the Delta,⁹ where they

⁴ Arist., *Ad Phil.* 13, 35.

⁵ For a full study of the Jews in Ptolemaic Egypt see Tcherikover, *HCJ*, 269-87 and *CPJ* I, 1-47.

⁶ Arist., *Ad Phil.* 12-14 (giving the inflated figures of 100,000 prisoners, of whom 30,000 were distributed round the country in garrisons); *Ap.* i, 186-9, 194; *AJ* xii, 7-9, with Marcus' note *ad loc.*

⁷ The dating in *AJ* xii, 8 is probably correct, since the earliest epigraphic evidence for Jews in Alexandria seems to be of the time of Ptolemy I or II; see Tcherikover, *CPJ* I, p. 3. In *BJ* ii, 487 and *Ap.* ii, 35 and 42, however, the establishment of the Jewish community is taken back to the foundation of the city, with the story that Alexander included Jews in its population out of gratitude for their military help in his Egyptian campaign. (Cf. *AJ* xix, 281 τοῖς πρώτοις εὐθὺς αἰσίοις, in an edict of Claudius.) This is most probably a fabrication stemming from Alexandrian Jewish civic pride, since Alexander had little fighting in Egypt and Jews could hardly have served in his army anyhow.

⁸ *CPJ* I, pp. 115-18 and nos. 1-6.

⁹ In *BJ* i, 31-3 and vii, 423-32 the refugee is Onias III, son of Simon, who escapes during the persecution; cf. *BT Men.* 109b and *JT Yoma* vi, 3 (Schwab V, 234-5), where he builds an altar in Alexandria. In *AJ* xii, 387-8 and xiii, 62-73,

eventually formed a military colony which played an important rôle as a garrison guarding the vital road from the frontier at Pelusium to Memphis up to the time of Julius Caesar.¹⁰ Egypt later became a place of political asylum for opponents of the Hasmonaeans, and another influx of Jewish refugees into Egypt occurred during the civil war in 65.¹¹ Between the periods when Palestinian circumstances favoured largescale emigration from the country, there was almost certainly a constant trickle of Jews into Egypt.

Inscriptions and papyri show that besides the prominent community in Alexandria, Jewish settlements were to be found throughout the whole length of the country during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods; and though Philo's figure of a million for the Jewish population of Egypt in the first century A.D. (when the total population is said to have numbered between seven and eight million) is almost certainly conjectural and too high, it can be taken as evidence that the number of Jews there was impressively large.¹²

On the social side, the Jews of the papyri form a cross section of the Egyptian population, of all grades of wealth and social position. Some entered the government service and held posts ranging from high administrative offices to minor local positions as clerks and policemen, and a number of them obtained unpopular but possibly lucrative employment as tax-collectors. The Ptolemaic practice of granting land-allotments to foreign mercenaries resulted in the settlement of considerable numbers of Jews on the land, and a great many were consequently engaged in agriculture, though it is sometimes hard to tell whether as poor employees or as prosperous land-owners and

however, he is Onias IV, his son, and apparently flees shortly after the persecution. This version, accepted by most scholars, may be a correction of an error in Josephus' earlier work. For discussion see, e.g., Tcherikover, *HCJ*, 275-81, and in *CPJ* I, 2, 20-1, and commentary on no. 132; O. Murray in *JThS*² xviii (1967), 365-6. The Leontopolis in question is not the nome capital 60 miles from Memphis but an apparently otherwise unknown homonym 180 stades from Memphis in the nome of Heliopolis—*BJ* vii, 426; *AJ* xiii, 65. The present Tell-el-Yehudieh ("the Mound of the Jew") with many Jewish epitaphs in the cemetery marks the location—*CIJ* 1451-1530, republished in *CPJ* III, pp. 145-63. On the temple built by Onias see below, pp. 367-8.

¹⁰ *AJ* xiii, 287; xiv, 131-3; *BJ* i, 190-1; cf. above, p. 37.

¹¹ *I Macc.* xv, 16-21; cf. Tcherikover, *CPJ* I, p. 3, n. 5. *AJ* xiv, 21.

¹² *Fl.* 43. Jews will not have been listed separately in census-returns before the institution of the "Jewish tax" in 72 (below, pp. 371-6). Diod. Sic. i, 31, 8 and xvii, 52, 6 gives the total population of Egypt, including over 300,000 in Alexandria, as at least 7 million (late first century B.C.). In *BJ* ii, 385 it is put at 7½ million, excluding Alexandria.

sheep-farmers. Jewish artisans plied their trades in the towns and villages,¹³ and though the evidence for Jewish businessmen, ship-owners and merchants is mostly of Roman date, this wealthy class concentrated in Alexandria probably had its origin in the Ptolemaic period. But the evidence for both the Ptolemaic and the Roman periods does not suggest that the average Egyptian Jew was rich, and unpopular on that account; rather, the impression given by references to wages, contracts, debts and the like in the papyri is that the majority of them were poor. The situation in Egypt does not seem to have been an exception to the general rule that the ancient world did not envy the Jew for his wealth but despised him for his poverty.¹⁴

On the political side relations between the Jews and the Ptolemies seem to have been harmonious, as the intensive use of the Jews in the army testifies. Mutual self-interest will have played a part in this. The Ptolemaic army consisted largely of mercenaries, and Jewish military strength was valuable. A Jewish garrison similar to that at Leontopolis is attested at Pelusium in the mid-first century B.C., and Jews were also used to police the Nile.¹⁵ Ptolemy IV Philometor relied heavily on Jewish recruitment throughout his kingdom and appointed two Jews to high commands in his army, one of them Onias who is very probably to be identified with the refugee leader and whose two sons later held similar positions under Cleopatra III. At the same time, the security of the Jews as a foreign minority depended on the maintenance of stable government and the retention of royal favour. Onias fought in support of Philometor's widow in 145, and his sons in support of Cleopatra III in 108-107, in civil wars against pretenders backed by the Greeks of Alexandria.¹⁶ These confrontations between Jews and Greeks may have been the genesis of the racial tension in Alexandria which was to erupt into riot and bloodshed in the first

¹³ Cf. BT *Sukkah*. 51b for a tradition of metal-workers in Alexandria.

¹⁴ For a fuller study of the economic, cultural and social conditions of the Jews in Egypt and their Hellenization during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods see Tcherikover, *CPJ* I, pp. 10-19, 25-55.

¹⁵ See above, p. 34. *Ap.* ii, 64.

¹⁶ *Ap.* ii, 49-52 (where in the statement that Philometor and his wife entrusted their whole kingdom to Jews and put Jewish generals in command of their army, allowance must be made for the exaggeration of a tendentious work); *AJ* xiii, 65, 284-7, 349. On Ptolemy Physcon's alleged attack on the Jews see below, p. 224, n. 18. For papyrological evidence for Jewish soldiers in the Hellenistic period see *CPJ*, pp. 11-15 and nos. 18-32 with notes *ad locc.* With the military employment of Jews in Egypt cf. their use by Antiochus III (above, p. 121).

century A.D.; and the military help which Jewish forces gave to the Roman invaders in 55, in 48, and perhaps also in 30 B.C.¹⁷ cannot have increased their popularity with the Greeks.

The favour which the Jews enjoyed under the Ptolemies may have accounted for or contributed to the rise of anti-Semitism as early as the third century B.C. But its expression during the Hellenistic period seems to have been purely literary. There is no recorded trace of popular hostility in the form of practical attack or physical violence.¹⁸ The series of anti-Semitic writers began with the Greek-speaking Egyptian Manetho and continued until the mid-first century A.D., culminating in Apion, whose name Josephus used as the type of the anti-Semite in the title of his *apologia* for Judaism. Their hatred for the Jews was expressed in verbal abuse and in slanderous fabrications and distortions of Jewish history such as Josephus set himself to refute. Active anti-Semitism, involving mob-violence and attacks on Jewish persons and property, was born in Alexandria early in the Roman period and largely as a consequence of the annexation of Egypt as a province in 30 B.C.

The Situation in Alexandria

Alexandria was a unique city, founded on Egyptian soil as the capital of a conquering foreign dynasty and wholly Greek in character and municipal organization. Greeks naturally formed the bulk of the

¹⁷ See above, pp. 34, 37. Support in 30 has been inferred from the indication of Cleopatra's hostility towards the Jews in *Ap.* ii, 60, where Josephus argues that they should be proud of the fact that she refused them rations during a famine, and the reference in § 61 to Augustus' letters attesting Jewish services. But the Latin translation of § 60 may be based on a corruption in the lost Greek text; cf. the patently absurd preceding sentence, with Thackeray's note. Contrast, however, the dedication of a synagogue (apparently) to Cleopatra and Caesarion in 36—*OGIS* 742.

¹⁸ Ptolemy VII (VIII) Physcon's attack on the Jews (*Ap.* ii, 50-5) was an expression of his personal annoyance at their support of his rival, Philometor's widow. The tale in any case has a legendary ring: the attack recoiled on his own head when the drunken elephants sent to trample down Jewish civilians in Alexandria turned against his men. And further doubt is cast upon it by the dedication of synagogues at Xenephyris and Nitria to Physcon and his wife, a common form of honour to a benefactor (cf. below, p. 239), suggesting cordial relations—*CIJ* 1441-2. The Jews' annual commemoration of their deliverance does not necessarily validate the story, which may be aetiological; cf. *Esther*, written to explain the Feast of Purim. Tcherikover, *CPJ* I, pp. 22-3, thinks that a proposed attack was called off when Physcon made peace with his enemy. The attack is attributed to Ptolemy IV in III *Macc.* (below, p. 232, n. 50).

enfranchised citizen body, and very few of the depressed native Egyptians were admitted to citizen rights. The Jews had the right of residence in Alexandria from the time of Ptolemy I, and at an early stage one of the five districts, distinguished by the first five letters of the alphabet, into which the city was divided,¹⁹ Delta, was allocated to them. Under the later Ptolemies the Jewish community expanded steadily, until by the Roman period a second district was also predominantly populated by Jews. But these districts did not form a ghetto. The geographical concentration of alien groups is a regular feature of large cities, and the Jews were granted a special quarter as a privilege, not confined to it as a disability. There were no hard and fast residence rules, and some gentiles lived in the two "Jewish districts", while many Jews lived in the other three.²⁰

For large Diaspora communities some kind of definite organization beyond division into synagogues was desirable if they were to retain their cohesion as a racial entity, and the Jews in Alexandria were constituted as a quasi-autonomous civic unit, generally known as a *politeuma* by modern, if not always by ancient, writers. A *politeuma* was a recognized, formally constituted corporation of aliens enjoying the right of domicile in a foreign city and forming a separate, semi-autonomous civic body, a city within the city; it had its own constitution and administered its internal affairs as an ethnic unit through officials distinct from and independent of those of the host city.²¹ It had to be officially authorized by the local ruler or civic body, presumably by a written charter setting out its rights and constitution, though no example of such a document survives.²² *Politeumata* were a regular

¹⁹ Ps.-Callisthenes, *Vita Alex.* i, 32, 9 (ed. W. Kroll (1926), 32).

²⁰ *Fl.* 55; *BJ* ii, 495; cf. 488; *Ap.* ii, 33-5, where the original Jewish quarter is located near the palace on a harbourless coastline, i.e. beyond the Lochias promontory bounding the harbour on the east—Str. xvii, 1, 9. Cf. above, p. 132, for areas of Jewish residence in Rome; *CPJ* 454 and 468 for "Jewish streets" in Oxyrhynchus and Hermoupolis. *Leg.* 132 (synagogues) πολλὰ δὲ εἰσι καθ' ἑκάστον τμήμα τῆς πόλεως implies scattered Jewish residence throughout the city. Neither the absolute number nor the proportion of Jews in the total Alexandrian population of over 300,000 (above, p. 222, n. 12) can be calculated accurately. The death-roll in a riot in 66, 50,000 (below, p. 366), may be exaggerated; and there is no indication of the number of survivors. BT *Sukk.* 51b embodies Jewish tradition about the large size of the community.

²¹ For full discussion of the term *πολίτευμα* and its various meanings see W. Ruppel in *Philologus* lxxxii (1927), 268-312, 433-54; cf. M. Engers in *Mnem.* ² liv (1926), 154-61.

²² Hecataeus *apud Ap.* i, 189 *πολίτεια γεγραμμένη* is valid evidence even if used anachronistically there; cf. Tcherikover, *CPJ* I, p. 7, n. 18.

feature of Hellenistic cities,²³ and the Jews of the Diaspora could easily be fitted into this pattern and enjoy an official standing in gentile cities without being integrated into their life and therefore without being faced with the dilemma of being expected to participate in their religious observances. The Alexandrian situation was by no means unique. Josephus says that the position of the Jews in Antioch, Ephesus "and throughout the rest of Ionia" was parallel to that of the Alexandrian Jews, and for Sardis there is specific evidence to support this.²⁴ A Jewish *politeuma* (with the technical name used) is known in Berenice in Cyrenaica from the time of Augustus, and there are indications that the Jewish communities in other cities of that province also formed *politeumata*.²⁵ Even in Palestine the Jewish minority in Caesarea seems to have constituted a *politeuma*,²⁶ and the same may have been the case with the Jews at Leontopolis in Egypt.²⁷ In view of these examples, it is probably safe to assume that a *politeuma* was the standard political organization of all Jewish communities of any size in the East.

The Jewish *politeuma* in Alexandria was formed at least as early as the second century B.C.,²⁸ and its constitution appears to have resembled that of a Greek city. At its head stood an ethnarch, wielding

²³ For non-Jewish *politeumata* see *OGIS* 192 (aliens of unknown origin on Cos); 592 (Caunians at Sidon); *P. Tebt.* 32 (Cretans in the Fayum); *OGIS* 658 (Phrygians in Alexandria); F. Preisigke and F. Bilabel, *Sammelbuch*, 6025 = *IGRR* I, 1078 with *SEG* VIII, 359 (Lycians in (?) Alexandria); *ibid.*, 6664 = *SEG* II, 871 (Boeotians in (?) Alexandria); *ibid.*, 7270 (Cilicians at (?) Arsinoe). This evidence substantiates *P. Tebt.* 700, a decree of 124 B.C. indicating that *politeumata* were numerous in Alexandria and the Arsinoite nome. Cf. P.-W., s.v. *politeuma*.

²⁴ *Ap.* ii, 38-42. For Antioch cf. below, p. 359. For Sardis cf. above, p. 139, and below, p. 230, n. 41. The existence of a Jewish record-office at Hierapolis in Phrygia (*IGRR* IV, 834-5 = *CIJ* 775-6) may be evidence for a *politeuma* (cf. below, n. 31).

²⁵ See above, p. 141, and below, p. 369.

²⁶ See below, p. 285.

²⁷ See L. Robert, *Hellenica* I (1940), 18-24. *OGIS* 737 seems to give evidence for a *politeuma* of Idumaeans with a synagogue at Memphis in 176 B.C., but its relation to the πόλις is obscure, and the Judaism of its members seems dubious.

²⁸ The earliest reference to it comes in the legend of the origin of the Septuagint (above, p. 123, n. 14)—Arist., *Ad Phil.* 310 οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ τῶν ἐρμηνέων οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πολιτεύματος οἱ τε ἡγούμενοι τοῦ πλήθους, paraphrased in *AJ* xii, 108 as ὁ τε ἱερεὺς καὶ τῶν ἐρμηνέων οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ τοῦ πολιτεύματος οἱ προεσχηγότες. But this does not necessarily prove its existence under Ptolemy II; it only proves that it was well established when the treatise was written in the second half of the second century B.C.

supreme administrative and judicial power "like the head of an independent city."²⁹ The *gerousia* (council of elders) of seventy-one members, which took over from him as chief organ of government late in Augustus' principate, may have existed in the Ptolemaic period also, under the presidency of the ethnarch.³⁰ There was a popular assembly, an archive for Jewish official records, and a lawcourt for cases involving matters of purely Jewish law.³¹

It is beyond dispute that some individual Jews in Alexandria obtained Greek citizenship³² in the city in addition to their membership of the *politeuma*, since they held Greek municipal offices. Two specific instances are recorded: Philo's brother Alexander was alabarch (customs official) in the 30s A.D., and another Jew, Demetrius (otherwise unknown) held the same post late in Claudius' principate; neither case excites comment from Josephus as unusual.³³ And a sentence in Philo, though vague and allusive, speaking of people, apparently quite numerous, who not only resided in the city (presumably Alexandria) but also sat in the assembly, acted as councillors and jurymen, and on occasion held Greek municipal offices, is credibly interpreted as referring to the Jews.³⁴ The problem, however, which has exercised scholars for many years is whether the whole Jewish community in Alexandria, as opposed to certain individuals, possessed Greek citizenship as well as membership of the *politeuma*—whether, in fact, all Alexandrian Jews had dual rights and a dual allegiance. To discuss this well-worn crux in detail would occupy a disproportionate amount of space and would be of little value, since general agreement has now

²⁹ Str. *apud* *AJ* xiv, 117, using the present tense, and therefore written before the abolition of the office (below). In *Fl.* 74 *genarch* is generally taken to be an alternative title for ethnarch; but see D. Solomon in *JQR*² lxi (1970-1), 119-31.

³⁰ *Fl.* 74 (cf. below, p. 233, n. 54), 80 (with *οἱ ἀρχοντες* as a synonym; cf. 117); *BJ* vii, 412. 71 members—BT *Sukk.* 51b; Tos. *Sukk.* iv, 6. Arist., *Ad Phil.* 310 and *AJ* xii, 108 probably do not provide evidence for a *gerousia* in Ptolemaic times; see *Leg.* p. 5, n. 5; Tcherikover, *CPJ* I, p. 9, n. 24.

³¹ *BJ* vii, 412 (*ἐκκλησία*). *CPJ* 143, lines 7-8 (*τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχεῖον*, presumed to have been in Alexandria). For independent Jewish jurisdiction see E. R. Goodenough, *The Jurisprudence of the Jewish Courts in Egypt* (1929).

³² The term "Greek citizenship" is used in preference to the more usual term "Alexandrian citizenship", since, as will be shown, the Jews could be described as citizens of Alexandria by virtue of their membership of the *politeuma*.

³³ *AJ* xviii, 159, 259; xix, 276; xx, 100, 147. For discussion of Alexander and the office of alabarch (or arabarch) see the bibliography in *Leg.*, p. 4, n. 4.

³⁴ Philo, *Prob.* 6, so interpreted by Box, *Fl.*, xxi-xxii. If this is correct, *βουλευοντας* must be used loosely, since Alexandria had no *boulē* in his day (below, p. 232, n. 52).

been reached. In brief, before the epoch-making publication of the papyrus containing Claudius' *Letter to Alexandria* in 1924, the available evidence, confused, confusing and contradictory, drawn mainly from Philo and Josephus, was used by some scholars to maintain that the Jews did possess Greek citizenship and by others, with equal fervour, to maintain that they did not. Since the new evidence provided by the letter came to hand, Bell's dictum that "the total effect of the letter is decisively to disprove the idea that the Jews possessed the citizenship" has been accepted, with few dissentients. But even at the risk of cries of *crambe repetita*, some of the evidence must be set out here because of its bearing on matters to be treated in detail later.³⁵

In his *Letter*, written late in 41, Claudius speaks of the Jews as living "in a city not their own", and contrasts the Jews with the Alexandrians in such a decisive way as to put it beyond doubt that only the Greeks were technically "Alexandrians"; and the same distinction is made between Jews and Alexandrians in his slightly earlier edict to Alexandria, which Josephus preserves in an apparently more or less authentic form, and on papyri.³⁶ This seems decisive against Jewish possession of Greek citizenship. But though the term "Alexandrian" in the strict juridical sense denoted only members of the Greek citizen body,³⁷ it is understandable that it should have also been used in a loose, non-technical sense of all residents in the city. The evidence of Philo and Josephus that the Jews in Alexandria were popularly, if inaccurately, designated "Alexandrians"³⁸ is supported by a papyrus

³⁵ *CPJ* 153 = *P. Lond.* 1912, first published by H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt* (1924). For the most important items in the enormous subsequent bibliography see *CPJ*. For the occasion and contents of the letter see below, pp. 247-50. For a selective bibliography of the discussion about Jewish status in Alexandria see *Leg.*, pp. 6-7. For fuller discussion of the crucial points see *ibid.*, pp. 8-10; cf. Tcherikover, *CPJ* I, pp. 39-41, 61-4.

³⁶ *CPJ* 153 ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ πόλει (line 95); Ἀλεξανδρεῖς μὲν . . . Ἰουδαίους δὲ . . . (lines 82 and 88); *AJ* xix, 280-5 (cf. below, n. 38 and p. 246); *CPJ* 157, lines 24-37; 158, col. II, III, 14-19; cf. 156c, lines 25-6, where the Jews "resemble not the Alexandrians but the Egyptians". (Admittedly, these papyri all emanate from the anti-Jewish nationalists; below, pp. 250-1). Cf. *Fl.* 43, with ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τούτους contrasted.

³⁷ Papyri show that some Alexandrian citizens were enrolled in tribes and demes, and that some were called ἀστοί. These two groups may have been identical and have formed a privileged section of the citizen body, while the term "the Alexandrians" designated the whole of it. See further *Leg.*, pp. 8-9; Tcherikover, *CPJ* I, p. 41, n. 102. Contrast M. A. H. El-Abbadi, arguing strongly for a unified, ungraded citizenship—in *JEA* xlviii (1962), 106-23.

³⁸ *Fl.* 80; *Leg.* 183 (τῶν ἑλλήνων Ἀλεξανδρέων implying that the Jews could also

recording a petition presented to the prefect by a certain Helenos in 5/4 B.C., on which the original description of the petitioner as an "Alexandrian" has been altered to "a Jew from Alexandria".³⁹ Josephus, the main source of ammunition for the pro-citizenship party among scholars, does not distinguish, possibly through ignorance, between the juridical and popular senses of the term "Alexandrian", and in some places uses it of the Jews in such a way as to imply, deliberately or unconsciously, that they were Alexandrians in the juridical sense. And his and Philo's use of the words *polites* and *politeia* in connection with the position of the Jews in Alexandria gives a similarly misleading impression.⁴⁰ But there is evidence that *polites* could be used to denote a member of a *politeuma* as well as a citizen of a *polis*, and from this it is reasonable to deduce that *politeia* might be used of the

be so described), 194; *Ap.* ii, 38-42 (with a parallel situation in other cities). On the other hand, *BJ* ii, 490 distinguishes between "the Alexandrians", for whom "the Greeks" is used as a synonym, and the Jews; cf. *Ap.* ii, 65, where the point is the use of "citizens" and "Alexandrians" as synonyms. Claudius' edict refers to τοὺς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἰουδαίους Ἀλεξανδρεῖς λεγόμενους (*AJ* xix, 281). The inclusion of a loose popular term in an official document is surprising. Tcherikover, *CPJ* I, p. 70, n. 45, suggests that the phrase was inserted by a pre-Josephan forger who tampered with other details in the text also (below, n. 40; p. 233, n. 54); but sufficient of the document accords with Claudius' undoubtedly genuine *Letter* to show that it is basically authentic.

³⁹ *CPJ* 151, with Ἀλεξανδρέω(ς) altered to Ἰουδαίου τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας.

⁴⁰ *Fl.* 47, 53; *Leg.* 193-4, 349; *Ap.* ii, 38-42, 65; *AJ* xii, 121-2; xiv, 188. Philo never applies the term "Alexandrian" to the Jewish πολῖταια, and Josephus does so only in *AJ* xiv, 188. In *AJ* xii, 8, *BJ* ii, 487-8, and *Ap.* ii, 35-6 Josephus equates the Jews' position in Alexandria with that of the Macedonians, apparently under the misapprehension that they were Greek citizens; "Ἕλληνες and Μακεδόνες seem to be identical in *BJ*, *l.c.* The Macedonians were mercenaries, and the Jews called "Macedonians" in imperial times were descendants of Jews who had served in Macedonian units; see Tcherikover, *CPJ* I, pp. 13-15. The statement in *AJ* xix, 281 that the Jews had always had ἴση πολῖταια with the Greeks in Alexandria is problematical. As the technical Hellenistic term for a reciprocal grant of potential citizen rights between two cities—see W. W. Tarn and G. T. Griffith, *Hellenistic Civilization* (1952), 72, 84-7, 222—it makes no sense; though Jews could obtain Greek citizenship, Greeks would not have been eligible for, or interested in, membership of the *politeuma*. It might mean a one-sided grant of potential citizenship whereby Jews who so wished could apply for Greek citizenship. In III *Macc.* ii, 30 (of admittedly dubious value; below, p. 232), ἰσοπολιτῆται Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν εἶναι is used of the promotion of Jews to Greek citizenship, which in the writer's view (see iii, 21-3) they did not possess as a community. (Cf. below, p. 286, for a comparable situation and use of the term in Caesarea.) Tcherikover, *CPJ* I, p. 70, n. 45, rejects the theory of a non-technical use of the term in *AJ* xix, 281 to mean equal status as a community (so *Leg.*, pp. 10-11; cf. Feldman, note to *AJ*, *ad loc.*) and suggests that a forger has altered the text from Ἰουδαίους . . . ἰδίας πολῖταιας . . . τετευχότας.

rights of members of a *politeuma*.⁴¹ If then the words when applied to the Alexandrian Jews are taken as references to the *politeuma*, they provide no evidence that that community had Greek citizenship. The Jews of Alexandria, like other foreign groups constituted as *politeumata* in Greek cities, were "citizens" only in relation to each other as members of the *politeuma*. Their status vis-à-vis the Greeks was that of metics, aliens with the right of domicile. They occupied an intermediate position between the Greek citizens of Alexandria and the wholly unprivileged Egyptians, who lacked any sort of franchise.⁴² They enjoyed the rights of residence and organized civic life, but they were not an integral part of the Greek body politic.

During the Ptolemaic period the two separate civic organizations in Alexandria apparently co-existed peacefully. Hostility began with the Roman annexation of Egypt in 30 B.C., though it did not take active form for over sixty years. On the one side the Greeks bitterly resented the reduction in their city's prestige consequent on the annexation. The greatest city in the eastern Mediterranean, the former capital of an independent monarchy, was now under the eye of occupying legions as the Roman administrative headquarters.⁴³ For this the Jews' help to the invaders could be held partly responsible. More than that, it was now in the Jews' best interests to support the Roman administration, since their security depended on a strong central government to protect them against local whims. At the same time

⁴¹ *OGIS* 592 has πολῖται of the Caunian *politeuma* at Sidon. The Jews in Sardis are called οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἰουδαῖοι πολῖται in *AJ* xiv, 259; cf. 235 Ἰουδαῖοι πολῖται ὑμέτεροι (other MSS ἡμέτεροι). The reference to residence, superfluous in the case of citizens but entirely logical as applied to the members of a *politeuma*, indicates the Jews' status as resident aliens. There is evidence for Jews in Sardis obtaining Greek citizenship and holding Greek civic posts in the third century A.D.; see Robert, *NIS*, 55-7. Of similar date is a reference to what seems to be a Jewish tribe in the *politeuma* (*ibid.*, 45-7). For πολῖται in connection with a *politeuma* cf. H. S. Jones in *JRS* xvi (1926), 27-8.

⁴² *Fl.* 172 (κάτοικος being synonymous with μέτοικος). Philo, *Mos.* i, 35, speaks in general terms of strangers who settle in a city as μέτοικοι striving for equality with the ἄστοι but resembling the πολῖται in status, since they barely differ from the αὐτόχθονες. In this passage, almost certainly a description of the Alexandrian situation, the πολῖται clearly stand midway between the ἄστοι and the "natives". For discussion see H. A. Wolfson in *JBL* lxiii (1944), 165-8; cf. *Leg.*, p. 9. For another interpretation see Tcherikover, *CPJ* I, p. 63.

⁴³ The three legions under Augustus were reduced to two by A.D. 23—*Str.* xvii, 1, 12; *Tac.*, *A* iv, 5, 4. III Cyrenaica was stationed at Nicopolis, 2 or 3 miles east of Alexandria, from the start; XXII Deiotariana, originally somewhere up-country, had joined it by A.D. 66—*BJ* ii, 387, 494.

they benefited from the annexation by coming automatically under the protection which it was by then Roman policy to afford to all Jews in the empire in the practice of their religion and the preservation of their national identity.⁴⁴ On the other hand, they now lost two of their most valuable types of employment, in the army and in the civil service.⁴⁵ The Ptolemaic army was disbanded, and the Jewish ex-soldiers presumably became peasants, on a poorer social and economic level; civil servants were now drawn from among the rich, who could guarantee to Rome the taxes which they were to collect, and Jews had little chance of employment. Furthermore, the financial arrangements for the new province gave the Jews a grievance against Rome which could become a fruitful source of friction with the Greeks.

At an early date, probably in 24/23 B.C. at the time of a census, Augustus introduced a heavy capitation tax, the *laographia*, payable by the male population of Egypt between the ages of fourteen and sixty or sixty-two. The Greek citizens of Alexandria (and probably also those of the cities of Ptolemais and Naucratis, though evidence is lacking) were exempted completely, while the Greek members of the *metropoleis* (capitals of the nomes, the Ptolemaic administrative divisions of Egypt) paid at a reduced rate.⁴⁶ The criterion for this concession was Greek education as an *ephebos* in the gymnasium, a normal prerequisite for citizenship of the three cities also, and from A.D. 4/5 the "members of the gymnasium" were recognized as a class.⁴⁷ The Jews of Egypt in general were classified as non-Greeks and put on a level with the Egyptians in being made liable for the tax,⁴⁸ and there is

⁴⁴ See above, pp. 134-7. For dedications in the synagogues indicating gratitude see *Leg.* 133 and note τίμας. Cf. *Fl.* 48.

⁴⁵ See further Tcherikover, *CPJ* I, 52-3; and in *JJS* xiv (1963), 11.

⁴⁶ The earliest receipt is dated 22/1 B.C.—*Gr. Ostr. Universitätsbibl. Strassb.*, no. 38. A census in 24/3 is not directly attested but is probable, on the Ptolemaic 14-year cycle continued by Augustus; see Wallace, *Taxation*, 96-8. λαογραφία, literally "census", was used first popularly and later officially as the name of the tax. The full rate varied, but in prosperous localities was at least five times that of the later "Jewish tax"—40 Egyptian drachmae (or sometimes more) as against 8 (below, p. 374). For full studies see Wallace, *Taxation*, 116-34; V. Tcherikover in *J. Juristic Papyrol.* iv (1950), 179-207, arguing strongly against a Ptolemaic predecessor for the tax.

⁴⁷ On οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου see Tcherikover, *CPJ* I, p. 59; and in *JJS* xiv (1963), 4-6.

⁴⁸ There is evidence for Jews paying the *laographia* at Arsinoe and at Apollinopolis Magna (Edfu)—*CPJ* 421, line 203; 230-374 (ostrakon receipts, dated A.D. 56-117), *passim*.

evidence to suggest that the Jews in Alexandria, despite their privileged position as a *politeuma* and their inevitable Hellenization, were likewise liable. On the sadly mutilated papyrus recording the Jew Helenos' petition the word *laographia* occurs three times, and the point of the document seems to be that the petitioner is claiming exemption, although a Jew, on the strength of his father's status as an "Alexandrian" and his own Greek education.⁴⁹ If this admittedly uncertain interpretation is correct, an Alexandrian Jew was liable for the tax unless he could prove that he possessed Greek citizenship. The tractate known as III *Maccabees* points in the same direction. In it Ptolemy IV is represented as offering Greek citizenship in Alexandria to Jews willing to join in pagan worship, the penalty for refusal being payment of the *laographia*. This work, which obviously cannot antedate the Augustan tax and may well be contemporary with its institution, is no more than a historical romance, with Augustus disguised as Ptolemy IV. But even as a piece of fiction it would make no sense unless the *laographia* was imposed on the Jews in Alexandria.⁵⁰ In this case, it was only natural for wealthy, Hellenized, educated Jews there to resent being equated with illiterate Egyptian peasants, to envy the Greeks their exemption, and to covet Greek citizenship, not only as an escape from a financial burden but as a sign of social and cultural recognition. They had a stronger incentive now than before to get their sons into the ephebate as the gateway to citizenship and exemption.⁵¹ It may be primarily to such Jews that reference is made in the "*boulé*-papyrus", a fragment of an appeal by the Alexandrian Greeks to an emperor whose name is lost but who is probably Augustus for the restoration of the city council of which they had apparently been deprived during the Ptolemaic period; their argument is that such a council would take steps to ensure that people liable for the *laographia* did not evade it by enrolment in the ephebate.⁵²

⁴⁹ *CPJ* 151. Cf. above, p. 229.

⁵⁰ III *Macc.* ii, 28-30; iii, 21-3. The rest of the book attributes the attack made on the Alexandrian Jews, according to Josephus, by Ptolemy VII (above, p. 224, n. 18) to Ptolemy IV, who plans the massacre in anger at the rejection of his offer by the majority. For the treatise and its date see M. Hadas' edition (1953), 2-3, 18-23; Tcherikover, *CPJ* I, p. 64. On the reference to the *laographia* in the *Acta Isidori* see below, p. 252.

⁵¹ On Jews and gymnasium education see L. H. Feldman in *Jew. Soc. Stud.* xxii (1960), 222-6. On Jewish liability for the tax see further Tcherikover, *CPJ* I, pp. 60-4.

⁵² *AA* I = *CPJ* 150. Alexandria had no *boulé* under Roman rule till the reign of Septimius Severus, and it was more probably abolished by one of the Ptol-

But even if Augustus did not favour the Jews in Alexandria financially, he took steps to safeguard their *politeuma* in accordance with the spirit of Julius Caesar's legislation, probably soon after annexing Egypt and perhaps at the time of the introduction of the new tax. He spelt out the Jews' position under their new masters in a charter confirming their political and religious rights which was inscribed on a bronze pillar in the city.⁵³ And he apparently continued to keep an eye on the *politeuma*, for late in his principate he intervened in its internal affairs by abolishing the post of ethnarch after the death of the current holder and making the *gerousia* the supreme administrative organ. Philo mentions this without giving any hint of the reasons behind the change, but he does not protest against it as an injustice. It looks like a move to bring the *politeuma* under more democratic control.⁵⁴

The active anti-Semitism which developed in Alexandria after the Roman annexation and erupted into violence under Gaius had its roots primarily not in hostility towards the Jews *qua* Jews but in the complications introduced into the Alexandrian situation by that annexation. There was little that the Greeks could do to give open

emies than by Augustus; for bibliography see Scramuzza, *Claudius*, 250-2, nn. 21-7 to pp. 70-1. Some scholars think that the *boulé*-papyrus is Claudian and link it with *CPJ* 153, lines 66-72, shelving a request by Alexandria for a *boulé*; others date it early in Augustus' principate; for bibliography see *AA* and *CPJ*.

⁵³ *AJ* xiv, 188. (Josephus, misunderstanding a reference to "Caesar" as its author, attributes it to Julius Caesar, who had no authority to regulate internal Alexandrian affairs. Cf. *Ap.* ii, 37, where Καῖσαρ ὁ μέγας is responsible. In *BJ* ii, 488, *AJ* xix, 282, and *Fl.* 50 Augustus is, correctly, responsible.) ἐδήλωσεν ὅτι (the Jews) Ἰαλεξανδρέων πολλοὶ εἰσιν cannot mean that Augustus gave the Jews Greek citizenship. Josephus is interpreting, not quoting, the stele, perhaps with deliberate tendentiousness, alluding to their position as citizens of the *politeuma* in a way designed to mislead people unfamiliar with the Alexandrian situation; or he may have been somewhat hazy about it himself. Other references are vaguely to the grant or preservation of Jewish δίκαια, δικαιώματα, νόμιμα and τιμαί.

⁵⁴ *Fl.* 74, at the beginning of the second prefecture of Magius Maximus, A.D. 11/12. This is apparently contradicted by Claudius' edict, which says that when the ethnarch died under C. Julius Aquila (A.D. 10/11), Augustus did not forbid the appointment of ethnarchs (*AJ* xix, 283). The implication presumably is that Claudius also will allow the post to continue. There is no post-Augustan evidence for ethnarchs but there are references to the *gerousia* under Gaius, and Philo is a better authority on Alexandrian affairs than Josephus. Tcherikover, *CPJ* I, p. 57, n. 22, suggests that here again a forger has been at work, in this case removing something apparently out of line with Augustus' generally favourable policy towards the Jews, and that Claudius' point actually was that he could not re-establish a post abolished by Augustus.

expression to their resentment at Roman domination except by petty acts of irritation aimed at the prefect as the ever-present symbol of Roman power; but they could make indirect attacks on Rome through her protégés the Jews, who were at hand and far more vulnerable, and whose ambitions were causing friction and tension. The trouble in the 30s A.D. seems to have arisen, at least in part, over the question of the Jews' civic position. Evidence, inferential rather than direct, indicates that there was agitation among the Jews for general admission to Greek citizenship (as distinct from the existing admission of individuals), and that there were cases of Jews acquiring it irregularly by insinuating themselves into the ephebate and getting gymnasium education.⁵⁵ Helenos, or his father, claimed as an "Alexandrian", may have been a case in point.⁵⁶ But although Greek citizenship conferred social prestige and the financial benefit of exemption from the *laographia* and may also have been for a Jew, as it is known to have been for an Egyptian, the essential stepping-stone to Roman citizenship,⁵⁷ it is unlikely that the whole Jewish community in Alexandria aspired to it unanimously, since its possession entailed participation in pagan civic duties and religious observances which would be impossible for an orthodox Jew, and admission to the ephebate involved nudity for athletic exercise which Judaism found distasteful⁵⁸—difficulties standing universally in the way of the general admission of Jews into any Greek citizen body.⁵⁹ The section of the

⁵⁵ Philo is completely silent on this matter, and seems bent on representing the Jews as the victims of unprovoked aggression. But Claudius' prohibition in *CPJ* 153, lines 92-3 (cf. below, p. 249) indicates what had been going on.

⁵⁶ *CPJ* 151. Cf. above, pp. 229, 232.

⁵⁷ For Egyptians see Pliny, *Ep.* x, 5-7. Conclusive evidence for Jews is lacking. Philo's nephews, Ti. Julius Alexander and M. Julius Alexander (below, p. 258, n. 8), or perhaps their father Alexander (if he is the wealthy landowner C. Julius Alexander of *CPJ* 420a and b, dated A.D. 26 and 28-9; there is no proof of identity in either document), progressed from Greek citizenship in Alexandria to Roman. But this does not prove that that was the only route open to an Alexandrian Jew. Membership of the *politeuma* may have been considered to provide adequate civic training.

⁵⁸ Cf. II *Macc.* iv, 9-17; *AJ* xv, 267-8. Philo, it is true, was familiar with Greek athletics and does not condemn them; see, e.g., *Spec.* ii, 229-30, 246; *Opif.* 78; *Jos.* 82; *Prob.* 26; *Prov.* ii, 58. But he was a Hellenized Jew writing for Jews like himself and cannot be taken as representative either of the rank and file or of the rabbinic schools. The evidence cited by Tcherikover, *CPJ* I, p. 39, n. 99, for Jewish *epheboi* in Asia Minor proves only that *some* Jews accepted Hellenization. Cf. Feldman, *op. cit.*

⁵⁹ *IGRR* IV, 1431, a Hadrianic inscription at Smyrna listing citizens who had made gifts to the city, includes οἱ ποτὲ Ἰουδαῖοι, presumably Jews who had apostatized in the interests of obtaining citizenship. Cf. below, p. 507.

Jewish community which coveted Greek citizenship will have been a "modernist", highly Hellenized minority, prepared to compromise their religious principles for the sake of the advantages of Greek citizenship, while orthodox Jews were presumably content with the *status quo* and had no desire to be put into a position in which the strict observance of their Law would be difficult.⁶⁰ But probably even the "modernists", however ready to compromise, did not envisage abandoning their religion, and therefore hoped for concessions to meet features of Greek municipal life which were incompatible with their religion. But to ask for the advantages of Greek citizenship and then to repudiate some of its obligations was a selfish attempt to have the best of both worlds, which the Greeks justifiably opposed. Indeed, in the view of some Greeks a reduction of privilege would be more appropriate than an increase for people equated fiscally with the unenfranchised Egyptians. By the 30s A.D. there had risen in Alexandria a party of extreme nationalists, who led the opposition both to Roman rule and to Jewish ambitions, and forged from it the weapon of blind and brutal anti-Semitism.

The Riots of A.D. 38

The smouldering friction in Alexandria came to a head in A.D. 38, when for some months control of affairs lay with the Greek nationalist party.⁶¹ Its leading lights were members of the governing class—Lampo, who had earned the nickname "poison-pen" as secretary to the prefect by accepting bribes for the falsification of lawsuit records, who had been on trial for *maiestas* under Tiberius, and who was currently holding the expensive office of gymnasiarch under compulsion, and Isidorus, an accomplished agitator and rabble-rouser with a disreputable following drawn from the *collegia*, who was subsequently also to be gymnasiarch.⁶²

⁶⁰ Some scholars, however, hold that all Alexandrian Jews did want Greek citizenship; see, e.g., H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt* (1924), 16; Box, *Fl.*, xlix.

⁶¹ The sole source is Philo, whose accounts of the riots in *Fl.* and *Leg.* complement each other on some points and overlap on others. Both the events leading up to the riots and their sequel are given in the former only. For fuller discussion of the details of Philo's accounts see Box, *Fl.*, introduction and notes, and *Leg.*, introduction and notes. *AJ* xviii, 257 merely states laconically "When a *stasis* occurred in Alexandria . . ."

⁶² *Fl.* 20, 128-35; *CPJ* 156 (below, pp. 251-5). On the gymnasiarchy see Tcherikover, introduction *ad loc.*, p. 70. As heads of the Greek cultural centre,

Late in 32 A. Avillius Flaccus was appointed prefect of Egypt. For five years he governed excellently and won the respect and co-operation of the city as a whole.⁶³ At some point he fell foul of Isidorus, who took his revenge by hiring a gang of hooligans from the *collegia* to insult him in doggerel verse in the gymnasium. But the rest of the Greek population, far from approving of this demonstration, was angry at the slur which it cast on the city's good name, and when Isidorus' responsibility came to light and he was put on trial, showed its feelings so unmistakably that he thought it prudent to withdraw temporarily into voluntary exile.⁶⁴

The accession of Gaius in March, 37 was the turning-point for Flaccus and for Alexandria. The prefect's personal position was precarious under the new emperor because of his friendship with Tiberius and the part which he had played in the banishment of Gaius' mother, Agrippina, and his post in Egypt was automatically terminated by Tiberius' death. His friend Q. Naevius Macro, sole praetorian prefect since Sejanus' death, was appointed to succeed him, but never took up office, since he was liquidated in Rome early in 38 together with Gaius' co-emperor, Tiberius' grandson Gemellus. But though Flaccus in consequence retained the prefecture of Egypt for the present, his recall in the near future was inevitable, and Gaius' attacks on Tiberius' supporters increased his fears for his own safety; the fall of Macro was particularly sinister, since Isidorus seems to have had a hand in it and might be expected to employ the same tactics again in revenge for his recent disgrace. In his preoccupation with his personal anxieties Flaccus allowed his administration to deteriorate.⁶⁵ For example, when the Jewish *politeuma* passed a resolution in Gaius' honour, probably immediately after his accession, Flaccus promised to for-

gymnasiarchs were natural leaders of a nationalist, anti-Semitic movement. The demagogue Dionysius, who is named as a third leader in § 20, is not mentioned elsewhere by Philo, though he appears with Isidorus in *CPJ* 154 (below, p. 237, n. 67). On the duties and expenses of the gymnasiarchy see Jones, *GC*, 220-2.

⁶³ *Fl.* 1-8. For the date see Stein, *Präfecten*, 25-6. The testimony of Flaccus' enemy to the excellence of his early administration must be essentially true, even if exaggerated to heighten the contrast of his later villainy.

⁶⁴ *Fl.* 135-45. Flaccus' suppression of the *collegia* (§ 4) may have followed this episode, as an attempt to prevent any recurrence.

⁶⁵ *Fl.* 9-16, 158; Dio lix, 10, 6. The fullest accounts of the executions of Macro and Gemellus are given in *Leg.* 23-61; see notes *ad locc.* for other references and discussion. Bell's convincing supplement Ναίλιον ἑπαρχον Αἰγυπτου in *CPJ* 156b, line 14, which makes Isidorus responsible for Macro's downfall (cf. below, p. 251), is widely accepted.

ward it to Rome together with a covering letter testifying to Jewish loyalty but in fact omitted to do so, and a year later the Jews discovered to their horror that it was still in his office in Alexandria.⁶⁶

During the early part of 38 the Greek nationalists, with their ring-leader Isidorus now back in the city, conceived the cunning plan of using Flaccus' fear and insecurity for their own purposes. Posing as his friends, they offered to protect him against the attack which he anticipated from Gaius by getting the city of Alexandria to "act as his advocate" (in what precise way Philo does not indicate), but at the price of the "surrender" of the Jews. Flaccus, yielding to temptation, accepted the bargain, which was then clinched by the bestowal of civic honours on him.⁶⁷

What the Greeks were proposing to do to the Jews once they had them at their mercy is not stated explicitly. Physical assault and religious persecution were not necessarily in mind at this stage, for the riots which occurred later were triggered off by an unexpected and extraneous event. What the Greeks apparently wanted was a ruling from Flaccus on the constitutional question of Jewish status in the city, a ruling which would end Jewish hopes of the advancement of their community as a whole to Greek citizenship and possibly even curtail the rights of the *politeuma*. Flaccus began to keep his compact by showing bias against the Jews in lawsuits, or at any rate refusing them preferential treatment,⁶⁸ perhaps in the hope that after a gradual loss of privileges they would later accept a formal statement about their status without protest. But any such peaceful settlement was rendered impossible by the train of events which followed the visit of Agrippa I to Alexandria in August 38.

Agrippa had intended to travel back from Rome to the kingdom to

⁶⁶ *Fl.* 97-103. Philo does not indicate the occasion of the resolution, and it may have been Gaius' recovery from his illness late in 37. But §§ 97 and 103, especially ἡδῆ and ἐξ ἀρχῆς, suggest the beginning of his principate, and Philo makes Flaccus' decline start then and accelerate after the deaths of Macro and Gemellus. He may be unjust in making Flaccus act out of malice towards the Jews; there is no other evidence of discrimination against them before the middle of 38.

⁶⁷ *Fl.* 18-24, 41 (τιμῶν ἀθλίων is perhaps unnecessarily derogatory). *P. Oxy.* 1089 = *AA* ii = *CPJ* 154 (a chapter of the "Acts of the Alexandrian Martyrs", on which see below, pp. 250-1) records a clandestine meeting of mysterious purpose between Flaccus and the nationalists Isidorus and Dionysius which may be part of these negotiations. But the Jews are not mentioned in the surviving fragment, and there is no certainty that they are involved. See further *Leg.*, pp. 44-5.

⁶⁸ *Fl.* 24. Cf. Box, *Fl.*, xl.

which Gaius had appointed him the previous year via Greece and the Aegean rather than by the normal sea-route via Alexandria (no doubt in order to avoid the possible embarrassment of an encounter with his creditor, Philo's brother Alexander), but he had politely given in to Gaius' insistence that he should wait for the north west etesian winds in July-August and take the quicker and more comfortable route.⁶⁹ Though he tried to keep his presence in Alexandria dark, the Jews somehow learned of it. Puzzled by the recent change in Flaccus' attitude towards them and alarmed lest his suppression of their resolution in Gaius' honour had given an impression of disloyalty, they seized the opportunity of enlisting the help of a personal friend of the emperor. They got Agrippa to send to Rome a duplicate copy of the resolution, together with a covering letter of his own explaining its tardiness and a memorandum on their position in Alexandria and the unprecedented treatment which they had recently been receiving from Flaccus.⁷⁰

Several weeks were bound to elapse before any reply could come from Rome, and Agrippa might have tried to obtain an interim amelioration in the Jews' conditions by bringing pressure to bear on Flaccus in private and stressing his own influence with Gaius. But there is no record that he did. Instead he and his bodyguard made an ostentatious parade through the city streets. Philo does not say whether this was done on Agrippa's initiative or at the Jews' instigation, or what the purpose of the parade was; indeed, he skates over the whole episode very rapidly, as if aware that it had made the wrong psychological approach to the problem. For, far from impressing the Greeks or overawing Flaccus into treating the Jews better, the parade merely inflamed the jealousy of the now kingless Greeks, while the nationalist leaders twisted it into another weapon to use against Flaccus, telling him that it had been designed to throw him into the shade, and that such an act of disrespect portended his dismissal.⁷¹

To a man in Flaccus' state of mind this had a certain plausibility, and in order to keep the nationalists' favour and support he made no attempt to prevent the Greek counter-demonstrations. First a mob collected in the gymnasium and chanted gibes against Agrippa. Then,

⁶⁹ *Fl.* 25-7, with Box's note on the etesian winds. Cf. above, p. 190.

⁷⁰ *Fl.* 103; *Leg.* 178-9, with the note on § 179 for the contents of the memorandum.

⁷¹ *Fl.* 29-31. Philo's only reference to the parade is τὴν δορυφόρον τῶν σωματοφυλάκων στρατίαν . . . ἐπαργύροις καὶ ἐπιχρύσοις ὅπλοις διακεκοσμημένην (in the mouth of the nationalists).

when this went unpunished, a parody of the Jewish parade was staged: the local idiot, known as Carabas ("Cabbage") was dressed up as a king, taken in procession to the gymnasium, and there hailed with shouts of "Marin" (Aramaic for "our king"), while court ceremonial was performed around him. By failing to stop or punish these deadly insults to Gaius' friend, Flaccus made himself partly responsible for them.⁷² This put him still further into the power of the nationalists, who in consequence controlled events for the next few months. (Agrippa fades out of the picture at this point, prudence having evidently dictated a hasty and unobtrusive exit.)

The Greek mob, further emboldened by its impunity after the Carabas incident, now took advantage of the prefect's impotence to attack the Jewish community as a whole. First, ignoring the fact that Jewish religion was protected by Roman law, they deprived the Jews of the use of their synagogues, possibly with Flaccus' connivance.⁷³ In the parts of Alexandria where comparatively few Jews lived they burnt or demolished many synagogues, regardless of the fact that this involved destroying dedications made in honour of the emperors in some of them, while in the two "Jewish districts", where attempts at destruction might have been successfully resisted, they made the synagogues unfit for use by the quicker and easier method of placing portraits of Gaius in them.⁷⁴ Then, during or after their attack on the

⁷² *Fl.* 32-40. The Greek cultural centre was the natural venue for anti-Semitic demonstrations.

⁷³ *Fl.* 41-53 (Flaccus' connivance, §§ 44 and 53, may be merely an exaggeration from his failure to protect the synagogues); *Leg.* 132-7. In *Fl.* the Greek attack on the synagogues precedes that on Jewish civic rights (below), while in *Leg.* the order is reversed. If the two attacks were not simultaneous, the order in *Fl.* seems more plausible. The reference in *Leg.* 134 to areas thickly populated by Jews suggests Alexandria under normal conditions rather than the ghetto instituted during the riots (below). And if the Greeks' real goal was the reduction of Jewish civic rights, the attack on their religion can have been regarded as a mere prelude. Philo may have reversed the order in *Leg.* to give the climax from the Jewish angle.

⁷⁴ *Leg.* 133-4 makes it clear that the Greeks' main aim was the destruction of the synagogues, and that only where this was not practicable was desecration substituted. This tells against the idea, hinted at in *Fl.* 42, that the Greeks' aim was to divert Gaius' attention from their insults to Agrippa by a specious show of loyalty; see further *Leg.*, pp. 45-7. In *Leg.*, an invective against Gaius, Philo insinuates that he was responsible for the Jews' sufferings in Alexandria because they repudiated his self-deification, and the Greeks used his resultant hostility as the pretext for their attack (§§ 114-20, 133). But this causation, of which there is no trace in *Fl.*, can be rejected, since it depends on a manipulation of the chronology: Philo antedates Gaius' claim to divinity, probably not made before 39, by narrating it before the Alexandrian riots (§§ 75-114). Cf. notes *ad loc.*

Jews' religion, the Greeks turned to the achievement of their real purpose, the reduction of the Jews' present civic rights and the ending of their ambitions for advancement. They got Flaccus to undermine the *politeuma* by issuing a proclamation declaring that the Jews were "aliens and foreigners" in Alexandria. This measure degraded them from their legal status of resident aliens, on which the existence of the *politeuma* depended, to that of aliens without the right of domicile. Legally they could now all be expelled. But the expulsion of such a large number of people was probably not feasible, and therefore the Jews' area of residence was severely reduced and circumscribed. They lost the privilege, acquired over the centuries but lacking legal basis, of residing in all parts of the city, and the "Delta" section, allocated to the original Jewish settlers as a privilege, was converted into a ghetto to which they were now to be compulsorily confined (and from which Greek residents now hastily removed themselves), the first known ghetto in the world.⁷⁵

An anti-Jewish riot soon developed, when it was left to the Greeks, or they took it upon themselves, to put Flaccus' ruling into effect. The mob hounded Jews from other parts of the city into the ghetto, tortured and massacred many before they could take refuge there, and looted Jewish shops and over four hundred abandoned houses. Overcrowding in the ghetto and exposure on the seashore, where large numbers for whom there was no room in the ghetto were forced to camp out near the cemeteries and rubbish-dumps, led to an epidemic. Poverty became acute as normal trades and professions could no longer be carried on, and when food ran short, Jews who ventured out to the city markets in search of supplies were lynched in various ingeniously disgusting ways. Jewish merchants arriving at the harbour were robbed of their goods and murdered.⁷⁶

Flaccus himself contributed to the Jews' degradation. After a fruitless attempt to find a way out of the anarchy by negotiation with the Jewish leaders,⁷⁷ he arrested thirty-eight members of the *gerousia* and a number of other Jews.⁷⁸ This was not necessarily the gratuitous

⁷⁵ *Fl.* 53-4. Philo makes the proclamation a spontaneous action by Flaccus, but there can be little doubt that the nationalists were behind it. The institution of the ghetto is inferred from *Fl.* 55 and *Leg.* 124.

⁷⁶ *Fl.* 55-72, 94 ; *Leg.* 121-31 (giving the successive stages of the riot rather less clearly).

⁷⁷ *Fl.* 76, giving no reason for the failure of the conference.

⁷⁸ *Fl.* 74. The end of the description of their punishment (below) suggests that other prisoners also were involved (§ 85).

assault on innocent people which Philo implies that it was, since the fact that it was Flaccus and not the Greeks who made the arrests suggests an official reprisal for some offence. It is conceivable that the *gerousia* had rejected Flaccus' attempt at conciliation and organized some kind of retaliatory attack on the Greeks which Philo has judiciously suppressed. Flaccus at any rate suspected the Jews of having weapons, for at some stage he called in his troops to search their houses; though no arms were found, a number of women were arrested.⁷⁹ But even if the arrests were justified, the viciousness of the punishments inflicted was not. On Gaius' birthday, 31 August, the prisoners were marched through the streets to the theatre to become items in the entertainment with which the Greeks celebrated the occasion. The thirty-eight elders were scourged, some of them to death—a punishment which stressed the new humiliation of the Jews; for since Flaccus' proclamation had reduced them to their bare legal rights, they had now lost the privilege, which they had long held by custom but not by law, of exemption from the punishment of scourging to which the unenfranchised Egyptians were liable. Other Jews were tortured and hanged in the theatre, while the women were offered pork to eat and tortured if they refused.⁸⁰

After this peace seems to have returned, though the Jewish elders who had survived the scourging remained in custody, as hostages for Jewish passivity or as a gesture towards the Greeks. Hardly surprisingly, by mid-October the Jews had not yet recovered in spirits or material circumstances sufficiently to celebrate the Feast of Tabernacles.⁸¹ But at that very season they had the satisfaction of seeing a detachment of soldiers arrive from Rome with a warrant for Flaccus' arrest. Philo gives no indication of the charge against him. If news of the riots reached Rome quickly, provincial maladministration is possible. But the accusation may have been a political one based on his association with Tiberius' friends.⁸² Philo's interest in Flaccus' fate

⁷⁹ *Fl.* 86-95, describing the search as δευτέρα πόρθησις. As Flaccus is not said to have sacked houses in arresting the elders, this may be the "second" in relation to the "first sacking" by the Greek mob. In that case the search for arms, though related as a separate episode after the arrest and punishment of the elders, may have preceded it, and the elders may have qualified for arrest by organizing unrecorded resistance.

⁸⁰ *Fl.* 74-85, 95-6, where the reference to the theatre suggests that the women underwent their ordeal with the elders on 31 August. For the interpretation here given of the scourging see Box, *Fl.*, xlv, xlvii-xlviii.

⁸¹ *Fl.* 116-19.

⁸² *Fl.* 104-24. The arrest-party must have left Rome by mid-September.

is moral, not judicial: he records among the rewards of the evil-doer the perfidy of Isidorus and Lampo who, far from fulfilling their promise of protection, now appeared among his accusers before Gaius' tribunal,⁸³ and he devotes the last quarter of the treatise which bears Flaccus' name to a graphic and largely imaginary account of his banishment and his subsequent misery, remorse and execution.⁸⁴

Under the new prefect, C. Vitrasius Pollio,⁸⁵ passions cooled and conditions returned to normal, at least superficially. Within twelve months the Jews had recovered economically to the extent of being able to afford the expense of the sacrifice of a hecatomb in Jerusalem at the beginning of Gaius' campaign in Gaul and Germany,⁸⁶ and this indicates the resumption of their normal means of livelihood and probably a return to their homes and the repair and reconsecration of the synagogues. But the situation remained unstable and the Jews lacked security for a further two years and a half, until their rights were officially and explicitly re-established by Claudius.

The Embassies to Rome and the Settlement

Once an uneasy peace had been restored, both sides appointed delegations to go to Rome, the Greeks to exculpate themselves for the disturbances and to try to secure an imperial decree keeping the Jews in the unprivileged position to which Flaccus had relegated them, and the Jews to seek redress for their injuries and the restoration of their civic rights and privileges by the reinstatement of the *politeuma*. Philo himself led the Jewish delegation of five. The Greek one included the anti-Semitic writer Apion, Isidorus, and perhaps Lampo.⁸⁷

Agrippa's letter and enclosures (above, p. 238) had probably reached Rome by then, but there is no certainty that any report on the disturbances, which continued until late August, had done so. On rates of travel cf. above, p. 178, nn. 116, 119.

⁸³ *Fl.* 125-7.

⁸⁴ On this passage see V. Nikiprowetsky in *REJ* cxvii (1968), 7-19.

⁸⁵ Though not attested by name till April, 39 (*ILS* 8899), he may have arrived within a few days of Flaccus' arrest; see Stein, *Präfecten*, 27.

⁸⁶ *Leg.* 356; cf. the note *ad loc.*

⁸⁷ The story of the embassies to Gaius is known almost exclusively from *Leg. AJ* xviii, 257-60 contributes Apion's name, and there each delegation numbers only three. But the participant Philo speaks of five Jews (*Leg.* 370) and the Greeks would hardly have sent a numerically weaker group. On Josephus' account cf. below, p. 245, n. 97. Lampo is not mentioned by either writer, but he, like Isidorus and Apion, was not on the Greek delegation sent to Claudius early in 41 (below, p. 247), which suggests that all three were then still in Rome and so not available to be chosen; cf. the note on *Leg.* 172. Philo's brother Alexander may have been one of the Jewish delegates, since he was

The chronology of the voyages of the envoys to Italy and of their hearings before Gaius is uncertain and controversial. Philo says that they sailed "in midwinter", and, though the evidence which he provides for co-ordinating their movements with the known chronology of Gaius' movements is inconclusive, there appear to be fewer difficulties involved in dating the voyage to the winter of 39-40 than to that of 38-39.⁸⁸ This gives a delay of about a year, and mere procrastination is improbable in the circumstances. But embassies required exit-permits from the prefect,⁸⁹ and Pollio may have conducted lengthy investigations into the quarrel before authorizing them.

When the delegations arrived in Italy early in 40, Gaius was still away on his northern campaign. While waiting for his return, the Greeks employed their time and money in securing the valuable support of his chamberlain Helicon (probably an Alexandrian, though Philo calls him an Egyptian), an influential imperial freedman of known anti-Semitic views. The Jews meanwhile drew up a statement about their "sufferings and claims" to submit to the emperor.⁹⁰ This will obviously have dealt principally with the two matters raised by the riots, that of their religious liberty and exemption from the imperial cult, which had been called in question by the attack on the synagogues, and that of their civic rights and position in Alexandria, which had been undermined by Flaccus' proclamation.⁹¹ But their "claims" may have comprised more than a mere plea for a return to the *status quo ante* by the reaffirmation of their religious liberty and by the restoration of their status as resident aliens, from which would follow the abolition of the ghetto and the reinstatement of the *politeuma*. They may have included a request from a section of the community for official admission to Greek citizenship, a request which had to be put to the emperor since he controlled such admissions in Alexandria.⁹²

at some point imprisoned by Gaius, apparently in Rome—*AJ* xix, 276 (surprisingly, not mentioned by Philo as a further example of Gaius' hostility towards the Jews).

⁸⁸ For fuller discussion see *Leg.*, pp. 47-50.

⁸⁹ *Fl.* 97; *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* (late second century A.D.; ed. S. Riccobono, 1951), 64, 66, 68. (On the *idios logos* see P. R. Swarny, *The Ptolemaic and Roman Idios Logos* (1970).) Cf. *Str.* ii, 3, 5.

⁹⁰ *Leg.* 166-79.

⁹¹ *Leg.* 191 (περὶ προσευχῶν), 193-4, 349 (ἡ πολιτεία).

⁹² Pliny, *Ep.* x, 5-7; *CPJ*, 153, lines 53-7; *IGRR* IV, 1519b, lines 10-13; *Ap.* ii, 41, 72. In the second century anyone who introduced an unqualified person into the citizen body was tried by the prefect—*Gnomon of the Idios Logos* 40.

On his return from the north to Italy in the spring Gaius gave brief hearings to the embassies from Alexandria and to others which had congregated during his absence. He was gracious to the Jews, promising them a fuller hearing later.⁹³ It was autumn before the promise was honoured. In the meantime Gaius spent the summer in Campania, with the Jews (and presumably the Greeks also) hovering in the vicinity and working on the formulation of their case in constant expectation of a summons. While they were there, news reached them of Gaius' proposal to convert the Temple into a shrine of the imperial cult, a fundamental and universal threat to Jewish religious liberty which not only greatly diminished their hopes of getting favourable answers to their requests but made their local grievances pale into insignificance.⁹⁴

Some time after returning to Rome for the ovation on 31 August in honour of his "victory" in Gaul and Germany, and probably after cancelling his orders for the Temple, Gaius gave the embassies from Alexandria a second and much longer hearing, in the gardens of Lamia and Maecenas on the Esquiline.⁹⁵ Renovations to the mansion in the garden were in progress, and the interview was conducted during a tour of inspection of the premises and punctuated by discussions of fittings with the contractors. Nevertheless, it was not quite such a farce as Philo would like his readers to believe, since he admits that Gaius did listen to some of the Jews' points about their political position.⁹⁶ Though the attack on the synagogues was not explicitly mentioned, the wider question of the Jews' exemption from the imperial cult was raised by Gaius' unpromising greeting, "So you are the people who refuse to acknowledge me as a god", which started a discussion of their privilege of offering sacrifices *for* the emperor instead of *to* him. Gaius expressed disapproval of the practice, but without confirming or revoking the privilege, he went off at a tangent

⁹³ *Leg.* 181-3. Gaius remained outside the *pomerium* from his return to Italy in May or earlier until his ovation on 31 August—Suet., *G.* 49, 2. The gardens in which the embassies were received lay on the right bank of the Tiber. See further note on *Leg.* 181 ἐν τυχῇ . . . κήπων.

⁹⁴ *Leg.* 184-96.

⁹⁵ *Leg.* 350. The gardens lay within the *pomerium*, which gives the ovation as *terminus post quem*. There is no hint that the Temple is still under threat in the references to it or to Gaius' self-deification in the interview; and §§ 364-5 would belie §§ 194-5 if his order still stood. At the same time, annoyance at the reports of Palestinian opposition to his project would account for Gaius' increased hostility towards the envoys since their first hearing.

⁹⁶ *Leg.* 364-5.

with the question, "Why do you not eat pork?" The uninformative answer that national dietary habits varied apparently satisfied him, for he then turned to the second of the questions on the agenda, that of the Jews' position in Alexandria, and asked the envoys to explain their political rights. But he soon wearied of their no doubt detailed exposition and his attention wandered to the more immediate problems of the glazing and decoration of the mansion. The hearing ended, however, on a better note than the Jews by that time can have dared to hope, when Gaius dismissed them with the condescending remark, "I think these men are lunatics rather than criminals for not recognizing that I am a god."⁹⁷ No decision was given on the spot, and apparently none was given during the remaining weeks of Gaius' life, which the envoys spent waiting in Rome in fear and suspense.⁹⁸ For the matter was still open when Claudius came to the throne on 24 January 41.

The news of Gaius' death, which probably reached Alexandria early in March, was greeted by a fresh outbreak of violence, initiated by the Jews, who had apparently spent the interval since the riots of 38 acquiring the arms which they had lacked then and calling in compatriots from Syria and the rest of Egypt as allies, and who now made a retaliatory attack on the Greeks.⁹⁹ The prefect put the trouble down and sent a report to Claudius, who replied with instructions about the enforcement of order.¹⁰⁰ For in the meantime, in March or earlier, before word can have reached Rome about the renewed disturbances, Claudius had already begun to tackle the problem of Alexandria by removing the Jews' worst grievances.

⁹⁷ *Leg.* 349-67. This eye-witness account, even if somewhat distorted, can be assumed to be basically more authentic than *AJ* xviii, 257-60 (giving the second hearing only). There Apion replaces Isidorus (*Leg.* 355) as Greek spokesman, the Jews' exemption from the imperial cult is the only subject raised, and Gaius ejects the Jews (or Philo alone, after a private interview, as § 260 suggests) violently.

⁹⁸ *Leg.* 368-72.

⁹⁹ *AJ* xix, 278-9, with the significant words ἐν ὅπλοις εὐθέως ἦν. Support from outside is inferred from the prohibition in *CPJ* 153, lines 96-8. Josephus' "on Gaius' death" must surely mean "on the arrival of news of . . ." The messengers taking the news to Syria, who had "a good voyage" (*BJ* ii, 203; in winter this means at least a month), probably travelled via Alexandria.

¹⁰⁰ Κλαύδιος ἐπιστέλλει . . . implies the receipt of a report from the prefect. But as a matter of common sense it can be assumed that he did not wait two months or more for instructions from Rome before restoring physical order by the use of his troops. Cf. Flaccus' use of troops without prior reference to Rome—*Fl.* 86. The prefect was probably still Pollio; *CPJ* 153, lines 43-4, suggests that he held office until well into 41.

At the time of Claudius' accession his Jewish friends Agrippa I and Herod of Chalcis were at hand to use their influence on the Jews' behalf, and it was only natural for the delegations led by Philo and Isidorus to try to get from the new emperor the settlement which they had failed to get from Gaius. Claudius allowed the two sides to put their cases to him, and then issued an edict aimed at giving an immediate, and perhaps only provisional, answer to the urgent problems of Alexandria.¹⁰¹ In it Claudius dwells at some length on the antiquity of the Jewish community in Alexandria, on its early privileges, and on the religious liberty granted by Augustus and infringed in the riots of 38, and then comes crisply to the point: "I do not wish the Jewish race to lose any of its rights because of Gaius' madness, but I wish their former privileges to be preserved as long as they follow their national customs; and I instruct both sides to take the utmost care to ensure that there are no disturbances after this edict of mine has been published."¹⁰² Claudius thus came out firmly against the anti-Semites by reaffirming the traditional Augustan policy towards the Jews, though he said nothing either way at this point on the more delicate question of possible Jewish admission to Greek citizenship. His implicit re-establishment of all the rights, religious and political, held by the Jews before August 38 safeguarded the sanctity of the synagogues and made possible the reinstatement of the *politeuma* by restoring to the Jews their pre-Flaccan status of aliens with the right of residence. It will have been on this edict that Claudius based his instructions to the prefect a month or two later about the restoration and maintenance of order in Alexandria.

¹⁰¹ *AJ* xix, 280-5, attributed in § 279 to the influence of Agrippa and Herod (cf. above, p. 192). It is not precisely dated, but the absence of *cos. desig. II* (contrast § 286; below, p. 247, n. 104) puts it before the elections for 42, probably in March; cf. *Leg.*, p. 28, n. 2. The hearing of the embassies is inferred from *CPJ* 153, line 88, where six months later Claudius says that he had confirmed the Jews' rights (a clear reference to the edict) διακούσας ἀμφοτέρων. These representatives of the two sides cannot have been the embassies dispatched after Claudius' accession was reported in Alexandria (below, p. 247), which will not have reached Rome till April at the earliest; cf. *Leg.*, pp. 28-30; *CPJ* 153, notes on lines 87-8, 90-1. The reference to Claudius' hearing on both sides can be taken as complementing, not contradicting, § 279: he looked into the Jewish question at the Jewish princes' request, but it was imprudent to mention Agrippa when writing to Alexandria. Cf. *CPJ* 153, note on line 88.

¹⁰² On the authenticity of the edict as a whole see above, p. 229, n. 38. The crucial § 285 here translated accords fully with the tenor of the Jewish section of Claudius' undoubtedly genuine *Letter to Alexandria*, *CPJ* 153. At this same time Claudius remedied a personal injustice to an individual Jew by releasing Philo's brother Alexander (above, p. 243, n. 87).

Anti-Semitism, however, was not confined to Alexandria, even if it was currently at its most virulent there. An edict in the same terms was sent to Syria also, where the capital Antioch, and probably other cities, had a Jewish *politeuma* and potentially even if not actually the same problems.¹⁰³ Then perhaps a couple of months later, at the request of Agrippa I and Herod, Claudius issued a general edict of universal application, confirming for all Jews throughout the empire the same privileges as the Jews in Alexandria enjoyed. Citing Augustus' legislation as his precedent, he declares that "it is only proper" that they should all be free to "observe their traditional customs without obstruction." But he then goes on to remind the Jews that privilege brings responsibility and that toleration must be mutual: they are not to trade on imperial favour but "to keep their own laws without treating the cults of other nations with disrespect."¹⁰⁴ A copy was apparently sent to Alexandria,¹⁰⁵ to reinforce the earlier edict addressed to the city. If Claudius had by now heard of the recent renewal of violence, this would give point to his plea for toleration on the Jewish side also. But the main purpose of this edict was clearly to circumvent any plans that might be brewing in other cities with large Jewish communities to follow the Alexandrian example and attempt to undermine their civic status or religious liberty. That this was no idle fear was demonstrated within the same year in the Syrian city of Dora.¹⁰⁶

Despite Claudius' edicts, however, tension persisted. A vivid glimpse of it comes in a papyrus letter dated August 41, in which the writer, a Greek, warns a financially embarrassed friend to "steer clear of the Jews, as everyone else does." In normal times, clearly, the Greeks had recourse to Jewish money-lenders, but now they were boycotting them; and the letter may carry the implication that it was still dangerous for gentiles to enter the Jewish residential areas.¹⁰⁷

During the spring or summer of 41 the Alexandrian Greeks sent a fresh delegation, twelve men strong, to Rome,¹⁰⁸ to congratulate Claudius on his accession and offer him honours, to refer certain municipal problems to him for decision or ratification, and to reopen

¹⁰³ *AJ* xix, 279. For Antioch see below, p. 360.

¹⁰⁴ *AJ* xix, 286-91, with *cos. desig. II* dating it after the elections for 42.

¹⁰⁵ See the plural διατάγματα in *AJ* xix, 310.

¹⁰⁶ See above, pp. 195-6.

¹⁰⁷ *CPJ* 152, lines 23-5 ὡς ἂν πάντες, καὶ σὺ βλέπε σατὸν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

¹⁰⁸ *CPJ* 153, lines 16-20, naming the envoys. On their number see note on line 19.

the Jewish question by protesting against the recent attack. The Jews now had reason to fear a reduction in imperial favour as a punishment for initiating the renewal of violence, and sent a delegation to exculpate themselves and defend their newly restored rights—or rather, two separate delegations. What cleavage in the Jewish ranks was reflected in this strange duplication, which displeased Claudius, is conjectural; possibly one group was sent by the “modernist”, Hellenized minority who were working for admission to Greek citizenship, and the other by the orthodox majority who were content with the *status quo* and only wanted their existing privileges maintained.¹⁰⁹

Claudius’ answers to all the matters laid before him were given in his *Letter to Alexandria*, a document couched in language bearing the stamp of the emperor’s personality, which was published in the city by the new prefect, L. Aemilius Rectus, in November.¹¹⁰ The letter falls into three sections, dealing respectively with the honours voted to him, with the Greek requests, and with the Jewish question. In the last section he first administers an impartial rebuke to both parties for “the violence and rioting, or rather, to describe it accurately, the war against the Jews”; he professes “immutable anger against those who have recently renewed the conflict”—the Jews, as he knows well, though he has prudently refrained, despite strong pressure from the Greeks during a heated confrontation between the delegations, from exacerbating feelings by an enquiry into the incident, and now preserves a diplomatic neutrality in apportioning blame;¹¹¹ and he threatens both sides that, if they do not give up their “destructive

¹⁰⁹ *CPJ* 153, lines 90-2. The names are not given. The present writer accepts Willrich’s explanation of the cleavage in the Jewish community which they represented; see *Leg.*, p. 29, n. 2 for discussion of other suggestions. The suggestion in *CPJ*, note on lines 90-1, that the two delegations were that of Philo and a single Jewish counterpart to the Greek congratulatory delegation does not seem to account for Claudius’ annoyance. Each of those had a valid *raison d’être*, and the context of Claudius’ rebuke seems to imply two simultaneous embassies. See *Leg.*, p. 30, n. 3, on the tradition of Philo’s visit to Rome in Claudius’ principate—Eus., *HE* ii, 17, 1; 18, 8; Hier., *De Vir. Ill.* 11 (*PL* XXIII, 658).

¹¹⁰ *CPJ* 153. The document opens with a short proclamation by the prefect that he is publishing Claudius’ *Letter* because the whole population had not been able to be present when he read it publicly immediately on receipt.

¹¹¹ Lines 73-8. The fact that it was the Greeks, not the Jews, who pressed for an enquiry, together with the words τῶν πάλειν ἀρξαμένων, strongly suggests that it was the recent Jewish aggression, not the whole series of disturbances initiated by the Greeks, which was actually under discussion. But the opening words of the section, τῆς δὲ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ταραχῆς . . . , go back to 38, and the preposition reveals Claudius’ awareness of the ultimate Greek responsibility.

and stubborn mutual hostility", he will be compelled to let them see "what a benevolent emperor is like when roused to righteous indignation."¹¹² He then announces his final and considered verdict on the Jews' position and future, a verdict which confirms but at the same time goes beyond the provisional ruling of his edict: as long-established residents in Alexandria, the Jews are to be allowed to retain the religious liberty which Augustus had granted to them and which his own edict has restored, and the Greeks are to treat them with kindness and humanity. On the other hand, the Jews are not to try to get their rights extended, or to send more than one embassy at a time "as if they lived in two separate cities", or to intrude into athletic activities in the gymnasium, but are to rest content with their present civic status and extensive privileges "in a city which is not their own"; and they are not to invite other Jews in from Syria or Egypt, a proceeding which Claudius would view with suspicion in the light of recent events.¹¹³ The letter closes with a threat that if the Jews disobey these prohibitions, Claudius will take action against them for "making a general nuisance of themselves throughout the empire", and with a warning to both races that they must live together in a civilized manner, if they want to keep imperial favour.¹¹⁴

This document stabilized the Jews' position in Alexandria as it had been before the riots of 38. Their rights were not to be reduced, as the Greeks had hoped, but the *politeuma* was to stand with its privileges unimpaired. The question of a possible improvement in the Jews' civic status, however, which Claudius' edict had not touched, was now decided in the Greeks' favour by a definite rejection of the Jews' claim: they were to cease irritating the Greeks either by agitating for legal admission to Greek citizenship or by insinuating themselves into the ephebate, receiving Greek education in the gymnasium, and then on the strength of it usurping the privileges of citizenship. It was a statesmanlike and impartial solution, recognizing that Alexandria was first and foremost a Greek city, but rectifying the injustices

¹¹² Lines 79-82. On the translation of αὐθάδιον as "stubborn" see note *ad loc.*

¹¹³ Lines 82-98. It is noteworthy that, though the *Letter* is written to the Greek city, the Jews are directly addressed from line 88 as authorized residents. For the interpretation of the problematical prohibition in lines 92-3 μηδὲ ἐπεισπαλ(ρ)ειν γύμνασιαρχικοῖς ἢ κοσμητικοῖς ἀγῶσι as "not to force their way into games run by the gymnasiarchs or *kosmetai*" (open only to Greek citizens) see *CPI*, note *ad loc.*, where other suggestions are discussed and rejected.

¹¹⁴ On the supposed reference to nascent Christianity in lines 99-100 see above, p. 214. Claudius' fear was simply lest further racial trouble in Alexandria might prove infectious.

committed on long-established settlers and continuing the traditional Roman policy of protecting the Jews. At the same time, the tone of the letter betrays an irritation absent from the more formal language of the edict. Claudius' reference to the Jews as a disruptive force throughout the empire and his stern warning to both sides at the end may reflect his annoyance at having had to deal with Jewish trouble in Rome ¹¹⁵ in the interval since the issue of his edicts as well as with the renewed outbreak in Alexandria and, in all probability, with a coda to that outbreak played out in Rome with Isidorus and Lampo.

The Trial of Isidorus and Lampo

Isidorus and Lampo met their end at Claudius' hands, when they were executed as a result of a misguided attempt to impeach the Jewish king Agrippa. Their fate, probably richly deserved for their seditious activities in 38 as well as for this final fling against the Jews, is known only from fragmentary accounts of the proceedings which led to their execution. These accounts belong to a series of pamphlets emanating from extreme Greek nationalist circles, the so-called "Acts of the Alexandrian Martyrs", which survive only in a very delapidated and incomplete form on papyri. Most of the extant fragments describe the trial and condemnation of various Greek nationalists by Roman emperors, and represent their execution as martyrdom in the cause of opposition to Rome and the defence of the privileges of the city of Alexandria. The episodes are almost certainly basically historical, but the accounts of them, though couched in the form of official protocols, are unlikely to be derived from documents in the Roman archives, which would have been inaccessible to Alexandrian Greeks. Hearsay reports from witnesses may lie behind them, but they bear more resemblance to historical novels than to sober historical record and probably owe much to the imagination of the writers who put them into circulation. The narratives are highly coloured, and truth is undoubtedly distorted by the writers' interest in representing the emperors as hostile towards Alexandria, in emphasizing the fearless outspokenness of the nationalist leaders, whose surprising rudeness to the emperors adds considerable spice to the stories, and in giving the false impression that they were the innocent victims of imperial bias and cruelty. In a minority of the published fragments the Jews figure in the proceedings and the "martyrs" lose their lives for anti-

¹¹⁵ See above, pp. 210-15.

Semitism. But though their tone is strongly anti-Semitic, their main theme is still opposition to Rome as embodied in the emperor, and the role of anti-Semitism is secondary: the emperor's alleged favouritism towards the Jews is interpreted as a manifestation of hostility towards the Greeks.¹¹⁶

The *Acta Isidori* are the earliest of the fragments in which the Jews appear.¹¹⁷ Four papyri contain parts of three separate but similar versions of the proceedings, and though their typically battered condition leaves many details obscure, some picture of the incident can be pieced together.¹¹⁸ The scene is set in an imperial garden in Rome, where Claudius and his *consilium*¹¹⁹ are holding a *cognitio extra ordinem* into the case of "Isidorus, gymnasiarch of Alexandria, versus king Agrippa." It is a *cause célèbre*, to judge from the presence of a number of women spectators, whose identity is lost. The proceedings open with a debate between members of the *consilium*, of which too little survives to show even its subject; but it apparently takes up so much time that the case proper is adjourned until the next day. Isidorus as prosecutor is then invited to speak first, but Claudius begs him at the outset, and again later, not to attack his friend Agrippa as he had in the past attacked Macro and others, causing their deaths.¹²⁰ Isidorus, however, pays no heed, and indeed adds insult to injury by asking Claudius why he "bothers about a twopenny-halfpenny Jew like Agrippa."¹²¹ His formal indictment of Agrippa is not preserved, but

¹¹⁶ The papyri began to come to light late in the nineteenth century and were published piecemeal and discussed in numerous journals. They are now collected in *AA*, and those relating to the Jews are re-published in *CPJ* 154-9. "Alexandrian Martyrs" is a more appropriate name than "Pagan" or "Heathen Martyrs", since no question of religious faith was involved and the basis of the conflict was purely political. On the "Acts" as a *genre* see Musurillo, *AA*, 236-77; cf. Tcherikover, *CPJ* II, pp. 55-60.

¹¹⁷ On *AA* ii = *CPJ* 154 see above, p. 237, n. 67.

¹¹⁸ *AA* iv = *CPJ* 156. *BGU* 511 and *P. Cairo* 10448 (*AA*, recension A = *CPJ* 156a and d), parts of the same roll, seem to come from near the beginning and near the end respectively of one recension. *P. Lond.* 2785 (*AA*, recension B = *CPJ* 156b) overlaps *BGU* 511, but with verbal variations which make it part of another, though very similar, recension. *P. Berl.* 8877 (*AA*, recension C = *CPJ* 156c), from the middle of the proceedings, cannot be dovetailed into the other two accounts and therefore comes from a third, longer, recension. For fuller discussion of the content of the papyri than can be given here see the commentaries *ad loc.*

¹¹⁹ Either twenty senators, sixteen of them consulars, or sixteen consulars and twenty other senators. Cf. J. A. Crook, *Consilium Principis* (1955), 43, 59, n. 3.

¹²⁰ Was Flaccus perhaps one of the anonymous πολλούς of *CPJ* 156d, line 4?

¹²¹ On Ἰουδαίου τριωβολείου see below, p. 254, n. 130.

it seems to have concerned his association with and defence of the Alexandrian Jews; for in the course of the hearing he speaks of answering the points which Agrippa has just made about the Jews, and then goes straight on to accuse them of wanting to stir up trouble throughout the empire, and to declare that they are on a level, not with the Greeks of Alexandria, but with the Egyptians who pay the *laographia*. Agrippa makes his sole extant contribution in reply to this: in an attempt to prove the Jews superior to the Egyptians he asserts that the latter are liable to "taxes" (begging the question with a vague plural) but not the Jews—a terminological inexactitude not unreasonably dismissed as "impertinent" by another Greek, Balbillus, who speaks at this point only in the surviving fragments but who had apparently made a speech, approved by Isidorus, shortly before about Roman interests in Alexandria.¹²² In the end, however, the tables are turned on Isidorus, and he and Lampo, who plays little part in the proceedings as extant but was presumably a supporting prosecutor, are condemned to death. The stages leading up to this *peripeteia* are lost, but the death sentence is represented as retribution on Isidorus for the deaths of Claudius' friends at his hands, and Isidorus' sycophantic plea that in his previous prosecutions he had been acting as Gaius' agent and that he is willing to play the *delator* in Claudius' interest also, far from mollifying the emperor, provokes the liveliest, and presumably least authentic, scrap of dialogue: Claudius, apparently disgusted at Isidorus' lack of moral scruples, remarks that he is "clearly the son of a prostitute", to which Isidorus retorts, after an indignant denial, that Claudius is "the illegitimate son of the Jewess Salome"; and Lampo silences his colleague with an aside to the effect that it is no use to argue with "a crazy emperor."¹²³ The reference to Isidorus' career as a *delator* suggests that it was for their personal attack on Agrippa rather than for their previous anti-Semitic activities

¹²² CPJ 156c, col. II. φόρος, unqualified, is agreed to be the *laographia*. Musurillo, *AA*, 139-40, suggests that the Jews in Alexandria did not pay individually but that the *politeuma* paid a lump sum to Rome and devised its own method of collection. But Agrippa could hardly have been unaware of Jewish liability and seems to be merely quibbling. On Balbillus see below, p. 254, n. 130.

¹²³ CPJ 156d. Of the three Herodian Salomes, only the sister of Herod the Great, Livia's friend, was well enough known to be meant here. But even if she was much younger than Herod, she was well past child-bearing when Claudius was born. Salome may be an error for Berenice her daughter, a friend of Claudius' mother (above, p. 187). The point of the repartee would then be that Claudius was half-brother to Agrippa I, and therefore naturally pro-Jewish.

in Alexandria that he and Lampo were condemned. If the charge against Agrippa was one of involvement in subversive activities by the Alexandrian Jews to a degree equivalent to *maiestas* and proved groundless, those who laid it were guilty of the serious offence of *calumnia*, false accusation, and Claudius may have regarded this as reason enough for getting rid of a pair of inveterate trouble-makers.¹²⁴ A reference in a later fragment of the "Acts" shows that the death sentence was carried out.¹²⁵

The *Acta Isidori* raise numerous problems of detail, many of them facets of the central problem which must be briefly treated here, that of the date of the trial and the identity of Agrippa. The trial was held on 5 and 6 Pachon (30 April and 1 May) but the papyrus is broken at the vital place where the emperor's regnal year stood. Assuming that the incident is historical, the choice lies between 41, when Agrippa I was in Rome, and 53, when his son Agrippa II is quite likely to have been there.¹²⁶ On the basis of detailed evidence, both internal and external, Agrippa II and 53 are generally favoured. But though its cumulative effect is impressive, none of the individual points is conclusive or incapable of alternative explanation, and general historical probability, surely a sounder dating criterion than details in a text likely, in view of the fictional character of the "Acts" as a whole, to contain inaccuracies, points to the year 41 and Agrippa I.¹²⁷

In the early summer of 41 the problem of Jewish status in Alexandria, which lies behind Isidorus' attempt to equate the Jews with the Egyptians, was still unsolved; it was no longer *sub iudice* in 53. In 41 riots had just flared up again, and Isidorus' allegation that the Jews were bent on causing trouble throughout the empire parallels Claudius' outburst against them at the end of his *Letter to Alexandria*; there is no hint anywhere of any renewal of violence in Alexandria around 53. Agrippa I had been in Alexandria in 38, when he had helped the Jews by writing to Gaius on their behalf, and he had used his influence with Claudius for their benefit early in 41; there is no

¹²⁴ See *AA*, p. 125.

¹²⁵ *P. Oxy.* 33 = *AA* XI = *CPJ* 159b, col. IV, lines 5-7 (*Acta Appiani*).

¹²⁶ Agrippa I stayed at least until March, 41 (above, pp. 246-7), and as he enjoyed Rome, he may well have stayed till May. For Agrippa II's visit see below, p. 254.

¹²⁷ The date has been debated in much detail: for references and summary see *AA*, 118-24. The arguments for 53 are accepted by, *inter alios*, Momigliano, *Claudius*, 35; Scramuzza, *Claudius*, 78; Jones, *Herods*, 220-2; J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *The Emperor Gaius* (1934), 145; and Musurillo, *AA*. Tcherikover argues forcibly for 41 in *CPJ*, introduction to no. 156.

record of any contact between Agrippa II and the Alexandrian Jews.¹²⁸ Agrippa I's heroic defence of the Temple in 40 was far more spectacular than the support which Agrippa II gave to the Palestinian delegation sent to Claudius in 52,¹²⁹ and far more likely to have been known in Alexandria and to have earned him a reputation as the Jews' champion. Isidorus and other Greeks were in Rome early in 41 and could easily have stayed till May; there is no independent evidence for the presence of any of them in 53. The execution of Isidorus as an agent of Gaius who had attacked "the establishment" for him would have been much more appropriate in 41, as part of Claudius' reversal of Gaius' policy, than in 53. And the reference to Macro's fall in 38 would have had more point three years later than fifteen.

The internal evidence which has been used for dating purposes is inconclusive,¹³⁰ but two pieces of external evidence are of sufficient importance to warrant discussion. Firstly, in his *Letter to Alexandria* late in 41 Claudius does not mention the execution of Isidorus and Lampo. But this is no proof that the trial had not yet taken place when the letter was written; for in a document aimed at pouring oil on

¹²⁸ His only known visit to Alexandria was in 66—*BJ* ii, 309. If he travelled that way to Rome in 52, he *may* have had contact with the Jews then.

¹²⁹ See below, p. 267. If the case was heard fairly late in the year, he may well have stayed over the winter.

¹³⁰ (a) The two named members of the *consilium*, Tarquitius (the accepted correction of Ταρκύνιος) and Aviola, could have been senators in 41 or 53. See notes on *CPJ* 156a, col. I, lines 1 and 8. (b) Of the four candidates for the gardens in which the case was heard—[ἐν τοῖς ---]λιανοῖς κήποις—three did not come into imperial hands till after 41, but the fourth may have done so before 41. See note on *CPJ* 156a, col. II, line 4. (c) Balbillus is almost certainly Ti. Claudius Balbillus, a member of the Greek delegation sent to Claudius early in 41, who could have returned to Rome in 53; but if he is further identified with the eques Ti. Claudius Balbillus whose career began early in Claudius' principate, he is unlikely to have been available, or inclined, to represent Alexandria again in 53. See *PIR*², s.v. *Ti. Claudius Balbillus*; J. Schwartz in *Bull. de l'Inst. fr. d'Archéol. orient.* xlix (1950), 45-55; *AA*, pp. 130-1; note on *CPJ* 156c, line 31. (d) If τριωβόλειος has an obscene connotation as a reference to a prostitute's fee, it would fit Agrippa II, allegedly guilty of incest (below, p. 385), better than his father; but it may be a mere term of vulgar abuse. See note on *CPJ* 156b, line 18. (e) Isidorus was gymnasiarch at the time of the trial. The argument that Lampo will not have had to relinquish the post to him until Claudius restricted πολιτικά ἀρχαί to three years late in 41—*CPJ* 153, lines 62-6; so Musurillo, *AA*, 121—assumes that such posts were previously lifelong. But Lampo held it under compulsion (*Fl.* 130) and may have given it up voluntarily. Or there may have been more than one gymnasiarchy in Alexandria at this time, as in the second century—*CPJ* 157, lines 6-8. The fact that Isidorus is not actually called gymnasiarch in *Leg.* 355 does not prove that he was not holding the post by the end of 40.

troubled waters, it was only tactful to avoid direct reference to anything liable to revive ill-feeling; and Claudius' threat that, if quarrels continue, he will give vent to his "righteous indignation" can be read as an indirect allusion to the execution as a demonstration of that emotion. Secondly, Philo does not mention the deaths of Isidorus and Lampo, over which he could have been expected to gloat, as he does over that of Flaccus, had he known of them; yet in the *Legatio* he does record Claudius' execution of two lesser anti-Semites, courtiers of Gaius.¹³¹ But this likewise is not conclusive against the date 41. The *In Flaccum* was apparently written before the end of 39.¹³² The reference to Claudius puts the composition of the *Legatio* in 41.¹³³ But since Philo and his delegation, having won their case, probably set out for home as soon as the sailing season opened in March, and since the news of an execution in Rome early in May is unlikely to have reached Alexandria before the beginning of June, it is possible that the treatise was completed before Philo heard about his enemies' end. Another possibility is that the subject of the missing "palinode" promised at the end of the *Legatio*, which perhaps Philo's own death prevented him from writing, was to be the murder of Gaius, the arch-enemy in that treatise, represented as divine retribution for his attack on the Jews, with the execution of the Alexandrian persecutors as a subsidiary theme.¹³⁴ But the silence of Philo and Claudius, though not ruling out the year 41 for the trial of Isidorus and Lampo, is not an argument for it, and when all is said, the final verdict on the problem of the date must remain *non liquet* until some fresh papyrological discovery provides incontrovertible evidence to settle the matter. Despite the uncertainty of date, however, these strange scraps of semi-historical fantasy, which give a tantalizing glimpse of an episode in the long quarrel in Alexandria on which formal history is silent, have a value in contributing to the overall picture of Claudius' treatment of the city's problems, showing him ready to hear the Greek viewpoint but at the same time determined to restore peace by bringing notorious fomentors of hatred and strife to justice.

¹³¹ *Leg.* 206.

¹³² Flaccus' execution, the last datable allusion, was ordered before Gaius set off for the north in September, 39, as M. Aemilius Lepidus, executed on that campaign, was alive at the time—§§ 151, 181.

¹³³ Since *Leg.* 370 takes the narrative up to Gaius' death, it is unlikely that it was started before Philo left Rome.

¹³⁴ *Leg.* 373 ; cf. note *ad loc.*

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE PROVINCE OF JUDAEA, A.D. 44-66

Despite its increase in size, the reconstituted province of Judaea was not upgraded and put under a more senior official in 44 but remained under equestrian governors, now apparently regularly known as "procurators", subject as before to the general supervision of the legates of Syria.¹ Josephus says that out of posthumous respect for Agrippa's feelings Claudius did not send his enemy Vibius Marsus to take charge of his capital until a procurator was appointed.² But if the strong arm of the Syrian legate had been needed, sentiment will not have stood in the way of its use. The point will rather have been that the country was in a sufficiently orderly condition that it could safely be left under Jewish administration for a month or two.

As far as is known, the garrison of the province was not enlarged, unless the *cohors Augusta*, attested only after 44, was an additional unit brought in then.³ It was an error to make a force of the same small size as before responsible for the security of an area perhaps twice as large. It was a worse error to leave the same troops there. Claudius sent his first procurator, Cuspius Fadus, out with instructions to punish Caesarea and Sebaste for the disrespect which they had shown to Agrippa I's memory by transferring the six units largely recruited there to Pontus and replacing them by vexillations of Roman soldiers drawn from the Syrian legions. But he weakly gave in to the plea of a deputation sent by the troops to Rome that they should be allowed to continue to serve in their home province. Josephus is probably right in seeing this concession as a contributory cause of the revolt of 66.⁴ Legionaries or other auxiliaries with no personal stake in the country would have kept better order than local recruits, even though non-

¹ Tac., *A* xii, 23, 2 *Ituraeique et Iudaei defunctis regibus Sobaemo et Agrippa provinciae Syriae additi* (under 49) is misleading, at least in regard to Judaea. Tacitus may have confused Agrippa I with Herod of Chalcis, who died in 48-9 and whose kingdom, though not "Jewish" in any respect, seems to have come under the administration of Syria for a short time (below, p. 262). The situation is more correctly summarized in *H* v, 9, 3 *Claudius, defunctis regibus aut ad modicum redactis* (meaning?), *Iudaeam provinciam equitibus Romanis aut libertis permisit*.

² *AJ* xix, 363.

³ See above, pp. 146-7, nn. 12, 13.

⁴ *AJ* xix, 364-6.

Jewish, with their local loyalties and local animosities. Not only were the procurators incapable of maintaining law and order after c. 50 with the limited military forces at their disposal, but on two occasions trouble was stirred up by deliberately provocative actions by individual soldiers, and it is possible that the troops exacerbated anti-Roman feeling by using unnecessary severity when dealing with other disturbances.

The story of the period 44-66 is largely the story of the progressive breakdown of law and order throughout the province. The extreme nationalists, apparently quiescent under Agrippa I, showed their annoyance at the abolition of the monarchy and the return to direct Roman rule by an immediate resumption of activity. Trouble from terrorists is recorded under the first and every subsequent procurator, and though the early procurators seem to have had some success in their efforts at suppression, it was only partial and temporary, and there were repeated recurrences, each outbreak more serious than its forerunner, until by the late 50s the terrorists had secured such a hold on the province that it was drifting irretrievably into the anarchy from which the revolt of 66 was born. Another form of reaction to the reimposition of Roman rule was the emergence of a series of impostors who added to the general unrest by posing as messiahs and attracting large followings with their promises of signs and wonders and deliverance from oppression. They, like the terrorists, were nationalists, pursuing the same goal of political independence but using pseudo-spiritual methods, and the two groups of fanatics formed the two faces of a single coin. Josephus describes the false messiahs as "villains with purer hands but unholier intentions" than the terrorists, representing their misuse of religion as more reprehensible than open violence.⁵ But even when allowance is made for the undeniable problems of administration which the province of Judaea raised and for the partisan approach of Josephus' accounts of events, the second period of equestrian rule in Judaea does little credit to the Roman government.

Cuspius Fadus, 44-?46, and Tiberius Julius Alexander, ?46-48 ⁶

In the *Bellum Judaicum* Josephus summarizes the rule of the first two

⁵ *BJ* ii, 258.

⁶ These procurators' dates are not absolutely secure. Josephus puts the end of Alexander's procuratorship immediately before the death of Herod of Chalcis in the 8th year of Claudius (Jan., 48-49, if the count is by tribunician

procurators after 44 favourably: "they did not interfere with any of the customs of the country and so kept the nation at peace."⁷ His fuller account in the *Antiquitates* gives a less rosy picture, particularly of Cuspius Fadus, who had several outbreaks of trouble to put down and who himself caused unrest among his subjects by a misguided attempt to regain control of the High Priest's vestments. His efforts, however, at the pacification of the country seem to have been reasonably successful, for under Tiberius Julius Alexander it enjoyed a period of comparative peace which was to be its last for over twenty years. But some of the credit for this must go to Alexander himself. Not only was he an efficient and capable administrator, the only procurator of Judaea who went on to a distinguished career (he reached the top of the equestrian tree as prefect of Egypt in 66 and later as praetorian prefect) but he was himself a Jew by birth, one of the sons of Philo's brother Alexander. His family was on intimate terms with Agrippa I and his family,⁸ and it is not impossible that the king had recommended him to Claudius for the imperial civil service; at any rate, by 42 the young man was holding a junior post in Egypt, having apparently skipped the military service which normally preceded an equestrian career.⁹ As an imperial civil servant Alexander repudiated his national religion,¹⁰ and at first sight the appointment of a notorious apostate to govern people who despised apostates would seem to indicate a lack of tact surprising in an emperor who had been a friend of Agrippa and had legislated for Jewish religious liberty. But Claudius' judgment was correct and the unpromising experiment worked well. For though Alexander had abandoned Judaism himself, he had grown up in a practising Jewish family, and his knowledge of his people's customs, observances and prejudices enabled him to avoid giving offence by either voluntary or involuntary

years)—*AJ* xx, 103-4. Though Josephus' chronological links are precarious, there is no evidence from Alexander's own career (unknown from this point until 63) or from his successor's against the date 48. Fadus was in office in late June 45 (below, pp. 260-1), and if the two men shared four years, a two-year spell for each is reasonable.

⁷ *BJ* ii, 220.

⁸ Agrippa was under financial obligation to Alexander in 36 (above, p. 189), and asked Claudius to release him from prison in 41—*AJ* xix, 276 (cf. above, p. 242, n. 87). Alexander's other son, M. Julius Alexander, probably the business man of *CPJ* 419, married one of Agrippa I's daughters shortly afterwards—*AJ* xix, 277, with Feldman's note *ad loc.*

⁹ For detailed studies of the career of Ti. Julius Alexander see E. G. Turner in *JRS* xliiv (1954), 54-64; V. Burr, *Tiberius Julius Alexander* (1955).

¹⁰ *AJ* xx, 100.

infringement of the Law. The friendship between his family and Agrippa's will also have been a point in his favour in Judaea.

Fadus arrived in his province to find that fighting had broken out in two frontier areas during the interregnum since Agrippa's death. A border dispute had developed between the Jews in Peraea and the city of Philadelphia, which Agrippa had perhaps intended to settle by peaceful economic measures such as he had used against Tyre and Sidon, but which was still unresolved when he died. The Peraeans took immediate advantage of the absence of a ruler to try to settle the matter themselves by force of arms, and, catching the Philadelphians unawares, they came off the better in the operation. The very reasonable and moderate punishment which Fadus meted out for this breach of discipline by subjects of Rome, no less flagrant even if they expected their country to remain a client kingdom, was the execution of one of the Peraean leaders and the banishment of the other two.¹¹ His solution of the dispute itself was evidently satisfactory, as no further trouble is recorded in the area.

Terrorism broke out first in Idumaea, with plunder as its main objective rather than opposition to Roman rule. Companies of brigands not only pillaged Idumaea but carried out damaging raids on the Nabataeans across the southern frontier. Fadus' capture and execution of their leader was enough to put an end to the menace for the time being, at least in the south.¹² Alexander continued the good work. During his procuratorship the two sons of Judas of Galilee, leader of the unrest in A.D. 6, evidently began showing signs of following in their father's footsteps; for though no actual outbreak of terrorism is recorded, Alexander had the pair arrested and condemned them to death.¹³ The centre of their influence is likely to have been their home district of Galilee, to which refugees from Fadus' campaign in the south may have fled. Alexander's alertness and firmness in nipping incipient trouble in the bud, his only recorded action as procurator, did for the north of the province what Fadus had done for the south, and the result of their joint efforts was that terrorism, though not eradicated as events were soon to show, was prevented from getting an immediate hold on the country.

The first of the crop of pseudo-messiahs and false prophets appeared while Fadus was procurator, and his technique set the pattern

¹¹ *AJ* xx, 2-4; cf. above, p. 198.

¹² *AJ* xx, 5.

¹³ *AJ* xx, 102.

for later impostors. A certain Theudas collected a following in the Jordan valley by promising to stage a pale imitation of Moses' crossing of the Red Sea: he would cause the waters of the river to divide and lead his disciples across dryshod. Josephus does not disclose the purpose of this operation, but Fadus suspected some anti-Roman intention or feared the mass hysteria which the gathering might engender, with or without a miracle, and sent a cavalry unit to break it up. The troops not only captured and beheaded Theudas, but killed many of his followers and took others prisoner.¹⁴ Such severity seems unwarranted. The movement would surely have collapsed on the mere arrest of its leader. The troops may have exceeded their orders out of animosity against the Jews; or if Fadus ordered the massacre, he may have been venting his spite on the Jews for his discomfiture in a trial of strength with them which Josephus narrates before Theudas' adventure.

In the spring of 45 Fadus determined to tighten his control on his subjects by getting the High Priest's vestments back under Roman custody in the Antonia, where they had been housed from A.D. 6 until 37. He may have held that Tiberius' concession to the Jews had been invalidated by his death, and that the arrangements made by Augustus when the province was first formed should now be restored. The Sanhedrin dared not refuse his request for the return of the vestments outright but managed somehow to defer their actual surrender, and Fadus did not immediately try to force the issue. Stalemate ensued, during which popular indignation at the prospect of losing a hard-won privilege rose to such a pitch that the legate of Syria, C. Cassius Longinus,¹⁵ thought it advisable to take a detachment of his army to Jerusalem, at either the Passover or Pentecost, to guard against rioting. Despite his powers of supervision, he chose not to overrule Fadus, but persuaded him to agree to the Sanhedrin's request to refer the question to Claudius. They jointly authorized the dispatch of an embassy, but stipulated, in view of the belligerent mood of the crowds,

¹⁴ *AJ* xx, 97-8. In *Acts* v, 36, if referring to the same man, Theudas' followers number only about four hundred, not a formidable enough gathering to justify Fadus' counter-measures (though an alarmingly exaggerated report is possible). The uncommon name favours the identification. But the reference occurs in a speech made before Agrippa I's reign, and in verse 37 the rising of A.D. 6 is explicitly put after that of Theudas. Confusion between Theudas' minor disturbance and one of the risings in 4 B.C., involving much larger numbers, is unlikely, and the reference is probably an anachronistic insertion by Luke.

¹⁵ Vibius Marsus' successor (*AJ* xx, i) who held office from 44 for six or seven years.

that the children of the delegates should be left in their hands as hostages. In Rome Agrippa I's seventeen-year-old son Agrippa, who was still living at the imperial court, acted as sponsor to the delegation, and Josephus makes his advocacy tip the scale: Claudius told the envoys that it was at Agrippa's request that he had decided in the Jews' favour and that they should be duly grateful to him.¹⁶ But in his letter to the Sanhedrin, a warm and friendly document bearing the impress of the emperor's own personality, Roman policy and precedent are stressed: "Claudius... sends greetings to the rulers, council and people of Jerusalem and to the whole Jewish nation... My friend Agrippa... introduced your envoys. They thanked me for the care which I had shown for your nation¹⁷ and begged me earnestly to allow the holy vestments and crown to be in your custody. I grant this request, as my excellent and honoured friend Vitellius did. I have reached the same conclusion as he did, firstly because of my own respect for religion and my wish that every nation may follow its own traditional religious practices, and secondly because I know that this will greatly please king Herod (of Chalcis) and Aristobulus the younger (his son)... I am writing about this matter to my procurator Cuspius Fadus also..."¹⁸

On the strength of the sympathy and consideration shown to the Jews over the vestments, Herod of Chalcis now asked Claudius to grant him the nomination of the High Priests (which can be assumed to have reverted automatically to the procurator, though Fadus had made no appointment) and also the right of general supervision over the Temple. Claudius agreed, and from then until 66 the choice of the High Priests lay in the hands of Herodian princes, though they had no direct control over Judaea and for the next eight years were

¹⁶ *AJ* xx, 6-10, where the addition in the Epitome making Fadus act initially "on the emperor's instructions" can clearly be disregarded. In the summary in *AJ* xv, 406-7 (following the summary of the restoration in 37; hence "Vitellius" erroneously in § 407) Longinus and Fadus jointly order the return of the vestments; but the legate had no reason to be in Judaea before disorder threatened.

¹⁷ The edicts of 41 (above, pp. 246-7).

¹⁸ *AJ* xx, 11-14. The letter opens with the incompatible titles *trib. pot.* *V* (Jan., 45-6), *cos. desig. IV* (46), *imp. X* (46). It is dated 28 June in the consulship of Rufus and Pompeius Silvanus, otherwise unattested but presumably *suffecti* in 45, as the *fasti* for 46 are complete. The second and third imperial titles are therefore incorrect. The date puts the departure of the delegation at the end of May at the latest. No festival is mentioned in connection with Longinus' visit, but since his fear of riots suggests the presence of large crowds, one of the spring festivals is postulated.

ruling wholly gentile territory two hundred miles north of the province. Herod of Chalcis exercised his newly acquired powers by making an immediate appointment.¹⁹ But he enjoyed them for only three years. He died in 48, shortly after appointing his second High Priest, Ananias son of Nebedaeus, who was to be a man of some eminence and later a subversive influence in the province.²⁰ Chalcis was then put temporarily under the legate of Syria, while Claudius considered its future. He eventually decided to pass over Herod's son Aristobulus (perhaps as being too young; his age is not known) and to put it under his nephew, Agrippa I's son, M. Julius Agrippa²¹ II, now aged twenty-one, who became king of Chalcis during the second half of 49.²² He inherited the nomination of the High Priests and the oversight of the Temple, and probably made his first appointment, Ishmael son of Phiabi, who was to hold the post for a decade, within a year or two.²³

During Alexander's procuratorship Roman administrative difficulties were aggravated by a severe famine. But the situation was

¹⁹ *AJ* xx, 15-16.

²⁰ *AJ* xx, 103-4, in the 8th year of Claudius (Jan., 48-9). For Ananias see below, pp. 267, 281-2, 294.

²¹ For his full name see *Syria* v (1924), 324; *SEG* VII, 216; cf. 217 (a revision of *OGIS* 420 = *IGRR* III, 1089).

²² *AJ* xx, 104. The dating of the outbreak of the revolt in May 66 (the 12th year of Nero) to the 17th year of Agrippa in *BJ* ii, 284 puts his accession between May 49 and April 50. Since he had ruled Chalcis for four years by 53 (*AJ* xx, 138), it must be placed fairly early within those limits, with the count perhaps running from Tishri 49. There was thus an interregnum of a year or more when supervision by the Syrian legate, though not stated, can be assumed; cf. above, p. 182, for Philip's tetrarchy.

²³ Agrippa's appointment of Ishmael (? grandson of the homonym appointed by Gratus—*AJ* xviii, 34) is dated c. 59 in *AJ* xx, 179. But this in combination with § 196, which puts his next appointment c. 61, does not square with *BT Yoma* 9a, where Ishmael holds office for ten years. Such a tenure would put his appointment early in Agrippa's reign, and it is more credible that the new king made an immediate appointment (cf. his father and uncle)—i.e., that *AJ* xx, 179 is misplaced—than that he deferred exercising his powers for ten years. *AJ* iii, 320-1 refers to an Ishmael (without patronymic) who was High Priest at the time of a famine, presumably that under Alexander (below), and is probably to be identified with Ishmael son of Phiabi. It is difficult to date the latter's appointment to Alexander's procuratorship, but even if the reference in *AJ* iii is anachronistic, it is evidence that Ishmael held office long before c. 59. (The insertion of another Ishmael between Herod's two appointments—so Jackson and Lake, *Beginnings* V, 455—is clumsy.) References to Ananias as "High Priest" in 52 and c. 57 (*AJ* xx, 131; *BJ* ii, 243; *Acts* xxiii, 2; xxiv, 1) do not substantiate Josephus' date c. 59 for Ishmael's appointment, since ex-High Priests kept the title—e.g., *AJ* xx, 162, 205; *BJ* ii, 256.

alleviated by the generosity of the royal family of Adiabene, which had recently been converted to Judaism.²⁴ The dowager queen Helena happened to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem at this time and promptly gave practical help by purchasing food from Cyprus and Egypt for distribution among the needy; and her elder son, king Izates, followed this up by sending a large sum of money for further relief work.²⁵

Ventidius Cumanus, 48-52

Alexander's departure ended a brief period of peace and good government and marked the beginning of the decline of the province into chaos. The procuratorship of Ventidius Cumanus formed the turning-point, when as a result of the episode which terminated his government of Judaea terrorism became endemic throughout the province to such an extent that no subsequent procurator was able to stamp it out or even keep it within bounds. Cumanus' career in Judaea shows a remarkable parallelism to that of Pilate. There were two episodes in which the Jews were subjected to open and deliberate provocation (though now not by the procurator himself but by soldiers under his command), one of them resulting in the loss of many Jewish lives; and finally there was a disturbance involving the Samaritans, a complaint to the legate of Syria about Cumanus' handling of it, and an investigation by the legate, who sent the procurator back to Rome to answer to the emperor for his actions.

The first violence occurred in Jerusalem. At the Passover, when part of the garrison from the Antonia was deployed as usual on the roofs of the porticoes round the Temple enclosure, one of the soldiers on duty exposed himself indecently in full view of the crowds. This studied insult by a gentile to the sanctity of the festival naturally infuriated the worshippers; some of them, perhaps with Pilate's record

²⁴ *AJ* xx, 17-48. Cf. below, pp. 356, 416.

²⁵ *AJ* xx, 49-53 (with Feldman's notes), 101; iii, 320-1; cf. *Acts* xi, 28-30 (misplaced before Agrippa I's death); Oros. vii, 6, 12 (a conflation of Josephus and *Acts*). For ἐπὶ τούτοις of the MSS (§ 101, confirmed by the quotation in Eus., *HE* ii, 12, 1) the Epitome has ἐπὶ τούτου, which puts the famine under Alexander. Logically, ἐπὶ τούτοις would mean "under these circumstances" rather than "in the time of these men" (both Fadus and Alexander); for Helena will have been unable to procure supplies from Egypt until after the famine there in 45 or 46. Claudius' principate saw widespread crop failures (though *Acts* ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην is an exaggeration, perhaps arising from a misunderstanding of a reference to ὅλη ἡ χώρα = Palestine); shortages occurred in Italy, heavily dependent on imports, in 42 and 51—Dio lx, 11, 1; Tac., *A* xii, 43; Suet., *Cl.* 18, 2. See further K. S. Gapp in *HTbR* xxviii (1935), 258-65.

in mind, accused Cumanus, who was present, of having instigated the soldier's action (which suggests that his previous relations with his subjects had not been altogether harmonious) while others called on him to punish the offender. His appeal for calm had no effect, and when some of the crowd began to stone the troops on the porticoes, he sent reinforcements into the enclosure itself. Faced with fully armed troops on ground level, the Jews panicked and tried to escape through the narrow exits, where many were crushed to death in the stampede.²⁶ Cumanus personally seems blameless. The use of troops as a precaution against disorder at the festival was standard, and Josephus unambiguously puts the whole responsibility on the shoulders of one soldier. But as Cumanus was ultimately answerable for the conduct of his men, the incident will not have improved his standing with his subjects. Indeed, the senseless and unnecessary loss of life may well have caused the resumption of terrorist activity which sparked off the next incident.

An imperial slave travelling on the Jerusalem-Joppa road on an unspecified errand was robbed by a gang of terrorists near Bethhoron. Cumanus, who dared not let an attack on such a person go unavenged, sent troops to plunder the villages near the scene of the crime, which he clearly suspected of being nationalist centres, and to arrest the chief men in them for their failure to apprehend the attackers themselves. The episode might have ended quietly with these reprisals confined to a small area, had not one of the soldiers in the course of the operation abstracted a roll of the Law from a synagogue, torn it across, and burnt it in full view of the villagers, to the accompaniment of blasphemous language. This was an act of unspeakable desecration, since the burning of the written name of God was so deeply dreaded by the Jews that copies of the Scriptures which became too delapidated for use were deposited in the *genizah* (the synagogue store-room) to save them from that fate.²⁷ When the outrage became known, crowds descended on Cumanus at Caesarea, demanding the punishment of the perpetrator of the sacrilege and producing the familiar argument that they could not bear to live if their religion was thus insulted.

²⁶ *AJ* xx, 105-12; *BJ* ii, 223-7. Reinforcements were summoned *to*, not from, the Antonia, i.e. probably a detachment quartered in the procurator's residence, Herod's palace; cf. above, p. 147, n. 15. The casualty figures, 20,000 (*AJ*) or 30,000 (*BJ*), though certainly exaggerated, nevertheless indicate a disaster of some magnitude.

²⁷ *BT Shab.* 115a-116a; *Tos. Shab.* xiii, 5. Both passages concern the mid-second century A.D., but the practice probably went back much earlier.

Cumanus had the soldier, who was probably guilty of military insubordination as well as of a breach of the Roman law declaring the sacred rolls in the synagogues sacrosanct, beheaded in front of his accusers, a firm and uncompromising action which restored calm by satisfying Jewish indignation.²⁸

For the start of the incident which brought about Cumanus' recall no blame attached to the procurator or his troops. The age-old hostility between the Jews and the Samaritans erupted into violence in 51, when the inhabitants of a Samaritan village waylaid a company of Galilaean pilgrims following their usual route through the plain of Esdraelon to Jerusalem for a festival and killed a number of them.²⁹ Very properly, the Galilaean authorities turned to Cumanus for redress, asking him to investigate the matter before the angry Galilaean took vengeance into their own hands. Unfortunately (and inexplicably in view of his handling of the previous episode) Cumanus evidently did not appreciate the gravity of the situation, for he brushed the appeal aside on the grounds that he had more important matters on hand. It was then, naturally, alleged that the Samaritans had bribed him not to interfere. Meanwhile the news of the murders reached Jerusalem, with predictable consequences. Though the Sanhedrin urged restraint and offered to make a further appeal to Cumanus, the masses were fired by the Galilaean's call to arms: if the Romans would not give them justice, they should fight to regain their freedom. Large numbers rushed off northwards, regardless of the fact that they lacked both commanders and organization. However, two terrorist leaders, one of them with nearly twenty years' experience in the profession, welcomed the chance of action, and under their expert guidance the insurgents put a number of Samaritan villages and one toparchy capital to fire and the sword. Cumanus, at last roused, took five of his six military units, reinforced by some Samaritan *ad hoc* levies, against the joint forces of Jews and Galilaean, now clearly in the wrong as aggressors, and in a single engagement killed and captured a great many of them. The survivors then dispersed in response to the common-sense argument of the Sanhedrin that further resistance

²⁸ *AJ* xx, 113-17; *BJ* ii, 228-31.

²⁹ *AJ* xx, 118; *BJ* ii, 232, where only one Galilaean is killed. The violence of the reaction supports the *AJ* version. Cf. M. Auerbach in *JQR* 2 xl (1949-50), 1, n. 1. For Samaritan resentment at the passage of Galilaean pilgrims through their territory cf. *Luke* ix, 52-6. The appointment of Cumanus' successor in 52, after a Passover (below, pp. 267-8), dates this episode to 51.

would only do more harm than good to the country.³⁰ But at least one of the terrorist leaders escaped with his life, and this encouraged some of their temporary followers to throw in their lot permanently with the terrorists, who thus withdrew to their strongholds in increased strength. Josephus makes this the point from which "the whole of Judaea was infested with brigands" and "raids and risings broke out all over the country."³¹

It is not clear why the Samaritans now appealed to the legate of Syria, C. Ummidius Quadratus, since investigation was likely to reveal their initial responsibility—as indeed happened. A deputation from the Jewish side naturally followed to give the legate their version of the story, and to lay the blame for the conflict on Cumanus' failure to avenge the original murders. Quadratus refused to give a decision without a full enquiry on the spot, and made his way to Samaritis where, to facilitate his investigations, he removed that district from Cumanus' influence by detaching it temporarily from the rest of the province and putting one of his staff in charge, the imperial freedman Felix, brother of Claudius' *libertus a rationibus* Pallas.³² He reached the

³⁰ *AJ* xx, 119-23; *BJ* ii, 233-8. This is the only episode of 6-66 to receive more than a passing reference in a non-Jewish writer. But Tac., *A* xii, 54 ignores the origin of the conflict and lays the blame for the disorder solely on procuratorial negligence and corruption. The allegation that the terrorists bought impunity by sharing their proceeds with the procurator (*spoliaque et praedas ad procuratores referre*; for the plural *procuratores* see n. 32 below) has no parallel in Josephus, who had no known reason for whitewashing Cumanus, and may be a slander.

³¹ *AJ* xx, 124; *BJ* ii, 238. For the later capture of one of the leaders see below, p. 274.

³² This is not mentioned by Josephus, but is deduced from Tacitus, *i.e.*, who makes the extraordinary statements that Cumanus and Felix (his successor, according to Josephus) were concurrently procurators of Galilee and Samaritis respectively; that they both connived at terrorism (a slander arising from his hatred of imperial freedmen?); and that Quadratus made Felix a member of the tribunal which tried Cumanus. The first of these statements can certainly be rejected, since Josephus, a better authority on Judaea than Tacitus, knows of no subdivision of the province at any time. The second is incompatible with the third: if Felix, in whatever capacity, had been guilty of maladministration, he would have been in the dock with Cumanus, not on the bench with Quadratus. And the second is disproved by the fact that the Jews later asked Claudius to appoint Felix as Cumanus' successor—*AJ* xx, 162. But Tacitus' account, however erroneous, cannot be wholly imaginary but must be based on Felix's tenure of some post in the province at the time of Quadratus' enquiry. Momigliano, *Ricerche*, 81-4 (388-91), suggests that Claudius withdrew Samaritis from Cumanus' jurisdiction during the enquiry and sent Felix to take charge. But this assumes an exchange of letters between Quadratus and Rome, of which there is no trace in Josephus, who implies that Quadratus acted on his

conclusion that the Samaritans were basically to blame, but that the Jews' and Galilaeans' independent action had been tantamount to the more serious offence of attempted revolt against Rome. However, he impartially executed some Samaritans as well as all Cumanus' Jewish prisoners before going on to Lydda in Judaea, where he uncovered evidence of further plans for rebellion and executed their authors.³³ He then referred the whole matter to Claudius, and dispatched Cumanus to Rome on a charge of maladministration, together with prominent representatives of both parties in the dispute. But he indicated where he thought the chief guilt lay by sending the Jewish group, which included the two ex-High Priests Ananias and Jonathan and the captain of the Temple (the High Priest's second-in-command), ignominiously in chains. As Judaea was now without a procurator, Quadratus then went up to Jerusalem for the Passover of 52. Finding things unexpectedly quiet, he returned to Syria, leaving Felix in charge of the whole province as acting governor for the period which was bound to elapse before Claudius could send out a successor to Cumanus.³⁴

Josephus represents court intrigue as playing a large part in the proceedings in Rome and paints a typical literary picture of Claudius as the tool of his wives and freedmen: Cumanus and the Samaritans secured the support of his *consilium* and freedmen, which they expected would mean a favourable decision without a hearing; but the Jews had an even more powerful advocate in Claudius' friend Agrippa II, who was in Rome at the time³⁵ and who enlisted the potent influence of the empress Agrippina on the Jews' side (which, though Josephus does not say so, will surely have given them also the help of Felix's

own authority throughout. Cf. Tac., *l.c.*, *Claudius causis rebellionis auditis ius statuendi etiam de procuratoribus dederat*. Hence the modification here adopted, making Quadratus responsible for the temporary administrative change. If Felix was not sent out from Rome by Claudius to Samaritans but was at hand in the East, the obvious assumption is that he was on Quadratus' staff, though supporting evidence is lacking. For the interpretation here given of Tacitus' account of the episode see further the present writer in *Lat.* xviii (1959), 560-7. For a different interpretation see Auerbach *op. cit.*, 1-14.

³³ *AJ* xx, 125-31; *BJ* ii, 239-42. The Jews seem to have borne the brunt of Quadratus' punishment. The execution of Samaritans as well is not mentioned in *BJ*.

³⁴ *AJ* xx, 131-3; *BJ* ii, 243-4. For Jonathan (*BJ* only) and Ananias as High Priests see above, pp. 172-3, 262. With the appointment of an acting governor by the legate here postulated cf. Vitellius' action in 37 (above, p. 171).

³⁵ This may have been a courtesy visit aimed at keeping himself before Claudius' eyes, or he may have come specifically to be present at the hearing.

brother Pallas, who had been Agrippina's ally for the past four years and was then at the height of his power); and Claudius gave the case a proper hearing only because Agrippina persuaded him to do so (an allegation particularly hard to swallow). At the hearing Agrippa spoke effectively for the Jews, and enquiries revealed the ultimate guilt of the Samaritans and Cumanus' culpable negligence in handling the affair. Claudius therefore executed three of the Samaritans and exiled Cumanus. The Jews, who had been punished more severely than the Samaritans by Quadratus, now apparently got off scotfree, as the two ex-High Priests both continued to play a prominent part in the affairs of Jerusalem. But the suspicion arises, when attempted revolt received impunity from the emperor, that Josephus' picture of court intrigue contains some truth and that the personal influence of the Jews' advocates may have prevented complete impartiality in Claudius' decision.³⁶

Claudius then appointed the acting governor Felix as procurator of Judaea.³⁷ There seems to be no reason to doubt Josephus' word that he did this at the request of the ex-High Priest Jonathan,³⁸ a request which shows that Felix had already won a good name with his future subjects. But the influence of Pallas may also be suspected, for the appointment of a freedman to such a position in the imperial civil

³⁶ *AJ* xx, 134-6; *BJ* ii, 245-6. At the end of both Josephus' accounts a mysterious figure appears out of the blue, the military tribune Celer, sent to Rome with Cumanus but punished more severely by being returned to Jerusalem in chains to be dragged round the city and then beheaded—an abnormal punishment, if he was a Roman. If he appeared in one account only, the loss of a sentence giving his misdemeanour might be suspected. Possibly there was such a loss in Josephus' source, and he reproduces the end of the story without noticing its obscurity. Auerbach suggests that Celer was the soldier guilty of indecency—*op. cit.*, 12. But (1) the latter was στρατιώτης, not χιλιάρχος; (2) if the two men were identical, it is odd that Josephus does not say so; and (3) the indecency episode occurred at a Passover and therefore at least one year before Quadratus' visit to Jerusalem.

³⁷ *AJ* xx, 137 (with the reference in § 138 to the end of Claudius' 12th regnal year, Jan. 53, dating Felix's appointment to 52); *BJ* ii, 247. The use of (ἐκ)πέμπει (i.e. from Rome) appears to conflict with the theory of an acting governorship. But if Josephus was not aware that Felix was already in the East, he would use his normal verb for a provincial appointment. In *AJ* πέμπει (*sc.* Claudius) δὲ καὶ Κλαύδιον Φήλικα is probably an error for . . . Κλαύδιος Φήλικα (so the Epitome). Felix's nomen is Antonius in *CIL* V, 34 and in Tac., *H* v, 9, 3, which is preferable to Claudius, given in Suda, s.v. Κλαύδιος. M. Avi-Yonah's restoration of . . . Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Φήλικος ἐπιτρόπου Σε[βαστοῦ Ἰουδαίας] . . . in a military epitaph from Dora in Syria—in *IEJ* xvi (1966), 258-64—is uncertain. A procurator of Syria is equally likely.

³⁸ *AJ* xx, 162.

service was almost unprecedented,³⁹ and Felix turned out not to be one of the happiest choices as governor of Judaea.

The last four Procurators

With the end of Cumanus' procuratorship the age of isolated episodes and clear-cut confrontations between the Jews and the Roman authorities largely comes to a close. The edges of the picture become blurred as the province declines inexorably into anarchy, with conflicts of Jew against Jew as well as Jew against Roman and a continuous deterioration of conditions at least partially independent of the personalities of the individual procurators. It therefore seems convenient to study the developments of the fourteen years leading up to the outbreak of the revolt as a whole, rather than to divide them chronologically among the four procurators, whose efforts and failures to maintain or restore order show a dreary and repetitive monotony.

Felix had a long tenure of six or seven years (52-58/59). For when his appointment automatically lapsed with the death of Claudius in October 54, Nero immediately confirmed him in his post despite his dislike for his brother Pallas (due to Pallas' allegiance to his mother, with whom he was soon on bad terms), and kept him in office even after Pallas' fall from favour in the following year.⁴⁰ Tacitus, in whose

³⁹ The only other freedman recorded as a provincial governor under the Julio-Claudians is Hiberus, temporary prefect of Egypt in 32—Dio lviii, 19, 6. For freedmen holding financial procuratorships under legates and proconsuls, and financial and administrative procuratorships in Italy see A. M. Duff, *Freedmen in the Early Empire* (1928), 222-7. It is surely significant that Felix honoured his brother's patroness with a large issue of coins dated the 14th year of Claudius (Jan.-Oct. 54), the first minted in Judaea since Pilate's, with Agrippina's name on the obverse and Claudius' on the reverse, and a smaller issue with the names of Nero and Britannicus—*BMC, Pal.*, 261-5.

⁴⁰ *BJ* ii, 252. Eus., *Chron.* puts Felix's recall at the beginning of Nero's principate, which is certainly too early. The incident of the Egyptian impostor, placed by Josephus under Nero, preceded St Paul's arrest (below, pp. 275-6), which in turn occurred two years before Felix's recall but after he had had several years in office—*Acts* xxiv, 10, 27. The coin-issue of the 5th year of Nero (58-9, either the regnal year from October or the tribunician from (?) December)—*BMC, Pal.*, 266-8—is more likely to be the work of a new procurator than of an outgoing one who had already minted a large issue, and this suggests the summer of 59 as *terminus ante quem* for Felix's recall. Attempts to date *Acts* xx, 6-7 (earlier in the year of St Paul's arrest) by calculating the weekday of the Passover from the Sunday mentioned (see W. M. Ramsay in *Expositor*⁵ iii (1896), 336-8, arguing for 57, and E. Mireaux, *La Reine Bérénice* (1951), 111, arguing for 58) are unreliable, since the Passover cannot be calculated with absolute certainty, and since St Paul did not necessarily sail on the day immediately after it. For more detailed discussion see Hastings, *Dict. Bible*, s.v. *Chronology*, 418-20; Schürer, I (rev.), 465, n. 42.

eyes a freedman could by definition do no good, says that Felix "thought that he could get away with anything in his province because of his brother's influence", and that he was "brutal and licentious, behaving as a tyrant but showing the mentality of a slave."⁴¹ In sharp contrast to these damning sketches, and probably equally exaggerated in the opposite direction, stands the purposeful flattery of St Paul's accusers, who complimented Felix on the peace of the province and his work to improve conditions in order to prejudice him against the man whom they were representing as a disruptive element.⁴² Between these two stands Josephus' picture of a man who was inefficient rather than actively oppressive or obstructive.

Felix's only recorded offence against Jewish Law was a personal one, committed in his second year as procurator, when he lured Agrippa II's sister Drusilla, then aged sixteen, away from her husband, Azizus king of Emesa.⁴³ This marriage cannot have endeared him to the pious among his subjects, and Felix himself was still suffering pangs of conscience on the matter some years later, when he found that St Paul's discourse on "justice, self-control and the judgement to come" cut too near to the bone for comfort.⁴⁴ But no open protests are recorded. Drusilla's knowledge of Jewish thought and customs may have helped him to avoid treading on Jewish corns, and he was sufficiently interested in his subjects' religion to inform himself about Christianity.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, complaints were made to Nero immediately after his recall about "the wrongs which he had done to the Jews." They were voiced by a delegation of Jews from Caesarea whom Felix had sent to Rome, together with representatives of the Greeks of the city, to lay before the emperor a quarrel which he was not competent to settle himself, but Josephus' phrase suggests that the envoys were expressing widespread discontent, rather than dissatisfaction at Felix's handling of a purely local matter. Felix, however, escaped punishment.⁴⁶

⁴¹ Tac., *A* xii, 54, 1 *cuncta malefacta sibi impune ratus tanta potentia subnixo*; *H* v, 9, 3 *per omnem saevitiam ac libidinem ius regium servili ingenio exercuit*.

⁴² *Acts* xxiv, 2.

⁴³ *AJ* xx, 139-43, putting her first marriage in 53 (cf. below, p. 273), and her second "soon", before Claudius' death (§ 148). For her age see *AJ* xix, 354. Felix, *trium reginarum maritus*, had previously (?) married a granddaughter of Antony and Cleopatra—Suet., *Cl.* 28; his third princess is unknown. Jewish Law forbade a woman to divorce her husband, as Drusilla must have done.

⁴⁴ *Acts* xxiv, 24-5.

⁴⁵ *Acts* xxiv, 22-6.

⁴⁶ *AJ* xx, 182. See below, pp. 286-7, for the quarrel at Caesarea. Josephus

Felix's successor was Porcius Festus (58/59-62). Josephus has no complaints to make about him, and his death in office may well have been a loss to the province. But his efforts for the pacification of the country had no lasting effect, and were rapidly undone under his successor, Lucceius Albinus (62-64).⁴⁷ Apart from Tiberius Julius Alexander, Albinus is the only procurator about whose later career anything is known (if a very probable identification is accepted): shortly before Nero's death he was promoted to the more senior procuratorship of Mauretania Caesariensis, where he declared for Galba, who put Mauretania Tingitana under him also.⁴⁸ Josephus' sketch of the general character of Albinus' administration in the *Bellum Judaicum* is very grim and allows him no redeeming features: in complete contrast to Festus, he practised every conceivable form of villainy, taking advantage of his official position to appropriate the property of private individuals and to extort money under the guise of taxes, and accepting bribes to release terrorists from prison and to grant a free hand to other revolutionaries and predators, with the result that their victims dared not seek redress.⁴⁹ The more detailed account in the *Antiquitates* gives a somewhat more favourable impression, suggesting an understandable inability to cope with the rapidly mounting unrest despite early efforts to do so, and finally a despairing submission to a situation which he could not control rather than self-interested co-operation with the forces of evil.⁵⁰ This is probably nearer to the truth. Albinus' rule cannot have been completely intolerable, since the legate of Syria neither received any appeal from Judaea nor intervened there spontaneously, and it must have given reasonable satisfaction in Rome in view of his promotion to another post.

says that Felix was saved only by the influence of his brother, then high in Nero's favour. But Tac., *A.* xiii, 14, 1-2 puts Pallas' fall in 55 and does not mention any later restoration. Josephus may provide evidence for a temporary recovery, unrecorded elsewhere, or he may be covering up the Jews' inability to substantiate their case by producing an extraneous and anachronistic reason for their failure.

⁴⁷ *AJ* xx, 197. The year of Festus' death is firm; Albinus was in office by October 62—*BJ* vi, 300-8.

⁴⁸ Tac., *H* ii, 58-9. His arrival in Judaea from Alexandria (*AJ* xx, 202) may mean that he was promoted to Judaea from a post there. Cf. Pflaum, *Carrières*, no. 33. But the reference may equally well be to his voyage out from Rome via Alexandria.

⁴⁹ *BJ* ii, 272-7. But the allegation that "he burdened the state with taxes" may be a misconstruction of an attempt to collect arrears and stop evasion; cf. his judicial work (below, p. 282).

⁵⁰ *AJ* xx, 197, 204-10, 213-15.

The last procurator, Gessius Florus (64-66), was an oriental from Clazomenae, and owed his appointment to his wife's friendship with Poppaea.⁵¹ He is described in both Josephus' works as a man of such stupendous wickedness that "in comparison Albinus appeared a paragon of virtue": whereas Albinus had "done his best to cover up his crimes", Florus "paraded his outrages against the Jews and there was no form of robbery or unjust punishment from which he abstained"; he was utterly devoid of pity and shame where they were most needed, and showed "an unparalleled contempt for truth and an unparalleled capacity for devising insidious ways of doing evil"; he was in collusion with the terrorists, granting them impunity in return for a share of their loot; and more on the same lines.⁵² Even when allowance is made for rhetorical exaggeration here, Florus emerges from Josephus' gloomy pages as a dismal failure among Roman governors, even by Judaeian standards. It would be over-charitable to try to exonerate him of charges of passivity in the face of growing anarchy, of evasion of the task, admittedly almost hopeless, of imposing any sort of order on his turbulent province, and of turning to his own advantage a situation which he was powerless to ameliorate. During his two years in Judaea Florus allowed the already grave situation to deteriorate rapidly until it became irretrievable and the tragedy of the province reached the terrible climax of its last act.

The Events of 52-66

The year 53 saw a change outside the province of Judaea which was of some importance for the Jews. Claudius transferred Agrippa II from his distant and entirely gentile kingdom of Chalcis to the former tetrarchy of his great-uncle Philip together with the tetrarchy of Abilene.⁵³ This brought the man who held the nomination of the High Priests within easy reach of Judaea, and gave him a certain number of Jewish subjects in the area adjacent to Galilee. At the beginning of Nero's principate Agrippa was asked to supply some

⁵¹ *AJ* xx, 252, 257 (giving the date of his appointment).

⁵² *AJ* xx, 253-5; cf. xviii, 25; *BJ* ii, 277-9.

⁵³ *AJ* xx, 138 (after Jan. 53, the end of Claudius' 12th year); *BJ* ii, 247, where Agrippa receives the tetrarchy of Varus (of unspecified location) also. If this prince is identical with the Varus "a descendant of Sohaemus, tetrarch of the Lebanon", who was Agrippa's viceroy in 66 (*V* 48-61), the tetrarchy may have been part of the territory of Sohaemus of Ituraea (king from A.D. 38—Dio lix, 12, 2) and have been given to Varus when the rest was annexed on Sohaemus' death in 49—Tac., *A* xii, 23, 2. The fate of Chalcis after 49 is not known.

troops to meet the renewed Parthian menace,⁵⁴ and shortly afterwards, perhaps as a reward, his kingdom was enlarged and the number of his Jewish subjects increased when Nero transferred four toparchies of the province to his rule, those centred on Tiberias and Tarichaeae on the west shore of the Sea of Galilee, and the two southernmost in Peraea, centred on Abila and Livias-Julias (which, unlike the Galilaean pair, were not contiguous with the rest of his realm).⁵⁵ At the same time a significant indication of Rome's trust in the Herodian family was given, when Agrippa's cousin Aristobulus, son of Herod of Chalcis, was made king of Armenia Minor, a dependency vital to the security of the eastern frontier of the empire, in place of Cotys who had shown unseemly ambition.⁵⁶ Agrippa later honoured the emperor by enlarging the capital of his new kingdom, Caesarea Philippi, and renaming it Neronias, a name naturally dropped after Nero's death, and by striking coins there showing the emperor's head.⁵⁷

Agrippa II, like his father, affected a pious regard for the Jewish Law. In 53 he broke off the betrothal arranged by his father between his sister Drusilla and the son of the king of Commagene because the prospective bridegroom repudiated his promise to be circumcised, and gave her to another client king, Azizus of Emesa, who was prepared to accept the condition. He cannot have been pleased with Felix when within a year he had lured her away into a marriage which contravened Jewish Law.⁵⁸ But no open quarrel with the procurator is recorded, though Agrippa may have avoided occasions for meeting him; there is no evidence for his presence in Jerusalem at festivals while Felix was in office or for any other contact between them. On the other hand, within a few weeks of Festus' arrival, Agrippa and

⁵⁴ Tac., *A* xiii, 7, 1 (the end of 54). Nothing more is heard of them. Nothing is known of the nature of Agrippa's military forces before the Jewish war. After it he seems to have had some Roman units (below, p. 340) and he may have done so earlier.

⁵⁵ *AJ* xx, 158-9 (the 1st year of Nero); *BJ* ii, 252. For the toparchic division of Galilee see above, p. 183, n. 12. Sepphoris, recovering her position as capital of Galilee, now apparently received the short-lived additional names of Irenopolis Neronias, under which she struck her first coins; see H. Seyrig in *Numis. Chron.*⁶ x (1950), 284-9.

⁵⁶ *AJ* xx, 158; *BJ* ii, 252; Tac., *A* xiii, 7, 2; cf. xiv, 26, 3 for the addition of part of Armenia Major to his kingdom in 60.

⁵⁷ *AJ* xx, 211, under Albinus. *BMC, Pal.*, 239-40, with the mint-name Neronias absent from the coins struck under the Flavians. See, however, Seyrig, *op. cit.*, for the attribution of no. 5 to Sepphoris. On Agrippa's eras see Appendix F.

⁵⁸ *AJ* xx, 139; cf. above, p. 270.

his sister Berenice, who acted as his queen and with whom he was popularly accused of living in incest, travelled to Caesarea to pay a courtesy visit to the new procurator; and from then until 66 Agrippa seems to have visited Jerusalem frequently.⁵⁹ They both felt a genuine concern for Judaea and the Jews, and though interference in the internal affairs of the province and attempts to ameliorate its steadily worsening situation were obviously impossible while there was still a semblance of Roman rule, they did their best, once Roman government had collapsed in the summer of 66, to prevent the development of a nationwide revolt which they knew was foredoomed to failure.⁶⁰

The most serious aspect of the internal affairs of the province after 52 was the alarmingly steady growth of the extreme nationalist movement. The infestation of Judaea with terrorists followed and resulted from the conflict at the end of Cumanus' procuratorship, and early in Felix's term of office the country was already "going from bad to worse."⁶¹ Felix began his rule energetically with a widespread campaign in which he captured and crucified a number of terrorists and rounded up hordes of sympathizers. His chief prize was Eleazar, one of the two organizers of the recent Jewish attack on the Samaritans, whom he captured by ambush or treachery and sent to Rome for trial with many of his gang; their fate, though unrecorded, is obvious.⁶² But he did not follow up the success of this initial campaign, and by the time of his recall terrorism was again rampant.

One reason for this was that when the terrorists found that they were getting the worst of it in the field against Felix's troops, they adopted more insidious tactics. Political fanaticism outweighed considerations of religious sanctity for them, and some of them now posed as pilgrims at festivals with daggers concealed in their clothing, mingled with the crowds, and stabbed their enemies undetected even in the Temple precincts. The first victim of the *sicarii* ("dagger-men", from *sica*, a dagger with a curved blade), as they came to be called,⁶³

⁵⁹ *Acts* xxv, 13 ff.; the episode below, p. 278, implies regular visits. Berenice as "queen"—*IG* II², 3449 = *OGIS* 428; Gabba, *Iscr. Bibbia*, 30; O. Puchstein and others in *Jahrb. deutsch. arch. Inst.* xvii (1902), 107, n. 43; *V* 119; Tac., *H* ii, 2, 1; 81, 2; Suet., *Tit.* 7, 1; Quintilian iv, 1, 19; cf. Agrippa and Berenice as οἱ βασιλεῖς in *BJ* ii, 598 and *V* 49, 180-1. For Berenice's influence see *V* 343, 355. On the allegation of incest see below, pp. 385-6.

⁶⁰ See below, pp. 289-92.

⁶¹ *AJ* xx, 160.

⁶² *AJ* xx, 160-1 (ἐνέδρα meaning literally "ambush", metaphorically "treachery"); *BJ* ii, 253.

⁶³ *BJ* ii, 254-5; *AJ* xx, 186-7, describing them under Festus' procurator-

was the ex-High Priest Jonathan, who had requested the appointment of Felix and had set himself up as his mentor, trying to guide his administration for fear of being held responsible by the Jews for the misdeeds of the man whom he had been instrumental in setting over them. In the *Antiquitates* Josephus says that the assassination was instigated by Felix himself, who bribed Jonathan's "most trusted" friend to organize it because he was weary of Jonathan's incessant admonitions. Felix's alleged motive may be psychologically credible but the story as a whole is not. The nationalists would surely have suspected a trap. The shorter notice of the murder in the *Bellum Judaicum*, which does not implicate Felix but makes it the spontaneous work of the nationalists, is more convincing, since Jonathan, as a prominent philo-Roman, was a natural target for their hatred.⁶⁴ The story in the *Antiquitates* may well be based on malicious gossip designed to discredit both Jonathan's equally philo-Roman friend and Felix, to whom the murder was personally convenient. The success and the impunity of the first venture of the *sicarii* encouraged the nationalists to extend the scope of these tactics. The menace spread from Jerusalem to the country districts, and because the *sicarii* used methods which were harder to combat than overt terrorist tactics and put everyone in perpetual fear of his life, they seem to have become in the end the most serious threat to public order and security.⁶⁵

A second reason was that a crop of pseudo-messiahs now emerged and that Felix had to divert some of his troops to the task of rounding up the gullible crowds which these impostors collected by promises of miracles portending the end of Roman domination, lest an actual anti-Roman revolt should ensue.⁶⁶ The most dangerous fanatic of this type was a Jew from Egypt (whose desire, however misguided, to help the Jewish homeland against Roman oppression is, incidentally, evidence of the solidarity of Jewish feeling through the world). He led his followers, several thousand strong, to the Mount of Olives, where he

ship; cf. *BJ* vii, 254, taking the name back (anachronistically?) to A.D. 6. The term *sicarius* would appear to be a derogatory appellation applied to them by their opponents rather than an honourable title adopted by themselves; cf. C. Roth in *JSemS* iv (1959), 334-6; Hengel, *Zeloten*, 47-52; S. Applebaum in *JRS* lxi (1971), 163-4; Kreissig, *Zusammenhänge*, 126-7.

⁶⁴ *AJ* xx, 162-4 (without the technical term *sicarii*, though they are clearly meant); *BJ* ii, 256.

⁶⁵ *AJ* xx, 165-6; *BJ* ii, 256-7.

⁶⁶ *AJ* xx, 167-8; *BJ* ii, 258-60.

proposed to rival Joshua by making the walls of Jerusalem collapse and then to seize the city, overpowering the Roman garrison and establishing himself as king. Felix allowed him no time to work his miracle but broke the gathering up by force of arms, killing and capturing several hundred. The would-be messiah escaped with his life and beat a prudent retreat home, but the Romans kept a constant watch for him, hoping to bring him to book, and when St Paul unwittingly became the centre of a riot in the Temple, the commander in the Antonia arrested him under the impression that he was the agitator from Egypt.⁶⁷ This series of abortive messianic movements left a bitter legacy: the religious and political fanatics now joined hands to terrorize the country, not only plundering the estates of the wealthy who were likely to be "collaborators" for economic reasons and inciting people to revolt, but firing and pillaging villages which refused to support their anti-Roman campaign.⁶⁸

The disturbed state of the province comes out clearly in the events which followed St Paul's arrest. The garrison commander, having discovered his mistake about the prisoner's identity and seen the temper of the crowd, decided to keep him in custody in the Antonia for his own safety until the question of his offence could be fully investigated by the Sanhedrin.⁶⁹ After the first inconclusive hearing, St Paul's enemies plotted to ambush him while in transit from the Antonia to the court for a second hearing—a murder in the heart of Jerusalem suggesting the services of the *sicarii*. When the plot was betrayed, the commander thought it advisable to remove the apostle from the highly-charged atmosphere of Jerusalem by sending him down to Caesarea, where Felix could supervise the enquiries; but for his protection as a Roman citizen he gave him a military escort of nearly five hundred men for the start of the journey. Most of them went no further than Antipatris; the route along the Greco-Syrian coastal plain was evidently comparatively free of terrorists, for only a small group went the whole way to Caesarea.⁷⁰ Felix's action in then keeping

⁶⁷ *AJ* xx, 169-72, giving the casualties as 400 dead and 200 captured; *BJ* ii, 261-3, estimating the total following at 30,000; *Acts* xxi, 27-39, especially verse 38, estimating the following, more credibly, at 4,000. In *Acts* the followers are *sicarii*, indicating the close connection between the two types of trouble-makers. The episode occurred over two years before Felix's recall (above, p. 269, n. 40).

⁶⁸ *BJ* ii, 264-5; cf. *AJ* xx, 172.

⁶⁹ *Acts* xxii; xxiii, 10.

⁷⁰ *Acts* xxiii.

a controversial figure in prison for the remaining two years of his procuratorship, even though he apparently regarded him as innocent of any indictable offence, was a tacit admission of his inability to maintain order, though gossip naturally alleged that he was waiting for a bribe to release him.⁷¹ When Festus replaced him, the Sanhedrin immediately brought pressure to bear on the new governor to transfer the case back to Jerusalem, themselves planning to have the prisoner ambushed and killed en route.⁷² Festus, perhaps suspicious of their motives, insisted on a hearing in Caesarea, where St Paul's appeal to Nero then took the case out of local hands.⁷³

Festus attempted to restore order in the province as soon as he arrived by a campaign against "the principal plague of the country", and had to deal with yet another pseudo-messianic gathering. But though some Jewish municipal authorities now co-operated in arresting terrorists, his success was only partial and temporary.⁷⁴ The situation deteriorated still further under Albinus, though he also began his governorship with a campaign against the *sicarii*, now the chief problem, and was sufficiently successful that Jerusalem could be described as "peaceful and prosperous" in the autumn of 62.⁷⁵ But not for long, for the terrorists now gained valuable reinforcements in the shape of two of Agrippa II's relations, whose royal lineage attracted other recruits,⁷⁶ and the *sicarii* evolved a method of extracting their fellows from Roman custody, possibly in collusion with the High Priests.⁷⁷

The High Priests were apparently on reasonably good terms with Rome until the late 50s. This is not surprising, since only men who could be trusted not to oppose Roman interests will have been

⁷¹ *Acts* xxiv. Venality (verse 26) is not a charge brought by Josephus against Felix.

⁷² *Acts* xxv, 1-3. For further reprehensible conduct by the Jewish religious authorities see below, pp. 280-2.

⁷³ *Acts* xxv, 4-12. For full studies of the legal aspects of St Paul's arrest and detention see Winter, *TJ*, 76-87; Sherwin-White, *RSNT*, 48-70; D. R. Catchpole, *The Trial of Jesus* (1971), 250-4.

⁷⁴ *AJ* xx, 185, 188; *BJ* ii, 271, 273 (a reference, under Albinus, to terrorists imprisoned by local authorities or former procurators).

⁷⁵ *AJ* xx, 204. *BJ* vi, 300-8 may exaggerate the peace in Jerusalem in the autumn of 62 in order to highlight the prophecy of doom then made; in any case the reference is not to the whole province.

⁷⁶ *AJ* xx, 214; their exact relationship to the Herodian family is unknown. In 66 they saw the hopelessness of the Jewish stand and returned to the Roman side—*BJ* ii, 418, 556-8.

⁷⁷ See below, pp. 281-2.

appointed, whether by the provincial governors or by the Herods. As the Jews' spiritual leaders invested with some administrative powers as well, they were in a position to form a useful bridge between their own people and the Romans; Jonathan, for example, had apparently tried to influence Felix's policy for the Jews' good. But the High Priests were philo-Roman only in the sense that they recognized the futility of opposition to Roman power, and in this showed a more realistic attitude than the nationalists. They probably had little genuine affection for Roman rule, and in the years immediately before the revolt, when patience on both sides was wearing thin, friction developed; the High Priests began to defy Roman authority and instead of using their influence on the side of order contributed positively to the growing anarchy.

The first episode was provoked, however unwittingly, by Agrippa II, who as overseer of the Temple felt an interest in its ceremonies. During Festus' procuratorship he had a dining-room built on to the east side of his residence in Jerusalem, the Hasmonaeon palace in the Upper City which commanded a view of the Temple, in order to watch the priests at their duties in the inner courts while taking his meals. The Sanhedrin objected to what it regarded as unseemly spying on sacred pursuits, and had the west wall of the inner court raised to restore privacy. This blocked not only Agrippa's view but also the view from the roof of the west portico of the outer court where the procurator's troops stood guard during festivals. Festus was therefore no less annoyed than Agrippa, and gave orders for the demolition of the extension.⁷⁸ But the Sanhedrin under the High Priest Ishmael replied with the sophistical argument that the extension was now a part of the Temple and that life would be unbearable were any part of it destroyed, and asked leave to refer the matter to Nero. Festus wisely did not try to force the issue, but authorized a delegation comprising the High Priest, the Temple treasurer, and ten others. The confidence which the Jews evidently felt in Nero was justified, though at secondhand. For in Rome Poppaea took up their cause and was such an effective advocate that Nero was persuaded to decide against the procurator by allowing the new wall to remain.⁷⁹ But Poppaea gave

⁷⁸ *AJ* xx, 189-93.

⁷⁹ *AJ* xx, 193-5. Josephus' remark that Poppaea supported Jews because she was θεοσεβής is almost universally taken to mean that she was a "Judaizer". But see above, p. 206, n. 15, on the word. Robert, *NIS*, 41-5, shows that θεοσεβής was the term used by Jews in contexts where gentiles used εὐσεβής. All that Josephus means therefore is that Poppaea was a religious (supersti-

with one hand and took away with the other: she detained the High Priest and the Temple treasurer in Rome, ostensibly as hostages against the misuse of the privilege of privacy, and by this action, whether deliberately or not, played into the hands of Agrippa, who could now depose the absentee, whose successful opposition to the procurator will no doubt have won him high popularity, on the grounds of his inability to fulfil his duties, and appoint a more amenable man in his stead.⁸⁰

In this episode the High Priest's quarrel was primarily with Agrippa and only secondarily with the procurator. Only a year or so later the High Priest perpetrated an act of direct defiance of Rome by overstepping the powers granted to the Sanhedrin in A.D. 6. Immediately after Festus' death Agrippa appointed another High Priest (though Ishmael's successor cannot have held the post for more than a few months), Annas, the fifth and youngest son of the Annas appointed in A.D. 6.⁸¹ Since the Sanhedrin's hopes of getting St Paul executed had been foiled first by his detention by Felix and then by his appeal to Nero, Annas, a fiery spirit and an ardent Sadducee, now took advantage of the hiatus in the Roman administration before Albinus' arrival to renew the attack on the Church, thus temporarily deprived of Roman protection. He summoned a meeting of the Sanhedrin without procuratorial authorization, arraigned a number of Christians, including St James the brother of Christ, bishop of Jerusalem, before it for transgressing the Jewish Law, and applied the strict Sadducean penal code by condemning them to death.⁸² This gesture

tious?) woman, who persuaded Nero that other people's religious prejudices deserved respect, and perhaps reminded him that Jewish religious liberty was protected by Roman law. No personal leanings towards Judaism are implied either here or in her contact with another group of Jews a few years later (below, p. 281, n. 84). Indeed, her portrayal in classical historians belies any idea of acceptance of the Jewish moral code. See further the present writer in *JThS*² x (1959), 329-35.

⁸⁰ *AJ* xx, 195-6 (placing the appointment of the new High Priest before Festus' death). Josephus does not say for how long the two hostages stayed in Rome, but as Poppaea kept them in her own house, they presumably left on her death in 62, if not earlier. For Ishmael's end see below, p. 370, n. 50.

⁸¹ *AJ* xx, 197-9.

⁸² *AJ* xx, 200. The authenticity of ἀδελφον Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ, unintelligible without a previous reference to Christ in the same work, depends on that of the *testimonium Flavianum* (above, p. 168, n. 83). Like the latter, it was established in the text by the time of Eusebius, who quotes §§ 197-203 in *HE* ii, 23, 21-4. Origen, however, attributes to Josephus a different version, which included Ἰησοῦ . . . Χριστοῦ but went on to represent the war of 66-70 as the Jews' punishment for the martyrdom—*In Matt.* x, 17 on *Matt.* xiii,

of independence, though no doubt welcomed by the nationalists, alarmed the more moderate Jews and the Pharisees, who, to avoid the possibility of being included in any punishment which Agrippa or the new procurator might mete out, hastened to dissociate themselves from it by complaining to them both (secretly, for fear of nationalist reprisals) that Annas had acted *ultra vires*. Albinus, whom the Pharisees went to meet on his way from Alexandria, sent Annas a stiff letter, threatening punishment, and Agrippa deposed him after only three months in office.⁸³

Besides these acts of direct defiance, the High Priests made indirect attacks on Rome by contributions to the general unrest and insecurity of the province which militated against the *pax Romana*. That they were prepared to stoop to behaviour which ran counter to the best interests of their own people does not speak well for their conception of their position as spiritual leaders or for their general sense of political responsibility. The trouble started shortly before Felix's recall, when a feud (for which Josephus gives no reason) broke out between the High Priestly families and the secular aristocracy, and the rival

53-8; *Cels.* i, 47; ii, 13, end. This variant was also known to Eusebius, who quotes it (at secondhand? untypically, he gives no reference) in *HE* ii, 23, 20, and may in fact be the version of Hegesippus (*apud* Eus., *HE* ii, 23, 3-18), who linked the martyrdom with the war chronologically (εὐθὺς), falsely attributed. Eusebius accepts this chronological link in his own narrative (*HE* iii, 11, 1 αὐτίκα). I.e., once the Church had seen a causal link between the martyrdom and the war, the former was automatically moved forward to 65-6. But the evidence of the contemporary writer for 62 is stronger (and textual interpolation does not invalidate the event), and both his story as such and the connection made in Eus., *HE* ii, 23, 1 between St Paul's escape from the Sanhedrin's clutches and the attack on St James are logically coherent. Cf. Schürer, I (rev.), 430, n. 1; Thackeray, *Josephus*, 133-6; P. Winter in *J. Hist. Stud.* i (1968), 289-91; R. Girod, edition of Origen, *In Matt.* x-xi (1970), 113-17.

⁸³ *AJ* xx, 201-3. On the Sanhedrin's powers of capital jurisdiction under Roman rule see above, pp. 149-50. The mildness of Annas' punishment and the fact that the complaint was primarily against his unauthorized convening of the Sanhedrin (his "first" action, § 201), rather than against the execution (by implication a second, resultant illegality), is evidence that that body had capital powers in religious cases provided that the procurator had authorized its meeting. (Contrast, however, D. R. Catchpole in *Trial*, 60-1; and *The Trial of Jesus* (1971), 241-4.) Otherwise the execution was an act of murder, meriting a severer penalty than mere deposition; yet Albinus, despite his epistolary threat, took no action against Annas on reaching Judaea. Winter, *TJ*, 18, suggests in the light of this episode that each procurator on arrival authorized meetings of the Sanhedrin for the duration of his term of office; meetings were thus illegal in the interregnum. Another possibility is that routine administrative meetings could be held at any time without reference to the procurator, but that meetings for capital jurisdiction needed individual authorization.

parties collected gangs of hooligans, who came to blows unhindered by Roman authority. The High Priests themselves used an economic weapon against minor priests who supported their opponents: they sent their servants to the threshing floors to prevent them from receiving their tithes, in order to starve them into submission, a scandal which was repeated under Albinus, with the ex-High Priest Ananias now acting as ringleader and using his wealth to bribe the procurator and the current High Priest, Annas' successor, to turn a blind eye.⁸⁴ Further gang warfare followed when Agrippa appointed yet another High Priest, his fourth in about four years. This is the only occasion on which open hostility is recorded between a new High Priest and his predecessor, and the jealousy of the dispossessed prelate may have been caused or exacerbated by the allegation that his successor's fiancée had secured him the position by a bribe.⁸⁵ Factions of ruffians gathered again, with verbal abuse leading to physical violence, and in this undignified business Ananias' wealth was once more at work behind the scenes, ensuring that the side which he favoured (Josephus does not say which it was) had enough adherents to keep the upper hand.⁸⁶

This kind of thing was highly detrimental to the peace of Jerusalem. More far-reaching were the evil effects of yet another scandal in which the sinister Ananias took a hand. His son Eleazar was captain of the Temple. The *sicarii* kidnapped Eleazar's secretary and then used Ananias as an intermediary to "persuade" (to bribe?) Albinus to

⁸⁴ *AJ* xx, 180-1 (under Felix), 205-7 (under Albinus). The similarity between the two passages suggests the duplication of a single episode. It was perhaps in connection with this feud, for retaliation involving a breach of the peace, that some priests were sent to Rome for trial by Nero in 63 or 64—*V* 13-16 (when Josephus was twenty-six; *V* 5 and *AJ* xx, 267 together put his birth late in 37). Josephus calls the charge against them "trifling", but their case could apparently not be judged locally, and they travelled in chains. His only interest in the matter is his rescue operation, when he went to Rome and was introduced by a Jewish actor, a favourite of Nero, to Poppaea, who not only got the priests released for him but loaded him with gifts. If Felix sent the priests to Rome (so Josephus), they spent at least four years there untried. An error for "Albinus" is more probable than an error of four years in Josephus' own age at the time. The presence of a Jewish actor at the imperial court has been cited as corroborative evidence that Poppaea was a "Judaizer" (above, p. 278, n. 79). But he was without doubt an apostate, even if he retained enough national consciousness to befriend Josephus.

⁸⁵ *BT Yoma* 18a; *Yeb.* 61a with notes *ad loc.* See *Mish. Yeb.* vi, 4 on the marriage of Jesus son of Gamaliel, the new High Priest, into the Boethid family; and *BT Gitt.* 56a for the lady's wealth.

⁸⁶ *AJ* xx, 213.

ransom him by releasing ten of their number from prison. Having succeeded once with this manoeuvre, they repeated it by kidnapping some of Ananias' personal staff and getting them exchanged for other imprisoned *sicarii*. Collusion may be suspected, with Ananias playing a double game, using his wealth to keep on good terms with a weak procurator and then using the influence thus gained over him to further the nationalist cause with which he secretly sympathized.⁸⁷ But although Albinus allowed himself to get entangled in this disgraceful form of bargaining, which undid much of his own and Festus' recent work against the extremists, he put an abrupt and effective end to it immediately before his recall: he cleared up legal business still pending in Jerusalem by executing people who were in prison for capital offences (largely terrorists) and releasing those awaiting trial on merely trivial charges (bribery of course being alleged in the latter cases). Apart from its effect in eliminating material for further exchanges, this was a laudable attempt in itself to get the administration up-to-date instead of leaving a long backlog of judicial work for his successor.⁸⁸

By this time there was the further problem of unemployment also in Judaea, and the economic distress inevitably consequent on it may have been a factor which helped to precipitate the revolt. When the completion of the building of the Temple c. 64 threw a large number of men out of work, there was no alternative employment to absorb them.⁸⁹ The Sanhedrin not only felt responsible for them, but with

⁸⁷ *AJ* xx, 208-10. Most MSS. make the captain παῖς Ἀνάου, but *BJ* ii, 409 supports the minority reading Ἀναίου. On Eleazar in 66 see below, p. 292. Pressure (ἀνάγκη) was brought to bear on Ananias over the secretary. But his involvement in the plot to ambush St Paul a few years earlier (above, p. 276; *Acts* xxiii, 14) puts him in league with the terrorists, and co-operation after a show of reluctance is therefore likely.

⁸⁸ *AJ* xx, 215. The last sentence does not follow logically on what precedes and seems to refer back to §§ 208-10. Josephus' comment on Albinus' action implies that it was unusual. Felix had left St Paul's case pending, and if the plural ἐπιτρόπων in *BJ* ii, 273 (cf. above, p. 277, n. 74) may be pressed, he and Festus had both departed leaving untried terrorists in gaol.

⁸⁹ *AJ* xx, 219 (placed between the accounts of Albinus and Florus). Even if the figure 18,000 is inflated, the story implies that major work was in hand up to c. 64 on τὸ ἱερόν, the whole complex of courts. In that case *AJ* xv, 420-1 may mean that only the main structures were completed in Herod's reign, while work on the ornamentation continued for some time; cf. *John* ii, 20 τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἕξ ἔτεσιν ὠκοδομήθη ὁ ναὸς οὗτος, whether it means "took 46 years to build" or "has been being built for 46 years (and is still incomplete)". Excavation has revealed more than one building phase round the south west angle of the enclosure wall, which fits Josephus' evidence for work in the

Pilate's aqueduct perhaps in mind, was afraid to accumulate a surplus in the Temple treasury from which they were paid, lest it should be appropriated by the procurator. They therefore suggested to Agrippa, who had to authorize any major work on the Temple, that the eastern portico should be replaced by a higher one. The king rejected this costly and pointless scheme, but agreed to the alternative and much more practical project of paving the streets of Jerusalem.⁹⁰ How far this progressed is not known, for almost immediately the Temple itself needed further attention, when the foundations subsided and part of the building collapsed. Work was put in hand to underpin the structure and rebuild it to a greater height, but the revolt intervened before it was finished.⁹¹

The two years which followed were years of increasing anarchy, in which many Jews found emigration the only remedy against terrorism.⁹² Gessius Florus made no attempt to combat the terrorists who now had the province at their mercy—which was perhaps understandable, as the task of restoring order was beyond his limited military resources—and his corrupt and oppressive administration aggravated the situation by heightening anti-Roman feeling and driving more people to swell the nationalist ranks. Josephus gives no specific instances of his misdemeanours except his part in the episodes which actually triggered off the revolt, and indulges only in vague generalities. But he has no doubt where the blame for the revolt lay: "it was Florus who forced us to go to war with Rome because we preferred to perish at one fell swoop than piecemeal." ⁹³ Tacitus concurs: "the Jews put up with the situation until the procuratorship of Gessius Florus; under him war broke out." ⁹⁴

mid-first century; see B. Mazar, *The Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem, Preliminary Report on the First Season, 1968* (Israel Explor. Soc., 1969), 12; *Second and Third Seasons, 1969-70* (1971), 10. There was also repair work: after the rebuilding of the porticoes burnt in 4 B.C. (above, p. 111), substantial damage was caused by the earthquake at the time of the Crucifixion—*Matt.* xxvii, 51-4; cf. *Mark* xv, 38; *Luke* xxiii, 45; and unrecorded damage is likely to have occurred during the various disturbances in the Temple area.

⁹⁰ *AJ* xx, 220-2. The stepped street still extant near St Peter in Gallicantu in Jerusalem, leading down into the Kidron valley, may be part of Agrippa's scheme; Join-Lambert, *Jerusalem*, Pl. 55. The fears for the treasury were realized in 66 (below, p. 289).

⁹¹ *AJ* xv, 391; *BJ* v, 36.

⁹² *AJ* xx, 256; *BJ* ii, 279.

⁹³ *AJ* xx, 257 (the end of his narrative).

⁹⁴ *H* v, 10, 1 *duravit tamen patientia Iudaeis usque ad Gessium Florum procuratorem; sub eo bellum ortum.*

There is a great deal of truth in Tacitus' epigram *duravit patientia Iudaeis*, and it gains in weight by coming from the Roman side. Judaea was no shining example of Roman administrative excellence. Some procurators were tactless or deliberately provocative towards their subjects, and the sympathy and tolerance which Rome showed towards the Diaspora were at times conspicuous by their absence in Judaea. And the inadequacy of the military forces was a serious handicap to the procurators' efforts to keep order, a handicap which should, and could, have been remedied. But the faults did not all lie on the one side, and the Jews cannot be acquitted of all responsibility for the revolt. Jews in the mass in their homeland were a very different proposition from scattered minorities which were no serious menace to Roman authority until 115. There nationalism was a vital issue, and the Jews' peculiar combination of political and religious fanaticism made them exceptionally truculent and intractable. Josephus does not conceal the fact that on several of the occasions of conflict the initiative lay with the Jews, not with the Romans. The Jews and the procurators exasperated each other, and their mutual reaction produced constantly mounting friction which led inexorably to the climax of war. Josephus over-simplifies the situation when, in describing the foundation of the extreme nationalist movement in A.D. 6 he attributes to it alone the ultimate responsibility for the war. But there is no doubt that its doctrines and the fruit of terrorism which they bore contributed generously to the widespread unrest, tension and disorder, which increased until it took little to tip the balance over to the side of war. Governing Judaea was no enviable task, especially for inexperienced men without the necessary military tools for the job, and though the misdeeds of the later procurators, if Josephus' account of them contains any truth, cannot be disregarded or palliated, it would not be unreasonable to reverse the coin and add *duravit patientia et Romanis*.

The Outbreak of the Revolt

In the spring of 66 the legate of Syria, C. Cestius Gallus, realized that affairs in Judaea had become critical and paid a spontaneous visit to Jerusalem at the Passover. The Jews, who through fear of Florus' possible reaction had not dared to send a complaint to Syria about him, immediately besieged him with denunciations of the procurator, who of course belittled them. Gallus saw the gravity of the situation and arranged for a rough calculation to be made of the population of

Jerusalem, then swollen by pilgrims, from the number of Passover lambs eaten, in the hope of impressing Nero with the potential danger inherent in an infuriated mass of such a size; his dispatch no doubt included a report on Jewish dissatisfaction with Florus, but he did not follow the example of Vitellius and Quadratus and send the procurator to Rome in disgrace to answer there for his maladministration, possibly because the complaints against him were of a general nature and no specific charge arising from a particular incident could be laid. He merely extracted promises of improved behaviour from Florus with which to pacify the protesting crowds, and then returned to Syria, apparently optimistically blind to their utter speciousness. Indeed Josephus alleges that from this point Florus deliberately worked to incite a revolt, in order to divert attention from himself and to prevent a direct appeal by his subjects to Rome.⁹⁵

Gallus' report to Rome was already too late, for before any action could be taken on it, the first stages of the revolt were under way. Yet strangely enough, at the end of sixty years of growing nationalist activity and mounting tension between the two sides, it was not a clash between the terrorists and Rome which sparked off the revolt in the early summer of 66, but the smouldering embers of a quarrel over civic rights in Caesarea which had first come to a head in the late 50s.

Herod the Great had founded Caesarea as a Greek city. Jews had settled there in large numbers from early times, but as metics, resident aliens with the right of domicile, not as citizens. They apparently occupied a parallel position to that of the Jews in Alexandria and were most probably organized as a *politeuma*.⁹⁶ The absence of any record of friction suggests that relations between the Jewish community and the Greek citizen body were reasonably amicable up to the mid-first

⁹⁵ *BJ* ii, 280-3, giving the population as 3,000,000 ; vi, 422-7, giving 2,700,000—both impossibly high figures. Thackeray, *ad loc.*, dates Gallus' visit to the Passover of 65 (?). But events apparently moved too rapidly to allow the lapse of over a year before the outbreak of the revolt in May-June 66. Gallus struck coins in Antioch dated years 114 and 115 of the Caesarian era = autumn 65-7 (*BMC, Galatia*, . . . , 175), though he may have been legate from 63 under the military authority of Corbulo with his *maius imperium* ; but Tac., *A* xv, 25, 5 is corrupt.

⁹⁶ *AJ* xx, 173 τῶν Καισαρείαν κατοικούντων Ἰουδαίων implies the status of κάτοικοι/μέτοικοι, not citizens. *BJ* ii, 266 τῶν ἀναμεμιγμένων Ἰουδαίων could mean settlers without legal status. (This tells against Otto's "ursprünglich volle Gleichstellung" of the two races in Caesarea—col. 117.) References to ἰσοπολιτεία (below) suggest that when the quarrel broke out the Jews already had a definite political standing and the assumption is that they were citizens of a *politeuma*. Cf. above, p. 226.

century A.D. But during Felix's procuratorship trouble broke out over the civic position of the Jewish residents, though the paucity of evidence makes the precise point at issue even more obscure than the details of the quarrel in Alexandria twenty years earlier. The quarrel in Caesarea was over *isopoliteia*, some question concerning the civic status of the Jewish community vis-à-vis the Greeks and the equality of their rights.⁹⁷ It is quite possible that there, as in Alexandria, resident Jews had long had the right to obtain Greek citizenship as individuals, though no cases in point are known; for since Herod's aim had been to Hellenize his kingdom, he would surely have encouraged any Jews willing to accept Hellenization in this way. But now the Jews were claiming that "the city was theirs" and that they should "take precedence over the Greeks."⁹⁸ This would appear to mean that the Jews, now possibly equalling or outnumbering the Greeks,⁹⁹ wanted Greek citizenship to be thrown open to them as a community so that they could secure control of municipal government. Their argument, that the founder of the city had been a Jew, was a blatantly opportunist one on the lips of people who had refused to accept Herod as a Jew in his lifetime, and moreover an entirely invalid one: as the Greeks were quick to point out, Herod's provision of statues and temples showed indisputably that he had intended Caesarea to be, like its predecessor Strato's Tower, a gentile city, and they were determined that the Jews as a community should remain in their inferior position of metics without Greek citizenship. Other factors aggravated the ill-feeling. The Jews on the whole were more prosperous than the Greeks and paraded their wealth, possibly using their contribution to the city's economic prosperity as an argument for an improvement in civic status. The Greeks on the other hand were proud of the fact that they supplied many of the troops used by Rome to keep the Jews in order.¹⁰⁰

Towards the end of Felix's procuratorship the quarrel erupted into street-fighting, in which the Jews tended to have the upper hand. The local magistrates did their best to keep the peace by arresting and

⁹⁷ *AJ* xx, 173, 183. The term can no more bear its technical Hellenistic sense of reciprocal citizenship with reference to Caesarea than it can with reference to Alexandria; see above, p. 229, n. 40.

⁹⁸ *BJ* ii, 266; *AJ* xx, 173.

⁹⁹ *BJ* ii, 457 gives 20,000 Jews killed in Caesarea in 66 and others taken prisoner. But there is no evidence for the absolute or relative size of the Greek population.

¹⁰⁰ *AJ* xx, 173, 175-6; *BJ* ii, 266.

punishing the instigators of each clash, but their efforts only inflamed the combatants' feelings, and finally Felix had to send his troops in against the Jews, who rapidly capitulated. But this did not settle the constitutional question, on which he was not competent to give a ruling, and when dissension continued, he himself chose representatives from the two sides to go to Rome and submit the matter to the emperor, just as had been done in the case of the Alexandrian quarrel.¹⁰¹

Nero decided in favour of the Greeks. Josephus alleges that the Greek envoys bribed one of his freedmen secretaries to secure this result. The bribery may be a fact, but the case can still have been decided on its merits: the founder's wishes should be respected, and it was convenient for the Roman administration to keep Caesarea as a Greek city. Nero sent a rescript "annulling the Jews' *isopoliteia* with the Greeks", which had the effect of letting the Greeks retain control of the city.¹⁰² This may mean that he simply confirmed the *status quo*, leaving potential citizenship open to individual Jews who sought it by regular channels, but refusing the Jews as a body wholesale admission to Greek citizenship or any other increase in privileges which would alter the balance of power in the city and blocking irregular methods of obtaining citizenship; or he may have actually reduced Jewish privileges by closing the door to the further admission of individuals to citizenship or even striking existing Jewish citizens off the roll.

Whatever the precise import of Nero's answer, it naturally displeased the Jews, who returned home in a spiteful mood, determined to keep the quarrel alive.¹⁰³ Josephus explicitly makes them, not the Greeks, responsible for continuing the civic strife "until they kindled

¹⁰¹ *AJ* xx, 174, 176-8; *BJ* ii, 267-70, making the troops support the Greeks in the early stages of the fighting spontaneously. Not only would this have been an act of mutiny, but the Jews would hardly have got the upper hand in facing professional soldiers. *AJ* xx, 182 puts the dispatch of the representatives at the time of Felix's recall.

¹⁰² *AJ* xx, 183-4; *BJ* ii, 284. Beryllus, *libertus ab epistulis Graecis*, otherwise unknown, is emended by some scholars to Burrus. But even if Beryllus' earlier post as *paedagogus* (*l.c.*) is equated with Burrus' as *rector imperatoriae inventae* (Tac., *A* xiii, 2, 1), Burrus was never *ab epistulis*, and Josephus knows him as praetorian prefect—*AJ* xx, 152.

¹⁰³ In *BJ* ii, 284 the envoys do not return home till the spring of 66. But it is unlikely either that Nero deferred his decision for some seven years, or that the delegations, having obtained it, deferred their return; and *AJ* xx, 182-4 implies that the Caesarean question was dealt with at the same time as the complaints against Felix (above, p. 270), for which, apart from general probabilities, the *terminus ante quem* is Pallas' death in 62.

the flames of war."¹⁰⁴ The revolt, with causes far deeper, wider and more serious than a civic dispute in a single city outside the main Jewish districts of the province, would have occurred inevitably sooner or later; but it was the feud in Caesarea which provided the spark which lit the tinder.

The trivial incident which caused the explosion in the summer of 66¹⁰⁵ was clearly the culmination of a long period of bickering. One of the synagogues in Caesarea adjoined a plot of land owned by a Greek, who refused to sell it to the Jews even at an inflated price and then, with intent to annoy, began to erect buildings on it in such a way that the entrance to the synagogue would be almost blocked. When Florus stopped an attempt by some Jewish youths to impede the building operations, the leading Jews of the city offered him the handsome bribe of eight talents to prohibit them officially. Florus pocketed the money and promised his support, but did nothing more effective than to instruct the commander of the cavalry unit in the city to keep an eye on the situation, while he went off inland, piling culpable negligence on top of venality by leaving the two sides to fight the matter out. The following day was the Sabbath, and when the Jews arrived at the synagogue they found a Greek performing a parody of a Jewish sacrifice at the entrance. The sting of the insult lay not only in the nature of the improvised altar, a chamber-pot upside down, but also in the fact that the offerings were birds. Jewish Law prescribed the sacrifice of a bird in an earthenware vessel for a cleansed leper,¹⁰⁶ and the reference was to the anti-Semitic explanation of the Exodus—that the Jews did not leave Egypt voluntarily but were ejected because they were lepers.¹⁰⁷ A riot naturally ensued. The cavalry unit promptly intervened and removed the offending "altar", but it was unable to restore order, as the Greeks, who had planned the "sacrifice" to provoke violence, were organized for battle. The Jews got the worst of the engagement and fled, taking with them the

¹⁰⁴ *AJ* xx, 184.

¹⁰⁵ *BJ* ii, 284, dating the start of the revolt to the month Artemisius (= roughly May) in the 12th year of Nero. The relation between the Macedonian calendar used by Josephus and the Julian is a complicated problem, for which more than one solution has been offered. Thackeray (Loeb *BJ*) follows the scheme worked out by B. Niese in *Hermes* xxviii (1893), 197-208. In this work Josephus' dates are cited, with the approximately equivalent month of the Julian calendar, but no attempt is made to give precisely equivalent dates.

¹⁰⁶ *Levit.* xiv, 1-7.

¹⁰⁷ *Ap.* i, 229 ff., 279, 304 ff.; Justinus, *Epit.* xxxvi, 2, 12-15; Posidonius of Apamea *apud* Diod. Sic. xxxiv, frag. 1, 1-2; Tac., *H* v, 3, 1; 4, 2.

rolls of the Law from the synagogue. From a few miles' distance they sent twelve of their leaders to Florus to complain about what had happened and to ask for his help, delicately reminding him of the eight talents. His response was to arrest them for having removed the rolls of the Law—an incomprehensible offence, since the Jews could surely do as they liked with their own property, and their purpose in any case had been to save the rolls from desecration by the Greeks in their present aggressive temper.¹⁰⁸

Florus now dared not show his face in Caesarea, where hostility continued to simmer until it broke out in an even more vicious form a few weeks later.¹⁰⁹ Meanwhile he chose this moment to send to Jerusalem for 17 talents from the Temple treasury for "governmental purposes". Tax-payment had been allowed to fall badly into arrears, and Florus may have been genuinely short of ready cash for essential administrative expenses. But his action was naturally regarded as deliberately provocative and sacrilegious by the Jews, some of whom retaliated by holding a street collection, begging coppers for the indigent procurator.¹¹⁰ At the news of this, Florus lost his temper. He took an extra cohort up to Jerusalem, and when the Sanhedrin refused to identify the organizers of the collection for punishment, let the soldiers loose to sack the Upper City. They exceeded their orders and ranged over a wider area, killing, looting, and taking prisoners. Florus had the prisoners scourged and crucified, including some Jews who as Roman citizens of equestrian rank were legally exempt from that degradation, deaf to the pleas of queen Berenice, who had come to Jerusalem to fulfil a religious vow and now risked death at the soldiers' hands to make her appeal.¹¹¹

The High Priests, who had recently been contributing to the unrest of the province, now appeared as leaders of the peace-party, opposing the nationalists and trying to stem the rising tide of revolt. They managed to quieten the population and even to persuade them to give proof of their pacific intentions by meeting Florus' demand for a positive welcome for the two further cohorts which he had summoned from Caesarea. But this was a trap. On his orders, the troops received the Jews' greetings in stony silence, and when the nationalists reacted

¹⁰⁸ *BJ* ii, 285-92.

¹⁰⁹ *BJ* ii, 296.

¹¹⁰ *BJ* ii, 293-5. For the tax arrears cf. below, p. 292.

¹¹¹ *BJ* 296-315, giving the date 16 Artemisius (= roughly May). § 332 indicates that the "cavalry and infantry force" of § 296 was in fact one cohort.

to their discourtesy by abusing the procurator, they charged the crowd at the city gate and in the stampede which followed many Jews were trampled to death. The cohorts then came under fire from Jews on the house-tops, were unable to force their way through the tightly packed crowds to join the garrison in the Antonia, and had to take refuge in the other military establishment, outside Florus' residence, Herod's palace. The Jewish extremists then began to demolish the porticoes joining the Antonia to the Temple, to prevent the troops there from using that route to take possession of the Temple and so to enable Florus to achieve what they believed to be his real purpose, the appropriation of the rest of the Temple treasure. This manoeuvre succeeded perhaps better than they had hoped, for Florus now withdrew to Caesarea, leaving one of the newly-arrived cohorts to reinforce the regular garrison and removing the others.¹¹²

Florus, the Sanhedrin, and Berenice now each sent an independent report on recent events in Jerusalem to Cestius Gallus. Naturally there were considerable divergencies between them, and Gallus dispatched one of his staff to Judaea to try to discover the truth. He went first to Jamnia to meet Agrippa II (then returning from a visit to the new prefect of Egypt, Tiberius Julius Alexander the former procurator of Judaea),¹¹³ who, as a partial outsider, well informed about Jewish affairs and yet not deeply committed personally, might help him to reach a balanced and unbiassed estimate of the situation. The High Priests and representatives of the Sanhedrin happened to have gone there also, to pay their respects to Agrippa, and enquiries could thus begin in a calmer atmosphere than prevailed in Jerusalem. The king was a political realist and a good diplomatist: "he was distressed at Florus' brutality, but he strategically directed his anger against the Jews whom he really pitied, because he wanted to reduce them to a humble frame of mind and to turn their thoughts away from revenge by pretending that he did not think they had been ill-treated." The Jewish leaders saw through what he said but recognized its basic common sense. The whole party then made its way to Jerusalem, where Gallus' emissary immediately won the Jews' confidence. He inspected the

¹¹² *BJ* ii, 315-32.

¹¹³ *BJ* ii, 309. On the strength of the epitaph of T. Mucius Clemens, who commanded an auxiliary cohort under Alexander in Egypt and then another under Agrippa II, M. Avi-Yonah suggests that on the occasion of this visit the prefect seconded suitable officers to stiffen Agrippa's army (cf. below, p. 340, n. 37) in view of the menacing situation in Judaea—in *IEJ* xvi (1966), 258-64.

devastation caused by Florus' troops sympathetically, and sacrificed in the Temple as a gesture of goodwill before returning to report to Gallus that the Jews were loyal to Rome in general and hostile only to Florus.¹¹⁴

The Jews, however, had no confidence that Gallus would take any steps now to rid them of Florus after the ineffectiveness of his visit a couple of months earlier, and their next move was to press Agrippa and the High Priests to send a delegation to Nero to complain about him, on the grounds that "they would be regarded as the aggressors in the recent clash, if they did not get in first with a denunciation of the real aggressor." Agrippa had the gravest doubts about the wisdom of the proposal, though he realized that if he denied the Jews this safety valve, they would rise in revolt and even his own life might be in danger.¹¹⁵ The appointment of a better procurator would satisfy the moderate, philo-Roman party, now temporarily speaking in unison with the nationalists against Florus, but it would do nothing to mollify extremist opinion, which opposed Roman rule of any kind on principle. They might even see an official condemnation of Florus as an oblique vindication of their views, which would encourage them to intensify their efforts to carry the masses with them into war. And the minor Jewish success in the recent scuffle at the Antonia, followed by Florus' evacuation of Jerusalem, was likely to have given the people of the capital ill-founded self-confidence. Agrippa felt that the Jews must be made to see that Florus was only an ephemeral manifestation of the eternal might of Rome, who must be tolerated because what he represented was irresistible. He summoned the people to his residence and, with Berenice (a popular heroine since her intercession with Florus) at his side, made an impassioned speech, brushing aside the extremists who were impervious to reason and addressing the uncommitted majority: there were imperfections, he admitted, in Roman provincial government, but recalcitrance would achieve nothing and it was utterly useless for such a small nation to contemplate war with a power against whom many larger and better equipped nations had fought in vain.¹¹⁶ His hearers missed the point completely, protesting that they were fighting not Rome but Florus. Agrippa then had to drop his rhetoric and speak more plainly: "But what you have done

¹¹⁴ *BJ* ii, 333-41. On gentile sacrifices see above, p. 89, n. 99.

¹¹⁵ *BJ* ii, 342-3.

¹¹⁶ *BJ* ii, 344-401. Though the speech cannot be a verbatim report, Josephus is likely to have been present.

already is an act of war against Rome. You have not paid your tribute to the emperor and you have demolished the porticoes of the Antonia. You can only clear yourselves of the charge of rebellion if you rebuild the porticoes and pay your taxes. Florus does not own the fortress and Florus will not get your money.”¹¹⁷ This struck home, and for a short time Agrippa’s common sense and realism seemed to have won the day. The rebuilding of the porticoes was put in hand, and tax arrears totalling forty talents were collected from the toparchy of Jerusalem. But before long the Jews reacted against his repeated advice to submit to Florus’ orders until he was recalled in the normal course of events by unceremoniously hounding the king out of Jerusalem. Even so, he tried to put them on a better footing with Rome by organizing the collection of the tax arrears from the rest of the country before returning to his kingdom.¹¹⁸

With Agrippa departed the last hope of averting war. It was now about midsummer 66, and a band of *sicarii* under Menahem, probably a grandson of Judas of Galilee, immediately seized Masada and massacred its Roman garrison¹¹⁹—the rebels’ first stronghold, destined to be the scene of their final stand. And in Jerusalem the captain of the Temple, Eleazar son of the ex-High Priest Ananias, persuaded the officials to accept no more sacrifices from foreigners. This meant the cessation of the daily sacrifices for the emperor’s well-being, and was the decisive step in Josephus’ eyes: “this action was the foundation-stone of the war with Rome.”¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ *BJ* ii, 402-4.

¹¹⁸ *BJ* ii, 405-7.

¹¹⁹ *BJ* ii, 408, 433, calling him Judas’ son. This is accepted by Hengel, *Zeloten*, 338-9, and by S. Applebaum in *JRS* lxi (1971), 161. But since sixty years separated the activities of the two men, Menahem is more likely to have been a grandson; so J. S. Kennard in *JQR*² xxxvi (1945-6), 281-6.

¹²⁰ *BJ* ii, 409-10, surprisingly, giving no date. Cf. *BT Gitt.* 56a; *Midr. Lament.* R. iv, 2, § 3; *Tos. Sabb.* 16 (17), 8, p. 135. On Eleazar see above, p. 281.

CHAPTER TWELVE

THE WAR OF A.D. 66-70

Judaea took no sudden and dramatic plunge into war. Rather, there was a continuous and accelerating drift into what eventually became total war with Rome, described by Josephus as "not only the greatest war of our own time but one of the greatest of all recorded wars."¹ It was only in the final stages that the issue became completely clear-cut. During the earlier phases the edges of the conflict were blurred by internal dissension, which diverted Jewish energy into civil war first between the moderate peace-party and the insurgents and later between rival factions of insurgents. Not until almost the end did the Jews present a united front. Since Roman rule as such provided no serious threat to Jewish religion, the religious leaders, whether Pharisee or Sadducee, did not as a body support the war, and the High Priests led the peace-party.² Only the fanatics whose slogan was "no master but God" and whose ideal was a theocracy under the High Priest as God's representative saw Roman rule as undermining Jewish religion. But the rebels had the encouragement of an old prophecy, then widely current in the East, that a world-ruler was due to arise in Palestine at that very time—a prophecy later seen as fulfilled in Vespasian's proclamation as emperor there, but taken in 66 to mean the imminent establishment of the messianic kingdom by a member of the Jewish race.³ Social factors played a part in the revolt also, for besides the religious and political extremists whose dream was the recovery of national independence, there were agitators wanting economic reform in the interests of the poor.

The war was a long one. Its length was due initially to the incompetence of the Roman counter-measures, and later to the Roman civil war, when Vespasian, sent out as commander-in-chief early in 67, first lost his mandate with Nero's death and for a year dared not pro-

¹ *BJ* i, 1. The title of Josephus' work views the war from the Roman standpoint; from the Jewish it would be the "Roman war". The war caused the postponement (which became the abandonment) of Nero's grandiose scheme for eastern conquests.

² Contrast the situation which led up to Bar Cochba's revolt (below, pp. 428-38).

³ *BJ* vi, 312-13; Tac., *H* v, 13, 2; Suet., *Vesp.* 4, 5. Cf. below, p. 308.

ceed without fresh authorization, and then had his attention distracted by his own elevation to the throne.

The Preliminary Campaign

By July 66 the insurgents in Jerusalem were gaining so much ground that the peace-party led by the ex-High Priest Ananias, having failed in a final attempt to make the population at large see reason and restore the imperial sacrifices before it was too late, decided that they must use force. They were still in control of the Upper City, and they appealed to Florus and Agrippa for military help to oust the insurgents under the captain of the Temple, Eleazar son of Ananias, who now held the Temple and the Lower City. Only Agrippa responded. Glad to strike a blow against them in the hope of warding off a fullscale revolt, he sent two thousand cavalry. But after a week of indecisive fighting, the rebels, strengthened by some *sicarii* who had slipped into the Temple enclosure when it was opened for the minor festival of wood-carrying, got possession of the Upper City and set fire to the Hasmonaean palace, Ananias' house, and the public archive office where many debtors' bonds were deposited, a move designed to win the support of the poor. Agrippa's cavalry joined the general retreat into Herod's palace.⁴ The rebels then captured the Antonia after a siege of only two days, and with it some artillery which they were to put to good use later, and massacred the Roman garrison.⁵ Reinforced by Menahem and a contingent of his *sicarii* from Masada, they next attacked Herod's palace and the nearby camp of the extra cohort which Florus had left in Jerusalem. The overthrow of a section of the palace defences drove the besieged to ask for terms, but the rebels allowed only Jewish civilians and Agrippa's cavalry to surrender and withdraw. At this the cohort abandoned its camp as untenable and retreated into Herod's three massive towers on the north west angle of the city wall.⁶ There they held out for a further eleven days, during which Ananias and his brother were captured by Menahem's men and murdered. Finally, in mid-September, the cohort capitulated, agreeing to surrender their arms in return for a safe conduct. But as they carried out their part of the compact, they were massacred. The destruction of

⁴ *BJ* ii, 411-29. *Mish. Ta'an.* iv, 5 gives nine days in the year when wood was brought for the sacrificial fire, the most important being 15 Ab (= roughly August). In § 430, however, the day after the festival is 15 Lous = Ab.

⁵ *BJ* ii, 430 ; v, 267.

⁶ *BJ* ii, 431-40, giving the date 6 Gorpiaeus (= roughly September). For the towers see above, p. 74.

two Roman units clearly called for Roman vengeance, and the moderates looked to the future with apprehension.⁷

During the last days of the siege of the palace the first signs of the disunity which was to plague the insurgents appeared. Success went to Menahem's head, he tried to usurp the leadership from Eleazar, captain of the Temple, whose father and uncle he had just killed, and was murdered with many of his adherents by Eleazar's partisans. A few escaped to Masada, including a relation of Menahem, Eleazar son of Jair, who was to head the final resistance there.⁸ The extremists were not to establish control over Jerusalem until the end of 67.

The rebels' successes in Jerusalem were followed by further attacks on the Roman forces, and two other Herodian fortresses soon fell into their hands—Cypros near Jericho, where the Roman garrison was massacred, and Machaeros, which was evacuated by the Romans and occupied by local civilians.⁹ The breakdown of Roman authority was seen as a golden opportunity for settling old scores in cities where there was racial friction between the Jewish and Greek sections of the population. The violence began in Caesarea, where the Greeks slaughtered or expelled the entire Jewish population, an atrocity which Josephus dates to the day of the massacre of the second Roman unit in Jerusalem and sees as divine retribution for that act of treachery. Jewish reprisals in cities of the Decapolis and the Phoenician coast led to Greek counter-reprisals against Jews in other Syrian cities, and massacre, fire and pillage became the order of the day, with the Jewish minorities suffering heavy casualties.¹⁰

⁷ *Megillath Ta'anith* (above, p. 103, n. 155) includes a festival on 17 Elul commemorating "the Romans' departure from Jerusalem" (ed. Lichtenstein, 304-5). If the event was the massacre of the second Roman unit, the festival gives the duration of the siege after the departure of Agrippa's troops on 6 Gorpiaeus = Elul. Cf. M. Schwab in *Actes 11^{me} Congres Internat. Orient.* (1897), 247-8; Thackeray, note on *BJ* ii, 456.

⁸ *BJ* ii, 442-8. C. Roth, *The Historical Background to the Dead Sea Scrolls* (1958), especially 6-21, argues that the Qumran *Commentary on Habakkuk*, col. XI, lines 4-8, in which the "Teacher of Righteousness" (the leader of the sect) is attacked by his perennial adversary the "Wicked Priest" on the Day of Atonement, is an allegorization of the murder of Menahem. So also Driver, *Scrolls*, 267-84. For refutation of this late date for the work on palaeographical, archaeological and historical grounds see de Vaux, *L'Archéologie*, 89-94 (following A. Dupont-Sommer and H. H. Rowley), with bibliography and brief discussion of other suggested historical interpretations. Cf. T. H. Gaster, *The Dead Sea Scriptures* (1956 and 1964), 27-31, arguing in general terms against attempts to fit allusions in the Qumran documents into a historical framework.

⁹ *BJ* ii, 484-6. On Machaeros cf. below, p. 310.

¹⁰ *BJ* ii, 457-80; 559-61 cf. *V* 24-7. See further below, p. 357.

Meanwhile Cestius Gallus had been assembling an army of over thirty thousand men in Antioch—the whole of one of the Syrian legions, XII Fulminata, and vexillations from the others,¹¹ ten auxiliary units, and large contingents supplied by Agrippa, who led his force in person, and two other client kings, Antiochus IV of Commagene and Sohaemus of Emesa. Some time in September he set out for Ptolemais, the normal base for an invasion of Judaea, picking up contingents of auxiliaries from some Syrian cities en route.¹² Such an army should have been more than adequate to subjugate the small and unorganized Jewish levies, and at first all went well. After overrunning the frontier district of Galilee, Gallus established his base at Caesarea (where Josephus mentions no contact with Florus) with the bulk of his army, while a small force went ahead to safeguard his sea communications by capturing Joppa. The rest of Galilee was secured with little difficulty, largely because Sepphoris, the prosperous commercial capital, with little to gain by revolt, took up the pro-Roman stance which she was to hold almost without a break and welcomed the legion, and other places then offered no resistance. The few extremists who fled to the mountains were soon eliminated.¹³ In mid-October Gallus marched on Jerusalem, burning Lydda en route, apparently without provocation and perhaps as a demonstration of Roman strength designed to overawe Jerusalem into submission. If that was his purpose, it failed. For when he encamped at the top of the Bethhoron defile, a few miles north west of the city, the Jews, far from considering capitulation, abandoned the Feast of Tabernacles, made an attack which took the Romans completely by surprise, and then penned them in by occupying the heights commanding the road. After three days of stalemate, Agrippa resumed his efforts for peace with an attempt at eleventh hour negotiation, sending two emissaries to the rebels with Gallus' offer of a free pardon if they would surrender.

¹¹ Of the other three legions stationed in Syria since Augustus' time, VI Ferrata and X Fretensis were still there; III Gallica, in Moesia by 69, may already have left. Of the three extra legions brought in for Corbulo's campaigns (Tac., *A* xv, 6, 5; 25, 5), IV Scythica (later a permanent part of the Syrian army) and V Macedonica were still there. For XV Apollinaris see below, p. 306, n. 52.

¹² *BJ* ii, 499-502. Since Gallus was approaching Jerusalem in mid-October (§ 515), he must have begun to move as soon as he heard of the rebels' mastery of Jerusalem. In § 499 he starts his march on hearing of the anti-Jewish risings in Greek cities, with the purpose of avenging the Jews implied. But this is too late, and the implied purpose is not borne out by his strategy.

¹³ *BJ* ii, 503-12. On Sepphoris cf. above, p. 273, n. 55.

Their answer was to murder one and wound the other without letting them speak, and to attack those moderates who protested.¹⁴

The patent disunity inside Jerusalem encouraged Gallus to believe that he could take the city easily. So, shaking off the Jewish skirmishers dogging him, he advanced and established his camp on Mt Scopus a mile to the north. When after three days the expected surrender had not taken place, he occupied and burnt the suburb of Bezetha, which the inhabitants had abandoned as indefensible because Agrippa I's wall enclosing it had not been completed, and then attacked the city walls near Herod's palace.¹⁵ After five days he switched his assault to the north wall of the Temple enclosure, and then suddenly withdrew his whole force to Mt Scopus and began to retreat to Caesarea. Josephus finds Gallus' withdrawal when apparently on the verge of victory, with the peace-party ready to open the gates to him and the city thus at his mercy, inexplicable, and can only account for it by the singularly pointless story that Florus had bribed Gallus' camp prefect to dissuade him from taking the city. But Gallus must have had sound military reasons for his decision: the lateness of the season (it was by now early November, when campaigning was normally over), the lack of a siege train, the danger of counter-attacks by rebels in the hills, and the fear that the offer to open the gates was a trap are all possible. But whatever the reasons which Josephus naïvely ignores, he is surely correct in his judgement that, if Gallus had taken Jerusalem, the revolt would have collapsed there and then. His piety sees the Roman withdrawal as part of the divine plan to punish the rebels by protracting the miseries of war.¹⁶

Gallus' disastrous retreat cost him a total of nearly six thousand lives. His men were harried from the rear and the flanks by Jewish guerillas under Eleazar son of Simon, who had taken over the leadership of the extremists in Jerusalem from Menahem and was later to be one of the chief resistance leaders, until they reached their former camp, at the top of the Bethhoron pass. A two-day halt there gave the Jews time to station men at the foot of the pass as well as on the precipices hemming it in on either side, and when the Romans entered

¹⁴ *Bj* ii, 513-26.

¹⁵ *Bj* ii, 527-30, giving the date 30 Hyperberetaeus (= roughly October). Cf. above, p. 197.

¹⁶ *Bj* ii, 535-41. Florus' alleged bribery (§ 531) is the last thing recorded of his inglorious career and he was then presumably recalled. Suet., *Vesp.* 4, 5 says that he was killed by the Jews before Gallus' invasion; but Josephus would not have passed that over.

the steep defile they found themselves encircled, helpless targets for the archers on the heights. Those who struggled through to the foot of the pass escaped under cover of darkness, but only at the price of abandoning their artillery to the Jews and deliberately sacrificing four hundred men, who were left to occupy the Jews' attention and meet death at their hands in order to give the rest a start. It was not until they reached Antipatris that they shook off the Jewish pursuit.¹⁷

Jewish Preparations

The defeat of Gallus closed the door to negotiation and committed the Jews irrevocably to war. Massive Roman reprisals in the spring were certain, and many of the peace-party now abandoned Jerusalem "like a sinking ship."¹⁸ Meanwhile the prime necessity was to use the few months' respite before the resumption of military operations to frame a constitution and establish an independent government to co-ordinate the war effort and formulate policy and strategy. The High Priests, still enjoying greater prestige and influence with the people at large than the extremists, whose high-handedness was feared, realized that they could no longer maintain their traditional position of leadership unless they swam with the tide and, at least ostensibly, accepted as inevitable the conflict which they had failed to prevent. Having executed this *volte-face*, they were able to assume the direction of the revolutionary government, a democratic republic. (A monarchy was out of the question, since Agrippa and his family, the only available candidates for a throne, had declared unequivocally for Rome.¹⁹) A council of state already existed in the Sanhedrin, which could readily be invested with additional executive powers; and the popular assembly, which had existed under the client kings but had

¹⁷ *BJ* ii, 541-55, giving the date 8 Dlus (= roughly November) in the 12th year of Nero (an error for 13th; it was now past his accession date, 13 October), 564 (Eleazar); cf. v, 267. Suet., *Vesp.* 4, 5 says that an eagle was lost; but Josephus would not have omitted such a Jewish triumph. Jewish tradition speaks of the defeat of two Roman generals before Vespasian's arrival, presumably Gallus and Florus—*ARN* 4 (Goldin, 35).

¹⁸ *BJ* ii, 556. According to tradition the Christian community escaped from Jerusalem to Pella in the Decapolis some time before the siege—Eus., *HE* iii, 5, 3. But Jews, even of a schismatic sect, would hardly have been welcome in a city which had recently suffered a massacre at Jewish hands (above, p. 295; below, p. 357); and mass emigration would have been difficult or impossible later, when the Romans controlled much of the country. Piecemeal individual flight across the frontier over a period of time seems more probable.

¹⁹ For members of Agrippa's family see *BJ* ii, 418, 556; cf. above, p. 277.

been in abeyance under Roman rule, was now reconstituted as the ultimate authority, with the Temple court as its venue.²⁰

At this point Josephus casually applies the term "Zealot" to the followers of the prominent extremist, Eleazar son of Simon.²¹ Unlike *sicarius*, a term denoting a method of attack and perhaps applied to those who used it in a derogatory sense by their opponents, Zealot was an honourable title adopted by a section of the nationalists to describe their attitude to the conflict with Rome and their ideals as crusaders "zealous" for their God. Josephus regards the choice of title as inappropriate: "that was what they called themselves, as though they were zealous for virtuous pursuits and not bent on the worst crimes." The absence of the term Zealot from his narrative before the end of 66 suggests that it was devised, or at any rate became generally current, only after the initial success of the rebels in purging the holy city of gentile troops. The Zealots, perhaps with religious considerations at first uppermost in their minds, seem to have been quite distinct from the faction of the *sicarii*, led by Menahem and his family, and to have been centred on Jerusalem, where in the later fighting between the various factions they appear as a closely-knit and well-defined sect.²²

When the assembly met to appoint generals, Eleazar son of Simon and Eleazar son of Ananias, the captain of the Temple, were passed over (the former despite his important part in the rout of Gallus) for the supreme military command, which was entrusted to the ex-High Priest Annas as representative of the moderates.²³ Annas, who had

²⁰ The constitution of the revolutionary government is deduced from scattered references: for the Sanhedrin see *V* 62; cf. §§ 28 and 310, where οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν are probably the Sanhedrin; for the assembly see *BJ* ii, 562; iv, 159-62, 218, 251, 255; *V* 65, 190, 309-10. (For the assembly under the client kings see *I Macc.* xiv, 28, 35, 46; *AJ* xvi, 132-5; xvii, 200-5; *BJ* i, 457; ii, 1-4.) For a full study see C. Roth in *JSemS* ix (1964), 295-319.

²¹ *BJ* ii, 564.

²² On the faction see *BJ* iv, 160-1; vii, 268-70. For recent and convincing discussion see M. Smith in *HTbR* lxiv (1971), 1-19, with full bibliography of earlier studies and theories (add S. Applebaum in *JRS* lxi (1971), 155-70; M. Borg in *JThS*² xxii (1971), 504-12; H. P. Kingdon in *NTS* xix (1972), 74-81); see especially pp. 7-8 on Josephus' solitary use of Zealot for Menahem's followers in *BJ* iv, 444, which has led to the frequent confusion of the two sects. The view of Roth and Driver that the Khirbet Qumran community was Zealot, not Essene, is generally rejected.

²³ *BJ* ii, 562-4. Joseph son of Gorion, is named as Annas' colleague but is not heard of again, unless he is the Gorion/Gurion son of Joseph of *BJ* iv, 159 and 338. He does not seem to have been a significant figure, and a year later Annas has a different colleague (below, p. 313). The current High Priest

defied Roman authority in 62, is not named among those who had worked for peace earlier in 66, and Josephus puts him firmly in the anti-Roman camp; but for all that he was a realist, alive to the ultimate futility of opposition to Rome, and hoping (vainly, as events turned out) to win the confidence of the extremists by preparing for war and then gradually to make them see reason and abandon a struggle foredoomed to failure.²⁴ The rest of the country was divided into six districts under subordinate military governors—Idumaea, Peraea, Jericho, four toparchies in west Judaea, two toparchies in north east Judaea, and Galilee together with Gamala, a fortress in the south west corner of Agrippa's territory of Gaulanitis. The governor appointed to Galilee was a strange choice—a thirty-year-old priest, a Pharisee of philo-Roman sentiments and no military experience, the historian Josephus.²⁵

It was probably at this point, when the High Priests and the Sanhedrin had declared their official support for the war, that the mint was set up which was to strike autonomous coins of Jewish denominations throughout the war, silver shekels, half-shekels (the coin needed for the payment of the Temple tax) and quarter-shekels, and bronze of several values. The issue of silver coins (a right denied to provinces) and the legends proclaimed what the Jews hopefully regarded as their newly-won independence: "Jerusalem is holy" and "Jerusalem the holy" on the silver stressed the spiritual significance of the ejection of the Romans from the sacred capital, while "The freedom of Zion", changed in the fourth year to "For the redemption of Zion", on the bronze spoke of the political side of Jewish aspirations. The obverse types of a chalice, pomegranates, an amphora, a vine leaf or branch, a palm tree or branch, and the cult objects used in the ritual of the Feast of Tabernacles symbolized the Temple cult. The dates go up to year

may be assumed to have retained the presidency of the Sanhedrin, though without military responsibility.

²⁴ *BJ* ii, 648, 651; iv, 320-1.

²⁵ *BJ* ii, 566-8. Idumaea, uniquely, had two commanders, one of them Eleazar ἀρχιερέως υἱὸς Νέου. No such High Priest is known, and emendation to Ἀναγνίου would make the commander the captain of the Temple. In that case, it looks as if a firebrand was being carefully sent away from the capital. His colleague Jesus, son of Sapphas, "one of the high priests", is unknown in that office but may be taken as merely a member of a High Priestly family. His rôle may have been to exercise a restraining influence on Eleazar. The commander of west Judaea is described as Ἐσσαῖος, and if this is to be taken as identical with Ἐσσηνός, it suggests that the Essenes (above, p. 98, n. 133), despite their normal quietist doctrine and practice, supported the war.

five, and as the rare coins of that year were obviously struck before the fall of Jerusalem in August 70, the count ran from some time in the first half of 66, more probably from the civil New Year in Nisan (roughly April) than from the outbreak of the revolt in May.²⁶

The ease with which Gallus had occupied Bezetha underlined the most urgent work to be done for the defence of Jerusalem, the completion of Agrippa I's unfinished north wall. The long postponement of the Roman attack on the city gave over three years for the work, during which the wall was raised to a height of over thirty-five feet, except for a stretch north of Herod's tower Hippicus, where for some reason the builders failed to link the end of the new wall effectively to the north west angle of the old wall, an oversight which was to cost them dear.²⁷

Of the activities of the commanders of the five districts other than Galilee and their preparations for facing a major Roman attack Josephus says little, but their mandate, like his own, probably included the establishment of local civil administration as the prerequisite for the organization of military operations. The governor of west Judaea made an unprovoked attack on the Jews' inveterate enemy, Ascalon. It failed miserably, with the commander himself among the heavy Jewish casualties. But though ill-prepared and disastrous, the venture made some strategic sense, since Ascalon was garrisoned by two Roman auxiliary units, which might have attacked the Jews in the rear while their attention was concentrated on a Roman advance from the north.²⁸ In north east Judaea action had to be taken against a band of terrorists under Simon son of Gioras (later to be a leader of the final defence of Jerusalem), from Gerasa in the Decapolis. His programme included social revolution for the benefit of the poor, and when appointed to a subordinate command, he used it to run a campaign of plunder against the wealthy. He lost his position in consequence, but slipped away with his men to Masada, to carry on similar

²⁶ Before the publication of *BMC, Pal.* these coins were variously attributed, some or all being assigned by most numismatists to Simon Maccabaeus. Hill, *BMC, Pal.*, xc-xciv, conclusively attributes most of them to 66-70, leaving only the bronzes "For the redemption of Zion" of year 4 to Simon. Now, however, the coins have been proved all to belong to 66-70; see L. Kadman, *The Coins of the Jewish War of 66-73 C.E.* (1960), giving full bibliography, a summary of earlier work, and an exhaustive study of the coins. Cf. C. Roth's study of the types, legends and historical significance of the coins in *IEJ* xii (1962), 33-46 (independent of Kadman).

²⁷ *BJ* ii, 563, 648; v, 148-55, 259-60.

²⁸ *BJ* iii, 9-28.

activities in Idumaea. The idea of national unity for a war of liberation had not yet emerged and private gain was still uppermost in some minds.²⁹

In Galilee³⁰ Josephus turned out to be a man of remarkable (and perhaps unexpected) military and administrative aptitude. He set up a council of seventy, chosen from among the moderates, with powers of administration and capital jurisdiction over the whole district, and small subordinate boards for non-capital jurisdiction in the individual towns.³¹ Then he turned to military preparations. He attempted to canalize the energies of the extremists by enrolling them in the army which he formed and trained on Roman lines;³² and he surrounded the whole district with a protective ring of defensible positions by fortifying Sepphoris, Tiberias, Tarichaeae, and a number of smaller places.³³

Feeling throughout much of Galilee, a hotbed of guerillas for over a century, was strongly anti-Roman. Even Sepphoris, which had recently welcomed Cestius Gallus, had now declared for the rebels and was therefore included in Josephus' programme of fortification—to his subsequent regret, when the city soon resumed her allegiance to Rome and became an anti-Jewish stronghold.³⁴ The attitude of

²⁹ *BJ* ii, 652-4; iv, 503-4, giving him a command in Acrabeta, presumably under the general named in ii, 568 as in charge of that toparchy and Gophna; cf. vii, 265-6. Though described as a Gerasene, Simon must have been of at least partially Jewish blood. S. Applebaum argues for social discontent as a factor behind the nationalist movement as a whole—in *JRS* lxi (1971), 158-9, 166-8; cf. Kreissig, *Zusammenhänge*, 127-46.

³⁰ Josephus gives a reasonably succinct account of Galilaean affairs in *BJ* and a very long one in *Vita*. Unfortunately for the reader seeking a coherent picture, there are many discrepancies, chronological and other, major and minor, between the two versions. The *BJ* account, written soon after the events and with objectivity in mind, is probably the more reliable. The *Vita* was written twenty years later when details may have become blurred in Josephus' memory and, more significantly, has the avowedly apologetic purpose of self-vindication against what he regarded as the falsified account of his command in the (now lost) history of his enemy, Justus son of Pistus, of Tiberias. The two accounts are often complementary, but where they seem irreconcilable, the *BJ* is generally followed here.

³¹ *BJ* ii, 569-71; cf. *V* 28-9, 79.

³² *BJ* ii, 577-84; *V* 77-8.

³³ *BJ* ii, 572-5; *V* 187-9; also Gischala (below, p. 304). On the location of the Galilaean fortresses and of Josephus' strategy see M. Avi-Yonah in *IEJ* iii (1953), 94-8; M. Har-El in *IEJ* xxii (1972), 123-30; B. Bar Kochva in *IEJ* xxiv (1974), 108-16.

³⁴ *BJ* ii, 574; iii, 61. In *V* 30, 38-9, 103-4, 124, 232, and 346 Sepphoris' temporary rebel phases now and later (below, p. 305) are ignored and the city is described as consistently pro-Roman. Cf. below, pp. 307, 309. For coins of Nero struck at Sepphoris and dated 67-8 see H. Seyrig in *Numis. Chron.*⁶ x (1950), 284-9.

Tiberias, which with Tarichaeae belonged to the pro-Roman Agrippa, was ambiguous. The majority of the governing class were loyal to the king, on whom their positions depended, and therefore to Rome. But this peace-party was almost exactly balanced by a war-party led by Justus son of Pistus, who when Josephus took up his command had just succeeded in inducing the population to throw off its allegiance to Agrippa and declare for the rebels in the province with which they had strong and obvious ties.³⁵ But his ascendancy was far from secure, and twice in the following few months the peace-party was to regain control. Tarichaeae evidently also threw in its lot with the rebels at the same time, though the circumstances are not recorded.³⁶ In Gaulanitis, however, Gamala was kept forcibly loyal to Agrippa for the time being by a garrison of his troops, and this prevented the rest of Gaulanitis, though containing large numbers of Jews, from joining the national cause.³⁷

Josephus' policy was to prepare for war but neither to provoke it nor to respond to provocation at this stage. When Gallus stationed three auxiliary cohorts at Ptolemais to harry Galilaean frontier villages, he allowed no more than skirmishes and declined to attack despite his overwhelming numerical superiority.³⁸ An important facet of this pacific policy was the avoidance of any action liable to antagonize Agrippa, a potentially valuable mediator if negotiation ever became possible again. A difficult situation arose at once: the Sanhedrin, in a reaction against anything that savoured of pagan culture, put a stricter interpretation than the current one on the Second Commandment by banning all representational art, and instructed Josephus to have Antipas' palace at Tiberias, which was decorated with animal sculptures, demolished. The authorities in Tiberias reluctantly agreed, but Josephus took pains to salvage many of the portable works of art for Agrippa.³⁹ Later in the winter of 66-7 he returned two of Agrippa's Trachonite chieftains who had attempted to defect from him,⁴⁰ and when some rebels robbed one of his officials who was travelling

³⁵ V 32-42 (the second of the three parties here mentioned seems to have been insignificant); cf. 340, 391.

³⁶ This is inferred from the episode below, p. 304.

³⁷ V 46-61.

³⁸ V 213-15.

³⁹ V 64-9. On this interpretation of the incident see C. Roth in *HTbR* xlix (1956), 169-77.

⁴⁰ V 112-13, 149-54. The refugees were also unpopular with the Galilaeans because uncircumcised—further evidence of the current movement to purify Judaism.

through Galilee, Josephus confiscated the loot in order to restore it to the king.⁴¹

Josephus' policy was naturally not palatable to the war-party, the most energetic leader of which was John son of Levi, from Gischala in north Galilee, head of a gang of four hundred extremists who were terrorizing the district. At first Josephus tried to win his co-operation, and entrusted him with the fortification of his own town. But John soon became jealous of Josephus' success and popularity, and schemed to undermine his authority by spreading rumours that he was planning to betray the country to Rome, in the hope of then usurping his position.⁴² With Sepphoris already veering back to the Roman side, Tiberias was now the key city for the extremists, and John's plan was to win control there and from that position of strength to oust Josephus from his command. Justus was ready to assist, and when John gained admission by obtaining from the unsuspecting Josephus permission to visit the thermal springs for health reasons, he joined him in a bid to take over the city and have Josephus murdered. Josephus however escaped, and his mere threat of armed revenge sufficed to send John scuttling home to Gischala.⁴³ But his position was precarious, as the sequel to his seizure of the plunder taken from Agrippa's official showed: when it became known, he was denounced as a traitor at Tarichaeae and narrowly escaped two attempts on his life, the second made after he had tried to appease the mob by alleging that his purpose had been to finance the fortification of the town out of the loot.⁴⁴

John then devised a more insidious form of attack on Josephus. He made allegations to the high command in Jerusalem that he was preparing a *coup d'état* against the capital and urged his immediate dismissal. By this time the formerly pacific Pharisees had joined forces with the predominantly Sadducean High Priests to support the war, and their leader, Rabbi Simeon son of Gamaliel, head of the rabbinic

⁴¹ *BJ* ii, 595-7; *V* 126-8.

⁴² *BJ* ii, 575, 585-90, 593-4; *V* 44-5 (where John fortifies Gischala on his own initiative; cf. § 189), 84, 122-3, 132. The statement in *V* 43 that John originally opposed the revolt is credible. As a wealthy merchant (*BJ* ii, 591-2; *V* 71-6), he is likely to have supported the Roman government for reasons of economic security.

⁴³ *BJ* ii, 614-25; *V* 85-103.

⁴⁴ *V* 132-48; *BJ* ii, 598-613, placing the episode before that at Tiberias and implicating John in the first attempt on Josephus' life. The *Vita* order of events is preferable; that of *BJ* makes Josephus gullible enough to admit into Tiberias the man who has just tried to murder him.

school, was now associated with Annas in the high command.⁴⁵ They were evidently inclining to the extremist view by now, for they paid attention to this story and dispatched a commission of four with a small force to investigate Josephus' activities and send him back to Jerusalem. But Josephus had no mind to be supplanted. The commission failed to oust him by intrigue and negotiation, though they did win over Tiberias, where the pendulum was swinging back towards John. Gischala naturally followed, and also Gabara and, surprisingly, Sepphoris. But the defection was short-lived. Josephus soon recovered Tiberias by force of arms, and Sepphoris and Gabara without fighting (though Gischala remained in John's hand), and his would-be supplanters returned ignominiously to Jerusalem.⁴⁶

John's discomfiture discredited the war-party in Tiberias, where the pro-Roman party immediately seized the opportunity to offer the city's allegiance once more to Agrippa, to whom they appealed for military aid against the extremist attacks which were bound to follow this overture. Josephus, having foiled the extremists' attempt to make Tiberias the centre of the rebel movement, was thus now faced with the reverse problem, the city's blatant defection from the national cause, which, however keen his desire not to offend Agrippa, he could not countenance when he was officially organizing Galilee for war with Rome. He managed to regain control of Tiberias by a clever stratagem, without bloodshed, before any help came from Agrippa.⁴⁷

John's attack on Josephus also recoiled on his own head by losing him much of the popular support which he had previously enjoyed, and Josephus took advantage of this to detach the majority of his adherents by giving them twenty days in which to desert under threat of violence.⁴⁸ By the time the Roman offensive began in Galilee in the spring of 67, Josephus had established his authority over virtually the

⁴⁵ *V* 190-6, 216, 309; *BJ* iv, 159. A nephew of the prominent rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai was *abba sikra*, head of the *sicarii*—*BT Gitt.* 56a.

⁴⁶ *BJ* ii, 627-32; *V* 189-335, with an account of Josephus' attack on Tiberias which shows that διχὰ τῶν ὀπλων in *BJ* ii, 630 applies to Gabara and Sepphoris only. *V* 309-10 alleges that the high command in Jerusalem appointed his successors over the heads of the popular assembly (above, pp. 298-9), which replied by confirming Josephus in his post; cf. § 196. There may have been parties for and against Josephus in Jerusalem.

⁴⁷ *BJ* ii, 632-45; *V* 155-78. Agrippa's failure to support his former territory when attempting now and later (below, p. 306) to return to him may mean that he feared lest such support would provoke a rebel attack and thus lead indirectly to the destruction of the city; so Jones, *Herods*, 253.

⁴⁸ *V* 368-72.

whole district except Sepphoris, which had by then definitely declared for Rome and obtained a garrison from Gallus which Josephus failed to dislodge,⁴⁹ and he had foiled a second attempt by the wavering Tiberias to resume allegiance to Agrippa.⁵⁰ Gaulanitis had also come out on the rebel side, when Agrippa unwisely withdrew his garrison from Gamala. But though Josephus was able to fortify two towns in that district, his gains were partially nullified when Agrippa laid siege to Gamala early in March and thus put the fortress out of action as a possible Jewish base.⁵¹

The Roman Offensive

At the end of 66 Cestius Gallus had reported his reverses to Nero in Greece. The emperor, despite his preoccupation with artistic pursuits, took the news seriously and, when Gallus then died, promptly appointed Vespasian, a member of his accompanying suite and a man of great military experience, as commander-in-chief, with his elder son, Titus, as his second-in-command. Vespasian sent Titus to Alexandria to pick up an extra legion, XV Apollinaris, while he himself travelled overland to Antioch, where the helpful Agrippa was already waiting with his army.⁵²

There in the spring of 67 Vespasian assembled his invasion force. He decided not to use the legion which had been involved in the recent disgrace under Gallus, but to take one of the other regular Syrian legions, X Fretensis, together with V Macedonica, which was still there after Corbulo's campaigns, and eighteen auxiliary cohorts from Syria. In addition to troops under the three client kings who had assisted Gallus, he also had a contingent from the Jews' enemy, the Nabataean king. With these forces he advanced to Ptolemais, where he was joined by six units from Caesarea (the former garrison of Judaea,

⁴⁹ *V* 347, 373-80, 394-7; *BJ* iii, 31, with Caesennius Gallus (legate of XII Fulminata) in error for Cestius Gallus.

⁵⁰ *V* 381-9.

⁵¹ *V* 179-87; *BJ* ii, 574. Both works link the fortification of Seleuceia and Sogane with the fortification of Galilee (above, p. 302). The inclusion of Gamala in *BJ* is erroneous. Agrippa's siege lasted for seven months, and Vespasian's subsequent siege for one, ending in October—*BJ* iv, 10, 83; cf. below, p. 310.

⁵² *BJ* ii, 558; iii, 1-8, 29; Tac., *H* v, 10. The transfer of XV Apollinaris to Egypt after Corbulo's campaigns (cf. above, p. 296, n. 11) is not recorded. For discussion of the fantastic Jewish legend that Nero was sent to Judaea as commander before Vespasian but defected and became a proselyte and the ancestor of a rabbi of Hadrian's time (*BT Gitt.* 56a) see S. H. Bastomsky in *JQR* 2 lix (1968-9), 321-5; N. G. Cohen in *JJS* xxiii (1972), 51-9.

with a tradition of hostility towards the Jews) and by five units of auxiliary cavalry from Syria. When Titus arrived with the legion from Egypt, the total army numbered almost sixty thousand men, twice the size of Gallus' army⁵³—an acknowledgment of the magnitude of the Jewish threat.

At Ptolemais Vespasian was greeted with a message of welcome and a promise of support from Sepphoris, in response to which he sent an advance party to reinforce the small garrison installed by Gallus. They used Sepphoris as a base for ravaging Galilee, meeting no organized Jewish resistance and driving any irregulars who opposed them to take refuge in the places fortified by Josephus, which now showed their worth; Vespasian's men failed to storm the strongest of them, Jotapata, and Josephus was hoist with his own petard when he tried in vain to capture Sepphoris.⁵⁴

Vespasian then invaded Galilee with his main force. The Jewish army concentrated near Sepphoris took fright and dispersed without setting eyes on the enemy. At this complete collapse of morale Josephus fled to Tiberias with a handful of his troops, leaving Vespasian to capture the small town of Gabara, apparently unfortified, and to devastate the surrounding countryside without opposition.⁵⁵ In an apologetic paragraph Josephus represents himself at this point as a reluctant hero, serving against his better judgement rather than appear a renegade and advising the high command in Jerusalem that resistance with the forces at his disposal was useless.⁵⁶ But if that was his considered opinion, it is hard to see why he then left Tiberias almost at once to join his runaway troops in Jotapata, when Vespasian had already announced his intention of besieging it by having an access road built.⁵⁷ His conduct at the end of the siege is against the idea that he was seeking a heroic death. Outside the fortress he might have rallied some of his men for a counter-attack on the besiegers or have used the siege as an argument for surrender. Inside he was committed to

⁵³ *BJ* iii, 29, 64-9; cf. Tac., *H* i, 10, 3; v, 1, 2 *tres* (Titum) in *Iudaea legiones, quinta et decima et quinta decima, vetus Vespasiani miles, exceperere* (in 70). The two units from Caesarea which had been virtually wiped out in Jerusalem the previous summer had presumably been reconstituted or replaced (unless Josephus has grossly exaggerated those Roman losses). Suet., *Vesp.* 4, 6 on Vespasian's forces is incomplete.

⁵⁴ *BJ* iii, 30-3, 59-63, 110-14.

⁵⁵ *BJ* iii, 115-35. Gabara is not in either of Josephus' lists of the places which he fortified (above, p. 302).

⁵⁶ *BJ* iii, 136-40.

⁵⁷ *BJ* iii, 141-2.

resistance, besides putting his own life at risk. But whatever his motives, the inhabitants of Jotapata were delighted to have him to organize the defence, and Vespasian was delighted that his most formidable opponent in Galilee had walked into a trap.⁵⁸

Jotapata was a natural hill-top fortress, protected on all sides but the north by deep ravines. With the access road laid, Vespasian brought his main force up, and after preliminary skirmishes began to erect siege-works against the north wall. Despite the size, experience and engineering skill of his army, the siege lasted for nearly seven weeks. The Jews devised ingenious counter-measures: boulders were rolled down on to the attackers, dampened ox-hides were hung over the wall to deaden the impact of the artillery and bales of straw to cushion the blows of the battering-ram, and boiling oil was poured over the Roman *testudo* (the earliest recorded use of this popular medieval weapon). When the unequal struggle ended in July, the Romans killed all the male survivors and enslaved the women and children.⁵⁹ Josephus was one of the only two men to escape alive: he wriggled out of a suicide pact made by the last group of defenders when cornered in their hiding-place, and accepted Vespasian's offer of his life if he surrendered. As a valuable prisoner he was to be sent to Nero for trial, but his prediction that the current messianic prophecy was to be fulfilled in Vespasian's elevation to the throne won him such favour that he remained in honourable detention with the Roman army for the rest of the war.⁶⁰

The resistance at Jotapata and at Japha, a fortified village nearby which was captured during the siege of Jotapata,⁶¹ had shown that the reduction of the whole province would be a lengthy business, lasting into the next campaigning season. To rest his troops before continuing operations, Vespasian now established permanent bases for the legions in the non-Jewish cities of Caesarea and Scythopolis

⁵⁸ *BJ* ii, 143-4, 201-2; cf. 340.

⁵⁹ *BJ* iii, 141-288, 316-39, putting the fall of the fortress on 1 Panemus (= roughly July). The numbers of prisoners and slain given are impossible for a town of the size of Jotapata. The duration of the siege is given as 47 days (§ 316). But from 21 Artemisius (= roughly May), some days before the actual siege began (§ 142), to 1 Panemus is only about five weeks. The earlier date is probably the incorrect one, since Vespasian will have started operations as early as possible and little happened before the siege.

⁶⁰ *BJ* iii, 340-408; Dio lxvi, 1, 4; Suet., *Vesp.* 5, 6, giving also the general prophecy of success made to Vespasian by a priest on Mt Carmel (also in Tac., *H* ii, 78, 3). Cf. above, p. 293; below, p. 314, n. 92.

⁶¹ *BJ* iii, 289-306.

(the latter outside the province).⁶² The most urgent task was then the restoration of sea communications. It was now July or August, the season of the north west etesian winds, when direct navigation from Alexandria to Italy was impossible and westbound vessels had to sail via the coasts of Palestine, Syria and Asia Minor and across the Aegean. The insurgents had reoccupied Joppa after Gallus' withdrawal and were using it as a base for piracy, endangering not only Vespasian's link with Greece and Italy but also the corn supply of Rome itself by disrupting sea traffic from Alexandria. A small Roman force captured the port easily, with the assistance of a well-timed storm which smashed the pirate fleet, and a garrison was left to hold it.⁶³

Though Tiberias and Tarichaeae were in rebel hands, pro-Roman feeling was known to be strong in Tiberias and Vespasian could hope to recover that city for his ally Agrippa without difficulty. In August he reassembled his three legions at the loyal city of Sepphoris and advanced on Tiberias, which opened its gates at the mere threat of force and welcomed the Romans as saviours and benefactors, while the rebels, after offering token defiance, made good their escape to Tarichaeae.⁶⁴ There the war-party was stronger even before it was stiffened by the refugees from Tiberias, but the city's resistance was brief; the rebel army was defeated, and when dissension then broke out, the Romans took advantage of it to enter the city from its unwallled side facing the Sea of Galilee. Vespasian recognized the distinction between citizens of Tarichaeae, Agrippa's subjects, who had been caught up in the war involuntarily and were now handed back with their city to the king, and non-resident insurgents, who were massacred or sold as slaves, with the exception of six thousand who were shipped to Greece to work on Nero's Corinthian canal.⁶⁵

At this, the whole of Galilee submitted except for Gischala and a rebel force entrenched on Mt Tabor. Before tackling them, Vespasian made a détour into Agrippa's territory of Gaulanitis to subdue the

⁶² *BJ* iii, 409-13 (XV at Scythopolis, V and X at Caesarea). Jews had recently been massacred in both cities (above, p. 295 ; below, p. 358).

⁶³ *BJ* iii, 414-31.

⁶⁴ *BJ* iii, 443-61. At least a month must have elapsed since the fall of Jotapata, as Vespasian went from there to Caesarea to organize the legionary base (above) and then spent twenty days in Caesarea Philippi.

⁶⁵ *BJ* iii, 462-505, 522-42, giving the date 8 Gorpiaeus (= roughly September) for the fall of Tarichaeae. The *Victoria navalis* coins of Vespasian are too numerous for their reference to be "predominantly" to the minor Roman naval action on the Sea of Galilee, as E. Conrad thinks—in *Numis. Circular* (Spink and Sons) May 1973, 187-8.

fortress of Gamala which the king's troops had been besieging in vain for seven months since its defection to the rebels. Such was the natural strength of the position and so fierce the resistance that it took the three legions a month to storm it.⁶⁶ It was by now October, but Vespasian completed the subjugation of Galilee before closing the season's operations. A small force easily dislodged the garrison on Mt Tabor,⁶⁷ and Gischala capitulated when the redoubtable John, who at first repudiated all thought of surrender, realized that the town's defences could not stand a siege and slipped away to Jerusalem with his band of terrorists, to the great relief of the townsfolk.⁶⁸ Finally Vespasian made one foray south of Galilee, to reduce and garrison Lydda, Jamnia and Azotus,⁶⁹ and then during the winter consolidated his conquests by establishing garrisons throughout Galilee.⁷⁰

Operations were resumed early in 68 and by June Vespasian had isolated Jerusalem by subduing most of the rest of the province. In Peraea the wealthy governing class surrendered Gadara, the capital, to avoid damage, but the revolutionaries escaped and put up strong resistance in the countryside. Vespasian left a subordinate there who subjugated the whole district except the fortress of Machaeros, now garrisoned by the rebels.⁷¹ Meanwhile he himself with the other two legions tackled western Judaea and Idumaea. With three cities already garrisoned, Judaea gave little trouble, and Vespasian provided Jews who surrendered to him with a safe refuge from the war by settling them in Lydda and Jamnia. Idumaea, however, needed a certain amount of fire-and-sword treatment to bring it to heel.⁷² Samaritis with its long tradition of hostility towards the Jews was standing aside

⁶⁶ *BJ* iv, 1-53, 62-83, giving the dates 24 Gorpiaeus to 23 Hyperberetaeus (= roughly October) for the siege. For the site of Gamala on the Golan Heights see *The Times*, 13 Nov. 1970, p. 9.

⁶⁷ *BJ* iv, 54-61.

⁶⁸ *BJ* iv, 84-120.

⁶⁹ *BJ* iv, 130 (Jamnia and Azotus), 444 (Lydda and Jamnia).

⁷⁰ *BJ* iv, 442. The billets of legions X and XV were reversed for the winter (§ 87), to give XV an opportunity to enjoy the amenities of Caesarea.

⁷¹ *BJ* iv, 413-39, giving the date 4 Dystrus (= roughly March) for the surrender of Gadara, identified as es-Salt, some fifty miles south of the better known Gadara in the Decapolis; see Thackeray, note to § 413. In § 450 the detachment which has subdued Peraea is under M. Ulpius Traianus (father of the emperor), legate of X, which suggests that the bulk of it was drawn from that legion; in § 419 its commander is Placidus, a military tribune of distinction.

⁷² *BJ* iv, 443-8, putting the opening of the campaign "in early spring." § 450 dates Vespasian's arrival in Jericho after it to 3 Daesius (= roughly June). The Idumaean villages in § 447 are unidentified.

from the revolt, but Vespasian had had to put down what appeared to be an incipient rising there during the siege of Jotapata a year earlier,⁷³ and he now gave a display of strength by marching through the district before joining the force from Peraea and occupying Jericho, which was evacuated by its inhabitants on his approach.⁷⁴ A ring of camps was then established encircling Jerusalem, as a preparation for investing the capital and as a precaution against renewed risings—at Emmaus fifteen miles west of the city, where one complete legion was stationed, at Adida near Lydda twenty miles north west, at Jericho fifteen miles east, at unspecified sites in Idumaea to the south, at an unidentified site given as “Gerasa”,⁷⁵ and probably at Khirbet Qumran, where the life of the community came to a sudden end at about this time with the destruction of the buildings by assault and fire and a part of the site was then re-used as a small Roman military post.⁷⁶

The whole province had now been overrun except eastern Judaea, where the fortress of Herodion had fallen into rebel hands, and all seemed set for the assault on Jerusalem.⁷⁷ But when Vespasian

⁷³ *BJ* iii, 307-15. The fact that the movement was centred on Mt Gerizim suggests a messianic character; cf. the episode in 36 (above, pp. 170-1).

⁷⁴ *BJ* iv, 449-51.

⁷⁵ *BJ* iv, 444-8, 486-90. The tombstones of men of V Macedonica at Emmaus may belong to this period—*CIL* III, 6647, 14155¹¹, ¹²; but see below, p. 448, n. 75. “Gerasa” must be an otherwise unknown place near Jerusalem; possibly the name of the well known city has replaced an unfamiliar name in the text. X Fretensis may have returned to Scythopolis to control the north; see *BJ* v, 42, 69, where it marches to Jerusalem “via Jericho” (?down the Jordan valley).

⁷⁶ The fact that large numbers of Jewish coins of the 2nd year of the revolt were found in the ruins but very few of the 3rd and none of later years suggests that Khirbet Qumran was captured by Vespasian (a minor operation ignored by Josephus) immediately after his occupation of Jericho, when he visited the Dead Sea—*BJ* iv, 477; the Roman re-use of the site can, on the Roman coin-evidence, have been immediate. See de Vaux, *L'Archéologie*, 28-36 (to his bibliography of the discussion add Driver, *Scrolls*, 394-9, and de Vaux's reply in *RB* lxxiii (1966), 232-5); cf. 49-57 for the adjacent subsidiary establishment at Ain Feshka.

⁷⁷ *BJ* iv, 550-1, the toparchies of Gophna and Acrabeta, one of the six military districts (above, p. 300); cf. Tac., *H* ii, 4, 3. The seizure of Herodion (*BJ* iv, 518) is not recorded. The copper scroll from Qumran listing vast quantities of gold and silver hidden in various places in Jerusalem and vicinity and the Jericho region may be a genuine inventory of the Temple treasures, concealed when the Roman siege was imminent. But in view of the huge total of 4,630 talents involved, it may be a fantasy, part of the folklore of the fabulous riches of the Temple (cf. above, p. 36, n. 50), historically valueless, compiled between 70 and Bar Cochba's revolt, when there was hope of the rebuilding of the Temple; so J. T. Milik in *DJD* III, 201-317 (the definitive publication).

returned to Caesarea for his final preparations, he received news of Nero's death on 9 June. With the death of the emperor who had appointed him his command automatically lapsed, and he therefore had to suspend operations and await confirmation by his successor. But the subsequent news of Galba's accession included no word about the Jewish command. In the late autumn, when no further campaigns were possible that season, Vespasian sent Titus to Rome to pay his respects to the new emperor and to ask for instructions about the Jewish war. But in Corinth Titus heard of Galba's assassination and Otho's accession on 15 January and promptly turned back,⁷⁸ with the result that Vespasian wasted a whole year in inaction, and even lost ground to the rebels. It was not until the summer of 69 that he took the law into his own hands and resumed operations without authorization from Rome.

Events in Jerusalem, 68-9

The Jews did not put their unexpected year's respite to the best use. Instead of consolidating their resources, they frittered them away on a continuation of the internecine strife which had begun in the winter of 67-68, and allowed the antagonism between the extremists and the moderates to explode into faction fights throughout the country.⁷⁹

The trouble was particularly acute in Jerusalem, where the arrival of John of Gischala and his followers together with other extremists from various parts of the country towards the end of 67 strengthened the war-party.⁸⁰ Fearing that the moderates might come to terms with the Romans, who were now gaining ground, John's partisans joined forces with the Zealots under Eleazar son of Simon⁸¹ to attack them. By arrest and murder they intimidated the secular aristocracy and then sought to undermine the influence of the High Priestly aristocracy by

⁷⁸ *BJ* iv, 491, 497-502; Tac., *H* i, 10, 3; ii, 1-2; 4, 2; Suet., *Tit.* 5, 1. Even in midsummer the news of Nero's death will probably have taken at least three weeks to reach the East. The events of 15 Jan. 69 cannot have been known in Greece before mid-February. Agrippa travelled with Titus to offer the same courtesy to Galba on his own account, and continued his journey to Rome alone, perhaps to ensure that the new emperor, whoever he was, confirmed him in his kingdom.

⁷⁹ *BJ* iv, 128-34.

⁸⁰ *BJ* iv, 121-8, 135-7. This big increase in the city's population was later to be a severe strain on its food supplies (below, p. 321, n. 120).

⁸¹ See above, pp. 297, 299. *BJ* iv, 225 probably concerns the same man, and υἱὸς Γιωβοῦς in some MSS. is an error. John's alliance with the Zealots, explicit in *BJ* v, 528, need not mean ideological adherence to the sect. On his relations with that faction see C. Roth in *JSemS* iv (1959), 346-51.

taking possession of the Temple, deposing the High Priest, and appointing a successor unconstitutionally by lot. To make a clean break with the philo-Roman traditions of the office, they chose for the post a complete nonentity, a humble priest unconnected with any High Priestly family, unfitted for and ignorant of the duties involved.⁸²

But murder was one thing, sacrilege another. In this outrage on the sanctity of both the Temple and the High Priesthood these fanatics went too far. Popular fury, fanned by the leader of the Pharisees, Rabbi Simeon son of Gamaliel, and by the high command, in which the ex-High Priest Jesus son of Gamaliel, immediate predecessor of the man just deposed, was now Annas' colleague,⁸³ was canalized into an attack on the offenders by Annas in a speech to the assembly arguing that it was pointless to fight for freedom against the Romans, who did at least respect the Temple and the Law, if they were then to submit to Zealot tyranny. In the battle for the Temple which followed, Annas mastered the outer court by his numerical superiority and blockaded the Zealots in the inner courts.⁸⁴ John himself, however, remained at large in Jerusalem. Annas, with his control of affairs now restored, feared John's subversive influence on the people at large, and tried to win him over to the side of the moderates. But to no effect. John denounced him as a traitor to the beleaguered Zealots, alleging that he had persuaded the assembly to pass a resolution to surrender the city and was already in communication with Vespasian. The Zealots responded by summoning reinforcements from Idumaea.⁸⁵ The Idumaeans seized the chance of action with alacrity and twenty thousand of them soon appeared before the walls of Jerusalem.⁸⁶ Annas, naturally, shut the gates in their faces, while his colleague Jesus tried to persuade them to change sides in a speech from the walls reviling the Zealots for their atroc-

⁸² *BJ* iv, 138-57; 160 (implicating the Zealots); *Tos. Yoma* 1, 6, p. 180; *Tanbouma* 48a; *Talkout*, 631; *Sifra Levit.* 2, 1, 94c; 21, 10. The deposed High Priest, Matthias son of Theophilus, appointed between 64 and 66 (*AJ* xx, 223), is not recorded as having played any active part in the revolt.

⁸³ *BJ* iv, 159; *V* 193, 204, putting Jesus son of Gamaliel (High Priest from 63 or 64 for some two years—*AJ* xx, 213, 223) in command in the previous winter.

⁸⁴ *BJ* iv, 158-207.

⁸⁵ *BJ* iv, 208-32. Josephus' account, taken at its face value, makes Annas unconvincingly gullible.

⁸⁶ *BJ* iv, 233-5. This was probably before Vespasian's campaign in Idumaea and his establishment of garrisons there (above, pp. 310-11), which will have prevented mobilization.

ities and arguing the absurdity of the charge against Annas.⁸⁷ But neither reason nor rhetoric cut any ice with the Idumaeans, who encamped outside the walls until the Zealots smuggled them in under cover of darkness and a violent storm.⁸⁸ By an unexpected attack they regained control of the outer court of the Temple that same night, and then in a campaign of pillage and destruction in the rest of the city they sought out and killed Annas and Jesus.⁸⁹ To Josephus this was the turning-point in the war: "the capture of the city began with the death of Annas", who as a statesman could have negotiated peace or as a general could have delayed the Roman victory; but the sacrilegious murder of two ex-High Priests was part of the divine plan to punish the sins of Jerusalem.⁹⁰

The Zealots and Idumaeans, with Jerusalem now at their mercy, instituted a bloodbath by which the already weakened moderate party was put out of action. But the Zealots went to such lengths of brutality that many of the Idumaeans became disgusted and returned home⁹¹—a prudent step in any case before the Romans besieged the city. Vespasian was indeed being urged by his staff to take advantage of the disunity within Jerusalem, of which news was brought by the numerous deserters who fled to him to escape Zealot ferocity, and to attack as soon as the campaigning season opened in March 68. But he reckoned that an attack would unite the warring factions and preferred to let the Jews do his work for him by wearing themselves out, while he completed the subjugation of the rest of the province.⁹²

⁸⁷ *BJ* iv, 236-69.

⁸⁸ *BJ* iv, 270-304, with the storm suggesting the early months of 68.

⁸⁹ *BJ* iv, 305-17.

⁹⁰ *BJ* iv, 318-25; cf. *Orac. Sib.* iv, 115-18, implying that the destruction of Jerusalem was a punishment for impiety and *στυγερούς φόνους πρὸς ναοῦ*. Josephus' encomium on Annas here contrasts with his derogatory description of him as High Priest in 62, but the two pictures are not irreconcilable; Annas was consistently anti-Roman, but by 66 his attitude had developed into a cautious and realistic one. See further the present writer in *JThS*² xiii (1962), 30.

⁹¹ *BJ* iv, 326-65. *BJ* iv, 566 ff. and vi, 378 ff. show (against § 353) that quite a number of Idumaeans remained.

⁹² *BJ* iv, 366-88, 410-13. It was probably at this stage that R. Johanan ben Zakkai made his celebrated escape from Jerusalem to the Romans by feigning death and getting himself carried out of the city in a coffin—*BT Gitt.* 56a-b; *Midr. Lament. R.* i, 5, § 31; *ARN* 4 (Goldin, 36). For other references and full discussion see Neusner, *Yohanan*, 111-12; 2nd ed., 157-66. The story could mean that the Roman army was outside Jerusalem at the time, i.e. that the date was 70 and that "Vespasian" is an error for "Titus" (so A. Momigliano in *CAH* X, 861). But escape by Johanan's expedient in 70 seems very improbable, and rabbinic tradition attributes to him the prophecy of Vespasian's

His calculations proved correct, for shortly after the Idumaeans' departure there was a split in the nationalist ranks. The republican government dependent on the priestly aristocracy having been overthrown, John now hoped to set himself up as an autocrat, but his overbearing behaviour was so distasteful to the Zealots under Eleazar that the alliance between the two groups of extremists broke up.⁹³ The two parties, now rivals, did not, however, come to blows till a year later, in the early summer of 69, by which time there was a third contestant for the supremacy in Jerusalem, Simon son of Gioras.

Simon, leader of a nationalist faction distinct from both John's partisans and the Zealots, had joined the *sicarii* in Masada in 67 when he lost his command in north east Judaea, though he had been received, as a stranger, with some suspicion. The raids which were carried out from there did not satisfy his ambitions, and after the death of Annas he withdrew and began to lay plans for a bid for the leadership of Jerusalem as a rival to John.⁹⁴ He collected an army which included refugees from the Zealot tyranny there, and when the Romans retired from the field in the middle of 68, he got control of the area of his previous command, the only part of the country not yet recovered by Rome, without opposition and held it against a Zealot attack. He then invaded Idumaea, recently subdued by Vespasian. The Idumaeans, not relishing the prospect of domination by a Jewish adventurer, put up some resistance, but when the district was handed over by a traitor, some Idumaeans joined his army.⁹⁵ In the spring of 69 Simon turned to his real objective and encamped outside the walls of Jerusalem. John and the Zealots had by now established a reign of terror so horrifying that the remnants of the High Priestly aristocracy, with the backing of the population as a whole, regarded Simon as a lesser evil and admitted him in the hope that he could deliver them from John. Simon's schemes were succeeding better than he can have dared to hope: he had become master of much of Jerusalem without striking a blow, with an official position which put him on a different footing

elevation to the throne (above, p. 308), which is also against that date. Vespasian, however, was at Jericho, at no great distance, in June 68 (above, p. 311). §§ 380-3 concern extra-mural burial, and the Zealot prohibition is hard to credit.

⁹³ *BJ* iv, 389-97; v, 5-8.

⁹⁴ *BJ* iv, 398-409, with a raid on Engedi dated to the Passover of 68 (for archaeological evidence for the destruction of Engedi at this period see B. Mazar and I. Dunayevsky in *IEJ* xiv (1964), 128-30); 503-8 (cf. above, pp. 301-2).

⁹⁵ *BJ* iv, 353, 509-37; v, 249 (his Idumaean recruits).

from John, as the ally and champion of what was left of the moderate party.⁹⁶

Simon set to work to oust the Zealots, still entrenched in the Temple. But before he achieved any success, the split which had begun to appear between John and the Zealots a year earlier, instead of being healed by the menace from outside, became definite, and a three-cornered struggle ensued. A small group of two thousand four hundred Zealots under Eleazar held the inner courts; John's party, numbering six thousand, held the outer court and part of the Lower City on Ophel and was fighting on two fronts, sandwiched between Eleazar and Simon; and Simon, with by far the largest army, fifteen thousand in all, controlled the whole of the Upper City and most of the Lower.⁹⁷ One of the most serious effects of the conflict was the burning of large stocks of grain, a particularly disastrous loss if the Jewish tradition is correct that the year October 68-69 was sabbatical and replenishments were therefore not available from outside. Before the next harvest was gathered, in April-May 70, Jerusalem was under siege, and severe famine was one of the main hardships.⁹⁸ Such was the situation in Jerusalem when Vespasian resumed operations in the summer of 69.

The Siege of Jerusalem

As a necessary prelude to attacking Jerusalem, the areas held by Simon since the previous summer, north east Judaea and Idumaea, had to be recovered and garrisoned. Once this was done, without apparent difficulty, the only places outside the capital still in rebel hands were the three fortresses of Herodion, Machaeros and Masada, and a few pockets of resistance in the caves overlooking the Dead Sea, which Vespasian felt could safely be ignored for the present,

⁹⁶ *BJ* iv, 538-44, 556-77, giving the month Xanthicus (= roughly April) for Simon's entry into Jerusalem; cf. v, 528. Josephus does not recognize the change in his status from faction leader to official leader. For a study of Simon's position see O. Mitchel in *NTS* xiv (1967-8), 402-8.

⁹⁷ *BJ* iv, 577-84; v, 2-39, 248-52, giving the numerical strengths. As Simon held only "most of" the Lower City (§ 11), John presumably held the rest in 69 as in 70 (§ 254).

⁹⁸ *BJ* v, 24; Tac., *H* v, 12, 3; cf. *ARN* 6 (Goldin, 45-6). Midr. *Lament.* R. i, 5, § 31 connects the burning of the food stores with R. Johanan's flight (above, p. 314, n. 92). For the tradition that Jerusalem was taken in the year following a sabbatical year see *Seder Olam Rabbah* 30 (on the work see above, p. 113, n. 35); *BT Arak.* 11b-12b; *Ta'an.* 29a.

while he concentrated on his main objective.⁹⁹ But once again the fate of Jerusalem was postponed, when early in July Vespasian himself was proclaimed emperor by the legions in the East, and the Jewish war temporarily had to take second place. He and Titus went first to Berytus for a council of war (where Josephus was released from bonds as a reward for the fulfilment of his prophecy) and then to Egypt to secure its corn supplies, and it was not until the spring of 70 that action was resumed, when the new emperor, with his position assured, transferred the Jewish command to his son and returned to Rome himself.¹⁰⁰

The Roman forces in Judaea were now raised to four legions by the addition of XII Fulminata from Syria, and Titus brought with him two thousand men from the legions in Egypt, III Cyrenaica and XXII Deiotariana, to replace the vexillations which Mucianus, Cestius Gallus' successor in Syria, had by now taken to Italy for his campaign against the Vitellians.¹⁰¹ The number of auxiliary units remained virtually unchanged, but the client kings now increased their contingents, with Agrippa and Sohaemus leading theirs in person.¹⁰² Tiberius Julius Alexander, who as prefect of Egypt had been the first provincial governor to declare for Vespasian, joined Titus' staff,¹⁰³ which now included a new procurator of Judaea, M. Antonius Julianus.¹⁰⁴ In the

⁹⁹ *BJ* iv, 550-5, giving the date 5 Daesius (= roughly June) for the start of the campaign, though Josephus seems unaware that it is now a year after the month Daesius of § 449; v, 50 (a garrison in Gophna).

¹⁰⁰ *BJ* iv, 588-629, 656-8; Tac., *H* ii, 79-82; iii, 48, 3; iv, 81; v, 1, 1. The implication in *H* ii, 82, 3 that Titus did not accompany Vespasian to Egypt falls in view of Josephus' detailed account of his march back from Alexandria—iv, 659-63. M. Avi-Yonah suggests that the southern section of the Alexandria-Antioch coastal road as far as Ptolemais was completed during or shortly after the war; Titus' march "might either have been on the new road or have served to fix its route"—in *IEJ* i (1950-1), 54-5. Cf. *BJ* iii, 118 for road-surveyors and builders in Vespasian's army.

¹⁰¹ *BJ* v, 40-4 (with 3,000 unexplained φύλακες from the Euphrates); Tac., *H* v, 1, 2. *BJ* vi, 238 erroneously calls the vexillations from Egypt "two legions".

¹⁰² Tac., *H* v, 1, 2, mentioning 20 cohorts and 8 *alae* (cf. 23 cohorts and 6 *alae* in 67; above, pp. 306-7) and distinguishing between Agrippa and Sohaemus, who *comitabantur* personally, and the forces of Antiochus and the Nabataeans. Agrippa had returned from Rome (above, p. 312, n. 78) on hearing of Vespasian's proclamation as emperor. Josephus has no word of his presence at the fall of Jerusalem, but may have suppressed it as excessively cold-blooded.

¹⁰³ *BJ* v, 45-6; vi, 237 (*praefectus castorum*); cf. *OGIS* 586.

¹⁰⁴ *BJ* vi, 238 (where in the latter part of the § a plurality of procurators is improbable and ἐπιτρόπων should perhaps be emended to ἐπάρχων = prefects of auxiliary units; cf. H. G. Pflaum, *Les procurateurs équestres sous le Haut-*

spring of 70 Titus assembled his army near Jerusalem, where one legion, X Fretensis, established a base on the Mount of Olives commanding the eastern side of the city, while the other three encamped on Mt Scopus, the site of Gallus' camp.¹⁰⁵

The approach of the Roman army temporarily united the three factions in Jerusalem and they made a joint sally across the Kidron to surprise the tenth legion while occupied with the fortification of its camp. The legion was thrown off balance for a time, but eventually rallied and beat the Jews back.¹⁰⁶ This minor success, however, far from inspiring the Jews to sink their differences and present a united front, merely encouraged them to ignore the Roman menace and return to their internal feud. None of the three rival leaders would at this stage entrust the supreme command to another but each was out to secure it for himself by eliminating the others. Eleazar was the first to succumb. When he opened the gates to the inner courts of the Temple to admit worshippers for the Passover, John took advantage of his piety to attack and overpower his partisans, the Zealots, and imposed his leadership on them.¹⁰⁷ But though Titus moved his legions from Mt Scopus down to camps close to the city walls on the same day,¹⁰⁸ civil war continued in Jerusalem between the factions, now reduced to two,¹⁰⁹ the first of Titus' several attempts to offer terms through Josephus as mediator was ignored,¹¹⁰ and it was not until the battering-rams were actually at work that John agreed to

Empire romain (1950), 145). This procurator, otherwise unattested, may have replaced Florus at Caesarea some time earlier. He may be the Antonius Julianus, author of *De Iudaëis*, whom Minucius Felix, *Oct.* 33, 4, links with Josephus as a second witness to the punishments suffered by the Jews for their *nequitia*; so E. Norden in *Neue Jahrb. klass. Altertums* xxxi (1913), 664-6, who is widely followed. Cf. below, pp. 325, n. 146; 350. But the author cited by Minucius may have written in the second century on the war of Bar Cochba as well as or instead of that of 66-70.

¹⁰⁵ *BJ* v, 67-70. It was before the Passover (below).

¹⁰⁶ *BJ* v, 71-97.

¹⁰⁷ *BJ* v, 98-105. C. Roth suggests that as Jews refrained from hostilities on festivals, there may have been different calendars in use by the two factions—in *JSemS* iv (1959), 351. Cf. (in another connection) Driver, *Scrolls*, 281-3.

¹⁰⁸ *BJ* v, 106-8, 130-5. For the date, 14 Xanthicus (= roughly April), see § 99 (the Passover) with § 567.

¹⁰⁹ *BJ* v, 248-57.

¹¹⁰ *BJ* v, 114. Attempts at negotiation are entirely credible. Surrender would be less costly for Rome than assault—a consideration likely to have weighed more heavily with Titus than the aesthetic value of Jerusalem; cf. below, pp. 320, 325-6. The appeals through Josephus may be echoed in *ARN* 4 (Goldin, 35), though there Vespasian is responsible and R. Johanan ben Zakkai deserts (above, p. 314, n. 92) in consequence.

recognize the leadership conferred on Simon earlier by general consent of the citizens and to collaborate with him in co-ordinating the defence: Simon was to continue to organize operations in the Upper City and John those in the Temple and the Antonia, but free access for all parties to the Temple was restored.¹¹¹

Like Pompey and Sosius, Titus had to attack Jerusalem from the north, where it was not protected by ravines.¹¹² For his first assault he chose the western sector of Agrippa I's wall. Running north west from Herod's tower Hippicus to the tower Psephinus which formed the north west angle, it lay north of the valley of Gehenna on fairly low, level ground which afforded easy access. Moreover, though more than three years had elapsed since work had been put in hand on the unfinished wall, the junction between the new wall and the old immediately north of Hippicus was still not complete. Titus stationed part of his force opposite this convenient gap and the rest opposite Psephinus.¹¹³ The operation took a fortnight. Siege-works on which to mount battering-rams were constructed under cover of artillery fire, to which Simon's men made ineffective reply with the engines captured from the Romans in 66, the use of which they had not mastered.¹¹⁴ Sallies and attempts to burn the Roman siege-engines were unavailing, and when the wall began to weaken under the blows of the rams, the defenders withdrew before a breach was made in order to concentrate their attention on the inner north walls. The whole of Bezetha then fell into the hands of the Romans, who demolished a long section of Agrippa's wall and moved their camp into the suburb, within striking distance of the second north wall, the Antonia, and the north wall of the Temple enclosure.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ *BJ* v, 275-9, where Simon's proclamation about the reopening of the Temple (in John's domain) implies his seniority. The division of command, not mentioned till § 304, probably applied from the start.

¹¹² For a detailed study of Titus' siege of Jerusalem see F. M. Abel in *RB* lvi (1949), 238-58.

¹¹³ *BJ* v, 133-4, 258-60, where Agrippa's wall, called the third from the chronological viewpoint and that of the besieged in the description of the city (§ 147), is viewed from the Roman standpoint as the first, while the "old", innermost wall (§ 142) is called the third (cf. §§ 347, 374). On the two pre-Agrippan walls see Appendix C. Presumably Titus dared not enter Bezetha via the existing gap in the wall for fear of being trapped, and therefore wanted to demolish a considerable part of the western sector.

¹¹⁴ *BJ* v, 262-74. For the captured artillery see above, pp. 294, 298.

¹¹⁵ *BJ* v, 275-303, giving the date 7 Artemisius (= roughly May) for the capture of the wall on the fifteenth day of the siege; Dio lxvi, 4, 3-5, 2 (on 4, 4 see below, p. 321, n. 122).

Titus tackled the second wall next, concentrating his assault on the central section, possibly because it was out of range of Jewish artillery on the Antonia at its northern end and Herod's towers beyond its south western end. After five days of heavy fighting a tower there was battered down, but when the Romans poured in through the narrow breach thus made, they were trapped in the labyrinth of small streets between the second wall and the innermost north wall, the "old wall", and suffered such severe casualties that they had to evacuate the area temporarily. Titus did not repeat the error when he recaptured the wall, but razed the whole of the section between the breach and the Antonia and occupied the towers along the section between the breach and the junction of the second wall with the inner wall.¹¹⁶

Titus now had access to the northern part of the western wall of the Temple enclosure as well as to its north wall, but before he could begin his assault on what was bound to be the most fanatically defended part of Jerusalem, he had to secure the Antonia at the angle between these two walls. This took two months. After allowing his troops a few days' rest, during which he hoped that the formidable spectacle of the massed army on parade would induce submission, Titus mounted simultaneous attacks on the Antonia and on the western end of the inner north wall. Opposite each of these points two legions constructed double earthworks, though constantly harried by the Jews, especially John's men in the Antonia with the Roman artillery which they had now learnt to use.¹¹⁷ Josephus, who is determined to exonerate Titus of responsibility for the destruction of Jerusalem and reiterates his alleged desire to save the city,¹¹⁸ says that he made another attempt at negotiation while the work was in progress, and draws a vivid but unconvincing picture of himself as his emissary, touring the walls "within earshot but out of range of missiles" and treating the defenders to a lengthy rhetorical appeal to

¹¹⁶ *BJ* v, 304-47; cf. Dio lxvi, 5, 2-6, 1. The Jewish artillery on the Antonia (§§ 358-9) is not mentioned in connection with the assault on the second wall but was presumably already in position. There is no actual reference to artillery mounted on Herod's towers at any date, but Titus could reasonably have feared that the towers would be so used. Cf. C. T. Norris in *PEQ* 1946, 24-37.

¹¹⁷ *BJ* v, 348-59, 467-8, showing that legions V and XII worked opposite the Antonia, X and XV opposite "the tomb of John the High Priest". The assault on Agrippa's wall also had been made near that monument (§ 259), which must therefore have been near the north west angle of the pre-Agrippan wall and Herod's three towers (cf. below, p. 326).

¹¹⁸ *BJ* v, 333-4, 360-1, 456; vi, 128, 228, 238-41, 256-66 (cf. below, pp. 325-6), 346. Cf. Titus' regret at the necessities of war—*BJ* v, 450, 519, 522.

surrender while they could still hope for mercy, and reinforcing his arguments with a disquisition on the lessons to be learnt from Jewish history.¹¹⁹ A more potent advocate of surrender was Rome's ally within the walls, famine, which was now becoming acute.¹²⁰ Yet the war-party did not flinch, and when a new wave of desertions began, John and Simon tried to stem it by attacking people whom they suspected of planning escape. Atrocities, however, were not confined to the Jewish side. The Romans tried to intimidate the Jews into surrender by crucifying some of their prisoners in full view of the walls and sending others back to the city minus their hands.¹²¹

The Romans spent the second half of May erecting their siege-works. Meanwhile John's men drove a tunnel under those threatening the Antonia, and when the mounds were ready to take the battering-rams, they set fire to combustible material in the far end of the tunnel, which collapsed when its wooden supports burnt through, bringing the earthwork down into the cavity. Two days later Simon's men made a successful sortie against the earthworks opposite the western end of the north wall, where the battering-rams were already in operation, burnt some of the siege-engines and attacked the legionary camp.¹²² Sufficient damage was sustained in both sectors that Titus now decided to make full use of his ally famine and resort to a blockade. A circumvallation nearly four miles long was thrown up round the city, starting from his own camp inside Agrippa's wall and crossing the Kidron twice to include the Mount of Olives. Units of troops in thirteen fortlets along the wall patrolled it day and night to prevent the import of provisions.¹²³

¹¹⁹ *BJ* vi, 360-419; cf. Dio lxvi, 5, 3, a proclamation by Titus offering ἄδεια, placed, probably erroneously, during the assault on the second wall.

¹²⁰ *BJ* v, 424-38; cf. Tac., *H* v, 11, 2. Gruesome pictures of the effects of the famine punctuate Josephus' narrative from this point—v, 512-15, 548-9, 567-72; vi, 193-213. Cf. *BT Gitt.* 56a; *Midr. Lament. R.* i, 5, § 31; *ARN* 6 (Goldin, 46).

¹²¹ *BJ* v, 420-3, 439-59.

¹²² *BJ* v, 466-90, giving 12 and 29 Artemisius as the dates for the start and the completion of the siege-works. Dio lxvi, 4, 4 misplaces the undermining of the siege-works; but he omits the attack on the Antonia and goes straight from the capture of the second wall to that of the Temple.

¹²³ *BJ* v, 491-511. Its construction in three days does indeed "pass belief" (§ 509), though Josephus swallows the miracle. (In 37 B.C. Sosius seems to have taken about two months to build his circumvallation; see Appendix D.) Kenyon, *Jerusalem*, 166-8, would identify the Mayer-Sukenik wall round the north of Jerusalem (see Appendix C) with Titus' circumvallation. But see M. Avi-Yonah in *IEJ* xviii (1968), 113-14.

It took the legions three weeks to rebuild the siege-works opposite the Antonia on a larger scale, as the surrounding countryside had by then been denuded of the vital timber and supplies had to be brought from nine miles away. But John did not attempt to undermine them a second time, and a badly co-ordinated sally to attack them was a fiasco.¹²⁴ Indeed, the hearts of some of the rebels were beginning to fail, and one of Simon's subordinates had recently made an abortive plan to betray the city to Titus, for which he had paid with his life.¹²⁵ It was July when the battering-rams eventually breached the wall of the Antonia where John's tunnel had weakened its foundations. The Romans then found themselves facing the unexpected obstacle of another wall built behind it by the defenders, which they scaled at dead of night, taking the sleeping sentries by surprise. With the Antonia in their hands, they then pressed on in the hope of getting possession of the Temple courts also, but they were beaten back by the combined forces of John and Simon.¹²⁶ After some days of skirmishing Titus had the fortress demolished to give his army access to the Temple courts on a wider front, an operation which took a week.¹²⁷

On the day on which the demolition of the Antonia began the daily sacrifices in the Temple ceased because the supply of lambs in the city was exhausted, and this had a serious psychological effect on the Jews.¹²⁸ Titus took advantage of the current despondency to make further efforts to negotiate a settlement, using first Josephus and then the latest crop of aristocratic deserters to urge the Jews to save the Temple from desecration by surrendering. When the sole effect was to stiffen their resistance, he had no option but to resume his attack.¹²⁹

¹²⁴ *BJ* v, 522-3 ; vi, 5-22, giving the date 1 Panemus (= roughly July) for John's sally.

¹²⁵ *BJ* v, 534-40.

¹²⁶ *BJ* vi, 23-80, giving the date 5 Panemus for the capture of the Antonia. The Roman cannon-balls, ranging from c. 4 to c. 18 inches in diameter, in the Convent of the Sisters of Zion and the museum of the Franciscan Convent of the Flagellation provide dramatic evidence of Titus' assault, whatever the precise location of the Antonia (see above, p. 73, n. 40).

¹²⁷ *BJ* vi, 81-94, giving the date 17 Panemus for the decision to raze the fortress, 149 (seven days). When the Antonia is mentioned as Titus' base in §§ 246, 249, presumably the site is meant.

¹²⁸ *BJ* vi, 93-4, with ἀρνῶν ἀροπία as the obvious emendation of the ἀνδρῶν of the MSS. The reference in Mish. *Ta'an*. iv, 6 to the cessation of the daily offering on 17 Tammuz (= Panemus) may concern either the Roman siege or Nebuchadnezzar's.

¹²⁹ *BJ* vi, 94-130. This time Josephus makes his own appeal short and highly emotional.

Titus could reasonably hope that once the Temple, the hub of the resistance, had fallen, the Upper City would submit. But when another invasion of the outer court failed and the Roman force had to withdraw with the honours of battle equal,¹³⁰ it became clear that the Temple could only be taken by the destruction of its defences, which were as formidable as the city walls themselves. So dropping the assault on the west end of the old city wall, Titus concentrated most of his troops against the Temple, and set all four legions to erect siege-works, two facing the north wall of the enclosure and two facing the west wall.¹³¹ The portico connecting the Antonia to the north portico of the Temple enclosure was now an embarrassment to both sides, as it could be used as the route for an attack from or against the Temple. John's men therefore destroyed part of it, and the Romans completed the work as soon as the Antonia was demolished.¹³² A few days later John's men packed part of the west portico inside the enclosure with inflammable material, lured the Romans on to the roof by a pretended withdrawal, and then set fire to it, causing heavy casualties. The Romans replied by burning the whole of the north portico.¹³³

These fires deprived the Jews of platforms from which to pelt the Romans with missiles when they brought their artillery up against the west wall of the enclosure and attempted, without success, to undermine the gate in the north wall. Six days of incessant bombardment made no impression on the west wall, and when, on 8 Ab (August) by the Jewish calendar, the two western siege-mounds were completed and the battering-rams set in position, Titus evidently put little faith in them after the failure of the other artillery and, without waiting to see their effect, set his men to scale the wall—a disastrous order, for they were driven back with severe losses. At this Titus gave orders for the wooden gates in the walls to be fired.¹³⁴ The Jews stood by

¹³⁰ *BJ* vi, 130-48.

¹³¹ *BJ* vi, 150-1. The siege-mound "opposite the (north west) angle of the inner ἱερόν", i.e. of the inner courts, must have been north of the junction between the old city wall and the enclosure wall; this is evidence for the position of the Temple within the enclosure. Cf. above, p. 93, n. 114.

¹³² *BJ* vi, 165-6, giving the date 24 Panemus. Dio lxvi, 6, 1 refers vaguely to the Jews setting fire to buildings near the second wall.

¹³³ *BJ* vi, 177-92, giving the date 27 Panemus for the burning of the west portico. References to porticoes in §§ 222 and 232-5 indicate that parts of the northern half of the west portico survived; no other was within reach of the Romans at that stage.

¹³⁴ *BJ* vi, 220-8, giving the date 8 Lous (= roughly August), the equivalent of Ab. On Titus' alleged wish to spare the Temple see above, p. 320, and below, pp. 325-6.

helplessly while the flames spread to the surviving parts of the porticoes, and then withdrew into the inner courts, abandoning the outer court to the Romans.¹³⁵

On 9 Ab Titus held a council of war to discuss the fate of the Temple, while a detachment of his troops made an approach road to facilitate the entry of the main army. The Jews waited until early on the following morning, when they attacked the Roman sentries in the outer court and Titus had to send in reinforcements to regain control.¹³⁶ He then decided to take his whole army in at dawn the next day and lay siege to the inner courts. But the fate of the Temple was anticipated when later on the same day, 10 Ab, the Jews again attacked the Romans in the outer court. In the ensuing *melée* the wall round the inner courts was burnt down, giving access to Titus' men, one of whom hurled a firebrand into the priests' chambers flanking the north side of the Temple.¹³⁷ Before the flames spread to the Temple itself, Titus and his staff seized the opportunity of entering it and even penetrated the Holy of Holies, apparently without opposition: even in this extremity the Jews respected its sanctity.¹³⁸ When Titus' party had carried out the priceless golden furniture, the trumpets, the Table of the Shewbread and the seven-branched candelabrum, as loot, the sanctuary and the rest of the inner courts were deliberately fired.¹³⁹

As the Temple went up in flames John and his men, accepting the situation as hopeless at last, made good their escape to the Upper City to reinforce the resistance there, leaving the other Jews to their fate.¹⁴⁰ Hundreds were butchered or perished in the fire, while others who fled from the holocaust in the inner courts and took refuge in the only surviving portico of the outer court perished when the Romans completed the destruction by setting fire to it.¹⁴¹ In the evening the Romans celebrated their victory by hailing Titus as

¹³⁵ *BJ* vi, 233-5. § 244 shows the Romans in the outer court and the Jews in the inner by the morning of the 10th, though the Jewish withdrawal is not given explicitly.

¹³⁶ *BJ* vi, 236-48.

¹³⁷ *BJ* vi, 249-53; Dio lxvi, 6, 1. For the priests' chambers see *BJ* v, 220-1.

¹³⁸ *BJ* vi, 260-1; cf. Dio lxvi, 6, 2—the priests in the Temple, the laymen outside. Jewish tradition revenged itself on Titus' memory by inflicting on him the ingenious and painful death considered fitting for a desecrator of the Temple: a mosquito bored through his brain—Midr., *Gen. R.* x, 7; *Levit. R.* xxii, 3; *BT Gitt.* 56b; Tos. *Tanhouma* 62a.

¹³⁹ *BJ* vi, 265, 281-3. The Temple furniture is not among the treasures later surrendered (below, p. 326) and so is assumed to have been looted.

¹⁴⁰ *BJ* vi, 277.

¹⁴¹ *BJ* vi, 271-85; Dio lxvi, 6, 2-3.

*imperator*¹⁴² and offering sacrifice to their standards in the outer court, as an act of thanksgiving which was also the ultimate desecration of the Jewish sanctuary.¹⁴³ Josephus dates the destruction of the Temple to 10 Ab, the anniversary of the burning of Solomon's Temple by Nebuchadnezzar in 587 B.C. But it is the 9th, the day on which, on his chronology, Titus' men first broke into the outer court, which has been kept ever since as a day of national mourning for both these calamities and for the final disaster of A.D. 135.¹⁴⁴

Josephus says that the Temple was burnt without orders from Titus, who had decided at his council, against the advice of some of his officers, to spare the building because of its aesthetic value and whose efforts to save it after the fire had been started were unavailing because his men ran amok in an orgy of destruction, ignoring his orders to extinguish the flames.¹⁴⁵ This was not normal Roman military behaviour, and the version of the fourth-century Christian writer Sulpicius Severus, that at the council Titus supported those of his officers who wanted the Temple destroyed, carries the more credible implication that the soldiers who fired it were acting on his instructions.¹⁴⁶ But Josephus with his apologetic purpose of glorifying his hero¹⁴⁷ for his humanity may be guilty of *suppressio veri* rather than

¹⁴² Suet., *Tit.* 5, 2. Under the empire the acclamation was normally given only to an emperor, not to the victorious general; but Titus as heir was in a unique position, even though not yet holding the *tribunicia potestas* which made him his father's colleague.

¹⁴³ *BJ* vi, 316, a reference unique in ancient literature to actual sacrifice to the standards, reverence for which is well attested. For the cult of the standards, dating from the third century B.C., and the sacrifice of a pig before them at the taking of the military oath (perhaps the animal used by Titus' men to double the insult to the Jews) see K. M. T. Atkinson in *JSemS* iv (1959), 246-55.

¹⁴⁴ *BJ* vi, 250 (10 Lous = Ab); *Jerem.* lii, 12-13. In II *Kings* xxv, 8-9, however, the date is 7 Ab. The date 9 Ab—Mish. *Ta'an.* iv, 6; BT *Ta'an.* 29a (where Nebuchadnezzar's destruction of the first Temple begins at dusk on 9 Ab, the start of the new day, 10 Ab); cf. Midr. *Lament.* R. i, 2, § 20—was established at least by 135 (below, pp. 456, 460).

¹⁴⁵ *BJ* v, 241, 254-60.

¹⁴⁶ *Chron.* ii, 30, 6-7. Cf. Dio lxvi, 6, 2, where the soldiers have to be "forced" into the Temple. H. Montefiore argues against the widely accepted hypothesis of J. Bernays (1861) that Sulpicius is dependent on a passage in the now missing part of Tac., *H* v, perhaps itself based on the *De Iudaeis* of Antonius Julianus (assuming the latter's identity with the procurator of 70; above, p. 317, n. 104), and suggests that Sulpicius may have drawn on the *De Iudaeis* direct for Titus' opinion in the council, though the Christian *Tendenz* of §§ 7-8 is original—in *Historia* xi (1962), 156-70.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. above, p. 320. Josephus credits Titus with various feats of personal bravery which to an impartial eye seem merely foolhardy in a commander—

of deliberate falsification. Sulpicius' statement about Titus' decision may be no more than a deduction from the fact that the Temple was destroyed. It is possible that Titus argued at the council that he would rather preserve the Temple intact by starving the defenders into surrender than destroy it, but that at the same time, knowing that control of the Temple was essential, he agreed to its destruction if military exigencies required it. If so, Josephus, by telling only half the truth, could represent the destruction as contrary to Titus' expressed intention, though in fact he had sanctioned it in the circumstances which actually obtained when the renewed Jewish attack brought things to a head sooner than expected.

After the fall of the Temple the Romans still had a further month's work before them. John and Simon opened negotiations with Titus, but refused his offer to spare their lives in return for unconditional surrender, on the grounds that they could not break their oath never to accept any pledge from Rome. Titus rejected with scorn their counter-offer to surrender the city in return for a safe conduct for themselves and their families through the circumvallation, and handed over the Lower City to his troops to plunder and burn.¹⁴⁸ John and Simon meanwhile prepared for their last stand. They took possession of Herod's palace and towers, ruthlessly killing the civilian refugees to make room for themselves and terrorizing the Upper City.¹⁴⁹ At this Titus set his legions to extend or rebuild the siege-mounds nearby, started three months earlier for an assault on the west end of the inner north wall and then abandoned, while the auxiliaries threw up a new line of earthworks running from the eastern end of that wall along the Tyropoeon valley parallel to the Temple enclosure, to hem the Upper City in on the east. These preparations brought a fresh wave of desertions, including a priest and the Temple-treasurer, who bought their lives by handing over the valuables which they had salvaged from the treasure-chambers before they were burnt down—gold vessels, jewels, vestments and spices.¹⁵⁰ The end came unexpectedly

BJ v, 51-66, 81-97, 281, 287-8, 310-11, 339-41, 486-8 ; vi, 70, 132-5. He omits the fact that he was wounded as a result—Dio lxvi, 5, 1.

¹⁴⁸ *BJ* vi, 323-55, 363.

¹⁴⁹ *BJ* vi, 358, 363-73.

¹⁵⁰ *BJ* vi, 374-91, giving the date 20 Lous for the resumption of the siege-works. The fact that the Romans did not march straight into the Upper City from the east suggests that there was a wall, unrecorded by Josephus, running southwards from the "old" wall along the western lip of the Tyropoeon valley to protect it.

easily. Once the siege-works were completed, the battering-rams breached the city wall on the first day of the bombardment, and the Jews fled rather than face a further siege, abandoning Herod's impregnable towers to the Romans, who spent the rest of the day storming through the Upper City, massacring, looting and burning indiscriminately. At dusk they withdrew, and the next day broke over a city in flames.¹⁵¹

After the Siege

Despite famine and slaughter thousands of Jews still survived, now Titus' prisoners. Seven hundred of the tallest and most handsome of the young men were reserved for Titus' triumph, while the rest were divided into categories for immediate disposal: identifiable rebels, who were executed; able-bodied men over the age of seventeen, who were sent to the mines in Egypt or kept for use in gladiatorial and wild beast shows; children under seventeen, who were sold as slaves; and the old and infirm, who were butchered in cold blood as valueless.¹⁵² John and Simon survived. Both had escaped with a few followers into subterranean passages when the Romans entered the Upper City, but starvation eventually overcame them. John surrendered within a few days, and Simon was caught later after a vain attempt to tunnel his way out. Their lives were spared for them to walk through Rome as the brightest stars in Titus' triumph.¹⁵³

To complete the humiliation of the city which had defied him so long Titus ordered the razing of the Temple enclosure wall and of the whole circuit of the city walls except for Herod's three towers and the adjoining section of the west wall. These he left intact "to show to posterity the character and strength of the city which Roman

¹⁵¹ *BJ* vi, 392-408, giving the dates 7-8 Gorpiaeus (= roughly September) for the breaching of the wall and the final conflagration.

¹⁵² *BJ* vi, 414-20 (where the troops exceed their orders in killing prisoners—probably a further attempt to whitewash Titus); vii, 118. Josephus gives no figure for the number of prisoners taken in Jerusalem, but 97,000 as the total number taken during the war. His figure of 1,100,000 deaths during the siege is excessive, but is associated with his inflated figures for Cestius Gallus' count (above, p. 285, n. 95). Tac., *H* v, 13, 3 puts the number of the besieged at 600,000, itself a high number but one probably derived from Roman army records (used also by Josephus—*V* 342, 358; *Ap.* i, 56) either directly or indirectly (via the *De Iudaeis* of Antonius Julianus (?), if the author is identified with the procurator; above, p. 317, n. 104). Philostratus, *Vita Apoll. Tyan.* v, 33 has 80,000 Jews killed by Vespasian in two battles.

¹⁵³ *BJ* vi, 370, 433; vii, 26-36, on which see O. Mitchel in *NTS* xiv (1967-8), 406-7; Dio lxxvi, 7, 1.

valour had overcome" (a function still performed by the lower courses of the central tower, Phasaël, now the base of the "Tower of David" in the sixteenth-century Citadel by the Jaffa Gate of the present Old City) and to serve the practical purpose of forming part of the camp of the legion which remained as a permanent garrison, X Fretensis.¹⁵⁴ Josephus says that the demolition of the city walls was so thorough that the site looked as if it had never been inhabited. But in addition to the towers much of at least the southern part of the Temple enclosure was spared. The wall surrounding the present Haram es-Sherif is founded on the Herodian wall, and from the "Wailing Wall" at the southern end of the west wall, where the fall of the city is still lamented, right along the south wall and round the south east angle the massive Herodian masonry, reaching in places almost to the top of the Haram wall, stands today as an impressive memorial to its builder.¹⁵⁵

With the fall of Jerusalem Titus considered that the war was won and that the reduction of the fortresses of Herodion, Machaeros and Masada could safely be left for a subordinate commander with a smaller force to undertake in the following year. As it was now October, too late for a voyage to Italy, he dismissed one legion, XII Fulminata, and retained V and XV to guard the prisoners and valuable booty deposited at Caesarea, while he himself passed the winter pleasantly visiting Agrippa in his capital at Caesarea Philippi and travelling round the cities of Syria, winning popularity by the lavish use of Jewish prisoners in shows in the amphitheatres.¹⁵⁶ In the spring of 71, after a visit to Jerusalem of which the purpose was more probably to satisfy himself that all was peaceful than (as Josephus says) to lament

¹⁵⁴ *BJ* vi, 413; vii, 1-5, 17; *Midr. Lament. R.* i, 5, § 31, end. The extant base is identified as Phasaël by its dimensions, *c.* 60 by 70 feet, which correspond closely to the 40 cubits = 60 feet square given in *BJ* v, 166. It appears to be of solid masonry, not of masonry-faced rock, as Josephus describes the bases of all three towers—§§ 163, 166, 170. See further C. N. Johns in *QDAP* xiv (1950), 140-2; for photographs see, e.g., Kenyon, *Jerusalem*, Pl. 68; Join-Lambert, *Jerusalem*, Pl. 37.

¹⁵⁵ Kenyon, *Jerusalem*, Pl. 60-2, IX, XII. Join-Lambert, *Jerusalem*, Pl. 40. Both show the "Wailing Wall" before the post-1968 excavation and clearance, which have exposed much more of it. For the excavations round the south west angle, where, *inter alia*, fallen architectural fragments from the wall and portico have been found, see B. Mazar, *The Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem, Preliminary Report on the First Season, 1968* (Israel Explor. Soc., 1969); *Second and Third Seasons, 1969-70* (1971).

¹⁵⁶ *BJ* vii, 18-20, 23-4, 37-40, 96. ἀναζευξας in § 23 suggests that a detachment from V and/or XV accompanied him on his tour.

its self-inflicted fate, Titus felt sufficiently confident that X Fretensis with some supporting auxiliaries could both maintain order and reduce the three fortresses that he dismissed the other two legions and returned to Rome, leaving the former commander of V Macedonia as acting governor and commander of the resident legion until Vespasian could make a permanent appointment.¹⁵⁷

Titus and his father held a joint triumph, though neither took the title "Judaicus",¹⁵⁸ perhaps because it would have reflected discredit on the Diaspora, who had taken no part in the revolt. Among the huge quantity of booty on display, pride of place was given to the spoils of the Temple, the seven-branched candelabrum, the Table of the Shewbread, the trumpets, and a copy of the Law. As the procession wound its way up the Capitol to the temple of Jupiter, Simon was taken out of the line of prisoners to be scourged and executed at the foot of the hill.¹⁵⁹ John was spared, for life imprisonment.¹⁶⁰ Lasting memorials of the victory followed: the temple of Peace, completed in 75, where the spoils from the Temple were stored;¹⁶¹ the posthumous Arch of Titus on the Via Sacra, with relief sculptures on either side of the passage depicting the triumphal procession;¹⁶² another, no longer extant, in the Circus Maximus, erected in 80;¹⁶³ and a series of coins struck from 71 with the reverse legend *Judaea capta* (occasionally *Judaea devicta*). The design is usually one of a Jewess as the personification of the province sitting dejectedly under a palm-tree, while on

¹⁵⁷ *BJ* vii, 112-17. On the acting governor and the auxiliaries see further below, p. 331.

¹⁵⁸ Dio lxvi, 7, 2.

¹⁵⁹ *BJ* vii, 121-57. The trumpets are not mentioned in §§ 148-50 but are depicted on the sculptured reliefs of the triumph (below).

¹⁶⁰ *BJ* vi, 433.

¹⁶¹ *BJ* vii, 158-62; Suet., *Vesp.* 9; Dio lxvi, 15, 1. The spoils were seen by R. Eliezer ben Jose on a visit to Rome in the mid-second century—*BT Yoma* 57a; *Me'il.* 17b; *Sukk.* 5a; cf. *Midr. Esther* R. i, 12. They were seized by the Vandals in 455 and taken to Carthage, whence they were recovered by Belisarius in 534 and taken to Constantinople. Justinian is said to have sent them to a church in Jerusalem (Procopius, *Wars* iv, 9, 1-9), where they remained till the seventh century. At an unknown later date they disappeared. See further H. Strauss in *Eretz Israel* vi (1960), English summary, 34.

¹⁶² *ILS* 265. For the reliefs see, e.g., *CAH Plates* V, 78; cf. H. St. J. Hart in *JThS*² iii (1952), 181-2; J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Art of the Romans* (1965), 55-6. For discussion of the shape, style and date of the Menorah as represented there and elsewhere in art see *EJ*, s.v., with full bibliography.

¹⁶³ *ILS* 264 (from a transcription in the ninth century *Codex Einsidl.*); G. Gatti in *Bull. Comm. Arch. Roma* lxii (1934), 175-6. A minor memorial, not extant, was a poem by Domitian on his brother's exploits—Valerius Flaccus i, 12-14; cf. Quintilian x, 1, 91; Pliny, *NH* praef. 5.

the other side of the tree there often stands either a Jew with his hands tied behind his back or a Roman soldier on guard leaning on his spear.¹⁶⁴ The latter type spoke to the Roman world not only of the humiliation of Judaea and Rome's mission *debellare superbos* but also of the vigilance by which Rome intended to guard against future risings and so restore and maintain prosperity. For already, under the watchful eye of the resident legion, the work of the reorganization and rehabilitation of the shattered province was in progress.

¹⁶⁴ *BMC, Imp.*, II, 115-18 and *passim*. The main issue is dated 71, but the type was continued in 72-3 and revived in 77-8 and by Titus as emperor; the single Domitianic coin of the type is dubious (below, p. 353). The *Judaea devicta* coins are undated. Mattingly (p. 117) describes the soldier on guard as the "prince" (Titus). For discussion of the types see Hart, *op. cit.*, 183-92. Coins with the legend Ἰουδαίας ἐαλωκυίας and designs of a captive at the foot of a trophy or a Victory inscribing a shield hung from a palm-tree were struck in the province during Titus' reign—*BMC, Pal.*, 276-9. Cf. L. Levine in *IEJ* xxii (1972), 132-4. Agrippa II's coins with a Victory inscribing a shield, struck from 74, surely commemorate the same event—*BMC, Pal.*, 241-7. Though they lack explicit reference to Judaea, one dated 89 copies the Roman type closely with the shield hanging from a palm-tree, symbol of the province; see J. Meyshan in *IEJ* xi (1961), 181-3.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE NEW DISPENSATION IN JUDAEA

The year 70 marked the end of one epoch and the beginning of another in Judaea. Though two and a half years were to elapse before the last of the three fortresses was reduced, the fall of Jerusalem was taken as the effective end of the war by both sides, and Rome turned over a new leaf with immediate reforms in the administration of the province. But while Rome looked forward with hope to a future of improved control and more peaceful conditions, the Jews looked forward with gloom, and dated a new era of decline from the destruction of the Temple, an era used in Palestine, though not among the Diaspora, until the time of the Crusades.¹

For the historian also 70 is the end of an epoch. Apart from Josephus' account of the reduction of the fortresses, there is no continuous history of Palestine after 70, and the story has to be reconstructed from scattered scraps of information given, sometimes only in casual passing references, by classical and Church historians, from inscriptions (not numerous) referring to Roman officials and troops, from the coins struck in the province (less instructive than Roman coins), and from the evidence of Jewish rabbinical literature. But this literature, though very extensive, is concerned mainly with matters of Jewish Law, religion, ritual and customs, and many of the apparent references to historical events which occur as illustrations, explanations, or chronological data either are tantalizingly vague and obscure, or are made difficult to interpret by patent anachronisms or inherent contradictions.

The two chief defects in the Roman administration of Judaea between 6 and 66 had been the poor quality of the governors and the inadequacy of the military establishment. In an attempt to remedy both defects, the province was now put under an experienced governor, an imperial legate of praetorian rank, with a procurator under him in charge of the financial administration; and the garrison was doubled or trebled in size when the six auxiliary units were replaced by a complete legion, X Fretensis, supported by auxiliaries. The sub-

¹ BT *AZ* 9a; cf. Mish. *Sot.* ix, 12. On the calculation of the era see S. Zeitlin in *JQR*² xxxvii (1946-7), 165-7; Baron, II, 116 and n. 33; cf. 118.

sequent careers of several of the legates of Judaea show that competent men were chosen for what was now seen as an important and responsible post. Many of them held the consulship which normally followed a satisfactory praetorian provincial command, and some went on to posts of higher responsibility. A few of the procurators of Judaea rose from that comparatively humble post to dizzy heights in their later years.²

The first governor, apparently appointed by Titus only as *locum tenens* until Vespasian decided on the future form of government and made an official appointment, was Sextus Vettulenus Cerealis, who as commander of V Macedonica throughout the war had been regarded as the most reliable of the legionary legates, and was now perhaps transferred to the command of X Fretensis.³ He held the fort for some months but for all his merits was not given the permanent appointment; Vespasian may have felt that after three years of campaigning he needed a rest and that a fresh man should tackle the final task of subduing the fortresses. Later in 71 the first of the series of regular praetorian legates was sent out, Sextus Lucilius Bassus, a man who had served Vespasian well in the civil war and the first eighteen months of his reign as equestrian prefect of the fleets at Misenum and Ravenna and was now rewarded with admission to the senate and an exacting provincial command. With him came the first post-war procurator, L. Laberius Maximus. Bassus' career was cut short by death in Judaea before he had completed the pacification of the province, probably some time during the winter of 72-73, and his place was taken by L. Flavius Silva. With Silva's great achievement, the

² See Appendix A for lists of the legates and procurators with full documentation. Judaea between 70 and the latter part of Hadrian's reign is almost unique in being an imperial province with only one resident legion. Evidence is necessarily scanty to show whether such a province normally had one legate combining administration and the command of the legion or separate legates for the two spheres, but the former seems to be indicated; see pp. 549-50, for Pompeius Falco and a Trajanic legate of Judaea (not certainly identified), both specifically described as also legionary commander.

³ *V* 420; *BJ* vii, 163, giving Cerealis (so in all Josephus' references to him) Vetilianus. For the correct names see *ILS* 2690, almost certainly concerning the same man. For Cerealis' wartime responsibilities see *BJ* iii, 310-15; iv, 552-4; vi, 131; cf. 237, 242. *ILS* 988 (acephalous) recording military decorations, is attributed to him. Cerealis is not mentioned as commander of X Fretensis. M. Ulpius Traianus was replaced as its commander late in the war by A. Larcius Lepidus (*BJ* vii, 237), whose exploits, though unrecorded, won him decorations; see *ILS* 987, acephalous but attributed to him with certainty. Terentius Rufus, "left in command" of X in October 70, sounds like a temporary appointment—*BJ* vii, 31.

storming of Masada, Josephus' narrative of events in Judaea closes. No complete list of the subsequent legates can yet be made out; those who are known are mostly mere names, not personalities like the majority of the governors before 66, and few events can be attached to individual legates. The list of the procurators of the province after 70 is even more fragmentary.

The establishment of a permanent legionary garrison in Palestine was not merely an attempt to contain the political aspirations of the Jews and prevent a recurrence of the pre-war anarchy. It was also part of Vespasian's reorganization of the defences of the eastern frontier.⁴ Instead of four legions in Syria, there were now to be three in Syria, one in Palestine, and two in Cappadocia. Any recrudescence of trouble from the Jews was likely to be based on the religious centre, Jerusalem, and it was therefore advisable to have the main concentration of Roman troops at hand there rather than at a distance in Caesarea, which continued to be the Roman administrative capital. Tekoa, twelve miles south, was considered as a possible site for the legionary camp, but rejected in favour of Jerusalem itself.⁵ The legionary emblem of X Fretensis was a boar, unclean in Jewish eyes. Was it malicious humour or pure chance that chose this legion to garrison Jerusalem? ⁶

The auxiliary units drawn from Sebaste and Caesarea, trouble-makers in 44, now at last received the punishment which Claudius had been persuaded to remit, and were posted away from the province.⁷ The number of units which replaced them to support the

⁴ Cf. as part of the same work to strengthen the Syrian frontier the annexation of the client kingdoms of Armenia Minor and Commagene in 72-3—*BJ* vii, 219-43; cf. Suet., *Vesp.* 8, 4; see Magic, *RRAM*, 1435 for the numismatic evidence for Armenia.

⁵ *V* 420. For the foundations of part of a barrack-block (?) and an earthenware conduit stamped *l(egio) X F(retensis)* in the north west angle of Herod's city wall see C. N. Johns in *QDAP* xiv (1950), 152-3. Large numbers of tiles with the stamp of X Fretensis have been found further south in the Old City also; see Kenyon, *Jerusalem*, 168-9. For other tiles see *CIL* III, 6651, 12090. The epitaph of a centurion of the legion in Jerusalem is dated tentatively to soon after 70 by M. Avi-Yonah in *QDAP* viii (1939), 54-7, but to the Severan period by L. H. Vincent in *RB* liv (1947), 104, n. 1.

⁶ Cf. below, p. 457.

⁷ *AJ* xix, 366 (though the deportation is not recorded later, as promised); cf. above, p. 256. *CIL* XVI, 35, *JRS* xxix (1939), 28-9, and *AE* 1961, 319 (diplomas of 88 and 91) record a *cohors Sebastena* in Syria. *CIL* III, 2916 (= 9984), undated, records *cohors I Sebastenorum* in Dalmatia. A *cohors Augusta* in Auranitis under Agrippa II in 76 (*SEG* VII, 970) may be the unit which served in Judaea from 44 or earlier (above, pp. 146, n. 12) cf. below, p. 340, n. 37.

legion is not known. A diploma lists two cavalry and four infantry units serving in Judaea in 86, one of which had fought in the war; but this is not necessarily a complete list, and changes may have been made between 70 and 86.⁸

The Reduction of the Fortresses

The first task of the resident garrison was to crush the last remnants of the rebellion by the reduction of the minor pockets of resistance in the caves in the wadis west of the Dead Sea⁹ and of the three fortresses still in the hands of the *sicarii*,¹⁰ who had refrained from futile attempts to help Jerusalem when surrounded by four legions but still thought resistance worth while, if only as a final desperate symbol of defiance. Cerealis apparently took no major action. Lucilius Bassus reduced Herodion and Machaeros, and though Josephus gives no precise indication of chronology, it is probably reasonable to put the capture of Herodion late in 71 and to suppose that the Machaeros campaign and its aftermath occupied the summer of 72.¹¹

Excavation has added a little colour to the picture of the rebel occupation of Herodion. Post-Herodian buildings there include a synagogue and the ritual bath which was essential to the life of an orthodox Jew, most probably constructed by the rebels, and additions to the fortifications.¹² Josephus dismisses the capture of the fortress

⁸ *BJ* vii, 5. *CIL* XVI, 33, listing *alae veterana Gaetulorum* and *I Thracum Mauretana*, and *cohortes I Augusta Lusitanorum, I, II Thracum*, and *II Cantabrorum*. *CIL* V, 7007 shows the *ala Gaetulorum* in the war.

⁹ At Murabba'at a coin of the 4th year of the revolt together with pottery and other objects parallel to finds at Qumran datable to the period of the revolt suggests rebel occupation, though on a smaller scale than during Bar Cochba's revolt; see *DJD* II, pp. 31, 45-8. For rebel occupation of caves south of Engedi see P. Bar-Adon in *IEJ* xi (1961), 27-30. The Qumran caves were used for regular human habitation concurrently with and in association with the community at Khirbet Qumran, and will presumably have been abandoned when the Roman military post was established there (above, p. 311); but the library may have been deposited in the caves for safety by refugees from the community; see de Vaux, *L'archéologie*, 40-6, 73-84.

¹⁰ They are named as *sicarii* only at Masada; but see below, p. 366, n. 39.

¹¹ *BJ* vii, 163-4 may imply dispersal to winter quarters between the Herodion and Machaeros campaigns.

¹² The fortress was reoccupied during Bar Cochba's revolt, as coins of both revolts have been found there. The attribution of the post-Herodian structures to 66-70 is therefore not certain, but the analogy of the religious buildings at Masada (below) suggests it. For the excavations see V. C. Corbo in *SBFLA* xiii (1962-3), 219-77; xvii (1967), 65-121, especially 70, 103-4, 113-16.

in ten words,¹³ but the scale of its defences suggest that it can have been no negligible operation.

At Machaeros the rebels had entrenched themselves inside Herod's fortifications on the summit of the rock, leaving the civilians, some of them apparently non-Jews, in the town on the lower slopes to bear the brunt of the first Roman attack. They had had time to provision the fortress adequately, and there was an abundant water supply in the cisterns. A blockade to starve them into surrender would be lengthy, and while the whole army was pinned down there, the *sicarii* in Masada would have a free hand. Bassus therefore decided to attempt a direct assault, and began the enormous engineering task of filling up the shallowest of the ravines isolating the rock, that on the east (itself, according to Josephus, a hundred and fifty feet deep) in order to get access to the lower slopes. The work was never completed, for one of the younger Jews, made over-confident by the success of their daily sallies to disrupt the Roman working-parties, became careless and let himself be captured. The defenders' nerve broke when Bassus made preparations to crucify him, and they promptly negotiated the surrender of the fortress in return for a safe conduct. This agreement, however, did not cover the luckless civilians in the town below, and when they tried to escape, the majority of the men were killed and the women and children sold as slaves.¹⁴

But Bassus had not seen the last of the defenders of Machaeros, who now joined refugees from the siege of Jerusalem in the "forest of Jarden" (unidentified, but probably in the Jordan valley rather than on the bleak uplands), an action which was a breach of the spirit if not the letter of the recent agreement. Bassus surrounded the wooded area, pressed his three thousand opponents inwards by felling the trees round the outside, and when they tried to cut their way out of the trap, massacred them, with very light Roman losses.¹⁵ Masada now stood alone.

The *sicarii* at Masada under a grandson of Judas of Galilee, Eleazar

¹³ *BJ* vii, 163.

¹⁴ *BJ* vii, 164-70, 190-210. An auxiliary garrison is very likely to have been re-established at Machaeros (see *BJ* ii, 484 for the pre-war one), because of its strategic importance near the frontier with Nabataea (cf. Masada; below, p. 339); but there is no literary reference to this, and the site is unexcavated.

¹⁵ *BJ* vii, 210-15 (with no suggestion of the location). For the escape of *sicarii* to Egypt and Cyrenaica see below, pp. 366, 369.

son of Jair,¹⁶ numbered barely a thousand including their families.¹⁷ During the years since 66 they had made the fortress suitable for orthodox Jewish occupation by recommissioning the Herodian synagogue (apparently used as a stable by the Roman garrison) and constructing ritual baths as at Herodion, and they had converted the casemates in the wall encircling the perimeter of the rock into dwellings.¹⁸ With the enormous cisterns, food stocks sufficient for several years, and Herod's armoury assembled for emergency use and left there under the Roman occupation, they could face a long blockade.¹⁹

Death intervened before Bassus could tackle Masada, and there followed an interval of several months before his successor could be appointed and make the journey out.²⁰ Without a legate major military operations were suspended, though it is possible that the junior officers employed the autumn usefully on minor mopping-up operations against the small groups of rebels in the Dead Sea area. Early in 73 Flavius Silva established his headquarters to the north west of Masada, blocked possible escape routes with another large camp diagonally opposite to the south east of the rock and six smaller camps, linked the camps with a two-mile circumvallation, and built four small forts to guard a mountain pass to the north.²¹ The conduct of the people who had surrendered at Machaeros made it imperative that every member of this last group should be captured or killed, and none left at large to rekindle the embers of revolt. But Silva could not wait at the foot of Masada indefinitely for surrender through starvation, especially when supplies of water as well as food had to be brought in from a distance, a fatigue for which Jews were con-

¹⁶ *BJ* ii, 447 ; vii, 253. The precise relationship of Eleazar to Judas is not given ; but see J. S. Kennard in *JQR* 2 xxxvi (1945-6), 284-5 ; Hengel, *Zeloten*, 338.

¹⁷ *BJ* vii, 399-400.

¹⁸ See Yadin, *Masada*, 181-91, and in *IEJ* xv (1965), 76-9 for the synagogue, the identification of which is confirmed by the fragments of scrolls of the Scriptures found in and near the building ; *Masada*, 164-7, and *IEJ*, 91-2 for the ritual baths ; *Masada*, 140-61, and *IEJ*, 69-98 for the casemate wall.

¹⁹ *BJ* vii, 295-9, though the actual food stocks will surely have dated from the Roman occupation.

²⁰ Flavius Silva's previous post was in Germany, though he may have been back in Rome when chosen for the post in Judaea. See Appendix A, pp. 546-7, for the date of his appointment.

²¹ *BJ* vii, 275-7. On the siege-works, still clearly visible, see I. A. Richmond in *JRS* lii (1962), 142-53. Yadin, *Masada*, 209-25 ; for the forts in the pass see Y. Aharoni in *IEJ* xi (1961), 16-17.

scripted to accentuate the humiliation of defeat.²² An immediate assault was imperative, since from May the burning summer heat would make the position virtually untenable. The defenders evidently expected the Romans to attempt to scale the rock by the tortuous and precipitous "snake path" on the east or even up the southern cliffs, for they collected piles of small boulders above these points, ready to roll down on the climbers. But they remained unused.²³ Silva's technique was similar to that of Bassus at Machaeros, the construction of earth-works to bring the Roman artillery to the level of the fortifications. Only on the west was this feasible, where a narrow ridge, *Leuce* (the "white rock"), rose up from the ravine against the cliffs, reaching two-thirds of the way to the summit. This ridge was widened and heightened by an enormous ramp topped by a flat stone and timber platform on which an iron-clad tower was erected to the height of the casemate wall.²⁴ By April the artillery had been hauled up and mounted on the tower, and the bombardment could begin. First a fusillade of small stone cannon-balls drove the defenders back from the ramparts. But when the battering-ram breached the wall, the Romans were confronted by a stout wooden wall, hastily constructed when the ramp showed where the assault would be made. This however they quickly destroyed by fire.²⁵

Josephus' account of the end of Masada is melodramatic. Once the wall was ablaze Silva withdrew his men, intending to launch his final attack on the next day. But during the night the defenders, realizing that further resistance was hopeless and escape impossible, agreed to Eleazar's proposal, made in a long and impassioned harangue, that they should kill themselves rather than fall into Roman hands. When the men had killed their families and burnt their possessions, ten were chosen to kill the rest and then to draw lots to decide who should kill the other ten, set fire to the public buildings, and finally commit suicide.²⁶ Two women and five children, however,

²² *BJ* vii, 277-8.

²³ Yadin, *Masada*, 156, 163, and in *IEJ* xv (1965), 97; cf. 80 for a collection of similar boulders near the Roman assault ramp (below). The "snake path"—*BJ* vii, 281-4.

²⁴ *BJ* vii, 304-8. On the ramp and the surviving remains of the platform see I. A. Richmond in *JRS* lii (1962), 153-4; cf. Yadin, *Masada*, 226-30.

²⁵ *BJ* vii, 309-18. For hundreds of *ballista* balls "the size of grapefruit" still lying in the ruins see Yadin, *Masada*, 156, 163, and in *IEJ* xv (1965), 76, 80.

²⁶ During the excavations a group of eleven ostraca was found, each inscribed with a different name, one being "ben Jair". It is tempting to see in them the lots used by the final executioners (Josephus' "ten" being an error),

escaped the butchery by hiding in a cistern and so survived to tell the tale of the end of Masada to the bewildered Romans who entered the next morning to an uncanny silence, broken only by the crackling of the flames.²⁷

Eleazar's speech as recorded must be largely or wholly a Josephan fabrication, but its rejection does not affect the rest of the story. Other doubts, however, arise. The survivors showed remarkable dexterity in hearing the speech and witnessing "how the deed was done", when they had already slipped away to hide "while the rest were concentrating on the slaughter."²⁸ The twenty-five skeletons found in a cave in the south cliff face certainly belong to the last defenders, not to a Roman garrison, since they include women and children; but a place so difficult and dangerous of access is more likely to have been the hiding-place of refugees than (as the excavators thought) a burial-place used by the Romans when clearing the fortress of corpses.²⁹ The fire is a fact; abundant evidence of burning can be seen in the casemate dwellings and many of the public buildings.³⁰ But this is no proof of Josephus' story. Is the truth of the matter that when Silva's men broke in, they themselves fired the buildings and slaughtered everyone they found, that the few who hid out of their reach starved to death, and that Josephus' story is a myth serving the patriotic purpose of covering up the ignominy of the final Jewish surrender and at the same time the apologetic purpose of absolving the Romans of the barbarity of a final massacre of women and children?³¹

with the commander Eleazar ben Jair among them; cf. Yadin, *Masada*, 201. But, if lots, they could have been used at any time for, e.g., the allocation of administrative or military duties.

²⁷ *BJ* vii, 319-406, giving the date 15 Xanthicus (= roughly April). The year is not given, and the reference to Vespasian's 4th year, 72-3, in § 219 specifically concerns events in Commagene (above, p. 333, n. 4). But 72 is too early, as it would mean putting Bassus' reduction of both Herodion and Machaeros in the late summer of 71, and 74 is too late (cf. Appendix A, p. 546), if Josephus is right in putting events in Alexandria which must have occurred before August 73 (below, p. 366, n. 39) μετὰ ταῦτα (the fall of Masada, § 409). The coin-evidence from Silva's camp (below, p. 339, n. 32) supports the date 73.

²⁸ *BJ* vii, 399, 404.

²⁹ Yadin, *Masada*, 193-9, and in *IEJ* xv (1965), 90-1. The cave had evidently been entered later, as the bones were in disorder. Skeletons of a man, a woman and a child were also found on the lowest and least accessible terrace of the northern palace; see *ibid.*, 54-7, and in *IEJ*, 17.

³⁰ See Yadin, *Masada* and in *IEJ*, *passim*. The store-houses, however, survived, perhaps deliberately spared for their contents; for Josephus' explanation see *BJ* vii, 336.

³¹ I owe this interpretation to Prof. Morton Smith of Harvard University.

With all resistance now at an end, the permanent military dispositions of the province could be made. Masada received a garrison again, and for a few months the force left on the site lived in a corner of Silva's headquarters camp while preparing the fortress for Roman use. Coins show that the reoccupation lasted for forty years at least, but such was the natural strength of the rock that it was not thought necessary to repair the breach in the casemate wall.³² With the increased number of troops available, other units could now be stationed in strategic positions elsewhere in the country in accordance with standard Roman methods of provincial defence, and in the course of time the Herodian frontier between Idumaea and Nabataea was developed into a regular *limes* guarded by auxiliary forts which in many cases occupied the sites of their Herodian predecessors.³³ To facilitate troop movements and to improve communications generally, an extensive programme of road construction was undertaken.³⁴

The Internal Conditions of the Province

The province of Judaea is not known to have been altered in size in 70. Agrippa II was rewarded for his steadfast loyalty throughout the war by an enlargement of his territory, but not at the expense of the province: he received the district of Arca in the Lebanon, over a hundred miles to the north.³⁵ The four toparchies of Tiberias,

³² *BJ* vii, 407. Yadin, *Masada*, 207, and in *IEJ* xvii (1967), 43-5, suggesting the abandonment of Masada soon after the annexation of Arabia (below, p. 355). The dates on coins found in Silva's camp only go up to 73 (apart from one later stray); and "the lack of any effective water-supply excludes all question of a permanent fort"—I. A. Richmond in *JRS* lii (1962), 152. The state of the casemate dwellings, with large number of domestic utensils and personal articles still in them, shows that the Roman troops left them as they stood and did not re-use them; see Yadin, *Masada*, 140-61.

³³ See M. Gihon in *IEJ* xvii (1967), 39-42; Gihon and Applebaum, 35-47. Coin evidence suggests that Khirbet Qumran (above, p. 311), however, was not permanently occupied by the Romans; see de Vaux, *L'Archéologie*, 35-6.

³⁴ See M. Avi-Yonah in *IEJ* i (1950-1), 55-6.

³⁵ Justus of Tiberias *apud* Photius, *Bibl.* 33 (ed. R. Henry, I (1959), 19) ἡδξήθη δὲ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος (i.e., the grant of the toparchies; above, p. 273) καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ. *BJ* vii, 97 shows that Arca belonged to Agrippa at the time of composition in the mid-70s; contrast iii, 56-7 on the extent of his kingdom in 66. For a dedication for the well-being of Agrippa and Berenice in a temple of Atargatis in the Lebanon see O. Puchstein and others in *Jahrb. deutsch. arch. Inst.* xvii (1902), 107, n. 43. The territory was probably granted c. 72, when Vespasian was reorganizing the eastern frontier. Cf. the grant of "Chalcidice" (Chalcis in north Syria rather than Chalcis near Lebanon?) to Aristobulus, Agrippa's cousin, in compensation for his loss of Armenia Minor

Tarichaeae, Abila and Livias-Julias were doubtless restored to him, though the sole evidence is the fact that Tiberias, which alone had the right of coinage, did not resume the issue of imperial coins until early in Trajan's reign.³⁶ Agrippa's army may have been strengthened now by the transfer of one or more Roman auxiliary units to his command, to keep watch over the northern areas of the province.³⁷ In 75, on a visit to Rome, Agrippa was further rewarded with *ornamenta praetoria*.³⁸

Within the province some land came under tighter imperial control. The fate of the imperial estate centred on Jamnia after 70 is not recorded, but Vespasian took possession personally of the valuable balsam plantations near Jericho and Engedi, and converted them into an imperial monopoly controlled by the fiscus, which exacted a heavy tax on the sale of the product.³⁹ Concerning the rest of the province Josephus makes the brief and imprecise statement that Vespasian sent instructions to the legate Lucilius Bassus and his procurator to "lease out all the land of the Jews; he founded no cities there because he was keeping the country as his own private property."⁴⁰ Even though Josephus apparently excludes land held by Greeks and Samaritans from the measure, this sweeping generalization is hard to accept as it stands, since it implies that there was no differentiation of treatment between rebel Jews and communities like

(above, pp. 273, 333, n. 4), if *BJ* vii, 226 may be so interpreted; but the identification is not certain. Cf. below, p. 354, n. 86. On the supposed synagogue of Jews from Arca in Rome see below, p. 505.

³⁶ *BMC, Pal.*, 5-6. Cf. above, p. 184, n. 13.

³⁷ The evidence for Agrippa's army is mostly post-war and so may give a misleading impression. A Roman officer was transferred from Egypt to serve as prefect of a cohort (unnamed) under Agrippa in or after 66; see M. Avi-Yonah in *IEJ* xvi (1966), 258-64. A *cohors Augusta* under a Roman prefect was serving under Agrippa in 76—*SEG* VII, 970; cf. *OGIS* 421 for a *cohors Augusta* under an Agrippa, who may, however, be Agrippa I. A Greek served Agrippa II as centurion for eighteen years (late in his reign; he then served Trajan); see H. Seyrig in *Syria* xlii (1965), 31-4. *OGIS* 425 (dated 81) records an officer but without naming units.

³⁸ Dio lxvi, 15, 3-4.

³⁹ Pliny, *NH* xii, 111-13 (see especially *tributa pendit* and *serit . . . eum fiscus*) 123. For the plantations cf. *AJ* ix, 7; xv, 96; *BJ* iv, 469; Str. xvi, 2, 41; Plut., *Ant.* 36, 2; Tac., *H v*, 6, 1; Justinus, *Epit.* xxxvi, 3, 1-4; Solinus, *Collect.* xxxv, 5; Galen, *De Antid.* i, 872 (ed. Kühn, XVI, p. 25). Statius, *Silv.* v, 2, 138-9 may mean that palm-groves in Judaea were similarly appropriated.

⁴⁰ *BJ* vii, 216. For discussion of this measure see Momigliano, *Ricerche*, 85-6 (392-3); Baron, II, 104-5. Milik suggests that the leases of *DJD* II, no. 24 (dated 133) concern land which became imperial property in 70; but cf. K.M.T. Atkinson in *JRS* lii (1962), 260.

Sepphoris which had remained loyal to Rome or Jews who had deserted during the revolt and whose property Titus had promised to restore.⁴¹ Such a gross act of injustice cannot have been intended or perpetrated, and Josephus' sentence must surely be interpreted to mean that only the territory of Jews who had fought to the point of capture (*captivi*) or surrender (*dediti*) was appropriated as punishment. Such is likely to have been the land taken at the same time in the village of Emmaus just outside Jerusalem for a settlement of eight hundred veterans (incidentally a stabilizing force to support the legion in the most tense part of the province).⁴² The lands of *captivi* removed from the province after 70 were presumably vacant for anyone who was prepared to rent them, and the *dediti* now apparently had to become, at least in theory, tenants of their former property, on which they were to pay rent. But a distinction between two categories of Jew within Palestine will have been difficult to maintain, and probably in the course of time the land came to be regarded again as the private property of its tenants, and the rent as a tax on it. References in rabbinic literature give the impression that much Jewish land remained in or soon reverted to private ownership after 70 (for example, some of the rabbis were wealthy land-owners), and Jewish legislation about the purchase of land expropriated by the Roman authorities, apparently in force before as well as after Bar Cochba's revolt, however problematical and controversial in detail, implies the continuation of private ownership of land after 70.⁴³

⁴¹ *BJ* vi, 115.

⁴² *BJ* vii, 217, where χωρίον . . . ὃ καλεῖται Ἀμμάους, implying a small, obscure place, together with the distance, 30 stades from Jerusalem, rules out the homonymous toparchy capital, the later Nicopolis (below, p. 343), 16 miles west of Jerusalem—a town, moreover, which Josephus mentions frequently with no reference to a later veteran settlement. The veterans' Emmaus is probably to be identified with the village of *Luke* xxiv, 13 despite the discrepancy between his 60 stades and Josephus' 30 (altered in one MS. to make it square with the Gospel). Cf. Schürer, I (rev.), 512, n. 142. The settlement seems to have been popularly called a colony (hence the name of the present village Culonieh), but it was not a city, struck no coins, and is not heard of again.

⁴³ Josephus who, though technically *captivus*, received land in lieu of his former property in Jerusalem, expropriated for the building of the legionary camp (*V* 422), was a special case. For evidence for private ownership after 70 see Büchler, *Economic Conditions*, 29-41; cf. 43 ff. The *sicaricon*-law was aimed, apparently, at preventing expropriated Jewish land from passing permanently out of Jewish hands, and regulated the purchase of such land by Jews from the expropriating authority (Rome) in such a way as to protect the original owners. The meaning of *sicaricon* is uncertain but it is generally agreed now not to be derived from *sicarius*. For a summary of theories and discussions see Hengel,

Hardly less obscure is the question of the juridical status of the Jews after 70. Mommsen's theory that they ceased to exist legally as a nation and that their privileges became the privileges of the Jewish confession is now rejected. There is no evidence for it and a good deal against. His further theory that as individuals all Jews were degraded permanently to the level of *peregrini dediticii* (provincials who had surrendered unconditionally), a class inferior to other provincials and legally incapable of contracting valid marriages or making valid wills, certainly cannot stand as far as the Diaspora is concerned, as there is no evidence for loss of status in their case. And within the province a distinction will surely have been made, as in the case of Jewish land, between rebels and loyal Jews, and they will not all have been equated in a uniform degradation of status. It is possible that Vespasian degraded the *dediti* and thus created, for a time, two classes of provincials within the one province. The absence of complaints in rabbinic writings about any inability among Jews to marry or make wills after 70 does not rule this out, since *dediticii* no doubt made wills and contracted marriages which were regarded as binding in practice even if not legally so. But there is no positive evidence either way.⁴⁴

Josephus' statement that Vespasian founded no cities on Jewish territory, though technically true, is a quibble, since he founded two in the province, one in Samaritis and the other on the Greco-Syrian coast, as part of his work for the positive rehabilitation of the province, which was as much his aim as improved administration and tighter control. It was no case of *ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*. Even during the war he had organized the rebuilding of places devastated during his first campaign in Galilee and Peraea.⁴⁵ Now in 72-73 he founded a new city, Flavia Neapolis (modern Nablus), on the site of a village near Shechem;⁴⁶ his re-foundation of Joppa, badly

Zeloten, 52-4; cf. Baron, II, 372-3 (n. 19). M. Gil connects it with συγχώρησις in the legal sense of conveyance of property—in *Rev. Internat. des Droits de l'Antiquité* xvii (1970), 45-53.

⁴⁴ On *dediticii* see Gaius, *Inst.* i, 14; cf. Mommsen in *Hist. Zeitschr.* lxiv (1890), 424-6; A. H. M. Jones in *JRS* xxvi (1936), 229-31. For full discussion see Juster, II, 19-25; Momigliano, *Ricerche*, 85-7 (392-4); S. L. Guterman, *Religious Toleration and Persecution in Ancient Rome* (1951), 103-8; Baron, II, 103-4.

⁴⁵ *BJ* iv, 442.

⁴⁶ Neapolis in *BJ* iv, 449 and Pliny, *NH* v, 69 (giving the antecedent village as Mabbartha and Mamortha respectively). For the full title see Eus., *HE* iv, 12; Justin, *Apol.* i, 1; and coins. The copious coinage only begins under

damaged and depopulated in the war, as Flavia Joppa was probably roughly contemporary;⁴⁷ and the re-naming of the toparchy capital of Emmaus as Nicopolis in commemoration of the Roman victory (a name which, hardly surprisingly, did not catch on locally) may have amounted to a re-foundation.⁴⁸ Caesarea, the city in which he had been proclaimed emperor and which was to remain the Roman administrative capital (though no longer the military headquarters), received the signal honour of promotion to colonial status as Colonia Prima (the first city thus elevated by Vespasian) Flavia Augusta Caesarea (or Caesarensis); and though Vespasian did not confer the rare supreme privilege of *ius Italicum*, which would have given all land-owners regardless of their status full possession *ex iure Quiritium* and total immunity from direct taxation and would have put the city outside the jurisdiction of the legate, he granted the valuable concession of immunity from *tributum capitis*. Later Titus as emperor extended the grant to include immunity from *tributum soli* also. But such immunity, unlike the *ius Italicum*, applied only to citizens of the city concerned. It was therefore only the Greeks of Caesarea, and not any Jews who returned after 70 as non-citizen residents, who benefitted from the imperial generosity.⁴⁹

Of the general level of taxation in Palestine after 70 virtually nothing is known. A somewhat vague statement by Appian may imply that

Domitian, but year 89 on coins of M. Aurelius both as Caesar before 7 March 161 and as Augustus from that date gives the era—*BMC, Pal.*, 51-2; cf. xxv-xxvi. For the city's territory see Avi-Yonah, *Map*, 23-4.

⁴⁷ The very rare coins of Joppa, struck under Elagabalus, have the title Flavia—*BMC, Pal.*, 44; cf. xxv. Though no era is indicated, the re-foundation implied by the title can safely be attributed to Vespasian.

⁴⁸ The re-naming is dated 221 or 222 explicitly or implicitly by Church writers (below, p. 492, n. 24) except Sozomenus, *Hist. Eccl.* v, 21 (*PG* LXVII, 1280-1), who dates it to 70; he is supported by coins of diva Faustina I and L. Verus dated by an era beginning soon after 70; see *BMC, Pal.*, lxxx-lxxxi, 169. But the new name is not used by Pliny, *NH* v, 70, or by Ptol., *Geog.* v, 16, 7, and it is never mentioned by Josephus.

⁴⁹ Tac., *H* ii, 78, 4 (Caesarea) *Iudaeae caput est* (i.e. in Tacitus' own day); 79; Pliny, *NH* v, 69; *Dig. L.*, xv, 8, 7 *Divus Vespasianus Caesarienses colonos fecit, non adiecto ut et iuris Italicum essent, sed tributum his remisit capitis; sed divus Titus etiam solum immune factum interpretatus est*; cf. *L.*, xv, 1, 6. For colonial coins (Latin legends) see *BMC, Pal.*, 16-42; surprisingly, the founder-type of the *circumductio* (cf. below, p. 459) occurs only under Hadrian and later. Jones, *CERP*², 277, suggests that, if Vespasian introduced colonists as well as raising the city's status, he added a part of Samaritis to its territory to provide land for them; hence the disappearance of the toparchy of Narbatene between Caesarea and Sebaste. For *ius Italicum* and *immunitas* see J. Triantophyllopoulos in *Iura* xiv (1963), 125 ff., with full bibliography.

the *tributum capitis* was raised as punishment for the revolt, but this interpretation is uncertain, and there are no absolute figures.⁵⁰ If this was the case, however, the increase may have been not so much a punishment as a means of offsetting the reduction in the number of Jews now resident in the province and so liable for the tax. Taxation, whether increased or not, must have borne more heavily than before on the province while it was recovering from the economic effects of the war, and there is evidence in episodes in Jewish literature for extreme poverty and hardship among some Jews immediately after it.⁵¹ But these cases were not necessarily typical of the whole province, parts of which had suffered comparatively little damage, and within a decade the province was back on a sufficiently even keel that tax exemptions could be granted.⁵² The pre-war system of financial administration based on the toparchies seems to have been retained; the Judaeen Herodion appears as a toparchy on a papyrus dated 124.⁵³

There was, however, one burden, psychological as well as financial, imposed on the Jews after the war, and that a burden not confined to the province. Despite the trouble and expense which the revolt had caused, Rome made no attempt to punish the Jews by stamping out, or even imposing restrictions on, their cult. The Jews emerged from the war with the status of Judaism as a *religio licita* unscathed both in Palestine and among the Diaspora. This is not surprising. To prohibit or restrict the cult in Palestine while permitting it free expression elsewhere would have been impracticable, but to prohibit it universally and thus to deprive the Diaspora, who had played no part of any consequence in the war, of their religious liberty in the process of punishing the sins of Palestine would have been unjustifiable. Roman commonsense realized that the tenacity of Jewish religious belief was such that any attempt to suppress Judaism and to assimilate the Jews forcibly into the gentile world would arouse intense opposition which would issue in further violence. Rome's quarrel had been primarily with Jewish political nationalism, not with the religion which she had tolerated for a century. With nation-

⁵⁰ App., *Syr.*, 50, quoted and discussed below, pp. 479-80. Benoit suggests that *DJD* II, nos. 89-107 concern the payment of taxes in kind after 70; but cf. K. M. T. Atkinson in *JRS* lii (1962), 260.

⁵¹ *Mekilta*, *l.c.* (193-5); BT *BB* 91b. Cf. Büchler, *Economic Conditions*, 30, 41-3, 52.

⁵² E.g. Caesarea (above). Josephus' personal exemption granted by Domitian (*V* 429) was a different matter; he was then resident in Italy.

⁵³ *DJD* II, no. 115.

alism now, it was hoped, held firmly in check, the Jews could safely be allowed to retain their religious privileges—all except one, the right to collect the Temple-tax, now rendered obsolete. Vespasian made use of this consequence of the destruction of the Temple to deal the Jews a shrewd blow by making them all, Palestinians and the Diaspora, guilty and innocent alike, now pay a price for the privilege of religious liberty. His work of reconstruction after the Roman civil war included the stabilizing of the shaken finances of the empire and he needed money from every available source. In 71-72 he appropriated the half-shekel Temple-tax for the Roman exchequer by converting it into a tax ostensibly for the benefit of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the god who in the Roman victory had triumphed over the God of Israel, and at the same time extended its incidence to cover both sexes from the age of three to (probably) the sixty second birthday in the case of women and perhaps for life in the case of men. The effect of this measure was that Judaism remained a *religio licita* only for those people who declared their allegiance by paying the *didrachmon*, soon to be known as the “Jewish tax”, to Rome, and thus purchased the privilege of worshipping Yahweh and contracting out of the imperial cult by a subscription to Jupiter.⁵⁴

Although the revolt was not followed by any Roman ban on the observance or teaching of the Jewish Law, the destruction of the Temple was nevertheless a turning-point in Jewish religious history in that it brought about a fundamental change in the character of Judaism. The Temple had been destroyed, not because it was the religious focus of all Jews throughout the world, but because it had been used as a centre of military resistance. The discussion in Titus’ council about whether it should be spared or not presupposed that

⁵⁴ *BJ* vii, 218; Dio lxvi, 7, 2. See further below, pp. 371-6. R. Johanan b. Zakkai saw Roman exactions as the recompense for Jewish sin: “You would not pay the tax of half a shekel to God, and now you pay 15 shekels to the government of your enemies”—*Mekilta de-Rabbi Ishmael* on *Exod.* xix, 1-2 (ed. J. Z. Lauterbach II (1933), 194). This sounds as if the tax was increased 15-fold when appropriated by Rome (the “holy shekel” used for payment of the Temple-tax being worth double the ordinary shekel; see S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie* II (1911), 405-6). There is no other evidence for this, and the 15 shekels may be a round figure representing the average sum total of the taxes exacted by Rome. But A. Carlebach suggests, in the light of *Mish. Shek.* ii, 4, that after the Exile contributions as high as a gold daric (worth 15 or 16 shekels) were made as the Temple tax (for which only a minimum was prescribed), that some wealthy Jews continued the practice, and that Rome now demanded from those who could afford it the maximum ever paid—in *JQR* lxvi (1975), 57-61.

Rome was prepared to allow its continued use. The destruction was in a sense accidental, and was certainly only incidental to the crushing of the revolt, and did not symbolize any Roman intention of eliminating Judaism. But the *fait accompli* of the destruction, however unintentional, became a permanency. Though there is no evidence in classical, ecclesiastical or Jewish literature that the rebuilding or repair⁵⁵ of the Temple was forbidden after 70 (as was to be the case after 135), the diversion of the Temple tax to Rome suggests that it was at any rate discouraged, and there is no indication that rebuilding was attempted or even seriously discussed, though the Jews had free access to the site⁵⁶ (in contrast to the situation after 135). The inevitable economic difficulties of the post-war years together with the loss of the revenue from the Temple tax may have ruled out the possibility of immediate rebuilding. The lack of a leader to organize plans may have been a vital factor; for the rabbis who now replaced the High Priests as the Jews' spiritual leaders seem to have been more concerned with the Temple ritual in the abstract than with its practical performance. The permanent presence of a legion defiling the holy city with military standards which were objects of cult, and of the accompanying civilian settlement containing pagan shrines as well as baths, shops and other amenities, may have been felt as a deterrent to rebuilding.⁵⁷ But though the Temple site continued to lie in ruins,⁵⁸ the dream of a new Temple was nevertheless alive,⁵⁹ and even if advanced Jewish thought, as voiced by Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai, might now argue that the Jewish religion had reached a spiritual level at which it had outgrown the need for animal sacrifices⁶⁰ and

⁵⁵ *BJ* vi, 387-8 implies that some parts survived the fire.

⁵⁶ *BJ* vii, 377; and references to visits by rabbis and laymen to the Temple hill—e.g., *BT Makk.* 24b; *Ber.* 3a; *Tos. Ber.* vii, 2b (transl. O. Holtzmann (1912), 85; transl. E. Lohse and G. Schlichting (1956-8), 86); *Eduy.* iii, 3, 459; *Midr. Eccl. R.* vii, 8, § 1; *Lament. R.* i, 17, § 52; *ARN* 4 on *Hosea* vi, 6 (Goldin, 34); *IV (II) Esdras* iii, 1-2 (cf. below, n. 58); *II Baruch* x, 5; xiii, 1; xxxv, 1. *II Baruch* comprises elements of varying date, and these chapters clearly date from after 70; see R. H. Charles in *APOT* II, 470-6.

⁵⁷ There is no evidence for pagan shrines in the Jerusalem *canabae* immediately after 70, but a dedication was made to Sarapis in Jerusalem in 116-17 (below, p. 427).

⁵⁸ Cf. *IV (II) Esdras* iii, 1-2 (purporting to be dated A.D. 100); x, 21-3; xii, 48. For the dating of the work as a whole to the early second century (with ch. xiv-xvi added later) see G. H. Box in *APOT* II, 549-53; W. O. E. Oesterley's commentary (1933), xlv-xlv.

⁵⁹ *Mish. Pes.* x, 6; *BT Bezah* 5b; *Sukk.* 41a; *RH* 30a; *Shab.* 12b; *Tos. Shab.* i, 13, p. 110.

⁶⁰ *ARN* 4 (Goldin, 34).

therefore by implication the need for a Temple also, this was by no means the universal view, as witness the possible attempt to erect a new Temple at the start of Bar Cochba's revolt.⁶¹

The lack of a Temple almost certainly meant the complete cessation of the cult and the permanent end of sacrificial worship.⁶² The use of present tenses to describe sacrificial procedure in Josephus' *In Apionem*, written nearly thirty years after the destruction of the Temple, and in the approximately contemporary *I Clement* is striking.⁶³ On the other hand, however, a passage in *II Baruch*, clearly dating from after 70, speaks unambiguously of the total cessation of the Temple cult.⁶⁴ There is little in rabbinic literature relating to the period 70-135 to suggest the continued practice of the cult,⁶⁵ and it is clearly implied in the Mishnah that at that time the killing of the Passover lamb, which had to be done by priests in the Temple, was in abeyance.⁶⁶ The absence of references to High Priests in office after 70, though only an *argumentum ex silentio*, is surely conclusive evidence that the line of High Priests, without whom some parts of the ritual could not be carried out, had come to an end.⁶⁷ It seems

⁶¹ See below, p. 445.

⁶² Full discussion of the problem is not relevant here. K. W. Clarke has tried to revive the view that at least some parts of the cult continued after 70—in *NTS* vi (1959-60) 269-80, with a summary of earlier discussion. He argues for an *a priori* probability that after 70 the Jews will have restored the Temple cult in so far as it was not actually prohibited, as the Jews left in Jerusalem during the Exile had done. But of the evidence which he adduces to support his contention only that given by *Ap.* and *I Clem.* (below) is strong. The present tense references to the Temple cult, especially the ceremonies of the Day of Atonement in *Hebrews* v, 1-4; vii, 5, 27-8; viii, 3-4; ix, 6-9, 13, 25; x, 1-4, 11 date that work to shortly before 70, not to "the reign of Domitian" (Clarke, 276); see the commentary of C. Spicq, *I* (1952), 253-61. A rabbinic ruling made before c. 130 that sacrifice was permissible without a Temple (*Mish. Eduy.* viii, 6) does not necessarily mean that it was in fact offered. An anecdote about a sacrifice in the Temple shortly before c. 130 in a medieval Samaritan chronicle (published in *REJ* xlv-xlvi (1902-3); see xlv, 80-2, with a reference to Hadrian, p. 82) is of dubious validity.

⁶³ *Ap.* ii, 77, 193-8; *I Clem.* xl, 4-5; xli, 2. The present tense account of the Temple ritual in *AJ* iii, 224-57 is hardly parallel, as it is a paraphrase of *Levit.* and *Numbers*. The same applies to the account of the scapegoat ritual on the Day of Atonement and the brief reference to the "red heifer" in *Epist. Barnabae* vii, 4—viii, 1, a work dated between 70 and Bar Cochba's revolt (below, p. 430, n. 6).

⁶⁴ *II Baruch* xxxiv-xxxv; cf. x, 10.

⁶⁵ See J. Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'hist. et la géogr. de la Palestine* (1867), 480-3; cf. Clarke, *op. cit.*, 278.

⁶⁶ *Mish. Pes.* x, 6 (Akiba fl. immediately before Bar Cochba's revolt). *Ibid.* 7, 2 may concern Gamaliel I, well before the war.

⁶⁷ *AJ* xx, 251 (finished in 93-4) and *BT Yoma* 9a imply that the High Priest-

most probable, therefore, that sacrificial worship and other aspects of the Temple ritual could not be resumed with the return of peace in 70, and that references after that date which appear to imply the continued observance of the cult are to be explained as ideal accounts of procedure which it was hoped would some day be restored, rather than as realistic accounts of actual contemporary procedure.

The daily sacrifices for the emperor's well-being which had been the Jews' substitute for participation in the imperial cult obviously could not be reintroduced without a Temple, but as a matter of common sense Rome made no attempt to force the cult in its direct form, or any other substitute for it, on the Jews after 70. The evidence is only *ex silentio*, but surely conclusive silence. And Judaism was allowed to pursue its internal development freely in consequence of a step which Vespasian had sanctioned during the war and which was to have momentous effects on its future.

When Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai escaped from Jerusalem to the Roman camp, he asked permission to establish a rabbinic school at Jamnia, and his request was granted without demur.⁶⁸ The choice of Jamnia was of some significance. The city had declared for the rebels but had been recovered by Vespasian in 67, apparently without serious damage, as it was then used as a home for loyal Jews who surrendered. Johanan's surrender put him in the loyalist camp, and when he asked to join the loyalists in Jamnia, Vespasian was ready to sanction the foundation of a rabbinic school there which might form the nucleus of a substitute for the Jerusalem Sanhedrin as a future organ of local self-government. He was as anxious to encourage and conciliate moderate opinion as he was *debellare superbos*. The school at Jamnia (Jabneh) was thus set up as a legitimate Jewish authority, with Rome's knowledge and consent, during the war, to prepare to play its part in the post-war reconstruction.⁶⁹

hood ended in 70. If "Eleazar the Priest" whose name appears on coins of Bar Cochba's revolt was High Priest, that is no argument for the continuation of the line over the intervening sixty years. The office can be assumed to have been revived with the plans for rebuilding the Temple then. The medieval Samaritan chronicle (above, n. 62) gives lists of High Priests up to the thirteenth century, but these will be Samaritan High Priests, of a still continuing line.

⁶⁸ Above, p. 314, n. 92. BT *Gitt.* 56a-b. Simeon son of Gamaliel, the leading rabbi in 68 (above, p. 304), was presumably killed during the fighting, as he is not heard of again, and Johanan seems to have taken his place by general consent.

⁶⁹ Above, p. 310. In 68 the imperial estate of which Jamnia was a part was presumably still in existence at least theoretically; cf. above, p. 340. Pflaum

Rabbi Johanan's escape, technically an act of treachery, was the Jews' spiritual salvation, when the rabbinic school which he founded took the place of the Sanhedrin as the supreme Jewish religious authority, and its president, the Nasi or patriarch, replaced the High Priest as the Jews' leader and spokesman, both religious and political. But just as the High Priests from 6 to 66 had been appointed by the procurators and then by client kings bound to support Roman interests, so the appointments of the Nasi after 70 were ratified by the Roman authorities, who could thus ensure that Jewish leadership remained in the hands of politically acceptable men.⁷⁰ After the war Jamnia became the permanent centre of rabbinic learning, and the school was never transferred to Jerusalem, though later events make it clear that in Jewish eyes Jerusalem remained the undisputed religious capital.⁷¹ Under Johanan's leadership⁷² the rabbis took upon themselves duties previously performed by the High Priests, such as the fixing of the calendar and the issue of new regulations for festivals and other religious observances to meet the changed circumstances of the times—temporary regulations, to be abrogated if the Temple were ever rebuilt.⁷³ Though hereditary priests continued to exist, the rabbis took their place as the religious authorities, and, more important, the school became the centre for the detailed study of the Law which produced the definitive codification of the oral Law in the Mishnah in the mid-second century. For with the recovery of political independence out of the question at least for the present, and

suggests that Johanan chose it in the hope of escaping the direct rule of the provincial governor—*Carrières*, I, 25. But the present condition of the town was probably more important at the time. On Roman policy cf. Neusner, *Yohanan*, 122-7; 2nd ed., 166-71.

⁷⁰ In *Mish. Edy.* vii, 7 and *BT Sanh.* 11a it is uncertain whether the Nasi seeking confirmation of his appointment is Gamaliel I or II; cf. Mantel, *Sanhedrin*, 21 ff. The special dispensation exempting Gamaliel and his family from the ban on the study of Greek philosophy (*BT Sot.* 49b) may have been granted because of their inevitably close relations with a gentile government. For a study of the history and position of the Nasi (a title held by the Pharisaic president of the religious Sanhedrin before 70 and perhaps from Hasmonaean times) see Mantel, *Sanhedrin*, 1-53, 175-253.

⁷¹ There is, however, evidence to suggest that by the time of Hadrian the highest Jewish court was sitting in Jerusalem again; see H. Bietenhard in *Judaica* iv (1948), 60; but this may have been for administrative convenience only.

⁷² Whether he was the first post-war Nasi is disputed. Mantel, *Sanhedrin*, 28-35, denies it; but see S. B. Hoenig in *JQR* lii (1961-2), 342.

⁷³ *Mish. RH* iv, 1 ff.; *Sukk.* iii, 12; *BT Bezah* 5b; *Sukk.* 41a-b; *RH* 30a-b; *Tos. RH* iv, 3.

with the authority of the Sadducees broken by the termination of the reign of the High Priests, the mainly Pharisee rabbis came into their own. The study of the minutiae of the Law, now the sole basis and focus of Judaism, and the pursuit of moral perfection were to a large degree independent of the Temple cult, and the Pharisees were therefore less affected by its cessation than the Sadducees. They turned the attention of Judaism in upon itself and concentrated on the theory of the cult which could no longer be actualized, prescribing every detail for the guidance of a future generation which might restore it in practice.⁷⁴

The Talmud and Midrash record a group of stories about conversations between Rabbi Johanan (or in some versions his successor as head of the school at Jamnia, Rabbi Gamaliel II) and a Roman official whose name appears in various forms, some of them beginning Ant-.⁷⁵ If an authentic Roman official is meant, the known official with whom he can most plausibly be identified is M. Antonius Julianus, procurator in 70 and very probably the author of a work *De Iudaeis*.⁷⁶ The stories represent the Roman as questioning the rabbi about points of Jewish Law, one of which concerns the Temple tax. An interest in Jewish thought and literature (unconnected with the adoption of Judaism) is known among educated Romans,⁷⁷ and if the procurator already had in mind the writing of a book about the Jews, it was only sensible for him to seize the opportunity of getting information on various matters from an eminent Jewish authority. Julianus is likely to have remained in Judaea under the acting governor Cerealis from

⁷⁴ For full studies of the development of Judaism after 70 and the work of the school at Jamnia see, e.g., Baron, II; Neusner, *Yohanan*, 147-79, 2nd ed., 174-226; L. Finkelstein, *Akiba* (1962), 73 ff.; Moore, *Judaism* I, 83 ff. For the Mishnah see below, p. 499.

⁷⁵ BT *Bek.* 5a; JT *Sanh.* i, 2 and 4 (Schwab X, 236, 242); Midr. *Num. R.* iv, 9 (on *Num.* iii, 46); Sifre *Deut.* 351. Büchler, *Economic Conditions*, 57, and H. Grätz in *Monatsschr. Gesch. Wissensch. Jud.* xxxiv (1885), 18-19, give further variants. Cf. M. D. Herr in *Scr. Hier.* xxii (1971), 129-31. Derenbourg, *op. cit.*, 316, attributes Midr. *Deut. R.* vii, 7, in which the gentile questioner is not named, to the same group. The name appears as Antoninus, Antigonus, Angatus, Hongatus, Agnitus and Contracus, with minor changes of spelling and some variant readings. The second-century name Antoninus may have been taken back into these stories from the later "Antoninus and Rabbi" stories (below, pp. 485-6).

⁷⁶ See above, p. 317, n. 104.

⁷⁷ See above, p. 173 (Petronius). The quotation from *Genes.* i in *De Sublimitate* ix, 9 (probably written in the mid-first century A.D.; see M. J. Boyd in *CQ*² vii (1957), 42 and bibliography given there) presupposes that its readers would recognize and appreciate it.

the end of hostilities until the appointment of Laberius Maximus, and this would have allowed time for leisurely discussion. A question about the Temple tax was pertinent at a time when it had become obsolete and its impending conversion into a tax to Rome was perhaps already in the air. A record of friendly conversations between a rabbi and a Roman official harmonizes well with the establishment of the school at Jamnia under Roman auspices.

Events in the Province of Judaea to 115

Religious toleration went hand in hand with increased political vigilance in the decades after 70, and Rome took precautions which may have been excessive to guard against any resurgence of Jewish nationalism. Christian tradition tells of three occasions between 70 and the end of Trajan's reign on which members of the "family of David" were hunted down in Palestine. The first was "after the capture of Jerusalem", when Vespasian ordered a search to be made for all the members of the family of David, so that none of the "royal house" might be left in the province, and this led to a serious "persecution of the Jews".⁷⁸ It is possible that "Vespasian" is an error and that the search was actually ordered by Titus before his return to Rome in 71. But be that as it may, the tradition is entirely credible and the purpose of the search clear: the messiah was expected from the house of David, messianic hopes had contributed to the outbreak of the revolt in 66, and Rome was anxious to forestall any recurrence of movements such as had disturbed the province periodically before it. It was a political precautionary measure, confused by Church historians with later Roman hostility towards the Church and magnified into a "persecution of the Jews" of which Jewish sources are completely ignorant. The menace, such as it was, was not regarded as entirely eliminated, for under Domitian members of the family were again rounded up. The story of this investigation, much fuller than the notice of the previous one and furnished with picturesque detail, cannot be taken literally, for in it members of the immediate family of Christ are haled before the emperor, personally present in Palestine (which Domitian never visited), who then terminates "the persecution of the Church" on discovering that they are poor working-class folk, not likely to constitute a political danger. But the significant point is that the men arrested are interrogated about "Christ and His

⁷⁸ Eus., *HE* iii, 12, citing Hegesippus.

kingdom.”⁷⁹ The enquiry thus had the same purpose as the earlier one, to nip potential messianic movements in the bud, and though only Christian Jews are named as its subjects, the third episode seems to involve non-Christian Jews also. Early in Trajan’s reign the house of David was in trouble again, when Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, described as a cousin of Christ, was denounced by “certain heretics” to Atticus the legate of Judaea and executed; but his fate recoiled on the heads of his accusers, who were themselves arrested as members of the “royal family of the Jews”, which was then being hunted down.⁸⁰ This suggests that Simeon’s enemies were members of his own family who had not adopted Christianity and were trying, unsuccessfully, to divert attention from themselves. If such Jews were in danger under Trajan, they will hardly have escaped under Domitian.

The details of these stories, related from the Christian angle, matter little for the present study. Their overall significance for the history of the province after 70 is simply that for at least thirty years the Romans were on the alert to guard against incipient messianic movements and to pounce on anyone who looked like a potential trouble-maker. And lack of evidence does not mean that their vigilance was relaxed after the beginning of the second century. But the operations can more accurately be described as police measures than as “persecutions”.

A few scraps of evidence survive for the 80s, but not enough for any coherent picture of events in the province to be constructed. Sebaste struck its first coins fairly early in Domitian’s reign, counter-marked *L(egio) X F(retensis)* and obviously commemorating the presence of a detachment of the legion in the city; ⁸¹ but the purpose and length of its stay are conjectural. Possibly the coins point to peace and stability which enabled part of the legion to be withdrawn

⁷⁹ Eus., *HE* iii, 19-20, citing and in part quoting Hegesippus. This “persecution of the Church” is part of the tradition of a Domitianic attack, which grows with time; contemporary and near contemporary writers know little about it. Cf. below, p. 381, and the works cited by the present writer in *CPb* li (1956), 1, n. 2; add L. W. Barnard in *NTS* x (1963-4), 251-60.

⁸⁰ Eus., *HE* iii, 32, 1-6, citing and in part quoting Hegesippus. The traditional date of Simeon’s martyrdom is c. 107. But see Appendix A, p. 548, on the identity and date of the legate Atticus. The Trajanic investigation in Palestine and the trials of the Bithynian Christians in 112 (Pliny, *Ep.* x, 96-7) were not serious enough to count as a persecution of the Church; cf. Eus., *HE* iv, 26, 9 making Nero and Domitian the sole persecutors of the Church up to the time of M. Aurelius.

⁸¹ *BMC, Pal.*, 78. They are dated year 109 of the local era = 82-3 (if it began in 27 B.C.; above, p. 77, n. 55).

from the potential storm-centre of Jerusalem and allowed to enjoy the Greco-Roman amenities of Sebaste, rather than to incipient trouble in Samaritis, a district normally loyal to Rome.

A Jewish rising in the mid-80s has been postulated, but on very slender evidence. The single *Judaea capta* coin of 85, which might commemorate the suppression of trouble, is probably a hybrid; its uniqueness as a Domitianic type and its rarity render it suspect, and as such it is better ignored.⁸² The fact that auxiliaries discharged in Judaea in 86 did not receive *honesta missio* does not indicate a military emergency there requiring the retention of veterans with the colours; the Dacian war of 85-6 would account for it, and many other auxiliaries discharged by the Flavians were similarly treated.⁸³ Domitian's seven salutations as *imperator* in 85-6 are adequately explained by victories in Britain, Germany and Dacia. Jewish tradition knows of no conflict between the war of 66-70 and the "war of Quietus" at the end of Trajan's reign, and this silence is significant. On the other hand, it is possible that the ripples of the commotion stirred up by the last "false Nero" in Parthia in 88 reached as far as Palestine, though the evidence is very slight. Statius addresses one of his *Silvae* to M. Maecius Celer, who has been appointed legate of one of the Syrian legions; some military operations are expected, since his duties include "bridling the Palestinian cohorts", and the places he is to visit include "Idume" (Idumaea, used elsewhere also for Judaea). The latest possible date for the poem is 92. But "Palestinian" may be metonymy for Syrian, and little weight can be put on a possible visit to Idume by a man whose tour of duty is visualized as covering Assyria and India.⁸⁴

⁸² *BMC, Imp.* II, 369. Juster, II, 185, though dubious about the coin, includes it in his evidence for a revolt under Domitian. T. Frankfort, in *Homages à A. Grenier* (ed. M. Renard, 1962), 668, accepts it as authentic, but visualizes only a strengthening of Roman authority in Palestine at the time.

⁸³ On *CIL* XVI, 33, accepted by Juster, *l.c.*, as evidence for a rising, see S. Gsell, *Essai sur le règne de l'empereur Domitien* (1894), 287-9; cf. K. Friedmann in *Atene e Roma*² xii (1931), 70-3. For the omission of *honesta missio* cf. *CIL* XVI, 12-16, 20, 22-3, 29, 30, 35, 158 (dated 71-88); also 48 and 51 (during Trajan's Dacian wars).

⁸⁴ *Silv.* iii, praef. . . . *Maecium Celerem, a sacratissimo imperatore missum ad legionem Syriacam*; iii, 2, 104-5 *ac iuvenem egregium, Latius cui duxor Eoa | signa Palaestinasque dedit frenare cohortes*. Cf. lines 90-5, 121-2 for military operations; 91, 101-2, 136-40 for Celer's travels. For Idume = Judaea cf. *Silv.* iii, 3, 140; v, 2, 138-9; Valerius Flaccus i, 12. *Silv.* iii was almost certainly published in 94, but the poem to Celer antedates the completion of the *Thebaid* between 90 and 92 (see lines 40, 143). For another possible interpretation of Celer's mission see below, p. 354.

No contacts are recorded between Agrippa II and the province of Judaea after 70, which may mean that he had little to do with it now that there were no High Priests to appoint and no Temple to oversee; and his responsibility for additional territory further north may have helped to divert his attention. His coinage suggests that the year 86 was important for him in some respect. His largest issues were struck in that year and, more significantly, they include a unique bilingual issue with the emperor's name and titles in Latin on the obverse and the king's name in Greek on the reverse, with the date by his own regnal era and the letters S.C.⁸⁵ These coins, authorized in some way by the senate in Rome and dated on the Roman system by Domitian's twelfth consulship as well as by the local era, surely marked some kind of crisis in Agrippa's affairs, but one from which he emerged with his position as king confirmed. But in the absence of any evidence it is pointless to speculate about its nature.

The death of Agrippa, unmarried and without close heirs, in 92 or 93 restored his four toparchies of Tiberias, Tarichaeae, Abila and Livias-Julias to the province of Judaea, but the rest of his kingdom, predominantly non-Jewish, was incorporated in the province of Syria.⁸⁶ This event may have been the occasion for the issue of a group of imperial coins with Latin legends in Judaea, dated 92 and 93, one of them with the type of a Victory.⁸⁷ Possibly there was some opposition to the reimposition of direct Roman rule and the extinction of such shadowy independence as the Jews in the toparchies had enjoyed under Agrippa. If Statius' poem to Maecius Celer is dated as late as possible, to 92, the vague hints which it contains of military

⁸⁵ *BMC, Pal.*, 245-6; Reifenberg, 53. On Agrippa's eras see Appendix F. *The Chronographer of A.D. 354* (of minimal value) dates Agrippa's death to 85 or 86, close to the date of the bilingual coins (in *Monum. Germ. Hist. IX*, i, 140); see Schürer, I (rev.), 481, n. 45, for the calculation. Frankfort, *op. cit.*, 669, suggests that behind the date lies a misunderstanding of a reduction in Agrippa's Jewish territory in that year, *viz.* the loss of his two Peraean toparchies. But evidence for such a loss is lacking, and coin-evidence indicates that Tiberias at any rate remained under Agrippa.

⁸⁶ For the date see Appendix F; for coin evidence from Tiberias see above, p. 340. If Chalcidice, the kingdom of Agrippa's cousin Aristobulus, was the northern Chalcis (above, p. 339, n. 35), he died or was deposed in 92, when the city began a new era (see Jones, *CERP*², 461 n. 60), and the reigns of the last two descendants of Herod the Great ended almost simultaneously.

⁸⁷ *BMC, Pal.*, 280-1; cf. ciii. All have *cos. XVI* (92). The coins dated *tr. p. XI* (91-2) have *imp. XXI*. Those dated *tr. p. XII* have *imp. XXIII*, probably incorrectly, since the highest salutation recorded elsewhere is *XXII* (during 92).

operations in Palestine may be connected with this rather than with the "false Nero".⁸⁸ But little can be built on such slight and indefinite evidence.

After the annexation of Agrippa's kingdom the only remaining client state on the eastern frontier was Nabataea, lying to the south and east of the province of Judaea. Its annexation in 106 as the province of Arabia⁸⁹ hemmed the Jews in, and brought another legion, VI Ferrata, which was transferred from Syria to Bostra, the capital of the new province, within striking distance of them.⁹⁰ At the same time the Palestinian *limes* system was expanded southwards to penetrate and control the new province.⁹¹ Disturbances may have arisen among the Jews in connection with the annexation of Arabia, since it was shortly before 106 that Q. Pompeius Falco was appointed legate of Judaea. He had previously commanded a legion in the first Dacian war and served as legate of Lycia and Pamphylia. His anomalous tenure of two successive *propraetorian* posts suggests a crisis in the area calling for the appointment of a man with military and administrative experience, but other evidence is lacking.⁹²

⁸⁸ So Frankfort, *op. cit.*, 666.

⁸⁹ Dio lxxviii, 14, 5; *BMC, Imp.* III, 194, no. 919, on which cf. A. Blanchet in *CRAI* 1944, 229-37; *ILS* 5834 and *CIL* III, 14149¹⁹, ²¹, ³⁰, ³⁹, ⁴², ⁵⁰ (milestones on the road from Bostra via Petra to the Red Sea).

⁹⁰ A. H. M. Jones in *JRS* xviii (1928), 147 on VI Ferrata. A diploma of 24 September 105 includes among the garrison of Egypt two of the cohorts which were in Judaea in 86 (above, p. 334, n. 8), and lists two others which had been "transferred to Judaea" (from Egypt), an exchange likely to have been part of the preparations for the annexation of Arabia; see H. G. Pflaum in *Syria* xlv (1967), 339-62 = *AE* 1968, 513.

⁹¹ See Gihon and Applebaum, 47.

⁹² *ILS* 1035-6; cf. Appendix A., p. 549; R. Syme in *JRS* xlviii (1958), 4.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE DIASPORA A.D. 66-70 AND AFTER

The Jews of the Diaspora stood aside virtually completely from the revolt of the province of Judaea in 66-70. Not only was there no widespread rising in support of the homeland but the amount of external help forthcoming for the rebels in Palestine seems to have been negligible. Dio, it is true, speaks of help from Jews both in Parthia and within the Roman empire;¹ but Josephus merely says that the rebels hoped that the Jews beyond the Euphrates would join them, and the only outside allies whom he names are a few individuals from the Parthian dependency of Adiabene under members of the royal family who as converts to Judaism from the time of Claudius were a special case.² Possibly rather more help was offered than is admitted by Josephus, who is out to glorify the single-handed resistance of the province,³ but it cannot have amounted to anything substantial or traces of it would surely be detectable. This lack of co-operation from both inside and outside the Roman empire is understandable. Though individual Jews from Parthia could presumably serve in Palestine as volunteers if they wished, largescale military help from that quarter could be provided only by order of the Parthian king; and he, as Agrippa II warned the rebels in 66, had recently come to terms with Nero and would not wish to embroil himself with Rome again.⁴ Indeed, so anxious was he to keep in Rome's good books that he offered Vespasian the loan of some Parthian cavalry late in 69, and at the end of the war he sent congratulations to Titus on his victory.⁵ At the same time, the fact that the Parthian government did not prevent Adiabene, under a monarch enjoying internal autonomy and holding a position comparable with that of client kings in the Roman empire, from helping the Jews suggests that it was not averse to

¹ Dio lxvi, 4, 3.

² *BJ* i, 5, 388. The Adiabeniens—ii, 520; v, 474; vi, 356-7. For the royal family see *AJ* xx, 17-48; cf. above, p. 263, below, pp. 416-17; Neusner, *JB* I, 64-7 (I², 67-70).

³ *BJ* i, 8.

⁴ *BJ* ii, 388-9; vi, 343, however, suggests a certain amount of moral support from Parthia.

⁵ Tac., *H* iv, 51, 2; *BJ* vii, 105.

letting a dependency do what it dared not do itself. The Diaspora within the Roman empire had no quarrel with Rome and therefore no wish to jeopardize their own favourable position by supporting the rebellion. Their non-participation was a testimonial to the generally harmonious relations which had existed between them and Rome since the days of Julius Caesar. At the same time, the Romans showed clearly that they distinguished between the undesirable political aspirations of the Jewish nationalists in the province and the harmless religious practices of the average Diaspora Jew by not, as far as is known, imposing any restrictions on the latter during the war.

But the fact that Rome was not vindictive towards the Diaspora did not mean that they were totally unaffected by the revolt in Palestine. Early in the war smouldering racial tension between Jews and Greeks in many Syrian cities flared up into mutually murderous attacks; immediately after the war attempts were made in Antioch and Alexandria to exploit the Jewish disgrace, while disturbances were stirred up among the Jews in Alexandria and Cyrenaica by extremist refugees from Judaea; and the universal exaction of the "Jewish tax", though not accompanied by any reduction in the religious liberty of the Diaspora, was a constant reminder of the destruction of the sanctuary which had been the focus of their religion.

The massacre and expulsion of the Jewish community in Caesarea by the Greek population of the city in the autumn of 66 aroused the Jews of Palestine as a whole to such fury that they undertook immediate reprisals on a massive scale by raids on a number of Greco-Syrian cities with large Jewish minorities just across their frontiers—Gaza, Ascalon, Ptolemais and Tyre on the coast, Philadelphia, Gerasa, Pella, Gadara, Hippos and Scythopolis in the Decapolis, and unspecified places in Gaulanitis. Josephus probably exaggerates in saying that Ascalon was burnt down and Gaza razed; wholesale destruction of walled cities would hardly have been feasible for unorganized mobs such as the Jewish attackers were. He goes on, more credibly, to speak of the pillaging of villages in the territory of the cities and the slaughter of their Greek inhabitants.⁶ In reply the Greeks throughout

⁶ *BJ* ii, 457-60. Cf. above, p. 295. In the case of Tyre, a village is specifically mentioned as the object of attack. The list of places attacked includes several in the province of Judaea also—Heshbon in Peraea, Anthedon, and Herod's military settlements of Gaba in Galilee and Sebaste.

Syria fell on the Jewish minorities in their cities, in some case anticipating Jewish attacks, with the result that for a time the whole province was disturbed and even proselytes were in danger of being massacred for their Jewish allegiance. A particularly horrible situation arose in Scythopolis, where the resident Jews supported the Greeks against the attack of their fellow countrymen but were suspected of double-dealing and butchered as a precautionary measure.⁷ Apart from Caesarea, where the massacre of the Jews had been the culmination of years of tension, Ascalon is the only city where previous anti-Jewish feeling is recorded.⁸ But the ferocity shown by both sides is evidence of long-standing mutual suspicion and dislike, which the collapse of Roman authority in the province of Judaea now gave an opportunity to satisfy. Indeed, a few weeks later, in Damascus, where the timely precaution of keeping the Jews under surveillance had prevented their attacking the Greeks simultaneously with their fellows elsewhere, the news of Cestius Gallus' defeat at Bethhoron was followed by a wholesale and allegedly unprovoked massacre.⁹ Even when allowance is made for some exaggeration by Josephus of the scale of the slaughter on both sides, the conflicts must have resulted in a noticeable reduction of the Jewish populations of the cities affected.

In one Syrian city, however, the trouble occurred rather later, followed a different pattern, had ramifications which continued until after the end of the war, and is related by Josephus in sufficient detail to merit separate study—Antioch.

Antioch

By the first century A.D. the Jewish colony in Antioch¹⁰ not only was the largest in Syria but ranked with those in Rome and Alexandria as one of the largest Diaspora communities in the Roman world.

⁷ *BJ* ii, 461-80, where the humanity of Gerasa (§ 480) is unexpected, if the city is correctly included among those attacked by the Jews; *V* 24-6, ignoring the initial Jewish attacks, and putting the Greek ones all after Bethhoron, with that at Damascus (below). In Gaulanitis mob-violence was replaced by the high-handed and unprovoked execution of a Jewish delegation by Agrippa II's viceroy, for which he paid with loss of his position on the king's return; *BJ* ii, 481-3 and *V* 48-61 give divergent accounts.

⁸ *Leg.* 205; *BJ* iii, 10.

⁹ *BJ* ii, 559-61. But it is hard to believe that, if the community numbered 10,500, they were all confined to the gymnasium for any long time.

¹⁰ For a full study of the Jews in Antioch from the Hellenistic period to the Middle Ages see C. H. Kraeling in *JBL* li (1932), 130-60 (henceforth cited as Kraeling). Much of his work is accepted by Downey, *Antioch*, in his sections on the Jews; see his Index.

Josephus takes its origin back to the foundation of the city by Seleucus I (312-281/280 B.C.), who, he says, rewarded his Jewish mercenaries with the right to settle there and in his other foundations in Syria and Asia Minor, and gave them the "citizenship" which they still enjoy.¹¹ But this cannot be taken at its face value as meaning that the Jews as a community possessed Antiochene citizenship on a level with the Greeks from the start. Participation in the civic and religious duties inherent in the citizenship of any Greek city entailed apostasy for a Jew, a price which few will have been willing to pay. It is therefore more probable either that Seleucus I granted his Jewish settlers no more than potential citizenship, the right to acquire citizenship on demand as individuals,¹² or that Josephus is referring misleadingly to the Jews' citizenship of their *politeuma* in Antioch¹³ and erroneously carrying its establishment back to the foundation of the city. The question of the establishment of a *politeuma* is not likely to have arisen until the originally small community had grown considerably through the commercial prospects and other attractions of the city, and it was apparently only in the second century that the position of the Jews there was consolidated. They were then granted the official right of domicile, which raised them in status from aliens to metics, and a generation later, after the death of the hostile Antiochus Epiphanes, a *politeuma* was established, giving political organization to the numerous Jews who for religious reasons had not accepted Greek citizenship, and creating two parallel citizenships, Greek and Jewish, which made it possible for Josephus to describe the Jews as "sharing the city with the Greeks."¹⁴ The rights of the *politeuma*

¹¹ *AJ* xii, 119 . . . πολιτείας αὐτοὺς ἤξιωσε καὶ τοῖς ἐνοικισθεῖσιν ἰσοτίμους ἀπέφηνε Μακεδόσιν καὶ Ἑλλήσιν, ὡς τὴν πολίτειαν ταύτην ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένειν. *Ap.* ii, 39 τὴν γὰρ πολίτειαν αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν ὁ κτίστης Σέλευκος. On Josephus' equation of the Jewish settlers with "Macedonians and Greeks" cf. above, p. 229, n. 40 (Alexandria).

¹² See above, *l. c.*, on Jewish ἔση πολίτεια in Alexandria. Cf. Kraeling, 137-8; Downey, *Antioch*, 80.

¹³ On the use of *politeia* and *polites* with reference to a *politeuma* see above, pp. 229-30.

¹⁴ *BJ* vii, 43-4—the successors of "Antiochus" (who without distinguishing title is more likely to have been the most illustrious of the name, Antiochus III the Great, 223-187, than Antiochus I, 281/0-187) gave the Jews ἀδεᾶ τὴν ἐκεῖ κατοίκησιν, and Antiochus Epiphanes' successors συνεχώρησαν αὐτοῖς ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ τῆς πόλεως τοῖς Ἑλλήσι μετέχειν. The rights of residence and political organization, apparently separated by Josephus, may have been granted together after Antiochus Epiphanes' death. Downey, *Antioch*, 107-8, puts the establishment of the *politeuma* under Seleucus I. But in that case in what way was the Jews' position improved by later kings?

were publicly displayed on bronze plaques.¹⁵ The situation in Antioch seems to have been exactly parallel to that in Alexandria: there were two independent civic bodies, Greek and Jewish, with separate citizenships, and though individual Jews could, and some demonstrably did, obtain Greek citizenship, the Jews as a community did not possess it.¹⁶ The Jews in Antioch enjoyed one privilege not recorded in Alexandria, perhaps granted when they first formed an autonomous political body, though Josephus attributes it to Seleucus I: the oil tax was refunded to Jews unwilling to use the gentile oil issued by the gymnasiarchs, to enable them to buy their own.¹⁷

The favourable position of the Jews in Antioch invited further immigration under the later Seleucids, and the community grew steadily in wealth as well as in numbers,¹⁸ until eventually there were three areas of intensive Jewish settlement, the most important in the western suburb of Daphne.¹⁹ The situation in Antioch, like that in other cities, was unaffected by the Roman annexation of the country as a province, except that the Jewish *politeuma* gained by coming under Roman protection, and the attraction of Antioch in the Roman period as a place of residence for Jews appears in the story of the company of five hundred Jewish mounted archers who emigrated there from Babylonia some time between 9 and 6 B.C.²⁰ But, as in Alexandria, Jewish prosperity led to racial friction in the city. John Malalas' sixth century chronicle records an anti-Jewish riot which developed out of a conflict between circus-factions in A.D. 39-40. The fact that the episode is unknown to Josephus casts some doubt on it, but if it is accepted as basically historical, the date suggests a connection either with the disturbances in Alexandria in 38 or with

¹⁵ *BJ* vii, 110.

¹⁶ Cf. *Ap.* ii, 38-9—just as the Jews in Alexandria were popularly called "Alexandrians" (strictly, members of the Greek citizen-body), so ἡμῶν οἱ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν κατοικοῦντες Ἀντιοχεῖς ὀνομάζονται. This is linked with the claim that they had "citizenship" from the city's foundation, but proves it no more than does the designation "Alexandrian" (above, pp. 228-9). In *BJ* vii, 52 Josephus uses τοῖς αὐτοῦ πολίταις with reference to an apostate Jew with Greek citizenship, giving the impression that Jews and Greeks shared the same rights; but "citizens" could here mean the man's former fellow-citizens in the *politeuma*.

¹⁷ *AJ* xii, 120. Cf. Marcus, note *ad loc.* and pp. 740-1.

¹⁸ *BJ* vii, 45.

¹⁹ See Kraeling, 140-3.

²⁰ *AJ* xvii, 24-5, with the governorship of C. Sentius Saturninus giving the date. They found city life, however, uncongenial, and within a very few years accepted Herod the Great's invitation to Batanea (above, p. 98).

Gaius' attack on the Temple in 39-40. No reason is given for the outbreak of anti-Semitism, but it is possible that it was, as in Alexandria, the Greek reaction to the pressure of a body of Jewish opinion agitating for the admission of the Jews as a body to Greek citizenship; and the fact that in 41 Claudius sent to Syria an edict identical to that in which he re-established Jewish rights in Alexandria argues for similar threats to the Jews' position in cities there.²¹

By 66 the size and influence of the Jewish community, already large and rich, was being effectively increased still further by the adherence of many Greeks as "Judaizers" or proselytes,²² and this gave a further reason for Jewish unpopularity. Nevertheless they escaped the outbreak of anti-Semitism in Syria in the autumn of 66. Josephus' explanation is naïve: "only Antioch, Sidon and Apamea spared the Jews who lived among them and refused to kill or imprison any of them, possibly because their own numbers made them discount the idea of Jewish risings, but more probably, in my opinion, out of pity for people who they realized were not revolutionaries."²³ In fact they were more probably deterred for the time being from following the current fashion by the presence of the legate Cestius Gallus and Roman troops.²⁴

The attack came in the spring of 67 when Vespasian was in Antioch assembling his army for his invasion of Palestine, and had quite a different origin from those in other cities: it was given a semblance of legality by being put in the form of punishment for alleged conspiracy against the city. An apostate Jew, Antiochus, who had obtained Greek citizenship and was holding a magistracy, denounced his father, a member of the *gerousia* of the *politeuma*, and other Jews to the Greek assembly for allegedly plotting to set fire to the city, and produced some "foreign" Jews whom he had arrested as accomplices. Feeling against the Jews in general was so high by this time that without investigating the charge the assembly made the punishment fit the crime by having the would-be incendiaries burnt to death on the spot, and then launched an attack on the resident Jewish community as a whole. First an attempt was made to force

²¹ Ioh. Mal., *Chron.* x, 315 (pp. 244-5). For Claudius' edict see above, p. 247. For another interpretation of Malalas' incident see above, p. 176, n. 110. For further discussion see Downey, *Antioch*, 192-4.

²² *BJ* vii, 45; cf. *Acts* vi, 5.

²³ *BJ* ii, 479

²⁴ No permanent legionary garrison is attested in Antioch, but it is improbable that the capital of the province was without one.

other Jews to follow the example of Antiochus, who as a token of the genuineness of his apostasy had offered pagan sacrifice, "since the conspirators would be exposed by their refusal." Only a few complied, and those who refused were massacred. Antiochus then got command of some Roman troops with which he tyrannized over the Jews and prevented them from observing the Sabbath, a precedent soon followed in other Syrian cities.²⁵ It appears from this that the ordeal-by-sacrifice had been imposed on only a section, possibly quite a small one, of the Jewish community, since a considerable number of orthodox Jews, who would not have sacrificed to save their lives, survived. The charge of arson recalls that said to have been levelled against the Christians in Rome less than three years earlier,²⁶ which suggests that the Christians were the section of the Jewish community in Antioch against which Antiochus' initial attack was directed. There had been a strong Christian church in Antioch for twenty years,²⁷ and even if a considerable proportion of its membership was by now gentile, its Jewish origin and adherents will have given it a predominantly Jewish character, in Greek eyes if not in its own. The mainspring of Antiochus' malice against the Christians may have been resentment, possibly even heightened by his own apostasy, against his father's conversion from orthodox Judaism to a despised schismatic sect.

Under Antiochus' apostate zeal the orthodox Jews suffered the loss of a part of their religious liberty, and it is a sign of the preoccupation of the Romans in Syria with the revolt in Palestine that a Jewish privilege guaranteed by Roman law could be abrogated with impunity and that Roman troops could be used for the oppression of apparently inoffensive Jews (though it is, of course, possible that they had offered some provocation which Josephus has judiciously suppressed). The loss of the privilege of Sabbath-observance may, however, have been short-lived. Some time during the following two years, when the Greeks sought to harass the Jews further by revoking their privilege of the refund of the oil tax, the legate Mucianus stepped in and confirmed the concession. The contrast between the Greeks'

²⁵ *BJ* vii, 46-53. Antiochus, being entitled to address the Greek assembly, to make arrests and to command troops, must have had Greek citizenship. His father was a Jewish ἄρχων, on which see above, p. 227, n. 30.

²⁶ Above, pp. 217-19.

²⁷ *Acts* xi, 20-30, linked with the famine of c. 47 (cf. above, p. 262). The extensive proselytizing in Antioch mentioned in *BJ* vii, 45 may in fact have been partly or largely Christian.

failure in this matter and their successful assault on the Sabbath clearly separates the two episodes, but it is quite likely, though evidence is lacking, that when Mucianus maintained the Jews' rights on the relatively minor point, he simultaneously cancelled the much more serious illegal prohibition of Sabbath-observance.²⁸

The next attack was not long delayed. In the winter of 70-71²⁹ a serious fire actually occurred in Antioch, destroying many public buildings and threatening the whole city. If the people whom Antiochus had charged with intended arson three years previously were Christians, it was their Jewish nationality, not their doctrines, that had impressed the Greeks, who readily listened to Antiochus when in increased apostate fervour he now extended the scope of his indictment and accused the Jews at large of actual arson. Panic-stricken and anxious for a scapegoat, the Greeks believed his calumny to the point of almost convincing themselves that they had seen Jews acting as fire-raisers, and launched an immediate attack to inflict summary punishment. The temporary governor (*locum tenens* after Mucianus' departure for Italy in the autumn of 69) restrained them with difficulty, and held an enquiry which revealed that the Jews were wholly innocent and that the fire had been the work of gentile debtors hoping to destroy the evidence filed against them in the public records.³⁰

Despite this official vindication of their innocence the Jews were naturally still nervous, aware that in the eyes of many Greeks they remained under suspicion, and they looked forward with apprehension to Titus' visit to Antioch in the spring of 71. But when the Greeks tried to exploit the hostility which they assumed that he now felt towards all compatriots of the Palestinian rebels by asking him to expel the Jews from their city, they received no immediate answer. Titus went away leaving the Jews in continued suspense, but on his return after an interval for deliberation he refused the Greek request,

²⁸ *AJ* xii, 120, with Mucianus' departure for Italy in the autumn of 69 as the *terminus ante quem*.

²⁹ The date depends on the reliability of the chronological link in *BJ* vii, 41, where "at about this time" follows references to Domitian's and Vespasian's birthdays in October and November 70.

³⁰ *BJ* vii, 54-62. The acting governor, Cn. (Pompeius) Collega, was presumably legate of one of the Syrian legions. L. Caesennius Pactus, already "sent out" by Vespasian, i.e. appointed after his arrival in Rome in 70, was still in transit or was waiting until the spring to travel. Kraeling, 150-2, considers Josephus' two episodes involving charges of arson as two different accounts of the same event. But see Downey, *Antioch*, 586-7.

on the grounds that with Palestine, the obvious place to which to banish the Jews, in ruins, they had nowhere else to go.³¹ The Greeks then made a seemingly less extreme request, that Titus would "remove the bronze tablets on which the Jews' rights were inscribed" and thus cancel their "political rights". This request for the liquidation of the Jewish *politeuma* was apparently an attempt to achieve the same purpose by indirect means. For the removal of the Jews' political rights would degrade them from metics to aliens without the right of residence, who could be summarily ejected. Titus refused this request also, and departed for Egypt "leaving the status of the Jews in Antioch exactly as it had been."³²

Titus' action recalls that of Claudius in confirming the Alexandrian *politeuma* in 41, and well displays the lack of vindictiveness which was typical of Rome after 70. The Diaspora was not to suffer for the sins of Palestine. A clear distinction was maintained between the dangerous aims of Jewish political nationalism, which had had to be crushed, and the civic rights and religious principles of the Diaspora, who were still to enjoy the toleration and protection which Rome had granted for a century. But at the same time the price of protection was orderly behaviour. And as a permanent reminder to the Jews of Antioch of the dire consequences of political insubordination, a theatre was built in the suburb of Daphne out of the proceeds of the booty from Judaea (if John Malalas may be trusted), with an inscription to keep its origin constantly before their eyes.³³

Alexandria

From Antioch Titus made his way to Alexandria to take ship for Italy, arriving on 25 April.³⁴ Tension was still high there since the

³¹ *BJ* vii, 100-9.

³² *BJ* vii, 110-11; *AJ* xii, 121-4, where Titus' first visit and the request for the expulsion of the Jews are omitted and the Greeks ask for the abrogation of the Jews δίκαια τῆς πολιτείας, which can be taken as a reference to their citizenship of the *politeuma*. The situation seems to be the mirror-image of that in Alexandria in 38, where the Jews were degraded to the status of aliens as the means of attacking the *politeuma* (above, p. 240).

³³ *Chron.* x, 337-8 (pp. 260-1), with the alleged inscription ἐξ πραιδᾶ Ἰουδαία. On the inscriptions given by Malalas see G. Downey in *TAPA* lxvi (1935), 55-72. For the late first century theatre at Antioch see D. N. Wilber in *Antioch on the Orontes* II (1938), ed. R. Stillwell, 57-94, with arguments against Malalas' statement that Vespasian (*lege* Titus) demolished a synagogue to make room for it. On the statuary, allegedly from the Temple, which Malalas says he erected in Antioch see G. Downey in *JQR*² xxix (1938-9), 167-77; cf. *Antioch*, 206.

³⁴ *P. Oxy.* 2725, a letter dated 4 Germanicus, 3rd year of Vespasian = 29

perennial feud between the Jews and the Greeks had erupted into bloodshed in 66. Claudius' attempt to settle the quarrel about the political status of the Alexandrian Jews in 41 had had only temporary success and in time pressure had begun to build up again. Josephus gives no precise indication of date, but merely says that by 66 clashes between the two races were incessant and that the punishments meted out daily to both parties by the prefects had only served to aggravate the situation. In the autumn of that year, concurrently with the racial conflicts in many Palestinian and Syrian cities, a major riot occurred and Josephus, perhaps correctly, sees it as part of the series: "the quarrel there flared up all the more fiercely because of the disturbances elsewhere."³⁵

On this occasion the Jews are represented as at fault. A number of them gatecrashed a meeting of the Greek assembly, convened in the amphitheatre to debate a proposal to send an embassy to Nero. Josephus reveals neither the purpose of the embassy nor the reason for the Jews' act of apparently gratuitous provocation. They may have feared that their interests were being menaced and that the Greeks were approaching the notoriously phil-Hellenic emperor in the light of the recent news from Palestine with a request for the reopening of the question of Jewish political status in Alexandria, and wanted either to protest or to stage a claim to Greek citizenship in a dramatic form. But whatever their purpose, they were, hardly surprisingly, immediately spotted as intruders and chased out with cries of "enemies" and "spies". The majority of them escaped their pursuers, but three were caught and dragged off to be burnt alive. At this the whole Jewish community rose in their defence and tried to set fire to the amphitheatre where the Greeks were still assembled. The prefect Tiberius Julius Alexander attempted to restore order without the use of force,³⁶ but his appeal to reason was disregarded and he had to carry out his threat to send the troops in and thus, though a Jew himself, to become responsible for a Jewish massacre. The two resident legions and a vexillation from Libya which happened to be passing through the city were let loose on the "Delta" quarter with permission

April 71. Lines 18-19 mention the arrival of "Caesar" on the 30th of an unnamed month presumed to have been the preceding month Pharmouthi.

³⁵ *BJ* ii, 489-90. If the trial of Isidorus and Lampo is dated to 53, it may mark the revival of the quarrel. But see above, pp. 253-5 for the date 41.

³⁶ Tcherikover, *CPJ* I, 79, is suspicious of this item in the story: "since Tiberius was a Roman official of high standing . . . Josephus had every reason to flatter him."

to burn and loot Jewish property as well as to kill the rioters. They carried out their orders, with the enthusiastic assistance of the Greeks, so thoroughly that the death roll was put at fifty thousand—an unlikely figure, but evidence for heavy casualties.³⁷ Nevertheless, events a few years later show that a substantial part of the community survived.

When Titus visited Alexandria in 71, the question of the position of the Jewish community, brought to the fore by the riot of 66 but of necessity shelved during Nero's absence from Rome and the subsequent chaos of the civil war, was still a live issue, and, as in Antioch, the Greeks seized the opportunity to try to turn his presumed anti-Semitism to their own advantage. They greeted him with the same request as had been made to him there (possibly in ignorance of his answer), namely that he would disband the *politeuma*. Titus, predictably, gave the same reply.³⁸

Some time in 72 some *sicarii* who had escaped from Palestine arrived in Alexandria with the intention of continuing their anti-Roman activities there. Many of the Alexandrian Jews were ready to listen to their exhortations "to assert their independence, to regard the Romans as no better than themselves, and to count God as their only master"—a typical specimen of nationalist preaching. When a few prominent Jews, responsible men aware of Rome's value as a protector, tried to counteract this subversive propaganda, they were murdered. This stirred the *gerousia* of the *politeuma* to take action officially. They managed to convince the Jewish assembly of the dangers inherent in association with the *sicarii* and to persuade its members to surrender any whom they were sheltering to the Roman authorities. Six hundred were arrested in this way immediately, while those who escaped were rounded up without difficulty, though some got as far south as the Thebaid. The new prefect Tiberius Julius Lupus had the prisoners tortured in an unsuccessful attempt to compel them to acknowledge the overlordship of the emperor, and executed them for their steadfast defiance.³⁹

³⁷ *BJ* ii, 490-8.

³⁸ *AJ* xii, 121; cf. above, p. 364, n. 32. This episode is not mentioned in *BJ* vii, 116-18 on Titus' visit to Alexandria.

³⁹ *BJ* vii, 409-19, explicitly dating the bloodshed after the fall of Masada c. April 73. But the *sicarii* must have arrived earlier, perhaps after the fall of Herodion and/or Machaeros. For Ti. Julius Lupus, attested as prefect in March 73 (*SEG* XX, 651, giving his full name), was succeeded by Quintius (?) Paulinus before the end of Vespasian's 5th Egyptian year, i.e. before the end of

In relating this episode Josephus seems anxious to show the Jewish governing class in Alexandria in the best possible light, as men who appreciated the folly and futility of opposition to Rome and were an influence for good over the rest of the community. But he does not explain why the mass of Alexandrian Jewry, whose political rights had just been vindicated by Titus, should have been tempted to jeopardize their position by a rising against Rome. Possibly the anti-Roman influence of the prisoners from Judaea sent to Egypt as quarry-slaves a couple of years earlier and any others who had been sold as slaves to private owners there was already beginning to make itself felt on the community, especially if the resident Jews were following the Scriptural injunction to redeem their fellows from slavery and thus integrating them into their society.⁴⁰ Moreover, the year 71-72 had seen the transfer of the Temple tax to the Roman exchequer, and annoyance at this indignity may have made the Alexandrian Jews receptive to suggestions of rebellion.

The end of the story introduces a new feature. Lupus reported the incipient rising to Vespasian, who in reply instructed him to demolish the Jewish temple of Onias near Leontopolis, because "he felt suspicious of the interminably rebellious attitude of the Jews and was afraid that they might reassemble and collect fresh adherents."⁴¹ The temple of Onias is obscure in itself, quite apart from its connection with the events of 72-73. It had been founded in the second century B.C. by a refugee High Priest from Palestine, and was the only place outside Jerusalem where sacrifice was offered. Neither the reason for this privilege nor the purpose of the foundation is given, but the temple cannot have been designed as the religious centre for Egyptian Jewry as a whole; in that case Alexandria, not an obscure village, would have been its site. It was probably built to serve the local settlement alone, and it certainly did not develop with time into the religious focus for Jews throughout the country, since no extant Hellenistic writer but Josephus so much as mentions it

August 73—*P. Oxy.* 1266, lines 20-6. Even if Paulinus' arrival is put as late as possible, the whole series of events, including an exchange of letters between Lupus and Vespasian (below) and presumably a hiatus between Lupus' death in office and Paulinus' arrival (*BJ* vii, 434), cannot be compressed into May-August 73.

⁴⁰ So Tcherikover, *CPJ* I, 85. Some of the *infinita milia captivorum* dispatched to Rome via Gaza and Alexandria may have got no further than Egypt—Hier., *In Ierem.* xxxi, 15, 6 (*CCL LXXIV*, 307).

⁴¹ *BJ* vii, 420-1.

(though it is known to much later rabbinic literature). While this does not prove that lost writers also ignored it, Philo's silence is strong evidence for its total insignificance in the religious life of the vast majority of Egyptian Jews.⁴² In what way, therefore, the demolition of the sanctuary at Leontopolis was regarded as a safeguard against further trouble is far from clear. The purely local importance of the temple makes it an improbable general rallying-point. Yet Vespasian's decision suggests that the building had been, in some undisclosed way, the focus of the disturbances, or at least that he (or Lupus) believed it to have been.⁴³ Or possibly Vespasian, who had spent the first half of 70 in Alexandria, had been made aware then of the temple's existence and now feared that with its tradition of sacrifice it might be brought into dangerous prominence as a substitute for Jerusalem—a remote possibility but one worth guarding against.

Vespasian's instructions were not carried out to the letter. Lupus merely closed the actual temple, leaving access to the precinct open, perhaps feeling that Vespasian's fears were exaggerated and that less drastic action than demolition would serve his purpose. Or if the sanctuary had been the centre of opposition, he may have feared that demolition would only embitter Jewish tempers, whereas a closure could be regarded as temporary. Some Jews, however, apparently defied him by keeping up part of the cult, for in the summer of 73 his successor Paulinus had to take further action. But even he did not go to the length of demolition, but merely stripped the temple of its internal fittings and closed the precinct also.⁴⁴

⁴² For Josephus' references and discussion of the date and location of the temple see above, p. 221, n. 9. A fragment of the lost Jewish writer Artapanus (second century B.C.?) *apud* Eus., *PE* ix, 23, 4, mentions a "temple at Helio-polis" which may be that of Onias. For rabbinic debate on the validity of the temple see *Mish. Men.* xiii, 10; *BT Men.* 109a; *Meg.* 10a; *AZ* 52b. For detailed studies see S. A. Hirsch in *Jews' Coll. Jubilee Vol.* (1906), 39-80; G. Ricciotti, *Histoire d'Israel* II (transl. P. Auvray, 1948), 303-8; Tcherikover, *HCJ*, 277-81, and in *CPJ* I, 44-6; O. Murray in *JThS*² xviii (1967), 364-9; M. Delcon in *RB* lxxv (1968), 188-203.

⁴³ Wallace, *Taxation*, 174-5, argues that the Temple tax paid by the Jews in Egypt went to the temple of Onias, not to Jerusalem, that "reading between the lines . . . it is evident that the attempted rebellion centred in the temple of Onias", the revenues of which were severely cut by the diversion of the tax to Rome, and that the sanctuary was destroyed so that no temple should exist "to serve as an excuse for refusal to pay the tax." But for his theory of the destination of the Temple tax in Egypt the only evidence is the dubious witness of the episode under discussion.

⁴⁴ *BJ* vii, 433-6. Lupus closed the ναός, Josephus' word for the Temple proper in Jerusalem as distinct from the ἱερόν, the whole complex of buildings.

Cyrenaica

The third place where disturbances resulted from the war of 66-70 was Cyrenaica, where the trouble centred on the city of Cyrene. Josephus has nothing to report about the Jewish communities there after their appeals to Rome against gentile oppression nearly a century earlier,⁴⁵ but during the period of his silence they appear to have prospered. The board of archons of the *politeuma* at Berenice was enlarged from seven under Augustus to nine by A.D. 25 and at least ten by 56, presumably to match an increase in the size of the community.⁴⁶ A fragment of a decree from Ptolemais may provide inferential evidence for the existence of a *politeuma* in that city.⁴⁷ In Teuchira about a quarter of the epitaphs in the cemeteries so far excavated, mostly of the first century A.D., are demonstrably or probably Jewish, and though this does not necessarily represent exactly the proportion of Jews in the total population, it indicates a Jewish community of some size. The sharing of tomb-courts between Jews and gentiles suggests amicable relations.⁴⁸

In Cyrenaica, in contrast to Antioch and Alexandria, there was apparently no attempt by the Greeks to exploit the presumed Roman animosity towards the Jews to obtain a reduction in their political rights. The trouble was caused, at least superficially, solely by refugee *sicarii* from Judaea,⁴⁹ who, as in Alexandria, gained considerable popular support. Josephus' story is that their leader, one Jonathan (not mentioned in connection with the war in Palestine), got a following numbering upwards of two thousand from among the poorer Jews in the city of Cyrene, and lured them into the desert with promises

The life of the temple is given as 343 years, a patent error, which has not been satisfactorily emended. The most obvious alteration, to 243, puts its foundation in 171/0 B.C., which is still too early.

⁴⁵ See above, pp. 141-2.

⁴⁶ The decrees of the *politeuma* (above, p. 141, n. 82) list the archons in 8 or 6 B.C. (?) and A.D. 25. An inscription dated 56 (*SEG* XVII, 823) lists donors of money for the repair of the synagogue, ten of them archons, presumably civic archons, if a synagogue had only one at a time.

⁴⁷ The inscription, undated but attributed on epigraphic grounds to the first century A.D., is to be published by Miss J. M. Reynolds of Cambridge University, to whose courtesy I owe the information. The erasure of the word ἀνδριάντα looks like the reaction of orthodox Jews against the erection of a statue decreed by a Jewish council of more liberal outlook.

⁴⁸ S. Applebaum in *Scr. Hier.* vii (1961), 27-52, especially 30-5, 51-2 (giving the numbers in *SEG* IX).

⁴⁹ It was presumably they who brought in the shekel of the 2nd year of the revolt found near Cyrene; see J. F. Healy in *JSemS* ii (1957), 377-9.

of signs and wonders. The members of the governing class of the *politeuma*, however, and the more prosperous elements in the community generally were alarmed at the possible political and economic consequences of an anti-Roman movement and reported the matter to the proconsul Catullus, who did as the procurators of Judaea had done in similar circumstances and broke up the gathering by military force, killing most of the crowd in the process. Jonathan himself escaped temporarily but when finally arrested took his revenge on the Jews who had informed against him by accusing them of collusion. Catullus, coveting the credit of "having won a Jewish war himself also", encouraged further delations, on the strength of which he executed three thousand wealthy Jews and confiscated their property.⁵⁰ He then sought to protect himself against the danger that the leaders of the Jewish communities in Rome and Alexandria might expose his injustice by getting Jonathan to accuse them of complicity in the sedition. But his scheme recoiled on his own head. When he returned to Rome with Jonathan and other *sicarii* in chains and a list of their alleged abettors (Josephus himself among them), Vespasian held an investigation which proved the innocence of all Catullus' intended victims, and executed Jonathan. Catullus got off lightly with a reprimand, for the time being. But more adequate retribution awaited him: shortly afterwards he died of a painful disease, "thus providing as good a proof as any of how divine providence punishes the wicked", on which sombre note Josephus closes his *Bellum Judaicum*.⁵¹

In relating this episode Josephus again seems to be trying to put the Jews of the upper, governing class in a good light, as innocent victims of false accusations and the spite of an unscrupulous proconsul. But the fact that Catullus did not have to stand trial in Rome

⁵⁰ *BJ* vii, 437-46; *V* 424, putting the casualties among Jonathan's followers at 2,000. For discussion of theories of economic difficulties in the province (see τῶν ἀπορῶν, § 438) underlying this movement see J. M. Reynolds in *Proc. Cambr. Philol. Soc.*² v (1958-9), 25-6. Catullus may be the consul of 73, L. Valerius Catullus Messalinus; see E. Ritterling in *JRS* xvii (1927), 29. The figure of 3,000 wealthy Jews, though probably inflated, is evidence of a large community. The ex-High Priest Ishmael (above, pp. 262, 279), beheaded in Cyrene at an unspecified date (*BJ* vi, 114) was probably one of Catullus' victims. He is not mentioned in connection with the war and may have fled to Cyrene to escape involvement.

⁵¹ *BJ* vii, 447-53; *V* 424-5. The statement that it was at Titus' instigation that Vespasian acquitted the innocent and executed Jonathan looks like an embellishment due to his partiality for Titus.

for maladministration suggests that his executions were not a gratuitous atrocity but the punishment, even if over-severe, for some guilt. A century of silence about Cyrenaica makes the incident as a whole difficult to interpret. Annoyance at the diversion of the Temple-tax to Rome may have put the Cyrenaican Jews in a mood receptive to incitement to rebellion, or unrecorded friction may have developed between them and the Roman government over a period of years. The great Jewish revolt of 115 apparently began in Cyrenaica, and in the disturbances of c. 72 coming events may have cast their shadow before them.

The Jewish Tax

One effect of the Palestinian revolt was ubiquitous, the diversion of the Temple tax to Rome. Josephus says that Vespasian "imposed a tax on all Jews everywhere, making them each pay two drachmae a year to the Capitoline temple, just as they had previously contributed to the Temple in Jerusalem."⁵² Dio, without explicit reference to the Temple tax, says that "from that time (the fall of Jerusalem) an annual *didrachmon* tax for Jupiter Capitolinus was imposed on Jews who followed their ancestral customs."⁵³ The discrepancy between Dio, who makes the tax fall only on practising Jews, and Josephus, who speaks of payment by Jews everywhere, is more apparent than real. Josephus implicitly excludes apostates by his reference to the former Temple tax, which such people will surely have ceased to pay as a sign of their dissociation from Judaism.

Strangely enough, there is no evidence for the impact of this change on the Jews of Palestine—neither for their reaction to it nor for any details of the collection of the tax itself. Among the Diaspora the only detailed information about the incidence and collection of the tax comes from Egypt, provided by the Arsinoe-papyrus (a document

⁵² *BJ* vii, 218 φόρον δὲ τοῖς ὁπουδηποτοῦν οὖσιν Ἰουδαίοις ἐπέβαλεν, δύο δραχμάς ἑκάστον κελεύσας ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον φέρειν, ὥσπερ πρότερον εἰς τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις νεῶν συνετέλουν.

⁵³ Dio lxxvi, 7, 2 καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου δίδραχμον ἐτάχθη τοὺς τὰ πάτρια αὐτῶν ἔθῃ περιστέλλοντας τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ διὰ κατ' ἔτος ἀποφέρειν. Momigliano, *Ricerche*, 27-31 (209-13), following Juster, II, 280, n. 1, holds that Appian's φόρος τῶν σωμάτων paid by all Jews (below, p. 480, n. 49) was the tax imposed in 70, and that since the sum was demonstrably less than the taxes paid by some eastern provincials (accepting the emendation *περιοικίας*), βαρύτερος denotes a psychological burden. But no real comparison can be made between a percentage tax and a flat rate, and if Appian had meant the former Temple tax, he would surely have used an unambiguous term.

giving particulars of the people in a certain quarter of that city liable for various taxes) and a large number of ostrakon tax-receipts from Apollinopolis Magna (Edfu),⁵⁴ but some deductions which can be drawn from these documents are of universal application.

Dio implies, though without great precision, that the new tax was instituted in the autumn of 70.⁵⁵ The earliest of the tax-receipts are dated by Vespasian's fourth Egyptian year, which ran from the end of August 71; and in the Arsinoe-papyrus the return of people liable for the Jewish tax in the fifth year of Vespasian, 72-73, is based partly on a register drawn up in the previous year. But two ostraca record retrospective payment of the tax for Vespasian's second Egyptian year, 69-70, in his fourth year.⁵⁶ This seems to confirm Dio's statement that the tax was paid to Rome from the fall of Jerusalem, or indeed, to take the exaction back into the very year of its fall. It would appear therefore that Vespasian decided soon after the end of the war that the Temple tax should be diverted to Rome from that date, that a year or so had to be allowed for the preparation of new lists of people liable for payment (since the incidence of the tax was now widened), but that collection of the tax did not begin until 71-72, when the arrears due for 70-1 were exacted in addition to the amount due for the current year. The collection of arrears from 69-70 in Egypt can be accounted for by a chronological confusion: Vespasian ordered the payment of arrears for the "second year", meaning his second by Roman reckoning, the year beginning July 70; but in Egypt the "second year" was taken to mean the second by local reckoning, 69-70.⁵⁷

The official name of the tax when first instituted was apparently *didrachmon*, Dio's term and that sometimes used for the Temple tax. In Egypt, where the drachma was worth a quarter of its value elsewhere, the tax was known officially as "the two denarii of the Jews" (the equivalent of two drachmae in Roman currency). That term is

⁵⁴ *CPJ* 421, the section of the Arsinoe-papyrus relating to the Jews (*P. Rainer*, cols. XI-XIII), with bibliography of earlier publications and discussions. *CPJ* 160-229, the receipts, with details of earlier publications. For detailed study of the evidence which they provide for the tax see Tcherikover in *CPJ* I, pp. 80-2; Fuks and Lewis in II, pp. 111-19; C. J. Hemer in *PEQ* cv (1973), 6-12.

⁵⁵ The reference in *BJ* vii, 219, immediately after the notice of the tax, to Vespasian's 4th year, 72-3, does not necessarily mean that Josephus dates the tax to 71-2, as it applies strictly to Commagene alone (above, p. 333, n. 4).

⁵⁶ *CPJ* 164, 166.

⁵⁷ For this ingenious and convincing explanation see *CPJ* II, pp. 113-14.

used on almost all the extant receipts down to 89. The more obvious name, however, was "the Jewish tax", and this term, though perhaps at first only popular and unofficial, is found as early as 72-73 on the Arsinoe-papyrus. In 80 a receipt was issued by "the collector of the Jewish tax" (the sole evidence for such an official), and by 92-93 the term "the Jewish tax" had formally supplanted the original name and was used invariably on receipts.⁵⁸ The reason for the change is not known, but it may have been no more than a concession to current usage.

The Temple tax had been paid only by men between the ages of twenty and fifty, including freed slaves and proselytes. The tax in its new form was payable by both sexes from the age of three. The Arsinoe-papyrus includes among the people liable for the tax a boy and a girl who were registered at the age of three in the fourth year of Vespasian, and a three-year-old boy who was added to the list in the fifth year but had been exempt in the fourth.⁵⁹ In connection with one of the six adult women, apparently listed as still liable at the age of sixty-one, reference is made to people "exempt because over age", which suggests that at sixty-two, the age for exemption from the *laographia*, women at any rate were exempt from the Jewish tax.⁶⁰ Whether the same applied to men also is not certain, but the fact that the papyrus does not give the ages of the five men included in the register suggests that in their case age was irrelevant and they were liable until death; and an episode in Rome under Domitian⁶¹ implies that at least at that period there was no upper age limit for men. (The receipts do not help on this point, as they never state the age of the person making payment.) In addition to women and children, slaves, also previously exempt, were now made liable for the tax, which had to be paid by their masters.⁶²

⁵⁸ *CPJ* 160-88 τιμή δηναρίων δύο Ἰουδαίων (except 183, dated 85, which has Ἰουδαϊκὸν τέλεσμα). The expression "the price of . . ." suggests that the Jews were visualized as using Egyptian currency to purchase Roman coins with which to make payment. *CPJ* 189-229 Ἰουδαϊκὸν τέλεσμα. No dated receipts are known between 89 and 92-3. *CPJ* 181, dated 80, is issued by πράκτωρ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ τέλεματος, but uses the term still standard, τιμή . . ., for the tax received.

⁵⁹ *CPJ* 421, lines 162-5, 170-4.

⁶⁰ *CPJ* 421, lines 183-4. The wording is somewhat obscure. As the lady was registered as aged 59 in Vespasian's 4th year, the age 61 may be the exemption age (the 61st birthday) rather than her age in his 5th year. But as the exemption age for the *laographia* was the 62nd birthday (see Wallace, *Taxation*, 107-9), it is likely to have been the same for the Jewish tax, for administrative convenience.

⁶¹ See below, pp. 376-7.

⁶² *CPJ* 206, 212, 218 (specifying payment by the owner), 229. It is sug-

The extension of liability made the tax a heavy burden for the head of a large family, at least among the poorer classes. In Egypt, for example, where in addition to the eight Egyptian drachmae of the tax a further unexplained one drachma was exacted as "first fruits" plus two extra obols, perhaps as an exchange fee for paying in local currency,⁶³ the annual tax for one person was the equivalent of four or five days' wages for a day-labourer.⁶⁴ It was perhaps for this reason that from the reign of Titus the tax in Egypt was sometimes paid in instalments, usually two of approximately equal sums, and that the tax-collectors did not press the Jews there unduly for prompt payment but sometimes allowed the tax to fall one year into arrears.⁶⁵ But the tax was more than merely a financial burden. To Jews of all social and economic levels it will have formed a psychological burden, marking them out as members of a defeated race punished for their nationality.

On the Roman side the tax was no negligible addition to the exchequer. The extension of liability at least quadrupled the total sum previously paid to the Temple in Jerusalem. If the estimate of the Jewish population of the empire in the late first century as between five and six million,⁶⁶ with the vast majority falling within the age limits for liability, is at all accurate, the tax will have produced between ten and twelve million denarii a year (between forty and forty eight million sesterces).⁶⁷ The proceeds of the tax were very probably used

gested in *CPJ* II, p. 114 that the slaves (not necessarily themselves Jewish) of Jewish masters are in question here rather than Jewish slaves of gentile masters, who would resent the financial burden and therefore refrain from purchasing Jews as slaves. Mart. vii, 55, 7-8 is evidence for a Jewish slave of a gentile master in Rome, for whom tax was payable, but this may be untypical.

⁶³ Cf. *CPJ* II, pp. 114-15. The ἀπαρχαί mentioned on many receipts (*CPJ* 168 shows that the correct form is the plural) are puzzling, especially as the term is used by Philo for the Temple tax itself in *Leg.* 156 (cf. the note *ad loc.* χρήματα . . .), 216, 291, 311-16; *Spec.* i; 77.

⁶⁴ See C. Wessely, *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde* I (1901), 10 (without documentation).

⁶⁵ Among the many receipts for partial payment there is one pair, *CPJ* 215 and 217, issued to the same individual for payments of 5 dr. 2 ob. and 4 dr. respectively for the year 107-8. *CPJ* 181, 185, 191, 195, 201, 207, 211-13, 218 all record payment in arrears. *CPJ* 182 records part-payments for two consecutive years simultaneously, more probably the earlier in arrears than the later in advance.

⁶⁶ See Juster, I, 209-11. Cf. above, p. 222, on the Jewish population of Egypt.

⁶⁷ Cf. the estimate of 100 million drachmae/denarii = 400 million sesterces as the annual Roman revenue from the wealthy province of Egypt under Nero; see A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt* (1936), 487.

at first for the rebuilding of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the ostensible recipient of the money, which had been burnt down during the street-fighting in December 69. But since the foundation ceremonies for the new temple were held in June 70, Vespasian was committed to the work before the Jewish defeat made the Temple tax available for his use, and the idea that Yahweh's former revenue could appropriately be earmarked for his victorious rival's new abode can have struck him only after building had begun.⁶⁸ Once the new temple was finished, its upkeep cannot have required more than a small fraction of the revenue from the tax, and the rest, or perhaps all of it, was presumably merged in general funds with its nominal destination forgotten.

Whatever use was made of the Jewish tax, it was paid into a separate imperial treasury created for the purpose, the *fiscus Judaicus*, under the administration of a procurator.⁶⁹ This special treasury receiving revenue from a clearly defined section of the empire seems to be parallel to the similarly named *fiscus Alexandrinus* and *fiscus Asiaticus* which were also Flavian creations, though the reasons for the institution of the latter two and the sources of their revenues are uncertain.⁷⁰ In Egypt the Jewish tax was carefully kept apart from other revenues. Special collectors were apparently appointed with that sole responsibility, and with very few exceptions the receipts acknowledge payment of the Jewish tax alone, not combined with any other of the numerous Egyptian taxes.⁷¹ In other provinces with less complicated bureaucratic machinery the *didrachmon* was presumably collected by the regular tax-officials together with other dues, but

⁶⁸ Tac., *H* iv, 53; cf. Dio lxvi, 10, 2 εὑθὺς. Against this Eusebius' date for the start of the rebuilding, the 5th year of Vespasian (*Chron.*), can be disregarded (*pace* Wallace, *Taxation*, 172-3). The temple appears on Roman coins of 71-4 (as under construction) and again in 76-9 (as completed in 76?)—*BMC, Imp. III*, 123-216 *passim*; cf. xlix, lii. The Jewish revenue may have been used for a second rebuilding after the fire in 80—Dio lxvi, 24, 1-2.

⁶⁹ Coins of Nerva (below, p. 378); Suet., *Dom.* 12, 2 (below, p. 376); the imperial freedman T. Flavius Euschemon, *qui fuit ab epistulis item procurator ad capitularia* (poll-taxes) *Iudaeorum* (*ILS* 1519), may have been the procurator of the *fiscus Judaicus* (cf. Suetonius) or one of his subordinates. (But cf. I. A. F. Bruce for the suggestion that he was concerned with the Palestinian *tributum capitis*—in *PEQ* xcvi (1964), 37.) The *consilium* of Suetonius' episode was not necessarily a permanent board but may have been a temporary bench of advisers enrolled for the investigation then in hand.

⁷⁰ See P.-W., s.v. *Fiscus*, 2402-3.

⁷¹ On the collectors see above, p. 373. Of sixty-nine receipts only four record joint payment of the Jewish tax and another—*CPJ* 183, 202-3, 217.

was kept separate in the accounts for transmission to the *fiscus Judaicus*.

Domitian and the Jews in Italy

The only information about the personal impact of the Roman *didrachmon* tax on the Jews comes from Rome, twenty years after its institution.⁷² Suetonius says that under Domitian "the *fiscus Judaicus* was administered with the utmost rigour. People who followed the Jewish way of life without formally professing Judaism, and people who concealed their Jewish nationality and thereby avoided paying the taxes levied on their race were prosecuted. I remember being present as a young man when an old man of ninety was examined by the procurator and a large bench of assessors to see whether he was circumcised."⁷³ Of the two classes of people here denounced for non-payment of a tax for which they were considered liable, the latter were clearly Jews by race. Some of them may have been practising Jews trying to evade payment as an understandable protest against supporting (at least theoretically) a pagan cult. But concealment of his Jewish nationality would have been virtually impossible for a Jew who was seen to attend the synagogue, observe the Sabbath, and so forth. More of the defaulters are likely to have been apostates, presumed to have been exempt under Vespasian, and Jewish Christians, who felt themselves exempt from a specifically Jewish tax. The record of attempts made during Domitian's reign to conceal one's circumcision by the surgical operation of epispasm or by other means⁷⁴ will concern apostates, who it is reasonable to suppose wanted to escape the tax as well as to pass as gentiles socially.

The "people who followed the Jewish way of life without formally professing Judaism" were clearly converts. Circumcised proselytes (probably not numerous) had been liable for the Temple tax, and there was no reason for Vespasian to exempt them from its successor.

⁷² For a fuller study by the present writer of the matters discussed in this section see *CPb* li (1956), 1-13. L. W. Barnard argues against the views there expressed—in *NTS* x (1963), 259-60, n. 4.

⁷³ Suet., *Dom.* 12, 2 *Praeter ceteros Iudaicus fiscus acerbissime actus est; ad quem deferebantur qui vel inprofessi Iudaicam viverent vitam vel dissimulata origine imposita genti tributa non pendissent. Interfuisse me adulescentulum memini, cum a procuratore frequentissimoque consilio inspiceretur nonagenarius senex, an circumsectus esset.*

⁷⁴ Celsus, *De Medic.* vii, 25, suggesting that the operation was well known at the time of publication (before c. 90; the work is mentioned by Quintilian xii, 11, 24); Mart. vii, 35 and 82. *Ass. Mosis* (above, p. 113, n. 34) viii, 3 mentions epispasm during Antiochus Epiphanes' persecution.

But they can hardly be in question here, as they did formally profess Judaism. The people concerned must have been the much larger category of "Judaizers",⁷⁵ now apparently liable for the Jewish tax for the first time, since delation to the *fiscus* implies that their names were not already on the tax-register. In other words, it appears that Domitian realized that converts were financially valuable and widened the incidence of the tax. Whereas under Vespasian only practising Jews and proselytes had been liable, there was now to be a double criterion for liability—the fact of having been circumcised, a heading under which first generation apostates and Jewish Christians became liable,⁷⁶ and the fact of practising Judaism, a heading which now covered "Judaizers" as well as proselytes. The elderly man of Suetonius' anecdote was haled before the court under suspicion of coming under the first heading, and Suetonius' reference to the "rigorous exaction" of the tax would apply quite as much to such brutally humiliating methods of determining liability as to the extension of liability itself. Such an extension need not be seen as a primarily anti-Jewish move; the motive behind it may have been the purely practical one of increasing state revenues. Suetonius includes the episode concerning the *fiscus Judaicus* in a chapter devoted to Domitian's "cupidity", a characteristic which might more fairly be described as sound financial sense.

The only indication of the date of the episode given by Suetonius is his description of himself as a "young man" at the time, a vague expression, which he uses of himself also with reference to an event of 88.⁷⁷ A date in the early 90s seems reasonable, since Martial's references to the Jewish tax and to attempts to conceal one's circumcision come in his seventh book of *Epigrams*, published in 92,⁷⁸ and the malpractices which arose in connection with the tax fit into the picture of the "terror" of Domitian's last years.

The extension of liability for the tax to the nebulous category of "Judaizers" opened the door to abuses. How far did one have to go in Jewish practices to count as an adherent? Could adherence be demonstrated or proved legally? The evidence for abuses is provided

⁷⁵ See above, p. 206.

⁷⁶ Jewish families whose apostasy went back for several generations, e.g. that of Tiberius Julius Alexander, had presumably given up the practice and therefore escaped the tax.

⁷⁷ Suet., *Nero* 57, 2.

⁷⁸ Mart. vii, 55, 7-8 ; 82. For the date see the references in vii, 6, 7 and 8 to Domitian's imminent return from his Sarmatian campaign.

by Nerva's measures to end them. He struck coins with the legend *fisci Judaici calumnia sublata*, and Dio says that under him "no one was allowed to accuse other people of *maiestas* or Jewish life."⁷⁹ The coins commemorate the abolition, not of the tax itself, but of *calumnia*, false charges, which had arisen in connection with it. The prohibition of delation for "Jewish life" gives the content of these charges: Domitian's extension of the incidence of the tax had made it possible for people to attack their enemies by denouncing them falsely as unacknowledged adherents of Judaism and thus subjecting them to the attentions of the officers of the *fiscus Judaicus* and, as will appear presently, to the even less pleasant attentions of the emperor also. Some of these denunciations may have been well founded. But the coin-legend concentrates on groundless denunciations and the consequent perversion of justice, and proclaims the end of the abuse whereby under Domitian gentiles with no leanings towards Judaism had suffered as a result of false accusations of "Jewish life", a more serious scandal than the denunciation and punishment of would-be tax-evaders described by Suetonius.

But accusations of "Jewish life" under Domitian had a further connotation, more sinister than mere financial liability. Three individual cases of condemnation to punishments far graver than tax-payment for the adoption of "Jewish life" are recorded in Domitian's last years. Dio tells how in 95 the emperor executed his cousin, Flavius Clemens, consul for that year and father of the boys nominated as heirs to the throne, and exiled his niece, Flavia Domitilla, who was Clemens' wife; "the charge against them was atheism, a charge on which many others who were drifting into Jewish ways were condemned, some to death and others to the confiscation of their property. Domitilla was merely banished to Pandateria. (Acilius) Glabrio (consul in 91) was also executed, on the same charges as most of the others, and in particular of fighting as a gladiator."⁸⁰ Clearly here the adoption of "Jewish ways" (which could surely cover the position of the

⁷⁹ *BMC, Imp.* III, 15, 17, 19. Dio lxviii, 1, 2 τοὺς δὲ δὴ ἄλλοις οὐτ' ἀσεβείας οὐτ' Ἰουδαϊκοῦ βίου κατατιθεσθαι τινας συνεχώρησε.

⁸⁰ Dio lxvii, 14, 1-3, including the sentence ἐπηνέχθη δὲ ἀμφοῖν ἐγκλημα ἀθεότητος, ὅφ' ἦς καὶ ἄλλοι ἐς τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνη ἐξοκέλλοντες πολλοὶ κατεδικάσθησαν. Flavia Domitilla was almost certainly a niece of the emperor and not of Clemens, as she is described by Eus., *HE* iii, 18, 4. See P.-W., s.v. *Flavia* 227, 2733-4; *PIR*², s.v. *Flavia Domitilla* 418; cf. the present writer in *CPb* li (1956), 12, n. 18; Frend, *Martyrdom*, 229, n. 41.

"Judaizers" as well as the full conversion of a proselyte⁸¹) constituted "atheism". Since at least the first century B.C. "atheism", the repudiation of pagan cults, had been one of the stock charges against the Jews (and was obviously one which could now be brought against the Christians also).⁸² Such "atheism", inherent in Judaism, had been accepted as a Jewish idiosyncrasy by Rome ever since contacts began with the race, and the Jews' privilege of religious liberty covered exemption from participation in the state cults, including that of the emperor. To rescind that exemption would have meant a major change of policy. But it appears from the fate of Clemens and the others that in the last years of Domitian the "atheism" involved in conversion to Judaism became a criminal offence. And the link made between "Jewish life" and *maiestas* in Nerva's legislation, suggesting that they had been treated as kindred offences by Domitian, provides the key to the situation: during his last years "atheism" had counted as a form of treason.⁸³

Neglect of the state pantheon by converts to Judaism may have annoyed Domitian as an upholder of the state religion, but it could hardly be interpreted as treasonable. The only religious exercise of which the neglect could be construed as *maiestas* was the imperial cult. Domitian, *dominus et deus noster*, carried that cult to greater lengths than any of his predecessors except Gaius, and the evidence from the end of his reign suggests that participation, hitherto voluntary, was then turned into a test of loyalty. Any refusal to join in the cult implied the repudiation of the emperor's claim to godhead, and that was a form of *maiestas*.⁸⁴ Domitian's pagan subjects in the West may have

⁸¹ On the question whether it could also include, or denoted solely, conversion to Christianity see below, pp. 381-2.

⁸² Apollonius Molon (early first century B.C.) *apud Ap.* ii, 148 (cf. 79) gives the earliest explicit use of ἄθεος. Cf. Posidonius *apud* Diod. Sic. xxxiv, 1, 2 (ἄσεβης) and *apud Ap.* ii, 79; Apion *apud Ap.* ii, 65; Tac., *Hv.* 5, 2 (proselytes are taught *contemnere deos*); Pliny, *NH* xiii, 46 (*gens contumelia numinum insignis*); Florus, *Epit.* i, 40 (*impia gens*). On the term ἀνόσιος applied to the Jews during and after the revolt of 115-17 see below, p. 398. The allegation of Manetho in the third century B.C. that the Jews desecrated pagan sanctuaries ἀνοσίως (*apud Ap.* i, 248-9) is not really parallel (*pace* Tcherikover in *CPJ* I, p. 89, n. 80). The charge of atheism is recorded against the Christians from the mid-second century—Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 6, 1; ii, 3, 2; Athenagoras, *Leg. pro Christ.* 3; Eus., *HE* iv, 15, 6.

⁸³ There seems to be a reference to the equation of *impietas* with *maiestas* in Pliny, *Paneg.* 33, 3-4; cf. M. Hammond, *The Antonine Monarchy* (1959), 241-2, n. 109.

⁸⁴ On the imperial cult under Domitian see M. P. Charlesworth in *HTbR*

found his exploitation of the cult distasteful and regarded his demand for divine honours in his lifetime as hybristic, but their objections did not rest on a theological basis, and, unlike the Jews and the Christians to whom compliance meant apostasy, they had no doctrinal grounds for refusing to acquiesce in Domitian's demands for their own safety's sake. The position of the Jews with their legal exemption from pagan cults was apparently not affected by this development.⁸⁵ But converts, not legally entitled to Jewish privileges (though they no doubt quietly usurped them) were in danger when Domitian saw them as good emperor-worshippers lost, perverts into an "atheism" which denied him his due honours. The more therefore he sought to emphasize his divinity, the more anxious he was to curb increases in the numbers of those who repudiated it, by attacking converts to Judaism and, according to Church tradition, Christians also, who were in exactly the same case; and he perhaps particularly resented defections into "atheism" among the upper classes.⁸⁶

Once the adoption of Judaism laid people open to accusations of "atheism" and consequently to punishment for *maiestas*, it is no surprise that converts "lived the Jewish life without formally professing Judaism." In effect, proselytism now carried heavy penalties, though it was not forbidden as such; indeed, a prohibition would have run counter to Domitian's apparent scheme to exact the maximum from the Jewish tax. Dio and Suetonius deal with different aspects of the fate of converts to Judaism, Dio with punishment for "atheism" and Suetonius with delation for tax-evasion, and the two supplement each other in showing how Domitian's development of the imperial cult together with his extension of liability for the Jewish tax put converts into a cleft stick: if they admitted their Judaism, they were liable for punishment as "atheists"; if they did not, they risked delation to the officials of the *fiscus Judaicus*.

Suetonius mentions the execution of Clemens and Glabrio without reference to the charge of "atheism and Jewish ways" which Dio specifies in the former case and implies in the latter, and suggests that no substantial charge was laid against Clemens: he was "a despicably lazy creature", executed "on the flimsiest of suspicions."⁸⁷ It is quite

xxviii (1935), 32-5; K. Scott, *The Imperial Cult under the Flavians* (1936), 88-188; D. McFayden in *Amer. J. Theol.* (1920), 46-66.

⁸⁵ But see below, pp. 383-4.

⁸⁶ Cf. above, p. 206, on the episode of A.D. 19.

⁸⁷ Suet., *Dom.* 15, 1 *Flavium Clementem patriuelem suum contemptissimae inertiae . . . repente ex tenuissima suspitione tantum non in ipso eius consulatu interemit.*

possible that the fundamental reason for Clemens' execution was political—as father of the heirs to the throne he was in a delicate position, open to the suspicion of plotting to hasten his sons' accession—and that the charge of Judaizing was merely used as a convenient lever for getting rid of a man whom Domitian had personal reasons to fear. But this does not make it a groundless charge, for, had that been the case, Clemens could have proved his innocence and gained his acquittal by an act of emperor-worship. And the same applies to his wife also. Glabrio, on the other hand, was executed, according to Suetonius, with two others on much more serious grounds, as a suspected revolutionary.⁸⁸ In his case Dio implies that “atheism and Jewish ways” was only one of the counts against him, and if it was simply thrown in as a makeweight, its truth or falsity cannot be tested.

Christians shared the dangers of converts to Judaism under Domitian because of their identical attitude towards the imperial cult, and in Christian tradition Domitian, like the other notoriously tyrannical emperor of the first century, Nero, is a persecutor of the Church. But definite testimony to a Domitianic persecution in contemporary or near-contemporary Christian records is scanty. The tradition grows steadily stronger with time, but even when the meagre evidence is elaborated into a fullscale persecution, the Church Fathers find few concrete instances of Christian sufferings to provide verisimilitude.⁸⁹ Evidence from the Roman side, however, suggests that the tradition, even if exaggerated, was founded on fact. When Pliny was faced with the problem of the Christians in Bithynia in 112, there were among the apostates some who had given up their faith twenty years previously, which points to the Church being under pressure in the early 90s; and his remark to Trajan that he had “never attended trials of Christians” implies that such trials had occurred before he instituted them in his province.⁹⁰

It is commonly held that Domitilla, and perhaps Clemens and Glabrio also, were victims of Domitian's attack on the Church and perished as converts to Christianity, not Judaism. But the literary evidence is late and unreliable—Domitilla is not claimed as a Christian

⁸⁸ Suet., *Dom.* 10, 2 *quasi molitores rerum novarum*.

⁸⁹ For bibliography see the present writer, *op. cit.* (above, p. 376, n. 72), 12, n. 2; add R. L. P. Milburn in *Church Qu. Rev.* cxxxix (1945), 154-64; Frend, *Martyrdom*, 210-17; L. W. Barnard in *NTS* x (1963), 251-60.

⁹⁰ Pliny, *Ep.* x, 96.

martyr until the fourth century ⁹¹ and Clemens not until the eighth ⁹²—while the archaeological evidence from the Roman catacombs which was cited confidently in the past for regarding Glabrio and Domitilla as Christians must now be discounted, since it has been conclusively shown to be of the second and third centuries.⁹³ The Christianity of Domitian's victims thus depends largely on the charge of "atheism and Jewish ways", and the supposition that the latter means Christianity or at least embraces it under the one heading. But this seems improbable. If Christianity was recognized by Rome as a separate religion in Nero's day, it will hardly have been included under Judaism in Domitian's; and even without Dio's explicit references to Christianity under the Antonines ⁹⁴ one could hardly suppose an educated third century senator to have been ignorant of its independence as a religion. The simplest and most satisfactory way to take Dio's account of Clemens and the rest is to assume that when he says "Jewish ways", he means what he says.⁹⁵

Slight corroboration comes from the Jewish side. The Talmud claims a member of the Flavian house as a convert to Judaism, a nephew of Titus called the son of Kalonymos or Kolonikos. Though the relationship here is confused and the convert is only arrested and

⁹¹ Eus., *HE* iii, 18, 4; *Chron.* Dom. XVI (XIV in the Armenian version).

⁹² Sync., *Chron.* I, 650. Suetonius' description of Clemens as *contemptissimae inertiae* is not evidence that he was a Christian, avoiding public life. Suetonius' point is simply that he was too lethargic to be politically dangerous.

⁹³ The excavator J. B. de Rossi in the late nineteenth century dated the hypogeum of the Acilii in the catacomb of Priscilla and the earliest part of the Coemeterium Domitillae to the late first century, and deduced that Domitilla and some of Acilius Glabrio's family died as Christians. His conclusions were widely accepted. P. Styger, *Die römischen Katakomben* (1933), 63-80, 100-12, however, has demonstrated that Christian burials in the Coemeterium Domitillae do not begin until the mid-second century, and that the hypogeum of the Acilii is of similar date, the inscriptions there being third-century importations. For summaries of his findings see Milburn, *op. cit.*, 161-4; Frend, *Martyrdom*, 216-17.

⁹⁴ Dio lxx, 15, 3; lxxii, 4, 7. (lxxi, 9, 4 is Xiphilinus' own account of the Christian version of an episode which is explained differently by Dio; see below, p. 481.)

⁹⁵ Before the publication of Styger's work, a minority of scholars regarded Clemens as a "Judaizer": see, e.g., Juster, I, 257, n. 1; Moore, *Judaism* I, 349; K. Friedmann in *Atene e Roma*² xii (1931), 69-83. M. P. Charlesworth, apparently independently of Styger, accepts Clemens as a "Judaizer" in *HTHR* xxviii (1935), 33, but in *CAH* XI, 32 and 42, does not pronounce between Judaism and Christianity. Since Styger, Milburn, *op. cit.*, 159-60, and Frend, *Martyrdom*, 113, 214-17, are inclined to favour Judaism, but Clemens' Christianity appears to be still maintained by the majority of scholars.

not executed, the fate of Clemens may lie behind the story.⁹⁶ It may also be reflected in the tale of the execution or suicide of a senator, named as Ketī'ah bar Shalom, who with his wife had adopted Judaism.⁹⁷ But it can hardly be argued that Clemens and his wife were proselytes. Clemens was executed immediately after the end of his consulship, and must therefore have held his offending religious views while in office. It is improbable, even impossible, that anyone could have reconciled the supreme Roman magistracy with the full practice of the Jewish faith any more than with Christianity. It is, however, credible that he and his wife were "Judaizers", following sufficient Jewish practices to incur Domitian's displeasure. It is worth noting in this connection that Ketī'ah bar Shalom was not circumcised until immediately before his death, and was thus only a "Judaizer", not a proselyte, until then.

If gentile adherents of Judaism were attacked late in Domitian's reign, what of the Jews themselves? They cannot logically be meant by, or even included among, the people who Dio says were attacked for "drifting into Jewish ways", and there is no hint in any classical or ecclesiastical historian of any measures, actual or projected, against the Jews. But once converts were under attack, there was obviously a grave fear that Domitian might ultimately rescind the Jewish privilege of exemption from participation in the imperial cult.

The apocryphal *Acts of John* include a story of how Domitian proposed to expel all the Jews from Rome but was dissuaded by some courageous Jews who managed to deflect his attack on to the Church.⁹⁸ Jewish literature contains numerous references to a visit by four leading rabbis of the late first and early second centuries to Rome, clearly on urgent business, since they were so anxious to make the journey before the sailing season closed that they did not wait until after the Feast of Tabernacles but celebrated it on board ship.⁹⁹ In Rome they found an ally in the Judaizing senator Ketī'ah bar Shalom,

⁹⁶ BT *Gitt.* 56b ; *AZ* 11a.

⁹⁷ BT *AZ* 10b ; Midr. *Deut. R.* ii, 24 (not naming the senator, but clearly a variant of the same tale).

⁹⁸ *Acta Iob.* 2-4 (in *Acta Apost. Apocr.*, ed. R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, II, i (1898), 151-3), where the statement that Domitian ὤρμησεν (was eager) to expel all Jews from Rome need not imply the actual issue of an expulsion order.

⁹⁹ BT *Sukk.* 23a, 41b ; JT *Sukk.* ii, 4 (Schwab VI, 15) ; cf. Mish. *MSb* v, 9 ; *Shab.* xvi, 8 ; *Erub.* iv, 1-2 ; BT *BM* 59b ; Tos. *Sukk.* ii, 11 ; Sifra *Levit.* 23, 40, 102c-d. For the presence of the rabbis in Rome see BT *Makk.* 24a-b ; JT *Sanh.* vii, 19 (Schwab XI, 24) ; Midr. *Gen. R.* xx, 4 ; *Exod. R.* xxx, 9 ; Sifre *Deut.* 43.

who helped to get an order of Domitian for the extermination of the Jews or their expulsion from the Roman world rescinded but lost his life in consequence.¹⁰⁰ This looks like a variant of the story in the *Acts of John*, the rabbis being the "courageous Jews" who saved their people. Its details are patently absurd. Neither such "final solution" was practicable, and if either had been, it would have nullified Domitian's policy over the Jewish tax. But the story has some value nevertheless as reflecting natural alarm in Palestine at reports of events in Rome and an understandable interpretation of Domitian's measures against converts as the prelude to an attack on the Jews themselves.¹⁰¹ Conceivably Jewish fears were justified and Domitian's murder forestalled a persecution. But the absence of any indication that Nerva, in reversing his predecessor's policy, restored Jewish religious liberty is strong evidence that it had not actually been tampered with.¹⁰²

With the accession of Nerva conditions returned to normal.¹⁰³ The new emperor and his successors set far less personal store on the imperial cult than Domitian had done, and when Nerva prohibited delation for *maiestas* in general, it was only logical for him to prohibit specifically delation for the adoption of "Jewish life" which had entailed a particular form of treason. Participation in the imperial cult ceased to be a test of loyalty, and non-participation therefore ceased to count as *maiestas*, and though an act of emperor-worship could still serve as a handy method of identifying Christians, the

¹⁰⁰ Midr. *Deut. R.* ii, 24.

¹⁰¹ S. J. Case argues that the *AJ*, published in 93-4, shows signs of anxiety about the future of Judaism—in *JBL* xlv (1925), 10-20. But this is subjective and inconclusive. The complimentary picture drawn of Domitian in *Orac. Sib.* xii, 124-42 by a Jewish writer (for his nationality see line 132; lines 28-34 and 232 show later re-working of the poem by a Christian in the early third century) reflects the general provincial tradition about the various emperors current at the time of composition and not a specifically Jewish attitude; the author ignores Gaius' attack on the Temple, turns the revolt of 66-70 into a war against the Syrians, and speaks well of Hadrian, usually execrated by the Jews (below, p. 464). It therefore does not outweigh other evidence for a Domitianic threat to the Jews. For discussion of *Orac. Sib.* xii see J. Geffcken in *Nachr. kön. Gesellsch. Wissensch. Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1901, 183-95.

¹⁰² The action against possible messianic movements in Palestine under Domitian (above, pp. 351-2) does not affect the present argument. The legate, not the emperor, was responsible, and the matter was political, not religious.

¹⁰³ Nerva's general recall of exiles—Dio lxxviii, 1, 2; Eus., *HE* iii, 20, 8; *Chron.* Nerva I—presumably included Domitilla and any others who had been banished for "atheism". The *longum martyrium* inflicted on Domitilla by Hier., *Ep.* cviii, 7 (*PL* XXII, 82), is probably merely an item in the development of the tradition of a Domitianic persecution of the Church.

Bithynian Christians who refused to apostatize were punished for their obstinacy, not for *maiestas*.¹⁰⁴ At the same time the end both of malicious delation to the officials of the *fiscus Judaicus* and of the financial abuse which had accompanied it was proclaimed by the coin legend *fisci Judaici calumnia sublata*, and henceforth the Jewish tax was to fall only on self-confessed Jews and proselytes.¹⁰⁵

Titus and Berenice

A side-effect of the war of 66-70, though concerning Roman society and its attitude towards Judaism as an aspect of orientalism rather than the Diaspora, can conveniently be considered here—the love-affair between Titus and Berenice, sister of Agrippa II.

Berenice's matrimonial history had not been successful. Born in A.D. 28, she had been married for perhaps only a year to a wealthy Alexandrian business man, M. Julius Alexander, brother of Tiberius Julius Alexander. On his death in 44 she had been given to her uncle Herod of Chalcis.¹⁰⁶ After his death four years later the princess, then aged only twenty, remained a widow and compensated herself by presiding over her brother's court. Agrippa never married, and when by 53 gossip was putting the worst construction on his relationship with Berenice by accusations of incest (possibly a groundless rumour originating in a misunderstanding or even a deliberately malicious misinterpretation of an unusually close natural bond), Berenice tried to dispel the rumours and at the same time to get level with her beautiful young sister, the fifteen-year-old Drusilla, of whose prospects she was madly jealous, by using the lure of her wealth to induce Polemo of Pontus to accept circumcision and her hand. But this unpromising marriage was short-lived, and Berenice returned to her

¹⁰⁴ Pliny, *Ep.* x, 96, 3-7.

¹⁰⁵ I. A. F. Bruce propounds the theory that Vespasian did not impose the tax on the Jews in Italy but only on Palestine and the Diaspora in the eastern provinces; that Domitian made the Jews in Italy liable for the first time; and that Nerva again exempted them—in *PEQ* xcvi (1964), 34-45. But (apart from the fact that this involves brushing aside Josephus' "all Jews everywhere"; above, p. 371), if Domitian made the Italian Jews *legally* liable for the tax, could the innovation be officially described as involving the illegality implicit in *calumnia*?

¹⁰⁶ *AJ* xix, 277, 354 (describing Berenice as aged sixteen and Agrippa as in his seventeenth year in 44; the difference in Josephus' phraseology may mean that Agrippa was nearly seventeen and Berenice just sixteen; they are never called twins). Berenice's first marriage is not likely to have been made before 43, when she was fifteen; cf. A. Fuks in *Zion* xiii-xiv (1948-9), 15/17 (in Hebrew).

brother's court as queen, there to remain.¹⁰⁷ But thoughts of marriage were not all expelled from her mind. When the Jewish war broke out, she was not yet forty, and besides possessing a large independent fortune, still retained her good looks and her charm, all of which she soon put to good use.

It is very probable that Titus and Berenice first met in the summer of 67, when Vespasian and his son visited Agrippa's court at Caesarea Philippi for a brief rest after the siege of Jotapata, though Josephus does not say so and indeed never links the names of Titus and Berenice.¹⁰⁸ Titus was already known to be in love with Berenice before he and Agrippa set off for Rome late in 68 to visit Galba; for when he turned back on hearing of Galba's death, some people attributed his return to his "passion for queen Berenice"—on which Tacitus comments that "he certainly was attracted by her, but not to the extent of letting it interfere with his duties."¹⁰⁹ After the proclamation of Vespasian as emperor in July, when Agrippa was summoned back from Rome to support the Flavians, Berenice, with unexpectedly glorious prospects now opening up before her if she played her cards aright, invested some of her fortune in a handsome gift to Vespasian, a practical form of support which, together with her good looks, made the desired favourable impression on "the old man" (as Tacitus here chooses to call him).¹¹⁰

No further contact between Titus and Berenice in Palestine is recorded, but they will surely have met again when Titus visited Caesarea Philippi again shortly after the fall of Jerusalem; indeed, Berenice may well have been a stronger magnet to draw him there

¹⁰⁷ *AJ* xx, 143, 145-6. Berenice probably remained in Chalcis when her brother took it over but the liaison between them is mentioned only at the time of his transfer to Philip's tetrarchy in 53 (above, pp. 262, 272). On the allegation of incest, to which the sole gentile reference is *Juv.* vi, 156-60, see G. H. Macurdy in *A/Ph* lvi (1935), 249-51. *BJ* ii, 313-14, showing Berenice as a devout Jewess, tells against serious sexual irregularities. Cf. note on *Leg.* 92, on the incest charge levelled against the emperor Gaius. On Berenice as Agrippa's queen see above, p. 274.

¹⁰⁸ *BJ* iii, 443-6, with πέμπει . . . τίτον implying Titus' presence. E. Mireaux, *La Reine Bérénice* (1951), 147, suggests that Titus and Berenice first met early in 67, at Ptolemais, where Vespasian's forces, including a contingent under Agrippa, assembled. But it seems unlikely that affection for her brother took her to the threshold of a campaign.

¹⁰⁹ Tac., *H* ii, 2, 1 *Fuerunt qui accensum desiderio Berenices reginae vertisse iter crederent; neque abhorrebat a Berenice iuvenilis animus, sed gerendis rebus nullum ex eo impedimentum.*

¹¹⁰ Tac., *H* ii, 81, 2 *Nec minore animo regina Berenice partes iuvabat, florens aetate formaque et seni quoque Vespasiano magnificentia munus grata.*

on that occasion than Agrippa.¹¹¹ When they parted, it was to be for five years. But absence made the heart grow fonder, and the sequel was a kind of Antony-and-Cleopatra episode in reverse, with the temptress not luring the Roman to the East but trying to establish herself in Rome.

When Berenice accompanied her brother on a state visit to Rome in 75, she took up residence in the imperial palace as Titus' mistress, regarding her status as a prelude to matrimony.¹¹² (The reaction of the Jews in Rome to this would be interesting, were it recorded.) Whether Titus with his knowledge of Roman prejudices took the same view of the situation is another matter. An oriental mistress might be tolerated where an oriental wife, and a Jewess at that, would not, and the alleged promise of marriage of which Suetonius speaks may have been made insincerely to silence importunity.¹¹³ But Titus allowed Berenice to play the empress nonetheless, and Quintilian gives a glimpse of the lengths to which she went, perhaps in emulation of Nero's mother's intrusion into state affairs, when he mentions having himself pleaded a case in which she was personally interested in her presence.¹¹⁴ The matter became a scandal. The episode which had led to the expulsion of the Jews from Rome in 19 and Domitian's later attack on Judaizing aristocrats show the Roman fear of the infiltration of Judaism into high society, and in this case it was securing a foothold among the imperial family. The sight of an eastern princess wielding political influence in Rome aroused bitter resentment. The opposition to her was crystallized by one of the Cynic philosophers who had been expelled from Rome in 71 for their anti-monarchic, if not anarchic, tenets.¹¹⁵ In the course of time some of them had slipped back into the city and a certain Diogenes managed to get the platform in a crowded theatre for a long and abusive

¹¹¹ *BJ* vii, 23.

¹¹² Dio lxvi, 15, 3-4 (with § 1 giving the date).

¹¹³ Suet., *Tit.* 7, 1 . . . *cui etiam nuptias pollicitus ferebatur*. Mireaux, *op. cit.*, 188-9, takes this together with Aur. Vict., *Epit.* 10, 4 *Berenices uxoris suae* and the inconsistent 10, 7 *Berenicen nuptias suas sperantem* to mean that Berenice was recognized as Titus' wife by *concubinatus*, though she never went through the ceremonies of *iustae nuptiae*; "ainsi, contrairement à ce qu'on écrit généralement, Bérénice a bien été l'épouse de Titus, l'épouse du maître de Rome." But wherein does this differ from the position of an established mistress?

¹¹⁴ Quintilian iv, 1, 19 *Fuerunt etiam quidam suarum rerum iudices . . . ego pro regina Berenice apud ipsam eam dixi*—a puzzling passage, since Berenice could hardly have been a *iudex*.

¹¹⁵ Dio lxvi, 13, 1-2; Suet., *Vesp.* 13. Cf. J. M. C. Toynbee in *Greece and Rome* xiii (1944), 53-7.

tirade against Titus and his mistress. How he did this is not indicated, but he must have had powerful backing from influential men eager to get rid of Berenice but unable to dislodge her by direct means and therefore in search of a cat's paw. Diogenes was flogged for his impertinence, but he won his point and eventually, though possibly not until very shortly before Vespasian's death, Titus gave in to the pressure of public opinion and sent Berenice home.¹¹⁶ (Does this defeat for his hero explain Josephus' total silence about the relationship between Titus and Berenice in the *Bellum Judaicum*, published between 75 and 79?¹¹⁷)

Berenice, however, was not to be deterred. Titus as emperor, she perhaps argued, could surely be allowed to choose his wife, even if as heir to the throne he could not. After his accession she returned to Rome, but to a bitter disappointment. Popularity was now all-important to Titus, and private feelings had to take second place. He had to dismiss her again immediately, in Suetonius' haunting and untranslatable words, *invitus invitam*. Did she in parting adapt Aeneas' *invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi* to her own case?¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Dio lxvi, 15, 4-5. J. A. Crook argues for 79 as the date of Berenice's dismissal and against the general assumption that her stay in Rome during Vespasian's reign was short—in *AJPb* lxxii (1951), 162-75. (a) Though Dio links the punishments of Diogenes and another vociferous Cynic with Berenice's arrival in 75, his next chapter recounts the execution of Julius Sabinus and the conspiracy of Alienus Caecina and Eprius Marcellus in 79 as a contemporaneous. But, as Crook admits, in this excerpt Xiphilinus may have omitted Dio's account of 76-8 and picked up in 79 without noticing that Dio's καθ' ὃν χρόνον referred to something different. (b) Time must be allowed for "a tremendous popular scandal to develop". True; but not necessarily four years. A few months will have sufficed in the capital, the crucial place. (c) Aur. Vict., *Epit.* 10, 7, says that Titus executed Caecina on suspicion of adultery with Berenice, and this, though unconvincing in itself, as Crook demonstrates, implies her presence in Rome up to 79. But on its own it is not conclusive, and Crook's case, avowedly conjectural, for explaining Berenice's movements by political developments in Rome, though ingenious and plausible, cannot be regarded as proved. Cf. A. Garzetti, *From Tiberius to the Antonines*², transl. J. R. Foster (1974), 643.

¹¹⁷ Between the dedication of the temple of Pax in 75 (above, p. 329) and the death of Vespasian, who received a copy—*Ap.* i, 50-1.

¹¹⁸ Dio lxvi, 18, 1 (as emperor Titus ruled reasonably) καίτοι καὶ τῆς Βερενίκης ἐς Ῥώμην αὖθις ἐλθούσης (the only explicit differentiation between Berenice's two visits); Suet., *Tit.* 7, 2 *Berenicen statim ab urbe dimisit invitus invitam*. The separation of this reference to Berenice from that in *Tit.* 7, 1 quoted above, suggests an awareness that the affair had two phases, though both follow a reference to Titus' accession (6, 2). Aurelius Victor's second reference to the affair, in 10, 7, puts Berenice's (only) dismissal after Titus' accession.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE JEWISH REVOLT OF A.D. 115-117

The great revolt of the Jews in N. Africa and Cyprus at the end of Trajan's reign is one of the most puzzling chapters in the whole history of the relations between Rome and the Jews. No motive is attributed to the rebels and no provocation is recorded or even hinted at which would have made Diaspora communities which had stood aside from the Palestinian revolt fifty years earlier turn savagely against their protectors. And an episode in Alexandria only a decade or so before the revolt, recounted (and no doubt misrepresented) in the second chapter of the "Acts of the Alexandrian Martyrs" that involves the Jews, the *Acta Hermaisci*, does not clarify the question, since it shows Trajan apparently filling Rome's traditional role vis-à-vis the Jews and punishing a Greek attack on them.

The Embassies from Alexandria to Trajan

A single papyrus containing the lower portions of three columns almost perfectly preserved and fragments of a fourth gives an account of a confrontation between Jewish and Greek embassies from Alexandria before Trajan and his *consilium* in Rome.¹ The Greek delegation, led by a certain Hermaiscus, otherwise unknown to history, consisted of at least eleven men, including two gymnasiarchs and one gymnasiarch elect, and was supported by a Tyrian barrister who had offered his services as advocate but plays no part in the proceedings as extant.² The Jewish delegation numbered only six, and had the support of a Greek advocate from Antioch, possibly a proselyte.³ Both parties sought to reinforce their chances of success with super-

¹ *P. Oxy.* 1242 = *AA* viii = *CPJ* 157. The papyrus is torn at the top, but the lower margin is preserved. Cols. I-III each contain 15 or 16 complete lines preceded by fragments of others. Col. IV, with fragments of 23 lines, shows that the original length exceeded 24 lines.

² Col. I becomes legible in the middle of a list of Greek names, ten of which survive. Hermaiscus is not among them, but as leader presumably headed the list.

³ Col. I, lines 9-16. The advocate was Ἀντιοχένος τῷ γένει. While Jews in Antioch were popularly known as "Antiochenes", the use here of the term strictly denoting Greek citizens (above, p. 360, n. 16), seems to rule out the possibility that the advocate came from the Jewish community there.

natural backing by taking "their own gods" with them to the audience. In the Greek case it was a bust of Sarapis.⁴ The Jewish counterpart is not mentioned but the only possibility would seem to be a Torah roll. There is no explicit formulation of the precise matter being laid before the emperor in the extant parts of the papyrus, but it was clearly connected with some recrudescence of the perennial racial feud in Alexandria, of which literary sources have been silent since the riot of 66—and a fairly serious recrudescence at that, since the matter could apparently not be settled locally by the prefect. The writer's interest is less in purveying historical facts than in giving the distorted picture of the emperor and his court characteristic of the *genre*, representing him as heavily biased in favour of the Jews and unwilling to give the Greek side a fair hearing, and the Greek leader as suffering excessively for his fearless and outspoken protest against imperial partiality. In his own words:

"The emperor learnt that Jewish and Alexandrian⁵ envoys had arrived and fixed a day for hearing them both. But Plotina persuaded the senators⁶ to oppose the Alexandrians and support the Jews. The Jews entered first and greeted the emperor Trajan. Caesar returned their greeting very graciously, because he also had already been won over by Plotina. The Alexandrian envoys came in after them and greeted the emperor. He, however, did not return their greeting but said 'Are you greeting me as if you deserved a greeting in return, after the dreadful things you have dared to do to the Jews?' ...'" The lacuna which follows must have contained not only Hermaiscus' retort to this discouraging opening but a further exchange with Trajan, provoking the imperial threat with which the next column resumes: "... 'You must want to die, since you despise death enough to answer even me insolently.' Hermaiscus said 'We object to the fact that your senate is full of impious Jews.'"⁷ Caesar said 'Look here, Hermaiscus, this is the second

⁴ Lines 17-18, 51-2.

⁵ I.e. Greek; see above, pp. 228-9.

⁶ Lines 26-7. I.e. the members of the *consilium* hearing the case. On the apparently unexampled use of ἀπαντάω here see Tcherikover, *CPJ*, note *ad loc.*

⁷ Lines 42-3. On ἀνόςιος see below, p. 398, n. 26. Whether τὸ συνέδριον (cf. line 47) means senate or *consilium* is not clear, as the word is found in both senses. Musurillo, *AA*, Tcherikover, *CPJ*, and J. A. Crook, *Consilium Principis* (1956), 54 and 105, n. 12, take it as *consilium*; and Tcherikover, note *ad loc.*, points out that σοῦ and μου are appropriate terms to use of the *consilium* but not of the senate. But in a historical fantasy, a non-technical document written outside Italy and strongly anti-imperial in bias, it would not be impossible for the

time I am warning you: you are trading on your noble birth to answer me insolently.' Hermaiscus said 'What was insolent in my answer, mighty emperor? Please explain.' Caesar said 'Making out that my senate consists of Jews.' Hermaiscus said 'So the term Jew is offensive to you, is it? In that case you should be supporting your own side and not playing the advocate to the impious Jews.' While Hermaiscus was saying this, the bust of Sarapis which the envoys were carrying suddenly broke out in a sweat, and Trajan was amazed at the sight. Soon crowds gathered in Rome, there was general uproar, and everyone fled to the hill-tops..." Among the few legible scraps of the last column are the words "in the reign of Claudius", no doubt a reference to the execution of Isidorus and Lampo, whose fate Hermaiscus was now to share for his impertinence, as another martyr to the cause of Alexandrian nationalism.

The fictional character of most of this (even without the miracle at the end) is obvious: Trajan's discourtesy and partiality, which are alien to all that is recorded of him; the intervention of Plotina, who is not known to have had any cause to favour the Jews and moreover was no Agrippina, meddling in political matters; and the absurd reason given for the Greek opposition to Trajan, that he had "packed" the senate with Jews. The factual foundation for this charge is minimal. Four men of partly Jewish ancestry, three of them descendants of Herod the Great, are known to have been members of the senate in the late first or early second centuries, and some of them may have even sat on the *consilium*, though evidence is lacking. But as highly Romanized apostates whose Jewish blood was well diluted at least in the Herodian cases, they will surely have played down their Jewish nationality.⁸ Even if there were others also, they can have formed only a tiny fraction of the total membership, and if the charge was a dis-

senate to be described in a derogatory way as "your senate", to emphasize the charge of "packing"; the parallel "my senate" would then follow naturally in the reply.

⁸ (a) (C. Julius) Alexander (*PIR*², s.v. *Alexander* 500; *Iulius* 136), an apostate great-great-grandson of Herod the Great, client king of part of Cilicia under Vespasian—*AJ* xviii, 139-40; *ILS* 8823 = *OGIS* 429; he was consul before 109—*IGRR* III, 173 = *OGIS* 544; R. Syme in *JRS* xliii (1953), 154. (b) His son, C. Julius Agrippa (*PIR*², s.v. *Iulius* 130), propraetorian quaestor of Asia before his father's consulship—*ILS* 8823 = *OGIS* 429. (c) C. Julius Alexander Berenicianus (*PIR*², s.v. *Iulius* 141), probably another son rather than a grandson of (a), consul in 116. (d) Tiberius Julius Alexander Julianus (*PIR*² s.v. *Iulius* 142), a son or grandson of the Alexandrian apostate Tiberius Julius Alexander, consul in 117(?).

torted reference to Romans who from Nerva's reign had combined "Jewish life" with the tenure of government posts, it was still a gross exaggeration. But accuracy or even credibility counted for little to the author, whose aim was simply to argue that Rome's latest outrage against the Alexandrian Greeks had consisted of letting their enemies exert an influence in "the establishment".

One solitary fact emerges from all this nonsense: behind Trajan's initial rebuke to the Greeks for maltreating the Jews lay some sort of conflict fought with weapons more damaging than mere words. The presence of religious symbols at the hearing may indicate that the matter in dispute had involved some question of Jewish religious liberty. There is no internal evidence for the date of the quarrel or of the hearing beyond the obvious time-limits of Trajan's arrival in Rome in the autumn of 99 and his departure for his Parthian campaigns in the autumn of 113, with the years spent in Dacia, 101-2 and 105-6, excluded. And in the absence of any external evidence for conflicts between the Jews and the Greeks in Alexandria during those years (or indeed at any time since 66) to provide a background for the *Acta Hermaisci*, the document must be interpreted *in vacuo*.⁹

At the outset of the hearing Trajan is made to put all the responsibility on to the Greeks, and the lost exchange which followed may have included an attempt by Hermaiscus to rebut the charge and incriminate the Jews. In view of their past record, neither side is likely to have been blameless, but the condemnation of Hermaiscus, no doubt better deserved than the author will have admitted, shows where Trajan considered the major fault to lie. But although his vindication of Jewish rights in Alexandria against a renewed Greek challenge appears to stand in sharp contrast to the events of a few years later, when the Alexandrian Jews joined in a widespread revolt against Rome, the skirmish underlying the *Acta Hermaisci* may nevertheless have been the prelude to the revolt in reviving the smouldering tension in the city and so leading to the conflict of Greek versus Jew which developed into a conflict of Jew versus Roman.

⁹ On Weber's attempt to link the *Acta Hermaisci* with a disturbance in Alexandria mentioned in Dio (Chrysostom) of Prusa's Alexandrian speech (*Or.* xxxii) see Musurillo, *AA*, 164-8; cf. Tcherikover, *CPJ*, note on lines 35 ff. Not only does Dio not mention the Jews, but the mid-Trajanic date assigned to his Alexandrian speech by H. von Arnim, *Leben und Werke des Dion von Prusa* (1898), 435-8, generally accepted, is now challenged by C. P. Jones in *Historia* xxii (1973), 302-9, who argues for an early Vespasianic date.

The Revolt in Egypt and Cyrenaica

The Jewish revolt during Trajan's last years was a fourfold movement, in Egypt and Cyrenaica, in Cyprus, in the newly annexed province of Mesopotamia, and in Palestine.¹⁰ The revolt in Mesopotamia began a year or so after that in N. Africa and differed in origin and purpose. The movement in Palestine, nipped in the bud by prompt Roman action, seems to have developed last, stimulated by the others. No unified or coherent account of the revolt as a whole survives. For Cyrenaica and Egypt the scanty literary sources, Eusebius, Dio Cassius and Orosius, are supplemented by archaeological evidence and papyri respectively. For Cyprus and Mesopotamia the evidence is tenuous in the extreme. For Palestine a number of isolated scraps of information can be combined to give a general impression but no precise details.

The only writer to give anything approaching a complete account of the Jewish rising in N. Africa is Eusebius, who tells how in the eighteenth year of Trajan (115), during M. Rutilius Lupus' prefecture of Egypt, the Jews in Alexandria, Egypt and Cyrenaica rose against the Greeks among whom they lived, and in the initial encounters got the upper hand. The Greeks fled to Alexandria, where they rallied and made a successful retaliatory attack, killing some of the Jews and imprisoning others. But though thus deprived of the support of the Alexandrian community, the Cyrenaican Jews, led by a certain Lucuas, joined forces with the Egyptian Jews to ravage and plunder the rest of the country. During the following year the movement which had begun as a local racial conflict developed into a war against Rome, and at this stage Eusebius describes Lucuas as the rebels' "king". Trajan then sent Q. Marcius Turbo (one of the foremost generals serving under him in Parthia) with a combined land and naval force to restore order, a task which took him a considerable time and involved a number of battles in which many tens of thousands of Jews were killed.¹¹ The short excerpt which alone survives of Dio's account

¹⁰ For general studies see L. Motta in *Aegyptus* xxxii (1952), 474-90; A. Fuks in *JRS* li (1961), 98-104.

¹¹ *HE* iv, 2, 1-4, first giving a synopsis—a racial *stasis* developed into a war a year later (§ 2)—and then going back to the πρώτη συμβολή and giving details (§§ 3-4). Eusebius' summary in *Chron.* Traj. XVII adds one detail: the revolt spread as far south in Egypt as the Thebaid. The discrepancy between Eusebius' two dates, Trajan's 17th and 18th years, is more apparent than real. The *Chronicle* follows a scheme which reckoned each monarch's regnal years from the September after his accession; see C. H. Turner in *JThS* i (1900), 187-92.

of the revolt in Cyrenaica and Egypt deals only with the atrocities said to have been perpetrated by the Cyrenaican Jews, under a leader here called Andreas, against both Romans (presumably residents in the province) and Greeks: they indulged in cannibalism and mutilation, made clothes and belts out of the skins and entrails of some of their victims, used others in gladiatorial and wild beast shows, and in all accounted for two hundred and twenty thousand gentile deaths; the revolt in Egypt is dismissed in half a dozen words, "in Egypt also (the Jews) did many similar things", without any suggestion of co-ordination between the rebels in the two provinces, and the excerpt includes nothing about the development or suppression of the revolt.¹² Orosius speaks of simultaneous and co-ordinated Jewish risings in "various countries", but specifies only Egypt and Cyrenaica. The sole detail which he gives is that in the latter province the Jews killed so many farmers that the land was practically depopulated. Apart from the defeat of the rebels in Alexandria in a pitched battle, he says nothing about the suppression of the revolt, and he seems, like Dio, to view the rising as a racial movement directed against Greek fellow-provincials rather than as a political one directed against Roman authority.¹³

The literary sources give no reason for the Jewish outbreak, but all represent the Jews as falling on the Greeks without justification or provocation: they rose "as if mad" (Orosius), or "as if in the grip of some terrible spirit of rebellion" (Eusebius). But the timing of the outbreak was surely connected with Trajan's Parthian war, when the emperor's attention was fully occupied and when the garrison of Egypt had been reduced by the drafting of one of the two legions, III Cyrenaica, into the eastern expeditionary force.¹⁴ Possibly the

Trajan's 17th year on that scheme, September 114-15, overlaps his 18th according to *HE*, in which Eusebius seems to take over the dates as given in his sources and to use years counted from the actual accession or tribunician years.

¹² Dio lxviii, 32, 1-2. The opening ἐν τούτῳ appears to make the Jewish rising contemporaneous with the siege of Hatra, described immediately before, which Lepper, *TPW*, 89-91, dates to midsummer, 117. But the phrase may refer to some quite different event omitted from Xiphilinus' abridgement.

¹³ Oros. vii, 12, 6-7; cf. vii, 27, 6.

¹⁴ III Cyrenaica was in Dura-Europos in (probably) 115-16; see M. I. Rostovtzeff and others, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos* IV (1933), 57-65; VI (1936), 480-2; cf. below, p. 427. There is no definite evidence for the location of XXII Deiotariana during the war, but it is attested in Egypt in 113 and 119—*BGU* III, 832; *FIRA* I, 78. The province is not likely to have been completely denuded of troops, even if still peaceful when the Parthian campaign began. Cf. below, p. 402, n. 50.

Jews saw in the temporary weakness of Roman authority in Egypt, which would protect them against gentile molestation but would not condone violence on their part, a chance to settle old scores with the Greeks. In Alexandria tension may have remained high after the apparent victory of the Jewish delegation over the Greeks at Trajan's tribunal a few years earlier, and the racial conflict with which the revolt started may have originated there in some kind of Greek retaliation.

A papyrus fragment preserves part of an edict issued by M. Rutilius Lupus on 13 October 115, which throws a little light on the course of the conflict in Alexandria, though not on its cause. The document is difficult to interpret, since it deals with events too well known to need more than brief allusions, but it certainly vindicates Eusebius' date for the commencement of the revolt by showing that it was well under way by October 115, and it is probably concerned with the successful Greek reprisals on the Jews in Alexandria which he mentions. Where the text first becomes continuously legible the prefect is reprimanding a small number of wealthy and influential Greeks who have been using other people, including their own slaves, as cats' paws to organize arson and murder in the city, and warning them that they have now been identified and can expect no mercy; charges against these trouble-makers, he continues, should not be laid before himself, as he lacks the authority to deal with them, but before a special commissioner whom Trajan has sent to investigate the matter; he shows scant sympathy for the people wounded in the recent disturbances—they need not have got involved—and he finally informs the Greeks that actions which had perhaps been excusable "before the battle between the Romans and the Jews" are now pointless as well as illegal.¹⁵ Facts are elusive here but one stands out: the Roman army had been called in against the Jews, thus clearly marked out as more serious offenders against law and order than the

¹⁵ *P.R.U.Mil.* = *AA IXc* = *CPJ* 435, dated 16 Phaophi = 13 October in the 19th year of an emperor whose poorly preserved name can be read as *Τραιανοῦ* or *Ἀδριανοῦ*. The former, slightly more probable palaeographically, is much more plausible historically, as there is no evidence for conflict in Alexandria in 135. There may also be a link in subject-matter between this edict and *CPJ* 158, dated *c.* 119 (below, pp. 406-9). The prefect's name does not occur in the legible fragment of the edict, the first two columns of which yield no consecutive sense, but if the date is 115, the attribution is certain. M. Rutilius Lupus is attested as prefect from January 113 to January 117; see Stein, *Präfecten*, 55-6.

Greeks, and had defeated them.¹⁶ The rest is less certain, but it would appear that even after the intervention of the army had put an end to the Jewish menace, a number of Greek agitators had maintained the tension by continued violence which was justifiable only as a measure of self-defence, to the annoyance of law-abiding citizens, who were now anxious to bring them to justice. Lupus' edict seems to have been a temporary measure to restore order until the special commissioner could investigate the whole episode, and it may have included instructions to the Greeks to lay down their arms.¹⁷

After the Roman forces in Egypt had successfully rescued the Greeks in Alexandria in the autumn of 115 and apparently reduced the Jews there to at any rate temporary impotence,¹⁸ the racial movement in Cyrenaica and the rest of Egypt developed into a revolt against Rome which rapidly assumed the proportions of a war. Relations between Rome and the Jews in those provinces since the early 70s are unknown, and may have been deteriorating. The conflicts stirred up by refugees from Palestine may have left embittered feelings on both sides and some of the nationalist doctrines then imported may have taken root; the descendants of Jewish prisoners sent to Egypt in 70 as slaves will hardly have been philo-Roman¹⁹; annoyance at the imposition of the Jewish tax may have been a factor in the situation; and the earthquake in which Trajan nearly lost his life in December 115 in Antioch may have been taken as a sign of divine displeasure and encouraged a revolt against Rome.²⁰ Conceivably the Jews even acted at Parthian instigation. There is no evidence for this, but a rising in Trajan's rear threatening his supply-

¹⁶ Two letters from a soldier, dated palaeographically to the early second century and referring to the suppression of a serious θόρυβος in "the city", in which the writer had been wounded, may concern this engagement, though the Jews are not mentioned—*P. Mich.* VIII, 477, lines 28-30; 478, lines 14-15. For the Jewish revolt as θόρυβος and τάραχος see *CPJ* 444 and 449; cf. below, p. 397.

¹⁷ *CPJ* 158a, col. IV, 3-4 is restored as [. . . τὸν ὑπομνηματι]σμὸν Λούπου ἐν [ᾧ ἐκέλευε παραδοῦναι] τὰ ὅπλα καὶ ἀναχ[ωρεῖν . . .

¹⁸ But see below, pp. 406-9 for later disturbances in Alexandria.

¹⁹ See above, pp. 327, 367.

²⁰ Eus., *Chron.*, and Orosius both put the outbreak of the Jewish rising as a whole after the earthquake, which Ioh. Mal., *Chron.* xi, 358-9 (p. 275) dates to 13 December 115. (See J. Guey, *Essai sur la guerre parthique de Trajan* (1937), 95-9, and Lepper, *TPW*, 65-83, for accepting this against Lightfoot's date, January 115, which R. P. Longden adopts in *JRS* xxi (1931), 4-7; cf. in *CAH* XI, 858-9.) But the contemporary evidence of Lupus' edict for an earlier start to the movement overrides this date.

lines with Italy would have been a welcome diversion from the Parthian point of view. Alternatively, the news of the revolt of Rome's newly annexed territory east of the Euphrates some time after mid-summer 116²¹ may have provided the impetus which converted an anti-Greek movement into a nationalist rising against Rome. That severe setback to Roman ambitions could be seen as the beginning of the decline of Roman power in the East, which Jewish nationalists and Parthia had a common interest in breaking, and Palestinian Jews looked on the Parthians as potential saviours.²² If on the other hand, as is quite possible, the Jewish rising developed into a revolt against Rome before the beginning of the Mesopotamian revolt, the latter will certainly have given it increased vigour and greater hopes of success.

The revolt was, almost inevitably, a messianic crusade. In his second reference to the Cyrenaican leader Lucuas Eusebius calls him, without comment or explanation, the insurgents' "king", and this single word is highly significant. When the rising changed in character from a racial quarrel to a nationalist revolt, Lucuas adopted or received the messianic title of "king", and political independence was now the rebels' open aim.²³ The movement may have been (to use a modern term) Zionist, with the return of the Jewish exiles from N. Africa to Palestine as its objective. The march of the Cyrenaican Jews into Egypt leaving a trail of devastation behind them could have been the first step in such a mass migration.

Some details of the wanton destruction wrought by the Jews in Cyrenaica are provided by archaeological evidence, especially the inscriptions recording the repair of damage done during "the Jewish disturbances".²⁴ The road from Cyrene to the port of Apollonia was put out of action, possibly to impede the progress of Roman troops who might be sent to the area by sea. The centre of the city of Cyrene was extensively wrecked. The public baths with the adjoining colon-

²¹ For the date see below, p. 418, n. 122.

²² See below, p. 426, n. 151.

²³ Dio names the Cyrenaican leader as Andreas. Most scholars, perhaps correctly, suppose him and Lucuas to have been one and the same man, with two names (too dissimilar for one to be a corruption of the other). But there may have been two Cyrenaican leaders, Andreas who led the initial *stasis* and Lucuas who came to the fore after the invasion of Egypt and the change in the character of the movement. There appear to be traces of Lucuas' presence in Palestine later (below, p. 426) but none of that of Andreas.

²⁴ *Tumultus*, evidently the official designation there for the revolt. Cf. above, p. 396, n. 16.

nades, exercise halls and other ancillary rooms were burnt down, as was the whole complex of the Caesareum, comprising a basilica and other public buildings, as well as the temple of the imperial cult. Such a temple was an obvious target for any rebels, but it was by no means the only pagan shrine attacked. The temples of Hecate, Apollo and Zeus, and probably also those of Artemis, Demeter, Isis and the Dioscuri, were deliberately and systematically damaged or destroyed, which suggests that it was against pagan religious buildings in particular that the Jews directed their spite.²⁵ Such fanaticism on the rebels' part ties up with the messianic purpose which evolved as the revolt progressed, and it may well have been the Jews' iconoclasm which earned them the designation "impious" which occurs frequently enough on papyri during and immediately after the revolt to suggest that at that period it became a "continuous epithet" for the race.²⁶

Tangible evidence for damage within the other cities of the Pentapolis is still lacking,²⁷ but a hoard of some eighteen hundred coins ending with Trajanic issues found in Berenice was obviously hidden during the revolt.²⁸ Elsewhere in the province the sanctuary of Asclepius at Balagrae, south west of Cyrene, which was rebuilt under the Antonines, had quite possibly been damaged during the revolt; and in the east of the province, in the district of Marmarica later transferred to Egypt, the destruction of a small second century temple

²⁵ For inscriptions recording the repairs see below, p. 410 and notes. Excavation has revealed signs of deliberate demolition in the temple of Zeus and of conflagration in the temples of Apollo, Artemis and the Dioscuri, and of second century reconstruction in the temple of Demeter as well as in the last three named; see R. G. Goodchild and J. M. Reynolds in *PBSR* xxvi (1958), 33; S. Applebaum in *JJS* ii (1950-1), 177-81, 185; cf. in *JJS* xiii (1962), 39-40. The repair of the "caryatid porch" in Cyrene was presumably necessitated by the Jewish revolt; see S. Stucchi in *Atti VII Congr. Intern. Arch. Class.* (1961) I, 443-7.

²⁶ For ἀνόσιος see *Acta Hermaisci* (above; composed after the revolt); *CPJ* 158a (discussed below, pp. 406-9), col. VI, 14; 438, line 4; 443, col. II, 4. This adjective is not synonymous with ἄθεος, applied to the Jews over a long period (above, p. 379, n. 82). The distinction may be that the former adjective referred to the Jews' attitude towards paganism, while the latter referred to their actions as desecrators of pagan sanctuaries. Cf. A. Fuks in *Aegyptus* xxxiii (1953), 157-8, and in *JRS* li (1961), 103-4.

²⁷ Excavations in Ptolemais, where Jews appear to have been less numerous than in Teuchira and Berenice, have produced no certain evidence of damage done in 115, though one instance of minor fire damage is attributed tentatively to the Jews by C. H. Kraeling, *Ptolemais, City of the Libyan Pentapolis* (1962), 205, n. 145; cf. 17 for Jewish numbers.

²⁸ H. Fuhrmann in *Jahrb. deutsch. arch. Inst.* lvi (1941), 702.

near the modern El Dab'a is likely also to have been the work of the Jews.²⁹

Less evidence survives for Jewish destructiveness in Egypt than in Cyrenaica, but papyri and an autobiographical fragment of Appian give vivid glimpses of the impact of the revolt on ordinary people and everyday life and fill out Eusebius' colourless summary. Though the Jews in Alexandria were apparently reduced to submission by October 115, the city suffered a certain amount of damage in the early days of the revolt, before the army regained control. Eusebius certainly exaggerates in saying that the city was "overthrown" and had to be rebuilt by Hadrian;³⁰ devastation on that scale would have left traces elsewhere. The only Greco-Roman building recorded as having been destroyed is the precinct of Nemesis where Pompey's head was buried, which "was rased to the ground by the Jews for military purposes at the time when Trajan was exterminating the Jewish race in Egypt" (possibly a belated act of vengeance for Pompey's desecration of the Temple in 63 B.C.).³¹ The shrine was apparently just outside the city, and if Appian's reference to the suppression of the revolt (in 116-17) is a precise date, the destruction was the work of Egyptian and Cyrenaican Jews hard pressed by the Romans, rather than of the Alexandrian Jews in 115. Excavation has shown that the Ptolemaic Sarapeum nearby was destroyed at some point, presumably by the Jews, if the Hadrianic date suggested for its Roman successor is correct.³² This Alexandrian evidence harmonizes with that from Cyrenaica that gentile shrines were the Jews' main targets. On the other side, however, the largest of the Alexandrian synagogues, described in the Talmud as one of the glories of Jewry, was also destroyed.³³

Eusebius puts the extension of the rising to the whole of Egypt and its development into a war in 116.³⁴ Contemporary evidence provides a striking picture of the country in the grip of the rebels for

²⁹ For Balagrae see S. Applebaum in *JJS* xiii (1962), 40; cf. in *JJS* ii (1950-1), 183. For the temple 35 km. south of El Dab'a see G. W. Murray in *JEJ* xvii (1931), 81-3. For the transfer of Marmarica, perhaps shortly after the Jewish revolt, see P. Romanelli, *La Cirenaica Romana* (1943), 119-20.

³⁰ *Chron. Hadr. I Alexandriam a Romanis* (an early error found in all MSS.) *subversam publicis instauravit expensis*.

³¹ App., *BC* ii, 90.

³² A. Rowe in *Ann. Service Antiqu. Égypte*, Suppl., Cahier ii (1946), 60-4.

³³ *JT Sukk.* v, 1 (Schwab VI, 42). In *BT Sukk.* 51b the synagogue is described without reference to its destruction.

³⁴ *HE* iv, 2, 2 "in the following year".

some time. In the Delta area, where they seized control of at least one of the waterways and commandeered the shipping, life became so uncomfortable for the Greeks that the historian Appian fled, and only narrowly escaped falling into their clutches as he was making rendezvous by night with a boat bound for Pelusium.³⁵ A hoard of imperial denarii, of which the latest, over half in all, are Trajanic, found in the Delta, was clearly buried for safety during the revolt.³⁶ Papyri³⁷ testify to severe and extensive physical damage. One which deals with the leasing of land in a Fayum village in 151 mentions a plot which had been ravaged and abandoned in 116-17 "during the Jewish disturbances" and was still producing no income.³⁸ Another containing a land-survey in the nome of Oxyrhynchus, undated but probably of the early second century, includes among the items "vacant building-plots on which there are huts burnt(?) by the Jews."³⁹ But the most vivid of the papyri are the letters from the archive of Apollonios, strategos of Apollinopolis-Heptacomias in Upper Egypt from 113 until 120 or later. He came from a Greek family in Hermoupolis in Middle Egypt and himself owned property in that metropolis and the surrounding nome. During the revolt he was called away from his post to serve in the campaigns against the Jews (the conscription of a civil official testifies to the gravity of the situation), and his sister-wife Aline returned home temporarily to their parents. In a letter to her husband probably written in September 115 she tells him how she cannot eat or sleep for anxiety after his sudden departure and was too miserable to take part in the New Year's Day celebrations, and begs him not to expose himself to danger without a guard.⁴⁰ Their mother Eudaimonis heard tales of

³⁵ App., frag. of *Liber Arabicus* xxiv, in *FHG* V, lxx (without precise date).

³⁶ S. H. Weber, *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* liv (1932), 1-41. The hoard comprised 267 denarii and 32 Hellenistic Greek coins.

³⁷ For a full study of the papyrological evidence for the revolt see A. Fuks in *Aegyptus* xxxiii (1953), 131-58, much of which reappears in *CPJ*, commentaries on the individual papyri.

³⁸ *BGU* 889 = *CPJ* 449. Wilcken's reading ἀπὸ α' (ἔτους) τοῦ κ(αί) α' (ἔτους), "the twentieth year (of Trajan) which is the first (of Hadrian)", is now accepted.

³⁹ *P. Oxy.* 707 = *CPJ* 447. Wilcken's suggestion ἐμπ(ρηθεῖσαι) is more convincing than ἐμπ(οιούμεναι), "under construction", proposed by the editors.

⁴⁰ *P. Giss.* 19 = *CPJ* 436, with the reference to the New Year (line 11), surely the Egyptian, dating it to September, but no year. Fuks, *CPJ*, note *ad loc.*, suggests 115, since Aline's husband has only just been called up. But this seems too early for disturbances to have spread so far south, since the Thebaid was unaffected as late as May 116 (below, p. 401).

Jewish atrocities and in a fragment of a letter to her son records her prayer to "the gods, especially the invincible Hermes, that they may not roast you."⁴¹ Despite the critical situation, however, Apollonios was able to have leave late in October 116, since Aline was imminently expecting a baby in July 117.⁴² The marauding Jews swept down on Hermoupolis, where they plundered Apollonios' estates⁴³ and broke up roads between there and Alexandria.⁴⁴ River traffic was disrupted, and in two undated letters from the archive of another Hermoupolite family, the writer, living further north, complains of a scarcity of ships going upstream to take letters, and prays that his family may be delivered from danger.⁴⁵ By the summer of 117 slave labour and textiles were in short supply, and Eudaimonis could see herself facing the winter "without a stitch to wear."⁴⁶ Agriculture also naturally suffered. In the nome of Lycopolis, south of Hermoupolis, two minor officials were reprimanded after the end of the revolt for failing to supply Apollonios with some produce due to him, and sent him an indignant letter protesting (apparently; the text is poorly preserved) that "the Jewish commotions" had prevented them from fulfilling their obligations.⁴⁷ Both Eusebius and Orosius say that the Jewish depredations spread as far south as the Thebaid. That district was still unaffected in May 116, when the erection of a dedication to Trajan implies normal conditions⁴⁸ and when the Jews of Apollinopolis Magna were still dutifully paying their Jewish tax.⁴⁹ The cessation

⁴¹ *P. Giss.* 24 = *CPJ* 437, dated 30 June but lacking the year. Fuks, note *ad loc.*, suggests 116. If τοῖς σοῖς πασι and ὑμᾶς refer to Apollonios' wife and family rather than to men under his command, it was written before Aline returned to her parents, which would fit the date September 116 for Aline's letter immediately after her husband's departure. June 117 seems rather too late, with the revolt almost over (below, p. 404). But certainty is impossible.

⁴² *P. Brem.* 63 = *CPJ* 442, lines 3-5. For the date see below, p. 404, n. 61.

⁴³ *CPJ* 443, on which see below, pp. 404-5.

⁴⁴ In *P. Brem.* 15 = *CPJ* 446, probably written a year or so after the revolt, a builder working for Apollonios in Hermoupolis writes of the impossibility of travelling to Alexandria(?) on foot διὰ τὴν ἐκπόρθησιν τῶν τόπων (line 23). The Jews, though not named, were certainly responsible.

⁴⁵ *P. Baden* 39 = *CPJ* 441. Again the Jews, though not named, are clearly meant.

⁴⁶ *P. Brem.* 63 = *CPJ* 442, lines 9-17, 29-31 ἔτι γυμνὴ μενῶ τὸν χειμῶνα. Cf. note 42 above.

⁴⁷ *P. Brem.* 11 = *CPJ* 444.

⁴⁸ *OGIS* 677 = *IGRR* I, 1267, at Cysi.

⁴⁹ *CPJ* 227-9, dated March-May 116. No. 229 records payment by a Jewish centurion in the Roman army, clearly still loyal.

of the series of tax-receipts at that point gives the date when the Jews of the Thebaid took up arms against Rome.

Papyri throw a fitful but valuable light on the military operations against the Jews. A fragment of a letter from Apollonios' archive (with neither the writer's nor the recipient's name preserved) gives a glimpse of the critical situation somewhere in Egypt, perhaps at Hermoupolis itself, at the height of the Jewish successes: "The only hope and expectation that we had left lay in an attack by the massed villagers of our nome on the impious Jews. But the reverse happened. Our men were defeated in the encounter and many of them were killed But we have now had news that another legion belonging to Rutilius (Lupus, the prefect) has reached Memphis and is expected (here?)."⁵⁰ Evidently the Jews had already worsted the Greeks of the area before the Egyptian peasants made their despairing and unavailing stand. The concentration of troops at Memphis seems to have marked the turning of the tide. Apollonios himself joined them, perhaps with some kind of local militia, and before long one of his staff in Heptacomias wrote to the bailiff of his estate in the Hermoupolite nome seeking confirmation of "the good news of his victory and success" brought by one of their master's slaves from Memphis.⁵¹ As the Roman army drove southwards, other local forces rallied to their support, and nearly a century later Oxyrhynchus still celebrated the anniversary of a victory over the Jews as a holiday and claimed credit with Rome for her loyal alliance in the crisis.⁵² But for all this local pride, there can be little doubt that the suppression of the revolt was basically the work of Q. Marcius Turbo and the reinforcements which he brought from the East; indeed, the troop concentration at Memphis which retrieved the situation may have marked his arrival, and Apollonios' victory may have been won under the command of Turbo (to whom no papyrus refers) rather than under the prefect's.

The choice of Turbo as commander in N. Africa, probably in 116,

⁵⁰ *P. Brem.* 1 = *CPJ* 438. The reference to a second legion under the command(?) of the prefect is puzzling, since one of the two Egyptian legions was in Parthia (above, p. 394). There may be confusion here with Turbo's reinforcements (below). Or possibly ἔλλη here has the sense of "in addition" (see Liddell and Scott⁹, s.v. ἔλλος II, 9; add Philo, *Leg.* 232), and means that XXII Deiotariana had arrived to join troops (auxiliaries?) already in Memphis.

⁵¹ *P. Giss.* 27 = *CPJ* 439. "His" victory implies that Apollonios held some kind of command but not necessarily over the whole force. For local militias see the next note.

⁵² *P. Oxy.* 705 = *CPJ* 450, lines 31-5. *P. Baden* 36 = *CPJ* 440, lines 10-12, may be another reference to local support for the Roman army.

deprived Trajan's army in Parthia of one of his ablest generals, and this gives the measure of the gravity of the situation when the revolt was at its height. For the revolt not only endangered the economic value of the wealthy province of Egypt, one of Rome's chief granaries, but also constituted a serious threat to Trajan's vital communication route by sea via Alexandria to Italy. Turbo was apparently not tied to a command in either Cyrenaica or Egypt⁵³ but had overriding military authority in both provinces. His command probably covered the rebellion in Cyprus also, since he was given a joint land and naval force,⁵⁴ and here his previous naval experience as prefect of the fleet at Misenum in 114 will have been valuable.⁵⁵

All that is recorded of Turbo's campaigns is Eusebius' bald statement that the reduction of the rebels was a stiff challenge, involving many battles and taking a long time. Other evidence is scanty in the extreme.⁵⁶ The reference to the death of a *praefectus castrorum* during "the Jewish war in Cyrenaica"⁵⁷ must concern Turbo's operations, as that province had no regular legionary establishment, but is wholly uninformative. The high proportion of Trajanic coins among the Roman silver found at Ptolemais may mean that part of the Roman force was quartered there at one time. Turbo's campaigns in Egypt figure in a garbled form in a Jewish legend: Trajan's wife gave birth to a child on 9 Ab, the anniversary of the destruction of the Temple;

⁵³ Turbo has been claimed as prefect of Egypt for the first seven months or so of 117, between Lupus (last attested on 5 January 117—*BGU* 114) and Q. Rammius Martialis (first attested between 11 and 28 August 117—*P. Oxy.* 1023), on the strength of the cursus-inscription of a near-homonym of which one post was supplemented as *praef. Aeg.*; see L. Leschi in *CRAI* 1945, 144-62; Stein, *Präfecten*, 58-61; cf. Fuks, commentary on *CPJ* 438. Not only is the beginning of 117 probably too late for the start of Turbo's campaigns, which were over by Trajan's death (below, p. 404), but both the supplement and the attribution of the inscription to Trajan's general have been effectively exploded by R. Syme in *JRS* lii (1962), 87-96; cf. Pflaum, *Carrières*, no. 94.

⁵⁴ Eus., *HE* iv, 2, 3 σὺν δυνάμει πεζῇ τε καὶ ναυτικῇ.

⁵⁵ *CIL* XVI, 60; E. Frézouls in *Syria* xxx (1953), 247-78.

⁵⁶ The dispatch of a detachment drawn from III Cyrenaica and XXII Deiotariana jointly to Cyrenaica on a recruiting drive (undated, but before 127) probably belongs to the preparations for Trajan's Parthian war. If, however, it concerns Turbo's campaigns against the Jews, he must have brought part of III Cyrenaica back with him, and the military tribune whose epitaph in Cyrene (published by E. Birley, *Roman Britain and the Roman Army* (1953), 23-4) records it may have met his death at the rebels' hands. S. Applebaum's interpretation of *Orac. Sib.* v, 200-5 as meaning that III Gallica and cohorts of Britons were included in Turbo's force is hypothetical—in *JJS* ii (1950-1), 29-30.

⁵⁷ Artemidorus Daldianus, *Oneir.* iv, 24.

when the child died at the festival of Hanukkah, she took the Jews' mourning at the time of his birth and rejoicing at the time of his death as evidence of a revolt; at her instigation Trajan accordingly abandoned his operations against the barbarians, sailed against the rebels, and conducted a massacre on such a scale that the blood of the slain stained the sea as far as Cyprus. Two versions of the legend make the episode the Jews' punishment for disregarding a Biblical warning "not to return to Egypt", and one of these is preceded by a description of the great synagogue in Alexandria, destroyed by "Trajan". With these clear indications of a connection with Egypt, the legend makes coherent sense as a picturesque account of Turbo's operations there, with Trajan's name substituted for his, but it adds nothing of military significance.⁵⁸

Turbo's campaigns probably lasted about a year, and by the time of Trajan's death in August 117 peace was largely restored in both provinces and only the final mopping-up operations remained.⁵⁹ For one of Hadrian's first actions as emperor was to send him to quell a rising in Mauretania, which presupposes that Jewish resistance in Egypt and Cyrenaica had by then largely collapsed.⁶⁰ Papyri bear this out. Things were quiet enough for Aline to return home to Heptacomias at the end of June 117, though nearly a month later Apollonios was still away, and Eudaimonis declares petulently in a letter to her daughter "I tell you, I have no intention of bothering about religion till I get my son back."⁶¹ Apollonios did in fact return safely, and in the autumn of 117 he applied to the new prefect, Q. Rammius Martialis, for sixty days' leave, because "not only have my affairs been completely neglected because of my long absence, but also practically all my property in both the villages and the metropolis of Hermoupolis needs my attention because of the attack of the

⁵⁸ Midr. *Esther R.* proem 3; *Lament. R.* i, 16, § 45; iv, 19, § 22; JT *Sukk.* v, 1 (Schwab VI, 42-3). (BJ *Sukk.* 51b tells the same story of Alexander the Great.) Cf. the present writer in *Hist.* xi (1962), 503-4. R. Loewe draws a parallel between this legend and the *Acta Hermaisci*, in *JJS* xii (1961), 105-22. J. Schwartz thinks that it originally concerned Faustina II and the revolt of Avidius Cassius in 175—in *Hist.-Aug.-Colloqu.*, Bonn 1963 (1964), 135 ff.

⁵⁹ SHA, *Hadr.* 5, 2 (at Hadrian's accession) . . . *Aegyptus seditionibus urgebatur, Libya denique ac Palaestina rebelles animos efferebant*, seems to be exaggerated.

⁶⁰ SHA, *Hadr.* 5, 8; cf. 5, 5 *sub primis imperii diebus*. For the very early date see Turbo's post in Dacia and Pannonia, also in Hadrian's first year—*ibid.* 6, 7.

⁶¹ *P. Brem.* 63 = *CPJ* 442, lines 25-8. The letter is dated 16 July, and the year, not given, must be in 117, since Apollonios was home by the autumn (below). Line 6 gives Aline's return, clearly in the previous month.

impious Jews. If you grant my request, I shall be able to attend to the duties of my office as strategos with an easier mind after putting my affairs in order as best I can." But the prefect evidently had more pressing matters on his mind, for he omitted to answer the strategos' application and at the end of November Apollonios had to jog his memory.⁶²

At least some Jews who survived the war had their property confiscated. An undated letter from the strategos of Heracleopolis to the strategos of Oxyrhynchus encloses two copies of a "schedule of property formerly owned by the Jews", one to be kept by his correspondent and the other to be forwarded to the strategos of Cynopolis, presumably to provide a pattern for similar confiscations in their nomes.⁶³ A papyrus of 130 concerning leases of state-owned land in the nome of Athribis refers to the property "of Jews who have been killed and Greeks without heirs." The property of the latter fell to the Roman treasury as *bona caduca*. Apparently that of rebel Jews was similarly treated, with the absence of the qualification "without heirs" in their case implying that it was seized as a punishment even if heirs survived.⁶⁴

If gentile loss of life was heavy in the early stages of the revolt, so was Jewish in the later. Eusebius' "myriads" killed by Turbo may not be a wild exaggeration. In Apollinopolis Magna the series of receipts for the Jewish tax is not resumed after the suppression of the revolt, which suggests the virtual annihilation of the community there. Only one post-Trajanic papyrus refers to the tax elsewhere, a tax-list of the mid-second century giving the amounts collected for various taxes in the village of Karanis in the Arsinoite nome; these include a sum of over six talents for the *laographia*, and nine drachmae, two obols for the Jewish tax, the amount payable by each individual. There was thus only one Jew then resident in a village which can be estim-

⁶² *P. Giss.* 41 = *CPJ* 443, Apollonios' second letter, with the date 28 November and Hadrian's name preserved but not the year. A copy of the first application, undated, is appended. As *P. Brem.* 15 = *CPJ* 446 shows rebuilding in progress on one of Apollonios' estates in August 118, presumably as a result of leave having been granted, the letters to Martialis, whose name can be restored with certainty (cf. above, p. 403, n. 53), belong to 117.

⁶³ *P. Oxy.* 1189 = *CPJ* 445, incidentally providing evidence for hostilities in the three nomes mentioned. Gentile ownership of property in the "Jewish street" of Hermoupolis a century or so later may be the result of confiscations in 117—*CPJ* 468.

⁶⁴ *P. Oxy.* 500 = *CPJ* 448, with Fuks' convincing explanation of the treatment of Jewish land.

ated from the known rate of the *laographia* to have had a population of over a thousand adult men.⁶⁵ Admittedly, there is no evidence that Karanis had had a Jewish population before 115, but whether it had or not, the presence of one solitary member of a normally gregarious race in a large village is significant. The absence of even restlessness in Egypt during the revolt of Bar Cochba may also suggest reduced numbers, lacking in hope or energy, though it could be attributed to a prudent recollection of events only fifteen years earlier. But the much reduced volume of Jewish papyri after Trajan's reign⁶⁶ bears eloquent witness to the fact that the Jewish community in Egypt, though not wiped out, never recovered from its severe losses or regained its position as an important element in the population of the province.

Despite the Jews' defeat, the perennial racial tension in Alexandria persisted for at least a short time after the revolt. The longest extant chapter of the "Acts of the Alexandrian Martyrs", the *Acta Pauli et Antonini*, describes the hearing of Jewish and Greek deputations, the latter led by Paulus and Antoninus (otherwise unknown), by Hadrian probably in 119.⁶⁷ It is worthy of note that the Jews' *politeuma* had apparently survived their military defeat, since they were still sufficiently well organized to send an embassy, and also that the prefect allowed them to be represented despite their recent bad record and that Hadrian was willing to hear their point of view. Not only was a

⁶⁵ *CPJ* 460, dated the 9th year but without the emperor's name. On palaeographical grounds he may be Antoninus Pius (giving 145-6) or M. Aurelius (giving 167-8), with a slight preference for the former.

⁶⁶ *CPJ* has some 50 documents of the period 117-337, as against nearly 450 for the Hellenistic and Roman periods to A.D. 117.

⁶⁷ *AA* ix = *CPJ* 158. Text A (*P. Par.* 68 + *P. Lond.* 1 = vol. I, pp. 229-30) consists of parts of eight columns, three on each of the two sides of one papyrus and one on each side of another fragment, apparently of the same roll. One and a half columns of the larger papyrus are almost completely preserved, but the rest are so fragmentary that it is not even certain at which end of the larger piece the smaller belongs. Text B (*BGU* 341) is part of a shorter account, and provides a few supplements for A. Neither the place of the hearing nor the emperor's name is preserved, but the latter is now agreed to be Hadrian. Despite many obscurities of detail, it is clear that episodes both during and after the Jewish revolt are under discussion. There are references to (M. Rutilius) Lupus—col. I, 5; IV, 3; to a Dacian war which is more probably Hadrian's early campaign against the Roxolani than Trajan's wars—col. I, 13; and to Lupus' successor, Q. Rammius Martialis (above, p. 403, n. 53)—col. V, 3, with the generally accepted supplement. Martialis is last attested in August, 119 (*FIRA* I, 78) but may have stayed longer; his successor is only known to have been in office by October 120; see Stein, *Präfecten*, 61-3. The hearing can therefore reasonably be dated c. 119.

problem which had arisen in Alexandria while order was being restored after the revolt referred to the emperor for settlement, but the whole series of disturbances from 115 seems to have been rehearsed before him, with their evitable charges and counter-charges of responsibility. The dilapidated state of the papyri makes any attempt at interpretation precarious, but a conjectural reconstruction of events can be offered, and it is noticeable that the general tone of the fragment is more serious than that of other chapters, and that the Greek speakers, though occasionally vehement, are never rude to the emperor.

One of the matters in question concerned a "stage and pantomine king", and during the hearing Paulus has an edict of Lupus read out instructing the Greeks(?) to produce this character "for him to make fun of." The emperor's reaction is illegible, but the explanation of this intriguing scrap may be that the Greeks had staged a theatrical farce ridiculing the messianic aspirations of the Jewish rebels (the Carabas episode in 38 would provide a parallel), that the Jewish envoys had complained about the insult to Hadrian, and that the Greeks were trying to exonerate themselves by accusing the prefect of having officially ordered the performance. But such an action by a Roman official is highly improbable, and the edict may be a fabrication by the author of the *Acta*.⁶⁸

A more serious matter laid before the emperor concerned an outbreak of violence in Alexandria and the punishment of its authors. The trouble was probably that which had called for Lupus' edict of October 115, since Greeks are again responsible, using slaves as their agents, and the papyrus here seems to give the sequel to that edict. The disturbances, it now appears, had involved the illegal release and beating-up of some prisoners, an act of which the Jews and the Greeks each accused the others. Sixty Greeks ⁶⁹ had been found guilty, perhaps by Trajan's special commissioner to whose arrival the edict looks forward, and had been exiled(?), while their

⁶⁸ Col. I. The "king" is unlikely to have been Lucius himself. If captured in Egypt (but see below, p. 426, for his possible escape to Palestine), he will have been a prisoner of Rome, not available for Greek mockery. The further reference to the "king" in col. IV, 11-12 is too fragmentary to help in the interpretation. The reference to the Dacian war in Hadrian's reply (line 13) may mean a temporal connection with the farce, putting it after his accession, but this is uncertain, and if - - - ἔχειν τὸ θεᾶντρον in Lupus' edict (*CPJ* 435, col. II, 24) concerns the same episode, it happened before October 115.

⁶⁹ Col. I, 16 ; text B, line 7.

slaves, instead of receiving protection from their masters, had been handed over to justice and beheaded.⁷⁰ The affair had dragged on until after Hadrian's accession, when Martialis issued an edict on the subject, the purport of which has disappeared in gaps in the papyrus.⁷¹ The matter was then referred to Hadrian, presumably in the hope of getting an amnesty for the exiled Greeks on the grounds that they had been punished over-severely. The papyrus gives the impression that the Jews, though involved in the incident, were found innocent and got off scotfree; but imperial philo-Semitism is a theme of the *genre*.

The final matter, historically the most interesting, discussed before Hadrian was one of the measures of reconstruction undertaken by Martialis after the end of the revolt. The section of the papyrus dealing with it is almost perfectly preserved, and opens with an emotional outburst by Paulus to the effect that he has only one more day to live and therefore will not hesitate to speak the truth. (The point of this escapes us; Hadrian's sentence on the two Greeks has not yet been pronounced, and Paulus is in fact to be acquitted.) At that Antoninus interrupts to assure Hadrian of Paulus' veracity but then takes the complaint out of his friend's mouth: "When we were in danger(?), many letters were sent to you saying that (the prefect) had given instructions for the impious Jews to change their residence to a place from which they could without difficulty attack our illustrious city and make war on it; but not a single letter on this subject reached your beneficent hands, as is clear from your august words. It is obvious that this was an action directed against you, to prevent your having any evidence of our sufferings."⁷² Hadrian's reaction to this tirade and the implied accusation that Martialis had suppressed the Greeks' correspondence is to dismiss Paulus and send Antoninus to be tortured, possibly to see whether he maintains his charge against Martialis.⁷³

The verb used of the Jews' change of residence appears to mean "to settle opposite" or "to live by the side of",⁷⁴ which suggests that

⁷⁰ Col. II-III, 15 (with the supplement ἐδε[ι ἐκβλη]θῆναι ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρε[ίας in III, 3-4); text B, lines 3-15.

⁷¹ Col. III, 21-2, where "my prefect" in Hadrian's mouth can only be Martialis.

⁷² Col. VI, with διέταξ' (lines 13-14) implying an edict, from the context clearly issued by the current prefect.

⁷³ Col. VI, 28—VII, 8. On the torture see Musurillo, *AA*, 193.

⁷⁴ προσκατοικεῖν, a *hapax legomenon*.

their new quarters were not to be a confined ghetto or even the former "Jewish districts" within the city, but a settlement just outside it, a compact and well defined area which the Greeks feared could readily become a base for mass attacks on the city. A possible explanation of this strange measure, which caused understandable disquiet among the Greeks after their recent experiences of Jewish pugnacity, is that Martialis had to find homes for Jewish refugees from other parts of Egypt, but could not house them within Alexandria itself because, unlike the Alexandrian Jews, they were aliens without the right of domicile in the city.⁷⁵ The papyrus in its present fragmentary state preserves no connection between the question of Jewish residence and the other matters laid before Hadrian, but it is possible that the final round of disturbances occurred under Martialis, with the Greeks protesting against the new Jewish settlement and the Jews perhaps taking up the cudgels in support of the prefect and their new home.⁷⁶ Greek fears, however, of Jewish aggression seem to have been unfounded. No further clashes are recorded, and the Jewish community in Alexandria now sinks into historical oblivion for a century.⁷⁷

Egypt is singularly barren of evidence for the repair of damage done by the Jews during the revolt. Eusebius makes the bald statement that Hadrian "restored Alexandria at public expense", but the only recorded repair is that of Pompey's tomb in the sanctuary of Nemesis, which he rebuilt on his visit to Egypt in 130.⁷⁸

For Cyrenaica, however, where, as in Egypt, the suppression of the revolt was substantially complete by the summer of 117, there is abundant evidence. It was Trajan who began work on the economic

⁷⁵ Tcherikover's attractive and plausible conjecture, *CPJ*, note *ad loc.*

⁷⁶ The Jewish *Orac. Sib.* v, 46-50 speaks of Hadrian with warmth as παν-
 ἄριστος καὶ πανέξοχος. The main body of the poem, lines 52-531, apparently em-
 bodying elements of varying date, was compiled in Egypt, probably not long
 after 70 and in any case before Bar Cochba's revolt, to which it makes no
 reference. The preamble, giving a summary of world history to the Antonines
 and contrasting cheerfully with the gloom which follows, was added later. See
 J. Geffcken, *Komposition und Entstehungszeit der Oracula Sibyllina* (1902), 22-30 ;
 cf. Lanchester in *APOT* II, 373-4. The reference to Hadrian's "scions" (50)
 suggests that the preamble was written when he still had hope of children.
 He was forty-one at his accession, but Sabina, whom he married when he was
 twenty-four, may well have been up to six or seven years younger. Possibly
 this encomium reflects Jewish gratitude to Hadrian for the re-establishment of
 their community in Alexandria after the revolt. On *Orac. Sib.* xii, 163-75 see
 below, p. 464, n. 142.

⁷⁷ See below, pp. 516-17. On the forged letter of Hadrian in *SHA, Firm.,*
Sat., Prob., Bon. 8 referring to the Jews in Alexandria see below, pp. 512, 519.

⁷⁸ *Chron.*, quoted above, p. 399, n. 30 ; Dio lxix, 11, 1.

rehabilitation of the province, and the repair of some of the buildings damaged or destroyed was finished so early in Hadrian's reign that it was probably begun under Trajan. The restoration of communications between Cyrene and the coast was vital, and milestones record the rebuilding of the road to Apollonia by the army in 118 or 119.⁷⁹ In the centre of Cyrene an extensive programme of work was undertaken, starting with the essentials of civic life. The baths were reopened in 119.⁸⁰ Part of the Caesareum was repaired as early as 118, though the rebuilding of the basilica which formed the north east side of the complex was not completed until 119 or later.⁸¹ The restoration of temples was put in hand, and two at least were rededicated during Hadrian's reign, though at unknown dates.⁸² In 138 a magnificent statue of Zeus was set up in a temple which may have been the Capitulum, with a dedication to Hadrian as "saviour and founder" of the city which he had "beautified with statues".⁸³ Some of the undated rebuilding of other temples may also be Hadrianic, but his reign did not see the completion of all the repairs needed in the city, and work on the temples of Apollo and Zeus continued until the time of Marcus Aurelius.⁸⁴

In the long term the depopulation of the province which Orosius

⁷⁹ *SEG* IX, 252, a milestone some five miles from Cyrene, giving Hadrian the inconsistent titles *tr. p. II* (118) *cos. III* (119). On another, near the north gate of Cyrene where the road entered the city, *t. p. II* survives but not the consular number; see R. G. Goodchild in *PBSR* xviii (1950), 86-8.

⁸⁰ (Hadrian) *trib. potest. III cos. III balineum cum porticibus et sphaeristeris ceterisque adiacentibus quae tumultu Iudaico diruta et exusta erant civitati Cyrenensium restitui iussit*; see G. Oliverio in *Africa Ital.* i (1927-8), 321-4.

⁸¹ *SEG* XVII, 804, recording the rebuilding of [*Caesareu*]m *tumul[itu Iudaic]o dirutum et e[xustum]*, and 808. Both are dated by Hadrian's second tribunician power. The basilica inscription with [*cos. I*]II but lacking the tribunician number could be of any year from 119; see J. M. Reynolds in *PBSR* xxvi (1958), 163.

⁸² The temple of Hecate—*SEG* IX, 168, with *tr. pot. III cos. III* suggested for the lost date. *SEG* IX, 171, Hadrianic but without precise date, is believed to belong to the temple of Artemis, but the attribution is not certain; the Jewish revolt, though not mentioned, can be assumed to have occasioned the damage.

⁸³ *SEG* IX, 136. On the statue and the temple in which it stood see F. Chamoux in *Bull. Corresp. Hell.* lxx (1946), 69-72 and Pl. IV.

⁸⁴ The temple of Apollo—*SEG* IX, 172-3, 175, 189 (mentioning destruction in war). The temple of Zeus—*SEG* XVII, 800, honouring M. Aurelius and recording that the temple had been thrown down τοῖς Ἰουδαίκοις παραχρῆς . . .]. The restoration of the temple of Isis under M. Aurelius may indicate damage by the Jews, though this is not mentioned in *SEG* IX, 174. The Cyrene inscription of 135 (below, n. 90), lines 31-5, *may* indicate that the ephebic gymnasium had been destroyed and was not yet rebuilt, but this is highly conjectural.

mentions,⁸⁵ serious even if Dio's high figure of two hundred and twenty thousand gentile casualties is discounted, was a more important and far-reaching problem than the repair of buildings. The credit for making a start with measures to re-populate the semi-deserted areas of the country belongs to Trajan, who sent three thousand veterans under a prefect of XV Apollinaris (a legion used in the Parthian war) to colonize Cyrenaica. They may have been settled at Teuchira, which, like Cyrene, became a colony at some point, has a grid street-plan of colonial appearance, and is of approximately the same size as Aosta, which was planned for three thousand veterans.⁸⁶ But Trajan can have initiated rehabilitation schemes only in the last days of his life, and the main task fell on Hadrian.⁸⁷ The sole certainly Hadrianic city foundation is Hadrianopolis (now Driana) on the coast between Berenice and Teuchira.⁸⁸ There is no evidence for its date, but the problem of the re-population of the province was not one which could be solved in a day and the major part of Hadrian's work may have been done in 129. An inscription honouring him as the "colonizer and benefactor" of Apollonia, which probably commemorates additions to the population of the city, is dated by his title Olympius to 129 or later,⁸⁹ and a dedication to him as "founder and sustainer" by Cyrene, dated to 129 precisely, may record similar help there in that year.⁹⁰ Hadrian's efforts eventually succeeded and

⁸⁵ Oros. vii, 12, 6 (Libya; here, as frequently, for Cyrenaica) *adeo tunc interfectis cultoribus desolata est ut, nisi postea Hadrianus imperator collectas illuc aliunde colonias deduxisset, vacua penitus terra abraso habitatore mansisset.*

⁸⁶ SEG XVII, 584, honouring L. Gavius Fronto, . . . ἐγχειρισθέντα ὑπὸ θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ τρισχιλίους οὐτρανοὺς λεγεωναρίους εἰς τὸ κατοικίσαι Κυρήνην. Though there is neither date nor reference to the Jewish revolt, the occasion is not in doubt. For Teuchira, which appears with Cyrene as a colony on the *Tabula Peutingerensis*, see S. Applebaum in JJS ii (1950-1), 181-2. Cf. CIL III, 6, the epitaph of a veteran of (apparently) XV Apollinaris at Teuchira.

⁸⁷ Cf. Oros., *l.c.*; Eus., *Chron. Hadr. V Hadrianus in Libyam quae a Iudaeis vastata fuerat colonias deducit*. Sync., *Chron. I*, 659 ἀποικίαν ἐς Λιβύην ἐρημωθεῖσαν Ἀδριανὸς ἐπεμψεν.

⁸⁸ There may have been others: "Ptolemy iv, 7 records two towns . . . called respectively Neapolis and Kainopolis. This peculiar doublet must indicate simultaneous foundation . . . dating from the restoration work after 117"—Applebaum, *op. cit.*, 183.

⁸⁹ IG II², 3306, with οἰκιστὴν καὶ εὐεργέτην.

⁹⁰ SEG XVII, 809, with κτιστὴν καὶ τρόφιαν. . . (an unexplained term), κτιστῇ in 138 (above, p. 410). An incomplete inscription from Cyrene gives a number of letters or excerpts from letters of Hadrian, under the general date 135, concerning the status of the city, which now becomes a metropolis; the advancement of the city is indirect evidence of the progress of material

in the course of the second century the province recovered its economic prosperity. The title *restitutor Libyae* would seem to have been well merited by Hadrian, but strangely it is not certain that Libya was included in his *restitutor* coin-series.⁹¹

For the Jewish communities in Cyrenaica the picture resembles that in Egypt. Evidence for them is largely lacking after the revolt, and such silence is as eloquent in Cyrenaica as in the neighbouring province for their decline into insignificance after the end of Trajan's reign.⁹²

Cyprus

In the revolt of 115-17 the Jews of Cyprus made their sole, and fatal, incursion into recorded political history. Nothing is known of the occasion or date of the earliest Jewish settlement on the island, but there was a community of significant size there by the mid-second century B.C.,⁹³ and when Herod the Great obtained the concession of half the Cypriot copper-mines from Augustus in 12 B.C., the commercial prospects thus opened up will have encouraged Jewish immigration.⁹⁴ Philo includes Cyprus among the places "full of Jewish colonies"; the apocryphal *Acts of Barnabas* imply a large Jewish community in the mid-first century; Cypriot Jews are mentioned several times in the *Acts of the Apostles*, and in the capital Salamis they were numerous enough to constitute several synagogues.⁹⁵ In none of the references to the Cypriot Jews during the first century A.D. is there any hint of friction at any time between them and the Greeks

reconstruction. (A revision of the text given by P. M. Fraser in *JRS* xl (1950), 77-87, is to be published with additional fragments by Miss J. M. Reynolds of Cambridge University, to whose courtesy I owe this information.)

⁹¹ The sole *restitutori Libyae* coin recorded is "exceedingly doubtful"—*BMC, Imp.* III, 524. For the general economic recovery of the province see J. M. Reynolds in *Proc. Cambr. Philol. Soc.*² v (1958-9), 26-8.

⁹² Rabbinic literature ignores Cyrenaica; so M. Mieses in *REJ* xcii (1932), 129.

⁹³ *AJ* xiii, 284-7; cf. above, p. 8 on the Roman letter to Cyprus—I *Macc.* xv, 16-23.

⁹⁴ Above, p. 90. *AJ* xvii, 335 and *BJ* ii, 108 may indicate the presence of Herodian supporters on Cyprus. Trade in the first century A.D. (*AJ* xx, 51) may have been facilitated by Jewish settlement on the island.

⁹⁵ *Leg.* 282; *Acta Barnabae* (in *Acta Apost. Apocr.*, ed. R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, II ii (1903)) *passim*; *Acts* iv, 36; xi, 19-20; xiii, 5 (Salamis), 6 (Paphos); xxi, 16; cf. references in *AJ* xviii, 131; xx, 142. Archaeological evidence is virtually nil; see *CIJ* 737, an engraved gem, believed to be "very old". On the Jews in Cyprus in general in the Roman period see A. Reifenberg in *J. Pal. Orient. Soc.* xii (1932), 209-13.

of the island, and Josephus does not mention any anti-Roman agitation there after 70 comparable with the trouble in Egypt and Cyrenaica.⁹⁶ The rising under Trajan appears to come out of the blue, without prelude or reason. But cause and motive there must have been, even if wrapped in deeper obscurity than the discontent and frustration lying behind the other contemporary risings. It is probably not mere chance that makes all the historians put the Cypriot revolt after those in N. Africa. The infectious example of the initially successful messianic movement there may have been sufficient to inspire the Jews in Cyprus, already restless for reasons unrecorded, to try their luck and throw their weight into the scale against Rome.

Eusebius ignores the Cypriot revolt in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, a surprising omission in view of Dio's picture of its ferocity. The latter, after describing the Jewish atrocities in Cyrenaica, continues "in Egypt (the Jews) did many similar things, and also in Cyprus under the leadership of a certain Artemion. Two hundred and forty thousand people were killed there. In consequence no Jew is allowed to land on the island, and even Jews shipwrecked there are put to death."⁹⁷ Even if the figure for gentile casualties, like that for Cyrenaica, is unconvincingly high, it is evidence for the size of the community which made the attack, while the severity of the Jews' punishment, unparalleled except for their later exclusion from the city built on the site of Jerusalem in 135, is a measure of the savagery of their attack and of the hatred and fear which it engendered.

Orosius and Eusebius' *Chronicle* give one piece of specific information: the Jews massacred the inhabitants of Salamis and destroyed the city.⁹⁸ But definite archaeological evidence for damage or repairs is lacking. The gymnasium has a Trajanic building-period or restoration;⁹⁹ but it cannot be tied to the revolt; restoration work in the agora in the early second century A.D. may belong to the reign of Trajan or Hadrian, though there is no certainty that it had been

⁹⁶ Coins of the revolt of 66-70 in the Cyprus Museum were probably found on the island and may have been brought by refugees in 70 whose hopes of stirring up trouble were not realized; cf. Reifenberg, *op. cit.*, 213.

⁹⁷ Dio lxxviii, 32, 2-3.

⁹⁸ Eus., *Chron.* Traj. XIX; Oros. vii, 12, 8. Both follow references to the revolts in Cyrenaica and in Mesopotamia (below). Little intrinsic value attaches to Eusebius' date 116-17, though credible, since the *Chronicle* splits history into tidy sections, one per annum.

⁹⁹ O. Vessberg and A. Westholm, *Swedish Cyprus Expedition* IV, iii (1956), 243.

necessitated by the Jewish revolt;¹⁰⁰ and a dedication by Salamis to Hadrian as "saviour" may commemorate reconstruction work, though it makes no reference to the revolt.¹⁰¹ Similar inscriptions in Hadrian's honour from Lapethos and Carpasia may mean that those towns also suffered at the Jews' hands and were restored by Hadrian.¹⁰² But these dedications could equally well, like numerous others from the eastern provinces, be no more than expressions of gratitude for general imperial beneficence. At Soli, however, the site of the copper-mines, where a large Jewish population is probable, the dedication of a statue to Trajan between September 115 and his death suggests that he had inaugurated the repair of damage done by the Jews.¹⁰³

The only certain piece of information for the suppression of the revolt (the sole recorded military operation in the history of Roman Cyprus), which the Soli inscription shows was complete before Trajan's death, is the epitaph of a military tribune of VII Claudia who had been sent by Trajan from the Parthian war with a detachment of that legion "to Cyprus on a campaign" in 116 or 117.¹⁰⁴ A dedication made near Salamis by an auxiliary cohort normally stationed in Pannonia may mean that it also took part in the suppression of the revolt.¹⁰⁵ There is nothing to show whether a centurion buried near Paphos had settled in Cyprus as a veteran or been killed in action with the rebels, and his unit is not given.¹⁰⁶ Turbo's naval force was probably used against the Cypriot Jews, but there is no evidence for it. The Jewish legend which speaks of the blood of rebel Jews slain by Trajan staining the sea as far as Cyprus, though probably relating to Turbo's suppression of the rebels in N. Africa, may owe that particular exaggeration to accounts of Roman massacres on the island.

The effects of the revolt were serious for both sides. Even if Dio's

¹⁰⁰ H. A. Tubbs in *J. Hell. Stud.* xii (1891), 80-1.

¹⁰¹ *IGRR* III, 989, revised by T. B. Mitford in *Amer. J. Arch.* lxx (1961), 125.

¹⁰² *IGRR* III, 934 (Lapethos), with Hadrian's assumption of Trajan's titles Optimus Germanicus Dacicus Parthicus suggesting the first year or so of his reign (cf. *BMC, Imp.* III, 236-8, 244-5, 397-9). Mitford, *op. cit.*, 123-5 (Carpasia), dated 128 or later by *πατέρα πατρίδος*.

¹⁰³ T. B. Mitford in *Opuscula Archaeol.* vi (1950), 32-3, no. 16, dated to Trajan's 20th year, from September 116 by local reckoning. The formula indicates a statue and *[τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὸ ἔλγα(λ)μα]* is tentatively restored.

¹⁰⁴ *ILS* 9491. The inclusion of Parthicus among Trajan's titles seems to give February 116 as *terminus post quem*. But this is not entirely secure, since the stone-cutter, working after Trajan's death, may have anticipated his final titles.

¹⁰⁵ *Cohors VII Breucorum c. R. equitata—CIL* III, 215, revised by Mitford in *Op. Arch.*, vi, 55-6.

¹⁰⁶ Mitford, *ibid.*, 54, no. 29.

high figure for gentile losses is suspect, the depletion of the population appears in the meagreness of the archaeological evidence for the Hadrianic period on the island; inscriptions are few, and the coinage was interrupted during his reign.¹⁰⁷ Dio's use of the present tense in speaking of the exclusion of the Jews from the island shows that it was still in force a century after the revolt. It may have been repealed, or at least ignored, later. There is slight evidence for the presence of Jews on the island from the third century, but not enough to indicate resettlement on any large scale.¹⁰⁸

Mesopotamia

Trajan's eastern conquests brought Rome for the first time into contact with the oldest, and possibly the largest, section of the Diaspora, the Jews of Babylonia and Mesopotamia, Adiabene and Armenia.¹⁰⁹ Evidence from the Roman period (to go no further back) testifies both to their importance and numbers and to the existence of anti-Semitic feeling.

The Babylonian Jew Zamaris who emigrated to Syria and then to Batanaea during Augustus' reign with a retinue of five hundred cavalry was clearly a man of wealth and consequence, high in the Parthian feudal structure.¹¹⁰ A generation later, when two Jewish brothers, Anileus and Asineus, established a semi-independent chieftaincy over the Jews of the district of Nehardea in Babylonia (north west of Ctesiphon) and maintained it by force of arms, Artabanus III recognized their *de facto* rule as a bid to conciliate them and then to use them to bolster up his own somewhat insecure position against his subjects, on whose loyalty he could not rely. The brothers controlled the area as the king's viceroys for fifteen years (c. 20-35), but after the collapse of their power local jealousy of Jewish prominence erupted into an attack. Some Jews found temporary refuge in Seleuceia by offering their support to the Syrian section of the population in their perennial feud with the Greek. But within a few

¹⁰⁷ See Vessberg and Westholm, *op. cit.*, 240.

¹⁰⁸ The only two certain Jewish inscriptions yet found in Cyprus are undated but are attributed, one to the third, the other to the fourth century—*CIF* 735-6. Cf. Reifenberg, *op. cit.*, 211-13, on these texts and also on two lamps and a glass medallion of late Roman date showing the Menorah. Trade with Palestine, however, seems to have continued after 117—*JT Demai* ii, 1 (Schwab II, 138); cf. Reifenberg, *op. cit.*, 213 ff.

¹⁰⁹ For a detailed study see Neusner, *JB* I.

¹¹⁰ See above, pp. 98, 360. Cf. Neusner, *JB* I, 38-40 (I², 41-4).

years common hostility towards the Jews proved stronger than mutual hostility towards each other, and the Syrians joined forces with the Greeks to massacre many of their recent allies. To escape the general outburst of anti-Semitism which followed, the Jews concentrated again in their strongholds in the Nehardea area, which was still one of the most important Jewish centres in Babylonia at the end of the first century.¹¹¹

In Mesopotamia the large city of Nisibis had a considerable Jewish population. It was the centre for the collection and transmission of the Temple tax from Jews in the northern Parthian domains, as Nehardea was for those in the south,¹¹² and boasted a rabbinical school before 70; Rabbi Judah ben Bathyra, active there both before and after the destruction of Jerusalem, is the earliest known rabbi of any eminence to have resided outside Palestine.¹¹³ Artabanus transferred Nisibis to the vassal kingdom of Adiabene c. 36, in recognition of the support given to him by the king Izates against a pretender. Jews were numerous and influential there, and Izates while still crown prince and his mother, queen Helena, had been converted to Judaism independently but more or less simultaneously. In Izates' case the proselytizer had been a Jewish merchant, which suggests an effort to secure royal patronage for Jewish commercial interests. Izates' half-brother Monobazus and other members of the family later followed their lead. In taking this drastic step they acted in the teeth of anti-Semitic opposition from their gentile subjects, who resented the idea of "being ruled by a Jew" and at one point tried to get the

¹¹¹ *AJ* xviii, 310-79; on the story cf. Neusner, *JB* I, 51-8 (I², 53-60). For a literary study of this story and that of the Adiabenean royal family see A. Schalit in *Ann. Swedish Theol. Inst.* iv (1965), 163-88. Babylonia is singled out among the Parthian satrapies, all of which had Jewish inhabitants, in *Leg.* 216 and 282. R. Akiba's visit to Nehardea to fix the Leap Year (*Mish. Yeb.* xvi, 7; *BT Yeb.* 115a; *Ber.* 63a), dated by Neusner, *JB* I, 49 (I², 52), to between 80 and 100, presupposes an important centre of Judaism.

¹¹² *AJ* xviii, 311-12. Nisibis is here described as situated on the Euphrates near Nehardea, i.e. in Babylonia; cf. § 379. The only known Nisibis was in northern Mesopotamia, on the Mygdonius; cf. *AJ* xx, 68. There may have been an otherwise unattested Nisibis in the south. But since the two collecting-points were surely places far apart, it is more likely that Josephus, who describes the brothers' chieftaincy as "Mesopotamia" (§ 339), is making a confused reference to the Mesopotamian city, the obvious collection-centre for Jews in that area and Adiabene. Cf. Neusner, *JB* I, 44 (I², 47).

¹¹³ *BT Pes.* 3b; *Kidd.* 10b; *Yeb.* 102a; *JT Yeb.* xii, 1 (Schwab VII, 169); *Ket.* v, 4; *Ned.* vi, 8 (Schwab VIII, 72, 207). For discussion and other references see Neusner, *JB* I, 43-9 (I², 46-52).

Parthian king to dethrone Izates for his religious beliefs.¹¹⁴ The royal family made a point of keeping in close touch with Jerusalem and securing the favour of the Palestinian Jews. Helena as dowager queen made one recorded pilgrimage to Jerusalem during Claudius' reign, when she and Izates organized famine-relief measures, and the family probably visited the city regularly, since she and Monobazus both had palaces there, and both gave lavish gifts to the Temple;¹¹⁵ Izates and his mother were buried just outside the walls of Jerusalem;¹¹⁶ and younger members of the family provided the only recorded help which Palestine received from the Diaspora in 66-70.¹¹⁷ But political motives as well as religious conviction may have lain behind the royal family's conversion. With Parthia weak and divided, they may have aspired to a position of leadership in the East, for which the favour of the large Jewish minorities in Parthia, not to mention the Palestinian Jews, would be valuable.

There had been Jews in Armenia at least from the mid-first century B.C., and two Herodian princes had occupied the throne of Greater Armenia in the first century A.D.—Tigranes IV, a grandson of Herod the Great, from shortly before Augustus' death until 36, and his nephew Tigranes V for an inglorious year or two from 60. Aristobulus, son of Herod of Chalcis, had ruled Armenia Minor from 53, a part of Greater Armenia also from 60, and perhaps a principality in northern Syria from c. 72.¹¹⁸

The Jews east of the Euphrates kept in close contact with Jerusalem before 70.¹¹⁹ Orthodoxy was maintained by rabbinic visits, the Temple tax was faithfully dispatched despite the length and dangers of the journey, and the international gatherings of pilgrims in the Holy City for festivals included "Parthians and Medes and Elamites and the dwellers in Mesopotamia."¹²⁰ After 70 it was they for whom

¹¹⁴ *AJ* xx, 17-48, 54-91. For discussion see Neusner, *JB* I, 59-64 (I², 61-7).

¹¹⁵ *AJ* xx, 49-53 (cf. above, p. 263); *BJ* v, 252-3; vi, 355; *Mish. Yoma* iii, 10. For the many references to the family in rabbinic literature see Neusner, *JB* I, 60, n. 1 (I², 63, n. 1).

¹¹⁶ *AJ* xx, 92-6. On the "Tomb of the Kings" north of the present Damascus Gate, see Feldman, note *ad loc.* Monobazus II succeeded before 62—*Tac.*, *A* xv, 1, 3; 14, 4. His death, after 66 (*BJ* ii, 520) is not recorded, and the rulers of Adiabene between him and Mebarsapes, king in 115, are not known.

¹¹⁷ See above, p. 356.

¹¹⁸ Tigranes IV and V—*AJ* xviii, 139-40; *Tac.*, *A* vi, 40, 2; xiv, 26, 2; xv, 1-6. For Aristobulus see above, pp. 273; 339, n. 35. For Jews in Armenia see J. Neusner in *J. Amer. Orient. Soc.* lxxxiv (1964), 230-40.

¹¹⁹ See Neusner, *JB* I, 41-3 (I², 44-6).

¹²⁰ *Leg.* 216; *Acts* ii, 9.

Josephus wrote his first account of the war, the Aramaic version of the *Bellum Judaicum*.¹²¹ Forty years later Trajan's eastern conquests brought them under the heel of the power which had destroyed their religious centre and diverted the Temple tax to a pagan deity.

By the summer of 116 Trajan's conquest of the East appeared to be almost complete: Armenia and northern Mesopotamia, and perhaps Adiabene also, had been annexed and organized as provinces, and southern Mesopotamia and Babylonia had been overrun.¹²² While the emperor was resting on his laurels at the head of the Persian Gulf, the Parthians launched a counter-offensive. They invaded the new provinces from Media, while the subjugated population of Mesopotamia rose in revolt, massacring or expelling the Roman garrisons of occupied towns. In the south the presence of Trajan and the major part of his forces kept Babylonia largely submissive, though the recently captured city of Seleucia joined in the revolt.

To judge from Dio, the Jews played no part worth mentioning in these risings. The excerpts preserved from his work make no reference to them in connection with the revolt but speak simply of a rebellion of "all the conquered territory". Eusebius, on the other hand, knows only of a Jewish revolt: "The emperor suspected that the Jews in Mesopotamia would attack the inhabitants there and so instructed Lusius Quietus to clear them out of the province. The latter took an army and massacred a huge number of the inhabitants, and as a reward for this success was appointed governor of Judaea."¹²³ In the *Chronicle* he makes the Jews qualify for this treatment by an actual rebellion, as does Orosius.¹²⁴ Eusebius' emphasis, or bias, is understandable. Unlike Dio, he is not writing a general history but is concerned with world history only as it impinged on the Church. The chapter in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* dealing with the revolts of 115-17 is headed "What the Jews suffered in (Trajan's) time", and the gist of the opening sentence is that the Church was flourishing then while Jewish fortunes were falling. It can, of course, be inferred from Dio

¹²¹ BJ i, 3, 6.

¹²² The chronology of Trajan's eastern wars is obscure and controversial, but the details are unimportant for the present study. Lepper's scheme (*TPW*) is accepted here.

¹²³ Dio lxxviii, 29, 4; Eus., *HE* iv, 2, 5, following the account of the N. African rising.

¹²⁴ *Chron.* Traj. XVIII *Iudaeis Mesopotamiae rebellantibus* . . . Oros. vii, 12, 7 *In Mesopotamia quoque rebellantibus* (i.e. the Jews) . . . Both follow accounts of the N. African rising.

that the Jews in the annexed territory joined in the gentile revolt, and this is the most obvious and reasonable way in which to interpret Eusebius' and Orosius' "Jewish revolt".¹²⁵ Indeed, Eusebius' reference to Quietus' massacre of "the inhabitants" could be taken to cover gentiles as well as Jews.

Belated revenge for the destruction of the Temple may have been a factor that led the Jews to make common cause with their former masters against their new, but hardly a strong one among people living so far from Jerusalem, especially when the ejection of the Romans from Mesopotamia would not in itself restore the Temple. On the political side Jewish hopes may have run high. Though the Palestinians had failed to expel the Romans from their country in 66-70, the Jews of the eastern Diaspora, in league with the Parthians, could perhaps put an end to Roman domination in the East by driving them not simply out of their new provinces but right out of Asia, and then re-establish an independent Jewish state in Palestine. To hindsight it was a forlorn hope, but to the rebels, encouraged by the initial Jewish successes in N. Africa, it may have seemed bright. The question of local political autonomy may also have been a factor in the situation. The mere fact that the Jews did not support the Roman invaders or try to impede the Parthian counter-attack is evidence that they had been contented under Parthian rule despite occasional anti-Semitic outbreaks, or at least that they considered transfer to Roman rule likely to be a change for the worse. The Parthians had been faced with the same problem of the non-assimilation of the Jews into the local population as the Romans had. But where the Roman answer had been legislation to guarantee Jewish religious liberty and action where necessary to enforce the law, the Parthian answer had been to allow the Jews, despite their wide territorial distribution, a certain amount of local independence and self-government under an "exilarch". The exilarchate was apparently created early in the second half of the first century A.D., in an attempt by the Arsacids to conciliate the Jews and gain their support, out

¹²⁵ So Lepper, *TPW*, 154; cf. 211. R. P. Longden in *CAH* XI, 250, basing his reconstruction of events on Eusebius' ὑποπτεύσας, thinks that after the general revolt had been crushed, Trajan feared fresh trouble from the Jews in Mesopotamia and sent Quietus there a second time to forestall it. Groag visualizes a separate Jewish revolt following the general one—in P.W., s.v. *Lusius Quietus*, 1881. But such duplication seems unlikely. For discussion of Jewish motives see Neusner, *JB* I, 71-3 (I², 76-9).

of self-interest.¹²⁶ Annexation by Rome was likely to mean the loss of this measure of freedom. On a more mundane level economic factors may have weighed heavily in making the Jews throw in their lot with the gentiles. By 116 Trajan was apparently already drawing up plans for reorganizing the taxation of the caravan trade with the Far East. The wealthy merchants of the Parthian empire included Jews, as the story of Izates' conversion shows, and the imposition of a tax structure more stringent than the Parthian will have been equally unpopular with Jew and gentile alike.¹²⁷

Few details are recorded of the course and suppression of the revolt. The rebels in Mesopotamia won a short-lived success when they defeated the first Roman army which faced them and killed its general. But the tide turned against them with the arrival of Trajan's Moorish general, Lusius Quietus, a commander of similar military eminence to Turbo, who recovered the province: "in addition to many other successes, he took Nisibis, and besieged, destroyed and burnt Edessa. Seleuceia was captured by subordinate commanders . . . and burnt."¹²⁸ There may well have been Jews in Edessa at this time, as there were later;¹²⁹ Seleuceia in Babylonia, near to the great Jewish centre of Nehardea, may have attracted settlers back after the subsidence of the anti-Semitic outbreak of c. 40, though there is no positive trace of their presence; and Nisibis had a large Jewish population. The existence of Jewish communities in at least some of the main centres of resistance may account for Eusebius' conception of the revolt as purely Jewish. Dio ends his account of the revolts in N. Africa and Cyprus with the remark "among others who subdued the Jews was Lusius, sent by Trajan." But Quietus was certainly never sent against the rebels in N. Africa, for whose overthrow Turbo alone was responsible, and most probably Dio's sentence is a misplaced reference to Quietus' mission to Palestine (below), though it could possibly concern his work in Mesopotamia as well.¹³⁰

¹²⁶ See Neusner, *JB* I, 56-8, 97-100 (I², 59-61, 103-18).

¹²⁷ Fronto, *Princ. Hist.* 17 (in *M. Corn. Frontonis Epistulae*, ed. M. P. J. van den Hout (1954), 199) *cum praesens Traianus Euphrati et Tigridis portoria equorum et camelorum tribularet* . . .

¹²⁸ Dio lxxviii, 30, 1-3. The medieval Syrian chronicle of Dionysius of Telmahor says that Quietus suppressed the revolt so rigorously that the streets (of an unnamed city) were full of Jewish corpses with no-one to bury them; cf. H. Bietenhard in *Judaica* iv (1948-9), 69.

¹²⁹ Juster, I, 200; Neusner, *JB* I, 98 (I², 95).

¹³⁰ Dio lxxviii, 32, 3.

One of Hadrian's earliest actions as emperor was the abandonment of all Trajan's eastern conquests, which returned the Jews beyond the Euphrates to Parthian rule. The risings of their fellows in N. Africa may have helped to save Parthia from permanent Roman rule, by diverting troops away from the East at a crucial time and giving the Parthian counter-offensive a better chance of success. And for all its initial failure, it did succeed in the long run, when Hadrian had the common sense and moral courage to give up territory which Rome could not hope to hold and govern satisfactorily. The eastern Diaspora, unlike the Jews in Egypt and Cyrenaica, were evidently not severely reduced in numbers or wealth by the revolt. For they continued to thrive, and after the disastrous effects of the revolt of Bar Cochba on Palestine the rabbinic schools across the Euphrates began to develop towards the position of leadership which they were eventually to hold over Judaism.

Palestine

In none of the accounts of the revolts of the Diaspora is there anything about a simultaneous or subsequent rising in Palestine. The only explicit indication of trouble there comes in the brief survey of the disturbed condition of the empire at Hadrian's accession given in the *Historia Augusta*, where the list of the disaffected areas concludes "and finally Libya and Palestine were in a rebellious frame of mind",¹³¹ with the use of the imperfect tense suggesting that that state of affairs had existed before Trajan's death also. Apart from the *a priori* improbability that the Jews of Palestine would have stood completely aside from an attempt by their compatriots to throw off the Roman yoke, other evidence, indirect, allusive and scanty though it is, seems to point to something more than mere sympathetic restlessness in Palestine at the same time, in fact to an incipient revolt which prompt Roman action prevented from developing into a serious fullscale one.¹³²

On the classical side there is the fact that, towards the end of his life, Trajan appointed Lusius Quietus as the first consular legate of Judaea after and as a reward for his successes in Mesopotamia. Since a consular governor normally went only to a province with a garrison

¹³¹ SHA, *Hadr.* 5, 2, quoted in part above, p. 404, n. 59.

¹³² The evidence for Palestine is studied more fully by the present writer in *Historia* xi (1962), 500-10; the conclusions of that article (parts of which are criticized by D. Rokeah in *Scr. Hier.* xxiii (1972), 81-2) are given here. Cf. L. Huteau-Dubois in *REJ* cxxvii (1968), 166-8.

of more than one legion, Quietus' appointment may mean that the second legion stationed in Palestine from the latter part of Hadrian's reign, VI Ferrata, was transferred there at this point rather than a decade or so later.¹³³ But abnormal circumstances may have led to an abnormal appointment, and from the choice of an eminent general to govern a small province it may be inferred either that trouble had already broken out and needed a competent hand to suppress it, or that Palestine, now obviously a potential storm-centre which needed watching, was showing signs of unrest which Trajan hoped to nip in the bud. At the end of his paragraph on the revolts in N. Africa and Cyprus Dio says that one of the Roman generals sent by Trajan to subdue the Jews was Lusius Quietus.¹³⁴ This reads as if Quietus took part in the campaigns in those areas. But all the other evidence tells against this, with Quietus' military operations confined to Asia and Turbo alone commanding in Africa. Dio's remark may therefore be no more than an isolated and misplaced allusion to Quietus' campaigns against the Mesopotamian Jewish rebels, which the extant portions of his history otherwise ignore. But it could alternatively be an equally misplaced and isolated reference to drastic action to preserve or restore order in Palestine. The statement in the *Historia Augusta* that Hadrian "disarmed" Quietus early in his reign by withdrawing from his command the Moors serving under him,¹³⁵ is presumably a reference to the termination of his appointment in Palestine, and the implication that extra contingents of auxiliaries had been drafted to the province is a further hint of a potentially or actually dangerous situation there. One such unit (though not Moorish) may even be identifiable. A papyrus document from a cave near the Dead Sea shows that in May 124 an auxiliary cohort of Thracians was stationed at Engedi, unique evidence for a Roman garrison there. The post may have been established because of unrest at the close of Trajan's reign.¹³⁶

¹³³ Dio lxxviii, 32, 5; Eus., *HE* iv, 2, 5; *Chron.* Traj. XVIII, with *procurator Iudaeae* an obvious error for *legatus*. On Quietus' consulship see Appendix A, p. 550; on VI Ferrata see M. Avi-Yonah in *IEJ* xxiii (1973), 209-13.

¹³⁴ Dio lxxviii, 32, 3.

¹³⁵ SHA, *Hadr.* 5, 8.

¹³⁶ *Cohors I milliaria Thracum*, mentioned in a document in the "archive of Babata" from Nahal Hever (below, p. 442); see Yadin, *Bar Kokhba*, 239-40. The unit, moved from Syria, where it is attested in 91 and probably in 88, was still part of the garrison of Palestine in 139; see diplomas, *AE* 1961, 319 and *CIL* XVI, 35 (*cohors I milliaria*, with the ethnic *Thracum* probably omitted as superfluous since only one milliary cohort is listed), 87. Cf. J. C. Mann in *IEJ* xix (1969), 211-13.

A fragment of Hippolytus records a tradition that a statue of Kore was erected on the site of the Temple by a Roman legion under "Traianus Quintus"—clearly a conflation of Quietus with the emperor who appointed him to Palestine; and another fragment describes the "abomination of desolation" as meaning the statue of Caesar set up before the altar in Jerusalem. Probably both passages refer to the same dedication, with Caesar corrupted into "Kore" in one.¹³⁷ This may in fact have nothing to do with the events of Trajan's reign,¹³⁸ but the mere association of Quietus' name with an outrage against Jewish religious sentiment witnesses to his unpopularity and contributes to the idea that he was responsible for suppressing a nationalist rising.

Excavation at Joppa has provided a scrap of supporting evidence. The burning of a public building there dated by inscriptions of a Jewish *agoranomos* in office under Trajan could have been accidental; but the discovery of a tile of X Fretensis in association with it suggests violence requiring the presence of at least part of the legion.¹³⁹

The opening of Eusebius' account of Bar Cochba's revolt, "when Jewish rebelliousness again reached serious proportions",¹⁴⁰ could be taken to imply that that rising was not a sudden and unexpected outbreak but the culmination of a period of continuous but not violent unrest in Palestine, extending back to disturbances there late in Trajan's reign. But this cannot be pressed, since Eusebius ignores Palestine in his account of 115-17 and therefore may simply be saying that the rebellion of the Diaspora was followed fifteen years later by one in Palestine.

The Victory-type on the fairly large issue of coins from Tiberias early in Hadrian's reign may commemorate the successful suppression of an incipient rising in the province, though the type is not unique to this series but occurs occasionally on other Palestinian coinages.¹⁴¹ The coins struck in Palestine to celebrate the Roman victory in 70 and the later coins commemorating the foundation of Aelia Capitolina

¹³⁷ *GCS Hippol.* I, ii, 244-5, in a section of his commentary on *Matt.* xxiv, 15-22, preserved in translation in the Syriac commentary on the Apocalypse by Dionysius Bar-Salibi, a twelfth century bishop of the Syrian Jacobite Church; *ibid.*, 197, another fragment of the same section, preserved in three translations, of which the Coptic retains the words *εἰκών* and *Καῖσαρ*. Cf. below, p. 427, n. 153.

¹³⁸ See below, p. 460, n. 125.

¹³⁹ See J. Kaplan in *JQR* 54 (1963-4), 110-14.

¹⁴⁰ *HE* iv, 6, 1.

¹⁴¹ *BMC, Pal.*, 9, dated year 101 of the city's era, between A.D. 17 and 22 (above, p. 184, n. 13).

would provide parallels for local coinage rubbing in the Jews' discomfiture. But this evidence is not strong, and against it stands an argument from silence: the absence of any independent Jewish coins struck under Trajan comparable with the coinages issued in 66-70 and by Bar Cochba shows that, if a revolt was attempted, it never got sufficient hold on the province for a national mint to be set up.

On the Jewish side there is a fair amount of literary evidence for trouble under Trajan, though it does not all necessarily concern Palestine. General references in the Midrash to his reign as a time of suffering may relate to the experiences of the rebellious Diaspora communities rather than to Palestine.¹⁴² More definite is the tradition of a "war of Quietus", dated fifty-two years after the war of Vespasian and sixteen before that of Bar Cochba, which, like the earlier and later wars, was the occasion for the passing of sumptuary legislation and a prohibition of the teaching of Greek (a patently nationalist measure). This war is not explicitly connected with Palestine, and could be interpreted as Lusius Quietus' campaigns against the Mesopotamian Jews. But sumptuary laws seem more appropriate as a restriction made in the actual theatre of war than as a gesture of sympathy towards Jews fighting elsewhere.¹⁴³ Bethar, the town whose fall marked the end of Bar Cochba's revolt, is said to have enjoyed fifty-two years of peace after the destruction of the Temple, which not only harmonizes with the tradition of the "war of Quietus" but suggests that the disturbances which began then were centred on

¹⁴² Midr. *Lament.* R. iii, 5, § 2 and 10, § 4; *Esther* R. proem 4, on *Levit.* xxvi, 44.

¹⁴³ *Seder Olam Rabbah* 30 (on the work see above, p. 113, n. 35). The imprecision of the dating of Quietus to the beginning of Hadrian's reign rather than the end of Trajan's is less important than the evidence which the tradition provides for hostilities against him. Mish. *Sot.* ix, 14 gives the restrictive legislation passed during the "war of Vespasian", the "war of Quietus" (the reading "war of Titus" found in some MSS here and in *Seder Olam* for "Quietus" can be disregarded), and the "final war" (that of Bar Cochba); cf. BT *Sot.* 49b. "Kitos" is generally assumed to be Quietus. D. Rokeah, however, argues that philologically Kitos could equally well be Quintus, that the "war of Kitos" is simply the campaigns of Quintus Marcius Turbo in N. Africa, that Greek was then banned in the Diaspora as a token of solidarity with the Jews defeated in the homeland in 70, and that the tradition therefore provides no evidence for a rising in Palestine—in *Ser. Hier.* xxiii (1972), 79-84. But a Roman general would surely be known in common provincial parlance by his *nomen* or *cognomen*, not by his *praenomen*; and a prohibition of Greek, possible in Palestine as a nationalist gesture, would be wholly impracticable among the Diaspora.

Bethar and did not die down fully but gradually led up to the later revolt.¹⁴⁴

A confused group of Jewish legends concerning "Trajan's Day", a minor festival on 12 Adar (February-March)¹⁴⁵ allegedly commemorating his death, and the execution of two Jewish brothers, Julianus and Pappus, Alexandrians in one passing reference, by Trajan in Lydda provide endless scope for speculation but little hard historical fact. In one version Julianus and Pappus are condemned to death by Trajan for an unspecified offence but saved in the nick of time by the arrival of two officials from Rome who execute Trajan.¹⁴⁶ Another version, less logical as the explanation of a day of Jewish rejoicing, makes Trajan execute the brothers immediately before being put to death himself.¹⁴⁷ In yet another their execution causes the abolition of the festival on 12 Adar.¹⁴⁸ Two points emerge from the tangle of inconsistency and contradiction, which it is wellnigh impossible to reduce in its entirety to coherent history.¹⁴⁹ First, the picture of "Trajan" as a governor of Palestine executed on orders from Rome, most probably represents in a distorted form the fall of Quietus who, after being deprived of his command there soon after Hadrian's accession, was one of the "four consulars" put to death early in 118 (the date 12 Adar, which can have no connection with Trajan's own death in August, would fit); and in that case, the celebration of his death as a festival witnesses to intense unpopularity among the Jews. Secondly, the brothers appear to have been national heroes with whose

¹⁴⁴ Midr. *Lament.* R. ii, 2, § 4. The apparent dating of the fall of Bethar to fifty-two years after the destruction of the Temple is to be understood in this sense—*ibid.* iv, 18, § 21; JT *Ta'an.* iv, 5 (Schwab VI, 190).

¹⁴⁵ *Megillath Ta'anith*: see H. Lichtenstein in *HUCA* viii-ix (1931-2), 272-3; *Sifra Levit.* xxvi, 19.

¹⁴⁶ Midr. *Eccl.* R. iii, 17; cf. *Gen.* R. lxiv, 10, which presupposes that Julianus and Pappus survived their trial (cf. below, p. 435, n. 36). *Sifra Levit.* xxvi, 19 makes the brothers Alexandrians. "Laodicea" is probably an error for Lydda; cf. references to "the martyrs of Lud" in BT *Pes.* 50a; *BB* 10b; Midr. *Eccl.* R. ix, 10, § 1, naming them as Julianus and Pappus.

¹⁴⁷ BT *Ta'an.* 18b.

¹⁴⁸ JT *Ta'an.* ii, 12 (Schwab VI, 162). In BT *Ta'an.* 18b the festival is said to have been abolished because the brothers Shemaiah and Ahijah were executed on it. It is not agreed whether these men are to be identified with Julianus and Pappus, whose story follows, or not.

¹⁴⁹ L. Finkelstein, *Akiba* (1962), 216-34, attempts an elaborate and ingenious reconstruction of events, based on dating the alleged scheme for the rebuilding of the Temple, usually attributed to Hadrian's reign (below, pp. 434-5), to immediately before Trajan's Parthian war. H. Bietenhard is more cautious—in *Judaica* iv (1948-9), 73-7.

cause and fate the Jewish people were identified, and they were guilty of some offence against Rome serious enough to merit death. The substitution of Trajan's name for that of Quietus in the legends puts their misdemeanour in his reign, and it is not unreasonable to see in them the leaders of an attempted or short-lived revolt which Quietus put down, perhaps with great severity, not long before his recall.

According to two twelfth century chronicles, the "king" of the Jewish rebels in Egypt made his way with an army to Palestine, where he was defeated and killed by the Romans under a general called "Lysias", clearly Lusius Quietus.¹⁵⁰ Though this testimony is very late and is wholly uncorroborated by more reputable authorities, it is by no means an incredible tradition in itself that when Lucius realized that he was beaten in Egypt, he fled to Palestine to try his fortunes there. In that case, Julianus and Pappus could be prominent supporters who accompanied him.

Finally there is general probability. It is inherently unlikely that the Palestinian Jews would have remained entirely passive while their fellows in Mesopotamia¹⁵¹ and N. Africa were fighting for their freedom from Roman rule. Even if the quality of the Roman administration of Palestine was higher after 70 than before, the degradation of subjection to a gentile power was undiminished and to it was now added the cessation of the Temple cult and the diversion of the Temple tax to Rome. Jewish messianic nationalism, which had survived the war of 66-70 and given a certain amount of trouble, even if not serious, under the Flavians and in the early years of Trajan in Palestine, was not extinct but only dormant, as Bar Cochba's revolt was to show. Against the background of the revolt of the Diaspora a revival of militant nationalism in Palestine in 116-17 is entirely credible. And no provocation comparable with that which was to cause Bar Cochba's revolt was needed at a time when conditions seemed favourable for striking a blow at their overlord. The normal garrison, X Fretensis,

¹⁵⁰ Gregorius Bar-Hebraeus (Abul Faraj), *Hist. Dyn.* (transl. G. L. Bauer (1783), 109-10), giving the king's name as Luminus; cf. *Chron. Syr.* (transl. E. A. W. Budge (1932), I, 52), giving the name as Lumpis; Michael Syrus, *Chron.* vi, 4 (transl. J. B. Chabot (1899), I, 172), giving the name as Lomphasos.

¹⁵¹ Palestinian Jews looked upon the Parthians (who had supported the Hasmonaean Antigonus in 40 B.C.; above, pp. 51-2) as potential saviours; see the prediction of R. Simeon b. Yohai (mid-second century) "If you see a Persian (i.e. Parthian) horse tethered in Israel, look for the coming of the messiah"—Midr. *Song R.* viii, 9, § 3; *Lament. R.* i, 13, § 41; a remark by his contemporary R. Jose b. Kisma implies the same—BT *Sanh.* 98a-b. Cf. Neusner, *JB* I, 68-70 (I², 74-6).

had been withdrawn for service against Parthia,¹⁵² and the detachment of III Cyrenaica attested in Jerusalem towards the end of Trajan's reign by a dedication to Sarapis in honour of his Parthian victory did not necessarily take its place immediately after its departure but may have been brought in by Quietus.¹⁵³ Nearly half a century had elapsed since the previous war, and much of the economic recovery to which the long resistance under Bar Cochba only some fifteen years later testifies must have already taken place. The situation of Palestine in 115-17 was by no means parallel to that of the Diaspora in 66-70, who were protected by Rome in the exercise of their religion and therefore had much to lose and little to gain by supporting the revolt of their homeland; now the Diaspora were already, for better or for worse, in revolt against their erstwhile protector, and it must surely have appeared to the Palestinian Jews that they had everything to gain by making a further attempt to reassert their independence while Rome's attention was fully occupied elsewhere. But though the cumulative effect of the available scraps of evidence suggests that during the Diaspora revolts there was an attempt at a definite rising in Palestine, it was successfully prevented from assuming the proportions either of the earlier and later revolts there or of the contemporary N. African rising. Trajan's prompt action in appointing Quietus as governor of the province as soon as dangerous symptoms appeared there, and the stern and efficient (perhaps over-harsh) measures which the legate took to suppress the incipient trouble forestalled any serious development. In consequence Palestine suffered no substantial losses in manpower or material resources, and was able to conserve her energies for her final fling against Rome under Bar Cochba.

¹⁵² *ILS* 2727 ; possibly also *AE* 1935, 167.

¹⁵³ *ILS* 4393, where Trajan's title Parthicus, unless an anticipation, gives a date after February 116. This dedication is connected with the Hippolytus references (above, p. 423) tentatively by Groag in *P.-W.*, s.v. *Lusius Quietus*, 1884, and definitely by S. Applebaum in *JJS* ii (1950), 29. But its site was probably some distance from the Temple ; see the present writer, *op. cit.*, 506, n. 27.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

THE REVOLT OF BAR COCHBA

Towards the end of Hadrian's reign the Jews of Palestine made their second and final attempt to free themselves from Roman rule and to establish an autonomous Jewish state, in a revolt led by a man usually known as Bar Cochba, which lasted for nearly four years and failed as disastrously as that of 66-70. That generation of Jews produced no Josephus to provide a detailed narrative of its causes, course, and final suppression, and the story has to be reconstructed from scattered fragments of information. The only extant literary accounts of the revolt are brief paragraphs in Dio and Eusebius, in the main complementary to each other but on one important point contradictory. The single sentence on the revolt in the *Historia Augusta* deals only with one of its causes, and Jewish literature, though mentioning the war occasionally, gives only one event, the siege and fall of Bethar with which the war ended, in any detail. The coins struck by the Jewish national mint reveal something of the rebels' aspirations and the duration of their success. Inscriptions and odd scraps of evidence from various Roman sources shed a little light on the course and suppression of the revolt. Finally, recently discovered papyri and other material from the caves in Wadi Murabba'at north of Engedi and in Nahal Hever and other wadis between Engedi and Masada throw a vivid, if fitful, light on the revolt from the inside, just as the Egyptian papyri do for the revolt under Trajan: legal documents and correspondence between Bar Cochba and his subordinates give precious glimpses of the civil administration set up by the rebels, of the organization of their army, and of the problems facing the command as defeat ultimately approached, while the mute testimony of the abandoned caves tells of the surrender of isolated groups of rebels. But even when all the scattered evidence is assembled, only a partial and fragmentary picture can be drawn of the Jews' last bid for freedom and its failure.

The Causes of the Revolt

Dio and the *Historia Augusta*¹ both give reasons for the Jewish revolt, but utterly different and apparently totally unconnected

¹ Problems of the date, authorship and purpose of the collection of imperial

reasons. Dio says that the Jews were angry at Hadrian's plan to re-found Jerusalem as a Greco-Roman city under the name of Aelia Capitolina, the *Historia Augusta* that they rebelled because circumcision was prohibited. The only feature common to the two alleged reasons is that both were single deliberate actions by the central imperial government, in contrast to the cumulative effect of years of local maladministration which had provoked the first revolt.

There is no explicit corroboration in Roman sources of the statement in the *Historia Augusta* that Hadrian banned circumcision.² He certainly tightened up the law against castration at an unknown date, putting the operation on a level with murder,³ but circumcision is not mentioned in that connection. Antoninus Pius, however, is recorded as having made an exception in the Jews' favour to a universal prohibition of circumcision, while prescribing the same penalties for the circumcision of a gentile as for castration,⁴ and the obvious interpretation of this is that Hadrian was the author of the universal ruling which Antoninus relaxed. It seems clear that a prohibition of circumcision was part of the Jews' punishment after the revolt, as will be shown below. The question then arises whether the prohibition preceded the revolt and was a cause, or the cause, of it, or whether the author of the *Historia Augusta* (not an outstandingly trustworthy authority) has antedated it, misinterpreting effect as cause.

In a satire written *c.* 128 Juvenal speaks of the sons of "Judaizers" becoming full proselytes by circumcision without any hint that the operation was illegal.⁵ But the ban could have been imposed very

biographies known as the *Historia Augusta* have a bearing on the evidence which it appears to provide about the Jews, and a number of references to them are suspect. But the lives of the emperors from Hadrian to Caracalla are regarded as reasonably reliable. The compilation is now generally dated to the late fourth century and attributed to a single hand.

² SHA, *Hadr.* 14, 2 *Moverunt ea tempestate* (during Hadrian's second provincial journey) *et Iudaei bellum, quod vetabantur mutilare genitalia*. Despite the absence of the technical term, circumcision is undoubtedly meant. For fuller discussion of Roman legislation against circumcision see the present writer in *Lat.* xviii (1959), 334-47; xx (1961), 93-6.

³ *Dig.* XLVIII, viii, 4, 2, bringing it under the *Lex Cornelia de Sicariis et Veneficis*; 3, 5 for the penalties for murder; Julius Paulus, *Sent.* v, 23, 13. No precise date is given.

⁴ *Dig.* XLVIII, viii, 11, 1 *Circumcidere Iudaeis filios suos tantum rescripto divi Pii permittitur; in non eiusdem nationis qui hoc fecerit, castrantis poena irrogatur*. See below, pp. 469-70.

⁵ *Sat.* xiv, 99 *mox et praeputia ponunt*. The satires seem to stand in chronological order, with xiii dated to 127 by the reference to a man of sixty who was born

shortly after the satire was written, and indeed, if it was a cause of the revolt, it is not likely to have preceded it by more than a year or two.⁶ Against the suggestion that in the *Historia Augusta* result is turned into cause two arguments can be brought. The first is the logical point that a universal ban would hardly have been issued as a means of punishing the Jews alone, since other races followed the same practice,⁷ and that, if such a ban had been imposed, Antoninus would have repealed it completely, instead of exempting the Jews against whom it had been aimed while leaving people innocent of any offence against Rome still subject to it. The second is the evidence in Jewish literature that the ban was in force before the revolt. There are many references to a "time of persecution" when other Jewish customs besides circumcision were forbidden, some of them associating it with Hadrian. Two contain vague indications of chronology which seem to put the ban on circumcision before the revolt (though it is never represented as its cause). Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, who died before or during the revolt, authorized the concealment of the circumcision knife "in time of danger", and he is cited in discussions of the rites essential to the admission of a male proselyte in which there was agreement that ritual ablution without circumcision was adequate, a view surely only tenable when the latter rite was impracticable.⁸

in A.D. 67 (line 17) and xv to a year or two later by the reference to the consulship of (L. Aemilius) Juncus in 127 as recent (line 27).

⁶ *Epist. Barnabae* ix, 4 ἡ περιτομή, ἐφ' ἣ (the Jews) πεποιθασιν provides no evidence for a prohibition. The work was written between the destruction of the Temple (xvi, 4; cf. below, p. 435) and the revolt of Bar Cochba, which is not mentioned, and within those limits various more precise dates have been suggested: see K. Lake, *Apostolic Fathers* (Loeb) I, 337-8; M. Staniforth, *Early Christian Writings* (1968), 190; Driver, *Scrolls*, 600; A. L. Williams in *JThS* xxxiv (1933), 337-46; L. W. Barnard in *JEA* xlv (1948), 101-7; cf. in *Church Quart. Rev.* clix (1958), 211-15; E. Robillard in *RB* lxxviii (1971), 184-209 (arguing for three phases of composition). At the time of composition circumcision was freely practised by other races (ix, 6). The gist of ch. ix is that, since the real significance of circumcision is spiritual, the physical operation is no longer essential, and verse 4 means, not that the rite has been literally abolished, but that it has been "superseded", "made superfluous".

⁷ Circumcision was well known as an Egyptian custom, though by Roman times it was apparently confined to priests, and is also recorded of Arabs, Syrians, Phoenicians, Colchians and Ethiopians. For discussion and documentation see Schürer, I (rev.), 537-8; Z. Zmigryder-Konopka in *Eos* xxxiii (1930-1), 334-8.

⁸ *Mish. Shab.* xix, 1; *BT Shab.* 130a; *Yeb.* 46a-b; cf. 71a and *Gerim* i, 6. R. Eliezer died before Akiba, who was martyred at the end of the revolt (below, p. 465)—*BT Sanh.* 68a, 101a. On proselyte baptism see T. M. Taylor in *NTS* ii (1955-6), 193-8.

Rabbi Eleazar of Modiin, Bar Cochba's uncle, who died during the revolt, held that a man who "broke the covenant of Abraham", i.e. obliterated his circumcision by epispasm, forfeited a share in the life to come,⁹ a dictum which suggests that circumcision was forbidden before the revolt, as it would have had most point if the operation was currently common.

A prohibition of circumcision after the revolt, as part of the Jews' punishment and an attempt to undermine their national and religious unity, would be understandable. The issue of a prohibition before the revolt raises a serious difficulty: legislation which thus cut at the very roots of Judaism ran completely counter to the long established Roman policy of guaranteeing Jewish religious liberty. The key surely lies in the fact that the ban was of empire-wide application. The grounds for a universal ban will have been, not hostility towards Judaism, but a moral objection to the practice as a barbarous mutilation on a par with castration, and the laws aimed at stamping both practices out of civilized society were probably closely connected. Yet Hadrian can hardly have been unaware that circumcision was one of the keystones of Judaism and that any attack on it was an invitation to serious Jewish opposition.¹⁰

In the summer of 130, en route from Arabia to Egypt during his second great provincial tour, Hadrian paid a visit to Palestine which left several marks on the province.¹¹ Roads were built from Jerusalem eastwards via Jericho to link the capital with Trajan's trunk road from Damascus to Petra and southwards to link it with Gaza.¹² A

⁹ Mish. *Aboth* iii, 12; BT *Sanh.* 99a. The references in JT *Shab.* xix, 2 (Schwab IV, 180) and BT *Yeb.* 72a to the practice of epispasm "in the days of Bar Cosiba" (for the name see below, pp. 439-40) do not necessarily support the present contention, as the phrase could as well refer to the period immediately after the revolt as to the prelude to it. In Midr. *Song R.* ii, 7, § 1, a chronological passage, "the great persecution" precedes "the days of Ben Cosiba", but a ban on circumcision is not specified.

¹⁰ The punishment for defying the circumcision ban in Palestine may have been the expropriation of land, which then came under the provisions of the *sicarian* law (above, p. 341, n. 43).

¹¹ Dio lxix, 11, 1. Hadrian wintered in Gerasa in 129-30; see C. H. Kraeling, *Gerasa* (1938), 401-2, no. 58, dated by his 14th tribunician year and year 192 of the local era (the autumn of 63 B.C.). Gaza, clearly visited en route from Palestine to Egypt, began a new era of Hadrian's *ἐπιδημία* in 130—*BMC, Pal.*, lxxiii-lxxiv. Hadrian was in Egypt by August 130; most of the Alexandrian coins commemorating his visit are dated his 15th year = Aug. 130-1, but one is of his 14th—*BMC, Alexandria*, 79, no. 669; 101, nos. 867-71.

¹² A milestone at Bethar on the Gaza road is dated 130; see P. Thomsen in *ZDPV* xl (1917), 80, no. 282. The road from Jerusalem to Heshbon (on

Hadrianeum was established in the Roman capital of Caesarea (perhaps in association with the repair of damage done by an earthquake two or three years earlier),¹³ and, more surprisingly, another in the Jewish city of Tiberias.¹⁴ The city of Sepphoris, though predominantly Jewish, was renamed Diocaesarea in the emperor's honour, the first element in the name recalling Hadrian's adoption of the title of Zeus, Olympius, in 129.¹⁵

Hadrian's most ambitious project, however, concerned Jerusalem, and this Dio sees as the cause of the Jewish revolt: "In Jerusalem he founded a city to replace the one which had been destroyed and called it Aelia Capitolina, and he erected a temple to Jupiter on the site of the Temple of God. This caused a long and serious war, since the Jews objected to having gentiles settled in their city and foreign cults established there."¹⁶ This objection alleged by Dio is in itself illogical, since there had been a Roman legion with its ancillary civilian settlement and pagan shrines in Jerusalem for sixty years. But the definite replacement of the Jewish city by one on the Greco-Roman pattern and the deliberate desecration of the Temple site, hitherto apparently left derelict but unmolested (if this was in fact included in Hadrian's original plans, a point to be queried¹⁷), would make an irrevocable change in the character of the city, ending Jewish hopes of the

Trajan's road), with an undated Hadrianic milestone, more probably belongs to Hadrian's visit than to the suppression of the revolt; see M. Avi-Yonah in *IEJ* i (1950-1), 56-8.

¹³ Eus., *Chron.* Hadr. XII. The two headless statues, over lifesize, found in Caesarea and generally regarded as Hadrianic, may have come from the Hadrianeum; but see above, p. 79, n. 61. That shrine is mentioned on a sixth century inscription; see W. J. Moulton in *AASOR* i (1920), 86-90; cf. Abel, *HP* II, 81-2. Coins of Caesarea first show the founder-type of the *circumductio* (cf. below, p. 459) under Hadrian—*BMC, Pal.*, 19; Kadman, *Caesarea*, 102-4.

¹⁴ Epiph., *Haer.* xxx, 12 (*GCS* XXV, 347); cf. L. H. Vincent in *RB* xxx (1921), 438-42. Shrines of Hadrian are more likely to have commemorated his visit than the suppression of the revolt, though precise dating evidence is lacking.

¹⁵ The city's new name first occurs on a milestone of 130; see B. Lifschitz in *Lat.* xix (1960), 110-11.

¹⁶ Dio lxix, 12, 1-2. Writing by topics rather than annalistically, he relates Hadrian's visit to Palestine, which preceded the events of the winter of 130-1 in Egypt (ch. 11), with its consequences. Epiphanius' date for the foundation, forty seven years after Titus' destruction of the Temple, can be disregarded; he correctly associates Aelia with Hadrian's second provincial tour, not with his stay in the East in 117—*Mens. et Pond.* 14 (*PG* XLIII, 260-1). Likewise the date 119 for the revolt and the subsequent foundation of Aelia in *Chron. Pasch.*, I, 474.

¹⁷ See below, p. 434.

eventual restoration of the cult of Yahweh. It is credible that this aroused an opposition not felt against the earlier, more casual secularization of Jerusalem.¹⁸

Eusebius contradicts Dio in saying that Jerusalem was converted into Aelia Capitolina after and as a result of the revolt and in thus making the secularization of Jerusalem a part of the Jews' punishment.¹⁹ He gives no hint that the scheme was even mooted before, but Dio's date in itself raises no problems, and the two authorities can be combined without difficulty by supposing that Dio records the inception of the plan and Eusebius its fulfilment. Hadrian's progress through the provinces was marked by many new, enlarged or restored cities, and plans for the re-foundation of Jerusalem in 130 would harmonize with his actions elsewhere. Not that his proposal need be construed to mean that the whole site was still in complete ruins. A certain amount of the city had survived Titus' bombardment, and with a legion, a considerable Christian community,²⁰ and probably a fair number of Jews still resident there, some rebuilding must have taken place in the previous sixty years. Hadrian was not proposing to create a city *de novo* but in his role of *restitutor* to rejuvenate an impoverished and delapidated one on the material level, while possibly raising its status on the juridical side by giving it colonial rank.²¹ The creation of a Greco-Roman city to replace the Jewish capital can be seen as part of Hadrian's general policy of Hellenization, pursued elsewhere also in Palestine in the renaming of Sepphoris and the introduction of the imperial cult into Tiberias. His motives are not stated, but since benefaction was the keynote of his provincial tours, his purpose, however misguided, is likely to have been to benefit the Jews by reversing Titus' work and restoring their devastated city. But if so, his imposition of the new name of Aelia Capitolina, a name more significant than that of Hadrianopolis used elsewhere ²²

¹⁸ Epiph., *ibid.*, 15, says that the Pontic proselyte Aquila (whom he absurdly calls Hadrian's father-in-law) took charge of the work. His conversion from Christianity to Judaism (*l.c.*) occurs after the war in Midr. *Exod. R.* xxx, 12. But the fact that he was a pupil of Akiba puts his conversion before it—Hier., *In Esai.* viii, 11-15 (*CCL LXXIII*, 116); *JT Kidd.* i, 1 (Schwab IX, 203); in that case he is an improbable choice to supervise a project opposed by the Jews. Cf. Appendix A, p. 550.

¹⁹ *HE* iv, 6, 4.

²⁰ Church tradition holds that after 70 the Christians returned from Pella (above, p. 298, n. 18) to Jerusalem—Epiph., *l.c.*

²¹ Aelia was a colony after 135 (below, p. 459), but there is no evidence for its status in 130.

²² SHA, *Hadr.* 20, 4. For an example see above, p. 411.

in that it doubly honoured the emperor by commemorating both his *gens* and Jupiter Capitolinus with whom as Olympius he now claimed identity, was tactless and betrayed a total failure to appreciate Jewish feelings about Jerusalem. On the other hand, as will be shown, there is evidence suggesting that Bar Cochba's revolt was not a sudden and unexpected outbreak but the culmination of a period of mounting unrest, and in view of that it is possible that Hadrian's foundation of Aelia was an attempt to combat resurgent Jewish nationalism by the deliberate secularization of the sacred capital. In that case the inclusion of plans for a pagan temple on the site of the Jewish, incomprehensible if the new city was intended as a benefaction, would make some sense. But even as a precautionary measure it seems over-severe, and foreseeably likely to have the reverse effect to that desired. When no restrictions had been placed on the cult of Yahweh in 70 or 117, the striking of a blow at the heart of Judaism, a blow which would affect the Diaspora almost as bitterly as the Jews of Palestine, as early as 130 seems improbable. Whatever cause Hadrian had by then to suspect the Jews' political aspirations, he had no quarrel with their religion beyond his objection to circumcision; and the allegation in the *Historia Augusta* that he was hostile to foreign cults in general²³ cannot stand in the face of his visit to the shrine of Memnon and his portrayal of the Isis-cult as the contribution of Egypt to the empire on his "province" and *adventus* coins.²⁴ It is possible that Dio has antedated the desecration of the Temple site, and that the temple, the essential Capitolium, included in the original plans for Aelia was to have been part of the forum-complex in the centre of the Upper City, as it apparently was when the scheme was finally realized after the war, and that only then was an additional temple of Jupiter included, erected on the Jews' most sacred spot to increase the bitterness and humiliation of their punishment.²⁵

Jewish tradition about Hadrian includes a legend that the Roman government ordered the rebuilding of the Temple; that the Samaritans informed the emperor that the Jews would refuse to pay their taxes (i.e. would rebel) once their city was thus restored, and suggested that he should in effect countermand the order by insisting either that a different site should be used or that the traditional dimensions of the building should not be followed; and that when he did so,

²³ SHA, *Hadr.* 22, 10 *Sacra Romana diligentissime curavit, peregrina contempsit.*

²⁴ Bernand, *Memnon*, 28-32. *BMC, Imp.* III, 339-44, 489, 504-5.

²⁵ See below, p. 459.

only the common sense and persuasiveness of Rabbi Joshua ben Hananiah prevented Jewish annoyance from exploding into immediate armed revolt.²⁶ The idea that Rome ordered the restoration of the Temple, especially shortly after an abortive rising, is in itself wholly unacceptable historically, but the legend cannot be dismissed completely on that account, especially when it ascribes a decision in the Jews' favour to an emperor whom they normally execrated.²⁷ It may perhaps be linked with a passage in the *Epistle of Barnabas*, written between 70 and the outbreak of Bar Cochba's revolt, in which the prophecy of *Isaiah*, "those who destroyed the Temple will themselves rebuild it", is said to be on the point of fulfilment: "because the Jews made war, their Temple was destroyed; but now they together with the servants of their enemies (Rome) will rebuild it."²⁸ In view of the date of the composition of this work, the reference cannot be to Jewish plans for rebuilding during the revolt. But this passage and the Jewish legend together may reflect an unfounded hope or groundless assumption that the proposal of a beneficent and pacific emperor to restore Jerusalem would include the rebuilding of the Temple of Yahweh, or a Jewish failure to realize that a Roman city must have a temple to Roman gods.²⁹ Disillusionment consequent on the discovery of the truth would be credible as a contributory cause of the revolt.

The legend also points to a tense situation in the province under

²⁶ Midr. *Gen. R.* lxiv, 10. Hadrian is not named, but R. Joshua, one of the leading rabbis of the early second century, died shortly before Bar Cochba's revolt. On his position see R. Loewe in *JJS* xxv (1974), 147-54. The part played in the legend by Julianus and Pappus (above, p. 425, n. 146) fits a Hadrianic date.

²⁷ See below, p. 464.

²⁸ *Ep. Barn.* xvi, 3-4, quoting *Isai.* xlix, 17 (LXX version, different from the Hebrew) and continuing γίνεται· διὰ γὰρ τὸ πολεμεῖν αὐτοὺς καθήρεθ' ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων· νῦν καὶ αὐτοὶ [καὶ] οἱ τῶν ἔχθρων ὑπηρεταὶ ἀνοικοδομήσουσιν αὐτόν. Without [καὶ] (in one MS only), the builders will be either "the subjects (servants) of their enemy themselves" (so K. Lake, Loeb *Apost. Fathers* I; L. W. Barnard, *op. cit.*, 102-3) or "the Jews as subjects of their enemy"; with it they will be "the Jews in collaboration with . . ."

²⁹ Cf. H. Bietenhard in *Judaica* iv (1948-9), 95-100; Barnard, *op. cit.*, 107. The reference in *Ep. Barn.* is certainly not to the proposed temple of Jupiter (so Schürer, I (rev.), 536); αὐτόν is clearly the building which had been destroyed. With the omission, however, of γίνεται, lacking in some MSS, the reference may be merely to the general hope of an eventual restoration held by the Jews from 70 to 130; the argument of the whole chapter is that, since God cannot dwell in a man-made edifice, any rebuilt Temple will be ephemeral. For possible rebuilding see below, p. 445.

Hadrian, one in which a spark could easily start a conflagration, and this harmonizes with the evidence of Eusebius, who gives no specific cause for Bar Cochba's revolt but speaks of it as a spontaneous and unprovoked recrudescence of perennial Jewish nationalist militancy. His opening words, "When Jewish rebelliousness again reached serious proportions . . .",³⁰ could be a reference to the Diaspora revolts of 115-17, related a few pages previously, but it could equally well concern Palestine alone and mean that Bar Cochba's revolt was the climax of a period of increasing tension following on the recent abortive rising there. Conceivably Hadrian's abandonment of most of Trajan's eastern conquests immediately after his accession was taken by the Jews of Palestine as a sign of a decline in Roman power which they could turn to their own advantage. The Jewish tradition of a period of fifty-two years of peace rather than sixty between the fall of the Temple and the second revolt implies that disturbances were constant from early in Hadrian's reign,³¹ and evidence on the Roman side supports this.

The first known legate of Judaea after Lusius Quietus is Q. Tineius Rufus, consul in 127, who was in office when the revolt broke out and perhaps as early as 130.³² A consular appointment in peace time normally means the presence of more than one legion, and it seems almost certain that VI Ferrata, if not transferred to Palestine at the end of Trajan's reign,³³ was stationed there as part of the permanent garrison by 130.³⁴ A road was built in that year from Sepphoris to Caparcotna twenty miles to the south in the plain of Esdraelon, known to have been the station of VI Ferrata after 135, and though the milestone dating the work does not mention the legion which built it, the road presupposes that Caparcotna had some importance, and

³⁰ *HE* iv, 6, 1. Oros. vii, 13, 4 and Pausanias i, 5, 5 also give no cause, but both references to the revolt are brief.

³¹ Cf. above, pp. 424-5. The story of R. Akiba fixing the calendar, a ceremony normally performed in Judaea and attended by large crowds, in Babylonia (above, p. 416, n. 111) suggests that restrictions had been imposed on public gatherings in Palestine for fear of disorders. On the ceremony see Mantel, *Sanbedrin*, 179-87.

³² See below, p. 459, n. 122.

³³ See above, p. 422.

³⁴ III Cyrenaica from Egypt replaced VI Ferrata in Arabia in or before 127, the year in which II Traiana first appears in Egypt in its place—*CIL* III, 42 = Bernand, *Memnon*, 25. The undated evidence for vexillations of VI Ferrata at Sebaste and Eleutheropolis is probably post-war; see G. A. Reisner and others, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria* (1924) I, 251; J. Iliffe in *QDAP* ii (1933), 121-2.

this it lacked before becoming a legionary camp.³⁵ If the legionary strength in Palestine was doubled at or shortly before the time of Hadrian's visit rather than during the Trajanic unrest, this suggests that that small province was regarded as an actual or potential storm-centre even before the definite revolt began. Further evidence pointing in the same direction comes in a petition addressed to the legate of Palestine in 150 by a group of veterans from Alexandria who had begun their military service in 125 and 126 in the fleet at Misenum and then been transferred to X Fretensis, and who now ask for a certificate testifying that they have been discharged from the legion, not from the fleet. Their claim to have given "over twenty years good service" in the legion would put their transfer before 130, and the unusual step of drafting marines into a legion suggests some kind of emergency in the province of Judaea at that time.³⁶ The arrival of these Alexandrian soldiers may have been the occasion of a requisition known from a papyrus receipt dated 128; it was issued by "the collectors of public clothing" to a guild of weavers in an Egyptian village for nineteen tunics (of unspecified destination) and "five white cloaks for the military needs of the men serving in Judaea."³⁷ The presence of an auxiliary unit at Engedi in May 124 may also indicate unrest during the decade before the revolt, though the establishment of that garrison could equally well be a legacy of the disturbances under Trajan.³⁸

The reasons given by Dio and the *Historia Augusta* for Bar Cochba's revolt, though totally different and unconnected, are neither contradictory nor mutually exclusive; there can have been two separate but

³⁵ B. Lifschitz in *Lat.* xix (1960), 110-11; for a similar milestone, but lacking the tribunician number, see M. Avi-Yonah in *QDAP* xii (1946), 96. The road from Jerusalem to Caparcotna (later known as Legio), the vital link between the two legionary camps, is Hadrianic as far north as Neapolis but may be post-war, as the milestones lack precise dates; see M. Avi-Yonah in *IEJ* i (1950-1), 59-60. Inscriptions honouring the son of a consul of 152 provide the earliest dated evidence for VI Ferrata at Caparcotna (*ILS* 8976; *JRS* vi (1916), 129-31), but the road confirms the assumption that it was stationed there from the start.

³⁶ *Pap. greci e lat.* (Pubbl. Soc. Ital.) 1026 = *CIL* XVI, App., no. 13. The wording of the petition is somewhat clumsy, and G. Vitelli suggests (*l.c.*) that the legion needed reinforcement because of the Jewish revolt, and that the clause [*a(nnos)*] *super XX omnia nobis uti bonis militibus constitierint* is misplaced, referring to the veterans' total service in fleet and legion combined, not to the latter alone. Cf. A. Degraffi in *Aegyptus* x (1929), 242-54. But is it not both possible and preferable to take the document at its face value?

³⁷ *P. Ryl.* II, 189.

³⁸ Cf. above, p. 422.

simultaneous grounds for Jewish indignation against Rome. And they are complementary to rather than incompatible with the evidence for continuous and increasing unrest eventually issuing in open rebellion: endemic nationalism, never wholly dormant, kept the Jews in a state of mounting tension from the time of the abortive rising under Trajan until two specific acts of provocation on the Roman side (the foundation of Aelia possibly itself provoked by Jewish restlessness) pushed them over the brink. The pattern may not have been altogether dissimilar to that of the decade before 66.³⁹

The Course of the Revolt

Dio says that "while Hadrian was at hand in Egypt and again in Syria, the Jews remained quiet, except that they deliberately made the weapons requisitioned from them of inferior quality, so that the Romans would reject them and they themselves would have the use of them; but once he was at a safe distance, they rebelled openly."⁴⁰ Jewish legends present at least superficially friendly relations between the emperor and the Jews during his visit to Palestine: conversations are recorded between Rabbi Joshua ben Hananiah and Hadrian, in which the emperor, *omnium curiositatum explorator* in Tertullian's words, asks friendly and intelligent questions about Jewish Law, customs and thought;⁴¹ and in an encounter with an aged Jew near Tiberias

³⁹ H. Mantel in his study of the causes of the revolt dates its effective start to the early 120s and argues for several years of successful opposition which provoked repressive decrees and culminated in the temporary overthrow of Roman power in 132—in *JQR* 2 lviii (1967-8), 224-42, 274-96. (But there is no evidence for XXII Deiotariana in Palestine before 127, and Publicius Marcellus (below, p. 447) did not replace Tinnius (*sic*) Rufus as legate of Judaea before 127 (237-9).) L. Finkelstein, *Akiba* (1962), 235-61, has a somewhat similar conception of the history of the decade, with the decrees issued c. 125 (after Tineius Rufus' appointment). But the evidence of Juvenal (above, p. 429, n. 5) is against this early date for the Hadrianic "persecution".

⁴⁰ Dio lxi, 12, 2. Hadrian's presence in Egypt is attested to November 130—Bernand, *Memnon*, 28-32. There is no trace of a second visit to Palestine, but if his return to Syria is authentic, sea-travel there is possible.

⁴¹ Tert., *Apol.* 5, 7. Midr. *Gen. R.* x, 3; xxviii, 3; lxxviii, 1; *Levit. R.* xviii, 1; *Ruth R.* iii, 2; *Eccl. R.* ix, 4; xii, 5; *Lament R.* iii, 23, § 8; BT *Hul.* 59b-60a; *Shab.* 119a, 152a. Cf. BT *Ta'an.* 7a and *Ned.* 50b for a conversation between R. Joshua and "the emperor's daughter"; Midr. *Gen. R.* xiii, 9 for a visit of R. Joshua and R. Eliezer to Rome, where they talked with Hadrian. (Several of the stories occur more than once.) For discussion see W. Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten* I² (1903), 171-82; *JE* s.v. *Joshua b. Hananiah*; M. D. Herr in *Scr. Hier.* xxii (1971), 142-3. Similar conversations between R. Akiba and Tineius Rufus will belong to the same period—BT *BB* 10a; *Sanh.* 65b; Midr. *Gen. R.* xi, 5.

he shows a kindly concern for his subjects combined with a shrewd disinclination to let them take advantage of it.⁴² But beneath the surface discontent simmered. Dio's story of Roman gullibility over the manufacture of faulty weapons is singularly unconvincing, but the early successes of the Jewish rebels and the length and ferocity of their resistance indicate intensive preparations beforehand, though not necessarily over a period of more than a year or two.

A Jewish legend, ostensibly giving the reason for the fall of Bethar, may indicate the kind of trivial fracas which triggered off the revolt that had become inevitable. Some Roman soldiers cut a branch off a tree with religious significance for the Jews to repair a litter conveying the emperor's daughter; when the Jews retaliated with violence, the emperor was informed that a rebellion was starting and sent troops to quell it.⁴³ Little weight can be put on the details of a story involving a non-existent daughter of Hadrian in Palestine at a time when Dio explicitly says that Hadrian was not there, but the picture of friction over a minor matter causing a tense situation to explode into violence may well be valid.

The rebel leader (not mentioned individually by Dio) is known to Church writers only as Bar Cochba, "son of a star". To Eusebius he is a charlatan, "a murderous brigand who traded on his title and pretended to be a star which had descended from heaven to give light to the oppressed by miracles."⁴⁴ Bar Cochba was a messianic title based on the prophecy in *Numbers* "there shall come forth a star out of Jacob" to lead Israel to victory, and seems to have been conferred on him by Akiba, one of the leading rabbis, who accepted him as the messiah despite the assurance of a more sceptical rabbi that "grass will grow on your cheeks, Akiba, before the son of David comes."⁴⁵ Bar Cochba's true name and his official position are given on papyri from Murabba'at and Nahal Hever issued by or in the name of "Simon bar Cosiba, Nasi of Israel", or referring to him.⁴⁶ Many

⁴² Midr. *Levit. R.* xxv, 5. The details cannot be pressed, since Hadrian is made to stay long enough for newly planted figshoots to mature and bear fruit.

⁴³ BT *Gitt.* 57a.

⁴⁴ *HE* iv, 6, 2. According to Hier., *Apol. in Libr. Rufini* iii, 31 (*PL* XXIII, 502), he held a lighted straw in his mouth, to give the impression that he was breathing fire.

⁴⁵ *Num.* xxiv, 17 ff.; Midr. *Lament. R.* ii, 2, § 4; JT *Ta'an.* iv, 5 (Schwab VI, 189). Cf. earlier uses of the prophecy in the Qumran literature—*Zadokite Document* vii, 19; *War of the Sons of Light* . . . xi, 6-7.

⁴⁶ *DJD* II, nos. 24, 43-4; the Nahal Hever documents, published by Y. Yadin in *IEJ* xi (1961), 40-52 (fifteen letters, one on wood and the rest on

of the coins minted by the rebels (below) bear, usually on the obverse, his personal name Simeon (Simon), sometimes followed by the title Nasi of Israel, while rabbinic literature regularly uses the patronymic alone (sometimes in the form Bar Coziba, "son of lies", a derogatory perversion of the name presumably devised after the revolt to give vent to the disillusionment felt after its failure).⁴⁷ The nationalistic title Nasi of Israel, found at no other time, may have been created for Bar Cosiba to give him authority equal or superior to that of the Nasi at Jamnia, whose political functions as leader of the Jewish people he thus arrogated to himself. But despite his messianic claim, he is not said to have taken the presidency of the Sanhedrin, traditionally hereditary, or indeed to have been a rabbi qualified for Sanhedrin membership. There is no evidence that he held the title of "king" (assumed by the Cyrenaican leader in 115) either, but his own messianic claim, authenticated by the recognition given him by Akiba, was implied in his order that Christians should be punished severely if they refused to accept him as messiah in place of Jesus.⁴⁸

A few of the rebel coins bear another name, Eleazar the Priest, usually on the reverse.⁴⁹ His appearance there, even though he receives less prominence than Simeon, shows that he was one of the figureheads of the revolt. His identity is uncertain; the most favoured of the various suggestions made is that he is Eleazar ben Azariah, a member of a priestly family and an eminent rabbi, though Bar Cochba's uncle, Eleazar of Modiin, is also a possibility. The legend

papyrus), and xii (1962), 248-57 (five legal documents); Yadin, *Bar Kokhba*, 124-39, 175-81. The name Simon bar Cosiba, once followed by Nasi of Israel, is at least partly legible on most of the Nahal Hever letters and can be restored on the rest. The use of *shin* on the coins and *samekh* on the papyri in the word Nasi is of as little significance as the oscillation between the two letters in the name Cosiba on the papyri. The bulk of the papyri are in Hebrew or Aramaic, but one of the two in Greek (*IEJ* xi, no. 6) vindicates the vocalization of the patronymic as Cosiba.

⁴⁷ The attribution of all the coins of Simeon and Eleazar (below) and of the coins with similar types on which "Jerusalem" replaces the personal names (some of them assigned to 66-70 by nineteenth century numismatists) to Bar Cochba's revolt is now established; see *BMC, Pal.*, civ-cv, 284-316; Reifenberg, 33-4, 60-6. Cf. references to "coins of Bar Cosiba" in *BT BK* 97b; *JT MSb* i, 2 (Schwab III, 201); *Tos. MSb* i, 5.

⁴⁸ *Just. Mart.*, *Apol.* i, 31, 6, quoted by Eus., *HE* iv, 8, 4; cf. *Chron. Hadr.* XVII; *Oros.* vii, 13, 4. Bar Cochba claimed the essential qualities of the messiah—*BT Sanh.* 93b. The Jews hoped that the messiah had been born at the time of the destruction of the Temple—*Midr. Lament. R.* i, 16, § 51; *JT Ber.* ii, 4 (Schwab I, 41-2); cf. L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* VI (1928), 406, n. 53.

⁴⁹ For a detailed study see L. Mildenberg in *Historia Judaica* xi (1949), 77-108.

recalls the Hasmonaean coins struck in the name of the High Priest, but there is no trace of the actual title "High Priest" at this time. According to Jewish Law, "no king or High Priest shall be set up except by the court of the seventy-one", i.e. by the Great Sanhedrin meeting in the Temple. Since the Great Sanhedrin could not be convened in the absence of a Temple, the creation of a High Priest was ruled out.⁵⁰ But the prominence given to a priest on the coinage was surely connected with the rebels' aim of restoring the Temple and its cult, and Eleazar was clearly the religious leader, parallel but subordinate to the political and military leader.

It is generally accepted that the revolt broke out in the spring of 132. Tradition gives its duration as three years and a half, and its final suppression in the late summer of 135 is undisputed.⁵¹ A new era was proclaimed by the rebels, the era of "the redemption of Israel by Simon bar Cosiba, Nasi of Israel", which probably ran from Nisan 132. The formula was used in full to date legal documents issued by the authority of the rebel government and in a shorter form on their coins.⁵²

Dio says that when the revolt first broke out, "the Romans took no notice; but soon the whole of Judaea was up in arms and Jews throughout the world were supporting the movement by acts of secret and overt hostility towards Rome, with the result that practically the whole world was in turmoil."⁵³ But this seems to be an exaggeration, aimed at enhancing the eventual Roman victory. Egyptian papyri give no hint that the Jews there tried to create a diversion by another rising—hardly surprisingly, after their losses only fifteen

⁵⁰ So Mantel (reference above, p. 438, n. 39), 283-4.

⁵¹ Hier., *In Dan.* ix, 24 (CCL LXXVa, 888); *Seder Olam Rabbah* 30 (above, p. 113, n. 35; text in Schürer, I (rev.), 534, n. 92). (In *BT Sanh.* 93b and 97b, however, "the kingdom of Bar Cosiba" lasts for only two years and a half.) Eus., *Chron.* Hadr. XVI, puts the outbreak in 132-3; for his reckoning see above, p. 393, n. 11.

⁵² *DJD* II, nos. 22-5, 29-30; *IEJ* xii, 248-57. Two of the latter group (inadvertently?) give the date simply as "the third year of Simon bar Cosiba, Nasi of Israel". Milik uses the synchronization between the rebel era and the sabbatical cycle on one of the Murabba'at documents, *DJD* II, no. 24, to calculate that the new era was in use by November 131. But against this attempt to move the outbreak forward to the autumn of 131 see B. Kanael in *IEJ* xxi (1971), 39-46, arguing for the era Nisan 132; Yadin, *Bar Kokhba*, 183; cf. L. Huteau-Dubois in *REJ* cxxvii (1968), 179. *DJD* II, no. 30, however, then poses a problem; its date, Tishri of the fourth year, would be October 135, after the war was over.

⁵³ Dio lxix, 13, 1-2.

years earlier;⁵⁴ and there is no evidence for simultaneous unrest among other Diaspora communities within the empire. It is possible that some Parthian Jews gave help as individuals, but it is unlikely that the Parthian government will have been prepared to risk antagonizing Rome by authorizing support for what was clearly a forlorn cause.⁵⁵ Some Jews from within the empire may have gone to Palestine as volunteers: the Nahal Hever papyri include a collection of legal documents dated from 93/4 to August 132, concerning the property and personal affairs of a Jewish family which returned during the revolt from the area south east of the Dead Sea, in the province of Arabia, to their original home in Engedi.⁵⁶ Their reason for exchanging the security of Arabia for the turmoil of Palestine may have been that they were zealous patriots (they were connected by marriage with one of Bar Cosiba's army officers, known from other papyri to have been based on Engedi⁵⁷) anxious to add their weight to the cause of freedom. Alternatively, this very connection and their presumed sympathies may have made them sufficiently suspect and unpopular in Arabia for them to seek safety in flight. As for gentile support for the rebels, it is an implausible idea at the best, in view of gentile sufferings at Jewish hands in 115-17, and if there had been any empire-wide movement designed to embarrass Rome at this time, our sources, scanty though they are, would surely preserve some traces of it to corroborate Dio.⁵⁸

In its context Dio's phrase "the whole of Judaea" most probably means the whole province, not merely Judaea proper. There is little doubt that Judaea proper bore the brunt of the actual fighting, since it was there that resistance continued the longest, and the majority of the rebel coins have been found in Judaea; but it is barely conceivable

⁵⁴ The Jewish *τάραχος* of *CPJ* 449, with the date read as 136-7, was originally taken as an echo of Bar Cochba's revolt. But see above, p. 400, n. 38.

⁵⁵ For the suggestion that the purpose of R. Akiba's extensive travels was to win the support of the eastern Diaspora for the nationalist cause in the years before the open revolt see Mantel (reference above, p. 438, n. 39), 290-1. His martyrdom after the war together with his acceptance of Bar Cosiba show him to have been actively anti-Roman.

⁵⁶ The "archive of Babata", published by Y. Yadin in *IEJ* xii (1962), 235-48, and H. J. Polotsky, *ibid.*, 258-62; Yadin, *Bar Kokhba*, 222-53.

⁵⁷ See below, p. 452.

⁵⁸ *Thyrsis bar Tinianus*, mentioned on an Engedi papyrus as (apparently) co-operating with the rebels, is regarded as a gentile by Yadin, in *IEJ* xi, no. 11. But this does not necessarily follow from his name; Josephus and the N.T. provide evidence for Jews with Greek, and occasionally with Roman, names. He may have been a prisoner. Cf. L. Huteau-Dubois, *op. cit.*, 180.

that the Jews of Galilee held aloof from the revolt completely, and there are indications of hostilities there in the burial of a Roman legionary at Scythopolis (though technically outside Galilee), in a reference to Galilaeans on a Murabba'at papyrus, in evidence for land-confiscations in Galilee after the war, and in the inclusion of an anti-Roman movement in Kefar-Haruba in Galilee and the consequent reduction of the town in the Jewish tradition about the war.⁵⁹

The advantage of surprise on the Jewish side together with the apparent Roman reluctance to take the rising seriously enabled the rebels to achieve the considerable initial success of seizing or establishing at least fifty strongholds throughout the country.⁶⁰ Their geographical distribution is not known but one can be identified—Herodion, where numerous coins of the revolt and a deep occupation layer testify to long use, and where some of the post-Herodian fortifications may be of this date.⁶¹ Surprisingly, however, Masada was not reoccupied, to judge from the complete absence of coins and other finds of the Bar Cochba period there.⁶² But the recovery of Jerusalem by the ejection of the Roman garrison as a prelude to the restoration of the Temple and its cult were clearly the rebels' primary objective. They not only realized it at an early stage but they apparently held their own against Rome for a couple of years.

It was probably soon after the recovery of Jerusalem that a mint was established striking both silver and bronze. But instead of producing new blanks, as had been done in 66-70, the rebels on this occasion defaced gentile coins—some silver tetradrachms, larger numbers of denarii, and various bronzes—by erasing the imperial portraits and types as a symbolic gesture of defiance, and re-struck them. Traces of the original designs still survive on a few, occasionally sufficient for the emperor or even the precise type to be identified. The earliest recognizable originals are of Galba, and the latest is a

⁵⁹ See below, pp. 448, n. 75 ; 453, 463. For Kefar-Haruba see Midr. *Lament.* R. ii, 2, § 4. It is true that Dio normally uses the post-war name of the province, Palestine, not Judaea, to denote the whole country throughout his history ; but contrast lxix, 11, 1 ; lxxv, 2, 4 ; and (more significant) lv, 23, 3-4. Against the thesis that fighting was confined to Judaea see S. Applebaum's summary of S. Yevin, *The War of Bar Cochba* (Hebrew) in *JJS* i (1948-9), 120.

⁶⁰ See the later Roman capture of "fifty of the most important Jewish strongholds" (below, p. 451).

⁶¹ See V. C. Corbo in *SBFLA* xiii (1962), 219-77 ; xvii (1967), 65-121, especially 113-16.

⁶² See Y. Yadin in *IEJ* xv (1965), 119. His argument that Masada would have formed a trap would surely apply to Herodion also.

Gazan coin of 131-2.⁶³ Some of the coins issued by the rebel mint are dated "The first year of the redemption of Israel", others (more numerous) "The second year of the freedom of Israel". No higher dates are known, but die-sequences show that the many undated coins with the legend "For (of?) the freedom of Jerusalem" follow the dated coins and belong to the third year of the revolt.⁶⁴

There is no explicit literary reference to the Jewish recovery of Jerusalem. The evidence for it is the siege and destruction of the city by Hadrian, an action which would not have been necessary and would not have been taken, had the rebels not regained possession. The most valuable and conclusive witness is the contemporary Appian, who after mentioning Pompey's sack of Jerusalem brings the story briefly up to date: "the city was rebuilt, destroyed by Vespasian, and destroyed again in my own day by Hadrian"; Justin Martyr, also a contemporary, speaks of the "capture" of Jerusalem; Eusebius, after a passing reference to Titus' destruction of half of Jerusalem, says that "when a second Jewish revolt occurred in Hadrian's reign, the remaining half of the city was besieged and destroyed"; and Jerome speaks several times of Hadrian's sack of Jerusalem.⁶⁵

One of the rebel coin-types, without parallel among Hasmonaean coins or the coinage of 66-70, is a symbolic representation of the Temple in the form of four columns surmounted by an architrave, with the Torah-shrine (a domed, shelved niche containing rolls of the Law shown end-on as dots) in the central intercolumniation; above the architrave there usually stands a star (sometimes reduced

⁶³ For a detailed study see A. Kindler in *Numismatic Studies and Researches* (Public. Israel Numis. Soc.) ii (1958), 62-80. For the Gazan coin see L. Miltenberg in *Schweiz. Numis. Rundschau* xxxiv (1948-9), 19-27.

⁶⁴ See Miltenberg in *Hist. Jud.* xi, 97, 99-100; Reifenberg, 34-5. Hybrids give the dating sequence: dies of the first year are combined with dies of the second, and dies of the second with the undated series, but not dies of the first year with undated types; see Kindler, *op. cit.*, 67-8, 72. On the coin-formulae see B. Kanael in *IEJ* xxi (1971), 39-46, suggesting that in the third year the era "of the freedom of Israel" was renamed "... of Jerusalem".

⁶⁵ App., *Syr.* 50. Justin Mart., *Dial.* 108, 3 (to Trypho, a Jew, after 135; but cf. below, p. 471) καὶ ἀλούσης ὑμῶν τῆς πόλεως. Eus., *DE* vi, 18, 10. Hier. in *Ezech.* II, 5, on v, 1-4 (*CCL* LXXV, 55); etc. Jerome's date, fifty years after Titus' destruction of the Temple (or forty nine—*In Dan.* ix, 24 (*CCL* LXXVa, 887)), may derive from confusion with the "war of Quietus"; cf. the Jewish date for the fall of Bethar (above, p. 424). For his use of Jewish sources see *In Zach.* viii, 18-19 (*CCL* LXXVIa, 820) *cogimur igitur ad Hebraeos recurrere*. On the question of the refortification of Jerusalem see Appendix C.

to a simple cross), a clear allusion to Bar Cochba; the legend is sometimes "Simeon", sometimes "Jerusalem".⁶⁶ Other types, similar in character to the types used by the Hasmonaeans and in 66-70, show objects associated with the Jewish cult, such as the trumpets used in the Temple, the citron and the branches of palm and other trees used in the Feast of Tabernacles (perhaps the first festival celebrated in liberated Jerusalem in 132), and the lyre which provided music at festivals, as well as grapes and palm trees typifying the products of the country. The design of the Temple on rebel coins could be no more than a programme-type, the expression of a pious hope and aim. But it is possible that a start was made with the actual rebuilding of the Temple, though the literary evidence for it is indefinite and late. There are references in Jewish literature to Hadrian, or alternatively Tineius Rufus, destroying the Temple, and this tradition appears in the *Chronicon Paschale*.⁶⁷ This may be no more than a colourful way of saying that Hadrian desecrated the site irreparably by the erection of a pagan temple on it, or no more than an extrapolation of an unrealized dream or of plans which the rebels had no time to put into effect. But it has some value as supporting evidence that the Jews regained possession of Jerusalem and held it for some time. Whether the Jews were in fact able to begin the restoration of the Temple or not, the resumption of their central rite of circumcision went without saying, and Jewish literature records how "in the days of Bar Cosiba" men who had undergone epispasm were re-circumcised, possibly as the prerequisite for entry into the holy city, now purged of gentiles.⁶⁸

Much, perhaps the whole, of Judaea came completely under the rebels' control and remained in their hands until the end of the war. Bar Cosiba took over civil administration as well as the direction of

⁶⁶ *BMC, Pal.*, 284-7. The Torah-shrine is commonly represented in Jewish art as on these coins. On a few examples a wavy line replaces the star, perhaps symbolizing the cloud hovering over the holy place. Numerous interpretations have been offered for the design, notably that it represents the screen of the Tabernacle with the Ark of the Covenant (so Hill in *BMC, Pal.*, *l.c.*; cf. E. Rogers in *Numis. Chron.*⁴ xi (1911), 205-8). But a pictorial expression of the aim of the revolt is more probable. Cf. Vincent and Stève, *JAT*, 773-4.

⁶⁷ *Midr. Deut. R.* iii, 13; cf. *Exod. R.* li, 5 (where, however, "Titus" should perhaps be read for "Hadrian"); *BT Ta'an.* 29a; *Chron. Pasch.* I, 474. The emperor Julian, *Letter to a Priest* 295c, speaks of three destructions of the Temple; the authors are not named, but the last of the trio is presumably Hadrian. Cf. John Chrysostom, *In Iud.* v, 10 (*PG XLVIII*, 899-900), on three abortive Jewish attempts to rebuild.

⁶⁸ *BT Yeb.* 72a; *JT Shab.* xix, 2 (Schwab IV, 180); *Midr. Gen. R.* xlvi, 13. Cf. Abel, *HP II*, 90.

military operations, appointed local civil officials, quite distinct from his army commanders, to act in his name, and as *de facto* ruler assumed responsibility for land which had been Roman property since 70. The Nahal Hever and Murabba'at papyri include leases for parcels of state-land issued by "the administrators of Bar Cosiba, Nasi of Israel" from their registries in the toparchy capitals of Engedi (incidental evidence that the Roman auxiliary garrison⁶⁹ had been expelled at the beginning of the revolt) and Herodion. The dates when the leases were granted run from the spring of 132 to the end of 133, showing that for at least two years the area was firmly in the rebels' hands and the régime was regarded as stable and permanent enough for long-term financial commitments to be undertaken.⁷⁰ This tallies with Dio's picture of the Romans at first minimizing the danger and allowing the revolt to get out of hand and to develop into a major war.

Witness is borne to the magnitude of the Jewish threat by the scale on which reinforcements were sent to Palestine, some from a considerable distance, by the quality of the Roman command, and by Hadrian's personal visit to the front. The resident legions, X Fretensis and VI Ferrata, obviously bore the brunt of the initial Jewish onslaught, but neither Dio nor Eusebius admits or even hints at the ejection of the former from Jerusalem which must have been one of the rebels' first achievements.⁷¹ Eusebius speaks of reinforcements sent to Tineius Rufus, and the earliest was probably XXII Deiotariana from Egypt. That legion, attested up to 119 in Egypt, is missing from an army list of the mid-second century and never reappears. The

⁶⁹ See above, p. 422.

⁷⁰ *IEJ* xii, 249-57, nos. 42-6 (cf. Yadin, *Bar Kokhba*, 175-81); *DJD* II, no. 24 (with the corrections suggested by Yadin in *IEJ* xi, 51-2, and xii, 253-4; but cf. E. M. Laperrousaz in *Syria* xli (1964), 347-58), implying Bar Cosiba's ownership of the land. The position of "administrator", specified for the official in charge of the transactions on the Nahal Hever documents, can be assumed on the Murabba'at leases. Rent is payable in cash at Engedi, in kind at Herodion. Milik's interpretation of the tithe payable to the treasury at Herodion (*DJD* II, p. 123; cf. Corbo in *SBFLA* xvii, 116 for the building) as *annona militaris* is doubted by K. M. T. Atkinson in *JRS* lii (1962), 260. These bundles of legal documents may have been removed from the registries to the caves in the face of the Roman advance.

⁷¹ *ILS* 2080, the cursus of a centurion of X Fretensis decorated by Hadrian *ob bell. Iudaicum*, is the sole epigraphic evidence for its participation in the war; this together with the total absence of epigraphic evidence for the participation of VI Ferrata, suggests that both were crippled at an early stage. The tale that Bar Cosiba "would catch the missiles from the enemy's catapults on his knee and hurl them back" (*Midr. Lament. R.* ii, 2, § 4) may be based on the capture and use of Roman artillery by the Jews.

most plausible explanation of its disappearance is that, as one of the most accessible legions, it was summoned to Palestine after the collapse of the resident garrison, and annihilated by the rebels. Fronto's attempt to console Marcus Aurelius for a severe reverse by reminding him of previous disasters including "heavy slaughter inflicted by the Jews during Hadrian's reign" could be a reference to such a loss, though it could equally well concern general Roman losses in the war.⁷²

One of the Syrian legions, III Gallica, served against the Jews (though whether the whole or only part of it is not known), and it is quite likely to have been the first to replace the ill-fated XXII Deiotariana and to have gone to Palestine in 132 or 133 with C. Publicius Marcellus, legate of Syria, who was seconded from his post, presumably as the most competent general within reach, to retrieve the Roman position.⁷³ No other Syrian legion is known to have fought in Palestine, but a call was made on the second Egyptian legion, II Traiana, which sent a detachment, and on III Cyrenaica from Arabia.⁷⁴ But Marcellus and the reinforcements from adjacent provinces evidently proved inadequate, for troops had to be drafted in from further afield: detachments of V Macedonica and XI Claudia from Moesia Inferior and of X Gemina from Pannonia Superior in all probability fought in the later stages of the war.⁷⁵ For a commander

⁷² *FIRA* I, 78 ; *ILS* 2288. Fronto, *De Bello Parth.* 2 (in *M. Corn. Frontonis Epistulae*, ed. M. P. J. van den Hout (1954), 206) *avo vestro Hadriano imperium obtinente, quantum militum a Iudaeis . . . caesum?* Cf. below, p. 450. Kindler, *op. cit.*, 68, suggests that the Roman coins re-struck by the rebels were the pay-chest of XXII Deiotariana captured at its defeat ; most of the city coins used are from Gaza and Ascalon, on the route of a legion coming from Egypt. XXII may, however, have been annihilated in Cappadocia in 159.

⁷³ *CIL* XII, 2230 records an *emeritus* of III Gallica decorated by Hadrian for services unspecified but almost certainly in the Jewish war, since he was discharged by Antoninus Pius. *ILS* 8826 = *IGRR* III, 174 (175 is almost identical) = *OGIS* 543 gives the cursus of C. Julius Severus, legate of IV Scythica, who was left in charge of Syria ἡνικα Πουβλ[ι]χιος Μάρκελλος διὰ τὴν κίνησιν τὴν Ἰουδαϊκὴν μεταβεβήκε[ι] ἀπὸ Συρίας. The *terminus ante quem* is 133-4, when Severus was succeeded by C. Julius Scapula, who commanded IV Scythica before his proconsulship of Achaia in 135-6 ; see *PIR*², s.vv. *Iulius* 554 and 573.

⁷⁴ *ILS* 2083 gives the cursus of a soldier who ended his career as centurion of III Cyrenaica and II Traiana successively and was decorated by Hadrian *ob bellum Iudeicum* ; since he was also decorated in Trajan's Parthian war, he must have won his decoration late in his career, but in which legion is not clear. For other evidence for II Traiana see below, p. 449. *ILS* 1071 records a military tribune of III Cyrenaica decorated by Hadrian *ob Iudaicam expeditionem*.

⁷⁵ *CIL* III, 14155², from Bethar, mentions vexillations of V Macedonica and XI Claudia, but without reference to the war. The location, though not

to finish off the war Hadrian had to look to an even remoter province: he "sent the best of his generals against the Jews, the foremost being (Sextus) Julius Severus, who was summoned from Britain, where he was governor."⁷⁶

Evidence for the auxiliaries who fought against the Jews is scantier than that for the legions. The three cavalry and twelve infantry units recorded as stationed in Palestine in 139 (not necessarily the full complement of the province) most probably served in the war and then remained as the post-war garrison, but only one of them is definitely attested there before the war.⁷⁷ One of the units appears to have been in Britain in 124, in which case it presumably accompanied Severus to Palestine.⁷⁸ Several of the units were probably called in from Syria,⁷⁹ and others may have come with the legionaries from the Danube.⁸⁰

conclusive, is suggestive, and there is numismatic evidence for V Macedonica at the end of the war (below, p. 461, n. 129). Three undated tombstones of men of that legion at Emmaus may belong equally well to 66-70 (above, p. 311, n. 75), but the tombstone of a soldier of XI Claudia at Scythopolis is assigned to Bar Cochba's war; see M. Avi-Yonah in *QDAP* viii (1939), 57-9. *CIL* VI, 3505 records a military tribute of X Gemina *missus a divo Hadriano in expeditione Iudaica ad vexilla[tiones] (or -em) deducendas (or -am) . . .*; the detachment(s) presumably came from or included men of the officer's own legion. For the lists of legions used in the Jewish war drawn up by Yevin and Allon in works in Hebrew see J. Meyshan in *PEQ* xc (1958), 20.

⁷⁶ Dio lxix, 13, 2, where *πρωτος* is not likely to mean that Severus was the first to be summoned.

⁷⁷ Diploma, *CIL* XVI, 87, showing no overlap with the units of the diploma of 86 (above, p. 334). *Cohors I Thracum milliaria* was at Engeddi in 124 (above, p. 422).

⁷⁸ *Cohors III Bracaraugustanorum*—*CIL* XVI, 70; but it is elsewhere attested in Raetia in the second century, and the British diploma of 122 (*CIL* XVI, 69) gives *cohors III Bracarorum* instead. *ILS* 1092 gives an inverse cursus ending *tr. mil. . . . leg. X G. p. [f. e]t leg. [III] Gallicae, praef. coh. IIII Lingonum, vexillo mi[l. d]onato a divo Hadriano in expeditione Iudaic[a]*. Both these legions fought in Palestine. But if, as the word order suggests, the decoration was won in the *cohors IIII Lingonum*, in Britain in 122 (*CIL* XVI, 69), that unit (not on the diploma of 139) probably accompanied Severus to Palestine.

⁷⁹ Four of the units of 139 are attested in Syria in 88 and 91—*CIL* xvi, 35; *AE* 1961, 319. But one of them, *cohors IV Bracaraugustanorum*, was in Judaea some time between 70 and 135 (*CIL* VIII, 7079, with XII Fulminata in Cappadocia giving the *terminus post quem*), and it may have moved in, perhaps with others, during the Trajanic unrest.

⁸⁰ *Cohors I Montanorum* (diploma of 139) was in Moesia Superior in 100—*CIL* XVI, 46, with the note on XVI, 175. For auxiliaries from Pannonia Superior in Sebaste see below, p. 458, n. 119. A. Radnóti suggests that three units from Raetia were summoned to Palestine—in *Germania* xxxix (1961), 101, 114. On the units of the diploma of 139 see further Hüttel, *AP* I, 250-2.

The Syrian fleet also played a part in the operations,⁸¹ probably undertaking naval engagements to protect or recover coastal cities from the rebels, among them Caesarea, which as the Roman capital was an obvious target for Jewish attack, and Hadrianic inscriptions concerning forestry work on Mt Lebanon⁸² may be related to ship-building during the Jewish war. Inscriptions on the aqueduct at Caesarea, Hadrianic but not precisely dated, name detachments of X Fretensis, VI Ferrata and II Traiana. The Jewish war is not mentioned but is the only known event of Hadrian's reign likely to have brought men of II Traiana from Egypt to Palestine. The texts are sufficiently similar to be taken as contemporaneous, and probably record work done towards or after the end of the war to repair, not normal delapidations but wilful damage inflicted on the aqueduct by the rebels in an attempt to inconvenience the Roman administration.⁸³

The extreme measure of summoning a general from the opposite end of the empire, testifying both to Julius Severus' high reputation and to a critical situation in Palestine, is probably to be dated to 134, but precise evidence is lacking. He apparently acted as commander-in-chief but did not wholly oust Tineius Rufus, who as legate continued to play a sufficiently prominent military role for his name, not that of Severus, to be associated with the end of the war in Jewish and Christian tradition.⁸⁴ Severus' arrival marked the turn of the tide in Rome's favour. The apparent closure of the rebel mint, almost certainly located in Jerusalem, in the third year of the revolt, dates the Roman recapture of the capital, which can reasonably be attributed to Severus.

⁸¹ *ILS* 1400 *prae f. classis Syr., donis militaribus donato a divo Hadriano ob bellum Iudaicum*. For the decoration following the post in which it was won in an inverse cursus cf. *ILS* 1092 (above). The decoration suggests some more exacting operation than mere transport duties. *CIL* VI, 1565, which includes ... bello Iudae[ico] ... liburni [... c]lassis ... orae mari[timae] ..., may be Hadrianic but could equally concern naval operations in 67. On the *classis Syriaca* see P. Thomsen in *ZDPV* lxxviii (1951), 73-89.

⁸² *ILS* 9384-6; R. Mouterde in *Mél. Univ. St. Jos. Beyrouth* xxv (1942-3), 41-7; xxxiv (1957), 230-4.

⁸³ B. Lifschitz in *Lat.* xix (1960), 110; A. Negev in *IEJ* xiv (1964), 244-8 (casting serious doubt on the evidence previously drawn from *AE* 1904, 91, for the presence of II Traiana); and in xxii (1972), 52-3. The repairs are probably not to be connected with the earthquake damage at Caesarea a few years before the revolt (above, p. 432); such an essential installation will have been repaired immediately.

⁸⁴ *BT Ta'an.* 29a; *Midr. Lament. R.* iii, 44; *Eus., HE* iv, 6, 1; *Hier., In Zach.* viii, 18-19 (*CCL* LXXVIa, 820). Cf. above, p. 445; below, pp. 457, 459, n. 122; Appendix A, p. 550.

Hadrian paid a second visit to Palestine during the war, perhaps at the time of Severus' appointment. This visit is never explicitly mentioned but Dio obliquely indicates his presence at the front in his report that because of the heavy losses incurred Hadrian did not preface his dispatch to the senate with the customary formula "If you and your children are in good health, all is well; the legions and I are in good health."⁸⁵ The post of "aide-de-camp to Hadrian on his Jewish campaign" held by Q. Lollius Urbicus also implies the emperor's personal presence.⁸⁶ Hadrian was in Rome in May 134,⁸⁷ and it seems more probable that he went to Palestine later that summer, possibly staying over the winter until the final campaign, than that he went out early in the war and left when the tide turned in Rome's favour. Dio's reference to his dispatch is inconclusive for the date, for though so placed as to sound like the final dispatch, it could concern early reverses to the resident legions and the probable annihilation of XXII Deiotariana. Imperial coins from late in Hadrian's reign with the legend *Felicitati Aug.* and a design of a galley, usually carrying military standards, certainly refer to his journey to Palestine, while others showing Hadrian in military dress, generally followed by soldiers, with the legend *Disciplina Aug.* stress his role as commander-in-chief; *Fortuna redux*, a type associated with his journeys throughout his reign, also recurs. But none of the types is precisely dated.⁸⁸ In 134, however, Hadrian appears with the title *proconsul*, normally

⁸⁵ Dio lxi, 14, 3. Praetorians will have accompanied him, but evidence is lacking. The soldier of *ILS* 2083 (above, p. 447, n. 74) served in the praetorians, but early in his career, i.e. probably in Trajan's Parthian war. *ILS* 2081 records a man decorated by Hadrian on an unspecified occasion late in his career, in the praetorians; but this cannot have been in the Jewish war, thirty years after his service in Trajan's Dacian wars. Units of the *equites singulares imperatoris* wintered at Gerasa in or after 128 (Hadrian is *pater patriae*), but this was more probably during his second provincial tour (so C. H. Kraeling, *Gerasa* (1938), 39, no. 30; W. F. Stinespring in *J. Amer. Orient. Soc.* lix (1939), 362) than during the Jewish war (so G. L. Cheesman in *JRS* iv (1914), 13-16).

⁸⁶ *ILS* 1065 Q. Lollius . . . Urbico . . . legato imp. Hadriani in expeditione Iudaica, with his sphere of operations as legate undefined. As Lollius was legate of X Gemina immediately before, he may have gone to Palestine with his legion and then been transferred to headquarters staff.

⁸⁷ *IG* XIV, 1054 = *IGRR* I, 149 = L. Moretti, *Inscr. Gr. Urbis Rom.* I (1968), 235, a letter of Hadrian ἀπὸ Πώμης, dated 5 May in his 18th tribunician year, which ran from Dec. 133 or Jan. 134.

⁸⁸ The galley-type—*BMC*, *Imp.* III, 309-10, 320, 450-5, 460-1 (also occurring in 119-124/5, though less frequently, to commemorate earlier journeys); *Disciplina Aug.*—*ibid.* 318, 466, 480; *Fortuna redux*—*ibid.*, *passim*. For discussion see P. L. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur röm. Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts* (1933), 132-6; cf. Mattingly, *BMC*, *Imp.* III, cxli-cxlii.

(though not invariably) borne by emperors when out of Italy, and this tells strongly against a visit early in the war.⁸⁹ The association of Hadrian's name with the Roman recapture of Jerusalem could denote his responsibility rather than his actual presence, but Jewish tradition makes him witness the fall of Bethar.⁹⁰

In the later stages at any rate the Jewish war seems to have been, apart from the final siege of Bethar, largely a guerilla war, and according to Dio the Jews prepared for this from the start: of the outbreak of the revolt he says that the Jews "dared not risk engagements in the open field with the Romans but seized strategic positions and strengthened them with mines and walls, in order to have places of refuge when hard pressed and to be able to meet together unobserved below ground; they made openings in the roofs of their subterranean passages to admit air and light."⁹¹ This is followed up in his description of the suppression of the revolt by Julius Severus, who "dared not attack his enemies openly anywhere, in view of their numbers and desperation. But he had sufficient troops and officers to split the Jews up into small groups and deprive them of food by blockade, and in this way he managed, rather slowly but with comparatively little danger, to crush, exhaust and exterminate them. There were very few survivors. Fifty of the most important Jewish strongholds and nine hundred and eighty five of their best known villages were razed to the ground."⁹² This final phase of the war may have been the occasion of the letter sent by Apollodorus of Damascus, the architect of Trajan's Danube bridge, to an unnamed emperor who had written asking for his advice about artillery for a campaign in which he appears to have been participating personally. The tenor of the letter implies guerilla warfare, and Apollodorus warns the

⁸⁹ *CIL* II, 4841 *cos. IIII* (a patent error) *p. p. proc.* On *proconsul* as an imperial title (Dio liii, 7, 4) in the second century see M. Hammond, *The Antonine Monarchy* (1959), 89, 126.

⁹⁰ In App., *Syr.* 50, the destruction of Jerusalem by Hadrian is parallel to that by Vespasian, who was responsible but not present.

⁹¹ Dio lxi, 12, 3. Cf. Hier., *In Esai.* ii, 15 (*CCL LXXIII*, 36) (people who refer the verse to the wars of Vespasian and Hadrian) *dicunt . . . in tantam habitatores Iudaeae venisse formidinem, ut et ipsi cum coniugibus et liberis, auro et argento quae sibi auxilio fore aestimabant, in foveas terrae demersi sint, et profundissima antra sectati.*

⁹² Dio lxi, 13, 3—14, 1. Cf. the Jewish tradition that Hadrian fought fifty battles—Midr. *Lament.* R. ii, 2, § 4 (end). Yevin reconstructs the Roman campaigns in the north of the province early in the war from place-names associated with it in Jewish literature; see Applebaum's summary (references above, p. 443, n. 59).

emperor of the danger of logs, stones and ballasted waggons being rolled down by an enemy entrenched on rocky heights.⁹³ During the last year or so of the war, when, with Jerusalem lost, the Jews had no hope of final victory but could only struggle to postpone their inevitable capitulation, the extent of the revolt was narrowed down to the Judaean mountain area which included the fortress of Herodion, Bethar, and the caves overlooking the Dead Sea. The semi-circle of Roman roads running from Hebron west to Eleutheropolis on the Jerusalem-Gaza road, north to Emmaus, Kefar-Lekitaya and Beth-horon (places at which Roman guards are said to have checked refugees), and then east to join the Jerusalem-Antipatris road four miles north of the capital is conjectured to be Hadrianic, though there are no dated milestones, and may have been built to contain the rebels for the final campaign.⁹⁴

The letters from Bar Cosiba to his subordinate army officers found in the Murabba'at and Nahal Hever caves show something of the organization of the guerilla forces in southern Judaea in the later stages of the war.⁹⁵ Two of his officers, Jonathan bar Be'aya(n) and Masabala bar Simon, the recipients of most of them, were based on Engedi, which was not only one of the rebels' administrative centres but also their chief port for supplies shipped across the Dead Sea.⁹⁶ Another officer, Joshua bar Galgula, was based on a village near Hebron, and there was a third base perhaps near Tekoa.⁹⁷ The letters deal with day-to-day matters such as provisions, the movement of individuals, arrests, the problem of refugees, orders and counsels, and they incidentally reveal something of the spirit behind the revolt.

⁹³ Apoll., *Poliorec.*, introd. The indications of the nature of the campaign and the terrain do not fit Trajan's Parthian wars. Hadrian's Mauretanian campaign in 122 is a possibility, especially as Apollodorus says that he is unfamiliar with the country in question. Dio seems to put Apollodorus' execution early in Hadrian's reign, but, inconsistently, he connects it with an apparently advanced stage in the building of the *templum Veneris et Romae*, completed late in his reign—lxix, 4, 3-5 (with the past ἐχρῆν and the "irremediable error"). With a late date for his death, the correspondence can be put in 134-5 (cf. F. Millar, *A Study of Cassius Dio* (1964), 65-6); but the correspondence is not independent evidence for Hadrian's visit to the front.

⁹⁴ M. Avi-Yonah in *IEJ* i (1950-1), 58; Midr. *Lament. R.* i, 16, § 45. For Eleutheropolis see below, p. 491.

⁹⁵ References above, p. 439, n. 46. Variations in the hands of the Nahal Hever letters show that not only Bar Cosiba but the subordinates who wrote in his name used secretaries.

⁹⁶ *IEJ* xi, nos. 5 and 12; the latter mentions a ship.

⁹⁷ *DJD* II, no. 43; *IEJ* xi, no. 15, with discussion of the location; cf. Yadin, *Bar Kokhba*, 130, for another suggestion.

Bar Cosiba and his men, "brothers" to each other in their religious crusade against Rome, were orthodox Jews who did not allow military exigencies to cut across the observance of the Law: a caravan conveying provisions was not to travel on the Sabbath, and despite the war steps were taken to ensure the supply of foliage and citrons needed for the Feast of Tabernacles in 134.⁹⁸ The tone of the letters is impatient at times, as if tempers were getting frayed and enthusiasm for the cause was waning as defeat loomed nearer: Joshua bar Galgula and his staff will be imprisoned if they maltreat any of the Galilaeans now among them (probably refugees who had fled southwards when Rome regained control of the north of the province);⁹⁹ the men of Tekoa are threatened with punishment for (apparently) refusing to fight; and a wealthy landowner in Engedi has his produce confiscated for non-cooperation and/or profiteering;¹⁰⁰ even the officers Jonathan and Masabala are reproached for "sitting eating and drinking . . . and caring nothing for their brothers."¹⁰¹ A letter written to Joshua by the administrators of a village probably in the vicinity of Hebron gives a glimpse of conditions during the final phase of the war: since "the pagans are approaching us", travel between the village and the military headquarters is now impossible.¹⁰² And a letter of which both the writer's and the recipient's names are lost speaks of the grain supplies running out and of a "reprisal" massacre perpetrated by the Romans.¹⁰³

Archaeological evidence from the wadis on the west shore of the Dead Sea strikingly confirms Dio's picture of the rebels' underground strongholds and the Roman blockade. It was probably only

⁹⁸ *DJD* II, no. 44; *IEJ* xi, no. 15 (not dated, but the revolt ended before the festival of 135). Cf. Yadin, *Bar Kokhba*, 128-31, on the latter and on *IEJ* xi, no. 3, now more fully deciphered and shown to be on the same subject.

⁹⁹ *DJD* II, no. 43, with the plural "you" including Joshua's staff. The crucial verb in the conditional clause is damaged and therefore controversial; Yadin, *Bar Kokhba*, 137, renders it "unless you mobilize (destroy?) . . ." The Jew Trypho of Justin Martyr's *Dialogue* also became a refugee later in the war, but fled the country completely—*Dial.* i, 3. On the improbability of the identification of Justin's interlocutor with R. Tarfon see L. W. Barnard, *Justin Martyr* (1967), 24, 39; for earlier bibliography see A. J. B. Higgins in *NT* ix (1967), 298, n. 1.

¹⁰⁰ *IEJ* xi, nos. 1 (on which cf. Yadin, *Bar Kokhba*, 125-6) and 14 on Tekoa. Yadin, *ibid.*, 128, 175-8.

¹⁰¹ *IEJ* xi, no. 12. Cf. B. Lifschitz, *IEJ* xi, 60-1.

¹⁰² *DJD* II, no. 42. The fact that a small village, Beth Masiko (otherwise unknown), now has its own administrators may mean that large administrative units were split up towards the end because of problems of communication.

¹⁰³ *DJD* II, no. 45.

when the situation became desperate that the rebels fled for refuge to the remote and inaccessible caves there, taking with them their documents, private and official, some of which survived when they did not; but the discovery of cisterns in two of them indicates that they had been prepared in advance for such use. The caves served not only as emergency military headquarters but as dwellings for refugee families. Many signs of lengthy occupation have been found in excavation, such as the remains of foodstuffs, the skeletons of sheep and goats, numerous domestic objects of first to second century date including storage vessels, cooking utensils, toilet articles, needles and spindles, pieces of clothing, sandals and scraps of furniture, portions of scrolls of the Scriptures, and fragments of writing tablets. Coins of Bar Cosiba fixing the period of occupation have come to light in a number of the caves and also in the ruins of Khirbet Qumran, where the evidence suggests temporary use rather than long-term occupation by the rebels. The Romans established siege camps commanding the valleys but assault was in some cases impossible or unnecessary. The "cave of horror" in Nahal Hever (so graphically named by the excavators), one of the most inaccessible of all, in which at least forty people took refuge, was not stormed, but starved out; the skeletons, including women and children, show no signs of injury. Those who died first were buried in the innermost part of the cave (which incidentally tells against the Midrash story of cannibalism by starving refugees in caves ¹⁰⁴) and the last survivors smashed and burned their possessions as death became inevitable. In a huge cave on the opposite side of the valley victims of the Roman blockade were also buried, and there objects were found in rock crevices and under stones, perhaps carefully hidden before the survivors attempted flight. Some groups may have escaped detection and emerged to safety after the war, for some caves occupied at this period contain neither skeletons nor abandoned valuables. But the ferocity of Roman troops who succeeded in storming the Jewish hideouts is seen at Murabba'at, where Biblical texts were deliberately torn to shreds.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Midr. *Lament. R.* i, 16, § 45. Cf. similar stories told of Jerusalem in 69-70 (above, p. 321, n. 120).

¹⁰⁵ For the Murabba'at caves see *DJD* II, pp. 37-48. For the caves in Nahal Hever and adjacent wadis see the excavation reports in *IEJ* xi (1961), 6-39; xii (1962), 169-99; cf. Yadin, *Bar Kokhba*, *passim*. For Qumran see de Vaux, *L'Archéologie*, 36; cf. 54-7 for the adjacent site of Ain Feshka; also *DJD* II, no. 45, a letter in which the writer speaks of fleeing to "the fortress of the pious", presumed to mean the formerly Essene Khirbet Qumran.

The slow elimination of isolated pockets of resistance such as those in the Dead Sea caves may have continued after the official termination of the war, as had happened after 70, but the final major phase of the Roman campaigns was the siege and capture of Bethar (Bittir), some seven miles south west of Jerusalem, the only military operation which Eusebius mentions: "the war reached its climax in the eighteenth year of Hadrian's reign (134-5) at Bethar, a very strong citadel not far from Jerusalem. It was a long siege, and the rebels were finally destroyed by starvation and thirst."¹⁰⁶ Bethar was a town large enough to have a sanhedrin, and at this time its population was probably swollen by refugees, but Jewish tradition exaggerates both its size and its resistance: it had an astronomical number of school children, who threatened to stab the enemy to death with their pens, or actually did so; the siege lasted for three years and a half (clearly a confusion with the total length of the war); and the fall of the town was followed by the wholesale massacre of the surviving defenders, whose numbers ran to hundreds of thousands and whose blood flowed down to the sea.¹⁰⁷ The site has not been excavated but the surface remains bear out what Eusebius says. The town occupied a good defensive position, protected on three sides by ravines and on the fourth by a fosse. Though its fortifications were only thrown up hastily, the Romans adopted the same strategy as at Masada sixty years earlier and blockaded the town with siege-works which can still be traced—a circumvallation about two miles and a half in length and two siege camps big enough to accommodate a whole legion and half a legion respectively. (An inscription of V Macedonica and XI Claudia at Bethar most probably identifies the force.) A ramp was then built across the fosse to bring the battering-rams up against the wall.¹⁰⁸ Jewish tradition reveals that under the pressure of the siege

¹⁰⁶ *HE* iv, 6, 3; cf. *Chron. Hadr.* XVIII.

¹⁰⁷ The fullest accounts are in *JT Ta'an.* iv, 5 (Schwab VI, 189-90) and *Midr. Lament.* R. ii, 2, § 4, both giving the date fifty two years after Titus' destruction of Jerusalem (cf. above, p. 425, n. 144). For shorter references see *BT Sanh.* 17b (the sanhedrin); *Gitt.* 57a, 58a; *Midr. Gen. R.* lxxv, 21; *Lament.* R. iii, 51, § 9. In *JT Ta'an. l.c.*, Bethar is forty miles from the sea (roughly the distance of Bittir by road). In *BT Gitt.* 57a and *Midr. Lament.* R. ii, 2, § 4, however, the absurdity of the blood flowing to the sea (cf. above, p. 404) is minimized by reducing the distance to one and four miles respectively. But the Bethar just south of Caesarea (*Itin. Anton.*) is an unconvincing alternative identification to Bittir, for which there is archaeological evidence (below) and which is a site better suited to guerillas than a coastal town. The Arab name for Bittir is "the Jewish ruins".

¹⁰⁸ See Yadin, *Bar Kokhba*, 193. For the inscription see above, p. 447, n. 75.

morale began to crack and a peace-party emerged: Bar Cosiba's uncle was executed during the siege on suspicion of treachery.¹⁰⁹ If Eusebius' bald statement that "the instigator of the Jews' madness paid the penalty he deserved" means that Bar Cosiba was captured and executed when the town fell, Jewish patriotism did not find this fate appropriate for a national hero, and gave him death in action and Roman admiration: he was killed during the siege and his head shown to Hadrian, who ordered the body to be produced as well; it was found with a snake coiled round the neck, at which the emperor commented "If his God had not slain him, who could have overcome him?"¹¹⁰

Jewish tradition dates the fall of Bethar to 9 Ab, the anniversary of the destruction of the Temple in 70, and the year is fixed by the fact that Hadrian received his second salutation as *imperator*, which will have immediately followed the capitulation of the last major stronghold, between April 135 and the end of that year.¹¹¹ On the imperial coinage the conclusion of the war is celebrated by victory and *virtus* types, the goddess Roma welcomes the emperor back home with the legend *Adventus Augusti*, and a rare type shows Jupiter Conservator standing over him as his protector.¹¹² But with no equi-

¹⁰⁹ The Samaritans are implicated in the treachery, and the medieval *Chron. Samar.* or *Liber Joshuæ* (in Arabic; ed. with Latin transl. by T. G. J. Juynboll, 1848), 47 has a story of Samaritans assisting Hadrian to blockade Baitol Moqaddis (Bethar?), though there are references at the end to Jerusalem). This suggests that, as in 66-70, the Samaritans stood largely aloof from the revolt; cf. the legend discussed above, p. 434, and below, p. 462. On the chronicle see J. Macdonald, *The Samaritan Chronicle* no. II (1969), 12-13; cf. *JE*, s.v. *Joshua, Samaritan Book of*.

¹¹⁰ Midr. *Lament. R.* ii, 2, § 4.

¹¹¹ Mish. *Ta'an.* iv, 6. The commentary in BT *Ta'an.* 29a merely adds "This is a tradition." Cf. Hier., *In Zach.* viii, 18-19 (*CCL LXXVIa*, 820), based on Jewish sources. On the date see above, p. 325. With *CIL* XVI, 82, dated 14 April, 135, which has *trib. pot.* *XVIII cos. III* (omitting *imp.*), contrast *CIL* II, 478 [*trib. pot.*] *XVIII [imp. i]teru[m . . . and IG XII*, suppl., 239 δημ. ἐξ. ιθ' αὐτοκρ. τὸ [β']. *CIL* VI, 974, where the supplement *imp. II* requires *trib. pot. XVI/III*, records that Hadrian [*lab*]oribus max[imis rempublicam ab h]oste liberavit and probably concerns the Jewish war. Hadrian's 19th tribunician year, roughly 135 (cf. above, p. 450, n. 87), overlaps Eusebius' 18th regnal year. Elis struck two series of medallions late in Hadrian's reign, on the later of which δῆς, cutting into the drapery of the bust, was clearly added at the last minute. J. M. C. Toynbee suggests that, if Hadrian stayed in Palestine till the war ended, the occasion of the δῆς series could be a visit to Elis on his way home—in *JRS* xxxiv (1944), 68. But the medallions are not evidence that he did stay.

¹¹² *BMC*, *Imp.* III, 315-16, 464-5, 478 (*Adventus Aug.*); 323 (*Iovi conservat.*,

valent of the explicit *Judaea capta* coins of the Flavians, there is less harping on the theme of the Jewish defeat than there was in 70, and Hadrian, in contrast to Vespasian and Titus, held no triumph.

It had been a hard-won victory, costing Rome heavy casualties. On the Jewish side the losses were naturally much more severe, even if exaggerated in the literary tradition: Eusebius says that Tineius Rufus "destroyed tens of thousands of men, women and children", while Dio puts the casualties at "five hundred and eighty thousand killed in raids and battles alone, the number of deaths from starvation, disease and fire being impossible to calculate. As a result practically the whole of Judaea was depopulated."¹¹³ We may add the further losses from the sale of prisoners as slaves, said to have been so plentiful that the market was glutted and a Jewish slave fetched only the price of a horse.¹¹⁴

After the Revolt

As in 70, after the war came the task of reconstruction and rehabilitation, and the firm hand of an experienced man already well acquainted with local conditions was needed to set the work in train. As in 70, one of the army commanders who had served in the latter part of the war remained in the province as its first post-war governor, Sextus Julius Severus, who was awarded the *ornamenta triumphalia* in recognition of his successes in bringing the revolt to a close. He governed the province for perhaps two years, long enough to get the Roman administration back on to its feet and to make provision for future peace and security.¹¹⁵

The legionary garrison remained the same, with VI Ferrata based on Caparcotna and X Fretensis on Jerusalem, where its emblem, a boar, appeared on the coinage issued by the city under its new name of Aelia Capitolina and was carved over the west gate (on the site of the present Jaffa Gate) near the camp.¹¹⁶ A detachment of X Fretensis

possibly referring to Hadrian's visit to the front); 335-7 (*virtus* and victory); 324 (*Iovi victori*). For discussion see Strack, *op. cit.*, 136-9.

¹¹³ Eus., *HE* iv, 6, 1 (knowing nothing of Severus). Dio lxix, 14, 1-2; but does Judaea here mean the province, as apparently in lxix, 13, 1 (above, p. 442), or Judaea proper?

¹¹⁴ *Chron. Pasch.* I, 474; cf. on the numbers Hier., *In Ierem.* xxi, 15; *In Zach.* xi, 4-5 (*CCL LXXIV*, 307; *LXXVla*, 851).

¹¹⁵ *ILS* 1056. He was subsequently legate of Syria before Hadrian's death; see Appendix A, p. 551.

¹¹⁶ *BMC, Pal.*, 82, no. 3; 87, no. 39; Kadman, *Aelia*, 80, no. 6; 86, no. 33. Eus., *Chron.* Hadr. XX, adding that the emblem signified *Romanae potestati*

seems to have been quartered at least until the time of Commodus at Murabba'at, where coins bearing its countermark have been found, together with Roman javelin and spear heads and (a great rarity) a wooden seal used for stamping personal effects or manufactured objects with a soldier's name and century;¹¹⁷ and men from VI Ferrata may have provided temporary garrisons for south west Judaea and for Sebaste.¹¹⁸ Fifteen auxiliary units, three of cavalry and twelve of infantry, are known from a military diploma of 139 to have served in the post-war garrison of Palestine, and there may have been others in addition. One unit may have been stationed at Emmaus, others possibly at Sebaste, but many were probably in the forts of the southern *limes*.¹¹⁹

Much of the network of Roman roads in Palestine was probably Hadrianic, with an extensive construction programme undertaken immediately after the war to facilitate communications for security reasons. Most notable were the roads radiating from the legionary camp at Caparcotna to Caesarea, to the Syrian port of Ptolemais for an additional link with the sea, to Jerusalem for rapid contact with the other legion, to Scythopolis, and to Sepphoris, of which only the last is demonstrably pre-war. The road from Ptolemais to Tiberias, dated precisely to 135 by a milestone, was obviously built to ensure

subiacere Iudaeos and that some people (erroneously, by implication) attributed the sculpture to Titus. Its use may have been avoided before 135 out of respect for the Jewish sensibilities about unclean animals. In the new Greco-Roman city its presence was not remarkable.

¹¹⁷ *DJD* II, pp. 35-7, 48; no. 114, a Greek papyrus, probably of 171, with the words λεγεῶνος δεκάτης . . . (line 7). The inscription of V Macedonica and XI Claudia at Bethar (above, p. 447, n. 75) may mean that detachments remained there after the war.

¹¹⁸ See J. H. Iliffe in *QDAP* ii (1933), 121-2, for an inscription *vexillatio leg. VI Ferr.* from Eleutheropolis (below, p. 491) with lettering suggesting a date after 135; G. A. Reisner and others, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria* I (1924), 251, for a similar one from Sebaste.

¹¹⁹ *CIL* XVI, 87, a diploma of 139 (cf. above, p. 448 and notes). For a dedication at Emmaus by the *cohors VI Ulpia Petraeorum*, probably the *cohors VI Petraeorum* of the diploma, see F. M. Abel in *RB* xxxiii (1924), 114. An undated altar dedicated to Jupiter in Sebaste by auxiliaries from Pannonia Superior may belong to this period (though none of the units of the diploma is known to have been previously in Pannonia); so D. G. Lyon in *HTbR* ii (1909), 111, 113; H. Vincent, however, dates it to 195-9—in *RB* vi (1909), 441-5. For the *limes* see above, p. 339; but it may have been at this time and as a result of Bar Cochba's war that many of the Negev forts to the south of Palestine controlling the Nabataeans of Arabia were abandoned; see Gihon and Applebaum, 47-8.

the peace of Galilee by giving direct access from the Syrian coast to the heart of the district.¹²⁰

The conversion of Jerusalem into the Greco-Roman city of Aelia Capitolina against which the Jews had fought now became a reality. But the re-foundation, conceived as a benefaction to the province, was carried out as a part of the Jews' punishment and as a symbol of Roman tenacity of purpose. The foundation ceremonies were repeated, and a coin of Aelia shows Hadrian performing the age-old rite of *circumductio*, guiding a plough drawn by a cow and a bull round its circuit to mark out the *pomerium*.¹²¹ In Jewish tradition the national day of mourning on 9 Ab was the anniversary of no less than five disasters, of which the last two were the capture of Bethar and the "ploughing up" of Jerusalem and the Temple. Possibly the plough was driven across the old city (as had been done in Carthage in 146 B.C.) to signify its utter destruction, and even across the Temple site to symbolize the supersession of Yahweh by Jupiter. The tradition would seem to date the actual foundation of Aelia to a year after the end of the war, and this is logical, since reconstruction work cannot have begun immediately.¹²²

The city in its new guise as a colony,¹²³ with three former toparchies constituting its territory,¹²⁴ was completely paganized. The buildings of the forum in the centre of the city, near the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, included the temple of the Capitoline triad; and temples of Jupiter and of Hadrian himself as Olympius were built on the site of the Temple of Yahweh, as a visible symbol of the

¹²⁰ M. Avi-Yonah in *IEJ* i (1950-1), 59-60. The earliest milestone on the northern sector of the Jerusalem-Caparcotna road is dated 162; for the southern sector see above, p. 437, n. 35.

¹²¹ *BMC, Pal.*, 82, no. 2; Kadman, *Aelia*, 80, no. 1. The type is purely symbolic, and need not imply Hadrian's presence at the ceremony. It recurs under M. Aurelius—Kadman, *Aelia*, 88, no. 43.

¹²² *Mish Ta'an.* iv, 6; *BT Ta'an.* 29a adds "It has been taught; when Turnus Rufus destroyed the temple, . . ." Cf. Hier., *In Zach.* viii, 18-19 (*CCL LXXVIA*, 820) *In hoc mense . . . capta urbs Bethar, . . . aratum templum in ignominiam gentis oppressae, a Turannio Rufo*; Eus., *DE* viii, 3, 10-11. The attribution of the desecration to Tineius Rufus is probably due to a confusion of the ceremonies of 136 (by which time Severus had superseded him as legate) with those carried out in 130, presumably under his supervision. Eusebius dates the foundation of Aelia to 136-7—*Chron.* Hadr. XX; cf. above, p. 393, n. 11.

¹²³ *Dig. L*, xv, 1, 6 *In Palaestina duae fuerunt coloniae, Caesariensis et Aelia Capitolina, sed neutra ius Italicum habet*. For brick stamps *ε(colonia) Ael(ia) C(apolitina)* see B. Mazar in *IEJ* xix (1969), 249.

¹²⁴ Oreine (the Jerusalem area), Gophna and Herodion. See Avi-Yonah, *Map*, 8.

termination of all Jewish hopes for the restoration of their sanctuary.¹²⁵ The coinage of Aelia suggests that by the reign of Antoninus Pius other cults were also officially established in the city, Sarapis, Dionysus, Ares and the Dioscuri.¹²⁶ The city was furnished with other regular amenities of Greco-Roman civilization, a circus or amphitheatre, baths and a theatre.¹²⁷ To ensure the complete and permanent secularization of Jerusalem the Jews were now excluded by imperial decree from the new city and the surrounding district on pain of death, except for one day in each year, 9 Ab, when the restriction was lifted to allow them to lament their city's fate at the Wailing Wall. This exclusion, which cannot have been envisaged when the city was planned in 130 for the Jews' benefit but was now devised as part of their punishment, applied even to Jewish Christians who had not supported the revolt, and henceforth the Church in Jerusalem was wholly gentile.¹²⁸ The bulk of the new settlers were Greco-Syrians drawn from other parts of the province or from adjacent provinces, but some veterans of V Macedonica may have been included.¹²⁹ The

¹²⁵ No literary source applies *Capitolinus* to the cult of Jupiter established on the Temple site or refers to the triad Jupiter, Juno and Minerva there. Dio lxix, 12, 1 has only a temple of Jupiter there; both Jerome—*In Esai.* I, on ii, 9 (CCL LXXIII, 33); *In Matt.* IV on xxiv, 15 (CCL LXXVII, 226)—and the *Itin. Burgid.* (CCL CLXXV, 15-16) mention two statues (of Jupiter and Hadrian) there, not three; and the *Chron. Pasch.*, I, 474, distinguishes between the τριτάμαρον (a triple-celled temple, the Capitolium) and the κόδρα (*quadra*; the Temple enclosure as re-used by Hadrian). However, Eus., *Vita Const.* iii, 25-6, speaks of a temple of Venus on the site of Christ's tomb, and Hier., *Ep.* lviii, 3 (PL XXII, 581), of statues of Jupiter and Venus there and on the site of the cross. These are probably references to the Capitolium (with Minerva confused with Venus) in the forum, parts of which survive below the Russian Hospice of Alexander near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. See further Vincent and Abel, *JN*, 10, 14-18, 31-4, 70-82; Kenyon, *Jerusalem*, 190. The tradition that a statue of Caesar was erected on the Temple site by "Traianus Quintus" (above, p. 423) may derive from a misinterpretation of *Traianus Hadrianus* on the dedicatory inscription of the statue in Hadrian's temple; cf. the present writer in *Historia* xi (1962), 506-7.

¹²⁶ *BMC, Pal.*, 84-6; Kadman, *Aelia*, 82, nos. 18-19; 84, nos. 22-8.

¹²⁷ *Chron. Pasch.* I, 474, discussed by Vincent and Abel, *JN*, 6-14, 32 (the theatre; on its site cf. above, p. 84, n. 78).

¹²⁸ Eus., *HE* iv, 6, 3-4; v, 12, 1; *Chron. Hadr.* XVIII-XIX; *DE* vi, 18, 10; Just. Mart., *Dial.* 16, 2; 92, 2; *Apol.* i, 47, 6; Tert., *Apol.* 21, 5; *Adv. Iud.* 13, 4 (CCL II, 1385); Oros. vii, 13, 5; Hier., *In Soph.* i, 15-16 (CCL LXXVla, 672-4); *Itin. Burgid.* (CCL CLXXV, 16). Midr. *Lament. R.* i, 17, § 52 contrasts the former joyful pilgrimages with the present sorrowful ones—"Now I go up with weeping and come down with weeping . . . Now in silence I go up and in silence I come down." On the expulsion order cf. R. Harris in *HTbR* xix (1926), 199-206.

¹²⁹ Eus., *HE* iv, 6, 4; *DE* viii, 3, 10-12. Cf. Zonaras, *Ann.* xi, 23 (PG

new colony, unlike Caesarea after the first revolt, is not recorded as having ever received any privilege of exemption from taxation.

Aelia was most probably smaller than the Jerusalem of before 70. No certain trace of its walls has yet come to light, and the city may not have been walled until the Byzantine period.¹³⁰ But if it was walled, its northern limit is likely to have been roughly the line of the present north wall, some five hundred yards south of Agrippa's wall, with the main north gate on or near the site of the present Damascus Gate; an inscription, badly mutilated but with the name Aelia Capitolina still legible, stands incorporated in a later rebuild of the Herodian gateway.¹³¹ There may have been drastic contraction on the opposite side of the city also, with the southern limit lying further north than the south wall of Jerusalem, perhaps on a line similar to that of the present Old City wall; for buildings outside the present wall seem to have been used as quarries for the Roman construction work.¹³² Much of the original street plan was obliterated when the new city was laid out on the normal Roman grid pattern, parts of which survive in the present Old City, notably the axial road running south from the Damascus Gate, which closely follows the line of the *cardo maximus*, one of the most conspicuous features of the city on the Madaba map. There, in the time of Justinian, it is shown as colonnaded along both sides, while a road with a single colonnade runs down the Tyropoeon valley. But this beautification may well be Constantinian or later.

The greater part of Hadrian's monumental arch in the north east of Aelia still stands. The high central arch forms the so-called Ecce

CXXXIV, 996) "Ἕλληνες γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ κατὰ κλίσησιν, in his paraphrase of Dio's account of the foundation of Aelia in 130, but more appropriate to 136. On one specimen of the *circumductio* coin of Aelia *Le(gio) V* is legible on the vexillum behind the oxen; see J. Meyshan in *PEQ* xc (1958), 19-26, suggesting that V Macedonica was responsible for the recapture of the city and was thus rewarded.

¹³⁰ Oros. vii, 13, 5 (Hadrian) . . . *murorum extruptione reparavit* may be anachronistic, and a monumental arch or gateway (below) does not necessarily presuppose fortification; cf. Vincent and Abel, *JN*, 19-21, 30. The city is shown walled on the Madaba map (reference above, p. 24, n. 6), 50-60 and Pl. 7; also Join-Lambert, *Jerusalem*, Pl. 72. A part of the Byzantine city wall is visible running south from the south east angle of the Haram es-Sherif.

¹³¹ See R. W. Hamilton in *QDAP* x (1944), 23-4, 26; K. M. Kenyon in *PEQ* xcix (1967), 69; J. B. Hennessy in *Levant* ii (1970), 24-5; cf. Simons, *JOT*, 492-3. All but the last line, *co(lonia) Ael(ia) Cap(itolina) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*, has been erased.

¹³² See Kenyon, *Jerusalem*, 187-90; and in *PEQ* xcix (1967), 69-70; c (1968), 98, 102, 105.

Homo arch spanning a narrow street some fifty yards north of the Haram es-Sherif; and its northern pier is incorporated in the wall of the adjacent convent of the Sisters of Zion, where the northern side arch forms the eastern end of the chapel. (The southern side arch has been destroyed.)¹³³ Under the convent there is an extensive and impressive open-air pavement of large slabs traversed by a roadway. If this is not, as is generally held, the courtyard of Herod's Antonia, but, as has been cogently argued, a structure contemporary with Hadrian's arch, we have here a second forum, subsidiary to that in the centre of the city.¹³⁴ Parts of the latter survive under the Russian Hospice of Alexander.¹³⁵ But despite the changes in the name and the physical appearance of the city, it is hard to credit Eusebius' story that by the fourth century its old name was no longer known.¹³⁶

Roman measures to prevent any further resurgence of Jewish religious nationalism did not stop with the conversion of its obvious focus into a pagan city and the desecration of Judaism's most sacred spot. On the summit of Mt Gerizim, the Samaritan sanctuary, a temple of Jupiter was built, which figures on coins of Neapolis struck under Antoninus Pius; the twin peaks are shown, surmounted one by a temple and the other by an altar, with a colonnade at the foot of the mountain and a monumental stairway leading to the summit.¹³⁷ The Samaritans may not have participated in the revolt, but they worshipped the Jewish God, on whose cult the revolt had centred.

¹³³ Marie-Aline, *Antonia*, 34-8 and Pl. 6-11; Vincent and Abel, *JN*, 24-30. Traditions associating the arch with the Passion of Christ date from the fourteenth century; in the sixteenth it became the place where Pilate displayed Christ in mock royal attire; see Simons, *JOT*, 379-80; Vincent and Abel, *JN*, 580-5.

¹³⁴ See P. Benoit in *HTbR* lxiv (1971), 135-67. He maintains that the cisterns under the paved area were still open at the time of Titus' siege and that the Roman-style vaulting enclosing them, clearly contemporary with the overlying pavement, is more probably Hadrianic than Herodian.

¹³⁵ See Vincent and Abel, *JN*, 70-88, for the paved area and part of the north side arch of a triple arch leading into the forum. The north wall of the crypt of St. Helena in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre may be part of the basilica of Aelia.

¹³⁶ Eus., *MP* xi, 9-11.

¹³⁷ Damascius, *Vita Isid.*, *apud* Photius, *Bibl.* 242, § 141 (ed. R. Henry, VI (1971), 36), citing Marinus of Neapolis (fifth century) but not naming the builder. Cf. Orig., *In Ios.* xvii, 1 (*GCS* XXX, 401). No Hadrianic coins of Neapolis are known, but the Gerizim type predominates on those of Antoninus — *BMC, Pal.* 48-9. For the excavation of the Hadrianic temple overlying a Hellenistic altar, the rock-cut stair, an over-lifesize Zeus-like head, and a fragment of an inscription Δὲ Ὁλυμπίῳ see R. J. Bull in *Bibl. Arch.* xxvi (1968), 58-72; and in *BASOR* cxc (1968), 2-18.

The desecration of their sacred place can be seen as a precaution rather than a punishment: the age-old rival of the Temple in Jerusalem was not to have the chance of becoming its successor.

The creation of Aelia automatically involved the dispossession of Jews who owned land and other property in Jerusalem. Eusebius' reference to the "enslavement" of Jewish territory after the war¹³⁸ suggests a repetition in 135 of the measures taken by Vespasian and the resumption of imperial ownership of land which had effectively lapsed back into Jewish ownership during the sixty years between the revolts or had been taken over by the rebel administration. The gruesome Jewish legend of "Hadrian's vineyard", stretching from Tiberias to Sepphoris, which the emperor had fenced with the bodies of Jews slain at Bethar, may reflect extensive confiscations and the creation of imperial estates.¹³⁹

Not only was Jerusalem renamed in 135, as had been proposed in 130, but the province of Judaea now became Syria Palaestina. This was at once a blow to Jewish national consciousness and a feature in the rehabilitation of the province, giving it a fresh start under a new name which signified that it was to be transformed and was in future to be regarded not as primarily Jewish but as basically Syrian and Hellenistic. The old name, understandably, did not disappear at once, though it is surprising to find it still in use nearly half a century later.¹⁴⁰ But it is perhaps more surprising to find the old name used officially on the series of "province" and *adventus* coins issued late in Hadrian's reign to commemorate his provincial journeys. But even there the intended change in the character of the province is indicated. The figure personifying Judaea not only has no distinctive Jewish or local attributes comparable with those of other provincial personifications in the series, but she appears in Greek guise, sacrificing at an altar and accompanied by two or three children, the symbol of colonization. Some of the coins in the series commemorate ethnic groups rather than administrative units, "Libya" and "Phrygia" for example. But these are not parallel to the "Judaea" coins, on which Hadrian is, exceptionally, not emphasizing but playing down the ethnic character of the province. Here stands the new Greek Judaea which he

¹³⁸ *HE* iv, 6, 1, making Tineius Rufus responsible. More probably Severus (of whom Eusebius is ignorant) as the first post-war legate in fact organized this and any other administrative measures that were necessary.

¹³⁹ *Midr. Lament. R.* ii, 2, § 4; *JT Ta'an.* iv, 5 (Schwab VI, 190).

¹⁴⁰ Julius Severus is legate of Judaea on *ILS* 1056 but of Syria Palaestina on *AE* 1904, 9. For "Judaea" in the 170s see Appendix A, p. 552.

hoped to create around the new Greco-Roman Aelia, depicted not as the dismal figure of *Judaea devicta* shown on the Flavian coins, but as *Judaea renascens*, greeting the imperial benefactor whose purpose it is to revitalize her. No coins in the *restitutor* series are known for Judaea, but there are rare coins bearing the legend *Judaea* of the "province" series combined with the type of the *restitutor* series, on which the emperor raises up the kneeling figure personifying the province.¹⁴¹

On the Jewish side the picture drawn of the years immediately after the revolt is very different. In Jewish literature Hadrian's name is frequently accompanied by the imprecation, "May his bones rot!"¹⁴² and the reason for the Jews' intense hatred for him seems to be not only his suppression of their final attempt to regain political independence but his alleged attitude towards Judaism during the last years of his reign, the "time of danger" or "persecution". During that period, according to Jewish tradition, decrees of a "wicked government" were in force forbidding circumcision, Sabbath-observance, the ordination of rabbis, and the study of the Law;¹⁴³ and the punishments for disobedience were so severe that a group of rabbis meeting in secret (the Sanhedrin being apparently in abeyance) decided that, when martyrdom was the only alternative, a Jew might transgress any law except those against idolatry, incest and adultery, and murder.¹⁴⁴ Some rabbis went to great lengths in the interests of self-preservation, such as Rabbi Simeon ben Yohai, who with his son hid in a cave for several years to escape execution for a derogatory remark about the Romans.¹⁴⁵ Others, however, did

¹⁴¹ *BMC, Imp.* III, 493-4, 512. Cf. J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School* (1934), 119-21, citing a coin combining the legend *Judaea* with the *restitutor*-type. For another specimen see Christie's sale catalogue for 30-1 May 1949 (Wentworth Woodhouse collection), Pl. VII, no. 128.

¹⁴² In *Orac. Sib.* xii, 163-75, a work of Jewish authorship, Hadrian is praised because he "will build temples in all cities" and "there will be long peace." But see above, p. 384, n. 101.

¹⁴³ Mish. *MSb* iv, 11; BT *BB* 60b (the "week of the son" meaning the week between birth and circumcision); *Sanb.* 14a; *Ber.* 61b; *Me'il.* 17a; *Gerim* i, 1 (undated, and implying continuous, not temporary, prohibitions; on the tractate see below, p. 472, n. 23). Cf. BT *Kidd.* 40b (dated by the rabbis mentioned); Midr. *Eccl. R.* ii, 17; *Lament. R.* v, 5 (a humiliating order of Hadrian for Jews to shave their heads); *Levit. R.* xxxii, 1 (probably concerning the same period).

¹⁴⁴ BT *Sanb.* 74a; JT *Shebi.* iv, 2 (Schwab II, 356). Midr. *Song R.* ii, 5, § 3 (first sentence) may mean that Sanhedrin meetings were forbidden at the end of Hadrian's reign (cf. below, p. 474).

¹⁴⁵ BT *Shab.* 33b; JT *Shebi.* ix, 1 (Schwab II, 413-14); Midr. *Gen. R.* lxxix, 6; *Eccl. R.* x, 8; *Esther R.* iii, 7; Midr. *Psalms* xvii, 13. Details vary considerably.

face martyrdom rather than compromise,¹⁴⁶ notably Rabbi Akiba, who was arrested for studying the Law, was imprisoned for some time before being tortured to death, and died reciting the forbidden daily invocation, the Shema (the opening word of "Hear, O Israel, the Lord your God is one Lord"),¹⁴⁷ and Rabbi Judah ben Baba, who ordained half a dozen of Akiba's pupils to keep the teaching of the Law alive and was executed when detected.¹⁴⁸ The newly ordained rabbis then had to flee the country.¹⁴⁹ The tradition of a Hadrianic persecution is too deeply embedded in Jewish literature to be brushed aside as wholly fictitious. It is not impossible that, in addition to secularizing Jerusalem, Hadrian made an active attempt to bring about the Hellenization of the Jewish people, symbolically portrayed as Greek on his coins, by the discouragement (easily magnified into the prohibition) of their distinctive practices, in the hope of thus undermining their nationalism and minimizing the chances of further political unrest. But it seems more probable that the whole tradition of the persecution is no more than an elaboration of the single pre-war prohibition of circumcision, still retained though now with a punitive as well as a moral purpose. The prohibition of the crucial rite of admission to the Jewish community could readily be regarded as and magnified into a prohibition of the practice of Judaism as a whole.¹⁵⁰ Indeed, the chronology of the Jewish tradition, vague though it is, seems to suggest that the persecution was in progress before the revolt, when an attack on Judaism as a whole was surely not in question and no practice except circumcision was forbidden. But now there were other factors in the situation also. The death-blow

The "thirteen years" is not to be taken literally, as thirteen is used in Jewish literature as a round number. On Simeon's emergence from hiding cf. below, p. 470.

¹⁴⁶ BT *AZ* 11b (cf. Engl. transl., ed. I. Epstein, 58, n. 2); 17b-18a; Midr. *Psalms* xvi, 4; xvii, 13; xxv, 1. On the Midrashic legend of ten rabbis executed by the Romans see S. Zeitlin in *JQR* xxxvi² (1945-6), 1-11, 209-10.

¹⁴⁷ Mish. *Gitt.* vi, 7; BT *Ber.* 61b; *Yeb.* 108b; *Sanh.* 12a; *Pes.* 112a; JT *Yeb.* xii, 5 (Schwab VII, 174); Midr. *Lament. R.* iii, 44. Cf. L. Finkelstein, *Akiba* (1962), 270-7.

¹⁴⁸ BT *Sanh.* 14a.

¹⁴⁹ BT *BM* 84a (R. Jose in Asia Minor); *Nas.* 56b (R. Meir in "Ardacus"); cf. Neusner, *JB* I², 134-7.

¹⁵⁰ So Simon, *Verus Israel*, 127; cf. Schürer, I (rev.), 555. Contrast Frend, *Martyrdom*, 226-7, who accepts the tradition of a pre-war persecution; Avi-Yonah, *GJZT*, 14; M. D. Herr in *Scr. Hier.* xxiii (1972), 85-124. Midr. *Exod. R.* xxx, 12 shows Hadrian as opposed to circumcision after the war but not to the study of the Law or even to proselytism.

dealt to Jewish hopes of the ultimate reinstatement of their sacrificial cult by the desecration of the Temple was bound to strengthen the impression of Roman antagonism towards Judaism; Rabbi Gamaliel II, the Nasi, had been condemned to death early in the revolt by the Romans and not replaced, so that the Jews were deprived of spiritual as well as political leadership ;¹⁵¹ and their natural post-war depression and fears of increasingly repressive government in the future would readily misinterpret energetic or rigorous action on the Roman part to restore order and normality as hostility or attack, and build up a picture of a state of affairs in which rabbis who refused to toe the Roman line and were executed for offences against Roman law became innocent martyrs of their faith, for whom suitably horrific and picturesque tortures were then devised. But even when allowance is made for substantial exaggeration and distortion, a substratum of truth must underlie the tradition. The bitter and lasting hatred felt by the Jews for Hadrian personally, more virulent than their hatred for Titus, testifies to at least some degree of oppression after the revolt in the form of a change from the customary Roman policy of the protection of Judaism. But it was a change which did not long survive Hadrian's death.

¹⁵¹ BT *Ta'an.* 29a, where "the nose man" is probably a re-translation of *vir nasi*, a Roman misinterpretation of the Jewish title. The episode here appears to be post-war, but Gamaliel died before Eliezer b. Hyrcanus (BT *MK* 27a), who died before Akiba (above, p. 430, n. 8).

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

THE ANTONINE PERIOD

The first two hundred years of Roman control over Palestine had been marked by friction, issuing periodically in conflict. The two hundred years after the death of Hadrian were among the most peaceful in the history of the country as far as relations between the Jews and their overlords were concerned. When militancy on the Jewish side and the repression of the Jewish religion on the Roman side were both seen to have failed, both were abandoned. Belief in the messianic kingdom of the future, as one of the central tenets of Judaism, could obviously never be given up, but after the fiasco of attempts to achieve it by human means had discredited the nationalist movement, futile dreams of the forcible reassertion of political independence were now laid aside, and the attention of Judaism was concentrated on its own inner development under the great rabbis of the two centuries after Bar Cochba; the messiah would come and bring deliverance in God's own good time. Common sense and moderation on the part of the ruling power and the subject race alike created an acceptable *modus vivendi* and tolerable everyday relations between them. Under the Roman aegis Jewish central and local administration were re-established, and economically the province seems to have made a fair recovery by the end of the second century.¹

The Question of Circumcision

Antoninus Pius inaugurated his reign with a partial reversal of Hadrian's Jewish policy. Aelia remained a pagan city from which the Jews were excluded, but the ban on circumcision, though not repealed in its entirety, was relaxed for the Jews. The biography of Antoninus in the *Historia Augusta* speaks of a Jewish revolt during his reign.² There is no other reference to any such rising in classical,

¹ For a full study of the period after 135 from the point of view of the Jews' social, cultural, economic and religious life see Avi-Yonah, *GJZT*; cf. Baron, II, 122 ff. In the present study attention is concentrated on the relations between Rome and the Jews.

² SHA, *Ant. Pius* 5, 4-5 *Per legatos suos plurima bella gessit. Nam et Britannos per Lollium Urbicum vicit legatum . . . et Mauros ad pacem postulandam coegit, et Germanos et Dacos et multas gentes atque Iudaeos rebellantes contudit per praesides ac legatos. In Achaia etiam atque Aegypto rebelliones repressit.*

ecclesiastical or Jewish sources (though so little survives of Dio's account of Antoninus' reign that there is no certainty that he did not mention it); the coinage of the reign, both imperial and Palestinian, is equally silent; and the epigraphic record of the Roman forces in Palestine contains no evidence for military operations there under Antoninus.³ On the contrary, in 145 the province was sufficiently peaceful that a detachment of VI Ferrata could be seconded to Mauretania to deal with a rising there.⁴

The *Historia Augusta* gives no indication of the date of the Jews' "revolt" but indiscriminately lumps together half a dozen risings known from other sources to have occurred at different times; and the author's brevity on the subject of the Jews is no criterion of the insignificance of their "revolt", seeing that Bar Cochba's war is dismissed equally summarily in his biography of Hadrian. But the Jews of Palestine cannot have been in a condition to stage another fullscale rising even within a few decades, still less within a few years, of their crushing defeat by Hadrian, and the "revolt" was probably no more than an attempt to voice to a new emperor who might be hoped to be sympathetic the fury and despair felt by the Jews throughout the empire at the prohibition of their cherished and essential rite of circumcision. As long as the Roman state continued to restrict Jewish religious liberty in this way, there could be neither peace in Palestine nor contentment among the Diaspora. For without circumcision there could, technically, be no more true Jews. The movement may have amounted to no more than local disorders and demonstrations of protest, easily magnified in a tradition which remembered Bar Cochba's ferocity into military threat, and it may well

³ The following inscriptions record men who held posts in VI or X under Antoninus, but none mentions either decorations or a Jewish war: *CIL* III, 254; 1455 = 7972 (cf. Hüttl, *AP* II, 76-7); *ILS* 1071 (a legate of X c. 142, *a cuius cura se excusavit*; illness would seem the most likely reason), 1102, 8976 (cf. above, p. 437, n. 35), 8977 (perhaps from early in M. Aurelius' reign). The subject of *ILS* 1057 + 8974 probably served in X under Hadrian rather than under Antoninus. Some of the numerous undated inscriptions of men of VI and X (references in P.-W., s.v. *legio*, 1594-5, 1676-7) may be Antonine, but none even hints at warfare in Palestine. A fragment of a dedication in Jerusalem to an emperor whose name is lost and his children by detachments of, or a man who had served in, *X Fret. II---XII Fulm.* was originally supplemented *II [Tr(aianae)]* and attributed to Antoninus—which would suggest military operations under him; see C. Clermont-Ganneau in *CRAI* 1903, 490. A. Negev, however, argues for *II[I Cyr. or Gall.]* and a Vespasianic date—in *IEJ* xiv (1964), 245-6.

⁴ *ILS* 2479.

not have been confined to the province, since the Diaspora had equal cause for complaint at the infringement of their religious liberty.⁵

The trouble, whatever precise form it took, was put down not by military force but by the removal of the Jews' grievance; they were exempted from the ban on circumcision. This wise act (though, as recorded, it has no direct or explicit connection with unrest in Palestine) paved the way for the restoration of peace, for the end of the need for repressive government, and, even if positively amicable relations in Palestine were more than could be hoped for yet, for the re-establishment of a tolerable *modus vivendi* between Rome and the Jews.

According to the *Digest* Antoninus issued a rescript in which he exempted the Jews alone from Hadrian's ban on circumcision, allowing them to practise the rite again but preserving, or imposing for the first time, the same penalties as for castration on anyone who performed the operation on a non-Jew.⁶ These penalties were severe: a non-Jew who had himself or his slaves circumcised was condemned to life exile and the confiscation of his property; the doctor responsible was executed; and Jews who circumcised gentile slaves were deported or executed.⁷ (The inclusion of slaves in the ban was a humanitarian measure, limiting the master's complete power over

⁵ In *Hist. Aug.*, *Iudaeos* in contrast to *in Achaia . . . atque Aegypto* is not in itself evidence for this; *Britannos*, etc. denote purely local risings.

⁶ *Dig.* XLVIII, viii, 11, 1 *Circumcidere Iudaeis filios suos tantum rescripto divi Pii permittitur; in non eiusdem nationis qui hoc fecerit, castrantis poena irrogatur.* It is not clear whether Hadrian as well as Antoninus equated circumcision completely with castration by imposing the same penalties on both. It is possible that Hadrian had imposed a milder penalty on circumcision and that Antoninus increased the punishment for non-Jewish circumcision when he exempted the Jews. On Antoninus' rescript see further the present writer in *Lat.* xviii (1959), 334-47.

⁷ Julius Paulus (*fl.* early third century), *Sent.* v, 22, 3-4 *Cives Romani, qui se Iudaico ritu vel servos suos circumcidi patiuntur, bonis ademptis in insulam perpetuo relegantur; medici capite puniuntur. Iudaei si alienae nationis comparatos servos circumciderint, aut reportantur aut capite puniuntur.* This passage will not stand close analysis. If written before the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, no punishment is laid down for non-citizen gentiles; yet they came under the castration law on a level with Roman citizens and from the *Digest* clearly came under the circumcision law also. After the *CA* Jews were Roman citizens and the law is self-contradictory. Actually the contrast must have been, not between Jews and Roman citizens, but between Jews and gentiles within the empire regardless of their civic status. *Orig.*, *Cels.* (written *c.* 248) ii, 13, speaks of circumcision as a solely Jewish rite; cf. i, 22.

the slave as a mere chattel.⁸) The restriction of the exemption to "the Jews alone" in the rescript may reflect the terms of the letters sent to the legate of Palestine and to the governors of other provinces where the new rule was relevant, since Jews were the only people who were allowed the free and unconditional resumption of the practice. Papyri show that Antoninus made the same concession to the priestly caste in Egypt, as was indeed only logical, since there also circumcision was a religious rite; but in that case each operation had to be sanctioned individually by the civil and religious authorities after enquiries into the candidate's qualifications.⁹

The citation of Antoninus' rescript in the *Digest* contains no indication of date, and the papyri give only 154 as the *terminus ante quem* for the probably contemporary concessions in Egypt.¹⁰ But several stories in Jewish literature point to a relaxation of tension at the beginning of Antoninus' reign, and the lifting of the ban on circumcision, though not explicitly mentioned, was the most essential ingredient in this. The gruesome legend that burial was denied to the Jews killed at Bethar until "a certain king arose and ordered their interment" suggests the immediate adoption of a more lenient policy by Antoninus.¹¹ More definite is the story of Rabbi Simeon ben Yohai, who had evaded a death sentence passed on him by Rome for a derogatory remark by hiding in a cave for several years during "the persecution" and now emerged on hearing that "the emperor is dead and his decree is annulled."¹² Another legend about Simeon, incompatible with this, tells how he and another rabbi travelled to Rome to plead for the repeal of the laws against circumcision and Sabbath-observance, and achieved their purpose with supernatural assistance.¹³ It is not impossible that Antoninus lifted the ban in

⁸ Juster, I, 269, states that a circumcised slave was now freed to compensate for his mutilation, as was a castrated slave. But his reference, *Dig.* XLVIII, viii, 6, is not evidence for the liberation of a castrated slave. Justinian, *Nov.* 142, 2 αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς εὐνουχισθέντας ἐχρῆν μὲν ἀπὸ παλαιότερων χρόνων (ἐλευθέρους εἶναι), implies a law to that effect but gives no precise date, and its extension to cover circumcision does not necessarily follow. The freeing of a circumcised slave was not made explicit till 336—*Cod. Th.* XVI, ix, 1.

⁹ For documentation see Hüttl, *AP* I, 317-19.

¹⁰ Little weight can be put on the restored date 149 on one of the documents; cf. the present writer in *Lat.* xviii (1959), 345, n. 2.

¹¹ *Midr. Lament. R.* ii, 2, § 4; cf. *BT Ta'an.* 31a; *BB* 121a.

¹² *BT Shab.* 33b; cf. *JT Shebi.* ix, 1 (Schwab II, 413-14); *Midr. Gen. R.* lxxix, 6; *Ecccl. R.* x, 8; *Esther R.* iii, 7; *Psalms* xvii, 13.

¹³ *BT Me'il.* 17a-b, making his companion the son of his contemporary R. Jose; this may be an error for R. Jose himself.

response to the arguments of a Jewish delegation sent to appeal rationally for what the militants in Palestine were attempting to achieve by protest and agitation, and such an appeal is likely to have been made as soon as was practicable after the new emperor's accession.

In Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho* Jewish circumcision is discussed in the present tense without any suggestion that the operation is illegal and performed in secret or in danger.¹⁴ The dramatic date of the work, though not indicated entirely consistently, seems to be early in Antoninus' reign.¹⁵ But this is not strong corroborative evidence for dating the exemption of the Jews from the ban to the beginning of Antoninus' reign. Even during Hadrian's lifetime some Jews had risked disobeying the ban. Rabbi Judah I, for example, was born at the time of Akiba's death,¹⁶ when it was still in force, but his father had him circumcised nonetheless.¹⁷ There is likely, therefore, to have been widespread disregard of the ban once Hadrian was dead. And Justin Martyr speaks equally casually of the circumcision of proselytes as a commonplace occurrence, with no suggestion that it was illegal,¹⁸ though both at the dramatic date of the *Dialogue* and at the time of its composition late in Antoninus' reign¹⁹ the circumcision of gentiles was prohibited, as Antoninus' rescript had made quite clear. Proselytes will hardly have defied the ban if Jews did not also.

Antoninus' action in retaining a general ban on gentile circumcision, instead of meeting the Jewish case by replacing Hadrian's law completely, was a return to the principle followed since the late republic of making exceptions to universal rules in the Jews' favour to answer the requirements of their Law. And if, as is possible but

¹⁴ *Dial.* 16, 2-3 ; 19 ; 46, 2 ; 92, 2-3 ; cf. 10, 3, where the statement that Christians do not practise circumcision implies that the Jews do. Cf. Orig., *Cels.* v, 41, quoting Celsus, whose work H. Chadwick, transl. (1953), xxiv-xxviii, dates to, probably, 177-80.

¹⁵ In 1, 3 and 9, 3 Bar Cochba's war is still in progress, but elsewhere the Jews are already excluded from Aelia ; see 16, 2 ; 92, 2.

¹⁶ *Midr. Gen. R.* lviii, 2 ; *Eccl. R.* i, 5, § 1 ; *BT Kidd.* 72b ; cf. A. Guttman in *HUCA* xxv (1954), 239-54.

¹⁷ For the versions of the legend and discussion see S. Krauss in *REJ* lviii (1909), 65-72.

¹⁸ *Dial.* 8, 4 ; 23, 3-5 ; 123, 1.

¹⁹ The *Dialogue* was written after the *Apologies*, to which reference is made in 120, 5. The *Apologies* date from the second decade of Antoninus' reign ; see i, 1 (dedication to Antoninus, M. Aurelius and L. Verus) and 29 (L. Munatius Felix, prefect of Egypt 150-152/3).

not certain, other Jewish religious practices besides circumcision had been banned by Hadrian in punishment for Bar Cochba's revolt,²⁰ the numerous references in Jewish literature to "the end of the great persecution" mean that those restrictions also were simultaneously lifted by Antoninus. For once circumcision was again authorised, there will have been little point in retaining a ban on any other practice. Judaism thus regained its status of a *religio licita* in the Roman world, a status which was to be maintained even after the adoption of Christianity as the official religion of the empire.²¹

Antoninus' ruling, however, was more than merely a compromise whereby the Jews' religious rights were respected while steps continued to be taken to root out among gentiles a practice considered culturally and aesthetically undesirable. The bulk of gentile circumcisions, at least in the West, will have been performed on converts to Judaism, and Antoninus' purpose in retaining the general ban appears to have been to use the restriction primarily as a weapon against proselytism, which Roman officialdom had viewed with suspicion and distaste as long as Jews had been settled in Italy. There was now to be a new condition for Roman toleration of Judaism, especially among the Diaspora: the Jews were not only required, as before, to behave in a law-abiding manner, inoffensive to their neighbours and the Roman authorities, but they were also legally debarred, whereas previously they had only been discouraged, from attempting to extend their religion. A bargain was thus struck, whereby in return for the right to the full and free practice of their religion the Jews were to give up proselytism.²²

This indirect attack on proselytism failed, for the obvious reason that the weapon used was ineffective. It neither applied to women nor prevented people of either sex from becoming "Judaizers", and the rabbis' answer to the situation was to continue to sanction the wartime substitute of a ritual bath as the symbol of a convert's reception into Judaism.²³ The administration of the law, moreover, may

²⁰ See above, pp. 464-5.

²¹ See below, p. 543. Despite Jewish grounds for gratitude to Antoninus, he cannot be the emperor of the apocryphal "Antoninus and Rabbi" stories recorded in Jewish literature (below, pp. 485-6).

²² Julius Paulus' *Iudaico ritu* (above, p. 469, n. 7) shows that Rome viewed circumcision as a primarily Jewish custom.

²³ See above, p. 430. The discussion in BT *Yeb.* 46a-b shows the debate about circumcision versus a ritual bath continuing long after the war. The implication that some proselytes were still circumcised may represent theory rather than practice. In *Gerim* i, 1 the would-be proselyte's sincerity is tested

have presented problems on the Roman side; was circumcision permitted to Jewish apostate or Christian families? or to proselyte families of long standing? or to the sons of a mixed Jewish-gentile marriage? It may have been such ambiguities and the practical difficulties of enforcement that allowed the law to become a dead letter. Proselytism, not forbidden as such, continued, as is shown by Justin's *Dialogue* and by the fact that when Septimius Severus tackled the question, he found it advisable to prohibit proselytism under its own name.²⁴

The recovery of Judaism

The change in Roman policy and the restoration of religious liberty made possible the re-establishment of the normal routine of Jewish life and organization in Palestine. But the character of the province had altered. Death in battle, the deportation and sale of prisoners, and voluntary post-war emigration had all taken such a toll of the Jewish population that in some districts the balance between Jews and gentiles was now tipped in favour of the latter. This was especially true in Judaea, where the most serious losses had occurred during the war and where gentiles had replaced Jewish residents not only in Jerusalem but in a considerable tract of land around it also.²⁵ Of the cities on the coastal plain Joppa alone seems to have retained a sizable Jewish population.²⁶ The once despised Galilee was now the chief area of Jewish residence in the province, perhaps the sole surviving area with an overwhelmingly Jewish majority, and in consequence it developed into the main stronghold of Judaism during the decades after the war.²⁷

by pointing out to him that he is proposing to join an oppressed people who, *inter alia*, are executed for practising circumcision—presumably a reference to proselyte circumcision only. (The tractate in its present form dates from the sixth century or later, but it incorporates much older material.)

²⁴ See below, pp. 500-1.

²⁵ For extensive gentile immigration throughout the country see Eus., *DE* vii, 1, 79 and 91; Hier., *In Esai.* i, 7 (*CLL* LXXIII, 13) *regionem eorum . . . alieni devorant*. Cf. *JT Demai* ii, 1 (Schwab II, 138-40), a discussion between R. Eleazar and R. Johanan which implies that the Jews were a minority of the population at the end of the third century.

²⁶ Of c. 90 Jewish inscriptions, almost all epitaphs, from the coastal cities, nearly 70 are from Joppa and most of these are of second and third century date—*CIJ* 882-970. Cf. below, p. 478.

²⁷ See further Avi-Yonah, *GJZT*, 16-20, 133, who estimates that only 25% of the population were Jews after 135 and that about half of them lived in Galilee, where they formed 75% of the population; Baron, II, 122-3. Cf. the

The northward shift of the Jewish centre of gravity was strikingly shown in the transfer of the rabbinic school from Jamnia in Judaea to Galilee, which was one of the most marked and lasting effects of Bar Cochba's war. "At the end of the great persecution" a group of rabbis is said to have met at Usha (between Sepphoris and the coast) to resume the open study and teaching of the Law, and a variant of the story tells of a gathering of rabbis held in the valley of Rimmon (probably north of Nazareth) to settle various points of the Law, including the vital matter of the regulation of the calendar. Some of the rabbis were the pupils of Akiba who had been ordained secretly during the war to preserve the continuity of Judaism.²⁸ The conference at Usha constituted the rebirth of the Sanhedrin, if it had been in abeyance since 135, or at least its resumption of an active leading role in Jewish life, and Galilee now became the permanent centre of rabbinic scholarship and teaching. Academies were established in the two major cities of the district, Sepphoris and Tiberias, during the third century,²⁹ and the Sanhedrin, after meeting for several decades at Usha, moved first to Beth Shearim in the plain of Esdraelon in the latter part of the second century, then to Sepphoris, and finally to Tiberias.³⁰

With the reconstitution of the Sanhedrin, the post of Nasi or patriarch, apparently vacant since the death of Rabbi Gamaliel II during the war, could be filled again, and Gamaliel's son, Rabbi

numbers of inscriptions from inland Palestine in *CIJ* 971-1207—nearly 200 from Galilee but only c. 40 from the southern part of the province (excluding Jerusalem).

²⁸ Midr. *Song. R.* ii, 5, § 3; JT *Hag.* iii, 1 (Schwab VI, 287; on the site of Rimmon see *JE*, s.v.). Both versions list seven rabbis (cf. Midr. *Gen. R.* 1xi, 3 on the seven pupils of Akiba who "arose and filled the whole land with the Law"); the lists vary, and the perfect number probably represents an actually larger group. For the ordination see above, p. 465. For discussion of the tradition that the Sanhedrin met at Usha for a period, perhaps of some years, between the two revolts, returned to Jamnia, and then moved to Usha again under Antoninus, see Mantel, *Sanhedrin*, 140-74, who argues for a single removal to Usha as soon after Bar Cochba's war as the practice of Judaism could be resumed.

²⁹ In addition to imperial portraits, temples appear on the coins of Tiberias under Hadrian and those of Sepphoris under Antoninus and the Severi, and other pagan types, though not particularly blatant ones, occur on coins of Tiberias from Trajan to Commodus (*BMC, Pal.*, 3-10), suggesting gentile municipal administration then. For the subsequent Jewish recovery of control see Avi-Yonah, *GJZT*, 46-7; Jones, *CERP*², 277-8; Büchler, *Sepphoris, passim*. Simeon b. Yohai is said to have "purified" Tiberias—Midr. *Gen. R.* lxxix, 6; *Ecll. R.* x, 8.

³⁰ BT *RH* 31b; cf. Mantel, *Sanhedrin*, 145.

Simeon III, was appointed to it. Whatever part he may have played in the war,³¹ he was now evidently regarded by the Roman authorities, who naturally still asserted the prerogative claimed after 70 of ratifying the appointment of the Nasi, as a safe figure who could be trusted to co-operate with their administration. Since the hopes entertained between 70 and 130 of the revival of the cult of Yahweh in a rebuilt Temple had for all practical purposes now vanished for ever, the Nasi no longer faced the possibility of competition from a restored High Priesthood, and this together with the firm establishment of the principle of hereditary succession (which Rome did not choose to abolish in order to weaken the office) put the post-war Nasi in a stronger position than his forerunners.³² Despite the reduced circumstances of the Palestinian Jews for a generation after the war, Simeon succeeded in raising the dignity and prestige of his office as supreme head of the worldwide Jewish community above its pre-war level and thus laid the foundations for the almost autocratic rule of his son, Rabbi Judah I, the greatest of the patriarchs. Under the guidance and control of the restored patriarchate the wheels of Jewish religious organization, local administration and autonomous jurisdiction in cases involving matters of religion and the requirements of the Law were again set in motion, and the communal life of Palestinian Jewry returned to normal.³³ The re-establishment of the central Jewish authority was important for the Diaspora also. Since the disappearance of the Temple as a universal focus, the religious unity of worldwide Jewry had depended on uniformity of local worship and hence on the use of a common calendar—which in the absence of a fixed calendar meant the acceptance of the calendar devised by the observations and calculations of a single authority. That unity, in jeopardy recently while the practice of Judaism had been under restriction, could now be restored; Judaism had once more an official, recognized head to prescribe the calendar to be followed by all Jewish communities, and the danger of the disintegration of Judaism into sects with divergent practices was averted.

³¹ A remark in BT *Gitt.* 58a is taken as evidence that he was in Bethar in 132-5 (see *JE*, s.v. *Simeon b. Gamaliel II*).

³² If Johanan b. Zakkai was Nasi from 70 (above, p. 349, n. 72), the hereditary succession of the family of Gamaliel was broken then.

³³ The reference in JT *Sanh.* vii, 2 (Schwab XI, 3-4) to the removal of the Jews' powers of civil jurisdiction in questions of money probably concerns the period immediately after the revolt of Bar Cochba. On the whole topic of the recovery of Jewish local life see further Büchler, *Sepphoris*, 21-33; Avi-Yonah, *GJZT*, 46-9.

The patriarch established his control over the Diaspora by sending emissaries (*apostoli*) to supervise the organization of individual communities and to collect the *aurum coronarium*, an annual tax for the benefit of the patriarchate which had replaced the Temple tax.³⁴ No restrictions were apparently imposed on the maintenance of relations of this type with the Jews in Parthia, who continued to look to the Palestinian authorities for direction in matters of religion; indeed, it was in Rome's interests politically to show favour in this way to the powerful Jewish minority in the country which constituted the greatest threat to the security of the empire. As the head of a world-wide religious community, holding an official position recognised by Jew and Roman alike and in the course of time acquiring the title of *vir illustris* as a dignitary in the Roman system, the patriarch could be described by Origen early in the third century as an "ethnarch with powers equivalent to a king's."³⁵ The patriarchate survived till the first quarter of the fifth century, when it lapsed or was abolished.³⁶

Inevitably Palestine was in low economic water after Bar Cochba's revolt. The cessation or curtailment of the agricultural operations on which the national economy was based and the devastation of the country, especially in Judaea during the later stages of the war, the breakdown of normal trade and industry, the confiscation of much Jewish land by Rome, and the serious reduction in Jewish numbers resulted in widespread hardship and poverty for some time, especially among rabbinic scholars and students.³⁷ The Nasi Simeon could

³⁴ Explicit evidence for the *apostoli* and the *aurum coronarium* comes only from the fourth century; see, e.g., Epiph., *Haer.* xxx, 4, 2 (*GCS* XXV, 338); *Cod. Th.* XVI, viii, 14 and 17 (dated 399 and 404). But both are believed to date back to 70, even if the system was not fully organized until after 135; cf. *JE*, s.v. *Apostole, Apostoli*.

³⁵ Orig., *Ep. ad Afric.* 14 (*PG* XI, 81) . . . ὅσα συγχωροῦντος Καίσαρος ὁ ἐθνάρχης παρ' αὐτοῖς δύναται, ὡς μὴδὲν διαφέρειν βασιλεύοντος τοῦ ἔθνους, ἴσμεν οἱ πεπεισμένοι. A reference to Jewish rights of jurisdiction follows. Julius Africanus' death c. 240 gives the *terminus ante quem*. *Cod. Th.* XVI, viii includes a number of enactments concerning the patriarch, with the title *vir illustris* in nos. 8, 11 and 13. For more detailed discussion of the post-war Nasi see Juster, I, 385-99; Avi-Yonah, *GJZT*, 53-63; Mantel, *Sanbedrin*, 36-41; Syme, *EB*, 21-3.

³⁶ *Cod. Th.* XVI, viii, 22, dated 415, restricts his authority; no. 29, dated 429, has the words *post excessum patriarcharum*.

³⁷ E.g., *BT Sanh.* 20a; *Midr. Gen. R.* xx, 9-10; xcvi, 3; *Lam. R.* iii, 5 (on ch. iii, 14). The many references to charity, especially towards scholars, and complaints about the neglect of the study of the Law in favour of earning a livelihood point in the same direction. For discussion and further references see Büchler, *Sepphoris*, 35-8, 66-77.

lament: "If we were to try to make a list of all our troubles, we should be unequal to the task", and complain that whereas earlier generations had become depressed at the least hint of oppression by foreign powers, his generation had been encompassed by sufferings "for many days, years and epochs."³⁸ But arable and pasture land can be put back into commission in a few years, though vines and fruit-trees take longer to establish and olives need twenty years to become fully productive. The evidence of Jewish literature suggests that, once the immediate post-war difficulties had been surmounted with the help of legislation by the Jewish authorities to regulate such matters as land-usage and exports in order to ensure adequate domestic supplies, Palestine was set on the road to eventual economic recovery and a return to agricultural prosperity. The land confiscated by Rome apparently reverted gradually to *de facto* Jewish ownership and some of the leading rabbis accumulated vast estates. In post-war conditions land was liable to fall into the hands of gentiles who had greater capital resources than the Jews, but this natural economic process was countered by rabbinic enactments aimed at preventing the permanent alienation of Jewish property and protecting the financial interests of former Jewish land-owners when their land was purchased back from gentile expropriators by other Jews.³⁹

The depopulation consequent on the war may have created a more serious and lasting problem than the restoration of agriculture and industry, as it was aggravated by post-war emigration. Jews who found life in Palestine now intolerable moved away in search of greater material prosperity and better economic prospects and settled in other provinces, or in Parthia where they had the additional advantage of escape from the Roman ban on circumcision. Attempts to combat this drain on Palestine by bringing moral pressure to bear on would-be emigrants and stressing the spiritual blessings of residence in the holy land witness to the gravity of the situation.⁴⁰ In time the tide turned, and Diaspora Jews from Babylonia, Asia Minor and Alexandria are found immigrating into Palestine and

³⁸ BT *Shab.* 13b ; Midr. *Song R.* iii, 4, § 2.

³⁹ Mish. *AZ* i, 8 gives one land-enactment. See further Avi-Yonah, *GJZT*, 21 ff., especially 29-30 on the post-war modification of the *sicaricon*-law (above, p. 341, n. 43) ; cf. Baron, II, 124-5.

⁴⁰ E.g., Mish. *Kel.* i, 6 ; BT *Ket.* 110b-111a ; JT *MK* iii, 1 (Schwab VI, 320). See also Avi-Yonah, *GJZT*, 26-8 ; cf. L. Jacobs in *JSemS* ii (1957), 349-59, on the economic conditions of the Jews in Babylonia as compared with those in Palestine.

settling in Sepphoris, Tiberias and, in the largest numbers, in Joppa—an indication that Palestine had become economically attractive.⁴¹

The Roman Administration

In allowing the resumption and development of the Jews' religious life early in his reign Antoninus made a humane and sensible concession to their feelings. But hand in hand with this went a determination to keep them firmly in subjection politically in order to prevent any recrudescence of militant nationalism, and on one point Antoninus was adamant. The events of 132-5 had shown the importance of Jerusalem to the Jews from both the religious and the nationalist viewpoint, and to the Romans the new gentile colony now stood as a symbol of their victory. On both counts therefore Antoninus could allow no relaxation of Hadrian's rigorous exclusion of the Jews from residence in Aelia and its environs.⁴² And no concession was made in the case of Christian Jews; it was on grounds of race, not religion, that the Jews were excluded. The pagan character of the city was endorsed when a statue of Antoninus joined that of Hadrian in the temple of the imperial cult on the site of the Jewish Temple.⁴³ The ban on Jewish visits except on 9 Ab, however, may have been a different matter. The evidence of Talmudic literature for the second century is inconclusive, since no sharp distinction is drawn between the theory which required pilgrimages on the three major festivals annually and historical fact, and some stories of rabbis' experiences in Jerusalem are clearly legendary.⁴⁴ A ban on occasional short visits will in any case have been much harder to enforce than a ban on residence, and it may, like the ban on proselytism, have been disregarded from an early date by humble folk who could easily escape detection. And once Antoninus had inaugurated his policy of con-

⁴¹ There is epigraphic evidence for Jewish immigration to Joppa from Alexandria—*CIJ* 918, 928, 930, 934; and from Babylonia, Cappadocia and Tarsus—*CIJ* 902, 910, 931. For immigration to Sepphoris and Tiberias see Avi-Yonah, *GJZT*, 36. Cf. Neusner, *JB* I, 88-93, on the silk trade, in which Jews were involved, as a factor in movement between Babylonia and Palestine.

⁴² All the references above, p. 460, n. 128, are post-Hadrianic.

⁴³ *Itin. Burgid.* (CCL CLXXV, 16) *sunt ibi statuæ duæ Adriani* probably derives from a misunderstanding of statues dedicated to Traianus Hadrianus and T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus. Cf. C. Clermont-Ganneau in *CRAI* 1903, 492, n.

⁴⁴ E.g., *BT Ber.* 3a, giving an encounter between R. Jose and Elijah in the ruins of Jerusalem.

ciliation, Rome may simply have turned a blind eye to Jewish defiance as long as no disturbances ensued.⁴⁵

In the sphere of administration Rome maintained equal firmness and her hand continued to lie heavily on Palestine. The garrison was not reduced to its pre-war strength even when peace seemed well established, but the two legions remained permanently based on Aelia and Caparcotna for the following century, supported by an auxiliary garrison of at least fifteen units⁴⁶—a high proportion of the total military resources of the empire for so small a province and one, moreover, with the Syrian and Egyptian legions within call; but Rome was taking no chances. In the choice of governors a high standard was required. Two of the legates known for Antoninus' reign, P. Calpurnius Atilianus, legate in 139 (possibly a Hadrianic appointment), and C. Julius Severus (incidentally, a remote descendant of Herod the Great), legate soon after 155, were distinguished enough to have been *consules ordinarii*. Eastern experience was also considered important. Julius Severus had served as military tribune in one of the Syrian legions towards the end of Hadrian's reign, and Flavius Boethus, legate early in Marcus Aurelius' reign, came from Ptolemais on the Palestinian frontier and no doubt knew the country and its problems personally before taking up his post.⁴⁷

Despite the post-war drop in the population of Palestine and the general economic difficulties of the province, taxation apparently remained at the pre-war level at least.⁴⁸ Indeed, the *tributum capitis* may well have been raised by Hadrian as a punishment for the revolt and kept at the higher rate by Antoninus. Appian, writing early in his reign, says that as a result of the Jews' long record of intransigence from Pompey's day to Hadrian's they were currently paying a heavier *tributum capitis* than *tributum soli*, and implies that the rate of *tributum capitis* in Palestine was then the same as that in Cilicia and Syria, namely one per cent. It seems reasonable to infer from this that before 135 Palestine had paid *tributum capitis* at a lower rate than her neighbours, and that in or soon after 135 there had been an increase in the rate, bringing it into line with the Syrian

⁴⁵ Cf. Avi-Yonah, *GJZT*, 80. See below, pp. 499-500, for increased laxity later.

⁴⁶ The auxiliary garrison attested in 139 (above, p. 458), did not necessarily remain constant, but detailed information about changes is lacking.

⁴⁷ See further Appendix A.

⁴⁸ Midr. *Levit.* R. xxxiv, 12 on heavy Roman demands is relevant if the story concerns Simeon b. Yohai; but an alternative reading attributes the story to Johanan b. Zakkai. Cf. Büchler, *Sepphoris*, 41, n. 3.

rate.⁴⁹ The exaction of the "Jewish tax" of two drachmae/denarii continued. It is mentioned in passing by Origen, who comments with apparent surprise on the degree of internal autonomy enjoyed by the patriarch "even now, when the Jews are under Roman domination and pay the *didrachmon*."⁵⁰ It would appear from the use of the original technical term that when the tax was reimposed on the province after 135, it was at the same rate as before and that there was no punitive increase, even though the value of the tax to Rome (and concurrently, of course, its burden to the Jews) was being steadily reduced throughout the empire by the fall in the value of money. Conversely, it may be assumed that Palestine was not excluded from benefit when Antoninus returned to the provinces half the *aurum coronarium* which had been presented to him at his adoption by Hadrian, though evidence either way is lacking; she does not figure on the "crown" series of coins struck in 139 which show the provinces offering him gifts, often in the form of a wreath or a crown, and which are generally taken as commemorating the emperor's generosity, but the tally of provinces represented is far from complete and the non-provincial "Phoenice" may cover Palestine.⁵¹

The only known procurator in charge of the collection of death-duties in Palestine held office at the very end of Hadrian's reign or during that of Antoninus.⁵² Though the uniqueness of this piece of epigraphic evidence may invest it with exaggerated importance, the date does suggest an increase in the number of Roman citizens, alone

⁴⁹ App., *Syr.* 50 καὶ διὰ ταῦτα (Jewish resistance to Pompey, Vespasian and Hadrian) ἔστιν Ἰουδαίους ἅπασιν ὁ φόρος τῶν σωμάτων βαρύτερος τῆς ἄλλης περιουσίας. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Σύροις καὶ Κίλιξιν ἐτήσιος, ἑκατοστὴ τοῦ τιμήματος ἑκάστω. The φόρος τῶν σωμάτων, *tributum capitis* (the tax on property other than land), is here compared with the tax on the Jews' "other property", i.e. their land, *tributum soli*. (The emendation *περιοικίας* for *περιουσίας*, making the Jews' *tributum capitis* heavier than that paid by other eastern provinces, is not greatly favoured.) καὶ Σύροις καὶ Κίλιξιν makes the Palestinian rate the same. A previous increase in the rate, in 70, may also be implied (above, p. 344). For further discussion of the passage see Schalit, 726-7. On the interpretation given to it by Juster and Momigliano see above, p. 371, n. 53.

⁵⁰ Orig., *Ep. ad Afric.* 14 (PG XI, 81) καὶ νῦν γοῦν Ῥωμαίων βασιλευόντων καὶ Ἰουδαίων διδραχμον αὐτοῖς τελούντων, ὅσα συγχωροῦντος Καίσαρος . . . (cf. above, p. 476, n. 35).

⁵¹ SHA *Ant. Pius* 4, 10; *BMC, Imp.* IV, 186-93; cf. lxxix-lxxx.

⁵² T. Flavius Priscus Gallonius Fronto Q. Marcius Turbo (the adopted son of Trajan's general?), whose cursus-inscription (inverse) includes *praef. prov. Daciae Inferioris, pro[c. ---] proc. XX heredi[tat.] provinciae [Syriae Palaestinae]*. See R. Syme in *JRS* lii (1962), 87-96, dating the Dacian post c. 142-5; Pflaum, *Carrières*, no. 157 bis, dating it late in Antoninus' reign.

liable for the tax, in Palestine shortly after 135, presumably by gentile immigration.

Temporary reductions in the garrison testify to the submissive condition of Palestine under the Antonines. The secondment of a vexillation of VI Ferrata to Mauretania in 145 has already been mentioned.⁵³ The same legion may have been withdrawn in its entirety to serve in the Parthian war of 162-6,⁵⁴ and it is quite likely that all or part of X Fretensis was summoned to fight in the Marcomannic war soon after 170. A centurion who served successively in X Fretensis and IV Flavia and was decorated twice by Marcus Aurelius in his "German war" may have won both his awards in the latter legion.⁵⁵ But the spurious dispatch from the emperor to the senate attributing to the prayers of Christians in the Roman army the miraculous rain-storm which gave him victory in a battle in central Europe in 172 or 173 includes men from X Fretensis among the forces engaged;⁵⁶ and since the dispatch, though patently a Christian forgery, contains credible details not found elsewhere and agrees reasonably well with the factual elements in the record of the campaign in general, it may preserve the truth in this detail from some lost but reliable source, and the centurion may therefore have won his first decoration in the legion from Palestine. Dio does not name the legions which fought in this battle,⁵⁷ but Xiphilinus, giving an independent comment on it, agrees with a contemporary Christian writer in making XII Fulminata the legion in which the Christians were serving.⁵⁸ In view of the critical situation in the West at the time, after barbarian invasions of Italy and the Balkans, the summoning of reinforcements from eastern

⁵³ Above, p. 468.

⁵⁴ *CIL* V, 955 records that a centurion of VI Ferrata was decorated in a Parthian war, but its mutilated state makes it uncertain whether it was M. Aurelius' war or another.

⁵⁵ *ILS* 2743.

⁵⁶ The letter (preserved at the end of Justin Mart., *Apol.* ii; text with Fronto's letters, Loeb edition II, 301-7) locates the battle ἐν Κορινῷ. The emendation ἐν Κορινῷς is convincing—a tribe living north of the Quadi, against whom Dio (below) says that the battle was fought. Tert., *Apol.* 5, 6, refers to the letter; cf. *Ad Scap.* 4, 7. *CIL* III, 7625, an undated dedication by a soldier of X Fretensis in Dacia, may belong to this period.

⁵⁷ Dio lxxi, 8 and 10.

⁵⁸ Dio lxxi, 9; Apollinaris of Hierapolis (writing within a few years of the event), cited by Eus., *HE* v, 5, 4. References by Eusebius himself, *HE* v, 5, 1-2, and other Christian writers are merely derivative. On the rain miracle as a whole see A. Harnack in *Sitzungsber. preuss. Akad. Wissensch. Berlin* 1894, 835-82, especially 862-71 on the value of the forged letter.

provinces is entirely credible; and they are more likely than western legions to have had Christians in their ranks.⁵⁹

The Parthian war incidentally brought one material advantage to Palestine in the shape of an extensive improvement of the road system. Over a dozen milestones are extant dated 162, recording the repair of existing roads or the construction of new ones, mostly radiating from the legionary bases at Aelia and Caparcotna, and clearly built to facilitate the movement of troops to the theatre of war.⁶⁰

In 175 Palestine was involved in a serious disturbance, but in a novel and indirect fashion. Avidius Cassius, legate of Syria, rose in revolt as a usurper against Marcus Aurelius and was accepted as emperor by the eastern provinces. Behind him he had the four legions of Palestine, Arabia and Egypt as well as his own three in Syria, and he may well have supplemented those forces—slender against the twenty-one western legions, which showed no sign of wavering in their loyalty to Marcus Aurelius—with local levies. In the speech which Dio puts into the emperor's mouth when the news of the rising reached him on the Danube, Marcus tells his legions that "Cilicians, Syrians, Jews and Egyptians have never been superior to you and never will be", and though this could be a derogatory allusion to the legions supporting the usurper, local *ad hoc* levies may also be meant.⁶¹ But if the population of Palestine at large supported Avidius, this was no anti-Roman revolt by the Jews. They were not trying to use the imperial crisis as an opportunity to make a further bid for national independence. It was rather a mere matter of prudence to favour the side locally in power in the impending civil war.

Civil war never materialized, thanks to the murder of Avidius six months after he had raised the standard of revolt, before the western troops could reach Syria. Marcus Aurelius nevertheless thought it advisable to visit the East late in 175 in order to assure himself of the loyalty of the provinces and their armies. He went first to the centre of the trouble, Syria, then travelled via Palestine to Egypt, where he spent the winter, and in 176 returned to Syria (whether by sea or via

⁵⁹ On the chronology of M. Aurelius' wars in central Europe and the barbarian invasions see A. Birley, *Marcus Aurelius* (1966), 323-7. Some of the evidence assembled by A. von Premerstein for the participation of specific eastern troops in this war is inconclusive—in *Klio* xiii (1913), 70-8.

⁶⁰ See P. Thomsen in *ZDPV* xl (1917), 1-103, nos. 230a, 259-61, 266(?), 272, 288-9, 303, 305; M. Avi-Yonah in *QDAP* xii (1946), 97-8; and in *IEJ* xvi (1966), 76.

⁶¹ Dio lxxi, 25, 1.

Palestine again is not recorded).⁶² It is possible, though by no means certain, that Syria and Palestine were both put under the command of a praetorian prefect, whose name is lost, as a temporary measure for the few months between the two imperial visits to Syria; ⁶³ but if so, no details are available, and it can only be assumed to have been an emergency step to maintain order until regular government was re-established.

Marcus Aurelius' visit to Palestine is mentioned only in an isolated sentence of Ammianus Marcellinus: "When he was travelling through Palestine to Egypt, he was frequently exasperated by the Jews, who were malodorous and riotous, and said sadly, 'These people are even more restless than the Marcomanni, the Quadi and the Sarmatians'.'" ⁶⁴ The visit can certainly be accepted as historical, and the anecdote is not necessarily apocryphal. This was only the second time that any emperor had set foot in Palestine in peace—and Hadrian's visit in 130 had proved ill-fated. The Jews may well have seized the opportunity to make requests and representations to Marcus in person, perhaps in a somewhat vehement manner and with irritating impertinence. Ammianus' phraseology suggests frequent vociferous demonstrations made to the emperor as an individual rather than any kind of concerted opposition, still less open armed revolt.⁶⁵ (The allegation that the Jews were, in W. S. Gilbert's words, "very imperfect ablu-tioners", surprising in view of the emphasis on sanitation and personal

⁶² Dio lxxi, 27, ³² merely says vaguely that he visited "peoples who had supported Cassius." SHA, *M. Ant.* 25, 11-12 mentions Egypt and Syria, as does John of Antioch, frag. 118 (*FHG* IV, 582-3). For Palestine see below.

⁶³ *Ephemeris Epigr.* VIII, 478, an acephalous fragment of a cursus-inscription attributed to a praetorian prefect. The end is restored as --- in *Sy]ria utraque* (i.e. Syria and Syria Palaestina) *cu[m] iure gladii* ---, which dates the abnormal appointment between 135 and the division of Syria into two provinces in 194 or 195 (see P.-W., s.v. *Syria*, 1686; cf. H. Ingholt in *Syria* xiii (1932), 282-6). Pflaum, *Carrières*, no. 165, suggests the crisis of 175 as the most probable occasion. But this is no more than hypothetical; see p. 980, where he retracts the suggestion on the grounds ("insufficient" in Birley's view, *op. cit.*, 263, n. 1) that Dio lxxi, 29, 2 makes P. Martius Verus, formerly legate of Cappadocia, succeed Avidius as legate of Syria before M. Aurelius reached the East.

⁶⁴ Amm. Marc. xxii, 5, 5, *Ille enim cum Palaestinam transiret, Aegyptum petens, Iudaeorum foetentium et tumultuantium saepe taedio percitus, dolenter dicitur exclamasse 'O Marcomanni, O Quadi, O Sarmatae, tandem vobis inquietiores inveni'*. Two of the MSS give *inquietiores*, accepted by J. C. Rolfe (Loeb) and by G. U. Clark (1963); three others give *inertiores* (presumably explaining *foetentium*), *ineptiores*, and *deteriores* respectively. Other adjectives have been suggested as emendations, but the majority reading, picking up *tumultuantium*, seems acceptable.

⁶⁵ Jewish literature is as silent about any trouble under M. Aurelius as it is about the alleged "Jewish revolt" under Antoninus.

hygiene in Jewish Law, could be no more than a slanderous accretion to the tale.) Even though Avidius' revolt collapsed without any actual hostilities, it is bound to have had an unsettling effect on the civilian population as well as on the armies in Syria and the neighbouring provinces.

Very much more dubious is the story given in the "biography" of Pescennius Niger in the *Historia Augusta*, a work which is largely the fruit of the author's imagination: the inhabitants of Palestine asked Niger for a reduction in their *tributum soli* because it had been raised, and he refused with the words "I wish I could tax the very air you breathe."⁶⁶ The request and the retort can certainly be dismissed as apocryphal; they form the last of a series of harsh replies allegedly given by Niger to requests, quoted specifically to illustrate his "severity". And the (recent?) increase in taxation is, no doubt, equally mythical, included in the tale to enhance Niger's callousness; it cannot be accepted as a fact and interpreted as a punishment for Palestinian support of Avidius, seeing that Dio and the *Historia Augusta* agree that Marcus Aurelius pardoned both communities and individuals who had joined him.⁶⁷ It is also odd that the writer calls the complainants "the Palestinians" rather than "the Jews", who are surely meant. But the anecdote may reflect a genuine situation nonetheless in one detail. It implies that Niger at some time held a post in Palestine, and this, though otherwise unattested, may be true. He was elevated from equestrian to senatorial rank before 190, and it is by no means impossible that his pre-consular career, largely unknown, included the procuratorship of Palestine late in Marcus Aurelius' reign or in the early years of Commodus.⁶⁸ (Had he held the more prominent post of legate, it would most probably have left a trace in reliable sources.) But if so, the story contributes no more than one uninformative addition to the fragmentary Palestinian *fasti*,

⁶⁶ SHA, *Pesc. Nig.* 7, 9 *Idem Palaestinis rogantibus ut eorum censitio levaretur idcirco quod esset gravata respondit 'Vos terras vestras levare censitione vultis; ego vero etiam aerem vestrum censere vellem.'* The tense and voice of *gravata esset* are against D. Magie's "it bore heavily on them" (Loeb); *terras* identifies the tax. On the biography see J. Hasebroek, *Die Falschung der Vita Nigri und Vita Albini in den SHA* (1916); Syme, *EB*, 59-70; cf. A. Birley, *Septimius Severus* (1971), 11.

⁶⁷ Dio lxxi, 27, 3²; SHA, *M. Ant.* 25, 8; cf. John of Antioch (quoted, Loeb Dio, *ad loc.*).

⁶⁸ Dio lxxv, 6, 1 ἐξ ἰππέων. He served in Dacia fairly early in Commodus' reign, and at some point held a military post in Egypt—Dio lxxii, 8, 1; Aur. Vict., *Lib.* 20, 9; cf. SHA, *Pesc. Nig.* 7, 7; 12, 4 and 6. He was *cos. II* in 194, legate of Syria 191-3, and therefore *cos. I* in or before 190.

and neither local conditions nor the character of his administration can be deduced from it.

A happier note struck in Jewish literature about relations between Jews and Romans "at the summit" may well belong to the second century. There is a group of anecdotes involving a Roman emperor named as "Antoninus, son of Asverus" or more often simply as "Antoninus", and "Rabbi", who is generally accepted as being Judah I, the son of Simeon III and his successor as patriarch from some time in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. In the majority of the stories the emperor is shown in conversation with the Jewish scholar, sometimes seeking his advice on matters of practical politics and at others discussing questions of philosophy and religion with him.⁶⁹ These stylized dialogues closely resemble the Hellenistic literary genre in which a sovereign talks to a foreign sage, attempting in vain to win a dialectic victory over him, and finally admitting the superiority of the foreign creed, and they may be wholly apocryphal. But the stories would hardly have developed or been invented, had there not been an emperor who had provided a peg on which to hang them by meeting a Jewish patriarch or a prominent rabbi on friendly terms at some time. The name Antoninus was borne not only by all the Antonine emperors but also by Caracalla and Elagabalus, and the emperor of the stories has been variously identified with almost all of them (though Antoninus Pius was too early for Judah I and was never in the East), and even with Avidius Cassius and Severus Alexander despite their lack of the name. The visit of Septimius Severus and his sons to Palestine in 198-9,⁷⁰ or Caracalla's visit in 215 (though Judah I would have been very old then), might have provided the *mise-en-scène* for the dialogues, and "Antoninus" is often identified as Caracalla (with "Asverus" taken as Severus). But temperamentally Marcus Aurelius is by far the most likely candidate (with "Asverus" taken as Annus Verus), and his visit to Palestine in 175 would lend verisimilitude, even if his contacts with Jewish leaders then had been in fact on a purely political level. A certain parallelism can, moreover, be seen between the philosophical dialogues and passages in Seneca, which suggests the Stoic emperor as their subject.⁷¹ Credibility was

⁶⁹ The major references are BT *AZ* 10a-b (where Antoninus is "son of Asverus" but himself also has a son of that name); *Sanh.* 91a-b; JT *Meg.* i, 11 (Schwab VI, 221-2); *Sanh.* x, 5 (Schwab XI, 60); *Midr. Gen. R.* xi, 4; lxvii, 6; lxxv, 5; lxxxiv, 3; *Levit. R.* x, 4.

⁷⁰ See below, p. 490.

⁷¹ For full discussion and bibliography see L. Wallach, who argues that the

abandoned when Jewish tradition went on to trace the contact between Antoninus and Rabbi back to their infancy,⁷² and to make the emperor end up as a proselyte.⁷³ But it is nevertheless not impossible that while in Palestine Marcus took the opportunity to engage in philosophical discourse with a leading Jewish scholar, and if there is such a substratum of truth underlying the stories, they form a counterpoise to Ammianus' picture of the emperor's somewhat uncomfortable relations with the masses there.⁷⁴

For though the Jews of Palestine under the leadership of a family with a moderate tradition accepted Roman rule from the age of the Antonines, acquiescence did not include affection, and the harmony which was achieved was little more than superficial. The patriarch and his supporters recognised and did not oppose the *status quo*, well aware that their own position depended on it and that internal peace was essential for the country's good. Judah I could even look forward and try to divert his people from mourning over past disasters and turn their eyes to the future by a proposal, albeit unsuccessful, to abolish the fast on 9 Ab.⁷⁵ But the long-standing nationalist resentment at Roman domination continued to fester below the surface. The "wicked kingdom" of Rome was likened to a snake, and the Roman forces battenning on the land to flies on a basket of fruit; Old Testament prophecy was interpreted as directed against Rome; and Gamaliel III, Judah I's successor as patriarch, complained that Rome's rule was purely self-interested and unconcerned with the good of her subjects.⁷⁶

dialogues are fragments of a Jewish work sharing the Stoic Posidonius of Apamea (whose writings are likely to have been accessible to a Hellenistic Jew) as source with Seneca, and as such wholly apocryphal, while the non-philosophical anecdotes are later accretions—in *JQR* 2 xxxi (1940-1), 259-86 (accepted by A. Birley, *Marcus Aurelius* (1966), 263-4; cf. J. Schwartz in *Hist.-Aug.-Colloqu. Bonn 1963* (1964), 146-8). Avi-Yonah, *GJZT*, 38-41, favours the identification with Caracalla, attributing the meeting to 198-9 rather than 215; but on this date see below, p. 497.

⁷² In the legend of the circumcision of Judah I (above, p. 471) Antoninus as an infant is exchanged with the Jewish baby to save the latter's parents from punishment for circumcising him.

⁷³ *JT Meg.* i, 11 (Schwab VI, 221-2); *Midr. Levit. R.* iii, 2; *Eccl. R.* ix, 10, § 2. For discussion see H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament II* (1924), 720.

⁷⁴ *Orac. Sib.* xii (cf. above, p. 384, n. 101), 176-228 on the Antonines throws no light on Romano-Jewish relations.

⁷⁵ *JT Ta'an.* iv, 9 (Schwab VI, 195).

⁷⁶ *Mish. Abot* ii, 2-3; *JT Ta'an.* i, 1 (Schwab VI, 144); *Sifre Deut.* 327; *Midr. Tanhuma* (on which see *JE*, s.v.). For fuller discussion and other references see Avi-Yonah, *GJZT*, 64-70.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

THE SEVERAN PERIOD

When Pescennius Niger was proclaimed emperor by the legions of his province of Syria in April 193, he received widespread, if not universal, support from the other eastern provinces, from Bithynia to Egypt. There is no direct evidence for the attitude of the legate of Palestine (whose identity is not known) and the two legions there, but they are hardly likely to have stood aloof. However, the first two of Septimius Severus' three victories over Niger, near Cyzicus and near Nicaea, brought defections. The legate of Arabia and the prefect of Egypt came over to Severus' side.¹ In Palestine there may have been a clash of loyalty between the two legions. VI Ferrata was honoured with the titles *Fidelis Constans* some time before 208,² and this is frequently taken as evidence that the legion deserted Niger and joined Severus before the final battle at Issus. If this is correct,³ the inference from the fact that X Fretensis received no honorific titles from Severus would seem to be that that legion remained loyal to Niger to the end.

Inter-city rivalry in the East was expressed by support for the opposing sides in the civil war. For example, in Bithynia Nicomedia declared for Severus after his first victory, while Nicaea remained loyal to Niger; after his second, Laodicea, Tyre and Heliopolis declared for Severus, while Antioch and Berytus remained loyal to Niger.⁴ In Palestine the same situation obtained. There seems to be

¹ P. Aelius Severianus Maximus retained his post in Arabia after Severus' final victory and was consul *c.* 194; cf. *PIR*², s.v. L. Mantennius Sabinus similarly remained prefect of Egypt until at least late April 194; for discussion of the concurrent dating of Egyptian documents by Niger and Severus in the second half of 193 see Stein, *Präefekten*, 106.

² *ILS* 9488, the *cursus* of Ti. Cl. Subatianus Proculus, who was *leg. leg. VI Ferratae fidelis constantis* immediately before becoming *leg. Auggg. . . Numid.* (between 209 and 211; cf. *CIL* VIII, 4323). *CIL* VI, 210 records a man's discharge in 208 from the praetorians after previous service in *leg. VI Ferrata f. c.* Transfers from an eastern legion to the praetorians can only have occurred after Severus had won the East completely from Niger; i.e., the titles were given at or before the end of the war.

³ But cf. below, p. 498.

⁴ Her. iii, 2, 7-9; 3, 3; 4, 7; 6, 9; *Dig.* L, xv, 1, 2-3; Dio lxxv, 8, 3-4; SHA, *Sev.* 9, 7; *Carac.* 1, 7. Rewards and punishments provide evidence for allegiance. See further Magie, *RRAM*, 672, 1540.

no reason for disbelieving the statement in the *Historia Augusta* that Severus deprived Flavia Neapolis of city status as a punishment for her long military support of Niger, and the reference there to unspecified penalties imposed on "Palestinians" in general may mean that Neapolis was not the sole city in the province to stand beside Niger to the end.⁵ Sebaste, however, was later elevated to colonial status, which suggests that she went over to Severus; and rivalry between her and her upstart neighbour Neapolis is credible. Coins of Caesarea struck under Septimius Severus and later give the city the titles *Felix Constans* (or *Concordia*), and this honour for the provincial capital may indicate not only that the city supported Severus but also that the governor transferred his allegiance to him betimes.⁶

How much actual military help Neapolis and perhaps other Palestinian communities gave to Niger is questionable, since none of his battles with Severus was fought anywhere near Palestine. But the general uncertainty and confusion which inevitably accompanied the Roman civil war may have had repercussions on the Jewish population of Palestine (who are hardly involved in the question of the attitude of the mainly non-Jewish cities) in providing the occasion for a display of restlessness and anti-Roman feeling. Orosius and Eusebius both record a "Jewish and Samaritan revolt", apparently in 194 immediately after the final defeat of Niger.⁷ Dio, Herodian,

⁵ SHA, *Sev.* 9, 5 *Neapolitanis etiam Palaestinensibus ius civitatis tulit, quod pro Nigro diu in armis fuerunt*; 14, 6 *Palaestinis poenam remisit quam ob causam Nigri meruerant*. (For a possible casualty on Severus' side buried at Neapolis see M. Avi-Yonah in *QDAP* xii (1946), 92-3.) Antioch, and later Byzantium, suffered the same punishment as Neapolis. If X Fretensis supported Niger, so presumably did Aelia, but the alleged coin of Niger struck there (below, p. 492, n. 26) is a forgery.

⁶ *BMC, Pal.*, 26-42; Kadman, *Caesarea*, 110-43. Kadman, no. 63 shows that the title was granted by Septimius Severus; the coins with Caracalla's head may therefore have been struck under him. Kadman, no. 213, with reverse legend *Col. P. F. Aug. Fel. Caes.*, identifies the title as *Felix*, against Hill's *Firma* or *Fida*. Founder-type coins struck for Severus and Caracalla also suggest some imperial benefaction—*BMC, Pal.*, 26, no. 108; Kadman, *Caesarea*, no. 63.

⁷ Oros. vii, 17, 3 *Iudaeos et Samaritas rebellare conantes ferro coercuit* (undated, but following Niger's defeat); Eus., *Chron.* Sev. V *Iudaicum et Samariticum bellum motum*. Eusebius' date is 197-8, but he follows the "Jewish war" with, under Severus VI-VIII, an account of Severus' conquest of Adiabene and the Scenite Arabs and his assumption of the titles *Adiabenicus Arabicus Parthicus*, thus giving the events of the first Parthian war of 195 under, approximately, the dates of the second. If they are moved back to their correct chronological position, the preceding "Jewish war" falls under 194. Michael Syrus, *Chron.*

and even the *Historia Augusta*, provide no vestige of corroboration of this, and Jewish literature is equally silent. Possibly the tradition reflects a local conflict between Samaritan partisans of Niger and Jewish partisans of Severus in Galilee.⁸ But the apparent division of allegiance between cities in Samaritis tells against this. The trouble is therefore perhaps to be interpreted, like the alleged "Jewish revolt" under Antoninus Pius, as no more than a recurrence of the type of nationalist unrest and minor anti-Roman activity which was never wholly eradicated from the province. Dio tells of a brigand Claudius who was overrunning Palestine and Syria at this time and who had the effrontery to penetrate Severus' headquarters when he was encamped beyond the Euphrates during his first Parthian war in 195.⁹ But there is no indication of his nationality and his name is against his being a Jewish nationalist guerilla leader. His dare-devil exploit suggests rather some gentile freebooter, perhaps a former partisan of Niger or one of the people made homeless by the civil wars and driven to banditry for a livelihood. The Talmud, however, has stories, which could be dated to the very end of the second century, of two rabbis who co-operated with the Roman authorities in rounding up brigands, to the considerable annoyance of some of their fellow Jews.¹⁰ Here the Jewish governing class appears in its typical second-century role, appreciating both the inevitability and the benefits of Roman rule and taking open, if unpopular, action against short-sighted and hot-headed trouble-makers. But even if the period during and immediately after the civil war saw a temporary increase in nationalist unrest in Palestine, there can be no question of anything worthy to be called a full-scale revolt, in the absence of any evidence from the classical or the Jewish side to corroborate the Church historians.¹¹ And the outbreak of brigandage may not have

vi, 7 (ed. J. B. Chabot I (1899), 187), and Gregorius Bar-Hebraeus (Abul Faraj), *Hist. Dyn.* (transl. G. L. Bauer (1783), 115) and *Chron. Syr.* (transl. E. A. W. Budge (1932), I, 55), both put the event in Severus' first year, the latter making it a conflict between Jews and Samaritans.

⁸ So Avi-Yonah, *GJZT*, 77-8.

⁹ Dio lxxv, 2, 4, probably using "Judaea" for the whole province; cf. above, p. 443, n. 59.

¹⁰ BT *BM* 83b-84a. Eleazar son of Simeon b. Yohai could still have been active then, if he was a boy in 135 (above, p. 464). Ishmael b. Jose was the son of a contemporary of Simeon, a fellow pupil of Akiba. On the other hand, Joshua b. Karha, the spokesman against Eleazar, was a generation older, and the part which he plays may put the stories in the later Antonine period.

¹¹ SHA, *Sev.* 16, 7 alleges that after his second Parthian war Severus granted a "Jewish triumph" to Caracalla (then barely in his teens) for his own "suc-

been nationalistically motivated at all, but may have originated in the economic consequences of the civil war.

Severus was not vindictive, and the punishments inflicted on Niger's supporters were remitted some five years later, when he and his sons spent over two years in the East after his second Parthian war. They appear to have been in Palestine from late in 198 until the spring of 199, when they went to Egypt.¹² The restoration of city status to Neapolis is attested by the issue of coins of Julia Domna and Caracalla (perhaps struck under Severus, whose own head is not known on coins of Neapolis).¹³ It was on this visit that Sebaste was honoured with elevation to colonial status and the titles *Lucia Septimia*; dates on the city's coins show that the reward, if such it was, for loyalty against Niger was not granted in 194 but was postponed until 199. The colonial type of the founder ploughing appears on coins of Caracalla.¹⁴ On the physical side the city's amenities were improved: the temple of the imperial cult, the gymnasium, the basilica in the forum, and the theatre were rebuilt; colonnades were provided along the main street; and the aqueduct may be of the same period.¹⁵ The

cesses in Syria", a patently nonsensical echo of Titus' share in Vespasian's Jewish triumph providing no evidence for a "Jewish revolt".

¹² Palestine—Dio lxxv, 13, 1; SHA, *Sev.* 17, 1. Alexandrian coin evidence shows that Severus was in Egypt before the end of the Egyptian year in August 199. For full discussion see K. Hannestad in *Class. et Mediaev.* vi (1944), 194-207; cf. A. Birley, *Septimius Severus* (1971), 205, n. 2.

¹³ *BMC, Pal.*, 58-9, with the legend Ἰουλία Δόμνα Σεβ. corresponding to the *Julia Domna Aug.* of Severus' coins, not to the *Julia Pia Felix Aug.* of Caracalla's. Cf. SHA, *Sev.* 14, 6 (quoted above, n. 5). The short-lived title Εὐσ-(εβης) on a Neapolitan coin of Severus Alexander is unexplained; see *BMC, Pal.*, xxvii (with n. 2 on F. de Saulcy's attribution of two coins with the title but wholly or partially illegible obverse legends to Elagabalus), 63, no. 114.

¹⁴ *Dig. L*, xv, 1, 7 *Divus quoque Severus in Sebastenam civitatem coloniam deduxit.* *BMC, Pal.*, 80-1 (Severus to Elagabalus), giving *L. Sep.* The latest pre-colonial coin, with Caracalla as Augustus (*ibid.*, 79, no. 11) is dated year 226 of the local era = A.D. 199, if the city was founded in 27 B.C. (above, p. 77, n. 55). (The date 242 said to occur on a pre-colonial coin, which would set the *terminus post quem* for the colony at 215, must be misread; *ibid.*, xxxviii.) The "Antoninus and Rabbi" tradition (above, pp. 485-6) includes a story that Antoninus wanted his "son Asverus" to succeed him as emperor and to make Tiberias a colony—BT *AZ* 10b. The extant coinage of Tiberias ends under Commodus and is not colonial, and there is no evidence that the city ever became a colony. Wishful thinking may have converted the action taken by M. Aurelius' fictitious "son" over the Greek city of Sebaste into an unfulfilled design for a Jewish city. Cf. Avi-Yonah, *GJZT*, 40, taking "Antoninus" as Caracalla.

¹⁵ Cf. above, p. 78, n. 57. The eastern aisle of the Severan basilica is a still later addition.

territorial jurisdiction of the city was extended at the same time.¹⁶ The grant of honorary titles to Caesarea may well also date from this visit by Severus.

More important for the administrative development of the province was the programme of urbanization, under which two new cities were founded by Septimius Severus. The first was Lucia Septimia Eleutheropolis, built on the site of the village of Beth Gabra, between Jerusalem and Gaza. (The name is unexplained, and may have been given to the village earlier rather than chosen at the time of the foundation.¹⁷) The city's coinage begins under Severus, and coins dated year 19 struck under both Macrinus and Elagabalus (i.e. both before and after June 218) fix the era as 199-200.¹⁸ The city's territorial jurisdiction, stretching as far as the Dead Sea, comprised three of the former toparchies of Judaea and Idumaea.¹⁹ The foundation evidently prospered, since Ammianus Marcellinus in the fourth century lists Eleutheropolis together with Neapolis and Caesarea among the most important cities of Palestine.²⁰ The second was the town of Lydda, which now became the city of Lucia Septimia Severa Diospolis. The name Diospolis may conceivably have been granted earlier, perhaps by Hadrian in 130 when he renamed Sepphoris as Diocaesarea, but city status was certainly the gift of Severus.²¹ The dates on the city's coinage, which was confined to his reign, are inadequate to fix the era precisely and merely set 201 as *terminus ante quem*, but it is reasonable to assume that this foundation was contemporary with Eleutheropolis.²² The territory of Diopolis comprised not only the former toparchy of Lydda but also the adjacent toparchy

¹⁶ The non-contiguous toparchy of Acrabeta was put under Sebaste. See Jones, *CERP*², 279, and in *JRS* xxi (1931), 83 and Pl. VIII (map), for villages of the toparchy listed as being under the control of Sebaste in Eus., *Onom.*; Avi-Yonah, *Map*, 26.

¹⁷ Ptolemy's use of the old name in *Geog.* v, 16, 6 just before the mid-second century does not necessarily give a *terminus post quem*; he may have used an old or strongly Jewish source.

¹⁸ *BMC, Pal.*, 142 (Elagabalus). For coins of Macrinus and discussion see W. Kubitschek in *JOAI* vi (1903), 50-3.

¹⁹ Engedi, Bethletphe and western Idumaea (cf. above, p. 152, n. 37). See Jones, *ll. cc.* and parallel evidence; Avi-Yonah, *Map*, 30; *HL*, 115, 159-62.

²⁰ *Amm. Marc.* xiv, 8, 11, also listing Gaza and Ascalon, outside the province in Severus' day.

²¹ The Madaba map (above, p. 24, n. 6) proves the identity of Lydda and Diospolis. Ptolemy's use of Lydda (*l.c.*) does not necessarily rule out a Hadrianic date; cf. n. 17 above. Diospolis in *AJ* xv, 111 and *BJ* i, 366 is Dion in the Decapolis. For Diocaesarea see above, p. 432.

²² *BMC, Pal.*, xxiii, 43; Kubitschek, *op. cit.*, 54.

of Thamna.²³ Some twenty years later, during the reign of Elagabalus, the city of Emmaus-Nicopolis, which had apparently fallen into decay, was resuscitated and started a new era to mark its re-foundation, with the additional title of Antoninopolis.²⁴

It was apparently under Severus that Aelia received an honour devoid of constitutional significance but for some reason prized nonetheless, the title *Commodiana*, which first figures on the city's coinage in his reign and continues to be used on the majority of issues until the coinage ceases in the mid-third century.²⁵ *Prime facie* its author could be assumed to have been Commodus, who inflicted it even on Rome, but its absence from all the fairly numerous known coins issued by Aelia in his reign is a strong *argumentum ex silentio* against this.²⁶ The title was therefore presumably granted by Severus, who by a fictitious retrospective adoption declared himself the son of Marcus Aurelius and the brother of Commodus, whom he deified in 197.²⁷ The obvious occasion for the grant would then be Severus' stay in Palestine in 198-9. The commemorative medallion struck at Aelia showing the emperor with his wife and sons lacks the title, but it may have anticipated the visit.²⁸ The grant was perhaps recorded on a monumental dedication to the imperial family by *colonia Aelia Kapitolina Commodiana* carved on re-used blocks from the Herodian Temple enclosure (the sole extant epigraphic witness to the title). The surviving fragment, a single block, includes the name of Caracalla's wife Plautilla, whose short-lived marriage dates the dedication to between 202 and 205.²⁹ But why should Severus have chosen to

²³ See Jones, *ll. cc.* and parallel evidence; Avi-Yonah, *Map*, 30; *HL*, 157-9.

²⁴ *BMC, Pal.*, 169-70, shows a break in the coinage from L. Verus to Elagabalus. The re-foundation was instigated by Julius Africanus, a Christian chronographer resident in the city—Eus., *Chron.* Elag. III; Hier., *De Vir. Ill.* 63 (*PL* XXIII, 710); *Chron. Pasch.* I, 499. The implication in these passages and in Cassiodorus, *Chron.* Elag., under the consuls of 222 (*PL* LXIX, 1236), that Emmaus received its name Nicopolis at this time is supported by the fact that Josephus, Pliny the Elder and Ptolemy do not use it; but coin evidence dates the name Nicopolis c. 70 (above, p. 343, n. 48). There is no known occasion for the grant of such a name under Elagabalus.

²⁵ *BMC, Pal.*, 93-102; Kadman, *Aelia*, 96-120.

²⁶ The alleged coin of Niger struck by *Col. Ael. Cap. Commod.*, listed by F. de Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte* (1874), 95-6, is dismissed as a forgery; cf. *BMC, Pal.*, xlii.

²⁷ Dio lxxvi, 7, 4; SHA *Sev.* 11, 4; cf. *CIL* VIII, 9317, with *divi Commodi frater* unofficially in 195.

²⁸ Kadman, *Aelia*, 96, no. 87.

²⁹ Published by M. Avi-Yonah in *The Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem, Preliminary Report of the First Season, 1968* (Israel Explor. Soc., 1969), 22-4.

honour his "brother" in the case of this one city rather than himself or a member of his family? ³⁰

The title "metropolis" appears on the coins of Caesarea under Severus Alexander and is used fairly regularly thereafter.³¹ It was a purely honorary title, normally given to provincial capitals and sometimes to other major cities, and apparently lacked constitutional significance. The grant cannot be precisely dated and its occasion is therefore conjectural. But a coin with a design of Poseidon and a galley under sail indicates a visit by Severus Alexander, perhaps en route for the Persian war of 231-2, and an imperial visit was often the occasion for the bestowal of titles or privileges.³²

The Severan age thus saw the work begun by Vespasian in founding Neapolis and continued by Hadrian in converting Jerusalem into the Greco-Roman city of Aelia pushed forward by the creation of two more new cities and the rejuvenation of a third, together with the simultaneous enlargement of Sebaste and her elevation as a colony. Considerable areas of the province were transformed administratively when they ceased to be toparchies and came under the territorial jurisdiction of newly created cities. But it was in the southern part of the province, in areas no longer mainly Jewish, that Greek-style city administration replaced the toparchic system which had been retained from pre-Roman days for the predominantly Jewish parts of the province. (Significantly, the coin-types of Eleutheropolis and Diospolis are wholly pagan.) Urbanization, which brought more and more land under gentile control, was a facet of the Hellenization of Palestine, and the mainly Jewish district of Galilee was allowed to remain exempt from it.

Coinage was prolific in Palestine during the Severan period, when the demands of the military pay-chest were heavy, but then dropped off. Some of the old-established mints produced exceptionally large issues, notably Neapolis and Aelia under Elagabalus (whose god's conical stone emblem figures on a few of the coins), and Caesarea under Severus Alexander.³³ Three cities beside the new creations of

³⁰ The title Antoniniana *may* have been given to Sepphoris by Elagabalus, but the reading of the one coin which seems to have it is uncertain—*BMC, Pal.*, 4, no. 27. On the sole coin known for Antipatris, struck under Elagabalus, the title Ant(oniniana) is clear—*BMC, Pal.*, 11.

³¹ *BMC, Pal.*, 27-42; Kadman, *Caesarea*, 116-43.

³² Kadman, *Caesarea*, 114, no. 90; cf. pp. 24, 46-7.

³³ *BMC, Pal.*, 26-9, 58-63, 93-9; Kadman, *Aelia*, 96-112; *Caesarea*, 116-19. For the stone see *BMC, Pal.*, 61, nos. 101-2; 97-8; Kadman, *Aelia*, 108-10.

Diospolis and Eleutheropolis opened mints, though none of the five outlasted the dynasty.³⁴ Emmaus-Nicopolis resumed coinage just for the single year of its re-foundation.³⁵ Sebaste naturally proclaimed its new status as a colony with coins, but the issues were not numerous and the latest extant coins are of Elagabalus.³⁶ Sepphoris, which had coined spasmodically since Nero, produced its last known issues under the same emperor.³⁷ The only cities still coining after 235 were Aelia, Caesarea and Neapolis.³⁸

Road construction in Palestine proceeded steadily in the first half of the Severan period. Pertinax's brief reign of three months saw an extraordinary amount of road-building in the East, including work on the road from Caparcotna to Scythopolis.³⁹ Milestones show the work continuing vigorously under Septimius Severus and Caracalla. Some roads were built or repaired in Judaea but activity seems to have been concentrated on roads in the north of the province, those from Sepphoris to Ptolemais and to Caparcotna and from Scythopolis to Caparcotna and to Neapolis. After that it flagged, as far as present evidence goes; two Palestinian milestones of Macrinus are known, but little road-work is attested in the province under Elagabalus and none under Severus Alexander, though there was a brief resumption of activity immediately after the latter's death.⁴⁰ The fact that road construction was carried out under such short-lived emperors as Pertinax and Macrinus suggests that it was the implementation of a general policy of provincial improvement, independent of the initiative of individual emperors. Certainly the work done under Caracalla can hardly have been connected with his journey through

³⁴ Tiny issues were produced by Anthedon under Elagabalus and Severus Alexander, and by Joppa and Antipatris under the former only—*BMC, Pal.*, 11, 44, 103. Diospolis coined only under Severus, Eleutheropolis from Severus to Elagabalus—*ibid.* 43, 141-2.

³⁵ *BMC, Pal.*, 170.

³⁶ *BMC, Pal.*, 80-1.

³⁷ *BMC, Pal.*, 4.

³⁸ See further below, p. 528.

³⁹ M. Avi-Yonah in *QDAP* xii (1946), 99, gives three milestones from that road. P. Thomsen in *ZDPV* xl (1917), 90, gives thirteen milestones of Pertinax from Arabia and Syria.

⁴⁰ For milestones of Severus see Thomsen, *ibid.*, 71 ff., nos. 255a, 291, 300, 304; of Caracalla, nos. 244, 276; Avi-Yonah, *op. cit.*, 96-9, nos. 12, 15 (illegible but of apparently contemporary style), 23; and in *IEJ* xvi (1966), 75. For one milestone of Macrinus, two of Elagabalus, and a group dated by Maximinus see Thomsen, *ibid.*, 67 ff., nos. 295, 229a, d, 230b, 246a, 248-9, 255b; for another of Macrinus see *AE* 1969-70, 630 = H. J. Stoebe in *ZDPV* lxxxii (1966), 25.

Palestine in 215 or the preparations for his eastern campaign of 216, since his milestones all seem to be dated 213.⁴¹

The early years of Severus Alexander's reign saw dramatic developments in the East, when the vassal state of Persis beyond the Persian Gulf rose in successful revolt against Parthian overlordship and the Persian dynasty of the Sassanids took the place of the Arsacids as the rulers of their former empire. The advance of Persian power westwards led inevitably to a clash with Rome. In 230 Mesopotamia, annexed as a province by Septimius Severus, was invaded. The impact on Palestine of the ever-increasing burden of Rome's exactions from the provinces becomes clear in the context of the war which ensued. Furius Timesitheus, later to be praetorian prefect under Gordian III, served as procurator of Palestine at that time, with the specific function of "exacting the remainder of the *annona* for the sacred expedition."⁴² The *annona*, food supplies and other necessities for the army, had been demanded from the provinces in the second century as an occasional, emergency supplement to the regular taxes, and the goods had normally been paid for by the government, even if not at the full market price. From the Severan period the *annona* had become a regular requisition, forming in effect an extra tax on owners and lessees of land, against which they were no longer even partially indemnified by the government. For once inflation had got a hold on the empire by the early third century and the value of money was fluctuating and generally dropping, requisitions in kind were more reliable and valuable than taxes paid in currency.⁴³ The phrase used to describe Timesitheus' special assignment in Palestine suggests that local efforts had failed to produce the whole of the requisition, possibly unusually high to meet the needs of the Persian campaign, and that steps therefore had to be taken by the central government to extract the residue. A levy in kind must have borne more heavily on the Jews in Palestine, who were bound to observe the sabbatical year, than on gentiles there, since it appears that no concessions or exemptions were made comparable with the tax-remission granted

⁴¹ Thomsen gives the incompatible titles *trib. pot. XVI* = 213 and *cos. III*. But the *III* may be misreading of *IIII*; see the stone published by Avi-Yonah in *IEJ*. For Caracalla's visit see below, p. 497.

⁴² *ILS* 1330, giving his *cursus* up to immediately before the praetorian prefecture, includes *proc. prov. Syriae Palaestinae, ibi exactori reliquor. annon. sacrae expeditionis*. Cf. Appendix A, p. 557, with discussion of the date.

⁴³ Cf. Jones, *GC*, 143-4; M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*² (1957), 483-4, 743, n. 2.

by Julius Caesar to meet that requirement of the Law.⁴⁴ The patriarch Judah I, bowing to necessity, exempted some border areas from observing the sabbatical year (though in the face of criticism); his successor Gamaliel III rescinded certain restrictions applying to agriculture in the years immediately before and after the sabbatical year; and a contemporary rabbi went so far as even to authorize the sowing of crops in the sabbatical year in order to meet the demand for the *annona*.⁴⁵ The system whereby municipal councils appointed wealthy individual citizens to the hated liturgy of personal responsibility for producing the tax-quotas demanded of their cities had evidently been adopted by or forced on the Jews of Palestine by the early third century. The Talmud speaks of the government imposing taxes on the wealthy classes in the time of Judah I, and records Rabbi Johanan (who is said to have died in 279) as advising any Jew elected to a city council to flee the country and commenting that it was normal to seek exemption from such service.⁴⁶

The discussion of the Severi so far has been concerned more with their policy towards the province of Palestine as a whole and with the impact of general economic and administrative developments on the Jews there than with relations between emperors or imperial officials and the Jews during the period. On that subject not a great deal is known. According to Jerome, some Jews (rabbis?) interpreted a prophecy in *Daniel* about help forthcoming for the Jews as a reference to Severus and Caracalla, who "were very fond of the Jews."⁴⁷ Much more valuable is the tangible evidence of an inscription at Kaisun in north east Galilee recording a Jewish prayer for the well-being of Severus and his sons, and dated between the spring of 196 and the end of January 198—clear testimony to their popularity. The occasion may well have been the start of Severus'

⁴⁴ See above, p. 40.

⁴⁵ See Avi-Yonah, *GJZT*, 110-11, for fuller study and references; BT *Sanh.* 26a has the word *arnona*.

⁴⁶ BT *BB* 143a, where *aurum coronarium* may represent a confusion between Roman taxes and the tax for the patriarch, or may mean the Roman levy for a new emperor; JT *MK* ii, 3 (Schwab VI, 318). On the liturgy of tax-responsibility see further below, p. 513.

⁴⁷ On *Dan.* xi, 34 *cumque corruerint, subleuabuntur auxilio parvulo* Jerome comments *Hebraeorum quidam haec de Severo et Antonino principibus intellegunt, qui Iudaeos plurimum dilexerunt* (CCL LXXVa, 923-4). The Jewish author of *Orac. Sib.* xii has nothing complimentary to say about Severus (256-68; the passage on his sons and Elagabalus which followed is lost), but this is not evidence for Severus' attitude towards the Jews; see above, p. 384, n. 101.

second Parthian war. The building in which the tablet was found appears from its ground plan to have been a pagan temple, not a synagogue, and it is interesting to find the Jews apparently happy to make a votive offering, perhaps a shield or a crown of precious metal, in a pagan context in their own country.⁴⁸ But the practice of placing such dedications in synagogues may have been confined to Alexandria.⁴⁹

Caracalla must have gone through Palestine when he travelled from Antioch to Alexandria in 215, though his route is not given by any of the historians in recounting his visit. If the "Antoninus and Rabbi" tradition in Jewish literature, however apocryphal in detail, is based on contacts made by an emperor with Jewish leaders on an actual visit to Palestine, the only reasonable candidate other than Marcus Aurelius is Caracalla, and his visit as an adult in 215 would provide a more credible occasion than his visit as a child in 198-9. But though the complete lack of evidence for Caracalla's dealings with the Jews as he went through the province makes it impossible to say whether they are likely to have formed a suitable framework for the friendly intercourse of the "Antoninus and Rabbi" tradition, Caracalla's personality and interests were such that he is an improbable choice as the patriarch's interlocutor in an imaginary philosophical dialogue.⁵⁰

The archaeological evidence for substantial synagogue building and rebuilding, especially in Galilee, from the late second century witnesses to the eventual recovery of the Jews from the economic effects of years of unrest and warfare. The work is of a uniform style, not peculiarly Jewish but conforming except in minor details to the general lines of Syrian architecture and datable in all probability to the Severan period and later.⁵¹ If this has any bearing on the relations between the

⁴⁸ *IGRR* III, 1106 = *CIJ* 972 ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν κ[υρ]ίων ἡμῶν αὐτοκρατόρω[ν] Καيسάρων Α. Σεπτ. Σεουή[ρου] Εὐσεβ. Περτ. Σεβ. καὶ Μ. Αὐρ. Ἀ[ντωνε]λίνου [καὶ Α. Σεπτ. Γ]έτα υἱὸν αὐ[τοῦ]---[ε]υχῆς Ἰουδαίων. On the right side καὶ Ἰουλίαν Δόμνης Σεβ. is added. Caracalla is Caesar (from May 196) but not yet Augustus (from 28 Jan. 198). On the building see H. Kohl and C. Watzinger, *Antike Synagogen in Galilaea* (1916), 209; they argue that the dedicatory inscription of a synagogue would end τὴν προσευχὴν Ἰουδαῖοι (sc. "have dedicated"); hence their supplement ἐξ] εὐχῆς for Cagnat's καὶ πρὸς] εὐχῆς or προσ]ευχῆς.

⁴⁹ See above, pp. 231, n. 44; 239.

⁵⁰ See above, p. 485.

⁵¹ Kohl and Watzinger, *op. cit.*, especially 172-83, 204, 218, summarizing the preceding detailed descriptions of the extant remains. Cf. Sukenik, *Synagogues*, 7-26, 68; Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols* I, 178-209 (the Palestinian synagogues discussed on 211 ff. appear to be undated or very much later).

emperor and the Jews (specifically, as distinct from the province at large), it is not impossible (though it cannot be proved) that Severus' favour and initiative during his visit in 198-9 lay behind the start of this striking outburst of building activity.⁵² Where individuals were concerned, tangible evidence that at least some sections of the Jewish population of Palestine achieved a high level of wealth in this period still survives in the magnificent stone sarcophagi in the catacombs at Beth Shearim. The cemetery was in use for the first four centuries of our era, but was at the height of its popularity from the end of the second, when the Sanhedrin under Judah I moved to Beth Shearim and the catacombs became his family's burial-place.⁵³

One of the few known Severan governors of Palestine, M. Junius Maximus, was legate of X Fretensis and provincial governor simultaneously, an indication that for the time being the garrison was reduced to a single legion. In the sole inscription testifying to his existence and his post he is legate of two Augusti, which gives a date either between 198, when Caracalla became Augustus, and late in 209, when Geta was elevated to the same rank, or in the first year of Caracalla's reign, before the murder of his co-emperor.⁵⁴ Within those limits the obvious occasion for the temporary withdrawal of VI Ferrata was Severus' second Parthian war; his second siege of Hatra took place in the autumn of 198 and military operations may have run on into 199. In this case the sixth legion may have won its titles for service against Parthia rather than for support against Niger.⁵⁵ Of greater importance, however, is the inference that by 198 the province of Palestine was sufficiently peaceful that half its garrison could safely be removed, and that it was the legion from Jewish Galilee, not the one from the more strongly gentile south, that was chosen for the expedition. That the withdrawal was only temporary

⁵² In *Acta Pion.* (ACM x) 4, 18-20, the view that the desolation of Palestine in the third century was divine punishment for Jewish "sins" is a rhetorical cliché and only the Dead Sea area is in question in any case. Evidence for steady Jewish prosperity in the late Roman and Byzantine periods is provided by the large number of synagogues, dated up to the sixth century, which have been found in recent years in Palestine, mainly in the north (including Gaulanitis). Cf. Sukenik, *Synagogues*, 27-35, on older discoveries.

⁵³ Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols* I, 89-102 (Sheikh Ibreiq), citing excavation reports. For the excavations of 1954-8 see N. Avigad's reports in *IEJ* iv (1954) and following years. For full bibliography see Vogel, *Bibliography*, 20-1.

⁵⁴ *CIL* III, 6641. Cf. Appendix A, p. 553, on the legion's title, added later.

⁵⁵ See above, p. 487. The evidence cited in P.-W., s.v. *legio*, 1593, for a detachment of VI accompanying Severus to Egypt in 199 is not strong; the epitaph and buckle found there could both relate to veterans.

is clear both from Dio, who in giving the disposition of the legions in 215 puts VI and X in "Judaea",⁵⁶ and from a dedication to Sarapis for the well-being of Elagabalus set up near Caparcotna by a centurion of VI.⁵⁷ A permanent reduction of the garrison, however, occurred later, when VI Ferrata was transferred to Damascus some time before the end of Philip's reign (249).⁵⁸ This move may have been part of a reorganization of the frontier defences in connection with Severus Alexander's not very glorious Persian war of 231-3, when the Syrian legion III Gallica left Raphaneae for a base near Damascus, to guard the road from there to Palmyra.⁵⁹ Or it may date from Gordian III's campaign in 243.

The compilation of the Mishnah, reducing the Jewish oral Law to writing for the first time, under the leadership of the patriarch Judah I (who died c. 220⁶⁰), is most probably to be dated to the Severan period. The formidable task of collating and codifying the vast mass of secondary law which had grown up over the centuries to amplify the Torah was one which could only be undertaken and carried out by the rabbinic school in conditions of peace, stability and freedom from political distractions, and the production of the work bears witness to the condition of the province.

The ban on the presence of Jews in Aelia officially still stood (in the fourth century Jerome could speak of it continuing "up to to-day"⁶¹), but in practice it seems to have been unofficially relaxed to an increasing extent under the Severi. During the Antonine period Jews may have managed occasional visits to the city at times other than 9 Ab,⁶² but from the Severan period onwards there is apparently

⁵⁶ Dio IV, 23, 3-4. Dio was writing from 207 to 219, and a reference in IV, 24, 3 dates that book to 215; see F. Millar, *A Study of Cassius Dio* (1964), 28-30, 210.

⁵⁷ Published by M. Avi-Yonah in *QDAP* xii (1946), 89-91. The erased imperial name can be restored with confidence, since the legion has the titles *f.c.* (above, p. 487) followed by an erased title which can only be *Antoniniana*.

⁵⁸ The main evidence is a Damascene coin of Philip showing a *vexillum* inscribed *leg. VI F.* A coin of Decius (249-51) has *vexilla* inscribed *S(exta?)* and *T(ertia?)*. Cf. P.-W., s.v. *legio*, 1593-4. *IGRR* III, 1107, a dedication by an officer of VI dated 321 (= A.D. 196 on the Tyrian era, or 273 on the Antiochene), and 1110, an undated epitaph of a veteran of VI, both from Phoenice, are less strong evidence that the whole of the legion was in that province.

⁵⁹ See P.-W., s.v. *legio*, 1528.

⁶⁰ See A. Guttman in *HUCA* xxv (1954), 239-61, especially 256 ff., arguing for 217.

⁶¹ *In Soph.* i, 15-16 (*CCL* LXXVIa, 673).

⁶² See above, p. 478.

reliable evidence that they were visiting the city openly and freely for festivals.⁶³ More significant, however, for the character of Aelia was the question of Jewish residence. But even in that matter Rome now seems to have condoned Jewish defiance. References in the Talmud to "the holy community in Jerusalem" working on questions of the Law during the patriarchate of Judah I point to the establishment of a group of rabbis there on a fairly permanent basis by the late second or early third centuries, and references to "people of Jerusalem" (as individuals and collectively) in association with rabbis of the same period suggest that some lay folk also were able to settle there.⁶⁴

There is no fundamental contradiction between the evidence for Severus' favourable attitude towards the Jews and the explicit ban which he is recorded as having placed on proselytism. The *Historia Augusta* declares baldly, without any indication of reason or motive, that Severus "forbade people to become Jews under heavy penalties", and appears to date the decree to his visit to Palestine in 198-9.⁶⁵ Though this statement is unsupported by any more reputable authority, sacred or secular, or by legal texts, and though the date is not secure, the measure may nonetheless be historical; the suspect character of Severus' alleged contemporary ban on conversion to Christianity does not necessarily invalidate his ban on conversion to Judaism.⁶⁶ It was in line with the policy inaugurated by Antoninus Pius and followed, at least in theory, by his successors, of allowing Judaism to remain a *religio licita* for the Jews while opposing gentile adoption of the cult. It was an attempt to confine Judaism within narrow national limits by blocking loopholes in the existing legislation and thus to achieve by a direct prohibition of proselytism the result aimed at unsuccessfully by Antoninus Pius by the indirect means of a ban on gentile circumcision. His measure was of wider application than that of Antoninus, since it affected women equally with men,

⁶³ BT *BB* 75b; JT *MSb* iii, 6 (Schwab III, 224); Midr. *Gen. R.* xxxii, 10; lxxxi, 3; *Ecc. R.* xi, 1, § 1 (where a late second century rabbi is involved in an incident "at the time when the Israelites go up to Jerusalem for the festival"); Orig., *In Ios.* xvii, 1 (*GCS* XXX, 401-2).

⁶⁴ For discussion and full documentation see S. Safrai in *Scr. Hier.* xxiii (1972), 62-78.

⁶⁵ SHA *Sev.* 17, 1 *Iudaeos fieri sub gravi poena vetuit*, in the context of his journey from Palestine to Egypt.

⁶⁶ On the decree against Christianity associated with that against proselytism in the *HA* and usually connected with the persecution which began c. 202 see K. H. Schwarte in *Historia* xii (1963), 185-208; cf. T. D. Barnes, in *JRS* lviii (1968), 40-1.

and since its terms could be taken to cover the "Judaizers' " adoption of a selection of Jewish customs as well as full proselytism. And the "heavy penalties" presumably fell on the Jew responsible for the conversion as well as on his convert, if the circumcision of a non-Jew still carried the death penalty.⁶⁷ But it involved no degrading of the legal status of Judaism as practised by Jews whether in Palestine or elsewhere.

The tale in the *Historia Augusta* that Caracalla at the age of seven had a playmate who was flogged "for his Jewish religion" and that the prince then refused to speak to his own father or the boy's for some time, holding them jointly responsible, contributes nothing of substance here.⁶⁸ It is one of a group of anecdotes designed to produce an edifying contrast between Caracalla's kind-heartedness as a child and his cruelty as an emperor, and can safely be relegated to the fairyland from which come many of the infancy stories attached to public figures. Whether its inventor visualized the playmate as a Jew or as a member of a proselyte family (the phrase "his Jewish religion" points to the latter), the idea of the punishment of a child for an involuntary offence is absurd, and Caracalla's age gives a dramatic date of 195, apparently before Severus' ban on proselytism. The tale is merely an example of the predilection of the *Historia Augusta* for anecdotes involving Jews.⁶⁹

Severus' explicit ban on proselytism seems to have been as ineffective as Antoninus' implicit ban, and to have been defied with equal impunity.⁷⁰ Eusebius cites the case of a man who gave up Christianity in favour of Judaism during the Severan persecution of the Church.⁷¹ He may have been a Jewish Christian who reverted to Judaism in the face of persecution; but if he was a gentile (as seems to be implied), it is clear that a convert to Judaism was in less danger than a Christian. Dio, in a passage probably written under Caracalla (a short digression on Palestine, the Jews and their religion which follows his account of Pompey's capture of Jerusalem), says that

⁶⁷ Cf. the provisions of Constantine's prohibition (below, p. 544).

⁶⁸ SHA, *Carac.* 1, 6.

⁶⁹ On this point see Syme, *EB*, 25-7; cf. below, pp. 504-6.

⁷⁰ Elagabalus was circumcised as priest of the Syrian sun-god—Dio lxxx, 11, 1. Though in his case the operation, like his abstinence from pork (*ibid.*), had no Jewish connection, it may have helped to undermine the ban, still in force, on gentile circumcision.

⁷¹ *HE* vi, 12, 1, where the apostate is the recipient of a letter from Serapion, who was bishop of Antioch from late in Commodus' reign until 211—*HE* v, 22, 1; *Chron. Comm.* XI, Carac. I; Hier., *De Vir. Ill.* 41 (*PL* XXIII, 689).

the name "Jew" belongs not only to Palestinian nationals but also to gentiles who adopt Judaism, and that "these people" (i.e. converts as well as Jews) "are found even among the Romans" (i.e. in Rome itself, where the ban could be expected to be enforced the most rigorously); the present tense is significant.⁷² A little later Origen speaks casually of gentile converts to Judaism.⁷³ In the account of the martyrdom of Pionius, traditionally a victim of the Decian persecution, the Jews of Smyrna are represented as openly teaching gentiles and conducting a proselytising campaign among the Christians in their city.⁷⁴ And finally the fourth and early fifth century legislation against Christian conversion to Judaism shows that movement in that direction continued even after Christianity ceased to be persecuted.⁷⁵

Evidence from the Jewish side harmonizes with this. The encouragement given to proselytism by rabbis of the third century suggests that conversion was not fraught with any great danger,⁷⁶ and the very existence of the little Talmudic tractate *Gerim*, a manual of the regulations for the reception, status and treatment of converts, may be evidence that even in the following centuries the question of proselytism had more than a merely academic interest for Jewish scholars. The contrast between the immediate admission of a proselyte in Palestine on his own declaration of intent and the requirement that elsewhere he must produce witnesses to testify to his sincerity, and thus to his ability to withstand the stresses to which a proselyte in the Diaspora was inevitably subject, need not mean that these stresses were any greater in the third century than in earlier periods.⁷⁷

Caracalla's most famous measure was his issue of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in 212, granting Roman citizenship to all the free inhabitants of the empire.⁷⁸ A Greek translation of the edict preserved

⁷² Dio xxxvii, 17, 1. Millar, *op. cit.*, 208, dates book xxxix to 212 or 214 and xl to 213.

⁷³ *In Matt.* xxiii, 15 (Latin transl., 16; *GCS XXXVIII*, 29).

⁷⁴ *Acta Pion.* (*ACM* x) 13, 1; 14, 1. Ch. 23 gives an apparently exact date, 12 March 250; but see Musurillo, *ACM*, xxix.

⁷⁵ See below, p. 544.

⁷⁶ See Avi-Yonah, *GJZT*, 82-3; cf. W. G. Braude, *Jewish Proselyting* (1940), 11-48.

⁷⁷ *Gerim* iv, 3 (on the tractate see above, p. 472, n. 23). Cf. Baron, II, 149-50.

⁷⁸ Dio lxxviii, 9, 4-5; *Dig.* I, v, 17; Augustine, *De Civ. Dei* v, 17; cf. SHA, *Sev.* 1, 2; Aur. Vict., *Lib.* 16, 12 and Justinian, *Nov.* 78, 5, respectively making M. Aurelius and Antoninus Pius the author. F. Millar argues for 214 instead of the traditional date in *JEA* xlviii (1962), 124-31.

on a badly damaged papyrus excludes the *dediticii* in some way from its scope. But literary references imply no exceptions to the general enfranchisement, and the majority opinion among scholars now appears to be that the main clause of the papyrus text confers Roman citizenship on all provincials without exception, and that the *dediticii* are excluded only from the subsidiary provision which follows in a grammatically subordinate form—a provision which is a matter of debate, since most of it has disappeared in a lacuna.⁷⁹ Thus all, or virtually all, Jews in the empire will presumably have come under the universal benefaction. For whatever precisely the exclusion of the *dediticii* amounted to (even if it was exclusion from the citizenship), it is unlikely that any significant number of Jews fell into that category. If any in Palestine had been so degraded as punishment for Bar Cochba's revolt (a point on which there is no evidence), the status of *dediticius* was normally only temporary (except for criminal freedmen classified in *numero dediticiorum* under the Lex Aelia Sentia), and they are likely to have regained normal provincial status long since.⁸⁰ Caracalla's name Aurelius, assumed by the newly enfranchised, occurs quite frequently among Diaspora Jews.⁸¹

Dio makes the purpose of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* the mundane one of increasing the number of people liable for taxes payable only by Roman citizens, to counterbalance Caracalla's extravagance. According to the Greek text of that edict, however, its purpose was to enhance the prestige of the Roman gods, who had preserved Caracalla from some danger (the word is lost but the allusion is generally supposed to be to the alleged conspiracy against his life for which Geta was murdered), by increasing the number of their worshippers. Yet under the *Constitutio* the Jews were apparently treated on an absolute equality with other provincials, and were put under no disadvantage—which suggests that the motive adduced by Dio, which could not be avowed publicly, was the true one, and that the motive put forward in the edict was mere camouflage. The requirements of the Jews' religion and their consequent inability even to join fully in pagan civic life, still less to participate in the

⁷⁹ P. Giss. 40. For the text, the various supplements, comprehensive bibliography, summaries of theories, and discussion see C. Sasse, *Die Constitutio Antoniniana* (1958).

⁸⁰ Cf. Juster, II, 23-5.

⁸¹ See *CPJ* III, pp. 170-1; *CIJ* I, indices pp. 606, 618; II, nos. 760 (dated 248-9), 761, 764, 774-6, 778-80, 788, 795, 798. Robert, *NIS*, 39-55. Cf. below, p. 511, n. 27.

state cult, were evidently not regarded as disqualifying them from Roman citizenship. Conversely, their religious liberty was not impaired in consequence of their enfranchisement. Dio, writing his digression on the Jews and their religion at about the time of the issue of the *Constitutio*, describes their contemporary position, using the present tense: Jews and converts "are found even in Rome, and though frequently repressed, they have increased in numbers to such an extent that they have won religious liberty. They differ from the rest of mankind in almost every detail of daily life, and especially in the fact that they worship one God fanatically and do not honour any of the other gods. . . . Their cult is the most extravagant imaginable . . . [The Sabbath] is dedicated to their God, and on it, among other singular practices, they do not undertake any serious work."⁸²

To conclude this survey of the Severan period, a few more scraps of "evidence" from the *Historia Augusta*, on a par with the tale of Caracalla's Jewish playmate, may be examined—and rejected likewise. The biographies of the later Severi contain various other references to the Jews which, far from conveying historical fact in however garbled a form, also appear to be complete fabrications, merely revealing the author's curiosity (and on occasion his ignorance) about them. Elagabalus is said to have planned to transfer the cult-objects of all the deities worshipped in Rome to the temple which he had built there to the Syrian sun-god, the object of his exclusive devotion, and with them "the Jewish, Samaritan and Christian religions, in order that the priest of Elagabalus might have the mysteries of every cult under his control."⁸³ But there is no hint anywhere of the disquiet which such a proposal, whatever precisely it was visualised as comprising in practical terms, would inevitably have aroused among both Jews and Christians. Then we are informed that the same egregious emperor sometimes served ostrich at his dinner-parties, on the grounds that this was a compulsory item in Jewish diet. But no such requirement is in fact included in the Jewish

⁸² Dio xxxvii, 17, 1-3, (cf. above, p. 502, n. 72). If this passage was written before the issue of the *CA* and any curtailment of Jewish rights had resulted from their change of status, Dio could hardly have let it stand. Dio calls the Sabbath "the day of Cronos". In ch. 18-19 he equates the Jewish week with the Hellenistic week, which assigned the days to the sun, the moon, and five planets named after deities, the day of Cronos being actually the first, not the seventh. Cf. E. J. Bickermann, *Chronology of the Ancient World* (1966), 60-1.

⁸³ SHA, *Elag.* 3, 4-5. The proposal was not strictly syncretistic; the other deities were to be seen as inferior to the Syrian god, not as comprehended within him—Dio lxxx, 11, 1; Her. v, 5, 7.

food-laws, and the consumption of ostrich may actually have been forbidden.⁸⁴

It may be true that Severus Alexander "maintained the Jews' privileges",⁸⁵ though there is no evidence for positive legislation on their behalf during his reign; there is certainly nothing to suggest any reduction in their rights. But it is difficult to swallow the story of the ill-assorted collection of statues of "great man and holy souls" which he kept in the more important of the two private *lararia* in his palace—Christ, Abraham, Orpheus, Alexander the Great, Apollonius of Tyana (the miracle-worker of the first century A.D.), deified emperors and his own ancestors.⁸⁶ And it is perhaps surprising that an imagination fertile enough to make Alexander contemplate the admission of Christ to the Roman pantheon⁸⁷ did not also credit him with plans to confer the same official status on Yahweh. It is further alleged that Alexander was ashamed of his Syrian birth and was annoyed when "at a certain festival the people of Antioch, Egypt and Alexandria abused him as usual, calling him a Syrian synagogue-ruler and high priest."⁸⁸ Even if there was any festival at which people from Syria and Egypt will have congregated together, and even if anyone, annoyed at having a Syrian as emperor, sought to belittle him by describing him as no more than a minor official in a local Jewish community, the joke is more likely to have had currency in Rome than in the East. The unconvincing milieu to which it is assigned assists its relegation to the realms of fiction, and no connection between the emperor and the Jews need be postulated as its basis. The evidence of an inscription supposedly testifying to a community of Jews from Arca in Lebanon, Alexander's birthplace, in Rome, attracted there by their imperial compatriot's favour and perhaps enjoying his patronage, is now discounted.⁸⁹ And if Alexander did in fact publish the names of men appointed to government posts in order to give people a chance to challenge their suitability, it is highly improbable that this was

⁸⁴ SHA, *Elag.* 28, 4. In the list of unclean birds, forbidden as food, one is variously translated as "ostrich" (R.V. and *Jerusalem Bible*) and as a kind of owl (A.V. and *New Engl. Bible*).

⁸⁵ SHA, *Sev. Alex.* 22, 4.

⁸⁶ SHA, *Sev. Alex.* 29, 2 ; 31, 4.

⁸⁷ SHA, *Sev. Alex.* 43, 6-7.

⁸⁸ SHA, *Sev. Alex.* 28, 7.

⁸⁹ *CIJ* 501, known only from two MS transcripts, and not certainly from Rome. See Leon, *JR*, 163-5, for arguments for preferring the version ἀπὸ τῆς πύλεως Ἀρκ[ῆς Λιβ]άνου to the one adopted by Frey, ἀπὸ τῆς συναγ Cf. Syme, *EB*, 273-4.

because "he considered it wrong that the custom followed by the Christians and the Jews in announcing the names of the men who were to be ordained priests should not be followed in the case of provincial governors with the power of life and death."⁹⁰

⁹⁰ SHA, *Sev. Alex.* 45, 6-7. The Jewish "priests" were probably men selected for ordination as rabbis ; see S. Liebermann in *JQR*² xxxvi (1945-6), 359-64.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

THE DIASPORA IN THE SECOND AND THIRD CENTURIES A.D.

The sale of thousands of Jewish prisoners into slavery in 70 and 135¹ meant that the decline in the population of Palestine was balanced by a rise in Diaspora numbers. In the course of time Jewish slaves or their children were manumitted and took their places as members of local free communities. The paucity of evidence for Jews in Egypt in the second century² suggests that few were added to the settlements there in 135, and it is understandable if a Jewish slave was *persona non grata* less than twenty years after the Trajanic revolt. But elsewhere Jewish communities grew and flourished.

In Smyrna a Hadrianic inscription listing citizens who had made benefactions to the city includes among the donors "former Jews",³ presumably Jews who had acquired Greek citizenship at the price of repudiating their Jewish allegiance and were advertising their rise in the social scale. But the Jewish gift of 10,000 drachmae does not seem to have been outstanding for its munificence. Donations by single individuals range up to 70,000, and since ten gentiles who as a group contributed the same sum as the Jews are listed individually, the Jewish group was probably considerably larger. But the Jews of Smyrna did not make any impact on recorded history till the mid-second century, when they appear in league with the pagans of the city against the Christians, taking a hand in the martyrdom of Polycarp. Even if common hostility rather than positive friendship lay behind this possibly temporary alliance, the part played by the Jews in the story and the fact that the day of the martyrdom is given in Jewish terms as "a great Sabbath" speaks for the Jews' importance in Smyrna at the time.⁴ A century or so later the arrest of the Christian

¹ See above, pp. 327, 457.

² See above, pp. 405-6. For the later recovery of the Alexandrian community see below, pp. 516-19.

³ *IGRR* IV, 1431, line 29 = *CII* 742 οἱ ποτὲ Ἰουδαῖοι μυ(ριάδα) α'. The precise date is not certain but may be 123.

⁴ *Acta Polyc.* (*ACM* i) 12-18; the Jews assist in but do not instigate the attack; cf. below, p. 543. The "great Sabbath"—8, 1; 21. Eus., *HE* iv, 14, 10-15, 1, dates the martyrdom to M. Aurelius' reign, but it is more probably

Pionius there is also dated to "a great Sabbath", and the martyr first delivers a public *apologia* to an audience of "Greeks, Jews and women", and then in a sermon to Christian fellow-prisoners mentions Jewish proselytizing efforts among Christians and attempts to discredit Christian doctrine.⁵ The general impression given is of a large and influential community enjoying good relations with their gentile neighbours and considerable freedom of action.⁶ There is a similar indication for Ephesus, where two inscriptions of apparently second or third century date put tombs into the custody of the Jews, presumably because they were respected as reliable people.⁷ Two other Jewish communities, unknown to previous history, emerge in the province of Asia early in the second century from the letters of Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, to the churches of Magnesia and Philadelphia: many of the Magnesians Christians were apparently Jewish, and the faith of the Philadelphians was at risk from Jewish preaching.⁸

The important Jewish community in Antioch survived the attack made on it after 70 and continued to flourish. It was one of the Diaspora centres visited by prominent rabbis both before and after 135,⁹ and the prevalence of proselytism there in the first century may have made the city particularly receptive to Christianity.¹⁰ But as late as the fourth century some Christians were being strongly attracted by Judaism, which still exerted a sufficiently powerful influence on the Church in Asia that Easter continued to be celebrated there on the day of the Passover long after Sunday observance had become standard elsewhere, that other Jewish feasts and fasts were also kept, and that Maccabaeian martyrs were included in the calendar of Christian saints—types of practice which elicited a series of sermons 'Against the Jews' from John Chrysostom in 386-7.¹¹

to be placed a few years before his accession; see Musurillo, xiii and note on *Acta Polyc.* 21.

⁵ *Acta Pion.* (*ACM* x) 2, 1; 3, 6; 4, 2; 13, 1; 14, 1. Cf. above, p. 502.

⁶ For Jewish inscriptions at Smyrna see *CIJ* 739-41, 743; cf. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols* II, 79-81.

⁷ *CIJ* 745-6. For the date see E. L. Hicks, *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the B. M.* III (1890), 262-3, nos. 676-7.

⁸ *Ep. ad Magn.* 8-10; *Ep. ad Phil.* 6, 1. *CIJ* 753-4, from Magnesia and Philadelphia respectively, have no indication of date.

⁹ *JT Hor.* iii, 4 (Schwab XI, 276); *Kidd.* iii, 13 (Schwab IX, 275); *BT Ket.* 88a; *Ara.* 22b; *Midr. Gen. R.* x, 4.

¹⁰ Cf. above, pp. 361-2.

¹¹ For a fuller study of the Antiochene Diaspora at this time see C. H. Kraebling in *JBL* li (1932), 154-7; Downey, *Antioch*, 447-9.

In Cappadocia the city of Caesarea-Mazaca had a large Jewish community by the mid-third century. It is known only from the Talmud, which says, with typical exaggeration, that 12,000 Jews were killed there by the Persian king Shapur.¹² Shapur overran Cappadocia and took Caesarea-Mazaca by siege during the campaign which followed his capture of Valerian in 259 or 260,¹³ and the tradition is evidence that the Jews remained loyal to Rome and did not make common cause with the invaders. Almost certainly the Cappadocian Jews who settled in Sepphoris and were "sent to Coventry" by the local residents were survivors of that massacre, unpopular because pro-Roman.¹⁴

The physical remains of synagogues provide some evidence for the fortunes of the Diaspora. In Sardis, where written history is silent about the Jews after the time of Augustus,¹⁵ the community had become prosperous and powerful enough by the second century A.D. to obtain a prominent site in the heart of the city, adjoining the gymnasium, for a huge new synagogue, the largest found anywhere so far, and one of the oldest. Sardis has also produced more Jewish inscriptions than any other Diaspora centre except Rome.¹⁶ The frontier fort of Dura-Europos on the Euphrates had a Jewish community, wholly unknown to literary sources, which by the mid-third century needed to rebuild its synagogue on a larger scale. The construction is not of the best, and different phases of building are detectable, suggesting that the work was not adequately financed from the start; but it was decorated with the most elaborate frescoes to survive from the ancient Jewish world.¹⁷ Other less well preserved synagogues, such as those on Aegina and at Miletus and

¹² BT *MK* 26a. JT *Yeb.* vi, 6 (Schwab VII, 95) records a visit by a rabbi to the city.

¹³ Cf. below, p. 531. On the fall of Caesarea-Mazaca see further Neusner, *JB* II, 46-8 and bibliography.

¹⁴ JT *Shebi.* ix, 5 (Schwab II, 418), naming a third century rabbi.

¹⁵ See above, p. 142.

¹⁶ Archaeological evidence shows the community flourishing till the third or fourth century. For the synagogue see G. M. A. Hanfmann and D. G. Mitten in *BASOR* clxx (1963), 38-48; and subsequent annual reports, *ibid.*; cf. *CIJ* 751. For some of the synagogue inscriptions see Robert, *NIS*, 39-57. The Masada synagogue is older (above, p. 76); also the one on Delos, for which see Sukenik, *Synagogues*, 37-40; Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols* II, 71-5.

¹⁷ See M. I. Rostovtzeff and others, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos* VI (1936), 309-96; *Final Report* VIII, i (1956); cf. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols* I, 227-32. A ceiling tile is dated 244/5. Coins of 256 in the embankment which blocked the synagogue give it a life of only about a decade.

Priene, appear to be later, and may have been rebuilt to meet the needs of enlarged communities.¹⁸

A unique piece of evidence for a Diaspora community and its attitude towards Hellenism comes from Miletus, where the theatre has a series of seating-notice which include one marking the area reserved for practising Jews,¹⁹ clearly a group to be reckoned with in the city. Jewish attendance at theatres is known from Philo, who not only went to theatrical performances himself but assumed that his readers would be sufficiently familiar with drama to appreciate allusions to it.²⁰

The history of the great eastern Diaspora in Parthia after the end of Trajan's reign lies outside the scope of this work except in so far as Septimius Severus' annexation of Mesopotamia as a province brought the Jews of that area, such as the large settlements in Nisibis and Edessa,²¹ under Roman control for over a century. This inevitably embroiled them in the recurrent Persian wars of the third century, during which Nisibis itself was one of the main bones of contention and was attacked and besieged more than once; but these events seem to have left no recorded mark on the Jewish residents in the city, and no contacts between Mesopotamian Jews and Roman officials in the province are noted. A rabbinic school had been established in Nisibis before 70,²² and a second was now set up, in Babylonia, by rabbi Hananiah, who had left Palestine before Bar Cochba's revolt.²³ With increased immigration of rabbis from Palestine after 135, scholarship beyond the Euphrates, in contact and at times in dispute with Palestinian scholarship, thrived to such an

¹⁸ See A. von Gerkan in *Zeitschr. neutest. Wissensch.* xx (1921), 177-81; P.-W., Suppl. IX, s.v. *Priene*, 1221; Sukenik, *Synagogues*, 40-5; Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols* II, 75 ff.

¹⁹ *CIF* 748 τῶπος Ελουδέων τῶν καὶ θεοσεβιῶν (*sic*). The adjective is a description of the Jews; see L. H. Feldman in *TAPA* lxxxi (1950), 204, rejecting the emendation καὶ τῶν θεοσεβῶν put forward tentatively by Schürer, III, 174, n. 70, in the belief that the adjective denoted "Judaizers". A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* (transl. L. R. M. Strachan, 1927), 451-2, attributes the inscription to "the imperial age".

²⁰ *Prob.* 141; *Fl.* 38; *Leg.* 368.

²¹ See above, pp. 416, 420.

²² See above, p. 416.

²³ A nephew of Joshua b. Hananiah, who died before 130 (above, p. 435)—*JT Ned.* vi, 8 (Schwab VIII, 207-8); *BT Ber.* 63a; *Sanh.* 32b (erroneously giving the uncle's name); *Midr. Eccl. R.* i, 8, § 4 (putting Hananiah's emigration in his uncle's lifetime). Cf. *JE*, s.v. *Hananiah*.

extent that it eventually over-shadowed the work of the homeland schools.²⁴

There was Jewish movement westwards also, and though the evidence for the majority of the Jewish settlements in the western empire is undated or late,²⁵ some of them may well owe their origin to the aftermath of one of the two revolts. The expansion of the important Jewish community in Rome will be discussed below. But more significant, perhaps, for the worldwide dispersal of the Jews is the evidence from out-of-the-way places. A long and well preserved inscription at Stobi in Macedonia records the erection of a synagogue there at the sole expense of the "father of the congregation", a congregation unknown to literary sources and without other epigraphic testimony. Unfortunately the date at the head of the stone is uncertain, and may be either A.D. 165 or 281.²⁶ An even more remote place, on the northern border of the empire, has produced a clearly dated Jewish inscription in the shape of a dedication to Severus Alexander by a Jewish customs official at the frontier-post of Intercisa in Lower Pannonia, who was the leader of the local synagogue at "Spondilla" (apparently a place name, but unexplained), together with three military tombstones on which Hebrew names occur,¹⁷ undated but relating to a cohort of Emesenes known to have been there in 240.²⁸

The Jews as a worldwide religious community were better co-ordinated after 135 than before. Up to 70 the main concern of the High Priest had been with the Temple cult and with political affairs in Palestine. Between 70 and 130 nationalism, still persisting as a vital, if not dominant, feature of Jewish life, must have tended to keep Palestinian interest self-centred. After 135 nationalism was a spent force. The patriarch could therefore turn his attention away from purely local affairs to the wider horizons of universal Jewry and

²⁴ On the development and work of the Babylonian schools see Neusner, *JB* I², 122-77; II, 126-240.

²⁵ See Juster, I, 180-8.

²⁶ *CIJ* 694, with the reading ἑτοῦς πατρός, 311 of the Macedonian era = A.D. 165. For 281 see F. M. Heichelheim in the *Jewish Standard*, 15 May 1953, 7 and 16. Sukenik, *Synagogues*, 79, would date the actual building no earlier than the late fourth century, on the grounds of architectural type.

²⁷ *CIJ* 677. For the revised reading of the last line . . . *pr(ae)positus stat(ionis) Spondill(a) a(rchi)synag(ogus) Iudeor(um)* and discussion, together with the tombstones (all of which mention at least one Aurelius/-a; cf. above, p. 503), see A. Scheiber in *JQR* 2 xlv (1954-5), 189-97.

²⁸ *CIL* III, 3331.

become the effective head of a dispersed but at the same time united religious sect. This was all the more necessary now, since after the destruction of the Temple, or at any rate after the exclusion of the Jews from Aelia, the contact previously maintained between the Diaspora and the central religious authorities by pilgrimages to Jerusalem at the great annual festivals had come to an end. Henceforward the mountain must go to Mohammed, and contact depended on movement in the opposite direction—on the missions of the patriarch's *apostoli* who travelled round the centres of the Diaspora collecting the *aurum coronarium* and prescribing the official calendar,²⁹ and on the visits of rabbis who could discuss matters of the Law with local leaders in the interests of orthodoxy of belief and practice.³⁰

In this connection, however, a further piece of non-history purveyed by the *Historia Augusta*³¹ may be demolished. In his purely fictitious "biographies" of four usurpers in the third century the author seeks substantiation for his unflattering delineation of the Egyptian character from what purports to be a letter written by Hadrian to his brother-in-law about his visit to Egypt in 130. After dismissing synagogue officials, Samaritans and Christian priests alike as astrol-ogers, Hadrian is made to declare that "even the patriarch himself on his visits to Egypt is forced by one party to worship Sarapis and by another to worship Christ"; a later reference to "this city", where money is the sole god of Jews, Christians and everyone else, localizes the episode in Alexandria.³² The "patriarch" in question is clearly neither Christian nor pagan, and must therefore be Jewish—none other than the Palestinian Nasi. But the letter is a blatant forgery, robbed of all possible claim to historicity by serious errors and anachronisms, and as such it provides no evidence at all that the patriarch was in the habit of paying personal visits to the Diaspora, or even that any individual patriarch went to Alexandria on any single occasion. In the absence of any support from rabbinic literature, the idea of a peripatetic patriarch cannot be entertained.

²⁹ See above, pp. 475-6. The Stobi inscription makes contravention of the donor's wishes punishable by a heavy fine payable τῷ πατριάρχη. Frey, note to *CIJ* 694, thinks it improbable that the Palestinian Nasi is meant, and postulates some local functionary. But is it not preferable to refer it to the known dignitary, to whom Stobi presumably sent *aurum coronarium*?

³⁰ Jewish literature has many references to Palestinian rabbis visiting communities in Babylonia, Asia Minor, Syria, etc.

³¹ For others see above, pp. 501, 504-6.

³² SHA, *Firm.*, *Sat.*, *Prob.*, *Bon.* 8. For discussion and interpretation see Syme, *EB*, 17-29.

The reign of Septimius Severus saw an apparent advance in civic dignity for Jews (or rather, for wealthy Jews) living in the cities and municipalities of the empire. By an enactment of Severus and Caracalla "people of Jewish religion" were permitted to serve on local councils and hold magistracies, but were made liable only for such duties as did not conflict with their religion.³³ (The citation in the *Digest* comes from Ulpian; writing after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, he presumably speaks of "people of Jewish religion" rather than of "Jews" because the universal enfranchisement had put the Jew technically on a level with any other inhabitant of the empire except in so far as the practice of Judaism debarred him, like a gentile convert to Judaism, from pagan activities; the term "Jew" was no longer juridically meaningful.) But this was a hollow honour, indeed the reverse of an honour in its practical application. Since the time of Trajan and Hadrian a change had been coming over the concept and system of local administration and over people's attitude towards service within it. What had previously been a coveted honour had become a dreaded burden. The tenure of unpaid office, always involving some financial obligations, had become excessively, even ruinously, expensive, as the standard of private munificence expected of local officials had risen and as magistrates had been made personally responsible for the tax-quotas of their cities. Once local office had changed from a privilege to a duty, it ceased to be competitive, and by the third century vacancies were more numerous than candidates. Pressure or compulsion then had to be applied, which turned magistracies into liturgies, inescapable for the rich man unless he was legally exempt or was prepared either to abscond or to forfeit two-thirds of his property. In this situation as many men as possible had to be made available to shoulder the burden.³⁴ Severus' law imposed the obligation of local office on Jews in possession of local citizenship, adding the special proviso that they should be exempt from duties incompatible with their religion, lest they should claim complete immunity from service on the grounds that it would infringe the religious freedom guaranteed to them by Roman law. Ulpian's term "permitted" is in fact a euphemism for "compelled".

³³ *Dig. L, ii, 3, 3* *Eis qui Iudaicam superstitionem sequuntur divi Severus et Antoninus honores adipisci permiserunt, sed et necessitates eis imposuerunt quae superstitionem eorum non laederent.*

³⁴ See further Jones, *GC*, 179-91; cf. M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*² (1957), 483 ff.

It follows from this enactment that there must have been sufficient numbers of rich and prominent Jews in the cities of the eastern Mediterranean for it to be worth while legislating to bring them into local service. And those Jews had municipal citizenship. It has already been shown that in the first century A.D. some individual Jews held Greek citizenship in Alexandria,³⁵ and the same was probably true of other eastern cities with large Jewish minorities. Severus' law does not restrict admission to local magistracies to "Jews with local citizenship", and throughout the book of the *Digest* dealing with municipal law in which it is recorded, it is assumed that everyone is a *municeps* of some city.³⁶ Had the Jewish *politeumata* of the Greek cities been absorbed by this time into the citizen bodies of the host cities? Or had it become the rule rather than the exception for wealthy, or perhaps even middle-class, Jews to obtain local citizenship in addition to membership of their *politeuma*? Whatever the precise situation, it looks as if Severus was in effect granting what the modernist Jewish minority in Alexandria had been agitating for a century and a half earlier, local citizenship tempered by exemption from uncongenial duties. Severus' law treated the Jews as ordinary members of society, liable for civic responsibilities side by side with the gentiles. Their financial value in a time of difficulty may have made them more welcome as colleagues than would otherwise have been the case, but Severus evidently foresaw no serious problems in introducing Jews into local government.

Another enactment, of unknown date, also put Jews on a level with gentiles in a matter of legal obligation. The book of the *Digest* devoted to exemptions quotes from Modestinus in the mid-third century, "Now even the Jews will act as guardians to non-Jewish wards, just as they will undertake other liturgies, since the laws exempt them only from duties which appear likely to infringe their religion."³⁷ The fact that this is almost immediately preceded by a reference to an exemption (unconnected with the Jews) established by Marcus

³⁵ See above, p. 227.

³⁶ A. H. M. Jones uses this as part of his argument for interpreting *P. Giss.* 40 (above, p. 503) to mean that the *Constitutio Antoniniana* conferred citizenship of a city on everyone (except the *dediticii*) who did not already possess it, in addition to Roman citizenship—in *JRS* xxvi (1936), 227-9. But this is not generally accepted. The question of local citizenship was a distinct matter requiring separate legislation; see, e.g., H. I. Bell in *JEA* xxviii (1942), 47-8.

³⁷ *Dig.* XXVII, i, 15, 6 ἥδη δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῶν μὴ Ἰουδαίων ἐπιτροπεύουσιν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ λειτουργήσουσιν· αἱ γὰρ διατάξεις ἐκείνοις μόνοις ἀνενοχλήτους αὐτοὺς εἶναι κελεύουσιν, δι' ὧν ἡ θρησκεία χραινέσθαι δοκεῖ.

Aurelius does not necessarily mean that it was he who granted the Jews exemption from duties incompatible with their religion, or that it was he who imposed the duty of *tutela* upon them.³⁸ The law making Jews liable for *tutela* may have been passed after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in order to clarify their new position: as Roman citizens they must now take on all the duties of Roman citizens. In that case the general exemption cited may be connected with Severus' law about local magistracies. But though the date is uncertain, the ruling is evidence for the acceptance of Jews as ordinary citizens on an absolute equality with others.

The Diaspora continued, like the Jews in Palestine,³⁹ to be subject to the "Jewish tax". The sole extant record of payment of the tax in Egypt in the mid-second century⁴⁰ is enough to prove its reimposition there after the Trajanic revolt, and to provide the interpretation of a remark made by Tertullian at the end of the century. Writing about Jewish prophecies of Christ, he points out that they are available for anyone to read both in Hebrew and in the Septuagint translation in the library at Alexandria, and then adds in passing "Even the Jews read them openly, and as a general rule they have free access to them every Sabbath, this religious freedom being theirs in return for the payment of a tax."⁴¹ He sees the tax as forming, in effect, a Jew's permit to practise his religion, and his reference is general, not of restricted application to Alexandria alone.⁴² The *scholia Pitthoeana* on Juvenal give a similar view of what is presumably the same tax: the comment on the picture in the third Satire of the Jewish beggars congregated round the Porta Capena in Rome is that the Jews "pay a fee to the Roman people for the right to keep the Sabbath."⁴³ The basis of these medieval *scholia* is the late fourth century commentary of Probus, which would seem to carry the tax

³⁸ So Juster, II, 24, n. 1; Baron, II, 375, n. 26.

³⁹ See above, p. 480.

⁴⁰ See above, pp. 405-6.

⁴¹ Tert., *Apol.* 18, 8 *Sed et Iudaei palam lectitant. Vectigalis libertas. Vulgo additur Sabbatis omnibus.* The work is dated to 197 by C. Becker, *Tertullians Apologeticum* (1954), 33-5.

⁴² Tertullian's point is not that the Alexandrian Jews had access to the library only on the Sabbath, but that all Jews heard the prophecies weekly in the synagogues without grasping their meaning.

⁴³ On Juv. iii, 15-20 *Conducta est ipsa silva pretio Iudeis ea ratione ut pretium populo Romano exinde persolverent si eis licet festa sua i. sabbata celebrare.* (See Juster, II, 285, n. 4, giving the reference as iii, 159.) On the *scholia* see Schanz-Hosius, *Geschichte d. röm. Literatur* II (1935), 577; Friedländer's *Essays on Juvenal*, transl. J. R. C. Martyn (1969), 50-2.

down to the Christian empire. And it perhaps survived, in the East at any rate, into the Byzantine period. An Egyptian papyrus receipt of the fifth or sixth century may record payment of "the poll-tax of the Jews". If so, the tax may have been the old *didrachmon*, though the amount is not given and there is no extant evidence that the term "poll-tax" was ever used to denote the Jewish tax of the classical period. But the crucial word is abbreviated, and could equally well be expanded as "the headman of the Jews", describing the man making payment (in that case of an unknown tax, specified on the part of the papyrus now lost).⁴⁴

The two cities whose Diaspora communities made the greatest mark on recorded history in the early empire were Rome and Alexandria. Though accounts of episodes involving the Jews are almost completely lacking for Rome after the reign of Domitian and for Alexandria after the first year of Hadrian, there is a certain amount of information, largely archaeological in the case of Rome, which can be put together to give some picture of the gradual recovery of the Alexandrian community in size and fortune by the third century, and of the growth and development of the Roman from the Flavian period onwards.

Alexandria

In the perennial trouble-spot of Alexandria racial tension seems to have subsided after the holocaust of 115-17 for well over a century at least. With the drastic reduction in the size of the Jewish community there, as elsewhere in Egypt, the Greeks had less reason for jealousy, suspicion and fear, and in the latest extant chapter of the "Acts of the Alexandrian Martyrs", dating from the reign of Commodus, there is nothing to suggest that the Jews played any part in that round of the conflict between Greek nationalism and Rome; the papyri are well enough preserved that the absence of any identifiable reference to the Jews is virtually conclusive.⁴⁵ Again, the Jews are not mentioned in connection with the disturbances which greeted Caracalla's visit

⁴⁴ *CPJ* 506, where κεφ. Ἰουδαίων can be expanded as κεφ(αλητῶνα) = poll-tax (a Byzantine term) or as κεφ(αλαιωτῆ) = headman. The pro-Jewish Julian the Apostate might have been expected to abolish the Jewish tax; but it is from arbitrary levies, not regular taxes, that his letter to the Jews, *Ep.* 51, exempts them. (Its authenticity has been questioned, but W. C. Wright, *Loeb III*, xxii, accepts it.)

⁴⁵ *Acta Appiani*—*P. Yale* 1536 + *P. Oxy.* 33 verso = *AA xi* = *CPJ* 159 (there included for its links with the *Acta* involving Jews).

to Alexandria in 215. Though the massacre which he perpetrated there is described as mere vengeance for jokes in bad taste made against him by the Greeks, the fact that it was followed by the expulsion of foreigners and turbulent immigrants from elsewhere in Egypt points to some kind of *stasis* in the city as the occasion for his wrath. But there is no reason to suppose the combatants to have been Jews and Greeks; rather a conflict between rival Greek factions seems to be indicated.⁴⁶

The Jews in Alexandria, however, even if quiescent for many years, were not extinct. In the late second and early third centuries they re-emerge, though now in theological conflict with the Christians rather than in political conflict with the Greeks.⁴⁷ There is also epigraphic evidence, not precisely dated but apparently of the same period, for Jewish emigration from Alexandria to Palestine. But in what direction is that straw in the wind blowing? It could mean either that the Alexandrian Jews were finding life there so uncomfortable that a number of them chose to leave, or that they had regained sufficient economic prosperity after the devastation of 115-17 for some Jewish commercial undertakings to expand overseas by establishing permanent trading agencies in Palestinian ports. The choice of Joppa by all the recorded emigrés (one of them described on his epitaph as a dealer in small wares) suggests the latter.⁴⁸

An indirect pointer to the reinstatement of the Alexandrian Jewish community may be provided by the evidence for the recovery of a Jewish settlement of some size and status, probably in Lower Egypt, by the mid-third century—a plaque (of unknown provenance but found in Cairo) set up “on the orders of the queen and king” to replace the previous one recording the consecration of a synagogue and the inviolability granted to it by king Ptolemy Euergetes.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Dio lxxviii, 22-3; Her. iv, 8, 6—9, 8; *P. Giss.* 40, col. II, 16 ff. (in U. Wilcken and L. Mitteis, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde* (1912) I, ii, 22). For faction-fighting in Alexandria, not involving the Jews, later in the third century see Eus., *HE* vii, 21; 32, 7-12; Amm. Marc. xxii, 16, 15.

⁴⁷ See R. L. Wilken, *Judaism and the Early Christian Mind* (1971), 39-53. Tert., *Apol.* 18, 8 (above, p. 515, n. 41) refers to the Diaspora in general, and is not evidence for a conspicuous Jewish community in the city mentioned immediately before.

⁴⁸ *CIJ* 918, 928 (γρυποπόλης), 930, 934; cf. above, pp. 477-8.

⁴⁹ *OGIS* 129 = *CIJ* 1449; cf. *CPJ* III, p. 144, translating τὴν προσευχὴν ἄσυλον as “(proclaimed) the *proseuche* inviolate”, instead of the usually accepted “(gave) the synagogue the right of asylum”. It is impossible to tell whether Euergetes I or II is meant.

Since its third century A.D. lettering excludes Cleopatra and Caesarian as the "queen and king" (the order of the sexes is significant), the only possible pair appears to be Zenobia of Palmyra and her nominal co-monarch, her son Vaballathus, who controlled Egypt c. 270-2. Whether the original plaque needed renewing because it had become illegible with age (had it been destroyed in 115-17, it would surely have been replaced long since), or whether the rights of the synagogue had been abrogated and were now to be restored, the document is evidence that an up-country Jewish community had recovered sufficiently in numbers and standing in the course of a century and a half to be a factor of some consequence in the district, a community whose favour the usurpers regarded as worth cultivating. The re-establishment of country settlements is likely to have been equalled or exceeded by Jewish re-establishment in the capital.

The last book of the *Sibylline Oracles* also seems to indicate, however vaguely and unreliably, a revival of the Jewish community in Alexandria. The incoherent and textually corrupt ravings of this, the least intelligible of all the "prophetesses", writing perhaps early in the fourth century, include towards the end of the poem an isolated reference to the Jews as "mighty men of war" who will be destroyed, in the context of a recurrence of warfare in Egypt after many years of peace, with Alexandria the principal sufferer. The previous section, a confused passage about conflict in Egypt also, opens with a "lioness" wresting the sceptre from a deceased "lion". If this is correctly interpreted as a metaphor for the accession of Zenobia after her husband's death, the lines which follow may be based on the civil strife in Alexandria in the 260s. But that interpretation is not secure, and since most of the other prophecies in the book have little or no detectable connection with known historical events, the suspicion arises that the prophecy of a conflict involving the Jews in Alexandria on the losing side is as imaginary as the rest; and that suspicion is increased when the book closes with the vindication of the "holy race" (a clear pointer to the author's nationality) by the establishment of the messianic kingdom.⁵⁰ But even in such a fantasy, if the poem is no more, a non-existent or negligible group would hardly have been introduced.

⁵⁰ *Orac. Sib.* xiv, 331-61 (with 335 and 350 referring to Alexandria). Lines 317-19 give the "lioness" prophecy. For a general demolition of the poem see J. Geffcken, *Komposition und Entstehungszeit der Oracula Sibyllina* (1902), 66-8. On Zenobia and the Jews cf. below, pp. 531-3.

Consonant with this is the evidence, perhaps of somewhat higher significance, provided by the "letter of Hadrian" in the *Historia Augusta*, discussed above.⁵¹ That forgery tells nothing about the attitude of the Alexandrian Greeks towards the Jews in 130, since the picture which it gives of the harassment of an unfortunate Palestinian dignitary by the frivolous and unmannerly city is a mere figment of the fertile imagination of an author with a penchant for Jewish anecdotes. But if it reflects the Alexandrian situation at the time of the composition of the *Historia Augusta* (with a fabrication about a patriarchal visit thrown in as a joke against the contemporary patriarch), it possesses some slight value in showing that by the late fourth century the Jewish community in Alexandria again formed a prominent section of the city's population and was again enjoying sufficiently unharmonious relations with the Greeks for Jew-baiting to be used as a credible literary motif.

Rome

The Flavian triumph in 71 brought a huge consignment of Jewish prisoners to Rome for slavery. Fewer are likely to have been deported to Rome at the end of Bar Cochba's war, when no triumph was held requiring the display of captives. But even if the sale of Jewish slaves then was largely confined to the eastern Mediterranean, the rapid growth of the Jewish community in Rome during the second century suggests that a good number found their way there, immediately or subsequently.

Dio speaks of the Roman Diaspora as having "increased greatly" up to his own day,⁵² and its development can be traced to a certain extent through the archaeological evidence of the Jewish catacombs in Rome. The series of brick-stamps found in the oldest and largest catacomb, that of Monteverde in Trastevere, shows that it was in continuous use from the late republic until the time of Diocletian.⁵³ But the most numerous of the stamps are of the reigns of Hadrian and Septimius Severus, indicating extensive enlargements of the catacomb during those periods. The explanation of this may be that in many cases the actual prisoners brought to Rome in 71 and 135 died as slaves and were interred in their owners' burial-grounds, but that their children or grandchildren were manumitted, and as members

⁵¹ See above, p. 512.

⁵² Dio xxxvii, 17, 1 ; cf. above, p. 504.

⁵³ *CIJ* I, pp. 211-27. Cf. above, p. 132.

of the free Jewish community fifty or sixty years later qualified for places in the Jewish cemeteries.

The other four certainly Jewish catacombs found to date⁵⁴ are all on the left bank of the Tiber. The fairly large Torlonia catacomb on the Via Nomentana has brick-stamps of the mid-first century and of the second century. The Randanini catacomb on the Via Appia, the largest after Monteverde, has only second century stamps.⁵⁵ (No brick-stamps are recorded for the two very small catacombs on the Via Labicana and in the Vigna Cimarra near the Appian Way.) This is clear evidence of a rapid rise in Jewish numbers. While the old settlement in Trastevere still flourished and expanded, new Jewish centres were established and developed on the other side of the river, and new catacombs were dug for their members' use at a more convenient distance than Monteverde.

Three of the new Jewish residential districts were the Campus Martius, the Subura and the Porta Capena. The synagogue of the Campesians (clearly a settlement in the Campus Martius, which became a residential area only in the first century A.D.) may have been the earliest founded, since its members seem to have used the Monteverde catacomb for a time, presumably before the construction of the Randanini catacomb, where they made later burials.⁵⁶ The synagogue of the Suburesians, the best attested of all epigraphically (perhaps the luck of survival rather than an indication of size), almost certainly dates from the Flavian period or later, since most of the epitaphs mentioning it come from the Via Nomentana catacomb.⁵⁷ The epitaph of a gentile greengrocer records that he plied his trade "on the side of the *agger* facing the synagogue."⁵⁸ Since the *agger* was the stretch of the Servian wall running from the Colline gate southwards to the Esquiline gate, whence the Clivus Suburanus

⁵⁴ The tiny one on the Via Appia Pignatelli, accepted as Jewish in *CIJ*, is dubious; see Leon, *JR*, 52-3.

⁵⁵ *CIJ* I, pp. 10-11 (Via Nomentana), 55 (Randanini).

⁵⁶ *CIJ* 319, 523, probably from Monteverde; 88, from Randanini; 433, from Monteverde, had only Κα of the name preserved and may refer to the Calcaresians (below). Cf. Leon, *JR*, 144-5. For the bibliography on Jewish residential areas see above, p. 132, n. 45.

⁵⁷ *CIJ* 18, 22, 37(?) 67, from the Via Nomentana; also Leon, *JR*, no. 35a (cf. his full publication in *JQR*² xlii (1951-2), 413-18); *CIJ* 140(?), from Randanini; 380, from Monteverde (?). Cf. Leon, *JR*, 151-3. The spelling is consistently Σιβουρήσιοι.

⁵⁸ *CIL* VI, 9821 = *CIJ* 531 *Dis m. P. Corfidio Signino pomario de aggere a proseucha* . . . For the translation see S. Collon in *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist.* lvii (1940), 88.

led down to the Subura, the synagogue in question may be that of the Suburesians. But the distance from the *agger* to the actual Subura is great enough that the greengrocer's tombstone may be evidence for another synagogue on that side of the city, further from the centre. The synagogue of the Secenans cannot be precisely located nor its name satisfactorily explained, but the single epitaph mentioning it comes from the Via Nomentana catacomb, which makes it contemporary with the synagogue of the Subura.⁵⁹ Early in the second century Juvenal complains that the Porta Capena has become the haunt of Jewish beggars,⁶⁰ and though there is no evidence for locating any of the dozen known Roman synagogues in that area, the existence of a large Jewish catacomb on the Via Appia and at least one small one nearby⁶¹ harmonizes with his picture of the south of the city as one of the main areas of Jewish settlement in the early second century.

The name of the synagogue of the Calcaresians may indicate a locality, the district of the lime-kiln workers, rather than a congregation consisting mainly of Jews employed as lime-burners (surely hardly numerous enough to form a whole congregation). Its apparently exclusive use of the Monteverde catacomb places it almost certainly in Trastevere, and its date is therefore conjectural. But since there is nothing in the name to suggest that it went back, like the synagogue of the Augustans and others, to the late first century B.C., it may well have been constituted during the period of expansion under the Flavians and later.⁶² The same applies to the synagogue of the Tripolitans, also known only from the Monteverde catacomb and probably named after the original home of its immigrant founders; whether they came from the Libyan triad of cities (Oea, Lepcis and Sabrata) or from the Phoenician Tripolis, large-scale immigration from other Diaspora communities seems more likely in the second century than in the early empire.⁶³ The synagogue of the Vernacians

⁵⁹ *CIJ* 7, Σεχηνοί. Cf. Leon, *JR*, 149-51.

⁶⁰ *Juv.* iii, 11-14.

⁶¹ The Vigna Cimarra catacomb, though undated, may well be roughly contemporary with the Randanini one. *CIJ* 281, one of the two epitaphs mentioning the synagogue of Elaea (the name is unexplained) comes from it; the other, 509, is of unknown provenance. Cf. Leon, *JR*, 145-7. The possibly Jewish catacomb on the Via Appia Pignatelli (above, p. 520, n. 54) has brick-stamps of the Flavian period and the second century; see *CIJ* I, p. 51.

⁶² *CIJ* 304, 316, 384, and perhaps 433 (above, p. 520, n. 56), from Monteverde; also probably 504 and 537. Cf. Leon, *JR*, 142-4.

⁶³ *CIJ* 390, 408. Cf. Leon, *JR*, 153-4.

(the "indigenous") likewise used the Monteverde cemetery; since its name seems to denote a congregation of Jews born in Rome and anxious to set themselves apart from recent immigrants, its foundation may date from the influx of Jews in the Flavian period.⁶⁴ Finally a thirteenth century rabbi speaks of a "synagogue of Severus" in Rome—which would presumably mean that a synagogue (either a new one or one already existent) acquired the patronage of the emperor in the same way as the "Augustans" had done.⁶⁵ But such late evidence is of dubious value, and the total lack of epigraphic confirmation from the catacombs lays this synagogue under grave suspicion.

The name Aurelius taken by countless people enfranchised under the *Constitutio Antoniniana* occurs only fifteen or sixteen times on a total of nearly five hundred Jewish epitaphs in Rome. One of the stones comes from Monteverde, all the rest from the Randanini catacomb.⁶⁶ The inference from this would seem to be that most of the Trastevere Jews already had Roman citizenship by the Severan period, and that only the more recent settlers benefitted from the universal enfranchisement.

Only a very few of the catacomb epitaphs state that the deceased was an immigrant into Rome. Six were from Palestine—two men from Caesarea, one from Sepphoris, and a man and his two sons from Tiberias. One of the Caesareans was buried in the Via Nomentana catacomb, and so arrived under the Flavians or later, but the rest cannot be dated, since the epitaph of the Tiberian family is of unknown provenance and the other two come from Monteverde.⁶⁷ As in the case of emigration from Alexandria to Palestine, it is impossible to say whether the reason for the move was difficult conditions at home or the commercial and other attractions of Rome. But the latter seems the more likely. An inscription in Rome dated after 135 marks some kind of permanent establishment belonging to people from Tiberias⁶⁸

⁶⁴ *CIJ* 318, 383, 398, 494(?). Cf. Leon, *JR*, 154-7.

⁶⁵ See Collon, *op. cit.*, 80, 85, connecting the synagogue with that of the Tripolitans and suggesting that the latter belonged to Jews from the Libyan Tripolis, attracted to Rome by their imperial compatriot's favour. Cf. above, p. 505, for the supposed "synagogue of Arca".

⁶⁶ *CIJ* 83, 96, 209, 214-20, from Randanini; 307 from Monteverde. 287(?), from a Christian catacomb near the Via Appia, is rejected by Leon. Four of the stones bear two names.

⁶⁷ *CIJ* 25, 362, 370, 502.

⁶⁸ *IGRR* I, 132, with the supplement στατιών [τῶν Τιβε]ρίων τῶν καὶ Κλαυδιοπολιτῶν Συρία Παλε[σ]τείνη instead of [τῶν Τυ]ρίων. No. 111 Ἰσμήνος Ἰωήνου υἱὸς Τιβερίου τῇ στατιῶνι (undated) supports the supplement suggested.

who are most likely to have settled there for purposes of trade, and one in Ostia dated by its lettering to the first half of the second century mentions a Jewish corporation there which was surely commercial.⁶⁹ Immigrants also came to Rome from Diaspora communities where no problems are known to have existed; besides the synagogue of the Tripolitans, already mentioned, there are epitaphs of a man from Aquileia, of another (probably) from Arca in Lebanon, and of a woman from Laodicea (presumably the Phrygian city, a known centre of the Diaspora).⁷⁰

The size and importance of the Jewish community in Rome were such that in the course of the second century a rabbinic academy was established there. The rabbi whose name is associated with it is Mattithiah ben Heresh,⁷¹ who is likely to have gone to Rome shortly after his ordination in the years following Bar Cochba's revolt. If he was the school's founder, it is presumably not to be dated before the beginning of Antoninus Pius' reign. In the Talmud opinions of Mattithiah are quoted by Palestinian rabbis of the following generation, and conversations are recorded between him and Rabbi Simeon ben Yohai in Rome on the occasion of the latter's successful appeal to Antoninus for the cancellation of Hadrian's ban on circumcision.⁷² Whatever the historicity of the story of the appeal in itself, the connection between Mattithiah and Palestinian rabbis and his discussions on matters of the Law with them are evidence for the routine practice by which Diaspora communities were kept in touch with the central Jewish authorities in the second century and later.

Although many of the epitaphs from the Jewish catacombs are crude, shoddy and illiterate, and although the vast majority of the burials there lack any sort of memorial, however cheap, a few of the inscriptions are of good, even excellent, workmanship, and they together with the small number of elaborately painted tomb-chambers which still survive indicate that some of the Jews were comfortably off or even wealthy. This harmonizes with a piece of evidence from

Coins give Tiberias the title *Claudiopolis*—*BMC, Pal.*, 5-10. Cf. W. Kubitschek in *JOAI* vi (1903), Beibl. 80-2.

⁶⁹ *CIJ* 533.

⁷⁰ *CIJ* 147; 501 (on which cf. above, p. 505); 296. Leon, *JR*, 239, prefers the Syrian Laodicea, though not in Juster's list of Diaspora settlements (I, 197), but gives no reason; for the Phrygian city see *AJ* xiv, 241-3 and Cic., *Pro Fl.* 68.

⁷¹ *BT Sanh.* 32b.

⁷² *BT Yoma* 53b, 84a-b; *Me'il.* 17a-b. On Simeon in Rome cf. above, p. 470.

the Christian side, a story from the latter part of Commodus' reign which gives a picture of the Roman Diaspora as a large, well-organized, influential community, whose members were not all poor and lowly. Callistus, a Christian slave, got into difficulties by unsuccessful investments when acting as financial agent for his master, a Christian imperial freedman. After failing to extricate himself by flight and then attempting suicide, he adopted the extraordinary expedient of going to the synagogue on the Sabbath "pretending to be going to his debtors", and attacking the Jews in the hope of achieving the honourable death of a martyr. The Jews, however, merely gave him a beating and then haled him before the city prefect on a charge of causing a breach of the peace by disrupting their worship with declarations that he was a Christian; of his financial demands they apparently said nothing. Even there Callistus did not achieve his goal of death, since the prefect condemned him to the mines, and he survived to end his days as bishop of Rome, *c.* 217-222/3. The story is preserved by Hippolytus, Callistus' opponent on theological matters and his rival as schismatic bishop of Rome, and coming from such an authority it is likely to be somewhat distorted.⁷³ But though a number of the details are unconvincing (some of them unimportant for the present study), two points of consequence emerge. Firstly, a Sabbath service is a very odd time and place to choose for the ostensible recovery of debts, and Callistus may simply have been seeking a foothold in the synagogue in order to preach Christianity. But if he was in search of a plausible pretext for his visit, he will not have chosen the one he did, had it not been normal practice for gentile money to be deposited in Jewish hands. The corollary would appear to be that some of the Jews were wealthy men in the banking business, and that Callistus' unsuccessful financial ventures had included investing some of his master's money with them, money which for some reason they were then reluctant or unable to let him withdraw. And it is possible that there was no pretence on Callistus' part and that his aim was in fact to shame his debtors into repayment by publicly denouncing them before their fellows. Secondly, the Jews had ready access to Roman justice, and the right granted two centuries earlier to seek and obtain redress for gentile attacks on their religious practices still held good.

⁷³ Hippolytus, *Elenchos* ix, 12, 1-9 (*GCS* XXVI, 246-7). Seius Fuscianus, prefect of Rome between 185 and 190 (see P.-W., s.v., 1123-4), gives an approximate date; Victor, bishop of Rome from 189 (*Eus.*, *HE* v, 22, 1), and a concubine of Commodus appear in the sequel—12, 10 ff.

The basis of their charge against Callistus was that he had interrupted a public gathering for worship which had Rome's official sanction. In this respect the story endorses Dio's declaration a generation later that the Jews in Rome in his own day enjoyed the right of freedom of religious observance.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ See above, p. 504.

CHAPTER TWENTY

PALESTINE IN THE THIRD CENTURY A.D.

With the end of the Severan dynasty chaos descended on the Roman world for half a century. Order and stability were not restored until Diocletian was established on the throne in 284. Foreign and civil wars, murders and usurpations followed one another in a monotonous and unbroken sequence. Internal upheavals gave external enemies their chance to strike, while the vicissitudes of foreign wars gave generals their chance to make a bid for power. Public attention was focused on war rather than on civil administration, and such control as there was during the years of anarchy lay in the hands of the army. Ephemeral emperors had neither time for constructive policy-making in general nor interest in evolving a policy towards the Jews in particular. Economic and social conditions were as grave as the political situation from which they resulted. Inflation, which became serious in the reign of Caracalla, gathered momentum as the century wore on; the burden of requisitions imposed to meet the rising demands of military expenditure bore increasingly heavily on the provinces; commercial depression which followed on the instability of prices was aggravated by the insecurity of communications, when people who had fled from living conditions made intolerable by taxation were driven to seek a livelihood by banditry and piracy; and violence and pillage by the army added to the hazards of life near the frontiers.

Inevitably Palestine was affected by the general dislocation of government and relaxation of control. But if Palestine in the mid-third century was no happy place, it was probably in no worse case than other provinces. Such sufferings as the Jews faced during the years of anarchy came upon them not as Jews but as citizens of an empire which was passing through the throes of apparent dissolution which proved in the end to be the travail of rebirth to a new era. The Talmud and Midrash, through which the Jews of the period are more articulate for us than the inhabitants of most other provinces, reveal by anecdotes, allusions and the opinions given by rabbis on problems of religious practice and daily life how the economic and social consequences of the political crisis of the empire affected Palestine in

particular. Inevitably, the general rule applies that hardship receives more attention than prosperity, and the picture may be unbalanced as a result; but the complaints follow the pattern familiar elsewhere and show that Palestine shared the social conditions and economic decline common to the eastern empire as a whole. Incessant wars and troop movements meant increasingly frequent demands for the *annona*, a heavy burden for the farmers who formed the bulk of the Jewish population, and for the quartering of troops. With the constant changes of emperor, repeated calls were made for *aurum coronarium*, formerly a voluntary gift to a new emperor. The methods of tax-collection were oppressive, and unpaid taxes were met by confiscations. And the system whereby city magistrates were made responsible for their city's tax quota placed a crushing burden on well-to-do Jews.¹

The manifold difficulties of the third century and the growing resentment against the rule of Rome, who was held responsible for the sufferings to which she herself fell victim equally with her subjects, reawoke Jewish messianic hopes, but with a difference. Their mainspring was now economic rather than religious. Current Jewish complaints against Rome were concerned primarily not with religious oppression (it was no time for Rome to win extra enemies by antagonizing the Jews) but with the material hardships of the age, with Roman exactions and with the tyranny of Roman bureaucracy. Jewish fortunes had now reached their nadir, and salvation must surely be within sight. Yet no practical attempt could be made to realize these hopes and hasten the day of Israel's redemption. The Jews' depleted numbers and economic weakness saved Rome from a third major revolt.²

There is little information about specific historical events in Palestine during the years of anarchy, and the few details which emerge from the general obscurity are not enough to provide any sort of continuous narrative or coherent picture of the Roman government of the province. One valuable historical source, the coinage of the Palestinian cities, provides some scraps of information for the first half of the period but then dries up completely. Of the dozen cities which had issued coins under the Severi, only three continued to mint

¹ For fuller discussion of the economic situation in Palestine see Avi-Yonah, *GJZT*, 92-102, 105-10.

² For further discussion see S. Lieberman in *JQR* 2 xxxvi (1945-6), 329-70; Avi-Yonah, *GJZT*, 127-34; Neusner, *JB* II, 52-7.

under their successors, all of them colonies—Aelia, Caesarea and Neapolis, which was elevated to that status by Philip. The coinage of all three was prolific for a quarter of a century but then declined sharply and finally ceased before 260. The latest certain coins of Neapolis and Caesarea are of Gallus; Aelia produced a minute issue under Valerian,³ but struck her last substantial issue under Decius. In this development Palestine followed or slightly anticipated the pattern of the times. Vast quantities of cash were needed to pay the armies campaigning in the East in the third century, and down to the middle of the century this demand was met by copious issues from the city mints in the eastern provinces. But most of these autonomous mints were put out of business by pressure from the West between 250 and 260, and practically none survived beyond the reign of Gallienus (268). The steady debasement of the imperial silver currency, which in terms of metal content was by now worth only a tiny fraction of its face value, had raised the price of bronze bullion so high that cities could no longer derive the same profit as before from minting bronze. In this way inflation, combined perhaps with a loss of confidence resulting from the political and military instability of the times, effectively put an end to local city coinage.

Coins show that the Hellenization of an already mainly non-Jewish part of Palestine took a further step forward under Philip. Neapolis received colonial status, replaced her title Flavia by the titles Julia (Philip's *nomen*) and Sergia (unexplained), and (more significantly as an indication of the pagan character of the city) became an official centre of the imperial cult, with a temple erected by authority of the Roman senate.⁴ These honours, like the titles and colonial status which Philip bestowed on other eastern cities, marked his conclusion of peace with Persia immediately after his recognition as emperor. Neapolis' elevation is the last known change affecting any city in Palestine until the Severan urbanization programme was resumed by Diocletian fifty years later.

A few scattered scraps of evidence shed a fitful light on the military history of Palestine and the effects of the disastrous events of the mid-century on that province, which suffered with the rest of the empire from the failure of Roman frontier defence. An inscription from Philadelphia gives X Fretensis the title Gordiana, presumably indic-

³ See Kadman, *Aelia*, 120. For a supposed Caesarean coin of Valerian see Kadman, *Caesarea*, 31, 91-2.

⁴ *BMC, Pal.*, 63-74, with the title *neocoros* on some coins.

ating service in Gordian's Persian campaign of 243.⁵ More interesting is the evidence for troop movements within Palestine. Under Decius a coin of Caesarea shows an uninscribed military standard between eagles, and another shows standards with a boar, the emblem of X Fretensis.⁶ Under Gallus a year or two later the boar of X Fretensis appears with military standards on a coin of Neapolis.⁷ Neither city was normally a legionary base, but both were colonies, and the coins may therefore commemorate settlements of veterans. But a coin struck by Caesarea under Gallus shows eagles flanking a standard inscribed with the name of III Gallica, normally stationed near Damascus.⁸ A settlement of veterans seems less likely in this case than the presence of a detachment of serving soldiers from III Gallica in Caesarea, and in view of this the more probable interpretation of the other two coins is that detachments of X Fretensis were drafted both to Caesarea and to Neapolis *c.* 250; this suggests that the northern half of the province, denuded of troops since the departure of VI Ferrata some time before 249, was regarded as being under threat from the Persians, who were to invade Syria in 253.⁹ The garrison may have remained in Caesarea for some years. Eusebius records an episode concerning the appointment of a centurion at Caesarea *c.* 260, and the presence of at least one man besides the candidate for promotion may mean that the whole of the unit involved was there.¹⁰ But the men could both have been individual members of the governor's staff (*officium*), now becoming increasingly military in character.

When the Persians penetrated Syria in 253 and captured Antioch, they may have raided Palestine, but there was no permanent occupation. The province from which Valerian drew his forces for his ill-fated encounter with the Persians in 259 or 260¹¹ included "Judaea", if that is the correct interpretation of the fragmentary list in the

⁵ *IGRR* III, 1379. The findspot may mean that all or part of the legion was stationed there at some time, perhaps under Diocletian en route for Aila (below, p. 534).

⁶ *BMC, Pal.*, 33, nos. 162-3; Kadman, *Caesarea*, 134, nos. 185-6.

⁷ *BMC, Pal.*, xxxiii.

⁸ *BMC, Pal.*, 30-40, nos. 207-10; Kadman, *Caesarea*, 140, no. 213.

⁹ See above, p. 499. L. Levine connects the exceptionally profuse coinage of Caesarea under Decius and the unprecedented number of pagan deities used as types with the persecution of the Church, which was very strong in that city, and sees the III Gallica coin as meaning a reinforcement of the pagan element there—in *IEJ* xxii (1972), 135-8.

¹⁰ *HE* vii, 15. For the date see Appendix A, p. 554.

¹¹ The date is controversial, but 259 now seems to be preferred to 260.

inscription in which Shapur I recorded his resounding victory and the capture of the emperor.¹² And some time before that it had been possible to transfer some auxiliary units from Palestine to a post near Philadelphia on Trajan's road from Damascus to the Red Sea, to strengthen the defences of Arabia.¹³ Jewish loyalty to Rome was thus not put to the test. But had the Persians been able to establish any sort of hold on Palestine, the Jews, who had long looked for a saviour from beyond the Euphrates, might have welcomed them as allies and attempted to use the hour of Rome's apparently imminent collapse to make a further bid for the recovery of their political independence.

The following decade saw a further reduction in the garrison of Palestine. Between 268 and 270 Victorinus, Postumus' successor as breakaway emperor in Gaul, issued a series of gold coins commemorating thirteen legions, clearly as an honour in return for services rendered. Four of them were normally based in the East—II Traiana in Egypt, III Gallica in Syria Phoenice, III Parthica in Mesopotamia, and X Fretensis (whose emblem, incidentally, is given incorrectly, as a bull instead of a boar).¹⁴ If the coins were not mere appeals for support, the explanation of the appearance of vexillations from the East (complete legions can hardly have been withdrawn) so far from base may be that they were summoned by Gallienus for his war against the Gallic usurpers and then changed sides. Alternatively, however, they may have left earlier, as part of the army which supported Macrianus, Valerian's chief-of-staff in the Persian war, when he rose against Gallienus after the capture of Valerian; in that case they will have fallen into Aureolus' hands when he defeated Macrianus in the Balkans, have remained in the West for some years,

¹² First published by W. B. Henning in *Bull. Sch. Orient. Stud.* ix (1937-9), 823-49. See pp. 828-33, especially 830 and n. 2.

¹³ The text records the transfer *tutela gratia ex Palaestina in Arabia*... per Aurelium Theonem leg. Augg. (published by R. Savignac in *RB* ii (1905), 94. The name of the units at the end (where *legio X Fretensis* would not fill the space) are too fragmentary for reconstruction. The *cohors I Thracum*, in Palestine in 139 (above, p. 448), appears under Arabia in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (of which the eastern section probably reached its present form soon after 395; see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* (1964) III, 347-58), *Oriens* 37, 32. This may have been the occasion of its transfer, but the unit could have moved around quite a lot in the course of nearly three centuries. M. Aelius Aurelius Theo is attested as legate of Arabia under Valerian and Gallienus—*ILS* 1193; cf. Abel, *HP* II, 188.

¹⁴ H. Mattingly and A. E. Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage* V, ii (1933), 388-9. A. Blanchet in *RN*⁴ xxxvi (1923), 169-70, for III Parthica.

and then have been sent to Gaul by Aureolus when he defected to Postumus in 268.¹⁵

For one apparently unhappy interlude in Palestine there is a reasonable amount of evidence. Though Palestine was not overrun by Shapur after his capture of Valerian (the route of his triumphal campaign lay further north, through Syria, Cilicia and Cappadocia¹⁶), it was part of the large section of the eastern empire put under the control of Odenathus of Palmyra, and it remained under Palmyrene supervision for a decade or more. In the critical years following the Roman disaster Odenathus redeemed the situation in the East for Rome by driving the Persians out of Asia Minor and pursuing them across the Euphrates. Jewish literary evidence seems to show that on this campaign he destroyed Nehardea, the centre not only of Jewish learning but also of Jewish commerce in Babylonia.¹⁷ After his death in 267/8 his widow Zenobia, acting as regent for their young son, maintained the same supervisory control over the eastern provinces as guardian of Rome's interests for two or three years until, with dreams of independence, she occupied Syria, seized Egypt, and broke with Aurelian by assuming the imperial title for herself and her son—acts of insubordination which soon brought nemesis upon her. It was only then, apparently, that the ultimate control of parts of the East passed temporarily out of Roman hands.¹⁸

But although Rome seems to have maintained her administrative and military hold over Palestine at least until towards the end of Zenobia's reign, Palmyrene power in the East made a sufficiently strong and direct impact on the Jews that they came to hate Palmyra and bitterly resent her domination. A proverb spoke of Tadmor (the Jewish name for Palmyra) as a lower place than hell; one rabbi declared "Happy the man who will see the fall of Tadmor", and another forecast that that day would become a Jewish festival.¹⁹ The

¹⁵ For the various interpretations of the coins see P.-W., s.v. *legio*, 1344; A. Alföldi in *CAH* XII, 214 and the works cited there. The fate of the vexillations after Aurelian's recovery of Gaul is not known.

¹⁶ The literary tradition—Zonaras, *Ann.* xii, 23; Sync., *Chron.* I, 716; Eus., *Chron.* Valer. et Gallien. V—is substantiated by Shapur's inscription, listing the cities which fell into his hands; see Henning, *op. cit.*, 835-42; cf. A. T. Olmstead in *CPh* xxxvii (1942), 414-17.

¹⁷ See Neusner, *JB* II, 49-51.

¹⁸ See F. Millar in *JRS* lxi (1971), 1-17, especially 8-10, for a recent study and bibliography.

¹⁹ *BT Yeb.* 17a; *JT Ta'an.* iv, 5 (Schwab VI, 194), where the alleged reason for jubilation, the participation of Palmyrene archers in the destruction of

Palmyrene attack on Jewish commercial interests in Parthia, which will have adversely affected any Palestinian trading ventures that were associated with Nehardean merchants, may have contributed to Jewish antipathy towards Palmyra, but can hardly have been its sole cause. The tale of how two Palestinian rabbis appealed to Zenobia for the release of a colleague imprisoned in Galilee may indicate that the Jews put up some active resistance to Palmyrene rule there,²⁰ and this would suggest harsh local administration. Or the Jews' hatred may have been born of disillusionment, if they first saw in Palmyra a potential saviour to deliver them from Rome and then had their hopes dashed when they found their new overlords continuing to acknowledge Roman suzerainty.²¹ The record of discussions among rabbis, mostly Palestinians, in the latter part of the third century about whether Palmyrenes should be accepted as proselytes reflects a period when Palmyra was in disfavour.²² That city had a Jewish colony, some members of which were buried in the Jewish cemetery at Beth Shearim,²³ and conversions are more likely to have taken place in peaceful conditions at home than in Palestine under Palmyrene occupation. But the tradition that Zenobia herself was a proselyte, or even an actual Jewess, can certainly be rejected in the light of the Jewish attitude towards her city. It may have arisen from her alleged patronage of Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, who was accused of "Judaizing".²⁴

Jewish hatred of Palmyra was not necessarily shared by the gentile population of Palestine, and it may have been political prudence rather

Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar and Titus, may be a guess added later by a person unaware of the third century situation.

²⁰ JT *Terum.* viii, 10 (Schwab III, 107). The contemporary story which precedes of another rabbi imprisoned in the same town of Safsofa (near Gischala; see Abel, *GP* II, 449) may also concern Zenobia, though she is not named.

²¹ Friendly relations between Zenobia and a small Diaspora community (above, p. 518) are not incompatible with antagonism between her and the Jews in Palestine. Cf. the difference between Roman relations with Palestine and with the Diaspora.

²² BT *Yeb.* 16a-b; JT *Yeb.* i, 4 (Schwab VII, 19-20). Cf. W. G. Braude, *Jewish Proselyting* (1940), 65-9.

²³ *CIF* 820-4, 1010-11, 1090, 1121; cf. Juster, I, 195, n. 9.

²⁴ Athanasius, *Hist. Arian. ad Mon.* 71 (*PG* XXV, 777); Filastrius, *Haer.* 64 (*CCL* IX, 244); Theodoret, *Haer. Fab. Comp.* ii, 8 (*PG* LXXXIII, 393); Photius, *Bibl.* 265 (*PG* CIV, 180); Michael Syrus, *Chron.* vi, 8 (transl. J. B. Chabot I (1899), 196); Gregorius Bar-Hebraeus (Abul Faraj), *Chron. Eccl.* (transl. J. B. Abbeloos and T. J. Lamy I (1872), 58); *Hist. Dyn.* (transl. G. I. Bauer (1783), 118). For discussion see F. Loofs, *Paulus von Samosata* (1924), 18-34; Millar, *op. cit.*, 10-17.

than anti-Palmyrene sentiment which led Palestine to join the provinces of Syria, Phoenice and Mesopotamia in sending troops to fight with Aurelian at Emesa, the last of the three pitched battles in which he defeated Zenobia in 272 and ended Palmyra's crowded hour of glorious life. The Palestinian troops were local levies (whether Jewish or not is not clear) armed with "clubs and cudgels as well as their other equipment", and they played a vital part in the victory by battering down the Palmyrene heavy-armed cavalry, who were demoralized by the novelty of their tactics.²⁵

After over a decade of total obscurity Palestine returns to the light of history with the accession of Diocletian, when order was restored to the Roman world and Palestine came in for its share of the administrative and military reorganization of the provinces which was undertaken, though not entirely completed, during his reign. Palestine formed part of the diocese of the Orient, one of the twelve major units into which the provinces were now grouped, but, unlike many other provinces, it was not itself subdivided by Diocletian—and this despite the fact that it was enlarged very considerably in the south at the expense of Arabia. The whole of the area between Idumaea and the head of the Red Sea, together with Moab south of the river Arnon on the east of the Dead Sea, was transferred from Arabia to Palestine. The date of the change is not certain. The earliest evidence comes from Eusebius, who in connection with an episode of the Diocletianic persecution of the Church probably dated 307 speaks of copper-mines between Petra and the Dead Sea as being in Palestine; and these may be the unnamed mines in Palestine which figure in an episode of an earlier year.²⁶ But in the north the counter-balancing transfer of Auranitis, Trachonitis and Batanaea from Syria to Arabia is dated *c.* 295 by the adoption of the era of Bostra in those districts,²⁷ and the two changes of frontier are very likely to have been parts of a single co-ordinated scheme and therefore contemporary. A minor change in the north, the transfer of Dora to Palestine,

²⁵ Zosimus i, 52-3. Local levies were a common feature of the third century Roman army. This was the effective end of Palmyrene power, though the city was not destroyed until 273. after the rise of a pretender.

²⁶ *MP* 7, 2 (in the "fifth year of the persecution"—7, 1); 5, 2 (in the "third year of the persecution"; see 6, 1 for the start of the "fourth year"). On Eusebius' chronology see Appendix A, p. 554. Eus., *Onom.* s.v. Φινών (*GCS* Eus. III, i, 168) gives the location; cf. s.v. Ἀρχέμ (*ibid.*, 36), putting Petra in Palestine.

²⁷ See A. G. Wright in *PEFQ* 1895, 73-82. Auranitis had been transferred under Septimius Severus; see Avi-Yonah, *HL*, 115.

may also be attributed to Diocletian.²⁸ The subdivision of the enlarged province of Palestine did not occur until 357-8.²⁹

The military development of the territory transferred to Palestine reveals the purpose of the change: the frontier defence of the south east corner of the empire, previously divided between the provinces of Palestine and Arabia, could now be unified. The basically linear defences of the *limes* established by the Flavians along the southern border of Idumaea were extended by the creation of a network of forts and linking roads which turned the whole of the triangular desert area stretching down to an apex at Aila on the Red Sea into a militarized zone providing defence in depth against the Saracens of the Arabian peninsula.³⁰ The military centre of gravity shifted southwards. Not only were virtually all the auxiliary units of the province now stationed in the south, but X Fretensis was moved down to Aila, probably by Diocletian, though its presence is not attested before the fourth century.³¹ From this strategic position guarding the end of Trajan's trunk road from Damascus to the Red Sea the legion could strike swiftly when required in several directions. But it was probably only a shadow of its former self. The big increase in the number of legions in regular service in the late third century is likely to have meant a reduction in size in many cases, and with the development of the system of mobile field armies not more than a part of any legion was necessarily stationed at its base. In Aelia X Fretensis was replaced by a unit of Moorish cavalry, one of the only three units known to have been based north of Hebron in the fourth century.³²

Of the civil administration of Palestine under the Diocletianic re-organization virtually nothing is known. Three governors of the early fourth century are recorded by Eusebius, but it is only their

²⁸ In *Itin. Burgid.* of A.D. 333 (CCL CLXXV, 12) the provincial frontier is north of Dora.

²⁹ Libanius, *Ep.* 337 (Teubner, 334). For the date see O. Seeck, *Die Briefe des Libanius* (1906), 347. The southern section, the military zone, Palaestina Salutaris, had Petra as its capital. The northern section was divided c. 400 into Palaestina Prima (Judaea, Idumaea, Peraea and Samaritis) and Secunda (Galilee and Gaulanitis); Salutaris then became Tertia. Cf. Avi-Yonah, *HL*, 121.

³⁰ See Gihon and Applebaum, 49-58; Avi-Yonah, *HL*, 162-4; cf. 119-21, arguing against a pre-Diocletianic *limes*.

³¹ Eus., *Onom.* s.v. Αἰλάμ (*ibid.*, 6) provides the earliest reference to Aila as the base of X Fretensis. It was still there when the *Notitia Dignitatum* was compiled—*Oriens* 34, 30.

³² *Not. Dign.*, *Oriens* 34, 21 and 47-8, giving two others stationed *inxta Iordanem* and *inter Aeliam et Hierichunta*.

efficiency in persecuting Christians that has preserved their names, wholly uninformative in themselves, and their successors are equally insubstantial to us.³³

One fiscal measure, however, is well attested, and was clearly part of a general operation which was going on simultaneously in adjacent provinces. Boundary-stones relating to a number of villages in north east Galilee provide evidence for a land-survey carried out under the tetrarchy by a certain Aelius Statutus.³⁴ His post is not specified on the stones, but since his name stands on similar boundary-stones from Gaulanitis and the Damascus area,³⁵ showing that his authority was not confined to Palestine, he was presumably not provincial governor but *censitor*, commissioner for valuation, a post attested in the case of several other officials named on contemporary boundary-stones from Syria Phoenice and Arabia.³⁶ The survey was part of the census taken in connection with the fundamental tax-reform whereby Diocletian converted the *annona* from an irregular requisition levied *ad hoc* into a regular tax in kind; detailed information about land division, ownership and utilization was needed for this, and the most finely adjusted system of assessment based on units of land under cultivation was that adopted in the diocese of the Orient under Diocletian's own supervision.³⁷

Hellenization continued, with the resumption of the Severan programme of urbanization, which had been in abeyance during the anarchy. Diocletianopolis was founded not far from Ascalon, in a predominantly gentile area. More significant from the Jewish angle was the conversion of Caparcotna in the plain of Esdraelon into the city of Maximianopolis under Diocletian, and Constantine's founda-

³³ See Appendix A, pp. 554-5.

³⁴ *SEG* XVI, 821-3; XVIII, 620-1; XIX, 901-3. Only two of them name the tetrarchy and Aelius Statutus, but all were found in the same area north of the Sea of Galilee and can reasonably be taken as contemporary. A similar stone from near Paneas also names the tetrarchy and Aelius Statutus; see P. L. Jalabert in *Mél. Fac. Orient. Univ. St. Jos. Beyrouth* iii (1908), 313-20.

³⁵ F. Bleckmann in *ZDPV* xxxvi (1913), 228; Jalabert, *op. cit.*, 317-18; *SEG* VII, 247-8. Y. Aharoni argues that Aelius' title *ὁ διασημώτατος* = *vir clarissimus* makes him a provincial governor, viz. of Phoenice, with north east Galilee now in that province—in *Atiqot* i (1955), 111-14.

³⁶ *IGRR* III, 1112 and 1252 (naming *censitores*), 1002, 1278; *SEG* XX, 335-42 (all dated 297 and naming the same *censitor*); Jalabert, *op. cit.*, 318.

³⁷ See further A. H. M. Jones, *The Decline of the Ancient World* (1966), 34-5. For the general question of the economic condition of Palestine and the archaeological and other evidence for the late Roman and Byzantine periods, see the full discussion by M. Gihon, *Judaea* (forthcoming).

tion of Helenopolis, apparently near Nazareth. Caparcotna as a former legionary base may have retained its partially gentile character, with soldiers' descendants forming a fair proportion of its residents. But Nazareth lay in the heart of the mainly Jewish district of Galilee, and the territorial jurisdiction of the two northern cities is likely to have embraced much land in Jewish occupation, leaving only the north of Galilee outside the system of city administration.³⁸ But by this time city life was decaying, with the central bureaucracy superseding autonomous local government and the city magistrates losing their independence of action, and this lessened the significance of the new foundations.

Diocletian visited Palestine at least twice and perhaps three times during his reign, the first emperor to do so since Caracalla.³⁹ In 286 Galilee seems to have been his base for some weeks. Jewish tradition makes him reside in Paneas, and he spent long enough in Tiberias, a predominantly Jewish city with a rabbinic school, to issue edicts there. He may have returned in the summer of 287, though this is less certain.⁴⁰ Then Eusebius mentions a journey through Palestine made by Constantine when apparently in his late teens with "the elder of the kings", i.e. Diocletian as senior Augustus,⁴¹ for which 297 seems the most probable date. Constantine may be assumed

³⁸ All three cities are listed by Hierocles, *Synecd.* 719, 2; 720, 8 and 10 (ed. G. Parthey (1967), 44), and by Georg. Cypr., *Descr.* 1012, 1034, 1038. See also Hier., *In Zach.* xii, 11 (*CCL LXXVIa*, 869) for Maximianopolis; Sozomenus, *Hist. Eccl.* ii, 2 for Helenopolis. Cf. Abel, *GP II*, 306, 347; A. H. M. Jones in *JRS* xxi (1931), 82-5; *CERP*², 280-1; Avi-Yonah, *Map*, 19, 31, 35; *HL*, 122-3, 141-2.

³⁹ A coin of Caesarea struck under Decius with a galley and two standards and the legend *Portus Augusti* most probably refers to a visit which that emperor planned but was prevented by death from actually making; see *BMC, Pal.*, xxiii; Kadman, *Caesarea*, 128, no. 152.

⁴⁰ *Cod. Just.* i, 51, 1 and iv, 10, 3 were issued at Tiberias and are dated respectively 14 July and 31 May 286. Since Diocletian was in Thrace by Oct. 286 (*Frag. Iuris Rom. Vatic.* = *FIRA II*, p. 526), the alternative reading *prid. K. Ian. for Iun.* in the latter seems unlikely. *Cod. Just.* v, 17, 3 was also issued at Tiberias, but is dated 31 August in the consulship of Diocletian and Maximian, i.e. 287 or 290. This may be an error for 286 and mean that Diocletian stayed in Palestine till the end of August; cf. *Cod. Just.* vi, 37, 14 and vii, 16, 8, also dated 31 August 286 but without the place of issue. But if it is correct, the earlier of the two years in question seems the more probable, since Diocletian was in Sirmium by late September 290—*Cod. Just.* viii, 54 (55), 3.

⁴¹ *Vita Const.* 19, 1 (*GCS Eus.* I, 17) ἡδὴ δ' ἐκ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπὶ τὸν νεανίαν διαβάς. Constantine seems to have been born in the 270s; his age at his death in 337 is variously given as 62 and 63 by Aur. Vict., *Lib.* 41, 16 and *Epit.* 41, 15, and as 65 by Hier., *Chron. Const.* XXXI, and Eutropius x, 8, 2.

to have accompanied Diocletian to Egypt late in 296 for the suppression of the usurper Domitius Domitianus, and to have been still in attendance on him when in the following year he made his way to Antioch to support Galerius in mounting a counter-attack on the Persians, who had seized the opportunity of the imperial preoccupation with Egypt to invade Syria. Diocletian's route, if overland, will have taken them through Palestine. But this will have been only a hurried passage, not a time for leisurely residence, and it was therefore probably during his long stay in 286 that Diocletian made a sufficiently deep impression on the Jews for stories to be recorded about him.

The first appears to be uncomplimentary, a typical "tyrant tale". In his early life Diocletian had worked as a swineherd near Tiberias, where he had been maltreated by schoolchildren (an embroidery on the fact of Diocletian's humble birth; but he actually came from Dalmatia). As emperor he was staying in Paneas, and by way of revenge sent orders immediately before the start of the Sabbath to the patriarch and another rabbi at Tiberias that they were to appear before him on the first day of the week. Miraculous transport, however, saved the rabbis from the dilemma of choosing between Sabbath-breaking and the risks involved in disobedience to the emperor.⁴² But this tale may have originated in imperial inadvertence rather than imperial malice, if Diocletian, surrounded by his gentile court, was simply unaware of the imminence of the Sabbath when summoning the Jewish leaders. A more factual story tells how when Diocletian was "oppressing" Paneas, the inhabitants of the city threatened to flee to another province; but the emperor was assured by one of his counsellors that they did not seriously intend to carry out their threat, or that if they did, they would return.⁴³ This, however, is no more than an example of the flight from taxation which was an empire-wide feature of the period, and indicates no excessive hardship imposed by the Roman government in general or by Diocletian as an individual on the people of northern Palestine.⁴⁴ On the other side of the balance is the report that when Diocletian was in Tyre, a member of a Jewish priestly family was so enthusiastic to appear before the emperor that he deliberately incurred ritual

⁴² JT *Terum.* viii, 12 (Schwab III, 108); Midr. *Gen. R.* lxiii, 8.

⁴³ JT *Shebi.* ix, 2 (Schwab II, 415).

⁴⁴ Cf. BT *BB* 8a (first half of the third century). See further S. Lieberman in *JQR* 2 xxxvi (1945-6), 348-51.

pollution by taking a short cut across a cemetery, an action which was not condemned by Johanan, one of the leading rabbis of the day; his comment that it was almost a religious honour to see a great man gave his approbation to priest and emperor alike.⁴⁵ Diocletian had, like Augustus before him, brought peace and order out of war and chaos, and for this the Jews had no less reason than anyone else for gratitude. The removal of the core of the Roman garrison of Palestine further away from Galilee in the following years provides indirect evidence that the Jews were by this time regarded as peaceable and trustworthy. And the tradition which eventually antedated Diocletian's confirmation of Jewish religious liberty during the persecution of the Church shortly before his abdication and attached it to his visit to Palestine speaks for harmonious relations between the emperor and his subjects then.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ *JT Ber.* iii, 1 (Schwab I, 57).

⁴⁶ See below, p. 540.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

CONCLUSION

Throughout the history of Rome's dealings with the Jews runs the thread of the toleration and protection of Judaism as a religion. In handling a racial and religious minority which would countenance neither compromise in the practice of their cult nor assimilation into their gentile environment, Rome was faced with the alternatives of suppression and toleration; and the latter carried with it the corollary of positive measures to protect the sect from molestation by gentiles, whether gentile residents in Palestine or the gentile communities with which Diaspora settlements were liable to be at odds. Judaism as a cult fulfilled the Roman criteria for permitted survival: it was morally unobjectionable and, at least among the Diaspora with whom alone Rome had direct and continuous dealings as subjects when formulating her Jewish policy in the first century B.C., politically innocuous. Rome therefore made the sensible and generous choice of a policy of toleration, and pursued it with almost complete consistency during the period of the pagan empire, despite the vicissitudes of her political relations with the Jews both in Palestine and elsewhere. One of the earliest episodes recorded of Rome's relations with the Diaspora concerns the exemption from the ban on the export of precious metals from the empire granted in favour of the Jewish Temple tax, a concession followed shortly by the exemption of the Jews from Roman military service. The charter of Jewish religious liberty formulated by Julius Caesar and confirmed, with extensions, by Augustus, gave Judaism the status of a *religio licita* throughout the empire, a status which it was to retain basically unaltered for three centuries, except during the last few years of Hadrian's reign. Minor local disagreements between the authorities and the Jews in Rome, the serious revolt of the Diaspora under Trajan, and two long and difficult wars in Palestine brought no permanent reduction in Jewish privileges in their train beyond the automatic abolition of the right to collect the Temple tax, a loss which had no effect on the continued fulfilment of the everyday requirements of the Law such as synagogue worship, circumcision, and the rest. The Hadrianic attempt at punitive restrictions was short-lived, abandoned because it made the restoration

of peace between Rome and the Jews impossible. The persecutions of the Church in the third century left Judaism unscathed, though logically the Jews then came under the same condemnation as the Christians. Decius' demand in 250 that all subjects of the empire should offer sacrifice under pain of death for refusal may have been either a bid to recover the *pax deorum* or an attempt to extract a declaration of loyalty from the Christians, whose doctrine repudiated the divine honours on which imperial absolutism was based, rather than an attempt to eradicate Christianity. But in either case it was conformity of action that was required of Christians, not the recantation of their beliefs. Yet there is no record that this conformity was demanded of the Jews also despite their identical attitude towards paganism and the imperial cult, and silence here would seem to be strong evidence that even on this occasion their long-standing exemption from compulsory participation in pagan religious rites was respected. Half a century later, during the Diocletianic persecution, Jewish exemption from the universal order to sacrifice is explicitly stated in a passage of the Talmud: "When Diocletian arrived in Palestine, he commanded all nations, with the exception of the Jews, to pour libations to idols."¹ Despite the error of date,² the reference is clearly to the last of the four edicts issued against the Church in 303-4, and testimony from this source, though wholly without even indirect corroboration from pagan or ecclesiastical writers, can hardly be disputed. Such favour is not surprising. It could only have been refused by making a complete break with Roman tradition. And from the Roman point of view there was little reason to refuse it. The attack on the Church was made in the defence of the state religion of Rome, which Christianity was undermining and actively seeking to destroy. Judaism, on the other hand, presented no menace to the old gods and could safely be left in peace. The uniqueness of the Talmudic passage on the Jewish side need arouse no suspicion. Exemption was taken for granted by the Jews and called for no special emphasis or jubilation. The toleration accorded to Judaism by the pagan empire was carried over into the Christian, when, as will be shown, Jews were placed under certain restrictions but were not subjected to persecution on religious grounds.

Where the Roman attitude towards proselytism was concerned, however, the picture is different, with steadily increasing opposition

¹ JT AZ v, 4 (Schwab XI, 238).

² See above, pp. 536-7, for Diocletian's visits to Palestine.

to the adoption of Judaism by gentiles, or at least by Italians, leading eventually to a positive and explicit ban on conversion. In Roman eyes the practice of Judaism by Jews was acceptable but the extension of the cult to non-Jews was undesirable. The essential initiatory rite of circumcision was viewed with distaste or treated with ridicule by many Romans; the observance of the daily requirements of the Jewish Law, unlike participation in the rites of other oriental cults, set the adherent of Judaism apart from his fellows; and once Palestine was annexed, conversion had political overtones which might be dangerous, since the Jews formed a national as well as a religious unit, and there was possibly a fear in the Roman mind that religious adherence might involve active sympathy for anti-Roman sentiment in Palestine. But discouragement, opposition and prohibition alike were ineffective. Whatever the attitude of the pagan world in general to the Jews and their religion, whether it was one of amusement, contempt, dislike or active hostility, the monotheism and high moral code of Judaism had for some gentiles an appeal so strong that the official opposition of the Roman government throughout the period of the pagan empire was powerless to stand against it, and the conversion of gentiles to Judaism was a regular and persistent feature of the Roman world, even if the actual numbers involved were never high.

In Palestine the Jewish religion was not a harmless racial eccentricity but a politically subversive force from the viewpoint of Rome as the occupying and governing power, because it was inextricably bound up with the nationalist aspirations which sprang from militant Jewish messianism. For the Jews resident in their own land religion and nationalism were the two faces of the same coin. This indissoluble bond between religious belief and political objective posed a problem for Rome in governing the province, in that it created conflict between her already established policy of the toleration and protection of the Jewish religion and her instinctive suspicion and fear of Jewish nationalism, which she could not but oppose. But Rome could keep religion and politics apart, and never tried to cow the Jews politically by restricting or suppressing their religion; she officially accorded to Judaism as a religion the same respect and consideration in Palestine as among the Diaspora, while seeking at the same time to keep a tight rein on its political aspects. The fact that on the political level relations were far from happy between Jews and Romans in Palestine during the first hundred and thirty years of direct Roman

rule over the province was not due to any formal policy of religious repression on the Roman side, but rather to errors and inadvertence, sometimes involving religious issues. Roman administration which was at times injudicious, unsympathetic or positively provocative reacted on and aggravated the intransigence of Jewish nationalism to generate mounting friction and discontent, which issued in chronic unrest and culminated in two major revolts, the second occurring despite a determined Roman effort to improve administration and control after the first. Yet it was only at the end, in the last few years of Hadrian's reign, that the Jewish religion was put under any disabilities, and that only for a short period and perhaps only in the single matter of circumcision.

In the mid-second century the period of storm and stress came to an end, and under the Antonines, when concessions could readily be made to a people economically debilitated by the effects of war and militarily crippled by the depletion of the population, Jews and Romans settled down to a *modus vivendi* of mutual forbearance which was maintained under the Severi. The anarchy of the mid-third century may well have seemed to portend the imminent collapse of Roman power and the disintegration of the empire. Yet, though messianic hopes still rode high, it gave birth to no fresh Bar Cochba to take advantage of the prevalent turmoil and lead a third attempt to break loose from Roman domination. But it was factors other than goodwill towards Rome that stood in the way of rebellion. The economic decline which the province shared with the rest of the empire and the reduction in Jewish numbers made revolt now a forlorn hope, if not a physical impossibility. It was, however, a case of quiescence rather than of resignation to fate. The messianic doctrine of Judaism precluded any permanent or willing acceptance of foreign rule, and present subjection to Rome could be seen as a temporary tribulation preceding the divine vindication of the Jews and the establishment of the messianic kingdom.

Pagan Rome could afford to be more generous to Judaism than to its offspring Christianity, because Judaism was less dangerous. Christianity, lacking a national basis, could pursue a much more vigorous missionary campaign than Judaism; its freedom from the legalistic trammels of the parent religion and the barrier of circumcision gave it a much wider appeal than Judaism had, and attracted converts on a scale far exceeding that of Jewish proselytism at its most extensive. This rapidly expanding religion not only repudiated

for itself, as Judaism did, the state cults of Rome and (a point of greater importance to a regime of increasing absolutism) the divinity of the emperor, but it was the active adversary of those cults, working for their destruction, and preaching the socially disruptive doctrine of the equality of all men. Judaism as the religion of a small and comparatively static minority without radical or subversive religious doctrines was no enemy to the established order and could safely be tolerated and protected by the pagan emperors.

The tide turned for Judaism in the fourth century. When Constantine embraced the Christian faith, Christianity became the creed of the imperial house and the Roman government. Whatever his personal convictions may have been, his action swept away the barrier of the imperial cult which had stood between Christianity and the Roman state, and offered the Church, as a matter of policy, peace and protection in return for her support of the imperial power. Henceforth the state was to be based on an eternal and universal institution, and Constantine's action transformed the Church and the state, enemies since Nero's day, into allies at a stroke. But this dramatic change in the fortunes of the Church carried in its train, sooner or later but inevitably, a change in the fortunes of Judaism also—a less dramatic change but one that was nonetheless fundamental, and a change in the opposite direction. For Judaism had been hostile to Christianity from its birth, and though on the practical level the Jews seem to have played little part in instigating persecution or aggravating the sufferings of the Church in the previous century,³ on the doctrinal level the antagonism between the two creeds could never fade into insignificance with time or be resolved by compromise or agreement. The Church in her new position of authority now had her rival at her mercy, and even without a background of recent active hostility and attack to avenge, the official attitude of the Roman government towards Judaism was bound to shift eventually from one of benevolence to one of repression.

There was no sudden *volte-face* in imperial policy. By the "edict of Milan" in 313 Licinius granted universal religious freedom, and in making no exception of Judaism he implicitly allowed it to remain a *religio licita*. And Judaism was to retain that status for many years to come. Not only did Constantine preserve Jewish privileges, but as late as the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth

³ See Parkes, *Conflict*, 125-50; Simon, *Verus Israel*, 144-54; F. Millar in *JRS* lvi (1966), 233-4, on Frend, *Martyrdom*, 259 ff.

Christian emperors were still issuing edicts confirming the Jews' age-old rights of religious liberty and the inviolability of the synagogues.⁴ Constantine's prohibition of proselytism in 315 imposed no fresh disability on the Jews but was basically a reiteration of Septimius Severus' prohibition. His edict made the Jew responsible for the conversion punishable with his convert, and this may have been a novelty. But Severus' law is recorded in vague terms which do not rule out the possibility that his "heavy penalties" also fell on Jewish proselytisers as well as on their converts. And the prohibition may now have had a particular slant: the fact that the edict legislates first against Jewish attacks on Jewish converts to Christianity suggests that it was movement in the reverse direction, the conversion of Christians to Judaism rather than gentile conversion in general, that Constantine was particularly anxious to prevent. But the fundamental principle was identical: Judaism should be confined to the Jews.⁵ The difference now was that, whereas Severus' prohibition had evidently been disregarded with impunity, the Christian emperors took the matter much more seriously and sought to enforce the ban by repeated legislation. In the second half of the fourth century further penalties were prescribed for conversions to Judaism, the confiscation of property and then the loss of the right to make a will; and early in the fifth century the conversion of a Christian to Judaism was declared to be an act of *maiestas*, for which the Jew responsible later faced the death penalty.⁶ It was the Domitianic situation in another guise: a gentile's disbelief in the God whose vice-gerent the emperor was on earth was seen in the same light as a gentile's repudiation of the divinity of the pagan emperor had been, though now as then the theological idiosyncrasy of Jews-by-race was condoned.

But though in theory the Jews' rights were maintained under the early Christian emperors, in practice their position steadily deteriorated from the time of Constantine (except for the brief interlude of the reign of the pro-Jewish Julian the Apostate, who even proposed

⁴ *Cod. Th.* XVI, viii, 2-4 (Constantine); 9; 12; 13; 20-1; 25-7; II, viii, 26 (dated between A.D. 393 and 423).

⁵ *Cod. Th.* XVI, viii, 1. Cf. Antoninus Pius' circumcision law, re-enacted in 423 though without the death penalty (*Cod. Th.* XVI, viii, 26), punishing the Jewish doctor as well as his patient (above, p. 469).

⁶ *Cod. Th.* XVI, viii, 7 and vii, 3, dated 352(?) and 383; viii, 19, dated 409; *Nov. Theod.* 3, dated 438. For fuller discussion of the attitude of the Christian emperors towards proselytism see Simon, *Verus Israel*, 337-41.

rebuilding the Temple in Jerusalem). Gradually the Jews were hemmed in by an increasing number of restrictions on their civil and religious liberty, aimed at isolating them and thus lessening their possible influence on gentiles and their opportunities of undermining their faith, and these restrictions came in the end effectively to outweigh the Jews' former privileges and to put them in a position of disability rather than of favour. For example, by the middle of the fourth century there was legislation against the purchase of Christian slaves by Jews and against mixed marriages between Jews and Christians—indirect attacks on proselytism which limited Jewish freedom of action; at the end of the century independent Jewish jurisdiction was curtailed, though it was left intact in purely religious matters; early in the fifth century Jews were debarred from the imperial service, while at the same time they lost their previous exemption from compulsory public service in the cities as decurions; existing synagogues were protected from gentile molestation, but the erection of new ones was forbidden; and after the extinction of the patriarchate some time before 429, the *aurum coronarium* which had been contributed for the maintenance of the office was converted into an imperial tax.⁷

Once the Jews had fallen out of favour with the imperial government, they became more vulnerable than before to gentile attack, which was now directed primarily against their religion as embodied in the synagogues.⁸ Despite the official reaffirmation of Jewish rights of religious liberty, in itself a witness to assaults on them, the combination of disabilities imposed by law and gentile hostility against which there was now less hope of redress than under the pagan emperors drove the Jews in upon themselves to seek security in separation. The peace of the Church set the Jews on the road leading to the medieval ghetto.

⁷ Slaves—*Cod. Th.* XVI, ix, 1-5. Marriage—viii, 6 ; III, vii, 2. Jurisdiction—II, i, 10. Public service—XVI, viii, 16 and 24 (for previous exemption see nos. 2-4). Synagogues—viii, 25 and 27. *Aurum coronarium*—viii, 29. For further discussion see Parkes, *Conflict*, 177-82, 199-206, 231-9 ; Simon, *Vetus Israel*, 155-62 ; Avi-Yonah, *GJZT*, 164-9, 178-80, 214-21 ; cf. Juster, I, 235-8.

⁸ See further Parkes, *Conflict*, 187-9, 235-8, 244 ; Simon, *Vetus Israel*, 264-74.

APPENDIX A

1. THE GOVERNORS OF JUDAEA AND SYRIA PALAESTINA AFTER A.D. 70

(a) *The Praetorian Legates*

SEX. LUCILIUS BASSUS (Pflaum, *Carrières*, no. 39), in office probably from the summer of 71 until late in 72 or early in 73, when he died in his province. The legate Lucilius Bassus (*BJ* vii, 163, 190-216, 252) is identified with the *eques* Sextus Lucilius Bassus who, after a *praefectura alae* of which no details are known, was appointed prefect of the two fleets at Misenum and Ravenna (a unique dual command) by Vitellius and then defected to Vespasian, under whom he continued to hold the post until at least 5 April 71—Tac., *H* ii, 100, 3; iii, 12; *CIL* XVI, 12-16. The *adlectio inter praetorios* which his appointment to the praetorian governorship of Judaea presupposes is not recorded.

L. FLAVIUS SILVA NONIUS BASSUS, in office from late in 72 or early in 73 for an unknown period. Two identical inverse cursus-inscriptions, discussed by Eck, 93-111, show that after an apparently normal early senatorial career he was legate of XXI Rapax in Germany as an ex-quaestor or ex-tribune, and was then *adlectus inter praetorios* by Vespasian and Titus and, apparently subsequently, *adlectus inter patricios* by them as censors. Their assumption of that office between April and June 73 gives the *terminus post quem* for the second adlection, and Silva's appointment as legate of Judaea follows it chronologically in the texts. If this is pressed, Silva cannot have reached Judaea until well after April 73, and the fall of Masada must be moved forward a year from its almost universally accepted date, to April 74 (so Eck). But it is possible that for economy of wording the two adlections are juxtaposed in the inscriptions, and that the appointment to Judaea falls between them. Though little weight can be put on the reference in *BJ* vii, 219 to Vespasian's fourth year, 72-3, which has no direct bearing on the fall of Masada, *ibid.* 407-9 provide a serious objection to Eck's dating: there events in Egypt which reached their climax before August 73 at the latest are explicitly put after the fall of Masada; and Eck's argument that the unrest there must have

begun earlier (cf. above, p. 366, n. 39) begs the question. Cf. C. P. Jones in *AJPb* xcv (1974), 79-80. Silva's last recorded post was as consul *ordinarius* for 81—*Acta Frat. Arval.* for 3 January—, an honour accorded to only four other senators between 70 and 81. Eck sees it as his reward for his services in Judaea and argues that, since such a reward is not likely to have been long delayed, he therefore probably retained his post in Judaea until shortly before 81; but see the entry following. An inscribed pillar in Jerusalem bears the names of Vespasian and Titus followed by *L -- (erased) -- Aug. pr. pr. leg. X Fr.* Silva's name has been supplied—see M. Gichon and B. H. Isaac in *IEJ* xxiv (1974), 117-23. But this is not certain, and if it is correct, why the erasure of Silva's name, when that of the more hated destroyer of Jerusalem was left intact?

L. CEIONIUS COMMODUS (?), 75 or 76. An inscription at Gerasa, dated year 125 of the city's era = 75-6, was set up [ἐπὶ Λ. Κ]ειωνίου Κομμ[ύδ]ου πρε[σβευτοῦ Σεβαστ]οῦ ἀντ[ιστρατήγου]—C. H. Kraeling, *Gerasa* (1938), 397-8, no. 50 (a re-reading of *IGRR* III, 1356, with additional blocks). Since Commodus was a *propraetorian*, not a legionary, legate, R. Syme suggests that he was a legate of Judaea, with the Decapolis temporarily in the *provincia* of that governor—in *Athenaeum*² xxxv (1957), 312. (M. Ulpius Traianus was legate of Syria over the year in question.) But if so, it is strange that he reached the consulship, as *ordinarius* for 78, ahead of his predecessor in Judaea; cf. Eck, 101, n. 41.

[M. SALVIDENUS has been listed as a legate of Judaea c. 80 on the basis of coins with the obverse legend Αὐτοκρα. Τίτος Καίσ. Σεβ., the reverse legend ἐπὶ Μ. Σαλουιδην., and a design of a captive under a palm-tree, which F. W. Madden, *Coins of the Jews* (1881), 218 attributed to Judaea. The coins in fact belong to the Commune Bithyniae; see *BMC, Pal.*, ciii.]

CN. POMPEIUS LONGINUS, attested in office on 13 May 86—*CIL* XVI, 33. He is probably to be identified with Cn. Pinarius Aemilius Cicatricula Pompeius Longinus, suffect consul in 90 and legate of Moesia Superior in 93 and of Pannonia in 98—*CIL* XVI, 36, 39 (= *ILS* 9053), 42. The rest of his career is unknown.

SEX. HERMETIDIUS CAMPANUS, attested in office on 28 December 93—*CIL* XVI, App. no. 12 = *ILS* 9059. It is possible, though far from certain, that he was one of the second pair of suffectors for 97; the letters *Se...* of the second name of the pair survive in the *Fasti Ostienses*; cf. R. Syme in *JRS* xliv (1954), 81-2. The rest of his career is unknown.

TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS ATTICUS HERODES, in office very early in the second century, possibly 99/100 to 102/3. Hegesippus *apud* Eus., *HE* iii, 32, 1-6 puts the martyrdom of Simeon, a cousin of Christ, during Trajan's reign ἐπὶ . . . Ἀττικοῦ τοῦ ὑπατικοῦ. The identification of this legate with Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes, father of the second century sophist of the same name, is reasonable, though not proved. For arguments for placing his governorship of Judaea before those of Quadratus Bassus and Pompeius Falco and his suffect consulship in 104, or less probably 106 or 108, see the present writer in *JRS* lii (1962), 131-3. The term ὑπατικός need not be taken to imply that his consulship preceded his appointment to Judaea. There is no known reason for the substitution of a consular for the normal praetorian legate at the time, and the use of ὑπατικός for legate, irrespective of rank, common in the late second century (the time of Hegesippus), may already have had unofficial currency at the beginning of the century; see *P. Mich.* VIII, 466 (dated 107), lines 25-32, referring to C. Claudius Severus, praetorian legate of Arabia, as ὑπατικός, though he was not consul till 112; cf. R. Syme in *JRS* xlviii (1958), 4-5.

C. JULIUS QUADRATUS BASSUS, probably in office 102/3 to 104/5. His long and problematical cursus-inscription from Pergamum indicates that he was the most distinguished man to govern Judaea before Sextus Julius Severus—*AE* 1933, 268 = *Abhandl. preuss. Akad. Wissensch. Berlin*, phil-hist. Kl., 1932, 40-2, 57-95. For his identification with C. Julius Bassus, suffect consul in 105, see R. Syme in *JRS* xxxvi (1946), 162-3; cf. Magie, *RRAM*, 1457. Since there can have been no long gaps between any of the large number of posts which he held, his governorship of Judaea is dated immediately before his consulship. He had had previous provincial experience as quaestor or proconsul's legate in Crete and Cyrenaica, and as legate of eight legions. After his consulship he served in the second Dacian war, was awarded the *ornamenta triumphalia*, and then proceeded to more

senior provincial posts as legate successively of Galatia-Cappadocia, Syria *c.* 114-16, and Dacia early in Hadrian's reign.

Q. ROSCIUS COELIUS MURENA SILIUS DECIANUS VIBULLUS PIUS JULIUS EURYCLES HERCLANUS POMPEIUS FALCO, probably in office either 104/5 to 107/8 as Quadratus' successor or from 106(?) after an unknown intervening legate. After service in the first Dacian war, he was legate of Lycia-Pamphylia and then *leg. Aug. pr. pr. provinc.* [*Iudaeae e*] *t leg. X Fret.* before his consulship—*ILS* 1035; cf. 1036. He is accepted as one of the suffectus of 108, where the *Fasti Ostienses* preserve the letters ... *ius F.* ... of a name. Pliny. *Ep.* vii, 22, written *c.* 107, recommends a friend to Falco for military preferment. As Lycia was *inermis*, this must relate to Falco's governorship of Judaea; cf. the present writer in *JRS* lii (1962), 131-2. The explanation of *leg. pr. pr. [pr]ovinciae Iudaeae consularis* in *ILS* 1036 may be that the stone-cutter erroneously expanded *cos.* into *consularis* instead of *consuli* (the change of case from dative to nominative having epigraphic parallels); cf. R. Syme in *JRS* xlviii (1958), 4; Eck, 15, n. 69. After his consulship Falco was *curator Viae Traianae*, legate of Moesia Inferior and of Britain (to mid-122; *CIL* XVI, 69), and proconsul of Asia.

TIBERIANUS, 114. He is named as ἡγεμὼν τοῦ πρώτου Παλαιστίνων ἔθους in connection with an episode which occurred when Trajan was in Antioch at the start of the Parthian war—Ioh. Mal., *Chron.* xi, 356 (p. 273); for discussion see A. Schenk von Stauffenberg's edition of ix-xii (1931), 288-94. John of Antioch (*FHG* IV, 580, no. 111) is probably dependent on Malalas. Though there is no other evidence for this governor of Judaea and though Malalas perpetrates two anachronisms in five words, using the name (Syria) Palaestina which did not replace Judaea till 135 and reading back the late fourth century division into Palaestina Prima and Secunda, his testimony is not to be rejected out of hand.

AN UNKNOWN LEGATE, between *c.* 104 and 116. For the fragmentary name on an incomplete cursus-inscription from Pamphylia, read as [Πόπ]λιον Ι ον - - - - ολο[ν], R. Syme tentatively suggests [Γ. 'Αουί] διον Κ[εῖωνί]ον [Κόμμ]οδο[ν]; see H. G. Pflaum in *IEJ* xix (1969), 225-33. After having served as proconsul's legate in Bithynia and as proconsul of Macedonia, the man was legate of X (i.e. Gemina, in

Pannonia) and then πρεσβευτὴν [ἀντιστράτη]γον λε[γε]ῶνος ι' καὶ ἐπαρχ[είας Ἰουδαίας] (after which the inscription breaks off), when Trajan was Dacicus but not yet Parthicus, i.e. between 102 and 116. To allow time for the legionary command, his post in Judaea cannot be dated before 103/4. No consulship is recorded on the extant portion of the stone.

(b) *The Consular Legates*

LUSIUS QUIETUS, in office from late in 116 or early in 117 until shortly after Trajan's death. As a reward for his services in the Parthian war he was *adlectus inter praetorios*, held the consulship, and was appointed legate of Judaea after his suppression of the Mesopotamian revolt—Dio lxxviii, 32, 5 (using the later name of the province, Palestine); Eus., *HE* iv, 2, 5. Quietus must have been suffect consul either in the latter part of 115, when at least two suffects are missing, or, more probably, in the first half of 117, a year for which only the *ordinarii* are known. (The list for 116 is complete.) A consulship early in 117 would give him only a few months in Judaea, but tenure *in absentia* is possible; see R. Syme in *JRS* xlviii (1958), 9; cf. Lepper, *TPW* 85; P.-W., s.v. *Lusius Quietus*, 1882-3. Quietus lost his post in Judaea shortly after Hadrian's accession—SHA, *Hadr.* 5, 8. He was one of the "four consulars" executed early in 118 for alleged conspiracy—Dio lxxix, 2, 5; SHA, *Hadr.* 7, 1-2; cf. 9, 3. For discussion of Quietus' Moorish nationality see W. den Boer and A. G. Roos in *Mnem.*⁴ i (1948), 327-37; iii (1950), 158-65, 263-7, 336-43.

Q. TINEIUS RUFUS (with the various garbled forms of his name in Jewish and Christian literature), 131 or earlier to 134 or 135. He was suffect consul in 127. He was legate of Judaea at the outbreak of Bar Cochba's revolt—Eus., *HE* iv, 6, 1; *Chron.* Hadr. XVI; but there is no evidence that he was sent out only when the rising began, and he may have been legate in 130 (above, p. 459, n. 122); see, however, Eck, 18, n. 88, for the suggestion that the Aquila put in charge of the foundation of Aelia in 130 (above, p. 433, n. 18) was L. Statius Aquila, suffect consul in 116, and that he was Rufus' predecessor as legate of Judaea. Tineius Rufus remained in the province until the end of the revolt (above, p. 449), but he may have surrendered the governorship of the province to Sextus Iulius Severus (below) in 134 and retained only the command of X Fretensis. His later career is unknown.

CN. MINICIUS FAUSTINUS SEXTUS JULIUS SEVERUS, in office from 134 or 135 until 137 at the latest. For the various forms of his name in inscriptions see *PIR*², s.v. *Iulius* 576. He was suffect consul for the last three months of 127, immediately after Tineius Rufus, and then successively legate of Moesia Inferior and of Britain, whence he was summoned to Palestine to take command against Bar Cochba in 134—*ILS* 1056; Dio lxix, 13, 2. He remained as legate of the province after the end of the war; see *leg. pr. pr. pr(ovinciae) Syriae Pa[laestinae]* on a statue base in his honour—*AE* 1904, 9 = *Bull. Arch. e Storia Dalm.* 1903, 125. He may have succeeded Tineius Rufus as legate in 134, but the description of him as *leg. pr. pr. [pr]ov. Iudeae* in *ILS* 1056 does not prove this, as there are parallels for the use of the old name of the province after 135 (see below, p. 552). Severus left Palestine in time to be legate of Syria, his last recorded post, before the death of Hadrian—*ILS* 1056 (the emperor is not *divus*).

P. CALPURNIUS ATILIANUS (ATTICUS RUFUS?), attested in office on 22 November 139—*CIL* XVI, 87. For Atticus and Rufus as components of his name see *PIR*², s.v. *Calpurnius* 250. He was consul *ordinarius* in 135. There is no evidence for the rest of his career, but if Palestine was his first post-consular appointment, he was probably Sextus Julius Severus' immediate successor and held office for some three years. But another legate may have intervened.

VILIUS KADUS, attested in office on 22 January 150—*CIL* XVI, App. no. 13 (discussed above, p. 437). Nothing is known of the rest of his career.

C. JULIUS SEVERUS, soon after 155, when he was consul *ordinarius*. Apart from service in two legions he had had no previous provincial experience when sent to Palestine as his first post-consular appointment—*ILS* 8829 = *IGRR* III, 172. Both his father (homonymous), who had a distinguished career under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, and his mother were members of one of the noblest families in Ancyra and descendants of several eastern client princes, including Herod the Great: see *PIR*², s.v. *Iulius* 573; cf. above, p. 391, n. 8 (a) for "king Alexander", the father's cousin. Severus apparently held another provincial command or was on Lucius Verus' staff during the Parthian war of 163-4—*ILS* 2311; cf. *PIR*², s.v. *Iulius* 574.

[COM]MODUS, in office between 161 and 163. He is known only from a fragment of a dedication at Jericho, made to Lucius Verus [*sub --- Com*]modo cos. (= *consulari*) — *CIL* III, 6645, with the absence of Verus' title Armeniacus giving the *terminus ante quem*. The legate has been tentatively identified with C. Julius Commodus Orfitianus, legate of Thrace and of Africa, suffect consul probably in 160, *curator operum publicorum* in 161-2 (which would provide a *terminus post quem* for his post in Palestine), and legate of Pannonia Superior later in the decade, but the identification is far from certain; cf. *PIR*², s.v. *Iulius* 271.

FLAVIUS BOETHUS, probably the successor of Commodus. He was a scholar, philosopher and amateur medical student from Syria, and is known only from the numerous references to him in the works of his friend Galen; see *PIR*², s.v. *Flavius* 229. He was appointed legate of Palestine during Galen's first visit to Rome, 162-6 (for the dates see *PIR*², s.v. *Galenus*)—Galen, ed. Kühn XIX, 16 (= ed. Iw. Müller, II, 96) ὁ Βοηθὸς ἐξῆλθε τῆς πόλεως ἐμοῦ πρότερος, ἄρξων τότε τῆς Παλαιστίνης Συρίας, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἀπέθανε. Cf. ed. Kühn, II, 215 Φλάβιος Βοηθὸς ἀνὴρ ὑπάτος (strictly ὑπατικός) Ῥωμαίων ἐξίων τῆς Ῥώμης εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα Πτολεμαῖδα (not strictly accurate, since the border city of Ptolemais was in Syria). Boethus' death, presumably while still in office, apparently occurred after Galen's return to Italy in 168; see Galen, ed. Kühn, II, 217; cf. *PIR*², s.v. *Galenus*. Galen gives no information about his earlier career, and his suffect consulship, not recorded elsewhere, can only be dated shortly before his Palestinian appointment.

C. (or SEX.) ERUCIUS CLARUS, between 170, when he was consul *ordinarius*, and the death of Marcus Aurelius. For the varying praenomina see *CIL* XI, 619 and O. Guérard in *Bull. Inst. fr. Arch. orient.* xxvii (1927), 116-17. The sole evidence for his governorship is an inscription from Ephesus honouring the wife [Ἐρ]ο]υκίου Κλάρου ὑπάτου, [ἡ]γεμόνος Ἰουδ[αίας] ἀντι[στ]ρατ[ήγο]υ τοῦ κυρίου Μ. Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνεῖνου (published by P. Le Bas and W. H. Waddington, *Voyage archéol. en Grèce et en Asie Mineure* (1847-73) II, iii (Explications 5-7), *Fastes des provinces Asiatiques*, 734, no. 151). This text incidentally shows the old name of the province still current several decades after the official change to Syria Palaestina. The rest of Erucius' career is unknown.

M. ULPUS ARABIANUS, in or before 196. His governorship is known from an inscription set up in his honour at Amastris in Paphlagonia (presumably his native city) and dated year 260 of the Pompeian era = A.D. 196—*IGRR* III, 85 (the reading of the date as ΕΣ is generally preferred to ΕΞ = year 205 = A.D. 141). He was later proconsul of Africa.

(c) *Governors of Varying Rank*

For the possible temporary appointment of a praetorian prefect, whose name is lost, in 175, see above, p. 483.

M. JUNIUS MAXIMUS, under Septimius Severus or Caracalla, perhaps 198-9. In *CIL* III, 6641, a dedication set up to him in Jerusalem, he is *leg. Augg. leg. X. Fr.*, i.e. provincial governor as well as legate of the sole legion then in the province. The addition of *Antoniniana* in the margin rules out both M. Aurelius and L. Verus and the various joint emperors of the third century as the Augusti in question. (The title was granted to both Palestinian legions by Caracalla or Elagabalus; see *CIL* III, 3472 for X and the following entry for VI. It was dropped after the latter's *damnatio memoriae*; see M. Avi-Yonah in *QDAP* xii (1946), 89-91, for a dedication to Elagabalus by VI Ferrata with *Antoniniana* as well as the emperor's name erased.) The time limits for Maximus' post are therefore either between 198 and the latter part of 209, and 211-12. For the suggestion that the occasion of the temporary withdrawal of VI Ferrata was Severus' Parthian campaign of 198-9 see above, p. 498. The restoration of Maximus' name on the badly defaced milestone, *CIL* III, 13597, has been suggested, but Palestinian milestones do not normally carry legates' names.

L. VALERIUS VALERIANUS, possibly equestrian *praepositus* under Caracalla. (*Equites* replaced senators in administrative and military posts increasingly from the time of Septimius Severus.) A dedication set up to him in Caesarea by a centurion of VI Ferrata F. C. Antoniniana gives his *cursus* to date (inverse), with the legion's title Antoniniana (an integral part of the text, not a marginal addition, and not erased) dating it to Caracalla or Elagabalus. M. Avi-Yonah (in *IEJ* xvi (1966), 135-41 = *AE* 1966, 495) takes the inscription as almost complete and reads the first post as *Syriae Palaestinae praepositus*. J. Fitz, however, argues for considerable loss by erasure on the right and restores the opening lines of the *cursus* as [*proc.*

provin.] *Syr. Palaest., provin.* ---, *praeposito* ... (in *Alba Regia* viii-ix (1968), 290-2 = *AE* 1969-70, 612). The small number of posts filled by Valerianus between a military command in the civil war of 193-4 (one, on Avi-Yonah's reading; two, on Fitz's) and his Palestinian post would seem to place the latter under Caracalla rather than under Elagabalus. Valerianus was later prefect of Mesopotamia and Osroene jointly—i.e. between 214 and 240 (*AE* 1969-70, 109).

ACHAEUS, *c.* 260. He is known only from an episode given in Eus., *HE* vii, 15, where he is named in passing as the διακστής at Caesarea responsible for conferring promotion to the centurionate. Eusebius dates the event immediately after the issue of Gallienus' edict ordering the cessation of the persecution of the Church—*ibid.*, 13. This followed the capture of Valerian in 259 or 260. Presumably Achaeus was governor, and Eusebius is here using διακστής to translate *index*, a common fourth century term for the civil governor of a province as distinct from the military *dux*.

FLAVIANUS, URBANUS and FIRMILIANUS are mentioned by Eusebius in connection with the Diocletianic persecution of the Church. Flavianus was governor at Easter of the nineteenth year of Diocletian, i.e. 303—*MP* proem 1; cf. *HE* viii, 2, 4. Urbanus had succeeded him by the time of the issue of the fourth edict against the Church in 304, and was in office until executed shortly after November of the "fifth year of the persecution", i.e. probably 307, counting from Easter 303 as the start of the persecution—*MP* 3-7 *passim*. (Eusebius' chronology of the persecution is controversial; see G. W. Richardson in *CQ* xix (1925), 96-100, against H. J. Lawlor, *Eusebiana* (1912), 179-97.) Firmilianus, Urbanus' successor, is mentioned during the "sixth year of the persecution", probably 308-9, and was in office in March of the "seventh year", i.e. probably 310, when he also was executed—*MP* 8-11 *passim*; cf. 13, 1 for the end of the seventh year, the start of which is not noted. Flavianus is possibly to be identified with Junius Flavianus, prefect of Rome for a few months in 311-12 (so P.-W., s.v. *Flavianus* 6 and 7, 2506), which would make him a senator at a time when provincial governors were more commonly *equites*; but otherwise nothing is known from other sources about this trio of obscure names. Firmilianus' anonymous successor (*MP* 13, 1) may be the following.

SEVERUS, 310 (?). He is mentioned as the governor responsible for a martyrdom *sub Maximiano imperatore* (presumed to be Galerius Maximian)—*Passio Petri Balsami* (ed. T. Ruinart, *Acta Martyrum* (1859), 525-7). But the work is of dubious value.

VALENTINIANUS, 310/11. An inscription from Scythopolis records a dedication to Galerius as Augustus by Valentinianus *praes(es) provinc. Syr. Pal.* (published by B. Lifshitz in *Hommages à A. Grenier*, ed. M. Renard (1962), 1063-4). Since most of the period 305-11 when Galerius was Augustus is occupied by Eusebius' three governors, Valentinianus' post must be dated to the last year. This seems too late for identification with M. Aurelius Valentinianus, governor of Hispania Citerior in 283 and at some point of Pannonia Inferior—*ILS* 599, 3654.

2. THE PROCURATORS OF JUDAEA AND SYRIA PALAESTINA AFTER A.D. 70

L. LABERIUS MAXIMUS (Pflaum, *Carrières*, no. 43), in office with the legate Sextus Lucilius Bassus—*BJ* vii, 216. He is attested as prefect of the *annona* in 80 and as prefect of Egypt in 83—*Acta Fr. Arval.* 80; *CIL* XVI, 29 = *ILS* 1996. A. Piganiol argues that he became praetorian prefect *c.* 84—in *CRAI* 1947, 376-87.

SEXTUS ATTIIUS SUBURANUS AEMILIANUS (Pflaum, *Carrières*, no. 56), probably in the early 90s. The chronological hinge of his early career is the last of his three successive posts as *adiutor*, to Julius Ursus prefect of Egypt in 84 (for the date see Pflaum, *l.c.*); he then held three centenarian procuratorships, *ad Mercurium*, of the Cottian Alps and of Judaea, before proceeding straight to the highest of the ducenarian posts, that of procurator of Belgica—*AE* 1939, 60 = H. Seyrig in *Bull. Musée Beyrouth* i (1937), 80-2. After that he apparently rose direct to the prefecture of the praetorians at the beginning of Trajan's reign (Aur. Vict., *Lib.* 13, 9), was *adlectus* into the senate in time to hold a suffect consulship in 101, and was consul *ordinarius* in 104.

CLAUDIUS PATERNUS CLEMENTIANUS (Pflaum, *Carrières*, no. 150 bis), under Trajan or Hadrian—*CIL* III, 5775-6 = *ILS* 1369. The fact that his preceding military service had included the command of the *ala Siliiana torquata c. R.*, a unit which became one of Roman citizens between 85 and 98 (*CIL* XVI, 31, 42), gives a vague *terminus post quem*

for his procuratorship of Judaea, while the use of the name Judaea gives 135 as the probable though not conclusive *terminus ante quem*. He was then procurator successively of Sardinia, Africa and Noricum. If Sardinia, an imperial province from early in Vespasian's reign, was handed over to the senate temporarily *c.* 110 in exchange for Bithynia, which the emperor was then taking over, and reverted to the emperor when Bithynia was returned to the senate under Hadrian (so A. E. Astin in *Lat.* xviii (1959), 150-3), Clementianus was in Judaea either shortly before *c.* 110 or under Hadrian. There he was *procurator v(ices) a(gens) l(egati)*, but there is no evidence about the identity of the missing (dead?) legate to fix his date.

L. SEMPRONIUS SENECIO. His cursus-inscription from Sidon, unpublished, gives *procurator monetæ* followed by *procurator Iudææ*. See H. G. Pflaum in *IEJ* xix (1969), 232-3, who dates the post after 123. "Judaea" suggests 135 as *terminus post quem*.

M. AEMILIUS BASSUS (Pflaum, *Carrières*, no. 103), about the middle of Hadrian's reign. Pflaum, *l.c.*, and R. Syme in *JRS* lii (1962), 90, accept the identification of . . . M. f. Fal. Bassus, procurator of Judaea under Hadrian, whose earlier career included a military tribunate in the *cohors I Brittonum* (*ILS* 9506), with M. Aemilius Bassus who commanded the *cohors I Brittonum milliaria Ulpia torquata c. R.* in Dacia in 110—*CIL* XVI, 163. Bassus had held two procuratorships under Hadrian, the second of them in Bithynia (i.e. early in his reign, before the province reverted to the senate; cf. above, s.v. Clementianus), and a post in Egypt before his appointment to Judaea. The use of the name Judaea supports but does not prove a date before 135.

T. AELIUS RESTITUTUS, probably late in the reign of Marcus Aurelius or early in that of Commodus. He is known only from a fragment of a dedication *T. Ael. Augg. lib(erto) Restituto proc. [S]yriae Palaest.*—*ILS* 1482. The *nomen* Aelius points to M. Aurelius and L. Verus as the manumittors.

C. PESCENNIUS NIGER (?), late in the reign of Marcus Aurelius or early in that of Commodus. See above, p. 484.

P. AELIUS SEMPRONIUS LYCINUS (Pflaum, *Carrières*, no. 262), between 198 and 209. After procuratorships of the *vicesima hereditatium*

in Gaul, of Dacia Porolissensis, and of the *idios logos* in Egypt, he was *proc. Augg. nn. prov. Syriae Palaestinae*—*ILS* 1414. His dedication to Caracalla at Ancyra, his native city (*CIL* III, 244), together with the absence of any erasure of Geta's name in his cursus-inscription, identifies the two Augusti as Septimius Severus and Caracalla. His later career is unknown.

L. VALERIUS VALERIANUS (?). See above, pp. 553-4.

C. FURIUS SABINUS AQUILA TIMESITHEUS, (Pflaum, *Carrières*, no. 317), *c.* 232. He was one of the most distinguished men known to have held the post, with a career paralleled only by that of Sextus Attius Suburanus Aemilianus (above). His appointment as *proc. prov. Syriae Palaestinae, ibi exactor reliquor. annon. sacrae expeditionis* fell in the middle of a long series of procuratorships, several of them *vice praesidis* or *vice proconsulis*—*ILS* 1330. One of his earlier posts, in Arabia, is dated to 221-2 by the formula *proc. Augg.* on an inscription from Bostra—*AE* 1936, 151. In 241 he became father-in-law and praetorian prefect to Gordian III. Within those time limits the *sacra expeditio* which dates his procuratorship of Palestine was almost undoubtedly Severus Alexander's Persian war. On his exaction of the *annona* in that connection see above, p. 495.

CLEMENS, under Diocletian. He is recorded only in a brief, uninformative and grammarless inscription carved on the side of the inscription of Valerianus (above, p. 553)—*Imp. [Cae]s. C. Valerius Diocletianus [I]nvictus Aug. Cleme(n)s proc. d(omi)n(or)um nos(trorum)* (published by M. Avi-Yonah in *IEJ* xvi (1966), 141).

APPENDIX B

THE DOCUMENTS QUOTED BY JOSEPHUS IN *ANTIQUITATES JUDAICAE*

The documents of the Roman period quoted by Josephus, notably the two groups in *AJ* xiv, 190-264 and xvi, 162-73, raise numerous problems. Problems of detail in individual documents, such as date, inter-relationship and content, are discussed at the appropriate points in the main body of this book. Here only general questions concerning the documents as a whole are treated.

The authenticity of the documents is hardly in doubt. Though some are mutilated, the style and terminology are those of genuine Roman and municipal enactments, and those originally issued from Rome contain recognizable Greek translations of Latin phrases. Fortunately Josephus quotes verbatim and does not paraphrase, and thus provides a valuable collection of documents, none of which is yet known from epigraphic copies. His purpose in quoting documents in full instead of merely summarizing the substance of decrees, letters, etc. is frankly apologetic—xiv, 265-7, 323; xvi, 174-8. He wants to show the favourable attitude of the central Roman authorities, Roman provincial officials, and local authorities in the provinces towards the Jews. It is the same as his purpose in making citations from gentile writers—to provide independent evidence of Jewish merits, privileges, etc.

As regards provenance, there are only two possibilities worth serious consideration: either Josephus collected copies of the documents himself from the archives in Rome when resident there after 70, or he took them from a collection made by someone else. The former view is maintained by R. Laqueur, *Der jüdische Historiker Fl. Josephus* (1920), 221-30. The theory that Josephus obtained them from the work of Nicolas of Damascus (the only reasonable possibility as source), first propounded by B. Niese in *Hermes* xi (1876), 480-2, is rejected by Schürer, I (rev.), 52, n. 19, is modified by Juster, I, 154, n. 5, and is accepted by Momigliano, *Ricerche*, 11 (193). Nicolas was the Jewish spokesman in a dispute between the Jews and the Greeks in Ionia which was laid before M. Vipsanius Agrippa in 14 B.C. (above, pp. 140-1), and it is deduced from *AJ* xvi, 48 that he cited documents

in his speech before Agrippa and set down the speech verbatim in relating the episode in books ciii-civ of his history (cf. *AJ* xii, 127). Two of Josephus' documents are admittedly of later date than 14 B.C. —xvi, 162-5 and 172-3, dated A.D. 2/3 and between 9 and 2 B.C. respectively (above, pp. 142-3). But Nicolas could have added them as a postscript to the episode, showing the similar attitude of the Roman authorities after Agrippa's death, especially as §172 mentions Agrippa. A more serious objection is perhaps that documents relating to Caesar's regulation of the internal affairs of Palestine in 47-44 B.C. would hardly have been relevant to the defence of the rights of the Diaspora thirty years later (though the decrees exempting the Diaspora from military service during the civil wars would have been pertinent). But the question of provenance is of less importance for the present study than the internal problems of the identity and meaning of the individual documents and the evidence which they provide for relations between Roman and provincial authorities and the Jews.

Each of the documents has to be judged mainly on its own merits, though the internal evidence is not always adequate for a decisive interpretation. Most of them lack formal dates, though some have incomplete dates and others can be dated fairly accurately by such criteria as the Roman magistrates mentioned in them; some are clearly fragmentary or mutilated; and the subject-matter is sometimes not full enough for a complete analysis. The contexts in which they are quoted and the order in which Josephus places them give practically no help in determining dates and relationships. Those in book xiv show some grouping by subject and by type of issuing authority. But among the group of decrees issued by cities in Asia at the time of Julius Caesar is a Pergamene decree referring to Hyrcanus I—§§247-55 (above, p. 10, n. 23). Of the isolated pair given in §§145-55 as evidence for Caesar's measures in Palestine in 47, the first in fact probably relates to Simon Maccabaeus in 139 B.C. (above, p. 8, n. 15; cf. p. 39, n. 60), while the second is not even a Roman document but an Athenian decree dated 106/5 B.C. in honour of Hyrcanus I. The occurrence of the name Hyrcanus here presumably accounts for the wrong attribution, on which depends the anachronistic insertion of "son of Alexander" (Jannaeus) and "ethnarch of the Jews". But the mistake over the first, in which there is no overlap of names or subject-matter, like the failure to notice the reference to a Seleucid king in the Pergamene document, shows in an extreme form how

completely out of his depth Josephus was in dealing with official documents. Only one of the documents in book xvi seems to belong to the episode in connection with which Josephus quotes them—§§167-8. Josephus does not use the documents individually to substantiate statements in his narrative, but strings them together with little or no linking commentary. In some places the documents supplement Josephus' narrative (e.g. on Hyrcanus II's position in 47; above, p. 39, n. 57), but in others there are discrepancies between the narrative and the evidence of the documents (e.g. on the refortification of Jerusalem; above, p. 42, n. 68). It is possible, of course, that, if Josephus took the documents from Nicolas, the latter was responsible for at least some of the misattributions; but this does not exonerate him for his evident failure to comprehend what he was copying.

For fuller discussion and analysis of the documents than is attempted in this book see Juster, I, 132-58; for the Caesarian documents only see Momigliano, *Ricerche*, 11-19 (193-201); Schürer, I rev.), 272-4.

APPENDIX C

THE NORTH WALLS OF JERUSALEM BEFORE A.D. 70

Josephus describes the fortifications of Jerusalem in setting the scene for Titus' siege of the city in A.D. 70, at which time there were three north walls—*BJ* v, 136-75.

The innermost north wall, the first or "old" wall, of presumably Hasmonaean date, presents few problems. A section of the north west angle of the pre-Herodian city wall, with the foundations of a tower, survives under the medieval Citadel near the Jaffa Gate of the present Old City (references below); and there is pre-Herodian work also in the complex of structures of varying date round Wilson's Arch adjoining the west wall of the Temple enclosure somewhat south of the centre (above, p. 94, n. 119)—see Vincent and Stève, *JAT*, 61-4; W. F. Stinespring in *Bibl. Arch.* xxx (1967), 27-31. The original north wall of the Upper City probably followed a fairly straight line between these two points, but archaeological confirmation is lacking.

The date and the line of the second, intermediate, north wall, which enclosed the triangular area between the north west angle of the city wall and the north west angle of the Temple enclosure, are alike controversial. It may have been Herodian, though the fact that Josephus does not mention it in his detailed account of Herod's building programme suggests that it was earlier. At its eastern end the wall adjoined the Antonia—which means that, if it was pre-Herodian, it presumably adjoined the Baris also (since it would not have ended, as it were, in mid-air), and that the Antonia occupied the same site as the Baris. At its western end it started from "the gate Gennath in the old wall"; this gate is unidentified but clearly stood some distance east of the north west angle of the Hasmonaean city, since the second wall, unlike the old wall and the third wall, is not described by Josephus as "starting at (Herod's) tower Hippicus" at the angle (cf. below). Between these two points the course of the wall is largely conjectural, but Tac., *H* v, 11, 3 *muri per artem obliqui aut introrsus sinuati, ut latera obpugnantium ad ictus patescerent* suggests a zigzag line with re-entrant angles. The problem is partly dependent on that of the third wall.

The third north wall, planned and started by Agrippa I though not

completed until 66-7 (above, pp. 197, 301), embraced a large area. It ran north westwards from the old north west angle to a tower called Psephinus and then eastwards and eventually southwards again to join the north east angle of the Temple enclosure. The problem is to determine how far north it went. There are two possible lines, one the line of the present sixteenth century north wall, the other some 500 yards further north, where substantial remains of the lower courses of a wall of massive masonry have been found, running east-west roughly parallel to the present wall, with traces of north-facing towers (the Mayer-Sukenik wall, named after the excavators of the first sections, in 1925-27; further fragments have since come to light). Certainty and unanimity have not yet been reached, and a strong body of opinion still holds that the present north wall of Jerusalem follows the line of Agrippa's wall fairly closely. This would put Psephinus at the present north west angle; see, e.g., Vincent and Stève, *JAT*, 114-45; Simons, *JOT*, 459-503; Kenyon, *Jerusalem*, 162-3. One objection to this line is that a tower of the height given by Josephus at that point (70 cubits = 105 feet) would not command the view from the Dead Sea to the Mediterranean which he describes; but this is not of prime importance, since inaccuracy is possible. (Recent excavation has shown the supposedly Agrippan work at "Goliath's Castle" to be of Crusader date.) More cogent arguments, however, have been put forward to show that on the whole the balance of probability favours the outer, more northerly, line; see M. Avi-Yonah in *IEJ* xviii (1968), 98-122, with bibliography. If the Mayer-Sukenik wall is not Agrippa's, it is hard to see what it is. Both the size and quality of the blocks (though the work is not of exceptionally high standard) and the towers, clearly defensive, would seem to eliminate any possibility that it is part of Titus' circumvallation. Neronian coins associated with the wall (Kenyon, *l.c.*) present no problem, since the wall was only completed in Nero's reign. An Agrippan wall on this line would put Psephinus on higher ground than the north west angle of the present wall and give the possibility of commanding the view described by Josephus.

The attribution of the Mayer-Sukenik wall to Bar Cochba (see L. H. Vincent in *RB* liv (1947), 90-126; cf. Vincent and Stève, *JAT*, 146-74; Abel, *HP* II, 89-90; and, tentatively, Simons, *JOT*, 501-3) is unconvincing. If Bar Cochba refortified Jerusalem, he will surely have built on the ruins of the pre-70 walls and not have engineered a totally new line. (Incidentally, Vincent's contention that the wall is

alluded to in the Zadokite Document of the Damascus Sect is invalidated by the connection now established between that document and the Qumran literature.)

Below the Damascus Gate in the present north wall a gateway and a considerable amount of excellent masonry typically Herodian in style, large blocks with drafted margins (cf. the Temple enclosure and the tower Phasaël), have been excavated. See R. W. Hamilton in *QDAP* x (1944), 1-54; J. B. Hennessy in *Levant* ii (1970), 22-7. If Agrippa's wall followed this line, we have here a part of it (with the Herodian style continuing for half a century after Herod's death), and the second wall will have run much further south. So Kenyon, *Jerusalem*, 146-54, summarizing earlier theories and touching on the problem of the relation between the second wall and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, traditionally occupying the site of the Crucifixion outside the then northernmost wall; cf. Vincent and Stève, *JAT*, 51-113; Simons, *JOT*, 226-343. But if Agrippa's north wall followed the outer line, the impressive Herodian work at the Damascus Gate must be Herod the Great's, and the second wall, whether built *de novo* or merely repaired by him, must have extended that far north and then curved back southwards to join the Antonia; so Avi-Yonah, *op. cit.*, 122-5.

Of the three large towers with which Herod strengthened the city's defences at the north west angle, Phasaël and Mariamme were certainly built into the curve of the city wall, which was repaired and re-faced at the same time; *BJ* v, 161 is confirmed archaeologically in the case of Phasaël, which stands astride the wall just north of the pre-Herodian tower. The location of Hippicus is less clear. Josephus' statements that the first and third walls "started from Hippicus" appear to mean that that tower also was an integral part of the wall, in which case (if the towers are enumerated by Josephus from south to north) it may have stood on the foundations of the pre-Herodian tower. On the other hand, *BJ* v, 161 suggests that Hippicus differed in some way from the other two, and *BJ* v, 304 seems to imply that it was a free-standing fort outside the ramparts; this would explain the provision of a reservoir, unique to that tower. No trace survives of Hippicus or of Mariamme, which was situated north east of Phasaël. For the excavations at the Citadel between 1934 and 1948 and evidence for Phasaël and the earlier wall and tower see C. N. Johns in *QDAP* xiv (1950), 121-53; cf. Vincent and Stève, *JAT*, 224-32; Simons, *JOT*, 266-71. On the artillery potential of Herod's

towers in relation to the second wall see C. T. Norris in *PEQ* 1946, 23-37.

For a full bibliography of excavations in Jerusalem see Vogel, *Bibliography*, 44-9.

APPENDIX D

THE PRECISE DATES OF THE FALL OF JERUSALEM IN 63 AND 37 B.C.

Josephus says that Jerusalem fell to Pompey in 63 B.C. *περὶ τρίτον μῆνα τῇ τῆς νηστείας ἡμέρᾳ*—*AJ* xiv, 66; cf. *BJ* i, 149 *τρίτῳ μηνὶ τῆς πολιορκίας*. He dates its fall to Sosius and Herod in 37 B.C. *τῷ τρίτῳ μηνί, τῇ ἑορτῇ τῆς νηστείας, ὥσπερ ἐκ περιτροπῆς τῆς γενομένης ἐπὶ Πομπηίου τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις συμφορᾶς· καὶ γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνου τῇ αὐτῇ ἐάλωσαν ἡμέρᾳ*—*AJ* xiv, 487-8. Strabo xvi, 2, 40 puts the final assault in 63 on τὴν τῆς νηστείας ἡμέραν, ἣνικα ἀπείχοντο οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πάντος ἔργου, which on his pen may mean the Sabbath, widely but erroneously regarded by gentiles as a fast-day (see, e.g., Justinus, *Epit.* xxxvi, 2, 14; Petronius, poem 24 (Loeb), line 6; Suet., *Aug.* 76, 2; Mart. iv, 4, 7; cf. Fronto, *Ep.* ii, 9 (ed. M. P. J. van den Hout), taken as a reference to the end of the Sabbath; Tac., *H.* v, 4, 3 *crebris ieiuniis*. Dio gives the day of the fall of the city both in 63 and in 37 as “the day of Cronos”, i.e. the first day of the Hellenistic week equated with the Sabbath (though he does not call it a fast-day)—xxxvii, 16, 4; xlix, 22, 4; cf. xxxvii, 17, 3—19, 3.

In a Jewish writer “the day of fasting” can only mean the Day of Atonement in Tishri (= roughly October), the seventh month of the Jewish calendar. There is no reason to doubt that the tradition that the city fell in 37 on the anniversary of its fall in 63 is substantially correct, even if the Jewish love of anniversaries (cf. the five calamities on 9 Ab; above, p. 459) eventually turned an approximate coincidence of date into an exact one. But the precise date, the Day of Atonement, seems very improbable in itself, since Hyrcanus’ Jewish supporters fighting with Pompey and the Jews in Herod’s army (*AJ* xiv, 70, 479; *BJ* i, 150, 351) will hardly have taken part in an assault on the holiest day of their year; and an autumn date near to the Day of Atonement is very dubious, since other chronological indications suggest an earlier season on both occasions. The siege of 63 began shortly after Pompey received news of Mithridates’ death early in that year—App., *Mith.* 111-12; Dio xxxvii, 10, 4-15; *AJ* xiv, 53; *BJ* i, 138. It lasted for three months. And after it Pompey must have spent some time on the organization of Palestine and Syria before returning to Asia

Minor for the winter of 63/2. (The length of Hyrcanus' and Aristobulus' reigns, the former of three months and the latter of three years and six months, provides no evidence, as the precise date of their mother's death is not recorded; cf. above, p. 00, n. 0.) The evidence for 37 is more definite. When Herod encamped outside Jerusalem, it was still the season of the winter storms, i.e. not later than early March—*AJ* xiv, 465; *BJ* i, 343. By the time the circumvallation was completed, it was the summer—*AJ* xiv, 473; i.e. the work had taken some two months and it was late April or early May. And the siege lasted for five months—*BJ* i, 351 (probably preferable to the six months of *BJ* v, 398, a back reference made out of context). This would put the fall of the city about midsummer.

Two explanations of Josephus' date, the Day of Atonement, may be offered. If Nicolas of Damascus gave only the year of the fall of Jerusalem to Pompey, Josephus may have added what he regarded as the precise date from Strabo (cf. *AJ* xiv, 68), not realizing that by "the fast day" Strabo meant the Sabbath (the Day of Atonement being, of course, also one of complete rest); then, having done this, he was required by the anniversary tradition to give the same date to the fall of the city in 37. Alternatively, the tradition that Herod took final possession of his kingdom by a flagrant desecration of the Jews' most sacred day may be a slander invented to discredit him in Jewish eyes when memories of the event were growing dim; in that case the anniversary tradition then carried the date back to 63, and Josephus took both over unaware of the chronological incongruities.

Two further problems arise over Josephus' dating of the fall of Jerusalem in 37. Firstly, when he puts it in "the third month", he can hardly mean the third month of the siege, counting only the period of the bombardment and disregarding the time previously spent on the circumvallation; common sense would reckon the whole period from Herod's arrival outside the walls as "the siege". His expression sounds like a calendar phrase, but the third month of the Jewish year (May-June) is too early, and would be impossible anyhow in a Jewish writer immediately before a reference to the Day of Atonement in the seventh month. Following as it does the date "in the 185th Olympiad", it may mean the third month of the Olympiad year, which would fit the Day of Atonement fairly well (so J. Kromeyer in *Hermes* xxix (1894), 569, n. 3). Or it may be an error for "the third year", i.e. of the 185th Olympiad, the year July 38 to June 37.

Secondly, Josephus says that the besieged suffered from famine

because it was a sabbatical year—*AJ* xiv, 475; cf. xv, 7. This appears to mean that the year October 38/7 was sabbatical. But food shortages consequent on a sabbatical year will normally have been felt, not in the actual year, when stocks from the previous harvest were available, but in the following year. Furthermore, if the Seleucid year 150 = 163/2 was sabbatical (*AJ* xii, 363, 378), and if the cycle continued uninterrupted (which is not certain; cf. the discussion about the relation between the Jubilee year and the sabbatical cycle in BT *Arak.* 12b), it was 37/6, not 38/7, which was sabbatical. On the problem of Josephus' references to sabbatical years see R. North in *Biblica* xxxiv (1953), 501-15, arguing that his data cannot be fitted into a coherent chronological scheme and that he unhistorically and unrealistically attributes hardships to the sabbatical year system "in order to glorify Torah observance and extenuate military setbacks."

For further discussion of the siege dates see Otto, 31-4, note **; Schalit, 764-8, suggesting that on both occasions the city was taken on a special day of prayer and fasting held within the city in the face of the crisis; Schürer, I (rev.), 239, n. 23; 284, n. 11.

APPENDIX E

THE CENSUS AT THE TIME OF CHRIST'S NATIVITY

Matthew's Gospel dates the Nativity firmly to the last years of the life of Herod the Great. Luke does not mention Herod in connection with Christ's birth, though he puts the conception of John the Baptist, who was six months older, under Herod (i, 5 ff.). In ii, 1-2 he dates the Nativity by a census "of the whole empire" ordered by Augustus, and adds as an explanatory "footnote" αὕτη ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρίνου. This may be paraphrased either as "This was the first census in Judaea, that held when P. Sulpicius Quirinius was legate of Syria" (i.e. in A.D. 6; above, pp. 151-3), or as "This was the first of two censuses held when Quirinius was legate of Syria" (i.e. the second being that of A.D. 6). The obvious objection to the former sense is, When did the implied second census take place? It is therefore in the second sense that the sentence is usually taken.

A census in Judaea, carried out on orders from Augustus while the country was still a client kingdom, though improbable, is not wholly impossible, since tribute had been paid since 63 B.C. And although there is no reference elsewhere to Augustus ever having ordered a simultaneous, universal census, there is sufficient evidence for censuses in various places during his principate to make it credible that work was carried out piecemeal over a period of years to achieve a complete census-record of the whole empire, and that Luke has slightly misrepresented the particular application of that scheme to Judaea.

Though Quirinius' name is used, strictly speaking, only to fix the date and he is not said to have been responsible for organizing the census at the time of the Nativity (as he was in A.D. 6), he would hardly be invoked had he not been personally involved to some degree. But there is no evidence that Quirinius had any dealings with a census in Judaea, or indeed with Judaea at all, before A.D. 6. Attempts have been made, however, to save Luke's credit by providing Quirinius with a post in, or authority over, Syria before Herod's death.

A fragment of an acephalous cursus-inscription, *ILS* 918, ending

[*legatus pr. pr.*] *divi Augusti iterum Syriam et Ph[oenicen] optinuit*], was attributed to Quirinius by Mommsen, *Res Gest. divi Aug.*² (1883), 161-78, following the original editor. With *iterum* in the crucial line interpreted to mean that when Quirinius went to govern Syria in A.D. 6, it was his second tenure of that post, an earlier "first governorship of Syria" was postulated for him and became almost canonical. Quirinius certainly held a military post in the East during the last decade or so B.C., when he directed the war against the Homanades in Cilicia—Tac., *A* iii, 48, 2; Str. xii, 6, 5. A "first governorship of Syria" at that time would harmonize reasonably well with *Luke* ii, 1-2, except for the difficulty of finding an appropriate space for him in the Syrian *fasti* before Herod's death. The attribution of *ILS* 918 to Quirinius, however, has been doubted, and other attributions have been suggested, which need not be discussed here. But whoever is the man commemorated, iteration of the chief military command in the East would be unparalleled, and improbable in itself, and the important point here is that made by R. Syme: whether the inscription belongs to Quirinius or not, the last line need not mean that the man in question was legate of Syria twice; it merely means that he was *legatus Augusti* twice, on the second occasion in Syria—in *Klio* xxvii (1934), 131-3, giving earlier bibliography (add L. R. Taylor in *JRS* xxvi (1936), 161-73; A. G. Roos in *Mnem.*³ ix (1941), 306-18); cf. 142-3; *The Roman Revolution* (1939), 398, n. 9; Sherwin-White, *RSNT*, 163-5.

If Quirinius' "first governorship of Syria" is rejected, he conducted the Homanadensian war in some other capacity. He may have had a special, purely military command; he may have been proconsul of Asia or legate of Pamphylia; more probably he was legate of Galatia and Pamphylia together. But a military command in Asia Minor cannot credibly be supposed to have given Quirinius civil authority over a client kingdom at some distance from his theatre of operations (authority which a non-Roman, non-technical writer like Luke could misinterpret as meaning that he was legate of Syria); nor is it likely that his campaigns would have given him time or opportunity to organize a census there. Furthermore, though the war may have occurred before Herod's death, it may equally well be dated immediately after it. To connect Quirinius convincingly with any census in Judaea before that which he directed in A.D. 6 therefore seems to be a forlorn hope. (For discussion of Quirinius and the Homadanensian war see Syme, *Klio*, *l.c.*, 133-8; cf. Groag in P.-W., s.v. *P. Sulpicius*

Quirinius, 832; L. R. Taylor in *AJPh* liv (1933), 122-8; T. Corbishley in *Klio* xxix (1936), 81-7; S. Accame in *Riv. Filol. Class.*² xxii (1944), 139-52.)

It has been suggested by, e.g., M. J. Lagrange, *Évangile selon St. Luc*² (1921), 66-8 and F. M. Heichelheim, *Roman Syria* (1938), 161, that *Luke* ii, 2 can be taken in the sense "This census preceded that held when Quirinius was legate of Syria in A.D. 6." This certainly neatly saves the writer's historical credit without the necessity of contorting Quirinius' career in the last decade B.C. into conformity with the Gospel. But to take *πρώτη* here as meaning *πρότερον* is by no means the obvious interpretation of the sentence, and, as Sherwin-White, *RSNT*, 171, n. 1, notes, its acceptance requires the support of a clear parallel from the same author.

Sherwin-White, *RSNT*, 166-9, seeks to cut the Gordian knot by arguing that there were two conflicting traditions about the Nativity, one (adopted by Matthew) putting it in Herod's reign, and the other putting it in A.D. 6; and that Luke adopted the latter, though he inadvertently included a detail about John the Baptist's birth from the former. H. Braunert also concludes, on different arguments, that the date indicated by Luke for the Nativity is A.D. 6, but argues that this date, unacceptable because incompatible with the Herodian date given elsewhere, derived from a Christian-Zealot tradition which made the birth of Christ coincide with Josephus' date for the birth of the nationalist movement (above, pp. 153-5)—in *Historia* vi (1957), 192-214, especially 200 ff. But it is difficult to believe that this was the date meant by Luke, since it conflicts irreconcilably with his own statement that Christ was *ἀρχόμενος ὥσει ἐτῶν τριάκοντα*, "in His early thirties" (?), at the beginning of His Ministry (iii, 23), which followed close on the opening of John the Baptist's crusade in the fifteenth year of Tiberius (iii, 1). The precise year meant is of no great concern here (cf. above, p. 168, n. 82). At no time round about A.D. 28 could a person born in A.D. 6 be described as "in his early thirties" or even "approaching the age of thirty" (another possible rendering).

Tertullian, in seeking to refute the view that the whole Infancy Gospel is myth, mentions a consensus of opinion which attached a different Roman name to the census at the time of the Nativity—*Adv. Marc.* iv, 19, 10 (CCL I, 593) *Sed et census constat actos sub Augusto tunc in Iudaea per Sentium Saturninum, apud quos genus eius (Christ) inquirere potuissent*. Though only a secondary source, he may preserve the truth and provide the key. (See, however, C. F. Evans in *JThS*²

xxiv (1973), 24-39.) For in view of his thesis, he cannot be giving a different date from Luke's: he is appealing to the Roman archives to substantiate the Gospel, and presumably took the name from them. C. Sentius Saturninus was legate of Syria 9-6 B.C. and had a number of contacts with Herod and his kingdom. A date late in his governorship for the Nativity would coincide perfectly both with Christ's age at the beginning of the Ministry as given by Luke (*pace* Sherwin-White, *RSNT*, 170, n. 2) and with the evidence which puts the Nativity under Herod. The story of the Massacre of the Innocents (even if a fabrication; above, pp. 103-4) harmonizes with the Josephan tradition that Herod's reign ended in brutal tyranny, and puts the Nativity at least a year before Herod's death (though not necessarily as much as two years; Herod will have put the age-limit well above that of his intended victim); and the sojourn in Egypt need not have been lengthy.

How then is Quirinius to be disposed of? Is not the simplest explanation that *quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus*? Knowing that the Nativity coincided with a census taken in Judaea on instructions from Rome, Luke erroneously attached the name of the Roman official responsible for the later, much more notorious, census, to the earlier one, with which Quirinius had had no connection; and having thus created two censuses conducted under the same man's auspices, he distinguished the earlier, obviously, as *πρώτη*. Tertullian then confirmed his date, while tacitly correcting the name.

For the copious bibliography on the subject see Feldman, 556-7; Schürer, I (rev.), 399-427, with lengthy discussion.

APPENDIX F

CHRONOLOGICAL PROBLEMS CONCERNING AGRIPPA II

The only certain occurrence of the era of Agrippa II's initial appointment to Chalcis, 49 (above, p. 262), is in *BJ* ii, 284, where the outbreak of the Jewish revolt is dated by his 17th year—a remarkable use, since by then he had been in his new kingdom for thirteen years and established two new eras.

Coins and inscriptions show that after his transfer to Auranitis, etc. Agrippa used two eras concurrently. Coins dated by his 26th (and perhaps also his 25th) year together with Domitian's 12th consulship fix the later era as running from some time in 61, perhaps from the common autumn New Year; see *BMC, Pal.*, 245-6 (year 26 only); Reifenberg, 52-3 (with one of year 25 on which only *cos. X* is legible; *cos. X[I]* or *X[II]* could be restored). The occurrence of the two eras in conjunction fixes the earlier as running from some time in 56; see Reifenberg, 49, nos. 76-7 (year 11 = year 6); *SEG* VII, 970 (year 21 = year 16); *OGIS* 426 = *IGRR* III, 1127 (year 37 = year 32). These eras presumably mark decisive events in Agrippa's reign, but their identification is conjectural. The era of 56 corresponds neither with Agrippa's transfer from Chalcis nor with Josephus' date for his acquisition of the four toparchies of Galilee and Peraea (above, p. 273), H. Seyrig, in *RN*⁶ vi (1964), 63, suggests that Agrippa may have received the title king then, having previously been a mere tetrarch; but evidence for the lower rank is lacking. The later era may possibly mean that Agrippa acquired the toparchies in 61 instead of 54-5 (cf. A. Momigliano in *CAH* X, 854), or that he received a further, but unrecorded, accession of territory in that year (cf. the transfer of portions of Armenia to four other client kings at about that time—*Tac.*, *A* xiv, 26, 3). But this would hardly seem to warrant a new era. Perhaps the occasion was the inauguration of Neronias, dated by Josephus to Albinus' procuratorship (which gives a fairly close approximation of date) and/or the conferment of the right of coinage (above, p. 273); Agrippa's coinage begins under Nero and his Neronian issues (except one of 67) are mint-marked Neronias. For further discussion of the eras see Schürer, I (rev.), 473, n. 8; Hill,

BMC, Pal., xcvi-c; *PIR*², s.v. *M. Iulius Agrippa II*; Seyrig, *op. cit.*, 55-65 (accepting the rare coin dated year 25 with Domitian's 12th consulship, rejected by Hill).

The evidence for the date of Agrippa's death is confused. Against the categorical statement of Photius, *Bibl.* 33 (ed. R. Henry, I (1959), 19) that Justus of Tiberias ended his history with Agrippa's death "in the third year of Trajan" (100), stands strong testimony to an earlier date. (1) The latest known inscription of Agrippa is dated $\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\lambda\zeta'$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\kappa\alpha\iota\lambda\beta'$, i.e. 92-3 by the double era—*OGIS* 426 = *IGRR* III, 1127, from Aera (Sanamein) in Batanaea. But two inscriptions of 96 from his territory are dated, not by his regnal year, but by the 16th year of Domitian and the 1st of Nerva respectively, which shows that by 96 it had been incorporated in the province of Syria—M. Dunand, *Le Musée de Soueida* (1934), 49, no. 75 (probably from the Soueida area of Auranitis, though the exact provenance is not known); *IGRR* III, 1176 (from Aerita in Trachonitis). (2) After copious coin-issues under Domitian, Agrippa struck no coins under Nerva or Trajan. (3) In *AJ* xvii, 28 Josephus speaks of Batanaea as no longer under Roman rule at the time of composition or publication (93-4; see xx, 267 with *V* 5); in xx, 145 he refers to the rumour of incestuous relations between Agrippa and Berenice, on which he would surely have kept silent in the lifetime of the king, with whom he was on friendly terms personally (*V* 362-6); and in *V* (published shortly after the *AJ*), 359-60, he clearly implies that Agrippa is now dead.

Other evidence is inconclusive, and while it would allow Agrippa to live into Trajan's reign, does not prove that he did. (1) Tiberias resumed coinage, a sign of the recovery of its status as an autonomous city, under Trajan some time before 102 (he is not Dacicus), but the precise date between 98 and 102 cannot be fixed (cf. above, p. 184, n. 13). (2) The epitaph of a soldier who served under Agrippa and then under Trajan (above, p. 340, n. 37) would put Agrippa's death in 98 or later, if his service was continuous; but there may have been a gap between his two terms of service.

If Photius/Justus' date 100 for Agrippa's death is rejected and the evidence that he predeceased Domitian is accepted, the precise date then presents problems. The highest date on Agrippa's coins is year 35. If the era of 61, used on his coins of 86, was used on all his Flavian issues, year 35 was 95-6. This date, though just compatible with the epigraphic evidence that he died before September 96, is incompatible with that of Josephus that he was already dead by 93-4.

T. Frankfort, in *Rev. Belge de Philol. et d'Hist.* xxxix (1961), 55-6, following G. Macdonald, *Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection* III (1905), 291, therefore suggests that the coins of year 35 used the era of 49 and were struck in 83-4, and argues that iconographically they would fit that period. But the use of that out-of-date era by Agrippa is unexampled and seems highly improbable. More convincing is Seyrig's suggestion, *op. cit.*, that all Agrippa's Flavian coins except those of 86 use the era of 56 and that the coins of year 35 were struck in 90-1. Agrippa's death can then be assigned to 92-3, between the cutting of the Batanaean inscription and the publication of the *AJ*, and Josephus' references need not be explained by the hypothesis of a second edition of the *AJ* or an early second century date for the *Vita*. See further Frankfort, *op. cit.*, 52-8, and in *Hommages à A. Grenier*, ed. M. Renard (1962), 665-72; Schürer, I (rev.), 473, n. 8; 480-3.

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